

Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

Vol.3, No.2, September 2011

目錄

〈台灣大學生的語言意識〉陳麗君 Taiwanese college students' language consciousness <i>Le-kun TAN</i>	4
〈院長俗民調——試析泉腔去聲不分陰陽〉施炳華 “Inn-tiunn” and “Bin-tiau”: no distinction between Im and long in the falling tone of the Tsuan-tsiu accent <i>Ping-hua SI</i>	26
Quantifying lexical formality: between medical terminology and lay expression <i>Mei-hui TSAI</i>	46
〈測量辭彙正式度——醫療專業辭彙共常民用語〉蔡美慧 Locomotive sentence patterns: a crosslinguistic study <i>Robert L. CHENG & Hui-chi LEE</i>	84
〈趨向句型——跨語言探討〉鄭良偉、李惠琦 Features and prospects in comparative studies of Vietnam and Taiwan <i>Wi-vun Taiffalo CHIUNG</i>	122
〈台越比較研究ê現況kap未來發展ê可能性〉蔣為文 冊評：《民族、母語kap音素文字》王雅萍 Book Review: “Bîn-chòk, Bó-gí kap Im-sò Bûn-jī” <i>Nga-ping ONG</i>	142



Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù 台語研究

Vol.3, No.2, September 2011



Tâi-gí Gián-kiù

台語研究

Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

Vol.3, No.2, September 2011



Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

Tâi-qi̍t Gián-kiù
台語研究

Vol.3, No.2, September 2011



Tâi-lâm, TAIWAN

Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù 台語研究

Vol.3, No.2, September 2011

諮詢顧問 Advisory Board

Đoàn Thiện Thuật
(越南國家大學語言系退休)

Jerold Edmondson
(U. of Texas at Arlington, USA)

三尾裕子 (日本東京外國語大學)

呂興昌 (國立成功大學台灣文學系退休)

李勤岸 (國立台灣師範大學台文所)

村上嘉英 (日本天理大學中國語系退休)

林修澈 (國立政治大學民族系)

姚榮松 (國立台灣師範大學台文所)

施正鋒 (國立東華大學民族學院)

施炳華 (國立成功大學中文系退休)

洪惟仁 (國立台中教育大學台灣語文學系)

康培德 (國立東華大學台灣文化學系)

張裕宏 (國立台灣大學語言所退休)

張學謙 (國立台東大學華語系)

莊永山 (崑山科技大學應用英語系)

董忠司 (國立新竹教育大學台語所)

廖瑞銘 (中山醫學大學台灣語文學系)

趙順文 (國立台灣大學日文系退休)

鄭良偉 (美國夏威夷大學東亞語文系退休)

謝菁玉 (國立成功大學外文系)

主編 Editor-in-Chief

蔣為文 Wi-vun Taiffalo CHIUNG
(國立成功大學台灣文學系)

編輯委員 Editorial Board

方耀乾 (國立台中教育大學台文系)

張宏宇 (高苑科技大學外文系)

簡華麗 (Oslo U. C., Norway)

Hiro Ota (U. of Hawaii at Manoa, USA)

英文編輯 English editor

Vivian T. Su

行政編輯 Administrative editor

潘秀蓮

出版者 Publishers

國立成功大學台灣語文測驗中心 &
Airiti Press Inc. &
Asian Atsiu International

訂閱 Subscription

國內機關團體一年兩期：NT2,000

國內個人一年兩期：NT1,000

Please refer to subscription form for
international subscription fees.

電子版本 Electronic journal

<http://www.ceps.com.tw>

版權保留，若無出版者之書面同意，bē-sái 用任何形式 kap 工具來再造本刊內容。

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form or by any means without permission in writing from the publishers.

Copyright © NCKU CTLT & Airiti Press Inc. & Asian Atsiu International

- 〈台灣大學生的語言意識〉陳麗君 4
 Taiwanese college students' language consciousness
Le-kun TAN
- 〈院長俗民調——試析泉腔去聲不分陰陽〉施炳華 26
 "Inn-tiunn" and "Bin-tiau": no distinction between Im and long
 in the falling tone of the Tsuan-tsiu accent
Ping-hua SI
- Quantifying lexical formality: between medical terminology
 and lay expression 46
Mei-hui TSAI
- 〈測量辭彙正式度——醫療專業辭彙共常民用語〉蔡美慧 84
 Locomotive sentence patterns: a crosslinguistic study
Robert L. CHENG & Hui-chi LEE
- 〈趨向句型——跨語言探討〉鄭良偉、李惠琦 122
 Features and prospects in comparative studies of
 Vietnam and Taiwan
Wi-vun Taiffalo CHIUNG
- 〈台越比較研究ê現況kap未來發展ê可能性〉蔣爲文 142
 冊評：《民族、母語kap音素文字》王雅萍
 Book Review: "Bîn-cho̍k, Bó-gí kap Im-sò Bûn-jī"
Nga-ping ONG

Taiwanese College Students' Language Consciousness

Le-kun TAN

Department of Taiwanese Literature

National Cheng Kung University

Abstract

Using the survey method of research, this paper investigated Taiwanese students' language consciousness of their mother tongues and their language ability. A comparison is then made between students from the Taiwanese Literature Department and other departments.

Results of the survey showed that: (1) For most students, their attitude toward Taiwanese is one of general acceptance. One's area of study or gender does not affect one's attitude toward the language Taiwanese. However, students from northern Taiwan tend to have a more positive view of Taiwanese than students from eastern Taiwan. (2) For students majoring in Chinese literature or the sciences, 70% feel that it is enough to know sufficient Taiwanese for communication, but over 40% of the students in the Taiwanese literature major feel that it is necessary to be able to read and write in Taiwanese. On the other hand, most students from other majors(non-Taiwanese majors) feel that students majoring in Taiwanese literature should be able to read and write in Taiwanese, as opposed to less than half of the students in the Taiwanese literature department thinking this way. (3) compared to past studies, the survey showed a gradual worsening in students' ability to use their mother tongues. (4) Today, mother tongues are left with their ethnic consciousness-symbolic function only, and the practical usage of the language has been overtaken by Chinese. In terms of passing the mother tongue to the next generation, 40% of the Taiwanese-speaking ethnic group learn their mother tongue first; 4.5 % of the Hakka-speaking ethnic group learn their mother tongue first, and 0% of the aboriginal peoples learn their mother tongue first.

The results proves the statement and criteria on 'language vitality and endangerment' by UNESCO. The statement claims that only when members of a social group undertakes the task to revive, maintain and strengthen a mother tongue will that language survive and endure. Otherwise, support for language policies from legislation will not be effective enough.

Keywords: language consciousness, language ability, language vitality, symbolic function

台灣大學生的語言意識¹

陳麗君

國立成功大學台灣文學系

摘要

本文利用問卷調查法調查全國台灣大學生族群母語ê語言意識kap語言能力，koh比較台文系所kap其他科系ê異同。

調查結果顯示：(1)大學生對台語ê感覺大多數是普通，科系kap性別bê影響對台語ê觀感，但是北部ê學生對台語ê觀感比東部ê較好。(2)中文系kap理工系學生認為台語能力只要會當溝通就好ê占7成，台文系認為愛會曉讀寫台語ê有超過4成。另一方面，非台文系認為台文系應該愛會曉讀寫台語占多數，但是台文系本身只有大約半數是按呢認為。(3) kap過去研究比較，母語語言能力更加倒退。(4)母語kan-na chhun表徵性功能標示族群意識，但是運用能力多數攏去予華語取代。傳承上，閩南族群koh有4成ê人會當先學會曉母語，客家只有4.5% ê人會當先學會曉母語，原住民族會當先學會曉母語ê是0%。

這個結果印證聯合國教科文組織teh判斷「語言活力kap瀕絕度」ê標準。只有社群成員才會當決定欲復興、維持kap強化自己ê語言，kan-na制度上ê支持，恐怕效果有限。

關鍵詞：語言意識、語言能力、語言活力、表徵性功能

¹ 本研究愛感謝國科會經費(96-2411-H-006-024-)，以及濟濟ê調查協助者ê幫忙，才會當完成。

1. 踏話頭

通常兩個語言接觸以後可能會產生三種ê情形：1)外來語言消失、2)當地語言hō外來語言取代soah消失、3)外來語言kap當地語言共存。一般來講，語言接觸多數ê情況是外來ê移民因為人數無濟，少數ê外來移民為tiōh欲融入當地社會，所以致使外來移民族群語言漸漸消失。但是，有強大ê政治勢力ê外來統治者，卻ē-tàng利用本身政治、軍事ê優勢，顛倒hō人口少ê外來者ê語言成做優勢ê語言，形成kap當地語言共存ê情況，甚至進一步取代當地語言。發生佇台灣ê語言接觸屬佇頂面所講ê第2種或是第3種ê情形，就是後來ê少數移民語言取代或是kap當地語言並存。目前已經hō外來語言完全取代，差不多消失去ê族群有平埔族、高山原住民，in大多數攏面臨語言消失ê危機。屬佇第3種情形，也就是當地語言ē-tàng kap殖民者語言全時存在ê，只有佔多數人口ê閩南人ê台語，不過，最近幾年ê研究報告mā攏指出台語有移轉到中文ê現象。比較tiōh台語，人口無濟ê客語族群，in ê語言移轉到中文ê現象koh-khah是明顯，面臨嚴重ê母語危機。大多數ê語言學家攏認為雙語維持ê平衡點真phái"掌握，如果無採取特別ê母語保護措施，並存ê狀態真容易失去平衡，最後變做單一語言。當然，就算講採取「簡易ê」母語保護措施，mā有可能因為無平衡ê語言競爭關係，致使弱勢語言消失去。

語言ê社會功能ê發展，kap講話ê人ê語言意識有密切ê關係。Hagège (2004)認為語言死亡siōng起初ê階段ê徵兆是「不安定化」，了後進入「老廢化」ê階段。通常判斷語言kám ē-tàng繼續存在落去ê標準，就是以「世代之間無法度完成語言傳承」做siōng主要ê根據。Hagège (2004: 111) koh指出佇語言「不安定化」ê過程中、造成語言共同體內底雙語者成做多數人口ê原因，就是語言無法度充分傳承hō下一代。當然，並m是所有ê雙語狀態攏是因為語言ê不安定。Kap其他共同體ê接觸，是起造全人類共同體ê一個重要歷史要素。所以欲預言兩個語言之一ê死亡，kan-ta tùi語言接觸或是接觸ê頻率來看是無夠ê。重點是接觸ê兩個語言無平衡ê狀態，若是其中一個語言社會地位jú高、佇國內以及國際ê普及率jú大，按呢，對另外一個語言ê威脅壓力jú大。種種無平衡ê語言權力結構所產生出來ê結果，造

成語言意識ê轉變，致使世代之間語言無法度傳落去ê狀況發生。倒轉來看台灣，譬如講，閩南族群因為人口ê優勢、缺乏母語意識，致使母語ê傳承無完全，koh加上目前語言政策ê「消極保留」模式，台語能力以及語言活力tú-teh加速衰退當中，咱mā會使tùi現在流行ê「台客」chit-ê用詞，看出現代青少年tùi台語以及特定ê台語文化所反映出某一種負面意象ê語言意識。根據陳麗君（1999）ê調查發現，閩南族ê青少年真少用台語，自認為是雙語者，卻是語言能力無完全ê雙語者。如果根據頂面ê理論來判斷，chit種ê語言使用，應該歸佇可能消失ê危機語言。

現今台灣各族群佇民主、族群意識ê覺醒，尤其是佇全球化ê衝擊之下，了解在地化發展以及母語維持ê重要性，不過是最近幾年ê事。譬如佇政策頂面，原本20外冬前——1983年教育部bat提出「國家語言發展法」草案，kan-ta重視「國家語言」發展，輕視「方言」，因此引起各界無仝ê聲音，最後清清采采收場。後來社會狀況轉變，語言kap文化ê保存漸漸受tióh重視，加上聯合國教科文組織將台灣語言列做危機語言，母語文化ê保存意識覺醒；仝時因為陳水扁總統當選，為tióh兌現選舉ê承諾，就交hō教育部主導推動收集海內外相關ê資料，並且參考行政院原住民委員會ê「原住民族語言發展法」、行政院客家委員會ê「語言公平法」、中央研究院ê「語言文字基本法」，2003年國語推行委員會擬定「語言平等法草案」，koh委託文化建設委員會接續制定ê工作。最後，才佇2007年行政院通過「國家語言發展法草案」，明訂國家語言為本國族群或是地方使用ê自然語言kap手語。另外，佇教育方面，總算佇21世紀開始初等教育ê鄉土語言教育課程。2000年1月初7，教育部「九年一貫課程綱要」審議委員會第3 pái會議正式通過：九十學年度起，國小一到六年級ê學生，每禮拜攞ài「必選」台灣母語一到二節；國中是用選修ê方式。M-koh，tùi教學體制、教學時數、師資培訓、教材文字ê混亂（一直到2006年10月chiah公佈台羅拼音方案）來看，初等教育內底鄉土教育推展ê實際效果koh需要評估。佇高等教育方面，自從1997年真理大學首先設立台灣文學系，2000年本土政權執政以來，台灣語文、文化等相關ê系所佇台灣各地陸續成立，教育部網站上公布：「為配合九年一貫鄉土語言教學課程之實施，本部政策上鼓勵大學規劃設立台灣文學系、所，以培訓母語教學之師資……」（2002.03.25）。雖

然母語文教育佇制度上開始受著支持，*m̄-koh*實際參與其中ê學者，親像李勤岸（2006）、蔣為文（2006）等人，前後攏提出批評，認為台灣文學系所只是「新瓶舊裝」，假借台灣語文ê名義實際猶閣是中華語文教育。咱攏知，國家教育政策ê方針，若是*beh*培養提升本土人文素質，頭一個*ai*重視ê應該是大學高等教育。除了培養新ê一代成做國家ê柱石以外，佇發展本土文化以及研究ê頂面，高等教育*koh-khah*是帶動社會風潮、國家前進ê重要機構。因此，有需要針對目前*tú-teh*起飛發展ê大學台語文學系所，檢視in是*m̄*是*ē-tàng*培養反映社會實質需求ê母語相關人才，*koh*進一步發揮領導社會文化ê功能，提供高等教育佇本土化建設發展過程中ê指標。

2. 文獻探討

Edwards (1977) 提出語言除了有溝通ê功能 (communicative function) 之外，*mā*有表徵性ê功能 (symbolic function)，當某一個族群ê語言*hō*另外一個族群語言取代，溝通行為攏用非族群母語來進行，就算講是按呢，族群語言猶原有代表*hit-ê*族群人員ê表徵性意義。也就是講，設使溝通功能消失，表徵性功能猶原存在。*M̄-koh*，*tùi*語言消失過程ê理論來判斷，失去講話者ê語言就算是死去ê語言，*kan-ta*是保存佇歷史資料庫內底ê一節紀錄*nā-tiāⁿ*。拉丁文就是*siōng*明顯ê例。*Tùi*另外ê角度來思考，如果語言表徵性ê功能喪失，母語語言意識薄弱ê時，語言ê溝通減少了後，功能自然漸漸弱化。也就是講*tùi*語言保持 (language maintenance) ê角度來看，溝通功能*kap*表徵性功能*chit*兩項攏*bē-sái*欠缺。另外，Eastman & Reese (1987) 認為族群意識*kap*語言使用並無一定是一致ê。根據Lu (1988) ê調查結果，台灣有真濟閩南人無*siáⁿ*會曉講甚至聽無台語，in卻認定台語是in ê族群母語。這代表佇*chit-ê*階段語言溝通功能雖然漸漸弱化消失，總是表徵性功能*iaū-koh*存在。*M̄-koh*經過幾年之後ê調查，Chan (1994) ê報告指出大多數少年ê閩南人並無認為台語*kap*閩南人之間有絕對ê關連，因為少年人家已使用ê語言是“國語”，所以母語意識喪失，移轉成做閩南人一講中國話ê自我意識，國族取代民族概念。自按呢，母語ê溝通功能*kap*象徵性功能傾向消失。國語教育政策真明顯達到語言轉移ê目的，消滅母語意識了後，咱會使想像

下一個階段就是族群意識ê消失。Huang (1995) 分析台灣tâk-ê族群ê語言意識kap語言態度ê關係，結果伊發現族群意識指數kap語言態度之間ê相關性並無kôan。Chit-ê結果teh說明，佇國語政策之下將國語塑造做國家ê象徵，不可避免--ê已經造就一tīn以國語做日常用語，但是並無否認自己ê原始族群意識ê一代。另外，Yeh, Chan, and Cheng (2004) 佇台灣各地收集2,894人ê問卷，進行大規模ê語言意識kap領域（對人ê）ê調查，比較閩南、客家、原住民chit三個族群ê中文kap母語ê語言意識了後指出，三個族群in ê母語移轉到中文ê程度有相當大ê無全。台語tùi國語展現了khah強ê排斥，客語是延續長期以來向中文移轉ê趨勢，原住民語言向中文ê移轉jú來jú嚴重。Chiah-ê以問卷調查為主ê研究當中，Yeh et al. (2004) ê規模siōng大，分析方法信度kôan，而且siōng大ê意義是kap進前研究Tsao (1997) ê結果作對照比較分析，來理解台灣各族群tùi母語階段轉移到中文階段ê過程變化。可惜，mā因為調查ê人數濟，調查範圍內容限制佇對人ê語言使用領域以及語言能力ê意識調查。本研究用Yeh等 (2004) 以及Huang (1995)、Tsao (1994) ê文獻為基礎，比照大學生ê語言意識 (language awareness)。本篇論文是語言意識調查ê量化資料整理ê第一階段，對比分析台灣文學科系以及非相關科系ê語言意識，意義在佇藉tióh chit-ê，來檢視大學高等教育ê設立kám有發揮佇在地化文化發展上ê影響，回饋社會所寄託ê期待，透過高等教育kám ē-tàng達到積極提升語言意識，或是消極阻止各個族群母語消失等等chia-ê目標。

3. 研究方法kap調查內容

本論文ê主要目的是為tióh欲探討大學台文相關系所ê語言意識kap語言能力，必須ài全時兼顧社會語言學質kap量ê語料收集kap分析。研究方法是以台灣各地ê台文相關系所ê人員做主要ê對象、加上中文系以及理工科系做對照組，利用問卷調查法調查in ê語言意識kap語言能力（問卷內容參考附件1）。對台灣北、中、南、東部各地全時有台灣語文研究相關系所以及中文系、理工科系ê學校做抽樣調查。以大學部二年級學生為主，tùi頂面所講3個科系當中每一個科系抽樣大約50人，每一間學校大約150人。利用SPSS

建立資料庫了後，採用ANOVA、交叉分析以及Post Hoc等量化ê統計方法。

本研究是佇2008年3月到5月進行調查，調查ê對象總共646人，調查地點kap人數請參考圖表1。因為北區ê大學無台語／文系，過去唯一ê大學部台文系C大學已經將校區sóa到南部，只chhun進修部2005年是最後一屆，而且in學校無中文系，因此，北區ê樣本掠只有所無系ê B大學為主。不過，因為研究所ê人數有限，所以連A大學ê台灣文化研究所mā列入做調查ê對象，koh加上C大學ê進修部。

圖表1. 調查地點kap對象

	台文系所	中文系	理工相關系	合計
北區				
A大學(所)	9	*	*	9
B大學(所)	15	48	54	117
C大學(夜間部)	53	*	*	53
中區				
D大學	27	54	51	132
南區				
E大學	48	62	88	198
東區				
F大學	57	43	37	137
合計	209	207	230	646

表內數字表人數。「*」表示無該當項目、「所」是研究所、「夜」是進修部，無標示ê表示調查對象是大學部ê學生。

4. 調查結果kap討論

4.1. 族群分布

針對族群意識ê調查，問卷ê內容是「8.您認為您的族群是：閩南、客家、外省、原住民、其他_____」。另外，考慮tiòh通婚了後第二、第三代ê族群意識mā會有改變，所以連in ê阿公阿媽kap父母ê族群

mā做夥調查。族群意識ê調查結果如圖表2。

圖表2. 調查對象的族群比例

		人 數	百分比
有效的	閩南	462	71.5
	客家	68	10.5
	外省	44	6.8
	原住民	7	1.1
	其他	43	6.7
	總和	624	96.6
遺漏值	系統界定的遺漏	22	3.4
總和		646	100

黃宣範（1995）估計台灣各族群ê人口是閩南人：73.3%，外省人：13%，客家人：12%，原住民：1.7%。假設chit-ê估算是正確ê，咱ē-tàng看出本次調查對象ê族群意識當中，閩南、客家、原住民ê比例kap 10外冬前ê數字相差無jōa遠，可是外省族群卻明顯減少。咱注意到「其他」ê回答內底，除了少數ê僑生（無到1成）以外，回答欄位頂面，tùi阿公阿媽、父母到家已攞填「台灣」ê chit種新族群ê產生。這有可能是近年來台灣意識浮頭，政黨ê惡鬥造成政治社會ê不安，致使有人誤會認同家己ê族群是引起族群紛爭ê開端。不過，筆者推測族群欄填寫「台灣」ê應該是外省族群ê第二代、第三代。推測ê根據有二點，第一是「其他」kap「外省」族群加起來ê總和符合黃宣範（1995）ê數據。第二是調查對象ê阿公阿媽、父母若是有一方是外省籍ê，調查對象mā 會認同家己是外省籍ê比例比其他族群khah低。下面圖表3~圖表6分別是調查對象ê族群意識以及in老爸、老母、阿公kap阿媽ê族群ê交叉分析ê結果。利用相關分析ê試算結果，調查對象ê族群kap伊ê老爸ê族群ê相關係數是0.802，kap老母ê是0.622，kap阿公ê是0.739，kap阿媽ê是0.612。也就是講老爸ê族群所屬影響後一代ê族群認同siōng深。佇閩南、客家、外省族群內底，總是男性祖先ê族群所屬支配後代

ê族群認知比女性khah強，是真明顯ê父系社會。M̄-koh，佇原住民族群內底，阿媽ê族群所屬比阿公ê影響力khah強，但是老爸ê族群所屬比老母ê影響力khah大。這無一定是過去多數原住民族群是母系社會但是boé--á漢化ê現象表徵。

圖表3. 調查對象和其父親的族群交叉表

		父親的族群				
		閩南	客家	外省	原住民	其他
您的族群	閩南 您的族群內的 %	96.50%	2.40%	0.90%	0.00%	0.20%
	客家 您的族群內的 %	4.40%	92.60%	2.90%	0.00%	0.00%
	外省 您的族群內的 %	6.80%	2.30%	90.90%	0.00%	0.00%
	原住民 您的族群內的 %	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%

圖表4. 調查對象和其母親的族群交叉表

		母親的族群				
		閩南	客家	外省	原住民	其他
您的族群	閩南 您的族群內的 %	88.70%	7.20%	3.00%	0.20%	0.90%
	客家 您的族群內的 %	31.30%	58.20%	7.50%	3.00%	0.00%
	外省 您的族群內的 %	29.50%	9.10%	59.10%	0.00%	2.30%
	原住民 您的族群內的 %	0.00%	16.70%	0.00%	83.30%	0.00%

圖表5. 調查對象和其祖父的族群交叉表

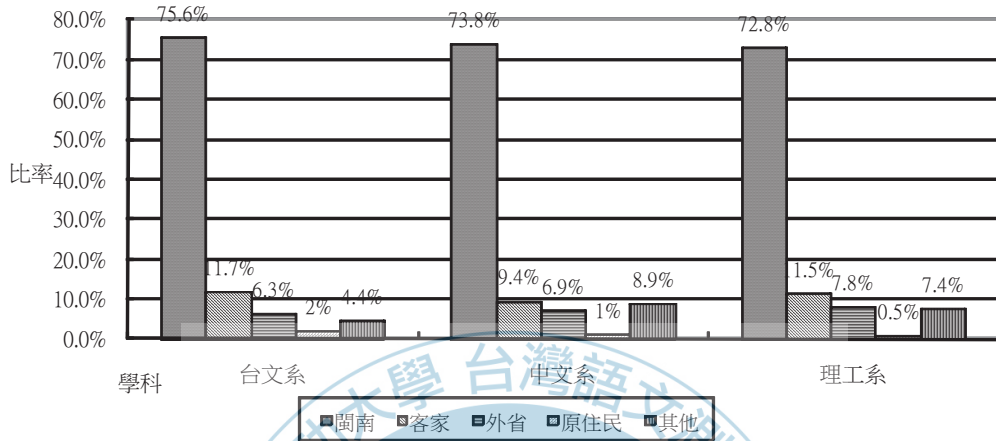
			祖父的族群				
			閩南	客家	外省	原住民	其他
您的族群	閩南	您的族群內的 %	94.80%	2.60%	2.20%	0.20%	0.20%
	客家	您的族群內的 %	7.40%	88.20%	2.90%	0.00%	1.50%
	外省	您的族群內的 %	2.30%	2.30%	90.90%	0.00%	4.50%
	原住民	您的族群內的 %	0.00%	0.00%	14.30%	85.70%	0.00%

圖表6. 調查對象和其祖母的族群交叉表

			祖母的族群				
			閩南	客家	外省	原住民	其他
您的族群	閩南	您的族群內的 %	94.30%	3.50%	1.10%	0.40%	0.70%
	客家	您的族群內的 %	10.30%	83.80%	1.50%	0.00%	4.40%
	外省	您的族群內的 %	15.90%	9.10%	68.20%	0.00%	6.80%
	原住民	您的族群內的 %	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%

黃宣範（1995）mā指出外省籍人口教育程度kiah kōan是眾人知ê事實，1990年ê調查結果，外省籍人士佇大學ê學生人數或是教員人數比例koh-kiah是遠遠超過in ê實際人口ê比例，尤其是佇文、法學院內底。本研究抽樣調查北、中、南、東區大學文學院（中文、台語／文）以及理工學院ê族群分布。調查結果利用卡方檢定各個學科ê族群分布並無明顯ê差異，而且攏符合族群ê比例。Koh再講，讀台文系ê學生mā無全部是本省人，中文系ê外省籍ê學生mā無特別濟。Ē-tàng講咱ê高等教育已經真普遍囉。按呢將chiah-ê變數控制了後，咱就會使進一步比較分析in ê語言意識，檢視學科教育kám會影響學生ê語言意識ê形成。

圖表7. 科系kap族群分布



4.2. 語言意識—以區域、科系、性別做變因

問卷問題「17.你對台語的看法？很優美優美普通缺乏美感很俗氣」

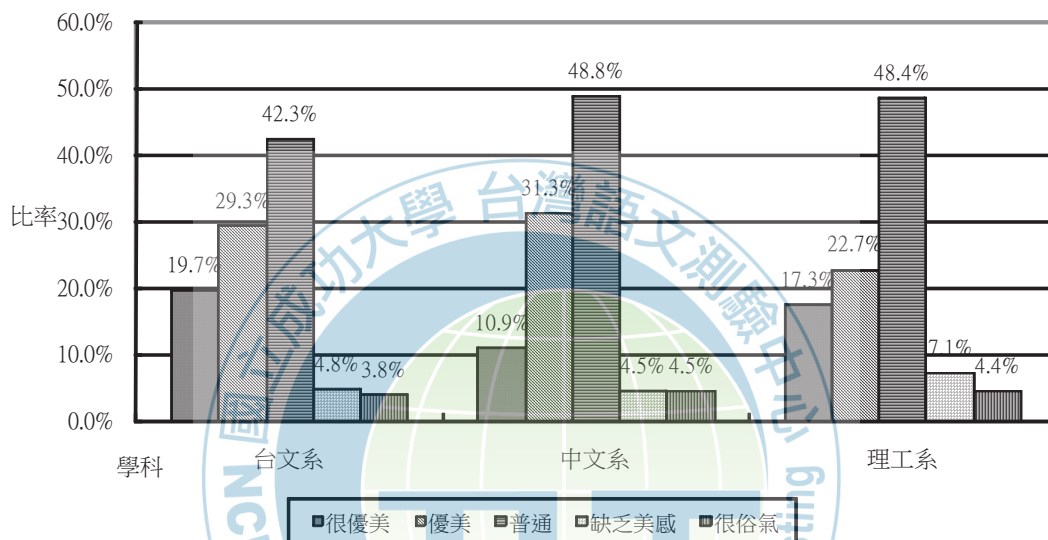
對台語ê看法ê分析方式是回答「很優美」ê 5分，「優美」ê 4分，「普通」ê 3分，「缺乏美感」ê 2分，「很俗氣」ê 1分，首先針對科系kap語言意識ê關係，台文系、中文系、理工系學生對台語ê看法攏是「普通」ê上濟，「優美」、「很優美」ê其次，認為台語「缺乏美感」「很俗氣」是少數（參考圖表8）。koh利用平均數ê單因子變異數分析3 ê科系ê結果 $p=0.189>.05$ ，統計上無明顯（significance）ê差別。表示各科系之間對台語ê看法無顯著性ê差異。

Koh用性別做變因來分析了後，男性平均分數是3.51、女性是3.42， $p=0.24>.05$ ，所以統計上無明顯ê差異。表示對台語ê看法boē因為性別無仝而有所差別。

另外，koh用區域做變因來看對台語ê看法是m是有無仝，用Post Hoc檢驗ê結果平均數猶原是無明顯ê差異。北部ê平均數是3.59、中部3.41、南部3.47、東部3.27。只有北部kap東部ê $p=0.02<0.05$ ，統計上有明顯差別。這ê結果真趣味，因為普遍來講北部ê華語使用比台語濟，所以阮原本預想是北部對台語ê看法評分會較低，結果soah 顛倒反。

以上，大學生對台語ê看法幾基本上分bē出性別、學科，但是佇無仝區域（北部kap東部）看法有精差。原本預想是台文系所ê學生是m̄是對母語會有khah特別ê感情，結果發現mā無。

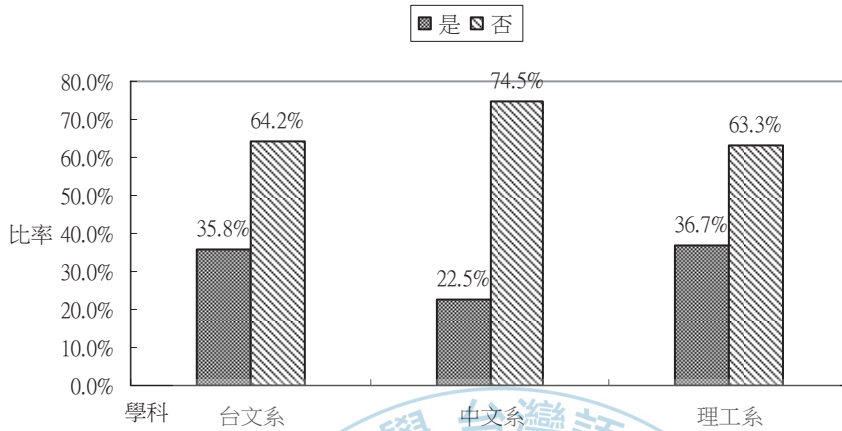
圖表8. 無仝科系對台語ê看法相仝



問卷問題「18. 你覺得雙語人（台、國語使用能力）平常講台語是一種意識型態的表現？是否」

雙語人（台、國語使用能力）平常講台語是kám是一種意識型態ê表現？調查結果像圖表9，有效回答637人中有32.8%認為講台語是意識形態ê表現，67.2%無按呢認為。統計檢定結果 $p=0.026<0.05$ （ $N=637$ ），表示有明顯ê無仝。大多數ê台語運動者攏會贊成講台語是siōng基本ê意識kap立場。雖然是按呢，總是猶無夠、也無法度彌補自1950到1987年禁用方言ê時，tùi台灣人ê囡仔仔人格形成上kap學習表現上所造成ê傷害。前一chām，我聽見學生講起現在台文系一年級ê新生之間有隙嫌，有講台語ê小團體kap m̄講台語ê“大”團體。Kám講「禁用方言」ê年代早就過了20年、台灣意識浮頭ê時代，連佇台文系講台語koh會hō人認為是一種意識型態ê表現，soah hông貼標籤？Kám一定ài tak-ê攏放揀母語，犧牲各自ê本質（local），製造表面同質性ê假象，使用權力語言，才是民族融合（global）ê表徵？

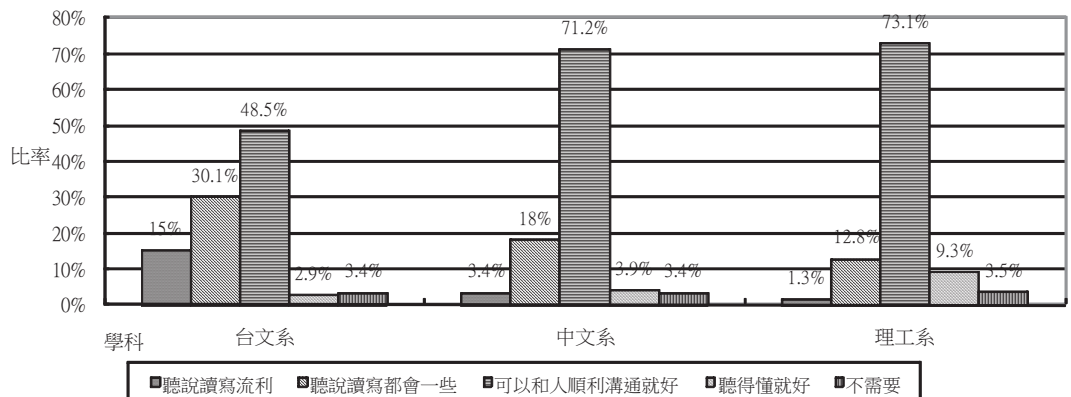
圖表9. 講台語敢是意識型態ê表現？



問卷問題「20. 你覺得你應該學「會」台語（客語或原住民語）嗎？聽說讀寫流利聽說讀寫都會一些可以和人順利溝通就好聽得懂就好不需要」

調查「你感覺敢應該愛學會曉台語（客語或原住民語）？」這ê項目ê結果，利用Post Hoc ê同質子分析發現，台文系hām中文系、理工科系ê平均數有明顯差異。台文系贊成ài學會曉聽講讀寫ê beh到半數，mā有beh一半ê人認為ē-sái kap人溝通就好。比較起來，中文系kap理工科系大多數攏認為母語ē-sái kap人溝通就好。尤其是理工科系ê siōng chió人想beh ài會曉讀寫母語。所以，有約半數台文系ê學生有意識tiòh lán ê母語m是kan-na會曉聽、會曉講tiòh好，koh ài會曉讀kap寫chiah好。佇台灣一般人的確是真少有機會去讀寫母語（外省族群以外），但是若是台文系leh？

圖表10. 敢應該愛會曉台語、客語或是原住民語？

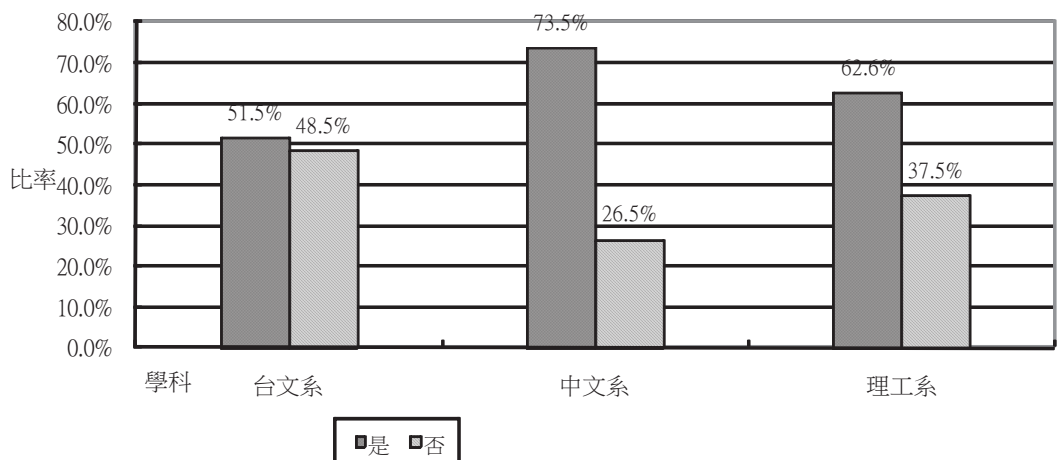


問卷問題「19. 你覺得大學裡台灣文學系的學生應該要學會“聽說讀寫”台語嗎？是否」

台灣文學系ê教育方針kap價值所培養出ê學生kám有符合社會或是周圍ê期待？Bat聽學生抱怨講，tāk-pái講tiòh家已是台灣文學系ê學生，攏會hō人問講是m̄是teh學台語等等ê問題。In是按怎回答ê？學生會使理路直回答講：「m̄是啦！阮是台灣文學系，讀文學啦！」我想全世界可能只有台灣ê大學有chit種特殊ê做學問ê方法，做台灣文學卻kap台語無關，做客家文化研究無需要學客語。你kám bat聽講專攻英美文學ê卻bē曉英文，研究日本文學看無「假名kha-na」ê？佇台灣就有chit種情形，真濟做台灣文學研究ê卻bē曉本土語言，看無台語文字系統。台灣文學因為受過多層ê殖民者包裝kap政治支配，一時soah找無語言主體，佇社會構造下，人們有無意識會有向標準化靠倚ê傾向。當台灣文學界周圍滿四界攏是「台灣文學內底，華語khah濟mā khah有研究」ê氣氛，若是講台語做台語文學研究就有被邊緣化ê可能，當然是趕緊欲做分割保身。而且，面對一個家已所熟識ê語言但是卻無法度讀kap寫ê時，siōng簡單ê方式就是忽略或者否定伊ê必要性來突顯自己ê正當性。

項目19利用ANOVA分析台文系ê學生是否應該要會“聽說讀寫”台語ê結果，各科系之間有顯著ê差異， $p=0.00<0.05$ 。台文系所ê學生無贊成「台灣文學系ê學生應該要學會『聽說讀寫』台語」ê佔半數，顛倒其他科系是贊成khah濟。真明顯，目前台文ê教育體制所培育出來ê學生無符合他者ê期待。

圖表 11. 台灣文學系敢愛學會曉台語？



4.3. 族群意識和母語意識

Ì過去ê文獻知影族群意識kap語言使用並無一定是一致ê，jî-chhiáⁿ母語ê表徵性ê功能（symbolic function）mā有漸漸減弱ê趨勢。Lu（1988）ê調查結果，台灣有真濟閩南人無siáⁿ會曉講甚至聽無台語，in卻認定台語是inê族群母語。Chan（1994）ê報告指出大多數少年ê閩南人並無認為台語kap閩南人之間有絕對ê關連，因為少年人家已使用ê語言是「國語」。Yeh et al.（2004）指出，三個族群inê母語移轉到中文ê程度有相當大ê無全。台語tùi國語展現了khah強ê抗拒，客語是延續長期以來向中文移轉ê趨勢，原住民語言向中文ê移轉jú來jú嚴重。本研究調查內容m-nā針對族群意識kap母語意識，為了beh區分tùi“母語”這個詞ê無全ê認知，koh將母語ê定義分開做認知層次、接續作用層次kap運用層次。認知層次就是模糊性ê、表徵性ê認定，接續作用層次ê就是世代間kám是有傳承作為問題意識，第一ê學會ê語言是m̄是母語。運用層次就是語言使用ê頻率kap語言能力ê問題。本研究針對族群意識kap母語意識落去交叉分析ê結果親像圖表12。咱ē-tàng看出，只有外省族群佇母語、siōng代先學會ê語言、siōng熟似ê語言是一致ê，就是對母語ê表徵性ê認定、相互作用、運用層次上攏是一致ê，無“人格分裂”ê現象。閩南、客家、原住民族群真明顯母語ê表徵性功能雖然koh存在，但是佇傳承kap運用ê熟似度就攏輸hō華語。Soah落來，針對三ê無全ê層次一一比較各族群ê差異。

- (1)母語ê表徵性功能：無全ê族群ê族群意識kap母語意識有無全ê認知。整體來講，只有外省ê族群意識kap母語意識無分叉，認為家己是外省族群ê有90.2%認為伊ê母語是華語。其次是原住民，有83.3%認為伊ê母語是原住民語，chhun-ê認為是華語。Koh來是閩南族群72.3%認為母語是台語，27.2%認為是華語。客家人有68.3%認為母語是客語，有22.5%認為是華語，koh有7.9%認為是台語。所以，台灣各族群佇母語ê表徵性功能、意識ê消失，移轉到華語ê現象，客人siōng明顯，其次是閩南人，原住民語ê母語意識比較khah kōan。
- (2)接續作用：一個語言是m̄是ē-tàng繼續存活，主要ài看伊是m̄是ē-tàng世代接續落去。咱ē-sái ùi第一個學會ê語言來看各個族群ê母語傳承kám有出現斷層現象。調查結果發現所有ê族群接近6成以上siōng代

先學會曉ê語言是華語，閩南族群只有4成先學會曉家己ê母語，原住民無夠3成，客家kan-nā 14.9% niā-niā。除了外省族群以外，所有ê族群ê母語傳承攏出現斷層現象，母語ê維持出現嚴重ê危機。

(3)語言ê運用：所有ê族群siōng熟似ê語言攏是華語。原住民100%攏是，客家族群92.5%，閩南族群mā有84%。可見「國語」教育政策成功。教育系統以外ê語言使用mā是華語用khah濟chiah ē變作siōng熟似ê。以上，大學生閩南族群、客家族群、原住民m̄-nā佇chit代ê母語傳承出現危機，in ê母語熟bat度攏比華語kē，所以in ê後一代ê母語傳承會koh khah不完全，傳承ê比率會koh khah kē。母語kan-nā chhun表徵性功能了後，就會「老廢化」失去活力。Tī原住民族群內底尤其明顯，雖然koh有beh 3成ê人第一語言是原住民語，但是大多數攏koh將伊放棄。客人ê母語傳承siōng失敗，koh母語意識siōng kē，所以目前tiòh beh hō華語取代。Hām客家kap原住民比起來，台語tùi華語展現了khah強ê排斥，m̄-koh mā-sī有移轉到華語ê趨勢。

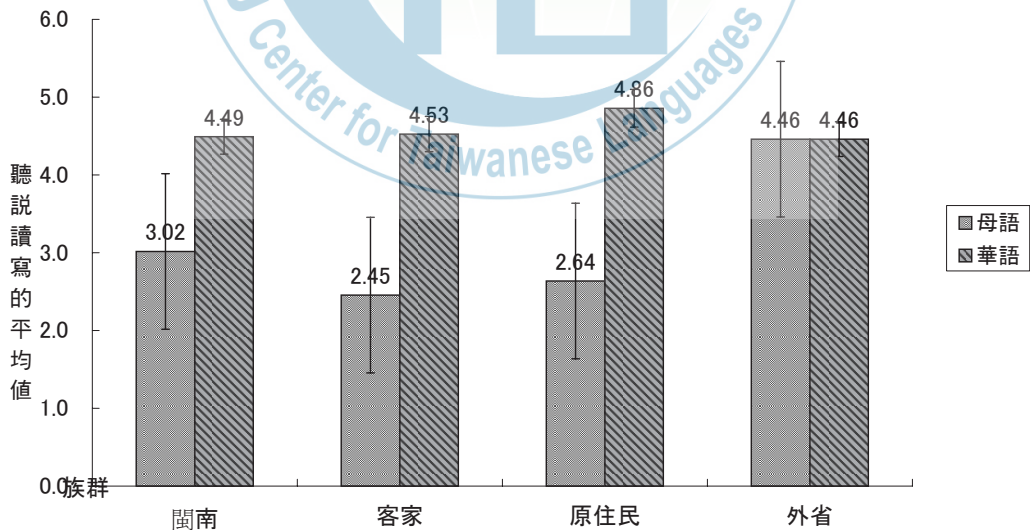
圖表12. 各族群ê族群意識與母語意識ê交叉分析表

	台語	華語	客語	原住民語	其他
閩南族群					
您的母語	72.3%	27.2%	0%	0%	0%
最先學會的語言	39.2%	60%	0.2%	0%	0.4%
最熟悉的語言	15.3%	84.0%	0.2%	0%	0.2%
客家族群					
您的母語	7.9%	20.6%	69.8%	1.6%	0%
最先學會的語言	4.5%	77.6%	16.4%	0%	1.5%
最熟悉的語言	3.0%	91%	4.5%	0%	1.5%
原住民族群					
您的母語	0%	16.7%	0%	83.3%	0%
最先學會的語言	0%	57.1%	14.3%	28.6%	0%
最熟悉的語言	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
外省族群					
您的母語	9.8%	90.2%	0%	0%	0%
最先學會的語言	4.7%	95.3%	0%	0%	0%
最熟悉的語言	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%

4.4. 語言能力

針對語言能力ê調查方法，過去ê文獻Tsao (1997)、Yeh等 (2004) 攞是真籠統分做5級，最高分5分是真kùt-liu、其次ē-tàng kap人溝通4分、勉強ē-tàng溝通但有困難3分、聽bat但是bē曉講2分、完全m̄-bat 1分。Kap過去無全ê是，研究kan-nā針對聽hām講來判定語言能力，本研究koh將各個語言ê聽、講、讀、寫ê能力分開調查，按呢ē-sái jú精準掠出語言能力。Mā是分做5級，siōng kōan ê非常kùt-liu是5分、kùt-liu 4分、普通3分、無siáⁿ會曉2分、完全bē曉1分。本次調查大學生ê母語能力kap華語能力ê結果像圖表13。圖表13顯示大學生ê母語能力低落，客家kap原住民攞無啥會曉，閩南族群較好小可koh勉強ē-tàng溝通。比較本研究kap過去研究ê調查結果親像圖表14。雖然hām過去ê文獻調查方法無sáⁿ全，過去文獻khah傾向聽講等沟通能力，本研究針對每一ê語言ê聽講讀寫能力作調查，而且對象mā無一致。但是對照過去調查ê華語能力ê結果tiòh知影，出入無真大。圖表14 ê本研究ê數值是將每一ê語言ê聽、講、讀、寫能力所有總合起來ê平均數，比較過去5冬前kap 10冬前ê研究ē-sái看出，各族群母語能力明顯退後。

圖表13. 大學生各族群ê母語能力kap華語能力

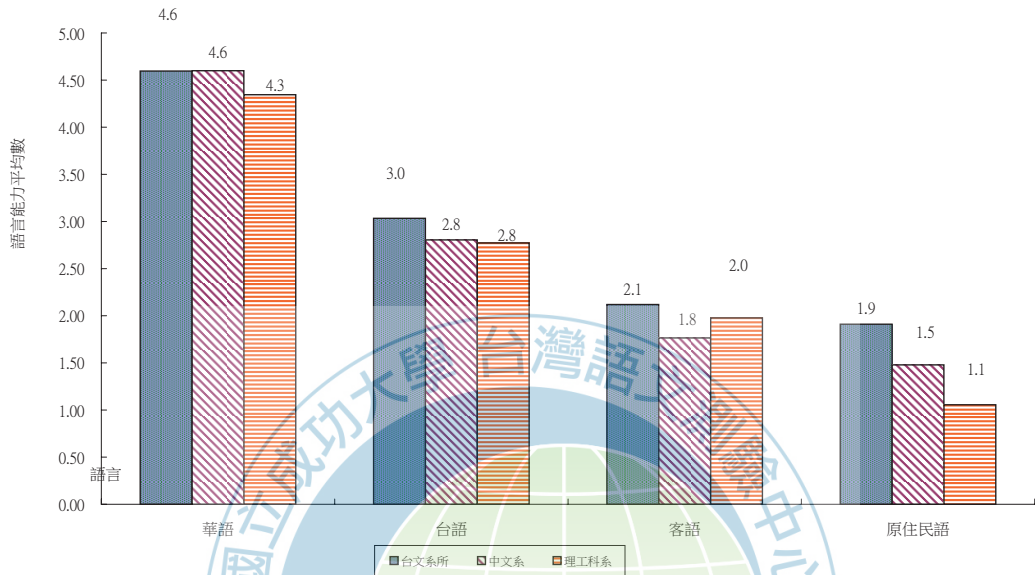


圖表14. 比較過去文獻ê華語能力hām母語能力

族群	語言	Tsao	Yeh 等	本研究(2008)		
		(1997)	(2004)	聽說讀寫	聽說	讀寫
閩南	華語	4.63	4.42	4.49	4.58	4.40
	閩南語	4.66	4.61	3.02	3.69	2.33
客家	華語	4.86	4.70	4.53	4.60	4.44
	客語	4.52	4.18	2.45	3.06	1.78
原住民	華語	4.42	4.74	4.46	4.85	4.85
	原住民語	4.55	3.65	2.64	2.90	2.41

Koh ùi無仝ê角度切入來看，圖表15是ùì科系來看語言能力。華語ê部分 ē-sái hō· lán做對照組。用ANOVA檢定以各科系做因子檢定結果，華語能力 $p=0.00<0.05$ ，台語能力 $p=0.0<0.05$ ，有明顯差別；客語kap原住民語能力tī科系間差異是無明顯差別。表示華語能力kap台語能力內底有一ê科系ê能力kap別系ê明顯無仝，但是客語kap原住民語能力佇無仝科系mā攏仝款。ùì圖表15來看，佇華語能力上台文系hām中文系仝款，理工科系khah kē。佇台語能力上，台文系比理工科系kōan，但是hām中文系bô明顯差別 ($p = 0.05$)。Koh將聽講、讀寫拆分開作2組來看四種語言。將聽講、讀寫拆開來看tō知影台文系ê訓練是m是有效果。結果佇台語ê聽講、台語ê讀寫kap客語ê讀寫téng，台文系的確有比中文系kap理工科系khah kōan小可。所以，台文系ê訓練m是有幫贊ê。M-koh，愛提醒ê是以上攏是語言意識ê調查。

圖表15. 科系kap語言能力



5. 結論

本文利用社會語言學調查ê方法觀察台灣大學生ê族群母語ê語言意識kap語言能力，koh比較台文系所kap其他科系ê異同，將結果條列式表示佇下面。

- (1) 大學生對台語ê感覺半數是普通，認為台語優美或是真優美ê合起來大約4成，認為台語無美感或是sông ê大約1成。科系kap性別bē影響對台語ê觀感，但是北部ê學生對台語ê觀感比東部ê較好。
- (2) 中文系kap理工系學生認為台語能力只要會當溝通就好ê占7成，認為愛會曉讀寫ê真少，中文系無到2成，理工系1成。台文系認為愛會曉讀寫台語ê有超過4成。另一方面，非台文系認為台文系應該愛會曉讀寫台語占多數（中文系74%；理工系63%），但是台文系本身只有大約半數是按呢認為。
- (3) Kap過去研究比較，母語語言能力更加倒退。母語kan-nā chhun表徵

性功能標示族群意識，但是運用能力多數擺去予華語取代。傳承上，閩南族群koh有4成ê人會當先學得母語，客家只有4.5% ê人會當先學得母語，原住民族會當先學得母語ê是0%。

(4) 台文系ê台語ê聽講、讀寫能力kap客語ê讀寫能力比中文系kap理工系khah kôan小可。

Giles et al. (1977: 309) 提出影響語言共同體 (language community) 語言活力 (Language Vitality) ê要素有三類：(1)地位上 (status factors)、(2)人口學上 (demographic factors) 以及(3)制度上ê支援 (institutional support and control factors)。Koh, 聯合國教科文組織 (UNESCO) 專家會議2003年3月12日通過「語言活力kap瀕絕度 (Language Vitality and Endangerment)」ê判斷標準。認為語言ê存亡，最終是取決於社群ê成員，m̄是局外人ē-tàng左右。只有社群成員才ē-tàng決定欲復興、維持、kap強化自己ê語言ah m̄。也就是講優勢團體比如政府教育機關或是團體對家己語言ê態度，會影響這ê語言佇這ê族群社區中ê存kap亡。Ùi頂面ê調查結果印證得chia-ê理論。就算是有制度上ê支援成立台文相關科系，但是若是無復興、維持、kap強化家己ê族群語言ê意識，恐怕今後佇發展國家語言活力ê目標上會抵著困境。

讀者回應

任何批評指教，歡迎email: lekun1226@gmail.com，陳麗君收。

參考冊目

Chan, Mui-chen. 1994. *Language Shift in Taiwan: Social and Political Determinants*. Ph.D. Dissertation: Georgetown University.

Eastman, Carol M. and Reese, T.C. 1981. Association language : How language and ethnic identity are related. *General Linguistic* 21, pp. 109-16.

Edwards, John. 1977. Ethnic identity and bilingual education. In Howard Giles (Ed.). *Language, Ethnicity, and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.

- Fishman, Joshua. 1964. Language maintenance and language shift as fields of inquiry. *Linguistics* 9, pp. 32-70.
- Giles, H.; R. Bourhis, and D. Taylor. 1977. Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations. In Giles, H. ed. *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, pp.307-348. London; New York: Academic Press.
- Lawrence, Greerfield. 1972. Situational measures of normative language view in relation to person, place, and topic among Puerto Rican bilinguals. In Fishman (Ed.) *Advances in the Sociology of Language* 2, pp.17-35. The Hague: Mouton.
- Hagege, Claude. 2000. 'Halte à la mort des langues' Odile jacob. (糟谷啓介 2004 『滅絶していく言語を救うために一言葉の死とその再生』。東京：白水社)
- Kubler, Cornelius. C. 1988. Code-switching between Taiwanese and Mandarin in Taiwan. Cheng & Huang, (Eds.), *The Structure of Taiwanese: A Modern Synthesis*. Taipei: Crane.
- Lu, Li-jung. 1988. *A Survey of Language Attitudes, Language Use and Ethnic Identity in Taiwan*. Master Thesis: Fu Jen Catholic University.
- Huang, Shuanfan. 1988. A sociolinguistic profile of Taipei. *The Structure of Taiwanese: A Modern Synthesis*, pp. 301-335.
- Tsao, Feng-fu. 1997. *Ethnic Language Policies: A Comparison Across the Taiwan Strait*. Taipei: Crane.
- Yeh, His-nan & Chan Hui-chen & Cheng, Yuh-show. 2004. Language use in Taiwan: language proficiency and domain analysis. *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Humanities & Social Sciences* 49(1), pp. 75-108.
- 陳麗君1999「台湾の二言語話者におけるコードスイッチングの要因」, 現代社会文化研究, 16, 21-5.
- 陳麗君2005「台湾における「国語」と「方言」の併用とその機能的共存—台湾中国語と台湾閩南語のバイリンガルの一例—」社会言語科学 8(1), pp. 151-165.

李勤岸2006〈台灣文學系所只是新瓶舊裝？〉收錄ti蔡金安編《台灣文學正名》，頁29-31。台南：開朗雜誌。

黃宣範1993《語言、社会與族群意識》。台北：文鶴出版社。

蔣為文2006〈收編或被收編？〉收錄ti蔡金安編《台灣文學正名》，頁40-64。台南：開朗雜誌。



“Inn-tiunn” and “Bin-tiau”: No distinction between Im and Iong in the Falling Tone of the Tsuan-tsiu Accent

Ping-hua SI

Department of Chinese Literature, National Cheng Kung University

Abstract

This paper focuses on the tone issue of Taiwanese, mainly the phenomenon that “tone 7 spoken as tone 3” and “the sandhi of tone 7 spoken as tone 2” in the Hai-khau accent of the Tsuan-tsiu accent are both correct, and the latter is probably influenced by Mandarin. The paper is divided into 5 sections:

a). Some say that “tone 7 is spoken as tone 3” and “the sandhi of tone 7 is spoken as tone 2” are wrong, but the people from Lok-kang do speak this way.

b). Some of the sandhi of tone 7 is spoken as tone 2, and some words in tone 7 is spoken as tone 3 (but there is tone 6 in the Hai-khau accent). The reason is that there is tone 6 in the Lok-kang accent, but there is no tone 6 in the Tsiang-tsiu accent. If the basic tone is tone 6, the sandhi will be tone 6, but if the basic tone is tone 7, the sandhi will be tone 6. But there are some exceptions.

c). Changes in the language: Mandarin is spoken dominantly in Taiwan. Therefore, some young people are influenced by Mandarin. The sandhi of tone 7 is spoken as tone 2: “inn7-tiunn2” is spoken as “inn2-tiunn2.”

d). To prove the theory of “no distinction between im(yin) and iong(yang) in the falling tone of the Tsuan-tsiu accent” with examples from four kua-a (traditional songs) booklets.

e). The tone systems of the Tsuan-tsiu accent and Tsiang-tsiu accent are different; therefore, the teaching of the two systems should be separated, to avoid confusion and misrepresentation.

Keywords: Tsuan-tsiu accent, Tsiang-tsiu accent, basic tone, tone sandhi, falling tone

院長佻民調——試析泉腔去聲不分陰陽

施炳華

國立成功大學中文系退休教授

摘要

本文是就 (tsiū) 現代生活中一般人講台語所發生的 (ê) 聲調問題提出來討論。主要討論台語「第7聲讀做第3聲」、「第7聲連讀變做第2聲」是泉州腔「海口腔」的講法，並毋 (m̄) 是講毋著，後一項才有可能受濟少受「國語」的影響。全文分做五項來論述：

一、有人講台語「第7聲讀做第3聲」、「第7聲連讀變做第2聲」是毋著的，後者是受「國語」的影響；毋拘，我鹿港人就 (tiòh) 是安爾講。

二、分析台語的聲調，目前大多數人講的佻台語教學，是以倚 (uá) 漳州腔的聲調為主；毋拘，嘛有幾個泉州海口腔（本文以鹿港腔做例）保存「去聲不分陰陽」，所以陽去（第7聲）本調佻變調就參倚漳腔無全 (kāng)。繼落分析鹿港腔的第7聲有的連讀變做第2聲，有的連讀變做第3聲（海口腔是第6聲），原因是鹿港腔有第6聲（漳腔無第6聲），若是本來是第6聲的，變調了野是低 (kē) 調（第6聲）；若是本來是第7聲的，變調就變做第2聲；嘛有一寡例外，野是低調。

三、語言的改變：國語是強勢語言，台語是弱勢語言。海口腔老一輩的野濟少保留古泉腔「去聲不分陰陽」，所以陽去本調讀做「民調 (tiàu)」，變調讀做「院 (iⁿ) 長」，不是受國語的影響；中青年輩因為讀國語慣勢矣，就共 (kā) 國語的聲調帶入台語，講做「院 (iⁿ) 長」，「院」讀國語的第4聲（去聲，41），參台語的第2聲 (51/53) 差不多。

四、用文獻（四本歌仔冊）來證明有「泉腔去聲不分陰陽」的例。

五、台語聲調教學的系統性，漳、泉的聲調系統本來就無啥共 (kāng) 款，若卜用一個標準（比如倚漳腔）來解說無全的地方腔（親像比漳腔較複雜的泉州腔），就真食力閣顛倒花 (hue)。上好是分開來看，「漳是安爾 (no⁰)」，「泉是安爾」，才袂 (buē) 愈啟 (tháu) 愈亂。

結論除了提示本文的要點以外，閣以台語演講比賽來做例凸現泉腔的複雜，向 (ng) 望評審者對台語各地的腔調有深入的了解，才較有公平、公正的評審。

關鍵詞：漳腔、泉腔、本調、連讀變調、去聲不分陰陽

1. 踏話頭——問題的提出

這毋是政治議題，這是語言的心適代。

「我是嘉義師範（huán）學校畢業的。」「咱來去翕像（hip-sióng）館翕像（siòng）。」「我昨昏倚佇女生宿舍頭前凍露（lóo）水。」這是我鹿港人說的話。面頂的標調是已經變調的調值（實際發音的懸低（kuân-kē））。對台語小可（khuá）有研究的人看著我安爾寫，減彩有人會講：「伊寫毋著矣（m̄-tiòh à），範、像、露的本調是第7聲，連讀變調愛變做第3聲，伊煞變做第2聲；翕像的『像』是第7聲，囡佇最後音節無變調，猶是第7聲，伊哪會標寫第3聲？」毋拘，我佇故鄉從（tsng）細漢就安爾說，敢講我會說毋著？

捌有人問我：「你咧教台語，台語有一个標準無？」我講：「有啊。」伊閣問：「有人講代（tái）表，有人講代（tài）表，佗一个較著？」我回答：「攏著。」伊講：「若安爾，台語就無一个標準啊。」我講：「袂使得安爾講，彼（he）是地方腔的無全：『代（tài）表』是倚漳腔，『代（tái）表』是倚泉腔。」

《海翁台語文教學季刊》11期有李南衡發表的〈第7聲，發音變作第2聲〉，裡面講：

Tse kah 中國國民黨政府佇台灣強制實施in所講ê「國語」、禁止台灣各族學生講母語mā是有真大ê關係。……khah-tsiáp聽tiòh聲調錯誤ê是第7聲發音作第2聲。……像講競選ê「競」（kīng）第7聲，變調、發音作第3聲才tiòh，哪會發音作第2聲（kíng）咧？原來會發音m̄-tiòh tsiah ê字，華語大部份是第2聲（上聲）（施案：應作「第4聲（去聲）」）——「院」（ㄩㄢˇ、）長、「競」（ㄑㄩㄥˋ、）選、「代」（ㄉㄞˋ、）表，致使台語發音ê時，無管tiòh變調á是免變調，攏足慣勢發音作（施案：應加「台語ê」）第2聲（陰上）。（下面閣列表舉出 24 ê 例）

中、青年減彩會受「國語」的影響，抑（ah）若六、七十歲以上的老

人猶 (iu) 原有變調讀做第2聲的，可能不是受「國語」的影響，是有閣較基本的原因。

最近民進黨的總統初選全民民調，電視有報導，有的發做「民tiàu」，照一般的理解，「調」是第7聲（《廣韻》：「調：徒弔切。」台語切音 tiāu。）），煞發做第3聲，facebook面頂嘛引起討論。十年前，我去倚漳州腔的高雄演講，講起泉州腔的聲調，嘛講著「第7聲講做第3聲，第7聲連讀變調變做第2聲」的問題，有一位年紀袂少的聽眾隨應講：「按爾是毋著的。」

2. 台語的聲調

面頂的問題，佇台語界，幾十年來定定有人提出來講，大部份人的認知是「聲調毋著，變調毋著」；因為個攏是以家己的發音（聲調系統是倚漳腔）做標準，若是參即 (tsit) 个標準無仝 (kāng) 的，就是發音毋著。事實是：台語是「漳、泉濫」（漳州腔參泉州腔濫做伙），漳州腔較單純，泉州腔較複雜。因為漳州腔較單純，所以目前的台語教學是以倚漳州腔的聲調系統為主¹，批評別人講毋著的，足濟是干礁 (ta) 知影有家己的倚漳腔，明明知影猶有泉州腔，卻是無啥清楚，就「共伊」(ka) 當 (tòng) 做無存在共 (kāng) 款。若照個的看法，泉州腔上有代表性的鹿港人就攏講毋著去矣！

2.1. 台語的南腔北調

到底倚漳腔參泉州腔、鹿港腔有啥乜無仝？現在台灣所教的台語聲調，是較倚近漳州音。董忠司（1991：41）所調查的台南腔記做：

¹ 實際上是廈門腔的系統，以羅常培·周辨明著《廈門音系及其音韻聲調之構造與性質》為主，台北：古亭書屋，1975年。頁22廈門音系的聲調是：

陰平	陰上	陰去	陰入	陽平	陽上	陽去	陽入
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
55	51	11	32	24		33	4

調類	陰平	陰上	陰去	陰入	陽平	陽上	陽去	陽入
調序	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
本調	44	53	21	32	24		33	44
變調	33	55	53	44	11		11	11
舊讀	君	滾	棍	骨	裙		郡	滑
例字	開	九	四	叔	人		五	六
例詞	開花	九十	四十	叔伯	人客		五十	六十

陰入調的變調有二種：入聲韻尾-p, -t, -k的字攏變調做[44:]；韻尾-h的字變調做[53:]。陽入調的變調是[11:]，變調後，有喉塞韻尾的比其他字調小可長。無論陰入抑是陽入調，變調以後，喉塞韻尾-h就可能消失。

台北縣市的住民，是泉腔移民佔多數，董忠司（1991：36）根據董同龢1952年的調查，所列的聲調表煞恰面頂台南腔共款。實際上，台北縣市的閩南移民泉腔有三邑腔（惠安、晉江、南安）、南安、安溪。佇閩南，周長楫（2006：113）的調查，即三腔的聲調系統有淡薄仔無全，但是有一个共通點，除了同安腔以外，攏是去聲本調不分陰陽。閩南人移民台灣，經過幾落百年的「漳泉濫」，聲調系統有慢慢仔一致的趨勢，但是嘛無可能參台南腔共款。所以董忠司（1991：33）閣補充說：「泉州音有內部分歧，……董同龢的紀錄有無周全的所在，需要增補。」

董忠司（1991：45）所記鹿港腔的聲調：「老人層的聲調猶是保持泉州古腔：去聲本調不分陰陽（參即碼的泉州音共款），陽上本調閣恰陰平混同，其本調只有六調。但是陽去恰陰去的變調無全，陰平恰陽上的變調也無全。」

為著卜予讀者對泉腔的聲調有清楚的認識，我先列出林連通（1993：60）所記泉州音的聲調：（例字是我加的）

調類	陰平	陰上	陰去	陰入	陽平	陽上	陽去	陽入
調序	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
本調	33	55	41	55	24	22	41	24
變調	33	24	55	55	22	22	22	22
例字	詩	死	四	晰	時	氏	寺	蝕

鹿港腔參泉州音的無全是：陰平本調略略仔低，是22，去聲是31。²

「鹿港人講話無相全」，鹿港腔的特色有足濟參目前台灣教學的倚漳腔無全，其中一項是即篇文章卜講的主題——去聲不分陰陽，亦就是第7聲讀參第3聲共（kāng）款，攏是下降調。

2.2. 台語「去聲不分陰陽」的實際情形

我今年65歲，雖然蹓台南得卜（將近）30年，閣咧教人講台灣話，嘛是野保留一寡第7聲讀第3聲的話句，親像：「無一定（tīng）」的「定」、「翕像（siōng）」的「像」。我有一個孫仔（侄兒）號做「健（kiān）一」，阮老母（81歲過身，若野活咧，即碼是100歲）、阮規家人攏嘛叫伊「健（kián）一」，這是第7聲仔頭前的連讀變調。論真講起來，第7聲愛變做第6聲；毋拘，講話的人無學過台語的聲調，嘛毋知台語變調的規則，既然攏讀降調，連讀變調就自然變做懸調（第2聲）³。所以「院」長、「競」爭、「代」表，嘛變做第2聲。

閣來卜討論的是：到底「去聲不分陰陽」的現象，敢干確是鹿港腔才有？台灣其他泉腔的情形是按怎？

佇閩南的泉州音，量約分做山區（德化、安溪、永春）、海區（惠安、晉江、南安、同安）（參見文尾附圖）。閩南人移民台灣，泉州人大部份蹓佇海邊，所以有「海口腔」的講法，相對的，倚漳州腔的就號做「內埔腔」⁴。「泉州腔」的方言點，根據洪惟仁（2008：18-19）〈台灣地區的語言分佈〉二、泉腔方言有6片：1) 台北盆地片、2) 桃竹海口片、3) 白沙屯方言島、4) 台中海口片、5) 彰化海口片、6) 雲嘉海口片。面頂的泉腔方言區——尤其是海口片，除了鹿港以外，到底有幾個所在猶保留「去聲不分陰陽」？「去聲不分陰陽」有列入調查的範圍抑無？筆者無看著洪教授調查的全文，暫時存疑。閣看張屏生《台灣閩南話部份次方言

² 即个論斷是根據筆者家己的體會。「音」指閩南的音，「腔」指閩南人來到台灣濟少有改變的腔調。

³ 鹿港第2聲（陰上）的調值是55，鹿港人出外受著外面的影響，嘛調整做倚漳腔第二聲高降調（51抑是53），我嘛共款。

⁴ 董忠司《福爾摩沙的烙印 台灣閩南語概要》頁142：「海口腔：分佈於台灣西部海岸、河口及其近海平原台灣語；代表方言點—鹿港。內埔腔：分佈於台灣西部內陸平原邱丘陵及近山處、東部宜蘭等地的台灣語；代表方言點—宜蘭。」

的語音和詞彙差》(2002:12)比較漳泉15個方言點，佇聲調方面，干礁鹿港的陽去是31，其他攏是33。安爾講來，敢干礁鹿港的陽去是31？

洪惟仁(2003:163)指出：「現在台灣地區泉州方言八聲調系統干礁分布在西部海岸的鹿港、福興、麥寮、台西、東石等『海口腔』方言的老派。」所講的「海口腔方言的老派」，就有可能保留「去聲不分陰陽」的聲調。

雖然筆者無實地去調查泉腔各地的聲調；毋拘，咱會當按文獻來稽考泉腔「去聲不分陰陽」的存在。證明請參看下面4。

2.3. 閩南語「濁上歸去」的問題

鹿港腔並毋是所有的第7聲連讀攏變做第2聲，親像「市(tshī)場」、「兩(hōo)聲」、「動(tōng)物」、「近(kūn)來」、「倚(khiā)家」(以上幾例的聲調，鹿港腔是第6聲，即碼暫時「從俗」標做第7聲)、「寺(sī)廟」、「示(sī)範」等等，是照一般變調規則變做第6聲(22)。這是啥乜因端？

毋管是中國閩南的泉州音，抑是佇台灣的鹿港腔，攏有第六聲。毋拘，一般講台語的聲調，是無第6聲(22)的。事實是，漢語語言的演變，現代方言大多數是「濁上歸陽去」，就是全濁上聲佻陽去合做一調，亦就是第6聲參第7聲合做一聲調——第7聲。

濁上歸陽去，是指全濁，比如：動(tong⁶)=(tōng)、近(kun⁶)=(kūn)。閩南語中漳州音、廈門話濁上歸陽去，所以無陽上聲⁵；毋拘，泉州音、鹿港腔野是保存陽上。(施炳華1999:37-38)用1800年出版的泉州

⁵ 「全濁歸陽去」是漢語方言演變的共同趨勢。以閩南語來說，是按怎泉州音、鹿港腔有保留陽上，漳州音、廈門腔是「陽上歸陽去」呢？減彩會當按佢的調值無全揣著答案。泉州音、鹿港腔陽去的調值是41、31，陽上是22；二調的懸低(kuân-kē)差一大碼，較袂濫做伙，所以陽上調值袂變。近現代漳州音陽去的調值是22(依據1831年麥都思的《福建方言字典》佻洪惟仁(1993:23)的擬音)抑是11、33(即碼的廈門腔、台南腔)，佻陽上22較倚，假設當時(七至十世紀)也是如此，二調的調值就較會濫做伙。周長楫、歐陽憶耘《廈門方言研究》頁122：「廈門方言的古全濁上聲母上聲與全濁聲母去聲字合流為陽去調，缺陽上調。如果不是唐代後中原漢語某方言把濁上歸去的現象帶入閩南漳州地區(包括廈門在內)，使漳廈的陽上陽去合流而不同於泉州地區，便可能是宋以後漳廈地區由於陽上調與陽去調的調值相近而逐漸合併為一個聲調即陽去調的結果。」

辭典《彙音妙悟》（簡稱「妙悟」）、1993年出版的《泉州市方言志》（簡稱「泉志」），共陽上（第6聲）字排出來，（文讀簡稱「文」），比如：

韻：泉志：被^{pi⁶}（文）（動^{tong⁶}）弟^{ti⁶} te⁶（文）痔^{ti⁶} 氏^{si⁶}
舐^{si⁶}（文）tsi⁶ 市^{si⁶}（文）tshi⁶ 序^{si⁶}（序大農）sir⁶
崎^{ki⁶} kia⁶（陡峭）柿^{khi⁶} 耳^{hi⁶} 預^{i⁶}
妙悟：陸^{lu⁶} 跛^{po⁶} 詖^{pi⁶} 枝^{ki⁶} 妓^{ki⁶} 忌^{si⁶} 暨^{si⁶} 泊^{po⁶} 悸^{ki⁶} 基^{khi⁶} 雉^{ki⁶} 稚^{ki⁶} 毘^{ki⁶} 抵^{ti⁶} 是^{si⁶}

u韻：泉志：婦^{hu⁶} pu⁶ 裕^{lu⁶} 柱^{tsu⁶}（文）thiau⁶ 聚^{tsu⁶} 豎^{su⁶}
舅^{ku⁶} 樞^{ku⁶} 臼^{ku⁶} 有^{u⁶}
妙悟：父^{hu⁶}

ia韻：泉志：社^{sia⁶} 瓦^{ua²}（文）hia⁶ 蟻^{hia⁶} 掖^{ia⁶}（撒也）
妙悟：立（倚）^{khia⁶} 卸^{sia⁶}

ua韻：泉志：倞^{lua⁶}（倞濟=多少）

用即个資料來檢視，會當看出兩個現象：

(1) 若是第6聲佇一个詞的頭前，伊的變調猶是遵守變調的規則「無變調」（22），連讀變調的時猶是第6聲：

「市（tshi⁶）場」、「兩（hoo⁶）聲」、「動（kong⁶）物」、
「近（kun⁶）來」、「倚（khia⁶）家」

(2) 本來是第7聲的，連讀變調變做第2聲，親像：

「院」長、「競」爭、「代」表、凍「露」水
面頂是泉腔正常的變調。當然，嘛是有一寡例親像「寺（sī）廟」、「示（sī）範」等等，是屬第（2）例，煞無變做第2聲。

一生罕得離開鹿港的老人，「地動」說做tue³¹tang²²，伊的語法結構是「主語+調語」，地字不變調。倚漳腔是講te³³tang³³。這是泉腔「去聲不分陰陽」（「地」是第7聲）恰「鹿港腔保存第6聲」（外地「動」是第7聲）的實例。

因為講鹿港腔的中青少年出外讀冊，野是出外趁食，受著語言「漳泉濫」大環境的影響，第6聲參第7聲也慢慢無分，也就是第7聲（下降調）變做中平調³³，第6聲（22）就參外口的第7聲（33）共款。即種改變的過程是我親身經驗、不知不覺的。爰等到我研究台語、泉州音以後，才知影有第6聲（22）、第7聲下降調（31）的差別。

即節的結論是：雖然講話的人無學過台語的聲調，嘛毋知台語變調的規則，但是順著自然的語言表達，本底是第6聲的，連讀變調嘛是第6聲；本底是第7聲的，連讀變調有的變做第2，有的變做第6聲。

3. 語言的改變

語言的改變本來是自然的，漳泉濫也是台語發展的自然生態；國民黨佇台灣3、40年來強制「推行國語，禁止講方言」，是對台灣母語（原住民語、客語、台語）thún踏，毋是干礁台灣母語強卜消失，閣使予台語變質。

3.1. 國語對台語的影響

佇目前的台灣，國語是強勢語言，台語是弱勢語言。強勢的意思是：大部份人咧使用，語音牽制、侵吞其他弱勢語言，致使其他弱勢語言變質抑是漸漸消失。變質就是發音無標準，比如講，國語無濁音聲母g-、b-，台語有濁音聲母g-的音字，少年人往往（íng）發袂出g-的音：

嚴格（giám-keh）講做「iám格」，研究（gián-kiù）講做「ián究」

好額（giáh）人講做「好iáh人」⁶

義務（gī-bū）講做「ī務」，閣較離譜的講做「i務」。

「i務」的例，毋是干礁失去濁音聲母g-，閣共應該是下降調（gì）的音煞綴國語的去聲調講做台語的第2聲。台語落魄到即種程度，已經是清彩講、烏白講攏是台語啦！台語（人）家已愛倚乎在，閣想辦法共正確的音、字傳落去，才袂予人看衰。

本文頭前引用李南衡發表的〈第7聲，發音變作第2聲〉的例，伊講：「第7聲，變調煞發音作第2聲」是受「國語」的影響。經過筆者面頂的論述，結論是：是毋是受「國語」的影響，愛按年齡層做細部的論述，老一輩的本來就較袂受國語的影響，閣有一寡海口腔共第7聲講作第3聲，才閣

⁶ 「好額（giáh）人」是有錢人的意思；額是額度、額數的意思。因為giáh失去聲母g-，記者歸氣寫做「好野人」（用國語音寫台語文），自由電子報的標題：2009.6.5：「好野人張政雄財產申報逾二億」。2010.1.14：「瑞士好野人 超速被罰934萬」。2011.8.17三立電視台8點新聞：用國語發音「好野人」。

變調作第2聲，是古泉腔「去聲不分陰陽」所致，所以陽去本調讀做「民調（tiâu）」，變調讀做「院（i^h）長」，不是受國語的影響。就（tsiū）中青年輩來講，有可能是受「國語」的影響。慣勢講國語，閣無正式接受台語的教育，毋知啥乜是正確的台語的講台語的人，自然會共國語的語音帶入台語中。

就四聲的對應來講，國語的去聲（第4聲）相當於台語的去聲（第3佻第7聲），就調值（實際發音的懸低）來講，國語的去聲（41）相當於台語的上聲（第2聲，51/53）。無正式學過台語的，若遇著第7聲的變調就用國語的音（去聲）來讀。我捌聽過一位三、四十歲的民進黨助理用無啥標準的台語佇la-tsi-oo（收音機）中講有關政治的代誌，「示（si）範」講做「示（sí）範」（示是第7聲，變調以後是第3聲），因為國語的「示」讀做第4聲（去聲），參台語的第2聲差不多。這就是明顯受國語的影響所致。

面頂是講第7聲字佇頭前的變調現象，若講著第7聲佇一个語詞的後壁（最後的音節）讀做降調（第3聲），親像「民調（tiâu）」，會使得用泉腔的老派海口腔（鹿港腔）來解釋；毋拘，漳州腔的聲調明明是第7聲，哪會有人講做第3聲？我閣提一個誠明顯的例來做證：「復健」（健音kiān），我慣勢發做下降調（第3聲），倚漳州腔應當愛發做第7聲才著；毋拘，我問研究台語足濟年的好朋友黃勁連、藍淑貞，嘛是講做（第3聲）；閣問我佇國立台灣文學館開課（2011.6.18-8.20）的台語班的30外个學員（一个按台東來，一个按苗栗來，兩個按彰化來，其他是台南、高雄人），竟然攏發做第3聲；以上的查問，攏是佇倚漳州腔的台南市做的。筆者懷疑這種現象是毋是受泉腔的影響，台語是「漳泉濫」，大部份的人分袂出伊講的是屬泉州腔抑是屬漳州腔，別人按怎講就綴咧講。母語的傳承是歷代祖先幾十代、幾落代一直傳落來的，佇幾十代的祖先可能已經有透濫矣。嘛有人講倚漳州腔（親像嘉義）⁷無可能受泉腔的影響，共「復健」的健講做kiān可能是受國語的影響，就是國語第4聲，台語往往講做第3

⁷ 洪惟仁（1992：84）：「嘉義縣只有東石保存泉州的調型，尤其陰平調讀同陽上、陽去，都是中平調。是陰平讀中平調的最南端。……依籍貫分佈圖，東石屬同安籍。」張屏生、蕭藤村、呂茗芬（2009：6）全面對嘉義縣各地作田野調查，21個地點的聲調陽去調攏是33，東石也無例外。

聲；敢（kám）安爾？這愛收集較濟的例、佻音理替換的道理——國語第4聲，是按怎台語會發做第3聲，筆者野無能力解決這個問題。

3.2. 台語佇生活中的改變

2、30年前的人，除了少數有讀漢學的以外，攏是無經過台語正式教學的，參即碼濟濟無學過台語的人嘛是安爾，阿公、阿媽、父母、厝邊頭尾按怎講，序細就綴（tèr/tè）咧講。毋知台語有幾個聲調，嘛毋知台語變調的規則，攏是綴人講的；當然，佇家庭內的影響上深。閩南人來到台灣的移民史，是共姓的人踹鬥陣互相照顧，所以共庄的人講的往往是共腔口。佇中部、北部是倚泉腔的人較濟，咱有東（tang）時會聽著「第7聲讀做下降調」、「第7聲的連讀變調變做第2聲」的現象，這毋是佻講毋著，佻的腔口本來就是安爾。

以我本身來講，內行人就講我說的已經毋是純的鹿港腔矣！無奈何（bô-tā-uâ），為著生活！我16歲離開鹿港故鄉，19歲到22歲轉來故鄉教冊，以後就南北浮漂（phû-phiô），38歲定居倚漳腔的台南，45歲研究、推行台語。下面講一寡我對語言接觸的經驗：

我的第1聲比面頂的泉州腔野較低（kē），是22。我去做「復健」吊âm-kún，護士問我卜吊幾公斤？鹿港腔是說「tsap²²-sann²²」，我驚伊聽無，規氣綴人講「tsap²²-sann⁴⁴（十三）」。我敲（khà）電話叫gá-sir/sù，對方問我的住址，我講「賢北街（kue²²）」。「啥à？」我閣講一遍，對方猶（iu）原聽無。阮某佇邊à講：「是賢北街（ke⁴⁴）啦。」我閣照阮某講的講一遍，即下對方總算聽有矣。請注意：ke、kue無仝，懸低嘛無仝。為著參人接接（tsih-tsiap），我有東時不得不改變我的腔口。所以，我參人講話，若遇著較生疏的，就甚（sīm）一下，換講對方的腔口。我是「鹿港人」，亦因為我長期研究1566年出版的《荔鏡記》的古泉腔、唱南管，對泉腔腔口誠清楚，我無想卜改變鹿港腔，朋友攏了解，亦聽慣勢矣。

4. 「泉腔去聲不分陰陽」的應用

面頂是就（tsiū）口語來說「泉腔去聲不分陰陽」的現象；閣按閱讀文獻來看，若了解即个道理，一寡漢字聲調的問題就會當順利解決。最近我

攏咧研究歌仔冊，歌仔冊是按1826年到今（taⁿ）閩南、台灣的民間說唱文學，其中有閩南、台灣文化（語言、文學、戲劇、社會、宗教、禮俗、歷史等等）的口語實錄，值得逐家來重視。下面我提四本歌仔冊來證明「泉腔去聲不分陰陽」的應用：

- a. 艋舺人梁松林編寫的《台灣義賊 新歌廖添丁》，新竹興新出版社1955年出版。
- b. 林春榮編《新歌林投姊》，新竹興新出版社1955年出版。
- c. 廈門會文堂書局民國16年發行的《最新十二碗菜》，台灣台南博文書局亦發行《最新十二碗菜》，無寫出版年月日，全文相全，毋拘後者簡體字較濟並且有一寡錯字。
- d. 艋舺人張新興編《最新運河奇案》，台中文林書局1957年。

歌仔冊是用漢字來記錄台語的音——親像即碼用羅馬字記台語的音——其中足濟「借音字」；知音就知義，佇「借音字」即方面，愛注意漢字的音所卜表示的真正的意思。（）裡的字是原文，（）頭前的字是筆者所擬的正字。

4.1. 去聲本調不分陰陽

- a. 梁松林編《台灣義賊 新歌廖添丁》（施炳華2008：124-125）

(1) 古川受氣卜皆扇，添丁腳骨就踏偏，心肝想卜佢（甲）伊健，出手奢着浮浮顛。

廖添丁去菜店鬧場，拄千日本警察古川亦來，兩個就扑（phah）起來。

許成章（1992）：「kiàn高下（kuân-kē），分出高低也。」健音kiān，梁松林讀做下降調。「想卜甲伊kiàn」就是：想卜佢伊拚一个懸低。」

(2) 添丁確實真在胆，賊寨該（皆）敗註坐監。

蔡培火（1969）：「賊寨（tshát-tsē）：賊營」。寨的本音是tsē，依梁氏的實際語音是tsè，證明：梁松林編《新歌李三娘》：

帶在棹跤塊勾寒，破蓆也去扣來麻，那無出日雪袂散，乙望霧寨那玉山。

「乙望霧寨」是標讀書音it-bōng-bû-tsè，正字是「一望無際」，際音tsè。寨是借音字，愛讀做際（tsè），所以即个所在的「寨」音tsè。

- (3) 那對小路着扒嶺，大路真正多人行，遇着熟賽隨知影，謠言亂語就呆聽。

廖添丁躑佇台中清水臭水庄，感覺「勇馬縛在將軍柱」，卜離開庄跤驚人知，毋敢行大路。「熟賽」音sik-sài，一般是說sik-sāi，字作「熟似」。周長楫（2006：614）：「熟事（sik-sāi）：熟識。古漢語已用之。宋·張任國《柳梢青》：『舊店新開。熟事孩兒，家懷老子，畢竟招財。』也寫作『熟似』。」林連通（1993：115）：「熟似（去聲）。」賽音sai，泉腔去聲不分陰陽，所以用「賽」做借音字。

- b. 林春榮編《新歌林投姊》。根據頭前三葩交代編寫本書的來由，編者陳春榮是根據梁松林的曲盤內容、家己閣增加編寫——大約有三分之一是家己編的。根據全書語言的統一性，會當推論編者陳春榮的語言參梁松林的語言是相倚的。閣檢閱《新歌林投姊》的用韻俗語詞，確實有萬華泉州三邑腔的特色。

- (4) 門神戶位棟不肯，

「戶位（üi）」應作「戶尉（üi）」：護門戶的神，恰門神同意。泉腔去聲不分陰陽，位的本音是第7聲，佇遮讀做第3聲。

- (5) 阿司嘴應頭那朕，目色我比人恰金。

朕本音tīm，佇遮音tìm，是「點頭」的意思。

- c. 廈門會文堂書局《最新十二碗菜》

- (6) 阮今趕謹請伊坐，謹謹雙手請食茶，即共眾人叫失礼，念阮脚手無最个。

脚手無最阮都哉，二碗出來加里雞（圭），無物請兄恰失陪（倍），阿君卜食食伊最，這碗食了結夫妻。

最个；誠濟个。無最；無佻濟。食伊最：食較濟咧。最音tsuè，是古泉腔借音字，本調是tsuē，「多」的意思，佇遮讀做tsuè，所以用「最」字標音。

(7) 阿娘个人真賢廢，省人僥心着連回。

賢廢：《安童買菜新歌》下本1933年瑞成書局作「賢會」。賢會音hiân-huē，佇遮用「廢」字標音。廢，本音huè。

(8) 肚占食了野甲嘴，專專閣是無確水，可惜即俊無召虽，卜有食了野恰對。

即俊：今作「即陣」，即个時陣的意思。陣音tsūn。編者用俊（tsùn）標音。召虽是「芫荽」的借字。

4.2. 去聲不分陰陽的陽去變調

a. 梁松林編《台灣義賊 新歌廖添丁》（施炳華2008：125）

(1) 若（那）有這欸（欸）的報應，我也不閣甲伊窮（瓊），遇着閣提乎伊用，代念以前初進行。

廖添丁受著張富的使嗲（sái-so）第一擺去偷提人的物件，就予張富陷害，共伊掉落去橋趺水裡。後來有人報張富走去花蓮淒慘落魄，添丁無卜閣計較。

「代念」應作「帶念」（tài-liām）。陳修（1992）：「帶念（tài-liām）：考慮到。」帶音tài，代音tāi，連讀變調陽去變成懸調（陰上），顯示作者將代（tāi）讀做帶（tài），閣變調做tāi。

b. 張新興編《最新運河奇案》台中文林書局1957年

(2) （眾/正）人即對金快講，共汝參詳是無（妨/皇），汝來賣身共母葬，照理來行有相當。金快也是真有孝，無應干乾用朕頭，按年大家做（會/的）到，趕到媒人英官兜。

朕音tīm，第七聲（陽去）往往當作陰去，再連讀變調為第二聲（陰上），所以連讀變調讀做tīm。

5. 台語聲調教學的系統性

關於台語聲調系統性的看法，潘科元佇facebook提出伊的看法：

我是就系統性、整體發音个觀點來分析个。可比講，一个儂，若準伊「國代、替代、時代、年代、世代……」等等濟濟「代」字出現佇本調个詞，伊明明是唸 tāi第

七聲，但是「代表」煞變做tài-piáu。「代」字明明並無聲調勾破个分別，是按怎會出現本調、變調袂配搭个情形？即種个系統無一致，著是我想欲提出，……

潘科元是一位有心卜共台語語詞、語法澈底整理的學者，台語系統的一致性是值得重視的。毋拘，「漳泉濫」，濫濫做一伙，誠歹（phái）liú-lák。

目前的台語，上大的分類就有倚泉腔佻倚漳腔。我佇台南教台語，教的是倚漳腔的聲調系統，閣會特別提出泉腔來比較，予學生小可知影台語的無全腔調，就會當全台灣行透透、無語言溝通的困擾。學台語，毋是干礁會曉講家己的腔口就好，台灣一塊塊仔，尤其即碼交通便利，按南部坐高鐵毋免兩點鐘就到台北，台北人的腔口，猶有其他的腔口嘛愛知影，嘛較聽有，這是跋（puáh）感情上好的方式。台語毋是干礁有一種標準。

目前的台語並無統一，語言亦袂使得用任何方法強制統一；若硬卜統一（比如用倚漳腔做標準）就傷感情啊。兩個無全的聲調系統，若硬卜用其中的一個來作統一的解說，就真食力閣顛倒花！語言是慢慢仔咧改變，改變的趨勢是適合大部份人的口音，大部份人聽有、好講的口音就會繼續流行，較儂（oh）發音的、一般人聽較無的就會漸漸消失。台北縣汐止一部份人有泉腔的雙母音ə（ere）、ɪ（irn），親像「劊雞（kere）教猴」、「恩（irn）情」，這是比鹿港腔野較特別的。鹿港腔干礁有央元音ə（er）、ɪ（ir），親像「過去（kèr-khìr）。鹿港的少年人出去外口讀冊、趁食、打拚，為著卜予人聽有，年久月深，就無自覺共ə（er）、ɪ（ir）兩音藏——起來，換做對方講的音——er→ue/e，ir→i/u：ə（er）、ɪ（ir）兩音就慢慢仔佇伊的話語中消失矣。

為著卜搶救台語，佇學校、佇社會攏有台語教學。教學是愛有規則的，——上好是干礁一套、一個標準。目前全台灣所教的就是即套倚漳州腔的聲調系統。特殊點（親像鹿港腔）的人出外學台語，所學的是參故鄉的聲韻調無啥共款，對語言若無有深刻的認識，伊會誤叫是伊較早所講的是毋著的。愛有人提醒，才會智覺故鄉的母語是按怎。董忠司教授是我敬重的學長，我會記得有一擺，伊看著我就講：「恁鹿港的是『共款（khuan⁵⁵）』的。」迄陣（hit-tsūn）我才覺悟原來鹿港是講『共款（khuan⁵⁵）』——鹿港的陰上是高平調（55），外地是高降調（51或53）。

有的地區（親像鹿港）保存泉州話去聲不分陰陽，泉腔的第7聲，佇台語的大環境中，有的慢慢受著倚漳腔的影響，講做中平調（咱會使得講：講下降調的是古泉音，講中平調的是今泉音。）；毋拘，有少數的音是保存較早講的下降調，親像「民tiàu」「翕像（siòng）」。

泉州腔本來就足複雜的，洪惟仁（1995：1）共台灣西部的「海口腔」（倚泉腔）分做「倚泉州腔」（接近泉州鯉城方言）、「倚三邑腔」（接近晉江方言，比如面頂介紹的梁松林編的歌仔冊）、「倚同安腔」（接近同安方言）、另外倚內陸平原抑是山區有「內陸泉州腔」（接近安溪方言，比如面頂介紹的汐止）。就聲調來講，除了同安腔陽去（第7聲）是中平調（33抑是22）以外，其他攏是「去聲不分陰陽」。

因為我講話參別人較無全，所以會注意「提一个標準來判定著、毋著」的現象。咱若對語言有較深的了解，就會用較闊的心胸來看待參家己無全的語音現象，並且尊重、欣賞對方的語言。

6. 收尾話

語言的變化，是綴著社會種種因素咧改變；有的改變較慢，有的改變較緊；台語語音嘛是安爾。台語先有「漳泉濫」的問題，閣受著國民黨「推行國語，禁止講方言」的「風颱湧（hong-thai-íng，連繼大湧）」⁸，la-tsi-oo（收音機）、電視的強力放送（hòng-sàng），台語慢慢仔咧變質。台語改變、變質的表象有伊深沈的原因，有的是「漳泉濫」的問題，有的是國語的影響。嘛愛考慮年齡層的分別：年紀較大的是「漳泉濫」的成份較濟；年紀較輕的是國語的影響較濟。台語的改變，需要閣較周全的調查。

10外年前，我佇台南指導一个國小的學生參加全國的說唱比賽，最後伊得著第二名，差第一名一點點仔——小數點以下。其中一位嘉義（倚漳州腔）來的評審講：「因為伊有一字講毋著，所以我共伊扣分：『人民』的『人』愛發jìn才著，抑（ah）伊發做lín。」大人，冤枉啊！台南人lâng）有人「人」是發做lín的；我鹿港人嘛是安爾（鹿港人無j-的聲母）。台灣

⁸ 引自杜建坊〈「海漲（海嘯）」稽考〉，原刊2005.02《新觀念》雜誌203號，頁55。2011.04.06 修定稿。

每一年攏舉辦全國性的母語比賽，佇台語即方面，按各縣市產生的第一名（有南部人，有彰化鹿港人，有彰化永靖人，有台中清水人，有台北汐止人……）「濟濟多士」，拈倚做伙，逐个攏有希望得著第一名，若是評審者對台語毋是有較深的了解，恐驚會造成一寡冤屈哩！

本文提出個人二十年來推行台語、對台語聲調的看法，嘛留一寡個人無法度解決的問題予讀者作較深入、進一步的思考。

後記：

漳、泉腔的無仝，影響著台文的書寫。我鹿港人因為有誠濟音參別人無仝，所以用漢字書寫有方便的所在，比如：共一字「卜」，我說berh，你唸做beh抑是bueh攏會使得。若用羅馬字，標鹿港音，驚有人看無；標外地音（倚漳腔），就是礙虐礙虐（gāi-giòh），袂爽快。當然，若揣無適當的漢字，我就用羅馬字。佇本文中，我用一寡鹿港腔書寫，/前是鹿港腔，/後是一般腔：

說（serh）/講（kóng） 安爾（an-ni⁰）/按爾（àn-ni⁰）
參（tsham）/含：和 毋拘（ku）/毋過（koh）
野（iá）/猶（iá,iáu）：還、更
難詞註解：甚（sīm）：心裡先想--一下；慎重思考。

讀者回應

任何批評指教，歡迎email: beings10@yahoo.com.tw，施炳華收。

參考冊目

杜建坊〈「海漲（海嘯）」稽考〉，原刊2005.02《新觀念》雜誌203號，頁55。2011.04.06修定搞。

李南衡2011〈第7聲，發音變作第2聲〉，《海翁台語文教學季刊》11期：78。

林連通主編1993《泉州市方言志》，福建：社會科學文獻出版社。以泉州鯉城區的老派為主。

- 林春榮編1955《新歌林投姊》。新竹：興新出版社。
- 周長楫主編2006《閩南方言大辭典》。福建：人民出版社。
- 周長楫、歐陽憶耘1998《廈門方言研究》。福建：人民出版社。
- 洪惟仁著1992《台灣方言之旅》。台北：前衛出版社。
- 洪惟仁編1993〈第三章 三種漳州十吾音的音讀〉，《閩南語經典辭書彙編》2 漳州方言韻書三種，武陵出版有限公司。
- 洪惟仁1995〈台灣彰化王功方言——一個多重變調的閩南語方言〉，《台灣彰化王功方言——一個多種變調的閩南語方言》，Seattle：David Prager Branner編"Yuen Ren Treasury of TShinese Dialectst Data"（元任學會漢語方言資料寶庫）。
- 洪惟仁2003《音變的動機與方向：漳泉競爭與台灣普通腔的形成》。博士論文：國立清華大學。
- 洪惟仁2008〈台灣地區的語言分佈〉，《敲開語言的窗口：華語的使用現象（情況與調查）》，馬來亞大學，馬來西亞語言暨應用語言學系學術論文系列（二）聯營出版（馬）有限公司出版。
- 洪惟仁2009〈台北地區閩南語的方言類型與方言分區〉，《台灣語文研究》第3期。
- 施炳華1999〈用閩南語切反切、解讀古書〉，《成大中文學報》第7期。
- 施炳華2008《台灣歌仔冊欣賞》（《寶島新台灣歌》、《茶園挽茶相褒歌》、《台灣義賊 新歌廖添丁》）。台南：開朗雜誌事業有限公司，附TSD三片。
- 許成章1992《台灣漢語辭典》。台北：自立晚報社。
- 陳修1992《台灣話大詞典》。台北：遠流出版公司。
- 張新興編1957《最新運河奇案》。台中：文林書局。
- 張屏生2002《台灣閩南話部份次方言的語音和詞彙差》，自印，初稿是日本東京外國語大學主辦「台灣語言與語文競賽論文」（1998,5,16~17），2002修改。
- 張屏生、蕭藤村、呂茗芬2009《嘉義縣方言志》（上冊），中山大學出版社。
- 梁松林編1955《台灣義賊 新歌廖添丁》。新竹：興新出版社。
- 梁松林編1955《新歌李三娘》。新竹：興新出版社。

廈門會文堂書局1927《最新十二碗菜》。

黃謙1993 [1800]，《增補彙音妙悟》，收錄於洪惟仁編著，《閩南語經典辭書彙編》，第一冊。台北：武陵。（道光辛卯年董園藏版）

清·楊守敬1986《歷代輿地沿革圖》，聯經出版事業公司。

蔡培火1969《國語閩南語對照常用辭典》。台北：正中書局。

潘科元2011.4.21，facebook。

董忠司1991〈台北市、台南市、鹿港、宜蘭方言音系的整理和比較〉，《新竹師院學報》第5期。

董忠司2001《福爾摩沙的烙印—台灣閩南語概要》，行政院文化建設委員會。



附圖：泉州腔山區恰海口的方言點

宋代地理圖（錄自《歷代輿地沿革圖》，聯經出版事業公司，1986）



測量辭彙正式度： 醫療專業辭彙共常民用語

蔡美慧

國立成功大學外文系

摘要

語體正式度俗語體風格的變異，長久以來是社會語言學家關心的重點。咱teh表達概念的時陣，語言使用者定會因為根據互動過程的各種情境，選用無全款的辭彙。佇這款背景之下，咱是毋是會當有一套會當獨立檢測情境正式度抑是辭彙正式度的量化架構，來解釋情境俗辭彙選用的互動關係？佇專業情境的語言溝通，譬如醫生俗病人的溝通，這的議題牽涉著醫師使用醫學專業辭彙抑是常民疾病用語時，對醫病溝通產生啥物款的影響？這篇論文的目的就是欲探討而且提出測量辭彙語體正式度的量化架構。筆者以台灣南部某教學醫院主治醫師使用台語為候診民眾介紹「骨質疏鬆」的二場衛教演講做語料。根據「情境脫離度」(‘context-independence’ Bernstein 1962; Hall 1976) 俗「辭彙密度」(‘lexical density’ Halliday 1989; McCarthy 1998) 的概念，筆者提出以下測量辭彙語體正式度的四原則。(1) 醫學辭彙是上高值俗基準值 (Terminology serves as the absolute formal and ground base)；(2) 詮釋辭彙的語意時陣，情境依存度低的，情境脫離度高的，語意精準，語體正式度嘛高的 (Precise meaning is highly context-independent and formal)；(3) 結構精簡的，辭彙密度高的，正式度嘛高的 (Concise structure is lexically dense and formal)；(4) 語意精準度較贏過結構精簡度的考量 (Precision weighs more than concision)。

關鍵詞：辭彙正式度、語意精準、情境脫離度、辭彙結構精簡、辭彙密度、台語、骨質疏鬆

收件日期2011.05.02/修訂日期2011.07.29/接受日期2011.08.03

Quantifying Lexical Formality: Between Medical Terminology and Lay Expression

Mei-hui TSAI

Department of Foreign Languages and Literature
National Cheng Kung University

Abstract

Linguistic formality and stylistic variation have long been an issue of concern to sociolinguists—how the intrinsic formality associated with a set of linguistic expressions can be quantified to be an independent variable to account for speakers' language choices in different social contexts. An issue related to linguistic formality in professional areas is how lexical choices between medical terms and lay expressions affect doctor-patient communication. However, the effects of lexical formality on social interaction can not be objectively explored if the intrinsic formality of lexical items is not clearly defined first. Based on two health education speeches on osteoporosis collected in a teaching hospital in southern Taiwan, this research proposes a framework for measuring the intrinsic linguistic formality conveyed by doctors' choices of Taiwanese lexical phrases in describing the disease 'osteoporosis' (i.e., '*kut-tsit soo-sang*' in Taiwanese). Following the ideas of 'context-independence' (Bernstein 1962; Hall 1976) and 'lexical density' (Halliday 1989; McCarthy 1998), this framework sets up four principles, as follows. (1) Terminology is the absolute formal and baseline standard, e.g., '*kut-tsit soo-sang / bone-quality nonsolid*' as the most formal phrase. (2) Precise and context-independent is formal, e.g., '*kut-thau phann / bone nonsolid*' as more formal than '*kut-thau ham-sau / bone with cracks*'. (3) Concise and dense is formal, e.g., '*kut-tsit / bone quality*' as more formal than '*kut-thau e phin-tsit / bone quality*'. (4) Semantic precision and context-independence weigh more than morphological concision and lexical density.

Keywords: lexical formality; semantic precision, context-independence, lexical structure concision, lexical density; Taiwanese; Osteoporosis.

1. Introduction

When people go to see a doctor they describe their health problems, for example, ‘I couldn’t catch my breath’, ‘I had hard time breathing’, or ‘I felt some pressure around my chest’. When doctors write on the medical chart or explain their diagnosis to the patient, these lay expressions may be transformed into medical terms, such as ‘shortness of breath’, ‘palpitation’, or ‘chest tightness’. These two groups of expressions are equivalents in the sense that they express the same idea but with different lexical choices. Also, the formalities conveyed in each group are different, with the latter (‘shortness of breath’, ‘palpitation’, or ‘chest tightness’) considered more formal.

In sociolinguistic terms, such items are lexical or phrasal variants (‘lexical phrase’ from now on) whose occurrences are related to various social factors, e.g., the speakers’ educational and socio-economic background, power and solidarity relationship among participants, and interactional goals (Poynton 1989). Our daily linguistic activities switch among codes, from formal expressions to informal ones, in describing the same ideas to different people in various contexts. The possibilities for rich linguistic variation have received extended discussion with regard to rhetorical choices, oratorical devices, stylistic variations, or register categories (Joos 1961; Hartmann 1981; Hovy 1987). For example, Joos (1961:11) proposed five English speech styles ranked in order of formality: ‘frozen’, ‘formal’, ‘consultative’, ‘casual’, and ‘intimate’. Lexicographers also have attempted to mark the formality of words, with distinctions such as ‘easy/hard’, ‘low/high’, ‘formal/informal’, ‘standard/sub-standard’, ‘literary/technical’ (cf. Hartmann’s discussion 1981).

In the study of doctor-patient communication, how doctors phrase their medical knowledge with formal or informal expressions is an important issue, because such choices certainly affect patients’ understanding and interpretation of their health problems, achieve different interactional goals, or even lead to miscommunication when too many professional terms are used (West and Frankel

1991; Roter and Hall 1992; Riha 2001; Chapman et al. 2003; Bristowe 2008). The excessive use of medical jargon is further complicated in a multilingual society such as Taiwan, where the training of doctors of Western medicine relies heavily on textbooks written in English and lectures conducted in Mandarin, the official language of Taiwan, although not everyone is fluent in it, particularly the elderly who are monolingual in Taiwanese, the local dialect. As a result of the government's establishing Mandarin as the official languages in 1949, Taiwanese has almost no place in education or the mass media, and thus younger people often have low proficiency in it (Huang 1993). In this context, given that most old people only speak Taiwanese, it is a pressing concern how doctors convey the medical knowledge they have acquired in English and Mandarin in formal or informal Taiwanese expressions to their elderly patients.

This issue, however, cannot be objectively examined without a clear definition of what is meant by 'linguistic formality', i.e., a definition based on the intrinsic or internal components of linguistic items, rather than on the social context where the items are used. In sociolinguistics, one important concern is the issue of how speakers' linguistic choices reflect contextual factors, i.e., the interaction of linguistic formality and contextual formality. Although there is much discussion related to formal/informal speech, the terms of linguistic and contextual formality have rarely been clearly defined (Enkvist 1973:11; Irvine 1979; Hartmann 1981; Heylighen and Dewaele 2002). Consequently, labels, such as 'formal', 'literary', 'colloquial', and 'technical' tagged to lexical items in dictionaries are often a result of lexicographers' personal or arbitrary choices (Hulbert 1955:83, cited in Hartmann 1981:267).

Irvine, who made a thorough review of how the terms 'formality' and 'informality' were used in the fields of anthropology and sociolinguistics, commented that the term 'formality' is so general and vaguely defined that 'it is not very useful as an analytic tool' (1979:786). Labov, who related degree of attention to style shifting, called for a solid approach in quantifying the dimension of style (1972:245). Janicki (1979) and Hartmann (1981:270)

also noted the importance of empirical and rigorous investigation in studying situational and linguistic formality.

To describe social occasions as formal or informal, Irvine (1979) established four criteria, namely ‘increased code structuring’, ‘code consistency’, ‘invoking positional identities’, and ‘emergence of a central situational focus’. By ‘code’ Irvine refers to some ‘extra rules or conventions’ which organize behavior in a social setting (P.776) and linguistic organization or communicative expressions are part of the codes which construct the formality of social contexts. For example, the structuring and consistent choice with regard to certain intonational, syntactical, or lexical items may have distinct social significances. However, this framework remains problematic for sociolinguistic study, in that the measurement of social context involves linguistic factors which are usually the dependent variables whose distribution may be subject to social contexts. In examining the interaction between form and function, e.g., how formal and informal expressions serve to convey medical knowledge and achieve various interactional goals, each dimension must have a definition independent from the other. ‘Palpitation’ is a more formal expression than ‘a hard time in breathing’ because of the internal linguistic structure (i.e., a linguistic factor), rather than because ‘palpitation’ is commonly used by doctors and ‘hard time in breathing’ by patients (i.e., a social factor). Consequently, without a definition of ‘linguistic formality’ and ‘contextual formality’ independent from each other, a circular set of definitions exist.

To fill in these gaps in the literature, this research starts with defining linguistic formality. That is, what are the internal linguistic elements of expressions that make expressions sound more formal or less formal? Based on two health education sessions which introduced a common disease, ‘osteoporosis,’ and were collected in a teaching hospital in southern Taiwan, this paper aims to establish a framework for quantifying the formality of Taiwanese lexical phrases which describe this bone disease (sections 3 and 4).

Since the paper’s focus is on the Taiwanese lexical items, a subcategory of the Chinese language, some relevant morphological background will be

introduced, along with my definition of ‘lexical phrase’. In Chinese word formation, each morpheme, free or bound, is monosyllabic and corresponds to a single written character, e.g., example (1), and a lexical item may be composed of one or more free morphemes. However, due to the inefficiency and ambiguity resulting from the monosyllabic morpheme system, modern Chinese has developed multiple syllabic words to accommodate lexical needs (Chu 1999:25). For example, there are rich bisyllabic structures in Taiwanese, such as items (2) and (3):

(1) kut

bone

‘bone’

(2) kut-thau

bone-head

‘bone’

(3) phin-tsit

quality-quality

‘quality’

The proliferation of bisyllabic expressions in modern Chinese makes it difficult to distinguish words, compounds, and phrases, and which has led to a long debate among Chinese linguists regarding what counts as a ‘word’ (Chao 1968:136-193; Wang 1987:10-44; Li & Thompson 1981; Zhu 1982; Liu et al. 2001; Packard 2001; also cf. Fang’s review in 2009). Some even suggests that compounding, especially in the case of verbs, is the main word formation process in Chinese (Chung 2006). Moreover, factors such as free versus bound morphemes, concrete versus function morphemes, syntactic independence, and separability of constituents add to the complexity of this issue.

Since the focus of this current research is on how an idea is presented in various expressions, the semantic precision of how the expressions convey the same idea (i.e., the function) is more salient than their morphological structure (i.e., the form). Concepts grounded on meaning, such as concrete versus function

morphemes, will also be integrated into my discussion.

To avoid some of the above ambiguities related to Chinese morphology, I define the term ‘lexical phrases’ as follows: A lexical phrase, similar to the sense of a ‘phrasal structure’ in generative grammar, is a syntactical unit and expresses a conceptual meaning or a conceptual unit. Its syntactic structure can be a head only (i.e., a word of one or more than one morpheme, such as ‘osteoporosis’ or ‘bone’ in English), or a head with pre or post modifier (i.e., a compound or phrase of more than one word, such as ‘bone mass reduction’, and ‘bones with abnormal porous condition’). These three English examples all express the same conceptual meaning.

In Taiwanese examples, all the morphemes in examples (1) to (3) are morphemes with concrete meanings, as shown in the glossary line. With the combination of the two morphemes ‘*kut / bone*’ and ‘*thau / head*’, and ‘*phin / quality*’ and ‘*tsit / quality*’ each makes a compound of co-ordinate structures which share similar meanings to their mono-counterparts. Examples (1) and (2) are regarded as two lexical phrases which express the same conceptual meaning. The combination of the two compounds ‘*kut-thau / bone*’ and ‘*phin-tsit / quality*’ makes a new compound composed of four morphemes (example 4).

(4) *kut-thau phin-tsit*

bone-head quality-quality

‘bone quality’

(5) *kut-thau e phin-tsit*

bone-head POSSESSIVE quality-quality

‘bone quality’ or ‘quality of bone’

(6) *kut-tsit*

bone-quality

‘bone quality’

Alternatively, a possessive marker ‘*e*’ can be attached to the first compound, resulting in the noun phrase (5) ‘*kut-thau e phin-tsit / bone-head POSSESSIVE quality-quality / bone’s quality (or bone quality)*’. In some cases,

noun compounds, e.g., (4), or the noun phrase, e.g., (5), can be simplified by utilizing their monosyllabic source, and thus the new compound in (6). The three expressions in examples (4) to (6) are alternatives of lexical phrases which express the same conceptual meaning ‘bone quality’.

In presenting my data, in cases where the morphological structure of lexical phrases is crucial in detecting formality, the Taiwanese phrases will be added with a glossary translation (underlined) in addition to the English translation, and a hyphen between free morphemes is used as an indicator of a joint unit. In this presentation, *‘kut-thau e phin-tsit’ / ‘bone POSSESSIVE quality / bone quality’*, the glossary translation (i.e., the underlined part) indicates the use of a possessive marker, which is omitted in the English translation.

Based on nine Taiwanese lexical phrases used for expressing the disease osteoporosis (section 4), I propose four principles in quantifying lexical formality which are grounded on two linguistic elements: semantic precision and morphological concision (section 5). The following section reviews the general literature on linguistic formality and the key concepts to be adopted as my theoretical background.

2. Literature review and theoretical background

The discussion on linguistic formality is mainly based on three perspectives: social contexts, linguistic structure, and cognitive process. Irvine’s work (1979) is probably the most comprehensive in defining the formality of social context. In the four criteria she established in describing formality (see previous section), participants co-construct the formality of a speech event in various ways, such as by their clothing, spatial organization, public versus personal roles or identities, the intimacy or respect between participants, and the emergence of a central situational focus that dominates participants’ attention, e.g., the chairperson of a meeting. For both Ervin-Tripp (1972:235) and Labov (1972:113), formality equals the degree of politeness, seriousness, or attention that participants display

toward a speech event.

Linguistic elements that construct formality include: prosodic features (e.g., volume, rhythm, or intonation, Labov 1972:95), sentential final particles (e.g., the use of six markers to indicate speech styles in Korean, Martin 1992 and Sohn 1999), honorific markers (e.g., second person pronoun in Mandarin, 'nin' and 'ni', and French 'vous' and 'tu'), context independence, lexical density, and morphological structure (Bernstein 1962; Hall 1976; Halliday 1989). Among these the last three are more universal in detecting the formality of lexical phrases, and will be introduced in detail in sections 2.1 and 2.3. A discussion based on cognitive aspects will be introduced in section 2.3, but not integrated into my framework.

Bernstein (1962), whose original interest was examining the relationships between social class and the reproduction of meaning systems, classified two types of linguistic use patterns: restricted codes and elaborated codes. His classification encapsulates the above three elements and is thus introduced first. In Bernstein's study, working class groups were more oriented to the use of restricted codes (1962:32-33), in which the content of the speech style is more concrete and descriptive, rather than analytical and abstract. The comprehension of a restricted code in interaction relies upon shared background knowledge and understanding among the insiders of a community, because its main goal is to reinforce or symbolize a warm and inclusive social relationship. The middle class groups, in contrast, were more inclined to use elaborated codes which are appropriate for formal discussion or conversation with outsiders. The main purpose of such language is to deliver explicit verbal meanings, and thus the verbal planning requires a higher level of structural organization and lexicon selection (1962:32). Since a restricted code is used to highlight a close relationship, it favors the use of expressions only shared by insiders. In that sense, its meaning is implicit, particularistic, and context-dependent, whereas elaborated codes are explicit, context-independent and universalistic as its goal is to facilitate formal discussion with outsiders from the wider society (1971:14).

Finally, the learning process for a restricted code may be informally and readily achieved, but access to an elaborated code will depend on specialized social positions, which usually coincide with access to ‘the major decision-making area of the social structure’ (1962:32).

2.1. The ambiguous and context-bound nature of natural languages

A shared consensus among scholars is that linguistic codes are context-bound and ambiguous in nature. Thus, the decoding process relies on the context, which includes mutual knowledge among participants, and a shared cognitive environment and cultural values (Alvarez-Caccamo 2000:29). Joos (1961) proposed five speech styles ranked in order of formality: ‘frozen’ (e.g., ‘I do not share this view’), ‘formal’ (e.g., ‘I disagree’), ‘consultative’ (e.g., ‘I don’t accept that’), ‘casual’ (e.g., ‘You can’t be serious!’), and ‘intimate’ (e.g., ‘Get out of here!’). In this set of examples, for the informal form ‘get out of here’ to be interpreted as ‘dissent’, context and shared knowledge are essential. To facilitate my discussion, I classify two kinds of contextual knowledge: (1) knowledge of the global and local social context among the participants, including their power, status, solidarity, and the interactional norms of the speech community, as well as the here-and-now local interactional context, and (2) knowledge of the ‘professional field’ that individuals have been cultivated with, in this case, knowledge of medicine. While knowledge of the social context can be picked up informally, that of the professional field is learned formally (cf. Bernstein 1962:32-34). For example, with years of formal education and training, physicians are equipped with the relevant background knowledge to differentiate osteoporosis from arthritis, but it takes almost no time for an intern on rotation to know that ‘get out of here’ shouted by a supervisor during a grand round actually means ‘disagree’ and ‘new P’ stands for ‘new patient’ in a particular hospital.

The degree of context-independence upon which the decoding process is based is therefore regarded as an important criterion in determining the formality of verbal expression, as illustrated previously in Bernstein’s (1962) distinction

between restricted and elaborated codes and Joos's (1961) five speech styles (from the intimate to the formal). In a similar vein, Hall (1976) also distinguished two types of language use: (1) high-context messages, in which the communication is implicit and information is inferred more from the context than by the verbal expressions, and (2) low-context messages, in which the communication is explicit and overt. In Heylighen and Dewaele's (2002) proposal of 'contextuality' versus 'formality', linguistic expressions whose decoding relies highly on strong background knowledge among interactants are considered as the least formal. In conclusion, context-independent expressions carry linguistic meanings which are overt, explicit, and universal, and are considered as more formal, whereas, meanings conveyed by context-dependent expressions are covert, implicit, particularistic, and less formal.

Accordingly, expressions with phonological or syntactical contraction, implicit or covert meaning, such as deixis (e.g., 'there, yesterday') and anaphor (e.g., 'you, he, she'), are informal forms. Formal expressions arise to minimize ambiguity and maximize the objectivity and universality (Heylighen and Dewaele 2002:295, also cf. Bernstein's elaborated codes as explicit and universal). In this sense, scientific terms are more formal, since they represent a clear definition which is invariant under changes of context. This makes it easier for formally expressed knowledge to be conveyed to as many people as possible in the same professional field. In information theory (Alvarez-Caccamo 2000:28), 'context-independence' is also one of the essential properties that make up a 'code' (the other two being 'non-ambiguity' and 'reversibility'). In line with this view, a medical term such as 'edema' which describes the name of a syndrome is more formal than the expression 'puffy legs', which describes a symptom of various syndromes, one of which is edema. The above discussion will lead to my first two principles in quantifying lexical formality (in section 5): (1) terminology as the absolute formal and baseline standard, and (2) precise and context-independent is formal.

2.2. Lexical density

In comparing the difference between spoken and written languages, Halliday (1989: 62-63) proposed the idea of ‘lexical density/information density’ with regard to the choice of words with which the information is presented. Both Halliday (1989) and McCarthy (1998:39) used a similar way of measuring lexical density: the distribution frequency of lexical items, and the ratio of function words versus content words. Halliday noted that the written language is denser than spoken language, since the former is more intricate, complex, and organized. Although Halliday did not relate dense language with formal language, written language is generally considered as more formal than spoken. Thus, his two measurements of ‘lexical density’ will be utilized in my study to quantify lexical phrases.

Halliday classified lexical items into three groups in terms of their distribution frequency (1989:65): grammatical items (e.g., ‘the, to, do’), high-frequency lexical items (e.g., ‘get, have, take’), and low-frequency lexical items (e.g., ‘investigation, corpus’), and among these, the grammatical item ranks lowest on the lexical density scale, and the low-frequency lexical items the highest. Halliday’s distinction captures an intriguing interaction between semantic precision and distribution frequency – the more unique or precise the meaning of an expression is, the more density it has, and the less frequently such a word is used in daily interaction. In contrast, the meaning of a lexical item can not be anymore precise or unique once it becomes productive or commonly used, such as ‘go’ or ‘get’, which are so commonly used that they are referred to as ‘lexically empty verbs’ (Halliday 1989:95) and are on their way to grammaticalization. The inverse relationship between distribution frequency and semantic precision, in some way, fits to Zipf’s (1949, cited in Searls 2002:216) law which states that the frequency of any word is inversely proportional to its position in the rank ordering in the frequency table.

On the phrasal or sentential levels, the greater the amount of content words

compared to function words used, the higher the density is. Consider these two pairs of sentences (Halliday 1989:93-94):

- (7a) ‘applause followed the announcement’ (number of content vs. function words = 3 vs. 1)
- (7b) ‘after the announcement, people applauded’ (3 vs. 2)
- (8a) The growth of attachment between infant and mother signals the first step in the development of a child's capacity to discriminate amongst people. (12 vs. 11)
- (8b) When an infant and its mother start to grow attached to each other, this is a sign that the child is beginning to discriminate amongst people. (10 vs. 16)

The first sentence in each pair is considered more semantically packed because of the use of more content than function words, and this rule neatly captures the different roles of content and function words in the information delivery process – the former to convey lexical meaning and the later to connect the grammatical relationship between words. It also highlights a crucial element in the information delivery process – the use of words that convey lexical meaning play a superior role than those that connect content words grammatically.

Halliday also noted that nominalization is preferred in written rather than in spoken form, since the former tends to ‘create a world of things’ and the latter ‘a world of happening’ (1985:93). As a result, the written form uses more nouns over verbs and adjectives, for example, ‘applause’ is preferred to ‘applaud’, ‘growth’ to ‘grow’, and ‘attachment’ to ‘attach’ in a written text. Halliday described the use of nominalization as a form of ‘grammatical metaphor’, and concluded that, with the use of a nominalized structure in packing information, the written form achieves the effect of high lexical density (P.95). In their later study, Halliday and Martin (1993:76-77) explicitly tied the relationship among distribution frequency, structure, density, and formality, and stated that most specialized or technical vocabulary used by a professional group, such as medical terms, typically involve a high degree of nominalization and a heavily premodified noun groups, and

thus ranks high both in the scales of lexical density and formality (cf. Halliday & Martin 1993:76-77).

In summary, Halliday's idea of 'lexical density' can be applied at the lexical, phrasal, sentential, and discourse level, and it integrates three components – semantic precision and uniqueness, amount of information, and the intricacy and conciseness with which the information is packed. The above discussion is the base of my third principle: concise and dense is formal (see section 5)

2.3. Cognition

Information which is densely packed naturally requires more cognitive processing to understand it. Halliday noted that information packed in higher lexical density (e.g., the use of grammatical metaphor or nominalization in written form) can cause a comprehension problem for young children, since metaphors are mastered in the last stage of children's language development, with the first two stages being generalization and abstraction (P.95-96). For Heylighen and Dewaele (2002:301), since formal expressions carry a well-defined and context-independent meaning, they can reach a bigger group of speakers or readers. However, to reach this universality, both the information encoders and decoders must share the same professional background knowledge cultivated earlier (cf. 'cognitive environment' in Alvarez-Caccamo, 2000:29, and my previous discussion on two types of background knowledge). In other words, formal expressions require more time, attention, and cognitive processing with regard to learning, production, and comprehension. To illustrate this with examples from my research, medical practitioners learn the meanings of 'Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes' and 'Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome' or 'AIDS' and 'SARS' through rigid professional training, while the lay public can only get a general idea about the two acronyms 'AIDS' and 'SARS' via media exposure or personal experience. Young doctors in Taiwan who are not fluent speakers of Taiwanese may find it difficult to discuss health knowledge using this dialect with their patients. In the above two examples, access to medical

education and the media, and efforts to learn how to conduct a fluent Taiwanese conversation, are the cognitive costs involved in both encoding and decoding highly packed or formal information. Without further cognitive efforts (e.g., undertaking a learning process), it is unlikely that lay people can extend their knowledge about AIDS or SARS to ‘Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome’ and ‘Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome’.

For the purpose of my research, the cognition demands involved in the cultivation, production, and the comprehension of lexical phrases will not be taken into consideration. This is because cognition demands vary with personal experience, and thus should be considered as non-linguistic factors. Patients with chronic illness, such as diabetes, may have a long-established medical lexicon or easier access to medical knowledge. Young doctors with direct access to the Taiwanese community, e.g., those brought up with their grandparents, may have cultivated a repertoire of illness expressions in the dialect. Media use of medical expressions is another social factor that affects speaker’s linguistic cognition. For example, as result of the government’s efforts in promoting knowledge of cervical cancer and hypertension, the Taiwanese translation of the two medical terms, i.e., ‘*tsu-kiong-thau-gam*’ and ‘*ko-hueh-ap*’, have become widely familiar to the public.

To conclude the above review, my framework in quantifying lexical phrases focuses only on the linguistic components, mainly semantic precision and lexical density, with social and cognitive factors excluded. Consequently, the framework aims to examine phrases which are ‘comparable’ in that they express the same conceptual idea (in the context where they are used), and differ only in term of their form. For example, the formality between ‘AIDS’ versus ‘Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome’, and ‘SARS’ versus ‘Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome’ is comparable, but not ‘AIDS’ versus ‘Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome’ or ‘SARS’ versus ‘Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes’, since the latter two pairs do not express the same concepts.

3. Data for analysis

My framework of quantifying lexical formality is based on the following discourse data: two health education sessions on osteoporosis collected in the outpatient center of the family medicine department of a teaching hospital in southern Taiwan. In this outpatient center, once every two weeks, doctors give a speech about some common diseases to patients who are waiting for their consultations. Since most elderly people in southern Taiwan are monolingual in Taiwanese, health education sessions are conducted mainly in this dialect. The two sessions considered in this work, which lasted for just over 30 minutes, were both conducted by the same speaker—a thirty-eight-year-old senior male physician. During the two talks, the speaker used fluent Taiwanese all the way even when he explained medical concepts which were usually expressed in Mandarin by the majority of the medical community. Also, he often received full attention and laughers from the audience. Based on these, the researcher judged the doctor both a fluent speaker of Taiwanese and an eloquent speaker with good rhetorical skills. The two characteristics turned out to be salient for the purpose of this study in the following ways. With his good command of the language, he was familiar with the Taiwanese equivalents of the Mandarin ‘*gu-zhi shu-song* / *bone-quality nonsolid* / *osteoporosis*’, ranging from ‘*kut-tsit soo-sang*’ to other lay expressions. Given his good rhetorical and efficient speech style, he explained the concept of osteoporosis in ‘various ways’, i.e., by utilizing the ‘lexical variants’ that are the focus of this study. In the researcher’s observation, physician speakers who are not fluent in Taiwanese, especially the young residents, would simply code-switch into Mandarin when it comes to the name of a disease and stay with the Mandarin choice most of the time. Their lack of fluency in Taiwanese thus inhibits the use of rich varieties of medical terms. However, with this specific speaker, the researcher is able to get a good collection of five and nine alternative expressions of ‘bone-quality’ and ‘nonsolid’ (Tables 1 and 2), respectively to analyze their internal linguistic components and rank their degree of linguistic formality.

In the data presentation, the romanization of the Taiwanese utterances, marked in italics, follows the Taiwanese Romanization Phonetic Scheme established by the Taiwanese Ministry of Education in 2008. Occasionally, Mandarin data, presented in Pinyin, is used for comparison.

The medical term ‘osteoporosis’ in English, composed of three parts ‘osteo / bones’, ‘pore / a passage or channel’, and ‘-osis / an abnormal or diseased condition’¹, means the following: ‘a condition that affects especially older women and is characterized by decrease in bone mass with decreased density and enlargement of bone spaces producing porosity and fragility.’² As described in two other (medical) dictionaries, it is:

Osteoporosis (osteo- + porosis): A reduction in the quantity and quality of bone by the loss of both bone mineral and protein content. It can be primary, as is seen in postmenopausal women or elderly men, or secondary, as is a consequence of thyrotoxicosis, hypersteroidism, or prolonged immobilization. (Landau et al. 1986:2039)

Osteoporosis is the loss of bone tissue resulting in thinning and weakening of bony structures. The cardinal manifestations are decreased radiographic density, back pain, vertebral collapse, and liability to limb fractures. The commonest cause is old age.... (Walton et al. 1986:963)

Two core concepts shared by the above three definitions are ‘bone mass/tissue/structure/quantity/quality’ and ‘reduction/decrease/loss’. The Taiwanese translation of osteoporosis is ‘*kut tsit soo sang*’ with a morpheme-to-morpheme meaning of ‘bone quality nonsolid nonsolid’. Following the topic-comment structure in most Chinese languages, this four-morpheme expression can be reanalyzed as the following two compounds: ‘*kut-tsit / bone-quality*’ (the topic)

1 Source: <http://www.yourdictionary.com>

2 Source: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary>

and ‘*soo-sang / nonsolid*’ (the comment). Both the morphological elements in the English term ‘*osteoporosis / bone with an abnormal porous condition*’ and the Taiwanese term ‘*kut-tsit soo-sang / bone-quality nonsolid*’ describe the resulting visual image ‘porous condition’ or ‘nonsolid’ of the bone. My following analysis focuses on the doctor’s use of Taiwanese expressions which convey these two key concepts.

4. Analyzing linguistic formality

In the two health education sessions examined in this work, I identified two groups of lexical phrases which are judged as ‘synonyms’ or ‘paraphrases’ of ‘*kut-tsit soo-sang / bone-quality nonsolid*’ in the context they are used (Tables 1 and 2). ‘Paraphrase’ is generally described as the process of using different expressions in describing the same idea, i.e. co-referencing. For example, the concept of osteoporosis can be described in one lexical item ‘osteoporosis’, or in the phrase ‘bones with abnormal porous condition’. Readers should note three things. First, this paraphrase relationship also applies to lexical phrases whose literal meaning is not the same, but which receive the paraphrase reading given the appropriate context. Context is crucial in triggering a paraphrase relationship, e.g., ‘Get out of here!’ to mean ‘I disagree’ (cf. section 2). Second, the use of a ‘synonym’ is another way to paraphrase. However, as noted by many lexicographers and linguists (Lyons 1968:448), there are only ‘near synonyms’, not ‘true synonyms’. Each expression is unique in some ways in terms of distribution, frequency, syntactic behavior (e.g., collocation), or semantic component (e.g., connotation), which marks it different from its synonyms (see Urdang’s introduction in Rodale et al. 1978; Chief et al. 2000; Taylor 2003). Third, expressions in a paraphrase relationship may also reflect a superordinacy-hyponym one. For example, osteoporosis is one subcategory of a bigger group of bone abnormalities. Accordingly, the expression ‘*kut-thau bo tsing-siong / bone not normal*’, as an alternative for ‘*kut-tsit soo-sang / bone-quality nonsolid*’, represents the superordinate category, while the latter is the hyponym.

In both Tables 1 and 2, each lexical phrase under analysis is accompanied by a glossary and English translation (in the second column). The third column provides examples of the discourse context where the phrases occur. The four digits within the square brackets indicate the time where the utterance took place in the two health education sessions. The number in the first column indicates the ranking of formality each phrase receives, with ‘1’ as the most formal. A semantic and morphological analysis of these expressions will be given before I present the proposed framework measuring lexical formality.

Table 1. Lexical variants of ‘kut-tsit / bone-quality’

Ranking	Lexical phrase	Context where the phrase is used
1.	kut-tsit bone-quality ‘bone quality; bone essence’	(A) [03:18] tse-si lan e kut .. kut .. liong-kut, liong-kut ka phuah-ping liau-au ne, khuann lai-te e <i>kut-tsit</i> ‘This is our waist ... spine ... spine, when we cut apart the spine, we will see the <i>kut-tsit</i> (bone-quality) inside.’
2.	kut-pun bone-essence/reserve ‘bone essence; bone reserve’	(B) [written message on the doctor’s slide] <i>Kut-pun</i> na koo-ho tsiah-lau bian huan-lo. ‘Save up your <i>kut-pun</i> (bone essence or bone reserve) and be worry free when you get old.’
3.	kut-thau e phin-tsit bone POSSESSIVE quality ‘bone quality’	(C) [13:25] tshiau-in-phoo, tse e-sai kiam-tsa tshut li <i>kut-thau e liong</i> , ma e-sai kiam-tsa tshut .. li <i>kut-thau lai-te phin-tsit</i> .. ho a bai.
4.	kut-thau e liong bone POSSESSIVE quantity ‘bone quantity’	‘With the use of ultrasound equipment, it measures your <i>kut-thau e liong</i> (bone’s quantity / bone quantity), and thus indicates the good or poor status of your <i>kut-thau e phin tsit</i> (bone’s quality)’

5.	kut-thau bone ‘bone’	(D) [00:13] <i>Kut-tsit soo-sang</i> tsit-leh bun-te, ... kong khah kan-tan ne .. to-si beh kai-siau <i>kut-thau</i> .. <i>phann</i> . About the topic <i>kut-tsit soo-sang</i> (bone quality nonsolid), it means, in simple words, <i>kut-thau phann</i> (bones nonsolid)
----	------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Table 2. Lexical variants of ‘soo-sang / nonsolid’

ranking		
1.	soo-sang nonsolid-nonsolid ‘nonsolid’	(E) [05:08] Tse liong-kut .. khi hong-lang khuann honn, kong tse <i>soo-khi</i> a. ‘When you have your spine checked, and are told that it is <i>soo khi</i> (no longer solid).’
2.	soo-khi nonsolid-away ‘nonsolid; with the solid part lost away’	(F) [06:37] <i>Kut-tsit soo-sang</i> e tsing-thau, ... siong kho-phann e tsit-tiam to-si ... i: kin-pun to: bo kam-kak, (pause for two seconds) to-si kong ne, li e <i>kut-thau</i> kho-ling si <i>bo ho</i> a, li e <i>kut-thau</i> i-king <i>ham-sau</i> khi a, li e <i>kut-thau</i> i-king <i>phann</i> khi a, .. a m-ko ne .. li kho-ling long bo kam-kak.
3.	phann nonsolid ‘nonsolid’	‘The danger about <i>kut-tsit soo-sang</i> (bone-quality nonsolid), ..you don’t feel anything about it ... (pause for two seconds), that is to say, it is possible that your <i>kut-thau</i> (bone) is <i>bo ho</i>
4.	ham-sau with cracks ‘with cracks’	(not good), your <i>kut-thau</i> (bone) has turned <i>phann</i> (nonsolid), your <i>kut-thau</i> (bone) has become <i>ham-sau</i> (with cracks) and yet .. you don’t feel it at all.’

<p>5.</p>	<p>sit-khi lose-away 'been lost away'</p>	<p>(G). [02:41] Sui-tioh li-e ni-hue tsing-ka liau-au, ..tist-leh <i>kut-thau e tsit-liong</i> ne, tsit-tiam, tsit-tiam, tsit-tiam <i>sit-khi</i>, <i>sit-khi</i> kau bue a ne, ... li-e <i>kut-thau</i> ne, to e kio-tso . <i>kut-tsit soo-sang</i> khi a 'As people get older and older, their <i>kut-thau e tsit-liong</i> (quality and quantity of bone) start to <i>sit-khi</i> (been lost way) little by little, at the end of this <i>sit-khi</i> (losing) process, it's like, ... your bones, it is called <i>kut-tsit soo-sang</i> (bone-quality nonsolid).'</p>
<p>6.</p>	<p>khang khah tua khang hole COMPARATIVE big hole 'with bigger holes'</p>	<p>(H) [04:01] Sann-mo-hue si <i>kut-thau phann</i> e bun-te? Khuann tsia, tsitionn ne ... tsing-siong, tsit tiong ne ... to <i>bo tsing-siong</i>, ... <i>khang khah tua khang</i>.</p>
<p>7.</p>	<p>bo tsing-siong not normal 'abnormal'</p>	<p>'What is the problem of <i>kut-thau phann</i> (bone nonsolid)? Look at here, ... this (picture shows) the normal one, and this .. <i>bo tsing-siong</i> (abnormal), ... <i>khang khah tua khang</i> (with bigger holes).'</p>
<p>8.</p>	<p>bai bad 'bad'</p>	<p>(I)[08:34] Lan <i>kut-thau bai khi</i> a, hit-leh si-tsun i-king siunn ban a, siunn ban a. 'When your <i>kut-thau</i> (bone) turns <i>bai</i> (bad), at that point, it was too late, too late.' (J) [15:12] Tau-te siann-mih guan-in e in-khi <i>kut-thau bai</i>? 'Exactly what causes <i>kut-thau</i> (bone) to go <i>bai</i> (bad)?'</p>

9.	bo ho not good ‘not good’ m ho not good ‘not good’	(see Example F)
----	-----------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------

As described earlier, the first expression ‘*kut-tsit / bone-quality*’ (Table 1) is a coordinated noun structure of ‘*kut / bone*’ and ‘*tsit / quality*’. The second morpheme ‘*tsit*’ has two meanings: ‘*quality*’ as in ‘*phin-tsit / quality*’ and ‘*essence*’ as in ‘*pun-tsit / essence*’. Together with the coordinated adjective ‘*soo-sang / nonsolid-nonsolid*’, ‘*kut-tsit soo-sang*’ means that the quality or the essential elements (e.g., calcium) that make up bones or the quality of bone are not solid. The second morpheme ‘*pun*’ in ‘*kut-pun / bone-essence*’, shares a similar meaning of ‘*essence*’ with ‘*tsit*’ in ‘*kut-tsit / bone-quality*’. ‘*Pun*’ has a second meaning ‘*reserve*’ as in ‘*pun-tsinn / reserve*’. The distribution of ‘*kut-pun / bone essence or reserve*’ tends to be restricted to the context where prevention of osteoporosis is the theme, e.g., ‘saving up your *kut-pun* as early as possible’ or the rhymed slogan ‘*kut-pun na koo-ho, tsiah-lau bian huan-lo*’ meaning ‘save up your *kut-pun* (bone essence or bone reserve) and be worry free when you get old’.

The third phrase ‘*kut-thau e phin-tsit*’ is a fully articulated version of the first one, ‘*kut-tsit / bone quality*’ in which ‘*kut*’ corresponds to ‘*kut-thau*’ and ‘*tsit*’ to ‘*phin-tsit*’ with the possessive marker ‘*e*’ that connects the two parts (cf. earlier discussion). Thus, both ‘*kut-thau e phin-tsit*’ and ‘*kut-tsit*’ mean ‘*bone quality*’. In the fourth phrase ‘*kut-thau e liong / bone POSSESSIVE quantity / bone quantity*’, the concept of ‘*quality*’ is replaced by ‘*quantity*’. The fourth variant is a paraphrase of the third one, as shown in the context ‘with the use of ultrasound equipment, it measures your *kut-thau e liong* (*bone POSSESSIVE quantity*)’

and thus indicates the good or poor status of your *kut-thau e phin-tsit* (*bone POSSESSIVE quality*). In other words, the reading one gets from measuring the bone quantity shows the quality. In this context, '*kut-thau e liong / bone POSSESSIVE quantity*' is analyzed as a paraphrase of '*kut-tsit / bone quality*'. In the data we observed, the speaker used both phrases along with quantifiers such as '*tsio / little*' (e.g., '*kut-tsit khah tsio / bone-quality COMPARATIVE less / less amount of bone quality*' or '*kut-thau e liong khah tsio / bone POSSESSIVE quantity COMPARATIVE less / less amount of bone quantity*'). Bone problems like this described in terms of quality or quantity also reflect Landau's (1986:2039) definition of osteoporosis: 'a reduction in the quantity and quality of bone by the loss of both bone mineral and protein content'.

The fifth phrase '*kut-thau / bone*' originally means bone in general, and gets the reading of 'bone quality' in certain contexts. The doctor's utterance (in Example D) 'about the topic *kut-tsit soo-sang* (bone-quality nonsolid), it means, in simple words, *kut-thau phann* (bone nonsolid)' occurred at the beginning of the health education sessions (at the 13th second). To begin this health education session, the doctor first simplified ('in simple words') the medical term '*kut-tsit soo-sang / bone-quality nonsolid*' by rephrasing '*kut-tsit / bone-quality*' as '*kut-thau / bone*' and '*soo-sang / nonsolid*' as '*phann / nonsolid*' ('*phann*' will be introduced later). In this context, '*kut-thau*' gets the reading of 'bone-quality'. Also, among the five synonyms or paraphrases, '*kut-thau*' is a more productive morpheme than '*kut-tsit*' is. As the italicized parts in Tables 1 and 2 show, there are many predicates that modify the topic '*kut-thau*', but only two that modify '*kut-tsit*' (i.e., '*soo-sang / nonsolid*' and '*ho a bai / good or bad*').

In the two health education sessions, eight Taiwanese expressions are judged as synonyms or paraphrases of the coordinated adjective '*soo-sang / nonsolid*'. The two phrases '*phann / nonsolid*' and '*ham-sau / with cracks*' (phrases 3 and 4 in Table 2) are used less by the younger generation, and their use thus indicates the speaker's good command of Taiwanese. In terms of their collocation pattern in medical discourse, '*soo-sang / nonsolid*' mainly modifies '*kut-tsit / bone*

quality’, and occasionally ‘*kut-thau / bone*’; in contrast, ‘*phann / nonsolid*’ and ‘*ham-sau / with cracks*’ mainly modify ‘*kut-thau / bone*’ (e.g., ‘*kut-thau phann*’ and ‘*kut-thau ham-sau*’).

According to Chen (1991:1428) ‘*phann*’ refers to the fragile or nonsolid status of concrete objects, usually something with a hard core, such as radishes or grains (e.g., ‘*phann tshik / nonsolid grain*’) or rocks (e.g., ‘*phann tsioh / nonsolid rock*’), and can be metaphorically applied to abstract entities, such as ‘*phann ke / a non-workable plan*’, or ‘*phann ue / meaningless talk*’. Its core meaning of fragility can also be extended to the loss of bone density, as in ‘*kut-thau phann*’. Compared to the wider application of ‘*phann*’, ‘*ham-sau*’ mainly describes the fragile status of bones or ceramics, when such items have become thin or have cracks but are not yet broken (Chen 1991:541; Lin 1999:58; Dong et al. 2001:365)

The image of ‘bone with cracks’ conveyed in ‘*ham-sau*’ is consistent with that described in the English morpheme ‘porosis/a porous condition’, and with that conveyed by the Taiwanese morpheme ‘*khang*’ (as in ‘*kut-thau kang-khang / bone empty / empty bone*’ or *khang khah tua kang / hole COMPARATIVE big empty / with bigger holes*). ‘*Khang*’ (phrase 6 in Table 2) is a common expression which depicts holes in any objects. The above two Taiwanese phrases both contain the morpheme ‘*khang*’, which means ‘empty’ (as an adjective) or ‘hole’ (as a noun), conveying an image of what the internal bone structure looks like with the decrease in its density, i.e. the cracks within the bones enlarge and result in holes, as shown in Figure 1 (normal vs. abnormal bones), which is the image that the doctor referred to during his speech. In my analysis, ‘*khang / hole*’ also works as a paraphrase of ‘nonsolid’ in the following context. The utterance that occurs in the fourth minute of the speech (Example H) ‘What is osteoporosis? Look at here, ...this (picture shows) the normal one, and this .. *bo tsing-siong* (abnormal), ...*khang khah tua kang (hole COMPARATIVE big empty / with bigger holes)*’. In this utterance, osteoporosis means ‘bones are abnormal’ and ‘bones are with bigger holes.’ By paraphrasing the disease

with a non-medical term ‘*khang / hole*’ that visually characterizes osteoporosis, the utterance transforms an abstract idea into an image which may be more comprehensible to the lay patients.

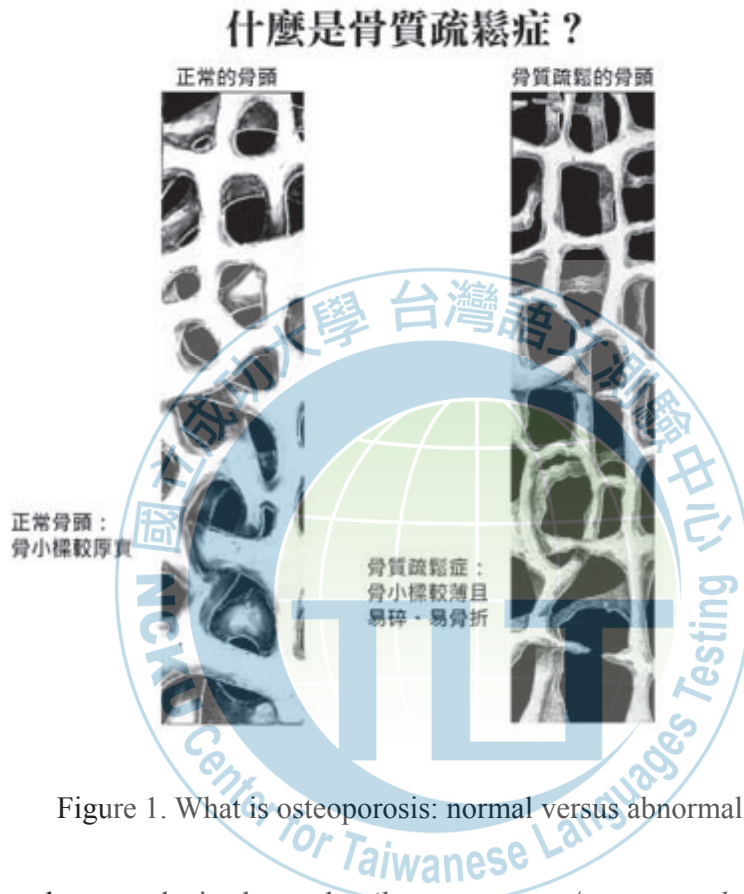


Figure 1. What is osteoporosis: normal versus abnormal bones

The above analysis also codes ‘*bo tsing-siong / not normal / abnormal*’, used in Example H, as a paraphrase of ‘nonsolid’. ‘*Bo tsing-siong*’ (phrase 7 in Table 2) is a general term in describing the abnormal status that applies to most concrete objects or abstract entities. It receives the ‘nonsolid’ reading in the following way. In the doctor’s utterance, he introduced osteoporosis by showing the two images in Figure 1, with the words ‘*tsing-siong-e kut-thau / normal bones*’ and ‘*kut-tsit soo-sang e kut-thau / bones with osteoporosis*’, and verbally described each as ‘this picture ... normal’ ‘this picture .. abnormal’. In other words ‘abnormal’ is another way to express ‘*soo-sang / nonsolid*’.

Two other general terms in describing an abnormal status that are judged as

paraphrases of ‘nonsolid’ are ‘*bo ho / not good*’ and ‘*bai / bad*’ (phrase 8 in Table 2), as shown in the following examples. The first utterance occurred around the sixth minute of the talk (06:37). After the doctor described the symptoms of osteoporosis (brittle bones, bigger cracks within the bone structure, body trunk gets shorter, or a hunched back), he called for the audience’s greater awareness of the danger of this disease, and noted that detecting this disease during the early stages is difficult. As shown in his utterance (Example F): ‘the danger about *kut-tsit soo-sang* (bone-quality nonsolid), ... you don’t feel anything about it ... (pause for 2 seconds), that is to say, it is possible that your *kut-thau* (bone) is *bo ho* (not good), your *kut-thau* (bone) has turned *phann* (nonsolid), your *kut-thau* (bone) has become *ham-sau* (with cracks) and yet ... you don’t feel it at all’. The danger of an individual being unaware of suffering from osteoporosis is emphasized by two levels of repetition: a direct paraphrase (‘that is to say’), and a syntactical repetition of the paraphrased parts (‘your bones + PERFECTIVE MARKER + STATIVE VERBAL PHRASE’) in which three stative verbs or adjectives substitute for each other.

(9) your bones are *bo ho* (not good)

(10) your bones has turned *phann* (nonsolid)

(11) your bones are *ham-sau* (with cracks)

The doctor highlights the medical term ‘*kut-tsit soo-sang / bone-quality nonsolid*’ by rephrasing it with the above three alternatives, which may be more accessible for lay patients. In this context, ‘*bo ho / not good*’, which depicts the non-functioning status of almost everything, and thus represents a superordinate category, also serves as a paraphrase of the subordinate category ‘*soo-sang / nonsolid*’ in this context, as do ‘*phann*’ and ‘*ham-sau*’.

The next example occurred around the 15th minute of the talk, when the doctor moved on to his slide, entitled ‘*kut-tsit soo-sang e hui-hiam in-tsu / risk factors of osteoporosis*’, and he introduced how factors such as the lack of exercise, low intake of calcium, or smoking may lead to osteoporosis. When the doctor raised the rhetorical question ‘Exactly what causes the *kut-thau* (bone)

to go *bai* (bad)?’ in introducing his slide, he was paraphrasing ‘bone-quality’ as ‘bone’ and ‘nonsolid’ as ‘bad’.

According to medical dictionaries, the porous condition related to osteoporosis (as depicted by the terms ‘*khang khah tua khang / hole COMPARATIVE big empty / with bigger holes*’) is a result of the loss or reduction of bone mass. The ‘nonsolid’ concept in ‘bone quality nonsolid’ can therefore be described from the causal aspect ‘*sit-khi / lose away / been lost away*’ (item 5 in Table 2), as shown in the following utterance (Example G): ‘As people get older and older, their *kut-thau e tsit-liong* (quality and quantity of bones) start to be lost little by little, at the end of this process, it’s like, ... your bones, it is called *kut-tsit soo-sang* (bone-quality nonsolid)’. In this context, the causal aspect of losing the quality and quantity of bone corresponds to the resulting status of ‘nonsolid’. ‘*Sit-khi / lose away / been lost away*’ are thus analyzed as a paraphrase of ‘nonsolid’.

Tables 1 and 2 summarize the two groups of lexical variants and the degree of formality conveyed in each phrase. The higher a phrase is placed in this table, the more formal it is. ‘*Kut-tsit / bone quality*’ and ‘*soo-sang / nonsolid*’ are ranked as the most formal expressions, and ‘*kut-thau / bone*’, and ‘*bai / bad*’ and ‘*bo ho / not good*’ the least. In the next section, I will use the two groups of phrases to illustrate the framework I propose in quantifying lexical formality.

5. Framework for analyzing lexical formality

My proposal for measuring the formality of lexical phrases is composed of the two linguistic elements, semantic meaning and morphological structure, which operate under four principles.

I. Terminology serves as the absolute formal and baseline standard: Terminology is the most formal form in expressing a professional concept and is the baseline in measuring the formality of alternative expressions.

II. Precise meaning is highly context-independent and formal: The more

precise the semantic meaning of a phrase is, the greater context independence is involved in the decoding process, and the higher the formality is.

III. Concise structure is lexically dense and formal: The more concise the morphological structure of a phrase is, the higher its lexical density is, and the higher the formality is.

IV. Precision weighs more than concision: Semantic precision and context-independence take higher priority than morphological structure and lexical density.

5.1. Principle I – Terminology as the absolute formal and baseline standard

Terminology conveys a professional concept cultivated through a high level of formal education or training within a specialty field. The in-depth knowledge and finely established definitions conveyed in professional terms, such as medical terms, thus make them the standard and formal form. Usually, a medical term carries a precise and scientific definition agreed on by the medical professionals and is listed in medical dictionaries. Similar to the function of ‘elaborated codes’ (Bernstein 1962), medical terminology serves to deliver explicit meaning and facilitate formal discussion with participants from the wider society, e.g., physicians of Western medicine in Taiwan. Halliday and Martin (1993:76–77) also considered that specialized or technical vocabulary involves a high degree of lexical density and formality.

For example, most medical dictionaries define ‘osteoporosis’ by documenting its causes, effects, cardinal manifestations, risk factors, of which ‘bone mass/tissue/quantity/quality’ and ‘reduction/decrease/loss’ are the shared key concepts. Among the twelve Chinese dictionaries of Western medicine published in Taiwan or Hong Kong I have so far consulted, ‘osteoporosis’ is consistently translated into four Chinese characters, pronounced as ‘*gu-zhi shu-song* / *bone-quality*

nonsolid' in Mandarin, i.e., and '*kut-tsit soo-sang*' in Taiwanese.³ The four Chinese characters and their Mandarin or Taiwanese pronunciations are thus the most frequently used written and spoken forms among medical professionals in Taiwan. When expressing the concept of osteoporosis, these four written characters are used in the media, most medical journals published in Taiwan, and in written health education flyers or brochures for the lay public. For these reasons, '*kut-tsit soo-sang / bone-quality nonsolid*' is judged as the most formal Taiwanese variant in expressing this disease.

Accordingly, the two variants '*kut-tsit*' and '*soo-sang*' rank highest on the formality scale (Tables 1 and 2), and their semantic meaning and morphological structure will serve as the baseline in measuring the semantic precision and concision of other variants. For example, the main contrast between the two variants '*kut-thau e phin-tsit / bone POSSESSIVE quality*' and '*kut-thau e liong / bone POSSESSIVE quantity*' lies in the different focuses conveyed: quality versus quantity. Although it is true that osteoporosis is a result of the reduction of bone mass, i.e., the quantity aspect, '*kut-thau e phin-tsit*', which emphasizes the quality aspect, is judged as more formal because it is the same aspect highlighted in the absolute formal term '*kut-tsit / bone-quality*'.

All the above variants specify an aspect, i.e., 'essence, quality, or quantity', close to the 'quality' aspect conveyed in the absolute formal term, and thus all rank higher than the phrase '*kut-thau / bone*', which refers to bone in general.

5.2. Principle II: Precise and context-independent is formal

In this research, semantic precision measures the exactness of the meaning

3 All twelve dictionaries are published in Mandarin. There are three alternative translations in Mandarin, 'gu xi-song / bone nonsolid', 'gu su-song / bone nonsolid' and 'gu-ge su-song / bone-structure nonsolid' provided in three of the twelve dictionaries, but they are not analyzed in this research due to their rare occurrence in Mandarin or Taiwanese as spoken in Taiwan. In my view, a quantifying framework is valid only when the items to be measured are 'comparable' in the way that they are part of the linguistic repertoire of speakers in a speech community, i.e., they are actually in use by professionals or laymen.

conveyed in an alternative expression in comparison to that in the absolute formal term. ‘Context-independence’ quantifies the degree to which the interpretation of a phrase is free from the context. In other words, it measures the amount of context involved for an alternative phrase to get the same conceptual meaning as the absolute formal one. Generally speaking, the more precise or exact the meaning of a phrase is, the less context is needed in the interpretation process, and the higher formality rank of the phrase (cf. the discussion in section 2.1). This principle accounts for the lowest formality degree of the superordinant term ‘*bo ho / not good*’, which describes any unhealthy or abnormal status of bones, e.g., broken bones, bones with infection, and overgrowth of bones. It refers to the ‘nonsolid’ status of bones only in specific contexts, such as in Example (F).

In comparison with ‘*bo ho*’, the expression ‘*khang khah tua khang / hole COMPARATIVE big empty / with bigger hole*’ describes a more precise bone problem, i.e., with bigger holes, and the meaning is closer to the absolute formal one of ‘nonsolid’. Therefore, the degree of formality of ‘*khang khah tua khang*’ is judged higher than ‘*bo ho*’. In comparison with ‘*ham-sau / with cracks*’, which denotes thin cracks specifically in objects like bones or containers made of ceramics, ‘*khang khah tua khang / with bigger hole*’ can be applied to a wider range of objects, e.g., stones, walls, bottles and so on. Therefore, its formality ranks lower than that of ‘*ham-sau*’ (cf. section 2.2). However, ‘*ham-sau*’ is judged lower than ‘*phann / nonsolid*’, since the latter carries the ‘nonsolid’ meaning as conveyed in the absolute form ‘*soo-sang / nonsolid*.’

5.3. Principle III- Concise and dense is formal

Lexical structure refers to the morphological component of a variant. Generally speaking, the greater the use of a more fixed, formulaic, or concise structure, the higher the formality is. Following Halliday’s discussion (1992:62), lexical density is the density with which the information is presented (cf. section 2.2). In his analysis, nominalization conveys higher density than a sentential description, and descriptions with more content words convey higher density

than those with more function words (McCarthy 1998:39). In my Chinese data, the number of morphemes, i.e., number of syllables, used in an expression also contributes to my measurement of concision. The fewer morphemes used, the more concise the expression is. In principle III, the more concise the structure of a lexical item or a phrase is, the stronger the density, and the higher in the formality scale.

Although both '*soo-sang* / *nonsolid nonsolid*' and '*soo-khi* / *nonsolid-away* / *with the solid part lost away*' mean 'nonsolid', have two syllables, and share the same first morpheme '*soo*', the former ranks higher for two reasons. Besides the fact that '*soo-sang*' is the phrase listed in the medical dictionary, the two morphemes in '*soo-sang*' are content morphemes and the structure is a coordinate structure of two adjectives. In contrast, the two morphemes in '*soo-khi*' are composed of a content morpheme and a function morpheme of direction ('away'). '*Khi* / *away*' is a productive function morpheme which can be added to most adjectives or verbs in Mandarin and Taiwanese. As introduced earlier, some monosyllabic content morphemes, e.g., '*sit* / *lose*' and '*soo* / *nonsolid*', rarely occur alone in the spoken form of modern Chinese, and instead appear with a function morpheme such as '*lai* / (come) toward' or '*khi* / (go) away'. In other words, the function morpheme '*khi*' cannot be separated from the monosyllabic phrase '*soo*' (cf. Examples 14 versus 15), but is detachable from the bisyllabic phrase '*soo-sang*' (cf. Examples 12 and 13). Therefore, '*soo-khi*', in which the structure contains a function morpheme, is judged as less concise or dense, and thus less formal than '*soo-sang*'.

(12) Kut-tsit i-king soo-sang a

'The bone quality has turned nonsolid.'

(13) Kut-tsit i-king soo-sang khi a

'The bone quality has turned nonsolid.'

(14) Kut-tsit i-king soo-khi a

'The bone quality has turned nonsolid.'

(15) ?Kut-tsit i-king soo a

(16) Kut-tsit i-king sit-khi a

‘The bone quality has been lost away (or diminished).’

(17) * kut-tsit i-king sit a

‘*Sit-khi / been lost away*’ is another phrase in which the function morpheme ‘*khi*’ cannot be deleted (cf. Examples 16 versus 17 above). Even so, the formality of ‘*sit-ki*’ is considered higher than the phrase ‘*khang khah tua khang / hole COMPARATIVE big empty / with bigger holes*’. The former focuses on the loss of bone quantity, the latter on the spatial consequence when bone quantity is reduced. Yet, the structure of ‘*khang khah tua khang*’ is less economic (four morphemes versus two morphemes), and thus ranks lower than ‘*sit-khi*’. In the pair of ‘*kut-pun / bone-essence*’ versus ‘*kut-thau e phin-tsit / bone POSSESSIVE quality*’, both convey the concepts of ‘bones’ (as in ‘*kut*’ and ‘*kut-thau*’) and ‘quality’ (as in ‘*pun*’ and ‘*phin-tsit*’). However, the morphological structure of the former is a concise version of the latter in the way that ‘*kut-thau*’ is reduced to ‘*kut*’ and ‘*phin-tsit*’ simplified as ‘*pun*’, and the function morpheme ‘*e*’ deleted. Although both are semantically close to the absolute formal standard, ‘*kut-pun*’ is structurally concise and thus is more formal than ‘*kut-thau e phin-tsit*’. Principle III also accounts for the higher formality of ‘*bai / bad*’, compared to ‘*bo ho / not good*’. Both are general terms in describing the bad status of almost everything, and mean ‘nonsolid’ only in specific contexts (cf. Examples I and F). While the former is composed of a content morpheme alone, the latter also has the function morpheme of ‘*bo / not*’, which negates the meaning conveyed in the content morpheme ‘*ho / good*’.

My third principle argues that concise form is formal. However, simplified forms, such as abbreviations or acronyms (i.e., expressions formed by the initial components of English words in a phrase, e.g., ‘AIDS’ for ‘Acquired Immune-deficiency Syndrome’ and ‘BP’ for ‘Blood Pressure’), may be structurally concise but not necessary more formal, because the concise form sometimes is at the cost of semantic distinctiveness and thus violates Principle II. For example, ‘AIDS’ (a disease) and ‘aids’ (help) are phonetically ambiguous, ‘AV’ stands both

for ‘Atrio-Ventricular’ (in medicine) and ‘Audio-Video’ (in general), and the ‘BP’ means differently in ‘BP’ (for ‘Blood Pressure’), ‘BPH’ (for ‘Benign Prostatic Hypertrophy’ and ‘BPP’ (for ‘Biophysical Profile). Also, each community may create its own simplified form which makes their daily routine easier but only known to the insiders, e.g., ‘New P’ (New Patient) used in hospital A and ‘N. P.’ in hospital B. These codes function more like Bernstein’s (1962) category of ‘restricted codes’, as they are simplified structure but have a context-dependent and particularistic meaning and function which serve as in-group relationships.

Simplified Taiwanese phrase, such as ‘*kut-tsit / bone-quality*’, whose full form is ‘*kut-thau e phin-tsit / bone POSSESSIVE quality-quality / quality of bone*’, are in some way similar to English abbreviations. However, the same conceptual meaning of the full form is preserved in the abbreviated form, and thus the simplified form ranks higher than the full one. In this case, the ranking follows principle III: a more concise form is more formal. The above examples of English acronyms, however, suggest that meaning (i.e., function) is the bottom line, and thus weighs more than the form. This leads to my next principle.

5.4. Principle IV: Precision weighs more than concision

Principle IV integrates the interaction of the two elements: meaning and form. In the quantifying process of formality, semantic precision and context-independence weigh more than lexical structure and density. In the pair of ‘*kut-thau e liong / bone POSSESSIVE quantity / bone quantity*’ versus ‘*kut-thau / bone*’, although the latter (with two content morphemes) is structurally concise, its meaning is not as precise as that depicted in the former, which is composed of one function and three content morphemes. Principle IV also accounts for the higher formality of ‘*khang khah tua khang / hole COMPARATIVE big empty / with bigger holes*’, compared to ‘*bo tsing-siong / abnormal*’ and ‘*bo ho / not good*’. Although ‘*khang khah tua khang*’ use more morphemes, and are thus less economic in form, and ‘*bo ho / not good*’ has only two morphemes, the meaning of the former is closer to the absolute formal term ‘*soo-sang/ nonsolid*’. ‘*Bo ho*’

is also structurally more concise but semantically less precise than ‘*bo tsing-siong*’ and thus ranks lower than ‘*bo tsing-siong*’.

6. Conclusions

Motivated by the problem of how doctors transform medical jargon to lay expressions and the need for a definition of linguistic formality independent of social factors, this research establishes a framework for quantifying the degree of formality of lexical phrases, grounded exclusively on the phrases’ internal linguistic components. Based on nine Taiwanese lexical phrases which either directly or in context convey ‘osteoporosis’, I proposed four principles for quantifying lexical formality. The framework first sets medical terms as the benchmark in measuring the formality of their lexical variants (‘terminology as the absolute formal and baseline standard’) and utilizes two linguistic elements of lexical phrases - semantic precision (‘precise and context-independent is formal’) and structural concision (‘concise and dense is formal’). I prioritize the former over the latter (i.e., ‘semantic precision and context-independence weigh more than morphological concision and lexical density’), and this highlights the interactional nature of language use, that meaning comes in various forms with its semantic components generated from the dynamic context. This framework contributes to the work of sociolinguists by proposing a definition of linguistic formality on the lexical level, grounded exclusively on the internal linguistic structure. With this framework, one may further investigate the interaction of linguistic forms with various social factors or contexts. Directions for future research include how medical information presented in phrases of various formalities, from the most to the least formal, affects patients’ understanding of their health problems, and how the lexical variants doctors use achieve the aims of medical interviews, including collecting complete health information, presenting the diagnosis and treatment plan, and establishing patients’ medical knowledge.

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to the National Science Council in Taiwan which has granted continuous support for my on-going research projects in doctor-patient communication, co-conducted by Feng-fu Tsao of National Tsing Hua University and Feng-hwa Lu of National Chen Kung University.

Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Mei-hui TSAI (tsaim@mail.ncku.edu.tw).

References

- Alvarez-Caccamo, Celso. 2000. Codes. *Journal of Linguistics Anthropology* 9, pp.28-31.
- Bernstein, Basil. 1962. Linguistic codes, hesitation phenomena and intelligence. *Language & Speech* 5, pp.31-46.
- Bernstein, Basil. 1971. *Class, Codes and Control (Volume I: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language)*. London: Routledge and K. Paul.
- Bristowe, Katherine. 2008. *Approaching a Framework for Medical Jargon Use: Paper Presented at the 6th Interdisciplinary Conference on Communication, Medicine, & Ethics*. Cape Town, South Africa.
- Chapman, Kristina, Charles Abraham, Valerie Jenkins and Lesley Fallowfield. 2003. Lay understanding of terms used in cancer consultations. *Psychooncology* 12, pp.557-66.
- Chao, Yuen-Ren. 1968. *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chen, Xiou. 1991. *Tai-Wan-Hua Da-Ci-Dian* [臺灣話大詞典Taiwanese Dictionary]. Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., Ltd.
- Chief, Lian-Cheng, Chu-Ren Huang, Keh-Jiann Chen, Mei-Chih Tsai and Li-Li Chang. 2000. What can near synonyms tell us? *Journal of Computational Linguistics & Chinese Language Processing* 5, pp.47-59.

- Chu, Chauncey C. 1999. *Han-Yu Ren-Zhi Gong-Neng Yu-Fa* [漢語認知功能語法A Cognitive-Functional Grammar of Mandarin Chinese]. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co., Ltd.
- Chung, Karen S. 2006. *Mandarin Compound Verbs*. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co., Ltd.
- Dong, Zhong-Si, Shu-Xian Cheng and Ping-Sheng Zhang. 2001. *Tai-Wan Min-Nan-Yu Ci-Dian* [臺灣閩南語詞典Dictionary of Southern Min in Taiwan]. Taipei: Wu Nan Publisher.
- Enkvist, Nils E. 1973. *Linguistic Stylistics*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan. 1972. *On Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation and Co-occurrence: Papers on Directions in Sociolinguistics*, ed. by Gumperz John J. and Hymes Dell, pp.213-50. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Fang, Jin. 2009. *Lun Xian-dai Han-yu Ci-su, Ci, Ci-zhu zhi Jie-ding ji qi Jiao-xue Qi-Shi* [論現代漢語詞素、詞、詞組之界定及其教學啟示A study on Defining Morphemes, Words, Phrases in Modern Chinese and its Implication for Chinese Teaching]. Taipei: National Taiwan Normal University dissertation.
- Hall, Edward T. 1976. *Beyond Culture*. New York: Anchor Press.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. 1989. *Spoken and Written Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. and James R. Martin 1993. *Writing Science: Literacy and Discursive Power*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Hartmann, Reinhard R. K. 1981. Style values: Linguistic approaches and lexicographical practice. *Applied Linguistics* 2, pp.263-73.
- Heylighen, Francis and Jean-Marc Dewaele. 2002. Variation in the contextuality of language: An empirical measure. *Foundations of Science* 7, pp.293-340.
- Hovy, Eduard H. 1987. *Generating Natural Language under Pragmatic Constraints*. Ann Arbor: Yale University dissertation .

- Huang, Shuan-Fan. 1993. *Language, Society and Ethnic Identity: A Sociolinguistic Study on Taiwan*. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co., Ltd.
- Hulbert, James R. 1955. *Dictionaries British and American* (The Language Library). London: Deutsch.
- Irvine, Judith T. 1979. Formality and informality in communicative events. *American Anthropologist* 81, pp.773-90.
- Janicki, Karol. 1979. Toward contrasting styles. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 9, pp.23-33.
- Joos, Martin. 1961. *The Five Clocks: A Linguistic Excursion into the Five Styles of English Usage*. New York: Harcourt.
- Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Landau, Sidney, E. Lovell Becker and Manulia Alexander. 1986. *International Dictionary of Medicine and Biology*. New York: Wiley.
- Li, Charles N., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: a Functional Reference Grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lin, Jian-Yi. 1999. *Shi-Yong Tai-Yu Ci-Dian* [實用台語詞典A Practical Guide to Taiwanese Lexical usage]. Kaohsiung: Lin Zhong Publisher.
- Liu, Yue-Hua, Wen-Yu Pan, and Wei Gu. 2001. *Shi-yong Xian-dai Han-yu Yu-fa* [實用現代漢語語法A Practical Guide to Modern Chinese Grammar]. Beijing: Shang-wu Publisher.
- Lyons, John. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, Samuel E. 1992. *A Reference Grammar of Korean: A Complete Guide to the Grammar and History of the Korean Language*. Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company.
- McCarthy, Michael. 1998. *Spoken Language and Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Packard, Jerome L. 2001. *The Morphology of Chinese: A Linguistic and Cognitive Approach*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.
- Poynton, Cate. 1989. *Language and Gender: Making the Difference*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Riha, Ortrun. 2001. The language of medicine: Polysemy and metonymy as communication problems. *Lebende Sprachen* 46, pp.150-54.
- Rodale, Jerome I., Urdang, Laurence and LaRoche, Nancy. 1978. *The Synonym Finder*. New York: Rodale Press.
- Roter, Debra and Judith A. Hall. 1992. *Doctors Talking with Patients/Patients Talking with Doctors: Improving Communication in Medical Visits*. Westport: Auburn House.
- Searls, David B. 2002. The language of genes. *Nature* 420, pp.211-17.
- Sohn, Ho-Min. 1999. *The Korean Language*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, John R. 2003. Near synonyms as co-extensive categories: "High" And "Tall" Revisited. *Language and Sciences* 25, pp.263-84.
- Walton, John, Paul B. Beeson and Ronald Bodley Scott. 1986. *The Oxford Companion to Medicine*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wang, Lih. 1987. *Zhong-guo Xian-dai Yu-fa* [中國現代語法Modern Chinese Grammar]. Taizhong: Lan-Deng Publisher
- West, Candace and Richard M. Frankel. 1991. *Miscommunication in medicine: Papers on 'Miscommunication' and Problematic Talk*, ed. by Coupland Nikolas, Giles Howard and Wiemann John M., pp.166-94. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Zhu De-Xi. 1982. *Yu-fa Jiang-yi* [語法講義Handbook of Grammar]. Beijing: Shang-wu Publisher
- Zipf, George K. 1949. *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort: An Introduction to Human Ecology*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press.

趨向句型——跨語言探討

鄭良偉、李惠琦

夏威夷大學、國立成功大學

摘要

指示位移動詞「來」、「去」已經有真濟文獻討論過，親像Tang (1979)，Shen (1996)，Fillmore (1997)，Lien (1997)，Oshima (2006)。M̄-koh，大多數ê研究khah注重佇單一語言內底（比如：Fillmore 1997）或者是做兩種語言ê對比分析（比如：Arakawa 1996）。本論文擴大研究ê範圍，對台灣華語、台語（台灣閩南語）、日語以及英語ê趨向句型作對比分析，建立一ê跨語言ê語料庫。Koh來，本論文主要是觀察趨向句型佇動詞片語、形容詞片語iah就是介係詞片語內底語義kap語法表ê互動。透過語料ê觀察，本論文發現詞彙佇趨向句ê共現（co-occurrence），隱藏含意（implication for the hidden element）、替換（substitution）佇這四種語言lin有無全ê表現，其中台語ê規律siōng嚴格。透過數位化ê模型建構，本文真清楚去處理並且比較佇無全ê語言，趨向語語序ê問題。

關鍵字：趨向、指示位移動詞、語言句型

Locomotive Sentence Patterns: A Crosslinguistic Study

Robert L. CHENG & Hui-chi LEE

University of Hawaii

National Cheng Kung University

Abstract

The deictic motion verbs have been broadly investigated in the literature (e.g., Fillmore, 1997; Lien, 1997; Oshima, 2006; Shen, 1996; Tang, 1979, etc.). However, many of them discuss the deictic motion verbs within one language (e.g., Fillmore, 1997) and some crosslinguistically compare the locomotive sentence patterns (e.g., Arakawa, 1996). This paper extends the locomotive sentence patterns across languages: Taiwanese, Mandarin, Japanese and English, trying to build up a crosslinguistic database. The interaction between semantics and syntactic representations in VP, AP and IP will be the main concern. By examining the corpus, this paper finds that there are certain rules in locomotive terms in the co-occurrence, implication for the hidden element and substitution. Among those four languages, Taiwanese is strictest with the collocation of deictic motional terms. Also, the compared locomotive sentence patterns are mathematically shown.

Keywords: locomotive, deictic motion verb, sentence pattern.

1. Introduction

This paper explores the interaction between semantics and their corresponding syntactic forms. Three semantic issues are concerned in the present study: locomotives, distance and direction. The semantic expressions syntactically relate to VP, AP and IP. It is assumed that there is regular modular information containing lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics and language management in Taiwanese, Mandarin, Japanese, and English. This paper applies syntactic templates to connect each module. Both sentence patterns and word orders of sentences are categorized into appropriate syntactic positions, concisely revealing the phonetic and syntactic information of every lexical entry.

The main data in this present study contain four languages: Taiwanese, Mandarin, English, and Japanese. The paper aims to build a database with cross-linguistic sentence patterns. The database displays the information process of the spatial relationship in morpheme, lexicon, sentence patterns, semantics, and phonology in different languages systematically and efficiently. The paper also demonstrates the sentence patterns within one language and the paraphrases across languages. Concerning the locative relationship, both Taiwanese and Mandarin employ the speech context and event setting in constructing templates. In addition, when semantic expressions map to the syntax, they are basically expressed by different utterances. For example, the sequence ‘to here’ can be conveyed by the following Taiwanese expressions: *kau3-ui7* ‘arrive-position’, *kau3-chit4-tah4* ‘arrive-this-position’, *kau3-ti7-goa2-chit4-tah4* ‘arrive-to-my-this-position’, *lai5-kau3-goa2-jia1-chit4-tah4* ‘come-arrive-my-here-this-position’, *lai5-kau3-ti7-goa2-jia1-chit4-e3-so2-chai7* ‘come-arrive-to-my-here-this-MOD-place’.

In the present study, sentence patterns are mathematically constructed. The word orders are rendered by ‘0’ for the head, a positive number for the functional words preceding central word and a negative number for the function words

following the head (+3>+2>+1>0>-1>-2>-3). The combination of the modifiers and their head are presented by numeral value.

2. Locomotive Deixis

The deictic devices commit a speaker to build up a frame of reference around oneself. Deixis carries the division of the space around the current speaker, a division of time relative to the act of speaking, and also other linguistic and non-linguistic background information (Fillmore, 1997). The main feature to deixis is that the addressee needs to denote the deictic center of the speaker (Fillmore, 1997). According to Fillmore (1997), there are mainly five kinds of deixis: person deixis, place deixis, time deixis, discourse deixis and social deixis. In addition to those five deixis, there is another type of deixis called 'deictic motion verb' (i.e., *come* and *go*) denoting information of motion towards or away from the speaker. Based on Talmy (2000), a Motion event includes an object, called Figure, and its movement goes through a Path with respect to another reference object, called Ground. Deictic motion verbs convey the Path of the Figure's motion but not include the manner of movement. So far, there are many studies focusing on the deictic motion verbs (e.g., Tang, 1979; Shen, 1996; Fillmore, 1997; Lien, 1997) and some of them do the comparative studies between languages (e.g., Oe, 1975; Nakazawa, 1990, 2005; Chen 2004); though, few of them build up a complete database across these four languages: Taiwanese, Mandarin, Japanese and English. In the study of coming and going verb, it has been believed that GO describes motion from the deictic center, whereas COME describes motion to(ward) the deictic center (Oe, 1975; Talmy, 1975, 2000; Wilkins and Hill, 1995). The center of deictic shift is known as the speaker (Fillmore, 1997), and the shift of deictic center is usually subject to various restrictions and some of them are language-specific: for example, in the situation that the speaker is moving toward the addressee, the addressee can be the center in English but not in Japanese (Oshima, 2006). The deictic motive verbs *come* and *go* exist in Taiwanese, Mandarin, Japanese as well as English, though, they represent some

discrepancies in locomotion. Thus, in section 2, we firstly explore the deixis, and then focus on the collocation between deictic motion verbs and other categories of deixis.

2.1. Direction and locale of speech setting

In processing the temporal and spatial relation among English, Japanese, Taiwanese and Mandarin, recognizing both the speech and event setting viewpoints is necessary.

Firstly, deixis from speech setting view point contain: (1) motional deixis: *lai/lai5/come*, *qu/khi3/go* and *lai/lai5-khi3/let's go*, (2) person deixis: *wo/goa2/I*, *wo-men/gun2/we* (addressee excluded), and *zan-men/lan2/we* (addressee included). In Beijing Mandarin and Taiwanese, *wo-men/gun2* ‘we, addressee excluded’ and *zan-men/lan2* ‘we, addressee included’ are distinguishable; nevertheless, no distinction occurs in English and Taiwan Mandarin in *ni/li2/you*, *ni-men/lin2/you*, *ta/i1/he* or *ta-men/in1/they* (3) place deixis: *zhe-li/chia1/here* and *na-li/hia1/there*, which is determined by viewpoint of the speaker. In Japanese, however, place deixis are chosen from the viewpoints of the speaker *zhe-li/chia1/here/kotira*, of the addressee *na-li/hia1/there/sotira* (closer to addressee), and of the third person *na-li/hia1/there/atira* (closer to third person) (Arakawa, 1996; Chen, 2004).

Secondly, event setting viewpoint words contain: (1) locales: *nei/lai7/inside*, *wai/goa7/outward*, *shang/teng2/up* and *xia/e7/down*, (2) locomotives: *jin/jip8/enter*, *chu/chhut1/exit*, *shang/khi2/up*, *xia/loh8/fall*, *guo/koe3/over*, and *hui/to2-tng2/return*. Collocations between locales and locomotives are strictly restricted (e.g., *pe5 jip8-lai5 lai7-bin7* ‘crawl enter-come inside’, *kiann5 chhut1-lai5 goa5-bin7* ‘walk exit-come outside’, *pho7 khi2-lai5 teng2-bin7* ‘hold up-come upside’, *kiann5 loh8-lai5 e7-kha1* ‘walk fall-come downside’, *poann1 koe3-khi3 pat8-ui7* ‘move over-go other-places’, *sang3 to3-tng2-lai5 goan5-ui7* ‘send return-come original-place’). Therefore, sentence patterns with hidden locales are commonly used. In terms of the head and function words, heads with much

information appear with the original tone while functional locomotives with little information marked with neutral tone (e.g., *pe5 jip8-lai5* ‘crawl enter-come’, *kiann5 chhut1-lai5* ‘walk exit-come’, *pho7 khi2-lai5* ‘hold up-come’, *kiann5 loh8-lai5* ‘walk exit-come’, *poann1 koe3-khi3* ‘move over-go’, *sang3 tng2-lai5* ‘send return-come’) (Cheng, 1968; Wang, 1955).

Both Mandarin and Taiwanese apply *lai5/lai/come* to express the approach toward a speech setting and *khi3/qu/go* to convey the departure away from a speech setting (Fillmore, 1997). It is vital that the spatial movement must contain the speech locale of a speaker (e.g., *jip8-khi3 hial* ‘enter-go there’, *jip8-lai5 chial* ‘enter-come here’, **jip8 chial*, **chhut1 chial*). In Japanese, the speech setting also functions as the required connector between spatial movement and locale of speech background (Arakawa, 1996; Chen, 2004). Nevertheless, no such requirement exists in English.

2.2. Time of speech setting

Concerning the temporal grammar, it is significant to note that the temporal movement must express the time of the speech background of a speaker. Compared with English and Japanese, the grammaticalization of spatial terms is richer in Taiwanese (Huang, 1993). According to the relationship between speech, reference and event time, English forms a system with three distinct tenses: past, present and future tense; Mandarin and Japanese consist of two tenses: past and non-past (Kusanagi, 1972; Soga, 1983; Li, 1999); Taiwanese tense system includes two opposite tense: realis (non-future) and irrealis (future) (Cheng, 1990).

Speech setting is a subjective expression of the speaker (Clark, 1974; Iwasaki, 1993; Goldberg, 2006): temporally the time one is speaking and spatially at the place where one is speaking. Thus, *wo xian-zai zhe-li* ‘I now here’ not only subjectively denotes the tense but also spatially marks the locale and locomotive sense. On the other hand, event setting is an objective expression of the incident or place related to the speaker, such as *jip8 lai7-bin7/jin li-tou* ‘enter

inside’, *chhut1goa7-bin7/chu wai-mian* ‘exit outside’, *chiunn7 teng2-bin7/shang shang-mian* ‘up upside’, *loh8 e7-kha1/xia xia-main* ‘fall downside’.

2.3. Tense Systems in Japanese, Beijing Mandarin, Taiwan Mandarin, Taiwanese, and English

Based on the relationship among Speech time (S), Reference time, (R), and Event time (E), tense systems in Japanese, Beijing Mandarin, Taiwan Mandarin, Taiwanese and English are categorized into three types: past/non-past, realis/irrealis and past/present/future tense system.

In Beijing Mandarin and Japanese, a two-way-contrast (i.e., past versus non-past) tense system is applied to explain the temporal relation. When speech time is behind the event and reference time, it forms past tense; for instance, the sentence pattern *ni itta* in Japanese and ‘V *le* LOC *qu*’ in Beijing Mandarin (e.g., *Lao-shi qu-nian tian-tian dao-le shi-chang* ‘The teacher went to the market everyday last year.’) On the other hand, when speech time is ahead of the event and reference time, it forms a non-past tense; for instance, the sentence pattern *ni iru* in Japanese and ‘V LOC *qu*’ (e.g., *Lao-shi xian-zai dao shi-chang qu* ‘The teacher is going to the market.’ and *Lao-shi deng-hui-er dao shi-chang qu* ‘The teacher will go to the market later.’)

Another two-way-contrast (i.e., realis versus irrealis) tense system is used in Taiwan Mandarin and Taiwanese. In conveying the realis tense, event and reference time precedes the speech setting time (e.g., *Lao-shi zuo-tian (you) zai jia-li* ‘The teacher was at home yesterday’ and *Lao-shi jin-tian (you) zai jia-li* ‘The teacher is at home today’ in Taiwan Mandarin; *Lau7-su1 chah8-jit8 (u7) ti7 chhu3—nih4* ‘The teacher was at home yesterday’ and *Lau7-su1 kin1-a2-jit8 (u7) ti7-chhu3* ‘The teacher is at home today’ in Taiwanese.) In terms of irrealis tense, event and reference time will be ahead of speech time, such as *Lao-shi ming-tian hui zai-jia* ‘The teacher will be at home tomorrow’ and *Lau7-su1 bin5-a2-chai3 e5 ti7-chhu3* ‘The teacher will be at home tomorrow’.

However, English uses a three-way-contrast (past versus present versus future) tense system in managing temporal relation. In past tense, speech setting

time is ahead of event and reference time, such as *The teacher was at home yesterday*; in present tense, event, reference and speech setting time occur simultaneously as in *The teacher is at home today*; in future tense, event and reference time will be ahead of speech setting time, for example *The teacher will be at home tomorrow*.

2.4. Four deixis from speech setting viewpoints

In conveying the spatial relationship, the word order of locomotives often reveals the circumstance the speaker is in. We have explored the temporal and spatial deixis; in 2.4 we conclude four main deixis from speech setting viewpoints: (1) deixis based on directional distance, such as *zhe/chia1/here*, *na/hia1/there* (2) motional deixis, such as *lai/lai5/come* and *qu/khi3/go* (3) deixis from the interlocutor's speech setting viewpoint, such as *wo/goa2/I*, *ni/li2/you* and *ta/i1/he* (4) deixis conveying the temporal change, such as *dao xian-zai/kau3 chit8-chun7/until now*, *dao na-shi/kau3 hit1-si5/until then*. These four kinds of deixis can co-occur and form the context like *lai wo xian-zai zhe-li* 'come my here now' and *qu ta xian-zai na-li* 'go his now there'. However, it is common to use the simplified sentence patterns *V-lai* 'V-come' and *V-chu-qu* 'V-exit-go'.

2.5. Collocation between locomotives and locales

The meaning and implication of event-setting oriented locomotive words (e.g., *jip8* 'enter' and *chhut4* 'exit') are best shown through sentence patterns. In Table 1, types of locomotion with regard to the Patient's locale are conveyed by the collocation between locomotives and locales. Action verbs will precede locomotive expressions, preposition and then the goal.

Table 1. Sentence patterns of expressions of locale and locomotion under event setting

V	Vsf	Nloc	Prep.	Prep.	goal	goal
action verb	locomotion				locale	locale

The Taiwanese examples are shown in Table 2. The action verb (e.g.,

pe5 ‘crawl’) connects with locomotives (e.g., *chhut4* ‘exit’), then the optional preposition (e.g., *kau3 ti7* ‘arrive at’) and the goal (e.g., *goa7-bin7* ‘outside’). The whole sentence will be *pe5 chhut4 kau3 ti7 goa7-bin7* ‘crawl exit arrive at outside.’ However, there is another type of locomotives (e.g., *lai5* ‘come’) which needs to collocate with the goal containing reference (e.g., *goa2 chia1* ‘I-here’).

Table 2. Taiwanese expressions of locale and locomotion under event setting

Collocation between locomotives and locales							
V	Vsf	Nloc	Prep.	Prep.	goal	goal	
					locale	locale	
action	locomotion				goal		
<i>pe5, chau2, kiann5, poe5, lim1, chiah8, thun1, theh8, poann1, siunn7, kong2, hoat4-piau2, be2, be7, siaul</i>	<i>chhut4</i>		<i>kau3</i>	<i>ti7</i>	<i>goa7-bin7</i>		
	<i>jip8</i>				<i>lai7-bin7</i>		
	<i>khi2</i>				<i>teng2-bin7</i>		
	<i>loh8</i>				<i>e7-bin7</i>		
	<i>chin3</i>				<i>cheng5-bin7</i>		
	<i>the3</i>				<i>au7-bin7</i>		
	<i>koe3</i>				<i>li5-ui7</i>		
	<i>oa2</i>				<i>hap8-ui7</i>		
	<i>ong2</i>				<i>pat8-ui7</i>		
	<i>tng2</i>				<i>goan5-ui7</i>		
			<i>lai5</i>				<i>goa2 chia1</i>
			<i>lai5</i>				<i>lan2 chia1</i>
			<i>khi3</i>				<i>li2 hia1</i>
			<i>khi3</i>				<i>il hia1</i>
		<i>khi3</i>				<i>in1 hia1</i>	

In contrast, the Mandarin examples are shown in Table 3. Like Taiwanese, the locomotive terms are categorized into two types: one is based on locale and another is from the speaker’s viewpoint. With the locomotives from speaker’s viewpoint, the goal must contain the reference (e.g., *ni na-li* ‘you there’).

Table 3. Mandarin expressions of locale and locomotion under event setting

Collocation between locomotives and locales								
V	Vsf		Nloc	Prep.	Prep.	Goal	goal	
	locomotion					locale	locale	
	locale viewpoints	speaker's viewpoints				goal	goal	
<i>pa, zou, xing, fei, he, chi, tun, na, ban, xiang, shuo, fa-biao, mai, mai, xiao</i>	<i>chu</i>			<i>dao</i>		<i>wai-mian</i>		
	<i>jin</i>					<i>nei-mian</i>		
	<i>ci</i>					<i>shang-mian</i>		
	<i>luo</i>					<i>xia-mian</i>		
	<i>jin</i>					<i>qian-mian</i>		
	<i>tui</i>					<i>hou-mian</i>		
	<i>guo</i>					<i>li-wei</i>		
	<i>yi</i>					<i>he-wei</i>		
	<i>wang</i>					<i>bie-wei</i>		
	<i>hui</i>					<i>yuan-wei</i>		
			<i>lai</i>					<i>wo zhe-li</i>
			<i>qu</i>					<i>ni na-li</i>
		<i>qu</i>					<i>ta na-li</i>	

As been mentioned previously, the simplified sentence patterns are sometimes used. The locomotive verbs (e.g., Taiwanese *lai5* ‘come’) contain the meaning which is expressed by the locomotive verbs with unhidden locale (e.g., *lai5 goa2 chial* ‘come my here’). The sentence patterns are illustrated as in Table 4.

Table 4. Sentence patterns for expressions of locale and locomotion under speech setting

Collocation between locomotives and locales						
	action	locale viewpoints	speaker's viewpoints	event setting	speech setting locale	
hidden locale	original tone					
	<i>lai5</i>					
	<i>khi3</i>					
	<i>lai</i> (Mandarin)					
	<i>qu</i> (Mandarin)					
unhidden locale	sandhi tone				sandhi tone	original tone
	<i>lai5</i>				<i>goa2</i>	<i>chia1</i>
	<i>khi3</i>				<i>li2</i>	<i>hia1</i>
	<i>khi3</i>				<i>il</i>	<i>hia1</i>

Besides, the collocations between locomotives and locales are with different tones as in Table 5. The original tone is shown in bold form.

Table 5. Sentence patterns for expressions of locale and locomotion under speech setting with tone

Collocation between locomotives and locales						
	action	locale viewpoints	speaker's viewpoints	event setting	speech setting locale	
hidden locale	original tone	neutral tone	neutral tone		sandhi tone	original tone
	<i>kng1</i>	<i>chhut4</i>	<i>lai5</i>			
	<i>kng2</i>	<i>chhut4</i>	<i>lai5</i>			
	<i>sang3</i>	<i>chhut4</i>	<i>lai5</i>			
	<i>sak4</i>	<i>chhut4</i>	<i>lai5</i>			
	<i>kiann5</i>	<i>chhut4</i>	<i>lai5</i>			
	<i>chau2</i>	<i>chhut4</i>	<i>lai5</i>			
	<i>pho7</i>	<i>chhut4</i>	<i>lai5</i>			
	<i>theh8</i>	<i>chhut4</i>	<i>lai5</i>			
unhidden locale	<i>kng1</i>	<i>jip8</i>	<i>khi3</i>	<i>lai7-bin7</i>	<i>li2</i>	<i>hia1</i>
	<i>kng2</i>	<i>jip8</i>	<i>khi3</i>	<i>lai7-bin7</i>	<i>i1</i>	<i>hia1</i>
	<i>sang3</i>	<i>jip8</i>	<i>khi3</i>	<i>lai7-bin7</i>	<i>li2</i>	<i>hia1</i>
	<i>sak4</i>	<i>jip8</i>	<i>khi3</i>	<i>lai7-bin7</i>	<i>li2</i>	<i>hia1</i>
	<i>kiann5</i>	<i>jip8</i>	<i>khi3</i>	<i>lai7-bin7</i>	<i>i1</i>	<i>hia1</i>
	<i>chau2</i>	<i>jip8</i>	<i>khi3</i>	<i>lai7-bin7</i>	<i>li2</i>	<i>hia1</i>
	<i>pho7</i>	<i>jip8</i>	<i>khi3</i>	<i>lai7-bin7</i>	<i>i1</i>	<i>hia1</i>
	<i>theh8</i>	<i>jip8</i>	<i>khi3</i>	<i>lai7-bin7</i>	<i>li2</i>	<i>hia1</i>

The pronunciation of the original tone and sandhi tone of verbs in Taiwanese can be predicted because they are categorized according to the eight tones (or actually, seven tones) (Cheng, 1968; Wang, 1995). Furthermore, sentence pattern with clear locale indicates that the centre is the locale; while sentence pattern with hidden locale implies that the centre is the action.

3. Locomotives in VP

3.1. Locomotive sentence patterns in VP

As been mentioned earlier, in conveying the spatial relationship and locomotion, there are two distinct viewpoints: speech and event setting viewpoints. From the speech setting viewpoint, the speaker *goa2* ‘I’ subjectively convey the locomotion; for instance, *lai5 ti7 goa2 chit4-tah1* ‘come at my this-position’, and *lai5 kau3 goa2 chial chi4-tah1* ‘come to my here this-position’, and *lai5 kau3 ti7 goa2 chial chit4-e5 so2-chai7* ‘come to at my here this-NOM place’. From event settings like ‘outside the school, classroom or playground’, locomotion is shown objectively; for example, *jip8 lai7-bin7* ‘enter inside’, *chhut1 goal-bin1* ‘exit outside’, *khi2 teng2-bin7* ‘up upside’, and *loh8 e7-bin7* ‘fall downside’.

In locomotive VPs, verbs act as the heads while locales and locomotives as function words. The sentential positions will be illustrated through the absolute value—‘0’ as the head and ‘1, 2, 3’ as the function words. The word order is revealed through positive and negative markers: 0 as the head will stand at the center; positive marker (+3>+2>+1) represents the function words that are in the front of the head; negative numbers (-1>-2>-3) are the function words following the head. The distance between heads and function words is marked as following:

Table 6. Sentential position of the heads (0) and locales (1) in VP locomotion

	VP Locomotion												
word order parameter	+1b			+1a			0	-1a			-1b		
grammatical category	PP			PP			V	PP			PP		
word order parameter	+1	0	-1	+1	0	-1		+1	0	-1	+1	0	-1
grammatical category	Ppre	NPLoc	Ppost	Ppre	NPLoc	Ppost		Ppre	NPLoc	Ppost	Ppre	NPLoc	Ppost

English						walked	from	home		to	school	
						came	from	Jiayi		to	Taipei	
classical Mandarin						bu	you	jia		zhi	xue-tang	
						lai	zi	Jiayi		zhi	Taipei	
Japanese		ie	kara		gakkou	made	aru	ita				
		Jiayi	kara		Taipei	e	kita					
Mandarin				cong	jiali		zou	dao	xue-xiao			
				you	Jiayi		lai	dao	Taipei			
Taiwanese				tui3	chhu3-nih4		kian5	kau3	hak8-hau7			
				iu5	ka1-gi7		lai5	kau3	Tai5-pak8			
Hakka				dui	cuoli		xing	dao	xuexi-ao			
				you	Jiayi		lai	dao	Taipei			
Taiwanese							thun7-jip8-khi3		pak4-to2-lai7			
Taiwanese							chin3-khau2-jip8-lai5		kok4-lai5			
Taiwanese				tui3	Tai5-lam5		ke3-khi3		Jit8-pun2			
Taiwanese				iu5	png7-tiam3		be2 pian7-tong1		chhu3-nih4			

Whether in English, classical Chinese, Japanese, Mandarin, Taiwanese or Hakka, the verbs serve as the head with the prepositional phrases ahead of and followed by them.

3.2. *lai5*+VP and *khi3*+VP in English, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Japanese

In Taiwanese, *lai5* ‘come’ and *khi3* ‘go’ do not necessarily function as locomotive verbs (Lu, 1985); for example, *lai5* ‘come’ and *khi3* ‘go’ act like serial verbs in VP *lai5* VP ‘VP come VP’ and VP *khi3* VP ‘VP go VP’. Furthermore, they perform the speech act of requiring someone to do something in *chhiann2 khi3* VP ‘please go VP’. Thus, *chhiann2 lin2 khi3* VP ‘please you go VP’ means ‘you do something but I/we won’t participate in’ (e.g., *chhiann2 tai1-ke1 khi3 koo2-hiong1 tiaul-cha1 sit8-hong2* ‘Go to the countries and investigate the fact, please.’) Besides, *lai5* ‘come’ and *khi3* ‘go’ in the pattern *hoo7 goa2 lai5* VP ‘let I come VP’ are applied to perform the speech act of letting speaker do something. Therefore, *hoo7 il khi3 cho3, goa2/goan2 bo5-beh4 chham1-u2* ‘let him/her go do, I NEG-will participate in’ means ‘let him/her to do something but I/we won’t participate in’ (e.g. *hoo7 goa2 e5 choo7-li2 khi3 tiaul-cha1 chheng1-chho2* ‘Let my assistant to investigate it clearly.’) The same consequence is applied to the plural form (e.g., *hoo7 in1 kok4-te7 e5 giap8-bu7 khi3 chhui1-siaul* ‘Let the service sales from all over the country to merchandise (something).’) In *goa2 lai5 kho2-li7 chit8-e7* ‘Let me take something into consideration’, *goa2/goan2 lai5* VP ‘I come VP’ conveys the semantics ‘I will participate in do something’; *lan2 lai5* VP ‘we come VP’ means ‘we both will participate in doing something’ (e.g., *lan2 lai5 ka7 chan3-cho7* ‘Let’s sponsor (someone).’) *Li2 khi3* VP ‘you go VP’, on the other hand, means ‘you do something but I/we won’t participate in’ (e.g., *li2 khi3 kho2-li1 chit8-e7* ‘you take something into consideration’.) In addition to Taiwanese, the non-locomotive functions of *lai5* ‘come’ and *khi3* ‘go’ also exist in their English, Mandarin and Japanese counterparts. The comparison of non-locomotives across languages is shown as following:

Table 7. Translations of sentence patterns with speech act *lai5*+VP and *khi3*+VP across languages

	English	Taiwanese	Mandarin	Japanese patterns	Japanese
<i>lai</i> +VP 'come VP'	let me VP/ I will VP	<i>goa2 lai5</i> <i>se2-chhiu2</i> 'I come wash-hand'	<i>wo lai xi-shou</i> 'I come wash-hand'	VP+ <i>ou</i> 'VP come'	<i>boku te o ara ou</i> 'I hand wash come'
	let's V/ we will VP	<i>lan2 lai5</i> <i>se2-chhiu2</i> 'we come wash-hand'	<i>zan-men lai xi-shou</i> 'we come wash-hand'		<i>boku tati te o ara.ou</i> 'we hand wash come'
<i>qu</i> +VP 'go VP'	will you+VP	<i>chheng2 li2/lin2</i> <i>khi3 se2-chhiu2</i> 'please you(SG)/you(PL) go wash-hand'	<i>qing ni/ni-men qu xi-shou</i> 'please you(SG)/you(PL) go wash-hand'	VP+ <i>e</i> 'VP go'	<i>kimi te o ara.e/ ara.i nasai</i> 'you(SG) hand wash go/ wash please' <i>kimitati te o ara.e/ara.i,nasai</i> 'you(PL) hand wash go/ wash please'
<i>qu</i> +VP 'go VP'	let him VP/ let them VP	<i>hoo7 i1 khi3</i> <i>se2-chhiu2</i> 'let s/he go wash-hand' <i>hoo7 in1 khi3</i> <i>se2-chhiu2</i> 'let them go wash-hand'	<i>rang ta qu xi-shou</i> 'let s/he go wash-hand' <i>rang ta-men qu xi-shou</i> 'let them go wash-hand'	VP+ <i>sase te</i> <i>/sase.nasai</i> 'VP let'	<i>kare ni te o arai sase te/arai sase.nasai</i> 's/he hand wash let go/ wash let go please' <i>kare ni te o arai sase te/arai sase.nasai</i> 'them hand wash let go/ wash let go please'
<i>lai-qu</i> +VP 'come-go VP'	let me go to VP	<i>hoo7 goa1 lai5</i> <i>khi3 se2-chhiu2</i> 'let me come-go wash-hand'	<i>rang wō qu xi-shou</i> 'let me go wash- hands'	VP+ <i>ni ikou</i> 'VP go'	<i>boku te o ara i ni ikou</i> 'I hand wash go'
	let's go to VP	<i>lan2 lai5-khi3</i> <i>se2-chhiu2</i> 'we come-go wash-hand'	<i>zan-men qu xi-shou ba</i> 'we go wash- hand PART'		<i>te o ara i ni ikou</i> 'hand wash go'

(The corresponsive Japanese sentence patterns to Taiwanese *lai5*+VP and *khi3*+VP are VP+*ou* and VP+*e*)

3.3. Insertion in the locomotive VR construction between Mandarin and Taiwanese

Both Mandarin and Taiwanese contain the VR constructions, though, the grammaticalization and semantics of the VR constructions vary in insertion (Li, 1988). In the sentences focusing on movement, results from locomotion are emphasized when rhetorical question acts as insertion (interference) in the VR. For example:

1. Taiwanese:

- (1) a. *Chhian5 na2-e7 chhut1-khi3?* ‘Can (it) be moved outside?’
 b. *Na2-e7-tit1 chhian5 chhut1-khi3?* ‘How can (it) be moved outside?’

2. Mandarin:

- (2) a. *Qian de chu-qu ma?* ‘Can (it) be moved outside?’
 b. *Na-li neng-gou qian chu-qu?* ‘How can (it) be moved outside?’

In (1)a and (2)a, the focus of the utterances will be the result of moving outside.

When Mandarin and Taiwanese are compared, there are only two choices of inference in the sentence pattern ‘V (Inf) R’ in Mandarin while 12 alternatives in V ((SaInf) EpInf) R in Taiwanese. Besides, in Taiwanese, the position of insertion rhetorical question (*kam2* ‘dare’, *na2* ‘how’) is usually in the front of VR (*kam2+VR*, *na2+VR*). The modals *u7/bo5/iau3-be7* ‘have/not/not yet’ mostly precede VR (i.e., ‘modal + VR’) and make VR the focus when representing as the insertion. For example, *iau3-be7 chhian5 chhut1-khi3 leh1* ‘not yet move exit-go PART’ focused on the fact that the action of moving to outside has not been done. In contrast, *chhian5 iau3 be7 chhut1-khi3 leh1* ‘yet move not exit-go PART’ states that the movement of moving outside is undergoing while not attained. On the other hand, the modal *iau3-be7* ‘not yet’ in Mandarin counterpart (i.e., *hai-mei-you* ‘not yet’) contains only one expression ‘modal + VR’; for instance, *hai-mei-you qian chu-qu ne* ‘not yet move exit-go PART’. Unlike Taiwanese, there is no insertion in Mandarin, **qian hai-mei-you chu-qu ne*. Obviously, the alternations of VR in Taiwanese are much richer than in Mandarin.

Table 8. Insertion in locomotive VR in Mandarin and Taiwanese

semantic		Mandarin sentence pattern	Mandarin examples	Taiwanese sentence patterns	Taiwanese examples	
semantic focus: complement	sentence pattern	V(Inf) R		V((SaInf) EpInf) R		
	statement	V de R 'V can R'	<i>qian de chu-qu</i> 'move can exit-go'	V e7 R 'V can R'	<i>chhian1 e7 chhut1-khi3</i> 'move can exit-go'	
		V bu R 'V cannot R'	<i>qian bu chu-qu</i> 'move cannot exit-go'	V be7 R 'V cannot R'	<i>chhian1 be7 chhut1-khi3</i> 'move cannot exit-go'	
				V u7 R 'V have R'	<i>chhian1 u7 chhut1-khi3 a2</i> 'move have exit-go PART'	
				V bo5 R 'V not R'	<i>chhian1 bo5 chhut1-khi3</i> 'move not exit-go'	
				V iau3-be7 R 'V not yet R'	<i>chhian1 iau3-be7 chhut1-khi3 leh4</i> 'move not yet exit-go PART'	
				V tih4-beh4 R 'V be about to R'	<i>chhian1 tih4-beh4 chhut1-khi3 a2</i> 'move be about to exit-go PART'	
	rhetorical question			V kam2-u7 R 'V KAM-have R'	<i>chhian1 kam2-u7 chhut1-khi3</i> 'move KAM-have exit-go'	
				V kam2-u7 R Loc 'V KAM-have R Loc'	<i>chhian1 kam2-u7 jip8-khi3 lai7-bin7</i> 'move KAM-have enter-go inside'	
				V na2-e7 R 'V how-can R'	<i>chhian1 na2-e7 chhut1-khi3</i> 'move how-can exit-go'	
	semantic focus: VR construction	sentence pattern	modal+VR		modal+VR	
		statement	<i>ke-yi</i> VR 'can VR'	<i>ke-yi qian chu-qu</i> 'can move exit-go'	<i>e7-tit4</i> VR 'can VR'	<i>e7-tit4 chhian1 chhut1-khi3 a2</i> 'can move exit-go PART'
<i>neng-gou</i> VR 'can VR'			<i>neng-gou qian chu-qu</i> 'can move exit-go'	<i>e7-tit4</i> VR 'can VR'	<i>e7-tit4 chhian1 chhut1-khi3 a2</i> 'can move exit-go PART'	

		<i>bu-neng-gou</i> VR 'cannot VR'	<i>bu-neng-go</i> <i>u qian</i> <i>chu-qu</i> 'cannot move exit-go'	<i>be7-tit4</i> VR 'cannot VR'	<i>be7-tit4 chhian1</i> <i>chhut1-khi3</i> 'cannot move exit-go'
		V <i>le</i> R 'V PERF R'	<i>qian le</i> <i>chu-qu le</i> 'move PERF exit-go PERF'	<i>u7</i> VR 'have R'	<i>u7 chhian1</i> <i>chhut1-khi3</i> 'have move exit-go'
		<i>mei-you</i> VR 'not VR'	<i>mei-you</i> <i>qian chu-qu</i> 'not move exit-go'	<i>bo5</i> VR 'not VR'	<i>bo5 chhian1</i> <i>chhut1-khi3</i> 'not move exit-go'
		<i>hai-mei-you</i> VR 'not yet VR'	<i>Hai-mei-yo</i> <i>u qian</i> <i>chu-qu le</i> 'not yet move exit-go PART'	<i>iau3-be7</i> VR 'not yet VR'	<i>iau3-be7</i> <i>chhian1</i> <i>chhut1-khi3 leh1</i> 'not yet move exit-go PART'
		<i>kuai-yao</i> VR 'be about to VR'	<i>Kuai-yao</i> <i>chu-qu le</i> 'be about to outside PART'	<i>tih4-beh4</i> VR 'be about to VR'	<i>Tih4-beh4</i> <i>chhian1</i> <i>chhut1-khi3 a2</i> 'be about to move exit-go PART'
	sentence pattern	rhetorical question+ modal+ VR		rhetorical question + modal+ VR	
	rhetorical question	V <i>le</i> R <i>mei-you</i> 'V PERF not'	<i>Qian le</i> <i>chu-qu</i> <i>mei-you?</i> 'move PERF exit-go not?'	<i>kam2-u7</i> VR 'KAM-have VR'	<i>Kam2-u7 chhian1</i> <i>chhut1-khi3</i> 'KAM-have move exit-go'
VR <i>le</i> Loc <i>qu</i> <i>mei-you</i> 'V PERF Loc not'		<i>Qian jin le</i> <i>li-tou qu</i> <i>mei-you?</i> 'move enter PERF inside go not'	<i>kam2-u7</i> VR Loc 'KAM-have VR Loc'	<i>kam2-u7 chhian1</i> <i>jip8-khi3 lai7-bin7?</i> 'KAM-have move enter-go inside'	
<i>nan-dao</i> <i>mei-you</i> VR Loc 'is it possible not VR Loc'		<i>Nan-dao</i> <i>mei-you</i> <i>qian jin-qu</i> <i>nei-mian?</i> 'is it possible not move enter-go inside'	<i>kam2-u7</i> VR Loc 'KAM-have VR Loc'	<i>kam2-u7 chhian1</i> <i>jip8-khi3 lai7-bin7?</i> 'KAM-have move enter-go inside'	

		<i>zen-me neng-gou VR</i> 'how can VR'	<i>Zen-me neng- gou qian chu-qu?</i> 'how can move exit-go'	<i>na2 e7-tit4 VR</i> 'how can VR'	<i>Na2 e7-tit4 chhian1 chhut1-khi3?</i> 'how can move exit-go'
		<i>zen-me hai-mei-you R</i> 'why not yet R'	<i>Zen-me ha-mei-you qian chu-qu?</i> 'why not yet move exit-go'	<i>na2 iau2-be7 VR</i> 'why not yet VR'	<i>Na2 iau2-be7 chhian1 chhut1-khi3?</i> 'why not yet move exit-go'
	sentence pattern	rhetorical question + V+modal+R		rhetorical question + V+modal +R	
semantic focus: complement	rhetorical question	<i>V le R mei-you</i> 'V PART R not'	<i>Qian le chu-qu mei-you?</i> 'move PART exit-go not'	<i>kam2 V u7 R</i> 'KAM V have R'	<i>Kam2 chhian1 u7 chhut1-khi3?</i> 'KAM move have exit-go'
		<i>VR le Loc qu mei-you</i> 'VR PART go not'	<i>Qian jin le li-tou qu mei-you?</i> 'move enter PART inside go not'	<i>kam2 V u7 R Loc</i> 'KAM V have R Loc'	<i>Kam2 chhian1 u7 jip8-khi3 lai7-bin7?</i> 'KAM move have enter-go inside'
		<i>zen-me V de R</i> 'how V can R'	<i>Zen-me qian de chu-qu?</i> 'how move can exit-go'	<i>na2 V e7 R</i> 'how V can R'	<i>Na2 chhian1 e7 chhut1-khi3?</i> 'how move can exit-go'
		<i>hai mei-you V R ma</i> 'not yet VR Q'	<i>Hai-mei-you qian jin-qu ma?</i> 'not yet move enter-go Q'	<i>na2 V iau2-be7 R</i> 'how V not yet R'	<i>Na2 chhian1 iau2-be7 jip8-khi3?</i> 'how move not yet enter-go'
		<i>mei-you V dao Loc R ma</i> 'not V to Loc R Q'	<i>Mei-you qian dao shi-wai qu ma?</i> 'not move to suburb go Q'	<i>kam2 V bo5 R</i> 'KAM V not R'	<i>Kam2 chhian1 bo5 chhut1-khi3 chhi7-goa7?</i> 'KAM move not exit-go suburb'

The semantic focus may fall on the complement or on the whole VR construction. With the 'V(Inf) R' construction, both Mandarin and Taiwanese focus on meaning in complement either in statement or in rhetorical questions. On the other hand, with modals, the semantic focus will be on the whole VR

construction either in the statement or in rhetorical question. In addition, with the sentence pattern ‘rhetorical question+V+modal+R’, the meaning expressed by complement will be emphasized.

4. Spatial sentence patterns in AP

A spatial sentence pattern mainly involves distance terms (e.g., *sann1 kong1-hun1* ‘three centimeter’), adjective heads describing distance (e.g., *kin7* ‘near’) and gradable adjective (e.g., *kek8 liau2* ‘extremely PART’). Basically, there are five spatial sentence patterns:

(1) Intensity judgment:

a. *chiok1/ chin1/ u7-kau3/ tam7-poh8+kin7/ hng7*

‘very/ really/ to a degree/ a little bit + near/ far’

b. *kin7/hng7+kek8 or kin7/hng7+kek8 liau2*

‘near/far + extremely’ or ‘near/far + extremely PART’

(2) Comparative:

a. *u7+sann1 kong1-hun1/ si3 kong1-li2+ hiah1/ hiah1-lin1+kin7/ hng7*

‘have + three centimeters/ four kilometers + that/ so + near/ far’

b. *bo5-kau3+ sann1 kong1-hun1/ chap8 hun1-cheng1 e5 kau1-thong1
si5-kan1+ hiah1/ hiah1-lin1+ kin7/ hng7*

‘not-enough +three centimeters / minutes NOM transportation
time+ that/so +near/far’

c. *u7+ sann1 kong1-hun1/ si3 kong1-li2+hiah1/hiah1-lin1+kin7/hng7+
e5 theng5-to7*

‘have + three centimeters/ four kilometers + that/ so + near/ far+
NOM degree’

d. *pi2+Tai5-tiong1/ Tai5-lam5/ lin2 tau1+ kha2/ koh1-kha2/ ke1-chin1/
ka1-poe7 +kin7/hng7*

‘compare+ Taichung/ Tainan/ your home+ more/ even more/ much
more/ double + near/ far’

e. *pi2+ Tai5-tiong1/ Tai5-lam5/ lin2 tau1+ kha2/ koh1-kha2+kin7/*

hng7+ e5 theng5-to7

‘compare+ Taichung/ Tainan/ your home+ more/ much more+ near/
far+ NOM degree’

(3) Superlative:

a. *ti7 so2-iu2 e5 te7-tiam2 tiong1+ choe3/siong7/ siong7-kai3/ te7-it1+ A*
‘exist all NOM locations in+ most/top/top place/first place+ adjectives’

b. *se3 kai3 it1/ choan5-to2 it1+ e5+ hng7*
‘world first/ island first + NOM + far’

(4) To certain degree:

a. *siunn1/ siunn1-koe3-thau3+ kin7/hng7*
‘hurt/ overly hurt + near/far’

b. *kin7/hng7+ kau3+ chhiu2 bong1 e7-tioh8/ su1-iau3 che7 hui1-ki1/
sann1 sio2-si5 e5 chhia1/ kau3+khoann3-e7-tioh8 +e5 theng5-to7*
‘near/far’+ to + hand touch can-TIOH/ need take plane/
three hours NOM car/ to+see-can TIOH+ NOM degree

c. *hng7+kau3+ kau1-thong1 hui3 chin1 siong1-tiong7/
kau1-thong1 hui3 e7 siong1-hai7 chai5-bu7+ e5 theng5-to7*
‘far+ to+ transportation expenses so hurt/
transportation expenses will hurt finance+ NOM degree’

(5) Vivid reduplication:

Vivid-reduplication sentences use the acoustics, reduplication and tone sandhi, to express the spatial sentences. In the paper, we employ boldface and different fonts to represent them (e.g., *kin7 kin7 a2* ‘near near PART’, *hng7 hng7 a2* ‘far far PART’, *te2 te2 a2* ‘short short PART’, *tng5 tng5 tng5* ‘long long long’). The original tone is in boldface with the biggest font (e.g., *kin7 kin7 a2*). The sandhi tone is in medium size (*kin7 kin7 a2*) and the neutral tone is in smallest font (e.g., *kin7 kin7 a2*).

Both in Mandarin and Taiwanese AP templates, the five sentence patterns expressing degree of quality are mutually exclusive; for example, **chin1 kin7 kin7 a2* ‘really near near PART’, **chiok1 kin7 kek8* ‘very near extreme’, **siunn1-*

koe3-thau3 chiok1 hng7 ‘overly-hurt very far’.

Though the complete terms (i.e., expressions with the term *e5 theng5-to7* ‘NOM degree’) in conveying degree of quality (e.g., *ai3 kau3 beh1 si2-khi3 e5 theng5-to7* ‘love to will die-go NOM degree’) are rarely used, they are usually compared among Taiwanese, English and Japanese (e.g., comparing the sentence like ‘love the baby to the extent of going to die-go.) A more simplified sentence pattern *ai3 kau3 beh1 si2-khi3* ‘love to will die-go’ is commonly used; though, it does not contain the para-translation between Mandarin and Japanese or between Mandarin and English.

4.1. Correlative conditional sentence patterns: *lu2-lai5-lu2* A ‘more-come-more A’ versus *lu2-khi3-lu2* A ‘more-go-more A’

In this section, we explore the correlative conditional sentence patterns. In Mandarin (*yue-lai-yue* A) and English, there are conditional sentence patterns in which result changes along with the conditions, so does Taiwanese. For example, the sentence pattern *lu2-lai5-lu2 kin7* ‘more-come-more near’ expresses the condition of a gradual decrease of distance. On the contrary, sentence pattern *lu2-khi3-lu2 hng7* ‘more-go-more far’ expresses the gradual increase of distance from the speech setting or toward destination.

The causal relationship between time length and distance in conditional sentence patterns is as following: sentence pattern *lu2-lai5-lu2* A ‘more-come-more A’ shows the condition of time approach to now with the distance decreased between the speaker and the thing s/he is referring to (e.g., *lu2 kin7*). The other sentence pattern *lu2-khi3-lu2* A ‘more-go-more A’ shows the condition of time departing from now with the result of distance increased between the speaker and the thing s/he is referring to (e.g., *lu2 hng7* ‘more far’). In addition to describing the relationship between time and distance, the constructions *lu2-lai5-lu2* A ‘more-come-more A’ and *lu2-khi3-lu2* A ‘more-go-more A’ also show the qualitative increase of certain states (e.g., *lu2-lai5-lu2 chhong1-beng5 chhong1-beng5* ‘more smart.’). The causal relationships will be explored more in Chapter

4.2. The correlative conditional sentence patterns *lu2-lai5-lu2 A* ‘more-come-more A’ and *lu2-khi3-lu2 A* ‘more-go-more A’ in Mandarin, English and Taiwanese are shown in Table 9.

Table 9. Correlative conditional sentence patterns: *lu2-lai5-lu2 A* ‘more-come-more A’ and *lu2-khi3-lu2 A* ‘more-go-more A’

		<i>lu2-lai5-lu2 A</i> ‘more-come-more A’	
		Mandarin and English sentence patterns and examples	Taiwanese and Japanese sentence patterns and examples
semantic categories		<i>yue-lai-yue A</i> ‘more-come-more A’	<i>lu2-lai5-lu2-A</i> ‘more-go-more A’
M/T	cause: temporal distance	gradual approach to speech setting <i>yue-lai-yue jin xian-di wo zhe-li</i> ‘more-come-more near now my here’	<i>lu2-lai5-lu2 chiap4-kin7 goa2 hian7-ie7 goa2 chia1</i> ‘more-come-more near my now here’
M/T	result: distance both the	gradual decrease of distance <i>yue-lai-yue suo-duan yu xian-di wo zhe-li de ju-li.</i> ‘more-come-more shorten with now my here NOM distance’	<i>lu2-lai5-lu2 siok4-toan2 kap4 goa2 hian7-chai7 e5 ki7-li7</i> ‘more-come-more shorten with my NOM distance’
E/J	degree of distance and temporal distance	gradual approach to speech setting ‘the more recent the more A’	<i>genzai ni tikayoru ni turete, motto A ni natte kita</i> ‘now near is more A become come’
E/J	distance increase	gradual decrease of distance gradual increase in the degree of nearness or shortening of distance according to the gradual approach to the current time	<i>genzai ni tikayoru ni turete imano basyo to no kyori ga dandan motto tizunde kita</i> ‘now near is, now locale NOM gradual more near come’
		<i>lu2-khi3-lu2 A</i> ‘more-go-more A’	
		Mandarin and English sentence patterns and examples	Taiwanese and Japanese sentence patterns and examples
M/T	gradual departure from speech setting	<i>yue-qu-yue yuan-li xian-zai wo zhe-li</i> ‘more-go-more far-away now my here’	<i>lu2-khi3-lu2 oan2-li7 hian-chai7 goa2 chia1</i> ‘more-go-more far-away now my here’

		gradual increase of distance	<i>yue-qu-yue zeng-jia yu wo xian-zai zhe-di-fang de ju-li</i> 'more-go-more increase with my now this-locale NOM distance'	<i>lu2-khi3-lu2 cheng1-ka1 kap4 goa2 hian7-chai7 che1 so2-chai7 e5 ki7-li7</i> 'more-go-more increase with my now this-locale NOM distance'
E/J		gradual departure from speech setting	'the more remote the more A'	<i>jikan ga tatu ni turete, motto A ni natte iku</i> 'time far is, more A become come'
E/J		gradual increase of distance	gradual increase of distance according to the gradual departure from the current time	<i>jikan ga tatu ni turete, motto imano basyo kara dandan hanarete iku</i> 'time far is, more now locale from gradual depart go'
<i>lu2-lai5-lu2</i> A 'more-come-more A'				
			Mandarin and English sentence patterns and examples	Taiwanese and Japanese sentence patterns and examples
M/T		gradual approach to speech setting	<i>yue-lai-yue jin wo xian-zai zhe-shi-hou</i> 'more-come-more near my now this-moment'	<i>lu2-lai5-lu2 chiap4-kin7 goa2 hian7-chai7 chit4-chun7</i> 'more-come-more near my now this-moment'
M/T		gradual decrease of duration	<i>yue-lai-yue suo-duan yu wo xian-zai zhe-shi de shi-chang</i> 'more-come-more' shorten with my now this-moment NOM time'	<i>lu2-lai5-lu2 siok4-toan2 kap4 goa2 hian7-chai7 chit4-si5 e5 si5-tng5</i> 'more-come-more' shorten with my now this-moment NOM time'
E/J		gradual approach to speech setting	the more recent the less duration	<i>genzai ni tikayoru ni tuite, motto A ni natte kita</i> 'now near is, more A become come'
E/J		gradual decrease of duration	gradual decrease of duration according to the gradual approach to the current time	<i>genzai ni tikayoru ni turete, jikan ga mizikaku natte kita</i> 'now near is, time short-distance become come'
<i>lu2-khi3-lu2</i> A 'more-go-more A'				
			Mandarin and English sentence patterns and examples	Taiwanese and Japanese sentence patterns and examples

M/T		gradual approach to speech setting	<i>yue-qu-yue yuan-li wo xian-zai zhe-shi-hou</i> 'more-go-more far-away my now this-moment'	<i>lu2-khi3-lu2 oan2-li7 goa2 hian7-chai7 chit4-chun7</i> 'more-go-more far-away my now this-moment'
M/T		gradual decrease of distance	<i>yue-qu-yue zeng-jia yu wo xian-zai zhe-shi de shi-chang</i> 'more-go-more increase with my now this-moment NOM time'	<i>lu2-khi3-lu2 cheng1-ka1 kap4 goa2 hian7-chai7 chit4-si5 e5 si5-tng5</i> 'more-go-more increase with my now this-moment NOM time'
E/J		gradual approach to speech setting	'the more remote the longer duration'	<i>genzai kara hanareru ni turete, motto A ni natte iku</i> 'now from depart is, more A become go'
E/J		gradual decrease of distance	gradual increase of duration according to the gradual approach to the current time	<i>genzai kara syourai e jikan ga tuatu ni turete imano basyo to no jikan ga dandan nakaku natte iku. /futee iku</i> 'now from future NOM time near is, now locale NOM time gradual far become go/increase go'
		<i>lu2-lai5-lu2 A 'more-come-more A'</i>		
			Mandarin sentence patterns and examples	Taiwanese sentence patterns and examples
M/T		gradual departure from speech setting	<i>yue-lai-yue jie-jin xian-zai zhe-shi-hou</i> 'more-come-more near now this-moment'	<i>lu2-lai5-lu2 kin7 hian7-chai7 chit4-chun7</i> 'more near now this-moment'
M/T	Cause:	gradual increase of distance	<i>yue-lai-yue cong-ming</i> 'more-come-more smart'	<i>lu2-lai5-lu2 chhong1-beng5</i> 'more-come-more smart'
	temporal distance	<i>lu2-khi3-lu2 A 'more-go-more A'</i>		
			Mandarin sentence patterns and examples	Taiwanese sentence patterns and examples
M/T	Result: the increase of qualitative degree	gradual departure from speech setting	<i>yue-qu-yue yuan-li xian-zai zhe-shi-hou dao wei-lai de shi-hou</i> 'more-go-more far-away now this-moment to future NOM moment'	<i>lu2-khi3-lu2 oan2-li7 hian7-chai7 chit4-chun7 kau3 bi7-lai5 e5 si5-chun7</i> 'more-go-more far-away now this-moment to future NOM moment'
M/T		gradual increase of distance	<i>hui qui-yue han-leng</i> 'will more-go-more cold'	<i>e7 lu2-khi5-lu2 koann5</i> 'will more-go-more cold'

Firstly, the reference time is used to express the distance between one and certain locales. With *lu2-lai5-lu2* A ‘more-come-more A’ sentence pattern, it shows one is near the target locale. On the other hand, with the structure *lu2-khi3-lu2* A ‘more-go-more A’, one is moving away from the locale where s/he is speaking. In addition, the *lu2...lu2* construction can be used to describe the qualitative degree of certain states (e.g., *lu2-lai5-lu2 chhoong1-beng5* ‘smarter’).

4.2. The relationship between temporal movement and change of state

In the temporal movement, the elevation of qualitative degree arouses owing to the increases of time duration and temporal distance, such as the states of love or willing. As what was mentioned earlier, both in Mandarin and Taiwanese, *lai* ‘come’ refers to the gradual approach to speech setting while *qu* ‘go’ the gradual departure from speech setting. In addition to describing a state, sentence patterns with *lai* ‘come’ and *qu* ‘go’ can serve as the conditional sentences with the change of qualitative degree to the state; that is, sentences with *lai* ‘come’ and *qu* ‘go’ indicate the results have been changed (e.g., ‘love something’ becomes ‘love something more’). In the following, we are going to compare the sentence patterns in Mandarin and in Taiwanese in dealing with the relationship between temporal situation of a state and its’ results.

Table 10. Sentence patterns showing the increasing degree of result with *lai* ‘come’ or *qu* ‘go’ in Mandarin and in Taiwanese

Mandarin sentence pattern	Mandarin	Taiwanese sentence pattern	Taiwanese
<i>yue-lai...yue</i> A ‘more-come...more A’	<i>yue-lai sheng-yi yue hao</i> ‘more-come business more good.’	<i>lu2-lai5...lu2</i> A ‘more-come...more A’	<i>lu2-lai5 seng1-li2 lu2 ho2</i> ‘more-come business more-good.’
<i>yue qu...yue</i> A ‘more-go...more A’	<i>yue-qu sheng-yi hui yue hao</i> ‘more-go business will more-good’	<i>lu2-khi3...lu2</i> A ‘more-go...more A’	<i>lu2-khi3 seng1-li2 e7 lu2 ho2</i> ‘more-go business will more-good’

In addition to the sentence patterns in which *yue-lai...yue* ‘more-come... more’ and *yue-qu...yue* ‘more-go...more’ function as the conditional sentences, the gradual increase of qualitative degree (e.g., *yue-jiu* ‘more-long’) will result in the changing of states (e.g., the state of “love” in *kan yue-jiu yue xi-ai* ‘look more-long more love’).

Table 11. Sentence patterns applying variation of qualitative degree in the description of a state

Mandarin sentence pattern	Mandarin examples	Taiwanese sentence pattern	Taiwanese examples
<i>yue-jiu yue A</i> ‘more-long more A’	<i>kan yue-jiu yue xi-ai</i> ‘look more-long more love’	<i>lu2-ku2 lu2 A</i> ‘more-long more A’	<i>khoa3 lu2-ku2 lu2 ai3</i> ‘look more-long more love’
<i>yue-xiang yue A</i> ‘more-think more A’	<i>yue-xiang yue mei ban-fa</i> ‘more-think more no solution’	<i>lu2-siunn7 lu2 A</i> ‘more-think-more A’	<i>lu2-siunn7 lu2 bo5 hoat4-to7</i> ‘more-think more no solution’
<i>yue-A yue VP</i> ‘more-A-more VP’	<i>yue-gui yue mei-yo ren mai</i> ‘more-expensive more no people buy’	<i>lu2-A lu2 VP</i> ‘more-A-more VP’	<i>lu2-kui3 lu2 bo5 lang5 be2</i> ‘more-expensive more no people buy’
<i>yue- MOD yue VP</i> ‘more-MOD more VP’	<i>ni yue-bu-yao mai, ta yue guchui</i> ‘you more-not-want buy, he more promote’	<i>lu2- MOD lu2 VP</i> ‘more-MOD more VP’	<i>li2 lu2-bo5-ai3 be2, i1 lu2 ko2-bu2</i> ‘you more-not-want buy, he more promote’
<i>yue-A yue VP</i> ‘more-A more VP’	<i>ni yue-kao-jin, ta yue duo-kai</i> ‘you more-near, he more evade’	<i>lu2-A lu2 VP</i> ‘more-A more VP’	<i>li2 lu2-oa2-khi3, i2 lu2 siam2-khui1</i> ‘you more-near, he more evade’
<i>yue A yue Vaux</i> ‘more A more Vaux’	<i>ren yue lao, yue bu-rong-yi sheng xiao-hai</i> ‘people-more-old more not-easy give birth-child’	<i>lu2 A lu2 Vaux</i> ‘more-A-more Vaux’	<i>lang5 lu2 lau2, lu2 bo5-iong5-i7 senn1-kiann2</i> ‘people more old more not-easy give birth-child’
<i>yue-A yue Vaux</i> ‘more-A more Vaux’	<i>ren yue-you-qian, yue bu yuan-yi jiao-shui</i> ‘people more-rich more not willing pay-tax’	<i>lu2-A lu2 Vaux</i> ‘more-A more Vaux’	<i>lang5 lu2-u7-chinn5, lu2 bo5 goan7-i3 kiau2-soe3</i> ‘people more-rich more not willing pay-tax’

In Table 11, there is a causal relationship between two conditions in these compound sentences. For example, in the Mandarin example *kan yue-jiu yue-xi-ai* ‘look more-long more love’, the condition is seeing and the result is the likeness. To make her/him love someone more, the time for seeing that person should increase.

5. Directional sentence pattern in IP

In addition to VP and AP, directional sentence patterns also reflect in the IP. Generally, the locale of a place (‘Nloc’) acts as the head with the expressions *mian-xiang Nloc* ‘face-toward Nloc’ and *ren xiang-dui Nloc* ‘people toward-at’ to convey the relationship between the person and locale which s/he is facing. There are mainly three viewpoints in IP: viewpoints from boundary, capital, and the viewpoint combining these two kinds above together.

Within the first kind of viewpoint, there are three sub-categories of IP. In the first sub-category, North and South Pole are used as the criterion; thus we have the expressions *ng1 lam5* ‘toward south’ and *ng1 pak4* ‘toward north’. When describing the relative position of a thing to an Figure (i.e., the object), we use the standard North and South Pole and have the expressions like *chhu3 ng1 lam5* ‘home toward south’; in connecting with locale, we’ll have utterance like *ng1 lam5 kau3 Tai5-pak4* ‘toward south to Taipei’ to convey that the Figure needs to move toward South Pole if s/he wants to go to Taipei. For the second sub-type, North Pole and South Pole both serve as the boundary with North Pole being the upper side. The locomotion patterns *chiunn7-pak4 /lam5-ha7* ‘up-north/ south-down’ can be combined with locale and form phrases like *loh8 lam5 khi3 Tai5-pak4* ‘down south go Taipei’. In addition to viewing North Pole and South Pole as the standard, sometimes horizontal directions (i.e., west & east) are used in depicting the locale. To convey the relative position of a thing for the Figure, we can use the pattern like *bin7 ng1 tang1* ‘face toward east’. Besides, it’s common to use the direction ‘west’ and ‘east’ in the locomotive sentences; for instance, *ng1 tang1 chau2 lai5/khi3* ‘toward east run come/go’. Finally, when speakers

are connected with a locale, sentences like *chiong5 A ng1 sai1 kainn5* ‘from A toward west walk’ can be used to illustrate the relative position of a locale and Figure’s moving.

The second kind of IP regards capital or province as the center in depicting the locomotion or the relative position between a Figure and a locale. For instance, in Chinese *shang jing* ‘up capital’ conveys the locale of a Figure is in the southern part of a town; *xia xiang* ‘down country’, in contrast, expresses that the locale of a Figure is in the northern part of a town or is on the upper position to the capital; that is, when the Figure wants to go to the country, s/he needs to make trip south.

Finally, the third type of IP combines the viewpoints mentioned above. The dual viewpoints consider capital or province as the upper target with the North Pole and South Pole as the boundary. For example, in Taiwan, the direction of trains follow the rule of viewing the capital ‘Taipei’ as the center with North Pole and South Pole as standard. Accordingly, we use *khi2 khi3 Tai5-pak4* ‘up go Taipei’ to show that the locomotion is moving toward north and the locale of a Figure is at the southern position to Taipei; *loh8 khi3 Ko1-hiong5* ‘down go Kaohsiung’, on the contrary illustrates the moving toward south and the target location Kaohsiung is at the southern position to Taipei. In addition, when connecting with locale, *chiunn7 pak4 khoann3 Chong2-thong2-hu2* ‘up north see Presidential-palace’ shows that the palace of the President is at the upper position to Taipei and one needs to make trip north if s/he wants to arrive at the President’s palace. In contrast, in order to depict that a locale is at the southern part and one needs to move toward South Pole, sentence like *loh8 lam5 hong2-bun7 Tai5-lam5 te7-hng1 chhi7-tiunn2* ‘down south visit Tainan local-mayor’ can be used. In Japanese, the dual viewpoints function as it is in Southern Min, for example, *chiunn7 to1 khoann3 kiong1-siann5* ‘up capital see palace’ views the capital, Tokyo, as the centre with North and South Pole as the locomotive criterion.

6. Word order rules on manner: locale and locomotion in Japanese, English, Mandarin and Taiwanese

In the following, we explore the word order rules on locale and locomotion in Japanese, English, Mandarin and Taiwanese. Japanese is a head-final language in which the function words (e.g., *-kara*, *-e*) occur before a verb; with the post-marks, locale is prior to locomotion and thus the word order of locomotion in Japanese is illustrated as ‘+1a, +1b, 0.’

Table 12. Locomotive word order in Japanese:

Space			
Sentential position	+1a>+1b	0 >0sf	
Frame of Reference (FOR)	Locale	Locomotion	
Event Setting Viewpoint	<i>soto-kara naka-e</i> ‘outside-from inside-toward’	<i>hae-tte</i> ‘come out’	
Speech Setting Viewpoint			<i>ki-ta</i> ‘go’

In Table12, it shows the word order of locomotive sentences. The locomotive verbs occur at the final positions of the sentences. In contrast, English is a head-initial language in which the function words (e.g., *at*, *in*, etc.) occur after a verb; thus it shows the word order ‘0,-1a,-1b.’

Table 13. Locomotive word order in English

	0	-1	
	Locomotion	Locale	
Event Setting Viewpoint	enter exit		at/in/on inside/outside up/down
Speech Setting Viewpoint	come go	here there	
Example 1	came	here	from outside to inside
Example 2	go	there	
Example 3	entered		from outside to inside

Table13 shows the word order of locomotive sentences in English. The locomotive verbs (e.g., *enter*, *exit*, etc.) appear at the initial positions of the sentences while the locale (e.g., *here*, *there*, etc.) at the final positions. Mandarin is a head-centred language in which the function words occur between verbs; the word order of locomotive are shown as ‘-1a, 0, -1b.’ However, there are at least two tiers in Taiwan Mandarin: (1) language that is highly relative to ancient written words and that are powerful (2) language that is popular and superior. The word order and lexicon of the second tier (Table 14) are similar to its counterparts, Taiwanese and Hakka. In the present study, we apply the second tier of Mandarin. (Lee, 2001)

Table 14. Locomotive word order in Mandarin

Viewpoint	Spatial Act						
	Action under Spatial Relation						
Event Setting Viewpoint	+1a	0			-1b		
	Source	locomotion			goal		
	<i>cong</i> 'from'	<i>li-mian</i> 'in-side'	<i>chu</i> 'exit'	<i>lai/qu</i> 'come/go'	<i>dao</i> 'to'	<i>wai-mian</i> 'out-side'	
		<i>wai-mian</i> 'out-side'	<i>ru</i> 'enter'	<i>lai/qu</i> 'come/go'		<i>li-mian</i> 'in-side'	
		<i>xia-mian</i> 'under-side'	<i>qi</i> 'ascend'	<i>lai/qu</i> 'come/go'		<i>shang-mian</i> 'up-side'	
		<i>shang-mian</i> 'up-side'	<i>luo</i> 'descend'	<i>lai/qu</i> 'come/go'		<i>xia-mian</i> 'down-side'	
		<i>hou-mian</i> 'back-side'	<i>jin</i> 'proceed'	<i>lai/qu</i> 'come/go'		<i>qian-mian</i> 'front-side'	
		<i>qian-mian</i> 'front-side'	<i>tui</i> 'recede'	<i>lai/qu</i> 'come/go'		<i>hou-mian</i> 'back-side'	
		<i>he-wei</i> 'combined-place'	<i>li-kai</i> 'depart'	<i>lai/qu</i> 'come/go'		<i>li-wei</i> 'separate-place'	
		<i>san-wei</i> 'loose-place'	<i>yi</i> 'approach'	<i>lai/qu</i> 'come/go'		<i>he-wei</i> 'combined-place'	
		<i>yuan-wei</i> 'original-place'	<i>wang</i> 'depart'			<i>bie-wei</i> 'other-place'	
		<i>bie-wei</i> 'other-place'	<i>hui</i> 'back'			<i>yuan-wei</i> 'original-place'	
	speech Setting Viewpoint		<i>cong na-li</i> 'from-there'		<i>lai</i> 'come'		<i>zhe-li</i> 'here'
		<i>cong zhe-li</i> 'from-here'		<i>qu</i> 'go'		<i>na-li</i> 'there'	

Example 1				<i>lai</i> 'come'	<i>dao</i> 'to'		<i>wo zhe-li</i> 'my here'
Example 2			<i>hui</i> 'back'	<i>qu</i> 'go'	<i>dao</i> 'to'		<i>ni na-li</i> 'your-there'
Example 3	<i>cong xue-xiao</i> 'from-school'	<i>na-li</i> 'there'		<i>lai</i> 'come'	<i>dao</i> 'to'		<i>wo zhe-li</i> 'my-here'
Example 4	<i>cong wo</i> 'from-my'	<i>zhe-li</i> 'here'	<i>hui</i> 'back'	<i>qu</i> 'go'			<i>ni na-li</i> 'your-there'

In the examples shown above, there are divergent collocations for the locomotive expression, *lai dao* 'come to'. If example (1) is compared to example (3), the 'source' can either be hidden or be shown on the surface structure and make the locomotive expressions more informative. On the other hand, the locomotive phrase *hui qu* 'back go' can either collocate with the 'goal' *dao* 'to' and with the source hidden (see Example 2) or co-occur with the 'source' and with the 'goal' *dao* 'to' hidden (see Example 4). All in all, the locomotive expressions vary in their collocations with source and goal. According to Chen's (2004) study, there is a grammatical difference in spatial terms between Beijing and Taiwan; here, we mainly manage the Taiwan Mandarin data.

In Taiwanese, the locomotive word order are arranged based on 'iconicity principle' (Givon, 1985), and so are serial verbs. Following the iconicity principle, the word order of locomotive reflects the time order of events or certain movement. Nevertheless, verbs in English and Japanese do not follow this principle. The following is the Locomotive word order in Taiwanese.

Table 15. Locomotive word order in Taiwanese

Viewpoint	Spatial Act						
	V2 Action under Spatial Relation						
	+1a		0			-1b	
Event	source		locomotion			goal	
Setting Viewpoint	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>lai7-bin7</i> 'in-side'	<i>chhut4</i> 'exit'	<i>lai5/khi3/lai5-khi3</i> 'come/go/ come-go'		<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>goa7-bin7</i> 'out-side'

	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>goa7-bin7</i> 'out-side'	<i>jip8</i> 'enter'	<i>lai5/khi3/lai5-khi3</i> 'come/go/ come-go'	<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>lai7-bin7</i> 'in-side'	
	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>e7-bin7</i> 'under-side'	<i>khi2</i> 'ascend'	<i>lai5/khi3/lai5-khi3</i> 'come/go/ come-go'	<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>teng7-bin7</i> 'up-side'	
	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>teng7-bin7</i> 'up-side'	<i>loh8</i> 'descend'	<i>lai5/khi3/lai5-khi3</i> 'come/go/ come-go'	<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>e7-bin7</i> 'down-side'	
	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>au7-bin7</i> 'back-side'	<i>chin3</i> 'proceed'	<i>lai5/khi3/lai5-khi3</i> 'come/go/ come-go'	<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>cheng5-bin7</i> 'front-side'	
	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>cheng5-bin7</i> 'front-side'	<i>the3</i> 'recede'	<i>lai5/khi3/lai5-khi3</i> 'come/go/ come-go'	<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>au7-bin7</i> 'back-side'	
	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>hap8-ui7</i> 'combined-place'	<i>li7-khui1</i> 'leave'	<i>lai5/khi3/lai5-khi3</i> 'come/go/ come-go'	<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>li7-ui7</i> separate-place	
	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>soan3-ui7</i> 'loose-place'	<i>oa2</i> 'approach'	<i>lai5/khi3/lai5-khi3</i> 'come/go/ come-go'	<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>hap8-ui7</i> 'combined-pl ace'	
	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>goan5-ui7</i> 'original-place'	<i>ong2</i> 'depart'		<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>pat8-ui7</i> 'other-place'	
	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>pat8-ui7</i> 'other-place'	<i>hoe5</i> 'back'		<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>goan5-ui7</i> 'original- place'	
Speech Setting Viewpoint	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>hia1</i> 'there'	<i>kian5</i> 'walk'	<i>lai5</i> 'come'	<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>lai7-bin7</i> 'in-side'	<i>chia1</i> 'here'
	<i>tui3</i> 'from'	<i>chia1</i> 'here'	<i>pe5</i> 'crawl'	<i>khi3</i> 'go'	<i>kau3</i> 'to'	<i>goa7-khau2</i> 'outdoor'	<i>hia1</i> 'there'
Example 1			<i>sai2</i> 'drive'	<i>lai5</i> 'come'	<i>kau3</i> 'to'		<i>goa2</i> <i>chia1</i> 'my-here'
Example 2			<i>tng2</i> 'turn'	<i>khi3</i> 'go'	<i>ti7</i> 'at'		<i>li2 hia1</i> your-here
Example 3		<i>tui3 hak8-hau7</i> <i>hia1</i> 'from-school-there'	<i>kian5</i> 'walk'	<i>lai5</i> 'come'	<i>kau3 ti7</i> 'to-at'		<i>goa2</i> <i>chia1</i> 'my-here'
Example 4		<i>tui3 goa2 chia1</i> 'from-my-here'	<i>tng2</i> 'turn'	<i>khi3</i> 'go'			<i>li2 hia2</i> 'your- here'

7. Conclusion

In this present study, we focus on the locomotive sentence patterns across Taiwanese, Mandarin, English and Japanese especially on their interaction between semantics and syntactic representations. In addition, we construct the sentence patterns mathematically to illustrate the word order clearly within a locomotive sentence across languages. In the beginning of this study, as the contributions of both temporal and spatial relations to the study of locomotion are concerned; we investigate and compare the vital elements –deixis – in these four languages. Based on the categorization of deixis from Fillmore (1997), in the present studies, the deixis are further categorized into the speech setting viewpoint and event setting viewpoint.

From speech setting viewpoint, the spatial deixis are categorized into three parts: (1) motional deixis, (2) person deixis (3) place deixis. On the other hand, there are two kinds of deixis regarding the spatial relation from the event setting viewpoint. In terms of tense systems, the four languages (Taiwanese, Mandarin, English and Japanese) apply distinct tense systems (i.e., past/non-past, realis/irrealis and past/present/future tense system) to convey locomotive sentence patterns. In fact, *lai5/lai/come* and *khi3/qu/go* are used either to express the future (e.g., in Mandarin *lai nien* ‘come year’) or past time (e.g., in Mandarin *ren-shi ni yi-lai* ‘meet you since-come’). Thus, when conveying the temporal relation, we need to consider speech time, reference time, and event time. Besides, the word orders of locomotive terms and their collocations exhibit differences between Taiwanese, Mandarin, English and Japanese. It is suggested that, in the locomotive expressions, the ‘locale’ can be hidden; for instance, in Taiwanese *theh8 chhut4 lai5* ‘take out come’ the locale of ‘somewhere outside’ is hidden.

In VP module, verbs act as a head (which marked as ‘0’) with the locale and locomotives acting as function words (e.g., *from* in English) which are marked as ‘1, 2, 3, etc’. It’s found that the sentence patterns *lai5+VP* ‘come+VP’ and *khi3+VP* ‘go+VP’ do not necessarily convey locomotion, for instance,

in Taiwanese, *ho7 goa2 lai5* VP ‘let me come VP’, *lai5* ‘come’ implies the speech act of commanding. In addition, results from locomotion are focused when rhetorical question acts as insertion (interference) in the VR constructions. Although VR construction exists both in Taiwanese and Mandarin, Taiwanese displays much more expressions than Mandarin does in the ‘V (Inf) R’ construction.

In AP, there are mainly five types of syntactic forms showing the qualitative degree of certain events: intensity judgment, comparative, superlative, to certain degree and vivid reduplication. Combined with the adjectives, motional verbs not only form the AP denoting the spatial and temporal relationships but express the increase of qualitative degree of certain state (e.g., *yue-lai sheng-yi yue hao* ‘more-come business more good’).

In addition to VP and AP, the IP is used to convey the locomotion. Mainly, there are three kinds of viewpoints by which speakers construct the locomotive sentence patterns differently. One is from the ‘boundary’, in which North and South Pole are thought of as standard (i.e., *chhu3 ng1 lam5* ‘home toward South’). In the second type, speakers use the capital or province as the criterion to express locomotion, for instance, *shang jing* ‘up capital’. As for the last category, speakers combined the viewpoints mentioned above, for example, *chiunn7 pak4 khoann3 Chong2-thong2-hu2* ‘up north see Presidential-palace’.

Finally, the word order rules of locale and locomotion in Taiwanese, Mandarin, English and Japanese are compared. Japanese is a head-final language (e.g., *soto-kara naka-e hae-tte* ‘outside-from inside-toward come out’); English uses head-initial device (e.g., *go there*) and Mandarin uses head-centered language system (e.g., *cong li-mian chu lai dao wai-mian* ‘from in-side exit come to out-side’). On the other hand, Taiwanese arranges their locomotive terms based on ‘iconicity principle’ (Givon, 1985) and thus the word orders reflect the arrangement of time and motion.

Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Robert L. CHENG (tlutlurc@gmail.com) or Hui-chi LEE (hcleee6@mail.ncku.edu.tw) .

Reference

- Arakawa, Kiyohide. 1996. Nihongo to Chugokugo no idou doushi [The motional verbs in Japanese and Mandarin]. *Annals of Foreign Language Studies in University of Aichi*, vol. 22: 9-23 [愛知大学外語研紀要第22号,9-23].
- Chen, Shun-yi. 2004. *Taiwango to futsuu-wa no haukou hyougen ni kansuru taishou kenkyu-. 'ki' 'i' o chushin ni. nihongo tono taishou mo kanate* [台灣語と普通話の方向表現に関する対照研究—“來”“去”を中心に、日本語との対照も兼ねて—]. Ph.D dissertation. Tokyo University.
- Cheng, Robert L. 1968. Tone sandhi in Taiwanese. *Linguistics*, vol.6, 41: 19-42.
- Cheng, Robert L. 1990. Tense in Taiwanese. *Proceeding of International Symposium on Chinese Languages and Linguistics, 1990*, pp.59-63.
- Clark, Eve V. 1974. Normal states and evaluative viewpoint. *Language*, vol.50: 316-332.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1975. Coming and going. *Santa Cruz Lectures on Deixis, 1971*, by Charles J. Fillmore, 50-69. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1997. *Lectures on Deixis*. California: CSLI Publications.
- Givon, Talmy. 1985. Iconicity, isomorphism, and non-arbitrary coding in syntax. In Haiman, John (ed.), *Iconicity in Syntax*, 187-219. Amsterdam: Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 2006. *Constructions at Work: The Nature of Generalization in Language*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press.

- Hopper, P. J. & Traugott, E.C. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Iwasaki, Shoichi. 1993. *Subjectivity in Grammar and Discourse: Theoretical Considerations and a Case Study of Japanese Spoken Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Lee, Yi-zhe. 2001. *Chinese Grammar Then and Now Writings on Chinese Diachronic and Synchronic Syntax*. Beijing: University Beijing language and culture University publication.
- Li, Tiegeng. 1999. *The Study of Tense in Modern Chinese*. Shenyang: Liaoning University Press.
- Li, Ying-che. 1988. Aspect of historical and comparative syntax in Taiwanese and Mandarin. *Proceedings of 2nd International Conference on Sinology: Section on Linguistics and Paleography*, pp.715-752.
- Lien, Chinfa. 1997. Taiwan Minnanyu de quxiang buyu – Fangyan leixing he lishi de Yanjiu [Directional complements in Taiwanese Southern Min—a dialectal typology and a historical perspective]. In Chiu-yu Tseng (ed.), *Chinese Languages and Linguistics, vol. 4: Typological Studies of Languages in China*, 379-404. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.
- Lu, Jian-ming. 1985. kuan-yu ‘qu+VP’ han ‘VP+qu’ ju-shi [Sentence patterns of ‘qu+VP’ and ‘VP+qu’]. *Language Acquisition and Study*, vol. 4: 18-33.
- Lyons, John. 1982. Deixis and subjectivity. Loquor, ergo sum? In Rober J. Jarvella and Wolfgangt Klein (eds.) *Speech, Place, and Action: Studies in Deixis and Related Topic*: 101-124. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd.
- Kusanagi, Yutaka. 1972. Time focus within the Japanese tense system. *Japanese Linguistics*, vol. 1, 1: 52-68.

- Nakazawa, Tsuneko. 1990. Pragmatic account of the distribution of come and go in English, Japanese and Korean. In H. Hoji (ed.), *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*, vol. 1, 97-110. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Nakazawa, Tsuneko. 2005. On come and go in English, Japanese, and Chinese: Why do they come while others go? In *Language, Information, Text*, vol. 12, 43-62. Tokyo: University of Tokyo.
- Oe, Saburo. 1975. *Nitieigo no Hikakukenyuu: Syukansei o Megutte* [A comparative study of Japanese and English: On subjectivity]. Tokyo: Nanundo.
- Oshima, David Y. 2006. GO and COME revisited: What Serves as a Reference Point? In *Proceedings of the 32nd Berkeley Linguistics Society*.
- Shen, Ya-ming. 1996. The semantics of the Chinese verb “come”. *Cognitive Linguistic Research*, vol. 6, 507-540.
- Soga, Matsuo. 1983. *Tense and Aspect in Modern Colloquial Japanese*. Canada: University of Columbia.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1975. Semantics and syntax of motion. In J. P. Kimball, ed., *Syntax and Semantics*, vol. 4, 181-238. New York: Academic Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics, vol.2: Typology and Process in Concept Structuring*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Tang, Ting-chi. 1979. Lai yu qu de yi-yi yu yongfa [The semantics and syntax of lai and qu]. In *Guoyu Yufa Yanjiu Lunji* [Studies in Chinese Syntax]. Taipei: Student Book.
- Wang, Yu-de. 1955. Taiwango no sechuu [Tone in Taiwanese]. *Chuugoku Gogaku*, vol. 41:3-11.
- Wilkins, David P. and Deborah Hill. 1995. When GO means COME: Questioning the basicness of basic motion verbs. *Cognitive Linguistics*, vol.6, 2:209-259.

台越比較研究ê現況kap未來發展ê可能性

蔣為文

台越文化協會&國立成功大學台灣語文測驗中心

摘要

自1986年越南政府進行改革開放到taⁿ，台灣kap越南ê經濟、文化交流ná來ná chē。Chit kúi年來台商tī越南ê投資金額lóng佔外國投資ê前三名。Ùi hñg路嫁來台灣ê越南新移民mā將近十萬人。因為台越雙方ê交流chiâⁿ密切，越南研究kap台灣研究mā分別chiâⁿ做台灣hām越南學術界關心ê研究領域之一。Toè tiòh李前總統登輝先生ê南進政策，中央研究院tī 1994年成立東南亞區域研究計畫（2003年改為亞太區域研究專題中心）積極從事東南亞研究。台灣學界自1999年起tāk年辦理東南亞區域研究年度研討會，koh分別tī 2005年成立台灣東南亞學會kap 2009年成立台越文化協會。Tī東南亞研究當中，越南研究佔有真重ê分量。全款，越南社科院tī 1993年成立中國研究中心（目前已經升級做中國研究院，下設台灣研究中心）koh積極從事台灣經濟發展過程ê研究。Chit篇論文beh回顧台灣ê越南研究kap越南ê台灣研究歷程koh提出未來台越人文比較研究新興議題ê可能性。

關鍵詞：台越、越南、台灣、東南亞、區域研究

收件日期2011.05.10/修訂日期2011.06.30/接受日期2011.07.15

Features and Prospects in Comparative Studies of Vietnam and Taiwan

Wi-vun Taiffalo CHIUNG

Association for Taiwanese and Vietnamese Cultural Exchange

Center for Taiwanese Language Testing

National Cheng Kung University

Abstract

Inter-marriages, economic cooperation and cultural exchanges between Taiwan and Vietnam have increased significantly in the last two decades. Hence Vietnamese studies in Taiwan and Taiwanese studies in Vietnam have gained importance in academia in Taiwan and Vietnam. In Taiwan, for example, the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (1994-2001) was established in 1994 by Taiwan.

Academia Sinica under the Go-South Policy of Taiwan former president Lee Teng-hui. There are several more important institutions engaging in Vietnamese studies and/or semi-regular Taiwanese-Vietnamese academic conferences. In Vietnam, Taiwanese studies came along with the emergence of Chinese studies in the early 1990s. In September 1993, the Center for Chinese Studies at the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences was approved by the Vietnamese government. The purpose of this paper is to survey current developments of comparative studies of Vietnam and Taiwan, and to provide further perspectives on the future development of this area of study.

Keywords: Tai-Oat, Vietnam, Taiwan, Southeast Asian, area studies

1. Introduction

Marriages between persons from different countries have become more and more common in the globalization era. Taiwan is no exception to this phenomenon. According to the statistics of Taiwan's National Immigration Agency, Ministry of Interior, in February 2010 foreign spouses in Taiwan numbered 431,723.¹ These foreign nationals account for 1.87% of Taiwan's total population.² Among the foreign spouses, many were from China (287,359), followed by Vietnam (82,986), then Indonesia (26,477), Thailand (8,129), Philippines (6,726), Cambodia (4,345), Japan (3,124), Korea (1,005) and other countries together (11,572). Among the Southeast Asian countries Vietnam is the major source country of foreign spouses.

In addition to international marriages between Taiwanese and Vietnamese citizens, economic and educational exchanges between the two countries have also significantly increased in the two recent decades.

In December 1986, the Communist Party of Vietnam approved the Economic Renovation Policy (Đổi mới), which was followed by a series of attractive economic open policies for foreign investors. Taiwanese businessmen were some of the earliest foreign investors to come right after Vietnam's economic renovation policy (Shiu 2003:124-127). A few years later, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (TECO) was established in Hanoi, Vietnam, in November 1992 to promote mutual cooperation between the two countries. Thereafter, economic activities between Taiwan and Vietnam have flourished tremendously. Soon Taiwan became one of the top three investors in Vietnam.

¹ Available at <[http://www.immigration.gov.tw/aspcode/9902/外籍配偶人數與大陸\(含港澳\)配偶人數.xls](http://www.immigration.gov.tw/aspcode/9902/外籍配偶人數與大陸(含港澳)配偶人數.xls)>

² By the end of year 2009, the amount of Taiwan's total population is 23,119,772 according to Taiwan's Statistical Yearbook of Interior, available at <<http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/year/y02-01.xls>>

According to the statistics of Taiwan's Ministry of Education, there are a total of 22,366 international students in Taiwan (Oo and Tan 2010). They are either studying for accredited degrees or enrolled in non-credited language courses. Among the international students studying for undergraduate degrees, the top three countries in numbers are Malaysia, Vietnam, and Korea (South), respectively. As for master's programs, the top three countries are Vietnam, Indonesia, and Malaysia. In doctoral programs, the top three are India, Vietnam, and Indonesia. Overall, students from Vietnam are among the top three countries to study in Taiwan³.

In addition to the relations mentioned above, Taiwan and Vietnam share a similar historical experience, that is, as former colonies. Vietnam used to be colonized by Japan, France, and China. However, Vietnam eventually established a culturally and politically independent country in 1945. Although China had occupied Vietnam for a thousand years and consequently had great influence on the Vietnamese culture, Vietnam has created its own culture with distinct characteristics. Taiwan used to be colonized by Japan and China too. Although Taiwan is currently politically independent from China, "national identity" is still a controversial issue in Taiwan. To some extent, Vietnam is probably a good model for Taiwan with regard to nation-building.

Since both Taiwan and Vietnam have a lot to learn from each other with respect to economy, culture, education, and anti-colonialism, it is inevitable to form comparative studies of Taiwan and Vietnam. The purpose of this paper is to survey current development of comparative studies of Vietnam and Taiwan, and provide further perspective on this area of study's future development.

³ There are a total of 2592 Vietnamese students in Taiwan in the year 2009-2010.

2. Vietnam studies in Vietnam and Taiwan

2.1. Vietnam studies in Vietnam

To some extent, initial area studies were connected to colonialism. Colonizers have always investigated their colonies in order to gain the maximum profits from them. This was no exception in the cases of Vietnam and Taiwan. In the case of Vietnam, investigation on Vietnam from a Western perspective started during the period of French occupation of Vietnam (Vũ 2004:633-634). The well-known *École française d'Extrême-Orient* (Trường Viễn Đông Bác cổ Pháp; EFEO, thereafter) was established by French colonizers in Hanoi in 1900. Vietnam, as part of French Indochina, was considered as a subject for colonial research.

Vietnam studies from Vietnam's perspective were not well planned until Vietnam's independence after World War II. *Tổ Việt ngữ*, the earliest Vietnamese language program established by the *Đại học Tổng hợp Hà Nội*⁴ (Hanoi Comprehensive University, HCU) in 1956 could be considered the beginning of Vietnam studies. A decade later, *Khoa Tiếng Việt*, the Department of Vietnamese Language, was officially established by HCU in 1968. The main purpose of this department was to teach Vietnamese language and culture to foreigners. Many instructors in this department were sent overseas to teach Vietnamese in foreign countries. This department is currently renamed as *Khoa Việt Nam Học và Tiếng Việt*⁵ or Department of Vietnam Studies and Vietnamese Language, which is part of the University of Social Sciences and Humanities⁶, Vietnam National

⁴ Nowadays, it was renamed as *Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội*, Vietnam National University-Hanoi.

⁵ It is located at *Nhà B7 Bis, phố Trần Đại Nghĩa, phường Bách Hoa*. For details, refer to the official guide to the department at <<http://ussh.edu.vn/faculty-vietnamese-studies-and-language/1754>>

⁶ *Trường Đại học Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn Hà Nội*. Official website at <<http://ussh.edu.vn/>>

University-Hanoi. It offers BA degree in Vietnamese studies to both Vietnamese and foreign students. It also provides non-credit language courses to foreign students.

In addition, Graduate Institute of Vietnam Studies and Scientific Development ⁷, which was directly established by the Vietnam National University-Hanoi in 2004, offers Master's degree in Vietnam studies. This institute was formerly known as Center for Vietnam Studies and Cultural Exchange ⁸, which was established in 1989 by HCU.

Accompanied with the economic renovation of 1986, the demand for learning Vietnamese language and studying its society by foreigners has increased since then. Consequently, more and more universities established centers or departments related to Vietnamese language and Vietnam studies. Currently, the major schools providing Vietnamese studies programs or departments and their descriptions are as follows:

Department of Vietnam Studies ⁹, Hanoi University was officially established in 2004 in order to recruit international students. Students are trained in Vietnamese and subjects regarding Vietnam studies. It offers BA degree in Vietnam studies. The students in this department are mainly from China, Japan and Korea. Prior to 2004, the department was known as Center for Teaching Vietnamese to Foreigners, which provides non-credit Vietnamese classes for foreigners.

Department of Linguistics ¹⁰ is another unit related to Vietnam studies at

⁷ Viện Việt Nam học và Khoa học phát triển in Vietnamese. It is located at Nhà A, Tầng 2, 336 Nguyễn Trãi, Thanh Xuân. Readers may refer to its official website at <<http://www.vnu.edu.vn/dhqc/contents/index.php?ID=856>>

⁸ Trung tâm Nghiên cứu Việt Nam và Giao lưu Văn hoá.

⁹ Khoa Việt Nam Học in Vietnamese. It is located at Km 9, đường Nguyễn Trãi, quận Thanh Xuân. Readers may refer to its official website at <<http://web.hanu.vn/vnh>>

¹⁰ Ngôn ngữ học in Vietnamese. Readers may refer to its official website at <<http://ussh.edu.vn/faculty-linguistics/1742>>

the University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi. The department specializes in linguistic studies, including Vietnamese and many other domestic and foreign languages. It offers BA, MA and PhD degree for both domestic and foreign languages. The major foreign students are from China and Japan.

In addition to Vietnam National University and Hanoi University, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences ¹¹ (VASS) plays an important role in Vietnam studies too. All researchers at VASS are Vietnamese. Most institutes at VASS are highly related to Vietnamese studies, such as Institute of Linguistics ¹², Institute of Lexicography and Vietnamese Encyclopaedia ¹³, Institute of Han-Nom Studies ¹⁴, Institute of Literature ¹⁵, Institute of Cultural Studies ¹⁶, etc.

All the institutes and universities mentioned above are located in Hanoi, which is in northern Vietnam. In southern Vietnam, the University of Social Sciences and Humanities ¹⁷, Vietnam National University-Ho Chi Minh City plays an important role in Vietnamese studies. There are departments related to Vietnam studies, such as Department of Vietnamese Studies ¹⁸ and Department of Literature and Language ¹⁹, etc. The Department of Vietnamese Studies offers both BA and MA degrees to both Vietnamese and foreign students.

¹¹ Viện Khoa học xã hội Việt Nam in Vietnamese. Official website at <<http://www.vass.gov.vn>>

¹² Viện Ngôn ngữ học in Vietnamese. Official website at <<http://www.vienngonnguhoc.gov.vn/>>

¹³ Viện Từ điển học và Bách khoa thư Việt Nam in Vietnamese. Official website at <<http://www.bachkhoatoanthu.gov.vn/>>

¹⁴ Viện Hán Nôm in Vietnamese. Official website at <<http://www.hannom.org.vn>>

¹⁵ Viện Văn học in Vietnamese. Official website at <<http://www.vienvanhoc.org.vn>>

¹⁶ Viện Nghiên cứu văn hoá in Vietnamese. official website at <<http://www.ncvanhoa.org.vn>>

¹⁷ Trường Đại học Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn TP. Hồ Chí Minh. Official website at <<http://www.hcmussh.edu.vn>>

¹⁸ Khoa Việt Nam Học in Vietnamese. Official website at <<http://www.vns.edu.vn/vns/>>

¹⁹ Khoa Văn học và Ngôn ngữ in Vietnamese. Official website at <<http://khoavanhoc-ngonngu.edu.vn/home/>>

2.2. Vietnam studies in Taiwan

Vietnam studies in Taiwan was initiated in the late 1980s and developed in 1990s under the Go-South policy (南進政策) of Taiwan's former president Lee Teng-hui (Lee 2003; Shiu 2003). The so-called Go-South policy is mainly a economic policy promoting economic cooperation among Taiwan and Southeast Asian countries.

In the 1990s, the economy in China was rapidly flourishing. It attracted more and more Taiwanese businessmen to invest in China. To avoid potential political and economic risks caused by overwhelming investment in China, Taiwan's Go-South was developed in the 1990s.

In 1994, the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (1994-2001) was established by Taiwan's Academia Sinica. It was the first center to promote area studies focusing on Southeast Asia. Vietnam, as a member of Southeast Asian countries, was therefore considered a research subject for the center. The center was later expanded as Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies²⁰ (CAPAS). At present, CAPAS is still the major center carrying out research on Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries.

In addition to Academia Sinica, there are some major universities conducting research or teaching project relating to Vietnam studies, as follows:

In 1996, the Graduate Institute of Southeast Asia Studies was established by Tamkang University in Taipei. It offered MA degree and was the first institute to promote Southeast Asian studies on campus. The institute was later combined with Graduate Institute of Japanese Studies and renamed Graduate Institute of Asian Studies²¹ in 2009.

²⁰ 亞太區域研究專題中心 in Chinese. Official website at <<http://www.rchss.sinica.edu.tw/capas/>>

²¹ 淡江大學亞洲研究所 <<http://www2.tku.edu.tw/~tiix/>>

Another university to promote Southeast Asian studies is National Chi Nan University in central Taiwan. Center for Southeast Asian Studies and Graduate Institute of Southeast Asian Studies ²² were established in 1995 and 1997, respectively. The institute currently offers MA and PhD degrees.

In addition to Tamkang University and Chi Nan University, National Kaohsiung University of Applied Sciences (KUAS ²³) and National Cheng Kung University (NCKU ²⁴), in southern Taiwan, also carry out research projects on Vietnam. In 2003, Vietnam Economic Research Center ²⁵ was established by the National Kaohsiung University of Applied Sciences to conduct research projects on Vietnam's economy.

As for NCKU, because there is no specific department or institute on Vietnam studies, research projects are carried out by researchers in different departments, such as Department of Taiwanese Literature ²⁶, Department of Chinese Literature, Department of History, and Graduate Institute of Political Economics.

In recent years, some courses on Vietnam are regularly offered at NCKU, such as “Vietnamese Language ²⁷,” “Vietnamese Society and Culture ²⁸,” “Language and Literature: A Comparative Study of Taiwan and Vietnam ²⁹,” and “Han Literature in Vietnam,” etc. NCKU is the first university that regularly

²² 國立暨南大學東南亞研究所<<http://www.dseas.ncnu.edu.tw/>>

²³ 國立高雄應用科技大學<<http://www.kuas.edu.tw/>>

²⁴ 國立成功大學<<http://www.ncku.edu.tw/>>

²⁵ 越南經濟研究中心<<http://verc.kuas.edu.tw/client/cht>>

²⁶ 台灣文學系<<http://www.twl.ncku.edu.tw>>

²⁷ Conversational Vietnamese is offered in two semesters, two credit hours in each semester. The course has been offered every year since 2007. It is taught by Wi-vun Chiung with Vietnamese assistants.

²⁸ It is a course of two credit hours offered by Wi-vun Chiung every year since 2004.

²⁹ It is a graduate course of three credit hours offered by Wi-vun Chiung every 2 years since 2008.

offers accredited Vietnamese classes to college students in Taiwan. In addition, with financial supports from Taiwan's Ministry of Education, a project to collect Vietnamese books was carried out in 2009. So far, around fourteen hundred books written in Vietnamese have been collected. Although the quantity is not large, it is currently the largest collection in Taiwan.

In 2006, the Vietnamese students at NCKU organized the Vietnamese Students Association³⁰ (VSA), the first Vietnamese student organization in Taiwan. Since 2007, VSA has hosted Vietnam Cultural Week every year.

Regarding Vietnamese teaching, some other schools also offer non-credit or accredited Vietnamese classes in recent years. They are: Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages in Kaohsiung, National University of Kaohsiung, National Chengchi University in Taipei, National Taiwan University in Taipei, and Chung Yuan Christian University in Taichung, etc. Some private or NGO organizations also offer Vietnamese classes from time to time, such as Taiwanese Romanization Association³¹, Association for Taiwanese and Vietnamese Cultural Exchange³², and Pearl S. Buck Foundation³³, etc. To date, all except NCKU all Vietnamese classes have been taught by part-time teachers. The teachers are mainly Vietnamese immigrants or Vietnamese students in Taiwan. This fact shows that Taiwan is short of qualified Vietnamese teachers.

As time goes on, more and more researchers and graduate students have joined the academic circle of Southeast Asian studies. Annual Conference of Taiwan's Southeast Asia Studies³⁴ initiated by Academia Sinica in 1999

³⁰ 國立成功大學越南學生協會<<http://vsa.twl.ncku.edu.tw>>

³¹ 台灣羅馬字協會 It was established in August 2001. Official website at <<http://www.tlh.org.tw/>>

³² 台越文化協會 It was established in December 2009. Official website at <<http://taioat.de-han.org/>>

³³ 賽珍珠基金會<<http://www.psf.org.tw>>

³⁴ 台灣東南亞區域研究年度研討會

has become the most important of such annual conferences in Taiwan. In addition, Taiwan Association of Southeast Asian Studies³⁵, the first academic organization on Southeast Asian studies, was officially established in April 2005. Currently, there are around 100 members in the association. Furthermore, the Association for Taiwanese and Vietnamese Cultural Exchange, the first Vietnam-specific academic association, was established in December 2009.

Because economic and cultural exchange between Taiwan and Vietnam has rapidly increased, Vietnam is gradually becoming the major subject in Taiwan's Southeast Asian studies. For example, there were 17 research papers directly on Vietnam among the total of 88 papers presented in the 2010 Annual Conference of Taiwan's Southeast Asia Studies. They account for 19.3% of the presented papers.

To get a better picture of the development of Southeast Asian studies, we may take a look at the number of MA and PhD theses on Southeast Asian countries offered in recent years. The data is based on information found in the National Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations in Taiwan³⁶ as of September 30, 2010. Thesis/dissertation title and keyword were chosen as the search range. Names of Southeast Asian countries in Chinese characters were inputted for search. The statistics of MA and PhD theses are listed in Table 1. It shows that Vietnam is the country with the highest number of MA and PhD theses, accounting for 30.7% of all theses. As for their research topics, most theses/dissertations are related to Vietnamese immigrants and economic relations.

³⁵ 台灣東南亞學會<<http://taseas.rchss.sinica.edu.tw/>>

³⁶ 台灣博碩士論文知識加值系統<<http://ndltd.ncl.edu.tw>>

Table 1. Statistics of MA and PhD theses on Southeast Asian countries

Countries	Quantity
Vietnam	442
Singapore	301
Thailand	174
Malaysia	161
Philippines	144
Indonesia	141
Myanmar	39
Cambodia	20
Lao	9
Timor-Leste	7
Brunei	0

Although more researchers and graduate students have joined the circle of Vietnam studies, there are still some difficulties to overcome. The first is probably researchers' Vietnamese language ability. Almost all Taiwanese researchers do not possess Vietnamese language ability. They always have to rely on interpreters or literatures in English. The major causes could be 1) Vietnamese language education is not well-planned in colleges, and 2) the researchers were not required to possess Vietnamese ability while they were graduate students. In my opinion, establishment of undergraduate level of department or program in Vietnamese language is necessary for solving this problem.

3. Taiwan studies in Taiwan and Vietnam

3.1. Taiwan studies in Taiwan

In the same way that Vietnam used to be a colony, Taiwan had also been colonized by several foreign colonial regimes. The first foreign regime was established by the Dutch people in the seventeenth century. It was followed by the Koxinga (鄭成功) regime and the Chinese Ch'ing (清) regime. Two centuries later, the sovereignty of Taiwan was transferred from the Chinese Ch'ing to Japan in 1895 as a consequence of the Sino-Japanese War (Chiung 2004). During the Japanese period, a great number of surveys and investigations about Taiwan's geography, census, ethnicity, languages and customs were carried out by the Japanese. Those investigations are still useful references and have been studied by researchers, even though they were originally for colonization purposes. Such reports include Japanese-Taiwanese Dictionary (日臺大辭典1907), Taiwanese-Japanese Dictionary (臺日大辭典1931), and Taiwanese Ethnography (台灣文化志1928).

At the end of the World War II, Japanese forces surrendered to the Allied Forces. Chiang Kai-shek³⁷, the leader of the Chinese Nationalists (KMT³⁸ or Kuomintang) took over Taiwan and northern Vietnam on behalf of the Allied Powers under General Order No.1 of September 2, 1945 (Peng 1995:60-61; Chiung 2010). At the time, Chiang Kai-shek was fighting the Chinese Communist Party in Mainland China. In 1949, Chiang's troops were completely defeated and pursued by the Chinese Communists. At that time, Taiwan's national status was supposed to be dealt with by a peace treaty among the warring nations. However, because of his defeat in China, Chiang decided to occupy Taiwan under the excuse that "Taiwan was traditionally part of China." He planned to make use

³⁷ 蔣介石 in Chinese. Trưng Giới Thạch in Vietnamese.

³⁸ KMT (中國國民黨 Trung Quốc Quốc Dân Đảng) 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.

of 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.

After People's Republic of China was established in Mainland China, Chiang still asserted that R.O.C. was the only legitimate government of China. Because Taiwan was regarded as a base and a part of China in the viewpoint of Chiang, the Taiwanese people were not allowed to identify themselves as Taiwanese but only as Chinese (Ong 1993). To convert the Taiwanese people's identity into a Chinese identity, martial law was carried out from 1949 to 1987. Under the 38-year-long martial law, the Taiwanese were not allowed to organize any opposition party³⁹ or hold any national-level elections such as presidential or legislative elections. Besides these, the Taiwanese people did not have freedom of the press or mass media. The National Language Policy, or Mandarin Chinese-only policy, was adopted. Under the policy, the Taiwanese people were not allowed to speak their vernaculars in school and in public. Moreover, they were forced to learn Mandarin Chinese, Chinese history, Chinese geography and to identify themselves as Chinese through the national education system (Cheng 1996; Tiun, 1996). Research on Taiwan was definitely forbidden in this period.

Taiwan studies were not allowed until the lifting of martial law. The call for Taiwan studies came with the movement of Taiwanization, which was initiated along with the rise of native political activities against Chinese KMT regime in the middle of 1980s. After a decade's efforts, the first college department on Taiwan studies eventually appeared in 1997, in which year the Department of Taiwan Literature⁴⁰ at Aletheia University, a private university, as well as the

³⁹ Democratic Progressive Party (民主進步黨) was the first Taiwanese party during KMT era, which was not organized until September 28, 1986.

⁴⁰ 真理大學台灣文學系 <<http://mttl.mtwww.mt.au.edu.tw/front/bin/home.phtml>>

Graduate Institute of Taiwan Languages and Language Education ⁴¹ at National Hsinchu University of Education were established.

In 2000, the Department of Taiwanese Literature ⁴² at National Cheng Kung University was established. At present, the Department of Taiwanese Literature at NCKU is the only department offering BA, MA, PhD degrees in Taiwanese literature in Taiwan. Although the department was named Taiwanese literature, faculty research and teaching are not limited to literature, but also language, culture, and history.

During the ruling period (2000-2008) of former president Chen Shui-bian, many schools were urged and approved to found departments or graduate institutes relevant to Taiwanese studies. Currently, there are around 20 universities with this kind of department or institute. In general, their research fields are mainly in literature, languages, history, culture, anthropology, ethnicity, and geography.

Because Taiwan studies was regarded as political taboo, most researchers in Taiwan did not dare do it. Once the political restrictions were officially lifted in the 1990s, it soon attracted many of the new generation of Taiwanese students to join the circle. Consequently, Taiwan studies curriculum in most schools is usually planned for domestic students rather than for international students. This is the difference of Taiwanese studies in Taiwan from Vietnamese studies in Vietnam. In addition, because Mandarin Chinese has been adopted as the official language in Taiwan's schools for over sixty years, many of the younger generation of Taiwanese cannot speak or write fluently in languages other than Mandarin Chinese. As a result, most curricula are taught in Chinese rather than in Taiwanese. Moreover, many schools do not require that students who major

⁴¹ 新竹教育大學台灣語言與語文教育研究所<<http://gitll.web.nhcue.edu.tw/index.phtml>>

⁴² 國立成功大學台灣文學系<<http://www.twl.ncku.edu.tw>>

in Taiwan studies learn Taiwanese language(s) (Chiung 2007:354-377). This is quite ironic!

3.2. Taiwan studies in Vietnam

In Vietnam, Taiwan studies came along with China studies in the early 1990s. In September 1993, the Center for Chinese Studies (CCS) at Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences was approved by the Vietnamese government. It reveals that the unfriendly relations between Vietnam and China after the 1979 border conflicts had improved. In addition, the rising economy in Taiwan and China is another factor effecting the establishment of CCS.

Taiwan, Hongkong, and Macao were considered as subjects for area studies under the framework of China studies in CCS. Therefore, a research branch called Studio for Taiwan, Hongkong and Macao Studies was established under CCS. The studio was later renamed as Studio for Taiwan Studies in 2001. Further, it was promoted to Center for Taiwan Studies (CTS) when CCS was promoted to Institute of Chinese Studies⁴³ in 2005. Currently, CTS is the only official center conducting research projects on Taiwan. Members in the center number less than ten. Major concerns are issues on Taiwan's economy, transformation from rural to industrialized society, Vietnamese laborers and brides, and education.

In addition, Taiwan Education Center⁴⁴ was established at University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University-Ho Chi Minh city, and at University of Foreign Languages, Vietnam National University-Hanoi, in 2008 and 2010, respectively. The center was sponsored by Taiwan's Ministry of Education and run by the school's Department of Oriental Studies. The center mainly provides students information regarding studying abroad in Taiwan.

In addition to the centers mentioned above, some research projects related

⁴³ <<http://vnics.org.vn/Default.aspx>>

⁴⁴ 台灣教育中心<<http://tec.fichet.org.tw>>

to Taiwan may be carried out by individual researchers in different schools or institutions. For example, the Institute of Northeast Asian Studies, Institute of Han Nom Studies, and Institute of Linguistics at Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences. and relevant departments in Vietnam National University and Hanoi University.

4. Comparative studies of Vietnam and Taiwan

Why are comparative studies of Vietnam and Taiwan important? The major reason is that it can benefit and strengthen both Vietnam studies and Taiwan studies themselves. It can help researchers and the general public in Vietnam and Taiwan to understand their motherland more clearly. Some concrete examples are provided in this section.

For example, in the case of Chiang Kai-shek's occupation of Taiwan and northern Vietnam in 1945 after the Japanese surrendered, readers may not have a clear picture of this issue without comparing Vietnam to Taiwan. In Taiwan, all history textbooks for schools only describes that "Taiwan was returned to Chiang's Republic of China in 1945 according to the Cairo Declaration." The textbooks never mention the fact that Chiang took over both Taiwan and northern Vietnam on behalf of the Allied Powers under General McArthur's order. Why was Vietnam missing in Taiwan's textbooks? What happened when Chiang's military troops took over northern Vietnam? Why did Chiang's troops eventually leave Vietnam, but remained in Taiwan? What would have happened if Chiang's troops remained in Vietnam? Why was the great Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh regarded as a liar and traitor by Chiang? All the questions can not be well answered without mutual comparisons.

The second example is the issue on orthographic Romanization in Vietnam and Taiwan. Both Vietnam and Taiwan used to be colonized by China.

Consequently, Han characters were adopted as the official writing for a long time. In Vietnam, it finally replaced Han characters with the Romanized chữ Quốc ngữ right after Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In contrast, Han characters are still the dominant orthography in current Taiwanese society even though Roman scripts has been introduced since the 17th century. Why is Vietnam so successful in replacing Chinese characters? Why did Ho Chi Minh choose Romanization rather than Nom or Ham characters? Is there any possibility for Taiwan to become Romanized in the future?

5. Concluding remarks

As economic, cultural, and educational exchanges flourish, Taiwan and Vietnam are getting closer than ever before. To gain better understanding and mutual benefits, it is important to promote comparative studies of Vietnam and Taiwan.

In Taiwan, departments of Vietnamese language or Vietnam Studies should be organized on campus in order to provide better training courses in Vietnamese language and Vietnam studies. It should be the same in Vietnam, departments of Taiwanese language and Taiwan studies should be planned. In addition, Taiwan studies should be conducted from a Vietnamese perspective rather than from the Chinese perspective.

Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Wi-vun Taiffalo CHIUNG (uibuntw@gmail.com).

References

- Cheng, Robert L. 1996. 民主化政治目標kap語言政策[Democracy and language policy]. In C.H. Si, pp.21-50.
- Chiung, Wi-vun. 2004. *Lịch Sử và Ngôn Ngữ Đài Loan [Oceanic Taiwan: History and Languages]*. Tainan: National Cheng Kung University.
- Chiung, Wi-vun. 2005. *Language, Identity and Decolonization*. Tainan : National Cheng Kung University.
- Chiung, Wi-vun. 2007. *Language, Literature, and Reimagined Taiwanese Nation*. Tainan : National Cheng Kung University.
- Chiung, Wi-vun. 2010. 留Tiàm tī 越南ê農技人員吳連義ê案例研究[A case study of Ngo lien Nghia: the Last Taiwanese soldier remained in Vietnam after 1945]. 《台灣風物》 [*The Taiwan Folkways*], 60(2), pp.63-86.
- Kerr, George H. 1992. 被出賣的台灣 [*Formosa Betrayed*]. Taipei: Chian-ui Press.
- Lee, Wen-Chih. 2003. The construction of Taiwan's "Go-South" worldview: the vantage point of struggle between sea power and land power in Asia-Pacific. In Hsiao, Hsin-Huang. (ed.). *Taiwan and Southeast Asia: Go-South Policy and Vietnamese Brides*, pp.1-41. Taipei: Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies, Academia Sinica.
- Nguyen, H. T. and C. Y. Shih. 越南的中國研究—中國研究中心／院的概況 [Chinese Studies in Vietnam: Current development of the Institute of Chinese Studies].
- Ong, Iok-tek. 1993. 台灣苦悶的歷史 [*Taiwan: a depressed history*]. Taipei: Independence Press.
- Oo, Chheng-hui; and Gi-cheng Tan. 2010. 大學招生缺額，外籍生補足[Foreign students may supplement the vacancy]. 《自由時報》 [*Liberty Times*], August 15.

- Peng, Ming M. and Ng, Yuzin C. 1995. 台灣在國際法上的地位[*The legal status of Taiwan*]. Taipei: Taiwan Intermininds Publishing Inc.
- Shiu, Wen-tang. 2003. A decade of development in Taiwan-Vietnam relations. In Hsiao, Hsin-Huang. (ed.). *Taiwan and Southeast Asia: Go-South Policy and Vietnamese Brides*, pp.117-161. Taipei: Center for Asia-Pacific Area Studies, Academia Sinica.
- Si, Cheng-hong. (ed.). 1996. 語言政治與政策[*Linguistic Politics and Policy*]. Taipei: Chian-ui.
- Su, Beng. 1980. 台灣四百年史[*Taiwan's 400 Year History*]. San Jose: Paradise Culture Associates.
- Tiun, Juhong. 1996. 台灣現行語言政策動機之分析[*An analysis on the Taiwan's current language policy*]. In Cheng-hong Si, pp.85-106.
- Vũ, Minh Giang. 2004. Tình hình nghiên cứu Việt Nam ở một số nước trên thế giới [*Current status of Vietnam studies in some countries of the world*]. Conference proceedings of the 2004 International Conference on Vietnamese Studies, pp.633-661. Hanoi: Vietnam National University.

《民族、母語kap音素文字》簡評

Book Review: Bîn-chòk, Bó-gí kap Im-sò Bûn-jī

王雅萍

政治大學民族系

Nga-ping ONG

Department of Ethnology, National ChengChi University

真榮幸ē-tàng接受邀請來寫蔣為文教授《民族、母語 kap 音素文字》ê 冊評。Tsit-bák-nih這已經是蔣為文教授第三本「國語研究」ê 冊，幾年前teh看伊第一本有標記做「國語研究」ê 冊，內心感覺：「哇！這個老師『有夠勇敢』」竟然敢公開標明台灣國家主體意識tī冊lih」。蔣老師伊tsiah-nī努力teh做台語文研究，將來不只ē-tàng做台灣國ê「蔣公」，嘛有可能做台灣ê「國父」——推動國語運動ê 教父。毋過我猶boē請教過蔣老師，伊ê「國語」定義到底是「單一國語」，抑是「複數國語」？

1. Kap「民族學」研究相閃身ê 語言學博士

蔣為文老師應該算是台語文研究界ê「衝組--ê」（指拍拼衝lòng體制來做語言運動ê 精神），uì 學生時代就tī淡江大學創辦台語文研究社，是當時大專院校內面真uáh-kioh ê 台語文研究社團之一，為台灣語文運動奮戰到tann。

聽過一寡無仝ê 朋友有講過蔣老師當年hit段勇敢ê 往事，擔任「台語文社」社長ê 伊，總是「社長兼損鐘仔」，逐擺若到禮拜，伊總是ài騎著uí-suh-pah ê oo-tóo-bái，親身去淡水車站接台文界ê 講師，到學校教社團進修課，koh ài準備茶水。講師課講煞，伊嘛是會kā烏板擦hō清氣、教室ê 電火關掉，koh騎著uí-suh-pah ê oo-tóo-bái送講師去淡水車頭。聽講伊koh bat tshuā社團ê 同伴做陣去新竹尖石後山ê 烏色部落——司馬庫斯，kap泰雅族ê 原住民朋友做伙學習語言文化，做一個文藝青年ê 伊，嘛bat創作過這類主題ê 台

語文詩kap台語文章。

根據個人ê觀察，解嚴後到1996年進前ê大專校園，校內本土語文社團多數khah弱勢，毋過真多元koh會互助扶持和諧鬥陣。學校通常有「台語社」抑是「台文社」抑是「鄉土社」、「客語社」抑是「客家社」、有ê是「北山聯原住民社團」，tsiah-ê社團攏真細，互相支援辦活動koh會鼓勵求進步。當時連社會運動ê領導者，話語嘛ai真多元，定定提著「大聲公」倚tiàm街頭運動ê宣傳車頂頭，用無仝ê語言來多語宣傳理念。會記得當時連原住民運動者嘛ai有多語言演講ê能力，上予人感動ê是多奧牧師hām尤哈尼傳道等原住民，in用真suah-phahê台語來演講，hông感覺親像teh聽民權運動者金恩博士現身teh講：「我有一個夢」仝款。聽講蔣為文老師tī淡江大學台語文社學過泰雅語hām客話，而且大學畢業bat想欲報考政大民族所hām東華族群關係與文化研究所，深入研究多民族ê文化。這段經驗可能kap最近因為抗議黃春明案予媒體貼標記，認為伊是「台語大沙文主義」ê鴨霸者形象無啥仝款。

有一kái訪問蔣老師，問伊這件代誌，伊講當年真ê有報考東華大學tú成立ê族群關係與文化研究所碩士班，想欲專心做台灣語言文化研究。毋過因為無考tiâu東華族群所，一心一意想欲研究台灣語言文化ê伊，tsiah tī兄哥ê鼓勵之下，飛到美國，申請語言學ê研究所，最後提著德州大學ê語言學博士學成歸國。聽講伊tī美國嘛teh做「爭取台灣語言文化權利」ê運動，tī北美台灣研究年會（NATSA）ê時陣堅持欲用母語宣讀論文。Tī咱台灣ê學術會議頂頭，為著尊重各民族ê語言權利允准用母語宣讀論文，大會應該比照外國語文，替各種無仝語別準備翻譯ê機制kap設備ê「共識」，一直攏無落實。我kap幾個仔原住民朋友tī2006年前往第12屆北美台灣研究年會（NATSA）宣讀論文ê時，koh看著會場ê語言爭議，其實hit工tī現場ê外國學者，攏會當接受研究場域ê台灣local語言，顛倒是台灣ê工作人員家已堅持會眾一定ài用英語來宣讀。筆者感覺會議語言ê使用已經吵hiah濟年ah，台灣人應該ài比照歐盟尊重多語文政策，透過機制kap努力，設計落實訓練多語言人才，保護各族語言權利ê翻譯制度，予每一個與會者攏有平等êkimochi來發言。

讀語言學對我來講是一件艱苦ê往事，1991年我uì成大歷史系畢業到政

大民族所讀碩士班，古典 ê 民族學、人類學訓練，kā 語言學看做 kap 體質、考古、文化人類學 ê 四大分支之一，因此「語言學概論」是民族所必修 ê 基礎課程，阮嘛 ài 補修民族語言課程。會記得逐擺上 tú uì 國外 tng-lài 教冊 ê 兩大語言學博士黃美金教授 hām 張郁慧教授 ê 課，攏感覺真驚惶，因為當時比較 khah 少中文 ê 語言學教科書，老師上課攏「làu 英語」，真濟老師感覺 sù-siông ê 語言學專業詞彙，對阮 tsiah-ê 非本科系 ê 學生來講，有「英語」hām「語言學」雙重學習 ê 挑戰。

老師 uì it-á 教起，像基礎 ê 發音訓練、音韻辨音、教到構詞、句法等等，因為課程是欲研究 tú 起步 ê 原住民「台灣南島語言音韻與構詞」，老師 koh 直接 tshua 阮到原住民山區做田野調查收集語料。

可能因為以前學習英文 ê 陰影，逐擺我攏 tī 欲 hōng 當 ê 邊緣，一直到因為驚這科若 hōng 當，會喪失研究生獎學金 ê 領取資格，tsiah 甘願拚性命去圖書館揣資料 tng-lài 拚勢讀。Hit 當時我定定去國語日報頂懸，揣真濟中研院研究員 tī hia 發表有關語言學入門 ê 文章，最後總算讀 bat 老師上課 ê 物件，家已揣著學習語言學 ê mē-kak，嘛發現家已分析音韻、構詞 ê 能力實在低路，但是對「語用」ê 社會語言學 tō 比較 khah 有感覺。

有一擺我 kap 蔣老師開講，講著這段 kap 語言學相 tú ê 悲慘經驗，伊講一般 ê 學生 teh 讀語言所 ê 時，上痛苦--ê kap 我全款攏是「音韻研究」，毋過因為伊大學是讀理工科，對這種無聊 ê 語言表述 kap 像機械規律記錄 ê 方式，感覺真熟似，所以伊去到美國讀冊，tī 音素分析這方面 ê 學習顛倒真緊 tō 熟手。我想這也是為啥物伊 ē-tàng 跨領域讀完博士，koh tī 越南語言研究頂頭行出一條開闊 ê 大路 ê 原因。2006 年熱--人政大民族系幾位老師參加蔣為文老師舉辦 ê 越南文化訪問團，tī 台下看著伊 ē-tàng 用真 kùt-liu ê 越南語 kap 人講話，koh hām 越南社會科學院 ê 研究員 tsham 一寡大學教授直接對談，而且 koh sui 翻譯做台語予團員聽，這種語言學 ê 天份 kap 溝通能力，予在場 ê 民族學者誠佩服，伊也是咱台灣目前 teh 做東南亞區域研究 ê 學者當中，ē-tàng 直接使用當地國家語言做研究 ê 少數中傑出 ê 少數。

阮幾個仔同行 ê 老師根據「完全民族學家 ê 三守則」，通常做異民族研究 ài ē-tàng 「To eat the food of the other people; To speak the language of the other people; To marry with the man or the woman of the other people.」，阮看著蔣老師

會使tī河內市ê大街小巷，真熟ê tshua阮食越南美食，koh ē-tàng講真kút-liu ê越南語，阮tō直接kap伊kún sng-tshiò，問伊講：做越南研究，最後kám會娶一个「越南某」tng-lâi台灣，做一世人ê完全民族學家boh？Kan-na看蔣老師真認真ê回答，講：「bē」，阮kā問kah有一支柄leh，講到底是為啥物？伊tō真直接kā阮回答講：「因為越南姑娘siunn『小粒子』lah」。繼落來kan-na聽著一寡bat台語ê老師笑kah大細聲，嘛tú好展開阮對越南人ê體質人類學ê討論。有一工收到蔣老師ê結婚喜帖，全部用漢羅並用ê台語文，發現伊最後猶是支持國貨，情定台灣姑娘毋是越南姑娘，聽講一場行銷台語文化ê婚禮，辦kah真tshiann-iānn。

2. 這本冊ê研究貢獻

蔣老師ê越南研究，嘛因為伊對越南語真熟，予伊tī越南ê研究經驗頂頭，有發表過5篇ê論文，引用真濟越南學者ê研究成果，特別是「越南文學發展史」hām「越南羅馬字文學運動」，提供真濟新材料kap新觀點，予筆者得著真大ê啟示。冊頭前24頁ê彩色田野調查相片，展現作者田野調查ê功力，以及論文中關鍵人物ê訪談kap關鍵歷史文獻ê現場景色ê照片。

Tī韓國hām日本最近300年來ê文字演化過程，蔣老師tī本冊第七章直接指出韓國世宗大王當年推動ê「訓民正音」原典kap當年運動者ê倡議文獻，來突顯kap台灣ê對照；毋過tī tsia-ê篇幅內底kap後來既有ê研究成果，tī對話ê方面，可能限制tī對韓國語tsham日本語ê能力，小可有khah簡化。若ē-tàng koh-khah深化，可能會對台灣羅馬字運動ê制度設計，有khah周全ê說服力。

觀察目前知識份子支持台文羅馬字者ê論述，若是根據族群研究ê原生論（primordialism，有人譯成根本賦予論，或本質論）來看，攏khah強調母語是天賦人權。若是一寡偏工具論者（instrumentalists），tō一直強調語言只是工具，應該用約定俗成ê慣用符號，也tō是用漢字來做溝通ê工具，反對使用另一種工具，比如羅馬字台文抑是英文。另一種比較pēnn-pāng ê論述者論點ê建構論（constructivism），tō提出母語真重要，tō算語言是工具，嘛應該選擇較好ê工具，是ē-tàng幫助復振語言。如果uì tsia-ê理論ê視角來

檢視檯面上ê語言文字化各派ê論述，大概tō ē-tàng畫出各自論述ê光譜位置，做koh-khah理性ê對話hām討論。

3. 漢字文化圈比較研究予台灣ê啟示

越南ê文化kap殖民經驗kám適合咱台灣？為啥物台灣社會知識份子目前普遍bē-tàng接受台灣羅馬字？筆者感覺過去台灣50外冬來對東南亞國家ê忽略kap歧視，形成tuè日韓學習音素文字化有理，但是欲向越南學習羅馬字化ê經驗，可能對知識份子有一點仔文化上ê心理落差。

漢字周邊ê民族有無全ê民族自覺，因此有ê民族tī語言文字化（書面語化）ê選擇上，會kā民族對民族ê對抗，直接轉做國家對國家ê對抗，用政權ê力量來保護語言ê文字化，蔣老師文中一再講tiōhê日本、韓國、越南ê書面語，漸漸脫離漢字經驗tō是這種ê類型。Ah-若蔣老師tī論述上比較khah少提著ê新加坡ê語文問題，李光耀總理tī伊ê回憶錄頂懸，bat講著1965年8月9日帶領新加坡脫離馬來西亞聯邦獨立，建國了後馬上面臨「國語」選擇ê難題，這段經驗嘛值得台灣參考。

另外一種是漢字文化圈lin bat建國kap無建國ê民族，tī蔣老師ê研究比較khah少提起，in以前kap越南全款借用漢字ê「字喃」造字過程，發明過文字，上典型ê tō是歷史上建立南詔大理國ê「白文」，以及壯族ê四角形ê「壯字」、苗族四角形ê「苗字」、瑤族四角形ê「瑤字」。Tsia-ê民族自創ê文字tī新中國（中華人民共和國）成立了後，依照中國人民政治協商會議第一屆全體會議通過ê《共同綱領》hām《中國民族區域自治法》尊重各族使用語言文字ê自由，「在建國後50年代組織人員對少數民族語言文字情況進行了全面調查，建立專門的民族語文工作機構和研究機構，培養民族語文專門人才，幫助有語言無文字或有文字但不完備、不通用的民族創制、改進或改革文字，推進少數民族語文在雙語教學、成人掃盲、新聞出版等領域使用」。（引自中國民族大百科）

Tsia-ê民族為著欲tī民族自治地方使用民族文字推展民族教育，最後攏是放棄借用漢字ê tsia-ê方案，另外創立羅馬字拼音ê書寫系統，原因是漢字方案無好學，真pháinn幫助民族掃除文盲。筆者tī 1993年tuè政大民族系林

修澈教授前往越南、中國廣西、貴州，雲南等地區，做民族教育hām民族文學ê調查研究ê時，會記得tī大理白族自治州訪問當地ê幾位白族民族教育者，in攏表示若是用傳統ê漢字「白文」做教材，欲予所有白族（1990年中國白族人口普查統計是159.4萬人；2000年是186萬人，2010年尚未公布）學會曉「白文」，bat字來脫離文盲至少ài 20冬，但是若改用羅馬拼音文字ê「新白文」來教學，會曉講白語ê白族農民，一個月內tō學會曉拼音字母，達到我手寫我口ê bat字脫盲效果，因此最後當地ê知識份子決定用羅馬拼音文字ê「新白文」進行民族教育kap脫盲教育來保存語言，若是南詔大理國in自來發明沿用ê「白文」tō留予地方文史專業學者做文化研究，白族ê文字化個案值得做koh-khah深入ê比較研究，tī本冊第八章，蔣教授提出ê「羅馬字hām漢字ê學習效率比較」這篇文章當中，也有學習者tī聽寫kap唸讀ê測驗結果，這種科學ê數據嘛真值得台語文教育推廣人士參考。

蔣老師ê這本冊，帶領咱行出台灣，直接觀看越南、韓國ê文字化經驗，凡勢有志之士會當uì漢字文化圈周邊有國、無國ê民族，in tsiah-nī濟坎珂ê語言文字化經驗裡，koh再做深入ê對話kap比較研究，一定ē-tàng建構出台灣ê「國語」文字化這條大路。

讀者回應

任何批評指教，歡迎email: ongngaping@gmail.com，王雅萍收。

台語研究

發行公司：華藝數位股份有限公司
 連絡電話：+886-2-29266006 轉 8139
 服務信箱：press@airiti.com

郵寄地址：23452 新北市永和區 成功路一段 80 號 18 樓
 傳真專線：+886-2-22317711
 Airiti Press 網站：http://www.airitipress.com/

個人

圖書館／機關團體

	新台幣	歐洲	美洲	亞太		新台幣	歐洲	美洲	亞太
一期	\$ 500	€ 38	US\$ 45	US\$ 42	一期	\$ 1000	€ 63	US\$ 73	US\$ 70
一年	\$ 1000	€ 76	US\$ 90	US\$ 84	一年	\$ 2000	€ 126	US\$ 146	US\$ 140
卷	期	~	卷	期	數量	金額		總金額	
* 台灣單冊郵寄處理費 55 元				郵寄費用	數量	金額			

注意事項

- 期刊將在付款後兩個營業天內寄出。
- 價格及建議出版日期恕不另行通知可能變更。
- 機構團體是指圖書館、政府機構、公司使用者及公司以個人名義訂購。
- 個人訂戶是指單一個人使用而非以營利為目的者。
- 對於有意或無意扭曲「個人訂戶」一詞者，Airiti Press 保留法律追訴權，並得求償損失。

訂閱者資料

個人姓名

機關名稱

發票抬頭及統一編號

聯絡電話

傳真號碼

電子信箱

收件地址

付款方式

 郵局劃撥 帳號：50027465 戶名：華藝數位股份有限公司

 支票付款 公司：華藝數位股份有限公司 地址：23452 新北市永和區成功路一段 80 號 18 樓

 信用卡
發卡銀行 MasterCard Visa

信用卡號

信用卡有效期限 西元

年

月

卡片背面末三碼

持卡人簽名

須與信用卡背面簽名相同

 銀行匯款

戶名 華藝數位股份有限公司

銀行 國泰世華銀行 - 中和分行

帳號 045039022102 (總行代碼：013；分行代碼：045)

付款後請傳真或回函本訂閱單，即完成訂閱。

Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

You may subscribe to the journals by completing this form and sending it by fax or e-mail to

Address: 18F., No.80, Sec. 1, Chenggong Rd., Yonghe Dist., New Taipei City 234, Taiwan

Tel: +886-2-29266006 ext. 8139 Fax: +886-2-22317711 E-mail: press@airiti.com Website: www.airitipress.com

PERSONAL				LIBRARIES / INSTITUTIONS			
	Europe	US/CA	Asia/Pacific		Europe	US/CA	Asia/Pacific
1 Issue	€ 38	US\$ 45	US\$ 42	1 Issue	€ 63	US\$ 73	US\$ 70
1 Year	€ 76	US\$ 90	US\$ 84	1 Year	€ 126	US\$ 146	US\$ 140
Vol.	No.	~	Vol.	No.	Copies	USD \$	Total USD \$

*All Price include postage

PLEASE NOTE

- Issues will be sent in two business days after receiving your payment.
- Please note that all orders must be confirmed by fax or email.
- Prices and proposed publication dates are subject to change without notice.
- Institutions include libraries, government offices, businesses, and for individuals where the company pays for the subscription.
- Personal rates are available only to single-user personal subscribers for personal and non-commercial purposes.
- Airiti Press reserves its right to take appropriate action to recover any losses arising from any intended or unintended misrepresentation of the term "Personal Subscriber".

BILLING INFORMATION

Name	
Company	
Tel	Fax
E-mail	
Shipping Address	

INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS


Pay by Credit Card	
Card Type	<input type="checkbox"/> JCB <input type="checkbox"/> MasterCard <input type="checkbox"/> Visa
Card Name	
Card Number	
Expiry Date	_____ / _____
CVV number	
Signature	

Direct Bank Transfer

Beneficiary	AIRITI INC.
Address	18F., No.80, Sec. 1, Chenggong Rd., Yonghe Dist., New Taipei City 234, Taiwan
Bank Name	E.Sun Commercial Bank, Ltd.Yong He Branch
Account No	0107441863017
Swift Code	ESUNTWTP
Bank Address	No.145, Zhongzheng Rd., Yonghe City, Taipei County 234, Taiwan



NOTES ON THE SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

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.
 2. The journal accepts research article and book reviews. Research articles are normally less than 10,000 words in English or 20,000 syllables in Taiwanese. Reviews are less than 3,000 words.
 3. Manuscript style:
 - A) Manuscripts written in Taiwanese or English are preferred. The author may provide an extra abstract in his/her mother tongue for publication. The author must be responsible for equivalent translation of the abstract.
 - B) Manuscripts written in Taiwanese must be either in Han-Roman hybrid or Roman-only styles. Roman scripts must be either Tai-lo Phin-im promulgated by Taiwan's Ministry of Education or Peh-oe-ji, the traditional colloquial writing. Please use Taigi Unicode fonts for the Taiwanese Roman scripts.
 - C) Footnote is regarded as a note for extra information, and must be arranged in the bottom of each relevant page. References therefore should be arranged in the end of full text.
 - D) The potential authors should refer to the journal's sample style for references. For those details not provided in the sample, please follow the journal LANGUAGE.
 - E) Manuscripts normally include a) paper title, b) abstract in Taiwanese, c) abstract in English, d) full text, e) references, and f) appendix (if applicable). Abstract should be provided up to five words.
 4. Submission and review procedures:
 - A) Manuscripts may be submitted by email. If so, please provide both Word and PDF files with appropriate fonts. An extra hardcopy is requested if the manuscript contains special fonts.
 - B) All manuscripts submitted will be subject to double-blind peer review. For this purpose, please do not identify yourself in the manuscript. On a separate sheet, please provide the following information: a) Paper title, b) full name of the author(s), c) affiliation and position, d) contact methods. The submitted copy of manuscripts will not be returned in any cases, so please keep your own copy.
 - C) Only unpublished manuscripts will be considered for publication. Please submit your manuscripts at least four months prior to proposed issue for publication.
 5. Copyright and honorarium:
 - A) After a manuscript has been published, its author will receive 5 copies of the journal volume in which the article appears without charge.
 - B) It is the responsibility of the author to obtain written permission for quotations from other publications or materials, which they do not own the copyright.
 - C) Upon receipt of manuscript, the author(s) agrees the manuscript to be published in both hardcopy and electronic forms for free by the journal publishers.
 6. The journal is published semiannually in March and September. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the editor-in-chief:
Wi-vun Taiffalo Chiung, Center for Taiwanese Languages Testing, National Cheng Kung University, 1 University Rd., Tainan 701, TAIWAN
E-mail: uibunoffice@gmail.com Tel: 06-2757575 ext 52627 Fax: 06-2755190
Website: <http://cltl.twl.ncku.edu.tw/jotv.htm>
- 



《台語研究》徵稿啟事

1. 《台語研究》(Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular)是研究台語的學術期刊，專門刊載二類文章：第一類是以台語為研究對象的語言學、文學、文化等相關領域的論文。第二類是以其他語言為研究對象，m-koh 伊的研究成果會使提供台語文發展參考的論文。
2. 文稿類型：分做「研究論文」、「冊評」二類。研究論文以 2 萬字以內為原則，冊評以 3 千字以內為原則。
3. 論文格式：
 - A) 本刊物 kan-nā 接受用台文 iah 是英文寫的文章。作者的民族母語若 m̄ 是台語或者英語，ē-sái ka-tī 提供用伊的母語書寫摘要 thang 做伙刊。作者 ài 自行負責母語摘要內容翻譯的妥當性。
 - B) 台文稿接受漢羅 kap 全羅。羅馬字接受教育部公布「台羅拼音」kap 傳統白話字。漢字的部分建議使用教育部公布的推薦用字。漢羅透濫的用法，以文意清楚為原則。羅馬字的字型請用 Taigi Unicode。
 - C) 「註腳」採用當頁註，而且限定 tī 對內文的補充解說，文獻請列 tī 參考冊目。
 - D) 書寫格式請參考本刊提供的參考樣本，其他無特別規範的部分，請參照美國期刊 LANGUAGE 的格式。
 - E) 文稿內容順序分別是 a) 篇名 b) 台文摘要 c) 英文摘要 d) 本文 e) 參考冊目 f) 附錄。摘要含關鍵詞 (siōng ke 5 個)。
4. 投稿 kap 審稿程序：
 - A) 稿件請提供 Word kap PDF 二種檔案。若有特別字型者，請提供紙本 thang 確保內容的正確性。
 - B) 投稿請分作者資訊 kap 文稿 thang 方便匿名審稿。作者資訊包含 a) 篇名 b) 作者名姓 c) 服務單位 kap 職稱 d) 連絡方式。來稿無退還，請 ka-tī 留底。
 - C) 本刊無接受一份稿投 kuí-ā 位，mā 無接受已經 tī 別位的學術期刊、專冊發表的論文。本刊採用隨到隨審的方式，請至少 tī 預定出刊前 4 個月投稿。
 - D) 匿名審稿包含 2-3 位外審委員，過半數通過才接受。
5. 版權 kap 稿費：
 - A) 論文接收刊出了，本刊會送作者當期出版品 5 份，無另外算稿費。
 - B) 作者 ài 保證 kap 負責文稿確實是伊的原作而且無侵犯別人的著作權。若違反者，作者 ài ka-tī 擔法律責任。
 - C) 作者投稿了視同同意本刊以紙本 kap 數位的形式無償刊載。
6. 這份刊物是半年刊，預定每年 3 月、9 月出刊。來稿或者有冊 beh review 請寄：

701 台南市大學路 1 號 成功大學台灣語文測驗中心 蔣為文收
(請註明投稿《台語研究》)

E-mail: uibunoffice@gmail.com Tel: 06-2757575 ext 52627 Fax: 06-2755190
Website: <http://cltl.twl.ncku.edu.tw/jotv.htm>