

# Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

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# Tâi-gí Gián-kiù 台語研究

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# Achieving Additive Bilingualism in the Family via One-Person-One-Language Principle: A Case Study of a Taiwanese Family

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## Abstract

The shift of the mother tongue to Mandarin Chinese is the most serious threat to the preservation of Taiwanese languages. Even though Tai-gi Taiwanese (Taiwanese) is the mother tongue of the majority of the Taiwanese, it is also showing signs of shifting to Mandarin Chinese. Many parents are confused by the dilemma of choosing either Mandarin Chinese or their mother tongue. As Mandarin is the high variety, it has always been the winner in the language war, whereas the mother tongue has been defeated again and again. Family usage is the key to the maintenance of mother tongue, and it is also an important domain of language policy. Hence, the family language policy plays an important role in children's acquisition of the mother tongues and functions as a framework to evaluate the vitality of the mother tongue. The paper uses Spolsky's (2004) language policy theory to explore family members' language ideology, language management and language practice. This paper is a single case study of a Taiwanese family, using their family language policy theory to find out how the family manage to achieve additive bilingualism through the One-Person-One-Language (OPOL) principle. The results show that parents need to have a strong mother tongue language ideology and positive attitudes toward bilingualism, before they start the language management process; and the arrangement of OPOL depends on the parents' mother tongue ability, strength of language loyalty and habitual language use. The paper shows that OPOL can be used to develop a family's additive bilingualism. It concludes with a suggestion for parents to get actively involved in the family's language policy.

Keywords: Family language policy, Taiwanese, One-Person-One-Language Principle, additive bilingualism

# 阮一人講一款： 添加式ê台灣人家庭語言政策

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## 摘要

家庭母語流失轉向使用華語，是台灣族群語言保存siōng大ê威脅。台語雖bóng是台灣多數人ê母語，soah mā有流失到華語ê現象。Chiá<sup>n</sup> chē家長kioh-sī母語kap華語無法tō兼顧，kan-ta<sup>n</sup>會當kéng一項。強勢ê華語chiá<sup>n</sup>做語言戰爭ê戰勝者，弱勢母語直直敗退，流失chiá<sup>n</sup>緊。家庭是母語保存ê關鍵，mā是語言政策ê重要領域。家庭語言政策kap囡仔ê母語傳承有chiok要緊ê關係，mā是觀察母語保存成效ê指標。本文運用Spolsky (2004) ê語言政策架構，探討家庭成員ê語言意識形態、語言管理hām語言實踐。本文採用達成添加式雙語現象ê台語系台灣人（以下簡稱台灣人）家庭做對象，運用家庭語言政策ê理論，透過單一個案研究方法，探討某台灣人家庭按怎用「一人一語」ê方式，打造台語kap華語雙贏ê家庭。研究結果顯示，tī進行家庭語言政策規劃chìn前，家長需要有夠額ê母語意識形態，對雙語有積極正面ê看法，一人一語ê分配著決定tī ang-á-bó語言能力kap使用慣勢，家長tī家庭透過語言管理，形塑雙語學習kap使用ê環境，hō囡仔發展出添加式ê雙語現象。家庭母語ê世代傳承是母語保存ê基礎，本文呼籲家長愛kā傳承母語ê責任擔--起來，積極規劃，實踐添加式ê家庭語言政策。

關鍵詞：家庭語言政策、台灣人、一人一語、添加式雙語現象

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## 1. 前言

Clavet (1998) 用「語言戰爭」(language war) ê概念探討語言接觸造 chiáⁿ ê語言衝突，伊討論家庭kám是mā ē牽涉著語言戰爭，hō家庭mā pìⁿ做語言戰場。家庭若是語言戰場，台灣各語言ê戰果是按怎？Ùi 1980年代中期開始，學者ê研究 (Young, 1989; 黃宣範, 1995) tō發現華語m̄-tāⁿ佔領公共領域，chiáⁿ做高階語言，koh進一步侵入親密ê家庭領域，本土語言tâuh-tâuh-á流失--去，家庭這 ê母語保存ê基地。整體來看，台灣語言戰爭ê結果是：各族群母語戰敗，舉白旗á投降，「華語家庭」ê旗á tī大部分ê家庭chhāi--起來。家庭母語流失轉向使用華語，是台灣族群語言保存siōng大ê威脅。

語言接觸是chiáⁿ平常ê現象，m̄-koh語言接觸kám一定會造chiáⁿ語言戰爭？就語言學習來講，是按怎學習華語tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ ē造chiáⁿ母語流失，形成「削減式ê雙語現象」(subtractive bilingualism; Lambert, 1977)？Che是因為華語kap母語之間ê關係tiāⁿ hông當做是零和遊戲(zero sum game)，chiáⁿ chē家長kioh-sī母語kap華語無法tō兼顧，著二種kóng一種。Beh母語iah是華語，ē-sái講是犯著「錯誤ê兩難」(false dilemma) ê問題。M̄-koh tī華語單語意識形態下，強勢ê華語tiāⁿ pìⁿ做理所當然「無標記」(unmarked) ê選項，chiáⁿ做語言叢林ê勝利者，弱勢母語soah直直敗退，流失真緊。本文ê研究問題是：家長tī家庭--nih 按怎透過語言政策ê安排，tng-sêh母語ê流失，hō雙語tī家庭--nih 和平共存，形成「添加式ê雙語現象」(additive bilingualism, Lambert, 1977)？

語言政策關係著語言選擇 (Spolsky, 2004)，家長在家庭選擇使用siáⁿ款語言kap 囡仔交談，ē chiáⁿ做母語保存ê關鍵。家庭語言政策 (family language policy) 是最近chiáⁿ受重視ê研究領域 (Spolsky, 2004, 2007; King, Fogle & Logan-Terry, 2008; Harding & Riley, 1986; Schwartz, 2010)。家庭語言政策kā家庭當作語言政策執行單位，探討家庭成員按怎樣、是按怎進行成員之間語言使用ê規劃 (King et al., 2008)。家庭語言政策ê理論基礎是Spolsky (2004) ê語言政策理論架構，包括語言意識形態、語言管理kap語言實踐這三大面向。家庭語言政策有chiáⁿ重要ê理論hām實用意義，家庭語言決策過程kap 囡仔 ê母語傳承有真深ê關聯，mā是觀察母語保存成效ê重要指標。Tī母語tâuh-tâuh-á流失ê時，有必要進行家庭語言政策規劃，Garcia (1992) bat用語言花

園做比喻，論證語言規劃ê必要，伊認為花園若無kā管理，強勢ê花蕊可能ē影響著弱勢花蕊ê生存，chiah ē需要積極管理，thang維持花園ê多樣性，家庭雙語ē維持，mā需要規劃kap管理（張學謙，2011）。

本文用達成添加式雙語現象ê台語系台灣人（以下簡稱台灣人）家庭做研究對象，運用家庭語言政策ê理論，透過單一個案研究方法，探討台灣人家庭按怎樣用「一人一語」（One-Person-One-Language, Döpke, 1992）ê方式tī家庭維持母語，超越「二項kêng一項」ê錯誤兩難，kā「零和遊戲」轉化做「正和遊戲」（positive sum game），打造台語kap華語雙贏ê雙語家庭。

本論文前言後piah，第2節回顧台語保存現狀、家庭語言政策kap家庭語言策略；第3節簡介研究方法；第4節是個案ê報告；第5節是結果討論；最後第6節是本文ê結論kap與建議。

## 2. 台語保存、家庭語言政策kap家庭語言策略

### 2.1. 台語語言保存狀況

語言kám有流失著愛看後一代母語ê能力，囡仔 boài學母語，母語tō有pi<sup>n</sup>做瀕危語言（endangered language）ê危險。台語系人佔台灣總人口ê 73.3%，是台灣siōng大ê族群（黃宣範，1995：21），母語照理講應該無流失ê顧慮。M̄-koh社會語言學家ê研究soah顯示，台灣ê本土語言，無論是原住民語言、客家語iah是台語lóng有流失ê現象。早tī 1980年代中期，Young（1989）ê調查，tō發現各本土語言lóng有母語移sóa到華語ê現象。鄭良偉（1990）認為台灣人母語滅種ê徵兆表現tī：母語使用ê範圍緊束，使用母語ê能力減退kap母語失傳。聯合報（2002）bat做過母語傳承kap流失ê調查報告，發現台語ê保存狀況無kài好：

- (1) 台語能力衰退：年歲愈少，台語能力愈bái；
- (2) 家庭母語傳承無kài好：自認台語liàn-tng ê 台灣人受訪者kan-ta<sup>n</sup>有五成四表示in siōng細漢ê 囡仔台語ē liàn-tng；
- (3) 母語傳承意願真弱：有二成ê家長認為ē-hiáu講母語iah bē無真重要；四成二台灣人家長認為英文對於後一代khah重要，超過認為



台語khah重要ê家長。

Sandel et al. (2006) ê調查發現台語tī都市區已經失去家庭這 ê領域，庄腳所在chit-má是tī決定母語kám有thang傳承ê關鍵階段。In參考Fishman (1991) 挽救語言流失ê 八階段量表，調查重點如下：

- (1) 台語tī庄腳地區kap大家庭是tī Fishman八階段量表ê第六階段，台語是家庭ê日常語言，華語用tī正式場合；
- (2) 台語tī都市地區已經是tī Fishman ê第七階段，老一輩íáu ē講台語，sī大kap 囡仔真罕得用台語溝通，囡仔無法tō用母語liú-liáh來溝通，家長mā無用母語kap 囡仔溝通。

Án-ne thang知，台語tī 囡仔這 ê年齡層已經開始流失，都市地區台語流失koh-khah嚴重，che可能是因為kā台語kap認同分割開，語言kap族群認同脫鉤。台語流失siōng主要ê因素，可能是家長kap 囡仔 ê溝通模式無妥當。Sandel et al. (2006: 135) 指出：

家長使用khah chē ê華語，khah少ê母語，可能造chiá<sup>n</sup> 囡仔語言流失。Tō是講，家長ē-sái像kap同輩kāng款講話選用華語iah是台語，m-koh in tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiā<sup>n</sup>選用華語kap囡仔交談。

其他ê研究kāng款發現台灣人家庭台語能力衰退ê現象。陳淑嬌 (2007: 27) ê研究顯示，台語能力已經tòe年歲降低來降低，照年齡層區分，各年齡層會當用台語有效溝通ê比率分別是：12 歲以下 (含) 44.09%；13-18 歲55.29%；19-29歲71.48%；30-45歲93.21%；46-59歲93.29%；60歲以上 (含) 100%。台語能力降低以外，koh有台語使用大幅降低ê問題。蕭素英 (2007) ùi語言活力 (language vitality) ê指標評估台語ê活力，發現台語欠缺活力，tī 6等級程度 (0表示瀕危程度siōng-kài嚴重；5表示安全)，大概tī等級3 kap 4之間，特別是世代傳承無好，tī「3明確危險」與「4不安全」之間；台語使用方面屬於「3範疇縮減」這級。

上述學者ê研究顯示，台語流失m是o-péh講，華語tāuh-tāuh-á人去家庭領域，若無所作為，繼續hō 台語tī家庭流失，等華語chiá<sup>n</sup>做後一代唯一ê語言ê時chūn，台語tō m-tā<sup>n</sup>是瀕危語言，soah pi<sup>n</sup>做進入beh死ê狀況。

## 2.2. 家庭語言政策

過去ê語言規劃tiā<sup>n</sup> kā語言規劃者 (agent) 定位tī國家ê層次，無處理日常生活--nih, ták-ê進行ê語言規劃活動。家庭ê母語世代之間傳承是語言保存ê關鍵，語言政策應該擴大到包括家庭kap社區層次 (Cooper, 1989; Fishman, 1991; King et al. 2008; Spolsky, 2004)。語言政策模式ē-sái應用ê領域chiā<sup>n</sup>多樣，包括 (Spolsky, 2011 : 55) :

行出家庭範圍，koh有chiā<sup>n</sup> chē其他場所lóng chiā<sup>n</sup>適合lán探討語言政策ê應用領域。chiah-ê場所包括chiok chē中型ê社會團體，像教堂、宗教組織、庄á、居住區域、各種市場kap商業機構、社交俱樂部、體育俱樂部、族群俱樂部iah是文化俱樂部、組織機構、政黨團體kap其他地方、地區kap國家各級政府有chih接ê機構。

家庭語言政策是最近發展ê研究領域，King et al. (2008: 907) kā定義做「關係家庭成員之間語言使用ê明確 (explicit)、顯明ê (overt) ê規劃」。King et al. (2008 : 910) 指出，家庭語言政策teh探討「照顧者想beh影響toh chit-kóa家庭成員ê toh chit-kóa (語言) 行為，為著siá<sup>n</sup>目的，tī siá<sup>n</sup>款情形，用siá<sup>n</sup>款方式，透過siá<sup>n</sup>款決策過程，達到siá<sup>n</sup>款效果？」

家庭語言政策對語言保存iah流失有關鍵性ê影響力。De Houwer (1999) 認為家庭語言政策提供囡仔 kap照顧者之間互動模式ê架構，tī 囡仔 ê語言發展扮演關鍵性ê角色，同時mā反映家長教養囡仔 ê語言意識形態 (King et al., 2008)。Spolsky特別強調家庭語言政策對母語保存ê重要性，伊講 (Spolsky, 2011 : 54-55) :

為著了解語言政策按怎反映外部壓力，mā是因為語言政策kap家庭內部有關囡仔 tī成長過程應該使用toh 一種iah是toh chit-kóa語言ê決定關係真密切，所以家庭是研究語言政策ê重要領域。家庭beh做出決定kám beh hō後代傳承族裔語言。這 ê決定對家庭ê語言轉用kap語言保存影響真大。Tī對扭轉語言轉用效果ê研究--nih, ták-ê tiā<sup>n</sup> kā這 ê決定看做是影響家庭語言政策成敗ê關鍵措施。

Chiā<sup>n</sup> chē家庭語言政策ê研究者採用Spolsky (2004) ê語言政策模式來做理論基礎。這 ê模式包括三ê部分：語言實踐、語言信仰kap語言管理。

Shohamy (2006: 52) kā定義做：(1) 語言實踐：集中tī實際發生ê語言實踐；(2) 語言信念（語言意識形態）：語言政策背後ê語言意識形態；(3) 語言管理（語言規劃）：操做iah是管理語言ê行為。Spolsky (2004)認為家庭層級ê語言政策，kap其他社會領域kāng款，mā會當用語言意識形態、語言實踐kap語言管理來分析。

M̄-koh Spolsky (2004) 無kā語言政策架構khng tī社會語言脈絡，Curdt-Christiansen (2009) 對che提出修正。伊ê家庭語言政策模式補充宏觀kap微觀ê因素。Curdt-Christiansen (2009: 352) kā家庭語言政策定義做：「Tī家庭以成員為對象，有意ê執行特定ê語言使用模式kap特定ê語言實踐。」伊特別強調語言意識形態因素對家庭語言政策ê影響，因為家庭語言政策tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiā<sup>n</sup>根據個別家庭對社會結構kap社會變遷ê認知來做出決定。另外，一般ê研究tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiā<sup>n</sup> kan-ta<sup>n</sup>考慮口語，伊ê研究特別加入讀寫ê面向，koh ùi微觀ê角度探討家庭語言環境。Curdt-Christiansen (2009) ê貢獻tī提出形塑家庭語言政策背後多種多樣ê因素hām條件，tī各種面向內底，伊認為政治、文化kap經濟因素是siōng主要ê影響因素。

### 2.3. 家庭語言策略

家庭語言管理是家庭語言政策ê一部分。語言管理ê手段chiā<sup>n</sup> chē，以下kan-ta<sup>n</sup>回顧家庭語言策略ê類型kap黃宣範 (1995) 對台灣雙語家庭ê類型研究。

家長是囡仔早期語言社會化ê主要影響者，透過選擇使用siā<sup>n</sup>款語言kap囡仔溝通，tō會當影響sī細ê語言發展。Romaine (1995: 183-185) 根據父母ê母語、社會環境使用ê語言hām家長對囡仔採取ê言談策略，歸納出6種家庭語言使用類型，包括（引自張學謙，2011）：

- (1) 一人一語：父母講無kāng母語，其中一種是社區強勢語言，各別用母語kap囡仔講話；
- (2) 一地一語；父母講無kāng母語，其中一種是社區強勢語言，tī厝--nih使用弱勢語言，tī外口使用強勢語言；
- (3) 父母kāng款母語，mā lóng是弱勢語言，tī厝使用弱勢語言，欠缺社區支援；

- (4) 父母無kāng母語，lóng是弱勢語言，mā lóng無社區支援，各別用母語kap囡仔講話，類似一人一語，m̄-koh囡仔可能ē-hiáu三種語言，m̄是雙語；
- (5) 雙親m̄是母語者：父母kāng款母語，兩者lóng是社區強勢語言，其中一ê家長使用非母語kap囡仔溝通；
- (6) 混合語言：父母是雙語者，社區部分是雙語地區，雙親用語碼轉換ê方式kap囡仔溝通。

黃宣範（1995）探討台灣ê雙語家庭ê類型，歸納有20種ê雙語家庭類型。伊ê主要發現會當歸納做：

- (1) 客家話kap原住民語言tia<sup>n</sup>有語言失傳ê現象；
- (2) 台語籍ê老母iah是老父mā有bē少母語失傳ê情形，m̄-koh大環境提供後一代學習台語ê機會；
- (3) 大多數ê大陸方言到第二代已經消失。

黃宣範（1995）建議以「一人一語」iah是「一地一語」ê方式發展家庭雙語現象。對無kāng族群語言ê家長，「一人一語」是培育囡仔雙語能力siōng適當ê方法，做法是，父母各別用本身ê母語kap囡仔講話，囡仔用父母kap in講話ê語言回答。值得注意ê是，kāng一ê族群ê家長mā可能採用一人一語ê方式培育雙語囡仔，tī國外tia<sup>n</sup>-tia<sup>n</sup>是為著培育囡仔外語能力，hông號做精英雙語主義。

少數族群為著增加族語輸入，chhiàng-chāi選擇「一地一語」ê方法。一地一語劃分語言使用領域：家長tī家庭用母語kap囡仔講話，營造kan-ta<sup>n</sup>用母語ê家庭環境；囡仔 ùi厝邊隔壁、遊戲場所iah是教育等其他途徑學習強勢語言。簡單講，tō是tī厝講母語，tī外口講強勢語言（張學謙，2011）。黃宣範ê研究koh發現，siōng ē造chiâ<sup>n</sup>弱勢語言流失ê家庭語言策略是（1995：249）：「父母互相用母語交談，m̄-koh用強勢語言kap sī細交談。」

有時á tō算家長有心beh kap sī細用母語交談，m̄-koh sī細soah使用其他語言回答。Lanza（1997）區分單語kap雙語言談策略，mā討論chiah-ê策略對囡仔雙語發展ê影響：（1）「單語言談策略」（monolingual discourse strategies）：造chiâ<sup>n</sup>溝通限制tī使用一種語言；（2）「雙語言談策略」（bilingual discourse strategies）：造chiâ<sup>n</sup>交談使用兩種語言，抑是造chiâ<sup>n</sup>對

一款語言轉換做另外一款語言。Lanza (1997) kā 這二種策略看做是連續體 (continuum)，進一步區別出五種策略：「最小理解策略」(minimal grasp strategy)、「問問題策略」(expressed guess strategy)、「重複策略」(repetition)、「繼續講」(move on strategy)、「語碼轉移」(code-switch)。圖表1是家長ē-sái參考ê 五種言談策略。

圖表1. 家長ê五種言談策略

| 言談策略   | 說明                                                | 例子                              |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 最小理解策略 | 囡仔若講其他語言，家長ē-sái講：我聽無iah是請koh講一 pái，這ê策略保持單語交談情境； | 直接請求：請koh講一 pái。<br>間接請求：我聽無。   |
| 問問題策略  | 囡仔講其他語言，家長使用目標語言ioh 伊 ê意思，chhiâng-chāi使用是非問句；     | 你是beh講食飯sioh?                   |
| 重複策略   | 囡仔講其他語言，家長用目標語重複講一 pái；                           | 囡仔講：吃飯<br>家長講：食飯                |
| 繼續說    | 家長無chhap囡仔講其他語言，繼續談話；                             | 囡仔講：我要吃飯。<br>家長講：Beh食ka-tī去tòe。 |
| 語碼轉移   | 家長tòe 囡仔 ê引導，轉向使用其他語言。                            | 囡仔講：我要吃飯。<br>家長講：要吃自己去盛飯。       |

資料來源：參考De Houwer (2009: 134-35)

### 3. 研究方法

本研究採用質性研究法，這 ê方法認為事實m̄是客觀決定--ê，是ùì社會、主觀建構--出-來-ê (Creswell, 2005)。Schwartz (2010) 關係家庭語言政策ê文獻回顧，發現質性研究法是家庭語言政策相關研究siōng chiáp使用ê研究法，特別是深度訪談kap半結構式ê訪談。本研究採用ê個案研究法屬tī質性研究ê 一種。

本研究採用Spolsky (2004) ê語言政策概念做分析架構，使用單一個案研究法，調查一個台灣人家庭ê家庭語言政策。Goán用訪談ê方式了解in家庭語言政策ê樣貌。訪談參考Spolsky (2004) 語言政策模式ê三大部門，設計訪談問題。訪談問題主要tī以下三ê方向：

1. 語言實踐：家庭ê語言環境是按怎？日常生活語言使用ê情況是按怎？家庭成員ê語言能力kap語言項目是siá<sup>n</sup>？家庭成員之間ê溝通語言是siá<sup>n</sup>？
2. 語言意識形態：對無kāng語言ê語言意識形態是siá<sup>n</sup>？語言學習ê動機是siá<sup>n</sup>？母語學習、母語教育ê看法是siá<sup>n</sup>？母語保存ê意義是siá<sup>n</sup>？母語kap族群意識有siá<sup>n</sup>關聯？
3. 語言管理：按怎選擇家庭使用ê語言？Toh chit-kóa人決定、透過siá<sup>n</sup>款方式形成決策？家長kám有意識teh採取某種語言策略？家長ùi toh位、siá<sup>n</sup>-mih人hia得著家庭語言選用ê指導iah是資訊？家庭語言策略有toh幾種形態？

受訪家庭ang-á-bó lóng是台灣人，有一ê五歲ê cha-bó-kiá<sup>n</sup> kap 一ê chím出世無jōa久ê細漢cha-po 囡仔（因為iáu bē-hiáu講話，以下ê報告ē省略這ê cha-po 囡仔）。Ang-á-bó ê教育背景分別是博士hām碩士，先生tī大學教書，bó tī公司上班。訪談大約進行二點半鐘久，ang-á-bó lóng接受訪談。訪談了後，kā錄音內容tá k字筆錄，chiah進行分析。為著保護受訪者，以下ê名lóng是假名：受訪者先生以「A-Bêng」稱呼，受訪者太太稱呼做「A-Lêng」，cha-bó-kiá<sup>n</sup>稱呼做「A-Khēng」。A-Bêng和A-Lêng lóng是多語人才，除去台語kap華語，koh ē-hiáu二種外語，cha-bó-kiá<sup>n</sup> A-Khēng ē-hiáu台語kap華語，分別kap爸爸、媽媽講台語hām華語，tī幼稚園kap同學講華語。

#### 4. 一人一語ê台灣人家庭個案

受訪家庭是三代做伙tòa ê家庭。受訪者cha-bó-kiá<sup>n</sup> (A-Khēng) 出世了後，日--時是a公a-má照顧，暗時A-Bêng kap A-Lêng chò-hóe照顧囡仔。A公a-má雖bóng lóng是台灣人，a公a-má平常時á講台語，工作上tiā<sup>n</sup>有使用華語ê機會，kap孫慣勢講華語。A-Bêng細漢ê時父母mā慣勢kap伊講華語，雖bóng

有lām kóa台語，台語是kap外公外má學--ê，tī厝kap a祖講台語。受訪者ê 囡仔訪談ê時5歲，讀幼稚園中班。

幼稚園一禮拜有一節台語課，m̄-koh幼稚園ê朋友lóng講華語，A-Khēng華語、台語lóng會講。媽媽用華語kap A-Khēng交談，sam-put-gō時lām 1-2句台語。媽媽tī私人公司負責國外業務，tī辦公室講華語。A-Bēng kap A-Lēng sèk-sāi ê時主要講華語，chit-má A-Bēng講台語，A-Lēng講華語，家庭語言tō piⁿ做一人一語ê狀況。Kap 囡仔講話mā用一人一語ê策略。A-Khēng ê華語主要ùi a公a-má kap媽媽chia學--來，ùi爸爸chia學會台語。

A-Bēng因為本身tī語文科系任教，對台語傳承chiāⁿ認真，除去教囡仔台語口語，mā教台語讀寫。伊 tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ使用心適ê方式教囡仔台語，像講聽CD，講故事hō 囡仔聽，chhōa 囡仔去科學博物館、美術館，mā lóng用台語解說。另外伊 hō 囡仔看台語ê bàng-gah，像馬鈴薯狗，教A-Khēng認台語字母，A-Khēng kah意看bàng-gah，mā kah意讀ang-á冊。A-Bēng mā教囡仔台語羅馬字，囡仔愛學台語讀寫，án-ne tō ē-sái ka-tī去讀ang-á冊，囡仔會thèh學校ê台語課本念hō爸爸聽，學台語khah sêng是teh sng。媽媽kap爸爸kāng款lóng提供cha-bó-kiáⁿ 囡仔歌、bàng-kah、囡仔冊，m̄-koh是華語版--ê。

有kóa家長ê煩惱kap 囡仔講台語，華語能力ê無好。受訪者顛倒提出台語語言學習有幫助ê論點，koh講伊 ê 囡仔有二種語言ê能力，phēng kāng年歲ê 囡仔 koh-khah好，A-Bēng講：

學台語顛倒對伊ê語言學習有幫贊，像chit-má學校teh教英語，伊看著hiah-ê英語字bē驚，因為伊知影本底tō有這二種字，伊華語koh phēng同學khah好ā，伊ê閱讀能力，tō是讀華語ê故事，有一 kái我chhōa 伊去朋友in兜，in太太teh做iu-chí-íán老師--ê，伊 tī hia讀ang-á冊hō hit ê朋友聽，in太太講，nah ē 這 ê歲數tō ē-hiáu chiah chē字？

A-Bēng ê囡仔 chiah五歲，m̄-koh 囡仔冊大概會當讀bat八成。受訪者認為che是因為自細漢有雙語ê環境，所以提升囡仔整體語言ê能力。A-Bēng認同雙語教學是khah好ê教育方式，mā提起母語ê文化kap情感面向hām重要性。A-Bēng講：

語言是文化ê載體，lán台灣ê文化若無透過台語tō ē走精--去，

像布袋戲、陣頭，伊若ē-hiáu，另工beh去chih接chiah-ê物件tō真簡單，伊若bē-hiáu台語，kan-ta<sup>n</sup>華語beh去chih接台灣文化tō無法tō……而且lán是台灣人，是án-chóa<sup>n</sup>無愛保留台灣文化？愛先ē-hiáu這種語言，文化chiah有法tō保存。……koh有感情……當然講華語mā ē通--lah，m̄-koh hit種khí-mó-chih感受mā是無kài kâng-ê。

A-Bêng雙語ê態度chiá<sup>n</sup>正面，認為母語是資源，提起ē-hiáu母語ê成就感kap自信：

另外一ê tō是成就感，因為chit-má 囡仔lóng無siá<sup>n</sup> ē-hiáu台語，伊若去外口ē-hiáu講台語，tāk-ê是ē kā伊 o-ló-ê。無形中伊 mā ē真有自信，這ê自信對伊ê成長過程是有幫助--ê，tō是講，我有chit-kóa優點是別人lóng bē-hiáu--ê，對伊自信ê培養mā是有幫助，kap伊對語言ê興趣lóng有幫助。

受訪者認為語言kap認同有chiok密切ê關係。強調族群身分kap族群語言ê關係。Chiá<sup>n</sup> chē人tiā<sup>n</sup>因為華語ê社會地位phēng台語khah koàn，iah是因為實用ê觀點選擇使用華語，m̄是用台語kap 囡仔溝通。A-Bêng認為台語ê地位tng teh提升，講台語是一種「時尚」，另外伊 mā提起人力銀行ê人力需求內底，有bē少要求愛有台語能力，有chit-kóa khang-khòe一定用ē 著台語，chit-má有bē少醫學大學lóng開設醫學台語ê課程。

問著語言學習順序ê時，受訪者強調母語優先，koh提起個人經驗指出：「先學母語chiah來學華語，因為華語t̄外口學起來真緊，華語、英語beh學真緊，m̄-koh母語細漢若無學，外口beh學khah oh。」

A-Bêng有語言學ê知識，mā有母語教育ê實務經驗，所以伊有提出這方面ê意見支持愛教囡仔雙語，特別愛母語優先。A-Bêng講：

Lán chit-má lóng講雙語教育，雙語對刺激囡仔ê大腦發展確實有幫助……就我ê經驗kap我學ê語言教學ê理論來講，細漢學雙語，以後學siá<sup>n</sup>-mih語言lóng真緊，goán cha-bó-kiá<sup>n</sup> chit-má台語厲害，華語mā厲害，我想雙語是有幫助--ê。

A-Bêng認為雙語有優勢，對腦部發育、提升創造力lóng有幫贊。所以真早tō決定beh hō 囡仔 chiá<sup>n</sup>做雙語人。In ang-á-bó討論了後，決定家庭語言管理策略是「一人一語」，決定先生kap 囡仔講台語，囡仔若kap先生講華



語，先生tō講聽無，愛伊 koh用台語講一 pái，tō算chit-má 囡仔知影伊 ē-hiáu講華語，mā已經慣勢kap爸爸講台語。

A-Lêng表示，án-ne 一人一語ê狀況是自然形成--ê，m̄是刻意ê規劃。語言使用是長期累積ê慣勢，tō算當初時是thiau-kang ê規劃，到lō尾可能認為kan-ta<sup>n</sup>是慣勢造chiâ<sup>n</sup>--ê。訪談ê時，問著 kám對家庭語言使用有規劃，chhiang-chāi得--著 ê答案是：「無，goán慣勢kah真自然，無特別規劃--lah。」A-Lêng ē-hiáu講台語kap華語，細漢khah chiáp講華語，大漢tī社會上khah chiáp講台語，m̄-koh kap 囡仔 tiā<sup>n</sup>講華語。伊認為án-ne ê語言使用lóng是慣勢問題，無特別規劃。伊認為語言應該是平等ê關係，siōng好是並存，mài相互排斥。對家庭「一人一語」ê安排，伊 chiá<sup>n</sup>滿意。伊 kap 囡仔講華語，主要是慣勢。

另外一方面mā可能是因為伊 ê台語能力無in ang hiah-nī好。伊使用華語，m̄-koh m̄是因為認為台語khah無水準，囡仔去幼稚園，伊 mā要求老師一禮拜愛有一節母語課程。囡仔對siá<sup>n</sup>-mih人使用siá<sup>n</sup>-mih語言bē-su有一定ê看法，A-Lêng試beh kap 囡仔講母語，soah hō 囡仔反對chiah準煞。A-Lêng回想講：

我ē記得伊細漢ê時，有l-chām-á我有試beh kap 伊講台語，我tō講，爸爸kap你講台語，我mā beh kap你講台語，橫直你lóng ē-hiáu講，lō尾伊 kā我講，你mài kap我講父á-kiá<sup>n</sup> hit種語言，伊認為講台語是in 二個私密ê行為，伊叫我mài kap 伊講台語，tō算我用台語kā伊問，伊 mā是華語回答我，伊 tō是m̄ kap我講。

Ùi 囡仔ê回應thang看出，語言顯然m̄-tā<sup>n</sup>是溝通工具，台語變做囡仔kap爸爸親密ê語言，A-Lêng提起語言養成慣勢了後，tō真oh改變ê現象：「你慣勢某種語言了後，特別是伊 ē kap某人講某種語言，伊 tō kap in爸爸bē講華語。M̄-koh kap我mā bē講台語。對chia會當看出，細漢囡仔全款是起做家庭語言政策的一份子。」Palviainen & Boyd (2013) 的研究全款發現，細漢囡仔著會參與家庭語言選用的協商，囡仔嘛有扮演「語言警察」，糾正阿母語言選用錯誤的情形。囡仔的自主性 (child agency) 對家庭語言有相當的影響力，Tuominen (1999: 71-72) 認為：「囡仔m̄-nā會決定in beh講siá<sup>n</sup>物語言，mā可能會決定in父母講ê語言。」

一人一語是主要ê原則，有時á因為m̄知影台語愛按怎講，囡仔講話ê時加減會lām華語表達。訪談者問A-Lêng 伊 ê 囡仔講話ê時，kám ē有語言參lām chò-hóe ê現象？A-Lêng講：

有時á ē。伊講bē出--來ê時，譬如某一 ê字，台語beh 按怎講，國語愛按怎講，伊 ē lām leh講，m̄-koh 伊 khah罕這種情形，伊 ē，m̄-koh khah罕，kap in爸爸講，差不多bē有華語，伊 kap講，有時á ē。

A-Khēng tī家庭中語言使用ê狀況是án-ne：kap媽媽、a公a-má講華語，kap爸爸、a祖講台語。囡仔 ē根據交談對象，主動更換語言。Tī家庭外，tú著 ē-hiáu講台語ê「大哥哥」、「大姐姐」ē tòe leh講台語。

Tī家庭規劃方面，受訪者家庭主要重視語言實踐kap語言管理，kap 囡仔無特別強調語言意識形態。下面是相關ê對話：

訪談者：你kám ē kā講，你愛khah chiáp講台語--leh，為siá<sup>n</sup>-mih？

你kám ē kā講這款ê問題？

A-Bēng：Bē neh。

訪談者：你kám ē kā講為siá<sup>n</sup>-mih你愛講台語？

A-Bēng：Bē neh。

訪談者：你無án-ne做，你tō直接kap 伊講台語？

受訪者：he<sup>h</sup>。

A-Bēng認為囡仔-kiá<sup>n</sup>免kap 伊講是按怎愛講台語，5歲ê 囡仔，kap 伊講siá<sup>n</sup>款語言傳承、文化保存，chiah-ê 伊聽無，直接kap 伊講tō著--a。A-Bēng提起chit-kóa正面ê回饋，對囡仔維持母語使用有幫贊。像講，「伊出去外口講台語lóng ē hō人o-ló，所以伊自然感覺講台語是真hiau-pai、真厲害ê代誌。」

A-Bēng雖bóng無kap 囡仔強調語言意識形態ê觀點，m̄-koh teh分析是按怎母語tī家庭流失，著kā重點指向過去ê語言政策，特別是透過教育歧視母語，造chiá<sup>n</sup>一般人認為「台語是無好、低路、低級ê語言」，華語soah hông當作有水準、高級ê語言。伊 ùi後殖民ê觀點，kā比喻做「頭殼若hō人洗--過，等於用別人ê目chhiu teh看ka-tī」，A-Bēng認為需要一段時間chiah會當改變過去ê語言偏見。針對語言地位無平等，造chiá<sup>n</sup> ê語言功能低落ê問題，A-Bēng提出母語教育kap母語認證ê方法。

A-Bēng認為語言平等，母語kāng款會當 chiá<sup>n</sup>做教學語言，mā應該享有

母語教育ê權利。伊認為母語chiâ<sup>n</sup>做教育語言chiah是正常化。伊講：

真chē人認為母語kan-ta<sup>n</sup> 會當 tī菜市á講，若去LV精品店著愛講華語，事實上ták種語言lóng 會當 chiâ<sup>n</sup>做教學語言，語言無koân低ê分別……台語若會當 pi<sup>n</sup>做教學語言，án-ne 伊 chiah ē正常化。真chē國家lóng án-ne, in有真chē語言ê學校，你lóng 會當讀，全華語ê大學，全馬來語ê大學，全英語ê大學，你lóng 會當讀，國家lóng ē kā你承認，che是語言人權，應該lán mā愛án-ne 做chiah 著。

A-Bêng ê母語意識真強，伊認為母語m-tā<sup>n</sup>需要教育，mā應該進行母語認證。考慮著台灣iáu是升學導向ê社會，若是無考試，母語可能bē受重視，所以伊認為：

台語若考試、列入聯考，iah是公務人員考試，ták-ê tō ē去讀，語言tō保存--落-來，che是真關鍵ê物件，…隨就有路用，親像高雄：tī iáu-bōe縣市合併chìn前幾冬，考國校á ê校長愛用母語做五分鐘ê演講，列入分數，he分數無koân，m-koh ták-ê ē拚勢練。……考試有考試ê引導，tī台灣這 ê社會是真需要，若tī學校有正式ê母語考試，台語、客語、原住民語，絕對大大有幫助。

建立母語ê獎賞系統是重要ê khang-khòe，會當提升家長對母語ê工具性依附（instrumental attachment），認為母語有路用，hō in想beh傳承母語。

Ùi án-ne thang知，A-Bêng母語ê態度chiâ<sup>n</sup>正面，對伊來講，母語m-tā<sup>n</sup>是資源，mā是權利。A-Bêng表示，伊 ê母語意識是出國留學了chiah產生--ê，因為tī國外有機會chih接著 kap過去教育無kāng ê聲，對台灣ê歷史、社會有無kāng ê看法，chiah形成台灣意識，連帶mā強化伊 ê母語意識。伊感歎講：「Tī台灣受ê傳統教育無可能hō你對台語有感情，iah是對ka-tī ê土地有感情，苦憐--lah，顛倒愛去外國chiah看ē著，讀ē著。」

因為是ang-á-bó「一人一語」，訪談者chiah問著 ang-á-bó二人tī 囡仔ê語言使用、語言能力kap語言態度，toh 一 ê人ê影響力khah大，iah是2 ê lóng差不多？一般ê狀況是，老母照顧囡仔時間khah chē，囡仔 ē khah gâu講媽媽kap伊講ê語言。M-koh這ê家庭ê 囡仔，雙語發展chiâ<sup>n</sup>平衡，囡仔mā bē排斥一人一語ê安排。Che hoân-sè kap ang-á-bó 共同負擔照顧囡仔 ê責任有關係。A-Lêng

講起in厝--nih ang-á-bó照顧囡仔ê時間分配算chiá<sup>n</sup>平均。A-Lêng講in ang無課ê時，ē tī厝--nih tàu照顧囡仔，伊下班了後，換伊照顧囡仔，koh有家事分工，kap 囡仔 chò-hóe ê時間差不多。

受訪家庭無採用嚴格禁止講某種語言，iah是kan-ta<sup>n</sup> 會當某種語言ê方式。對囡仔 boài講台語ê反應，tiā<sup>n</sup>是假影聽無，愛伊改講台語，以下是A-Lêng回想囡仔講華語，爸爸回應ê片段：

伊 (A-Khēng) kā in爸爸講：爸á，你beh食『饅頭』無？In爸爸 kā 伊講『饅頭』是siá<sup>n</sup>-mih？伊講：tō是『饅頭』ā，in爸爸tō kā 伊講，你愛講饅頭 (bán-thô)，我chiah知影你teh講siá<sup>n</sup>-mih，伊 ē kā 伊導向正確ê母語愛按怎講，所謂ê手段tō是假影裝聽無，m̄-koh 伊 bē排斥，伊對語言ê接受度算chiá<sup>n</sup> koân。

Chiá<sup>n</sup> chē家長試beh kap 囡仔講台語，m̄-koh 囡仔用華語回應，家長tō放棄改用華語。Chē可能是因為長期kap 囡仔講華語，hiông-hiông轉換做台語，囡仔 chit-ē-á mā bē慣勢，chiah ē倒彈，若是用強迫ê方式，倒彈hoān-sè koh-khah大，koh-khah無法tō達到改用台語ê目標。Chia提起引導ê方式，是放棄、改用華語ê另外一種選擇。

受訪者ang-á-bó 二人lóng認為一人一語真好推行，無tú著 siá<sup>n</sup>款困難。厝--nih雙語使用真chiáp，囡仔台語kap華語lóng聽有，mā lóng ē-hiáu講。M̄-koh家長kap 囡仔溝通ê時，語言有分工，囡仔 mā ē慣勢固定kap爸爸講台語，kap媽媽講華語，tō算kap爸爸提起tī (使用華語ê) 學校發生ê t'ai-chì，mā ē講台語，媽媽tō算用台語問伊，伊 mā ē用華語回答。看--起--來，一人一語ê方式已經chiá<sup>n</sup>做這 ê家庭慣勢ê交談模式--a，台語kap華語tī家庭和平共存，達成添加式ê雙語現象。

## 5. 結果討論

一人一語chhiân-chāi適用tī ang-á-bó無kāng族群ê家庭，A-Bēng kap A-Lêng雖bóng kāng款屬台語系台灣人族群，soah mā真成功運用一人一語，真成功來營造出添加式ê雙語現象。A-Khēng無因為學ē-hiáu華語來失去台語，顛倒是二種語言lóng得著發展ê雙語人。Spolsky (2004) ê語言政策模式包括：語言實踐、語言意識形態kap語言管理，本節beh ùi 這 三 ê面向探討A-Bēng kap

A-Lêng ê家庭語言政策。

### 5.1. 語言實踐

個人ê語言使用受著社會情境ê影響。雖bóng台語kap華語lóng算是社會通用語，華語得著制度性ê支持，tī官方、教育領域chiáⁿ強勢，甚至mā侵入到私人領域，piⁿ做家庭語言之一。因為欠缺教育kap公共使用領域，台語táuh-táuh-á失去活力，tō算是台語系台灣人，母語能力可能kap華語能力bē比phēng--得。華語táuh-táuh-á piⁿ做社會上自然、「無標記」ê語言，koh-khah嚴重--ê是，成年人kap 囡仔講話，tiāⁿ無自覺tō使用華語，m̄是用母語。語言使用慣勢養成了後真oh改變。訪談ê時，問受訪者：為siáⁿ-mih kap 囡仔講華語？受訪者tiāⁿ用「慣勢」回答。Che顯示華語已經táuh-táuh-á piⁿ做默認ê親子溝通語言。講台語piⁿ做了力，koh sió-khóa刻意，特別是對平常時á罕得講台語，台語能力無好ê家長，A-Lêng可能屬tī 這 ê類型ê家長，chiah ē分派去kap 囡仔講華語ê角色。A-Bêng ê台語liú-liáh、lián-tng，koh ē讀寫台語，真適合負責傳承囡仔台語ê任務。

A-Khēng tī家庭講台語ê對象主要是in老父A-Bêng，a公a-má kap老母是華語為主。二種語言tī家庭thang保持平衡主要是A-Bêng堅持使用台語kap A-Khēng交談。母語傳承無可能tī真空中產生，囡仔著ùi照顧者接受母語ê沉浸（immersion），完成in ê語言社會化。

Spolsky (1991) 指出，除去有母語學習動機，成功ê語言復振koh需要hō囡仔有夠額ê母語沉浸，提供學習者「chih接」（exposure）、學習kap使用語言ê機會。A-Khēng chiáⁿ做雙語人ê例顯示，厝--nih若有人持續kā母語輸入，tō算kan-taⁿ有一 ê講母語ê照顧者，iáu是有法tō培育出雙語囡仔。Tī家庭情境ê母語習得（acquisition）kap tī學校ê母語學習（learning）無kāng，前者透過參與日常活動，tī情境當中kap人對話、互動，自然學ē-hiáu語言；後者是tī教室內底，透過教材，學習字彙kap文法，母語教學時間有限，通常無法度學ē-hiáu用母語進行口語溝通（Krashen, 1982）。家庭ê母語實踐對母語保存m̄-chiah講有重大ê意義。

Ùi A-Khēng ê語言使用慣勢來看，囡仔會當根據對象無kāng，使用無kāng ê語言來交談。這款ê區隔對弱勢語言得著 koh-khah chē使用空間有幫

贊，雖bóng無需要嚴格禁止語碼轉換（code-switching）iah是語碼混合（code-mixing）。值得注意ê是，雙語是重要ê資產，m̄是學習阻礙。A-Khēng ê雙語實踐，包括雙語讀寫ê部分，伊 ê語言能力，無論是口語iah是書面語lóng khah贏過kāng年齡層ê 囡仔。Che顯示，語言之間有互相影響ê功效，學習華語無需要用犧牲母語做代價（Cummins, 1979）。A-Bēng kap A-Lēng ê家庭語言使用是透過分工ê方式，ang-á-bó各別用無kāng ê語言kap 囡仔談話，培養囡仔 ê雙語能力。這款ê安排一方面是根據ang-á-bó互相ê語言能力kap語言慣勢ê安排，另外一方面mā可能牽涉著語言意識形態iah是語言忠誠感ê強弱。

## 5.2. 語言意識形態

家長ê語言信念iah是意識形態mā ē影響家庭語言政策ê結果。King & Mackey（2007）指出，家長對語言kap語言學習ê意識形態對囡仔早期ê雙語發展扮演chiá<sup>n</sup>重要ê角色。語言意識形態mā是影響語言實踐ê一ê重要面向。過去官方ê語言政策tia<sup>n</sup>因為語言問題論，認為語言多樣性造chiá<sup>n</sup>社會、經濟、教育等方面ê問題，這種觀點tia<sup>n</sup>造chiá<sup>n</sup>一般人對弱勢語言形成負面ê看法，語言soah來流失。

受訪者無贊成語言問題論。A-Lēng雖bóng慣勢kap 囡仔講華語，m̄-koh伊 ê語言態度是支持雙語並存，mā ñ望囡仔會當傳承母語。伊 kap 囡仔講華語主要是因為慣勢，m̄是因為伊認為母語khah無水準iah是無實際功用。M̄-koh伊有台語能力，無使用台語kap 囡仔溝通，應該是欠缺強烈ê語言意識，無法tō克服平常時á語言使用ê慣勢（Spolsky, 1991）。In ang A-Bēng有強烈ê語言意識形態，che表現tī伊批評華語霸權，主張母語是權利mā是資產，koh提倡母語教育kap母語認證，強調母語kap認同，母語kap文化ê關係。值得注意ê是，A-Bēng ê母語忠誠感無造chiá<sup>n</sup>伊排斥華語，顛倒是接納、包容華語ê使用，家庭thang chiá<sup>n</sup>做培育台語kap華語ê多語花園，避免hō語言pì<sup>n</sup>做衝突ê戰場。

De Houwer（1999: 92）強調積極正面ê語言意識形態ê重要，伊認為siōng有可能達到主動雙語使用ê家庭狀況是父母「對in tī語言學習過程有影響信念（impact belief），koh對相關ê語言意識形態有正面ê態度。」A-Bēng ê母語意識形態除去有政治、社會ê因素，mā有雙語教育學理ê根據。Che應該kap

伊 ê 教育背景 hām 教職 有關係。因為對雙語有正面 ê 認知，bē hō chit-kóa 歪斜 言論 迷惑，伊 超越 beh 母語 iah 是華語 這 ê 錯誤兩難 ê 問題，tī 家庭 實施 一人一語 ê 添加式 家庭語言政策。

Chrisp (1997) 認為動機是影響家庭語言選擇 ê 因素之一，為著促進母語保存，父母 著有 使用 kap 傳承母語 ê 意願 hām 需要。伊 提起 ê 另外一個 態度 因素 是 批判性意識，也 tō 是講，tī 社會語言 無平等 ê 狀況下，著 進行 語言意識形態 ê 澄清 khang-khòe。A-Bêng kap A-Lêng ang-á-bó 二人 lóng 是多語人，認為雙語能力、雙語現象 是 個人 kap 社會 ê 資產，應該 愛 ká 保存 hām 發展，ang-á-bó ê 差別 tī 母語意識形態 ê 強弱。家庭 tī 意識形態 方面有 培育 雙語 囡仔 ê 動機。因為 A-Khēng iáu 細漢，無法 tō 理 siu<sup>n</sup> 抽象 ê 語言意識形態。M̄-koh 透過 父母 雙語 ê 重視，提供 ê 雙語使用、學習 kap 資源，應該 ê 培養 出 囡仔 珍愛 雙語 ê 態度。A-Bêng 無用 抽象 ê 觀念 灌輸 語言態度，顛倒 透過 心適 ê 母語活動 kap 親切 ê 親子 語言交流 打造 母語 ê 連結。這 ê 部分 主要是 家庭語言管理 ê 作為。

### 5.3. 語言管理

語言意識形態 回答 「是 按怎」 ê 問題，語言實踐 回答 「siá<sup>n</sup> 款」 ê 問題，語言管理 是 回答 「按 怎 做」 ê 問題。以下 討論 A-Bêng kap A-Lêng 按 怎 進行 家庭語言政策 ê 規劃。

語言選擇 是 語言政策 ê 重點，家長 選擇 使用 toh 一種 語言 kap 囡仔 交談，mā 是 teh 從事 語言政策 制定 ê 活動。M̄-koh 家庭語言政策 iah 是 規劃 ê 用法 ná 像 siu<sup>n</sup> 專門，訪談 ê 時 若 問 受訪者 家庭語言 kám 有 規劃？Kám 有 家庭語言政策？Chhiang-chāi 得-- 著 ê 答案是：無 ā，tō 真 自然 形成--ê ā。A-Lêng 接受 訪談 ê 時 tō 表示 一人一語 是 自然 形成--ê，m̄ 是 刻意 規劃。

M̄-koh 觀察 in 家庭 ê 語言實踐 kap 語言意識形態，thang 知 siá<sup>n</sup> 款 人 對 囡仔 使用 siá<sup>n</sup> 款 語言，實際上 牽涉 著 語言能力、語言慣勢 kap 語言意識形態 等等 方面 ê 考慮。In ang tō 提起 雙語 有 各種 優勢，chiah ē 設定 培養 囡仔 chiá<sup>n</sup> 做 雙語 人 ê 目標，mā 提起 ang-á-bó 討論 過 用 一人一語 ê 方式 做 家庭語言管理 ê 策略。Ang-á-bó 二人 對 規劃 這件 tāi-chì ê 無 kāng 看法，hoān-sè 是 因為 A-Lêng 使用 ê 是 伊 khah 慣勢 ê 語言，tī 社會 上 khah 屬 tī 無 標記 ê 語言，A-Bêng ê 母語 使用，就 社會 語言 ê 趨勢 來看，ē-sái 講 是 「逆流而上」 (against the current)，背後 需要 有

堅強ê母語忠誠感支撐，hoān-sè有kóa刻意、「不自然」ê成分，A-Bêng chiah ē認為這ê家庭ê語言政策是有意規劃ê結果。當然一人一語ê模式慣勢了後，tō bē koh認為是刻意。

營造家庭母語環境，創造豐富心適ê語言環境，mā是家庭語言管理ê重點，teh營造家庭母語環境ê時，需要注意ê是有效ê語言學習是tī輕鬆歡喜ê氣氛融入日常生活活動kap互動，mā kap真實生活結合（King & Mackey, 2007）。Tī這點，A-Bêng kap A-Lêng對按怎培育快樂ê雙語囡仔，做真好ê示範，in ê方法hoān-sè ē-sái號做「快樂語言學習法」。Tī真有情感kap心適ê母語活動--nih，A-Khēng m̄-tā<sup>n</sup>自然學ē-hiáu台語，koh mā培養對台語積極正面ê態度。文獻上提起chiā<sup>n</sup> chē營造母語環境ê做法，像邀請講母語ê囡仔 kap大人來厝--nih訪問，tiā<sup>n</sup> ē kap母語ê單語講話者見面，到講母語ê所在旅行，問囡仔問題，用母語sng，進行角色扮演、聽囡仔歌、故事、笑話、諺語iah是看書、錄影帶、電視、衛星電視等等（張學謙，2011）。

家長kap sī細ê溝通品質mā chiā<sup>n</sup>要緊。家長siōng好採取用囡仔做導向ê親子互動策略，來提升親子溝通ê品質。Baker（2000）提出以囡仔做導向ê談話策略包括：

- (1) 用簡單好bat ê方式講話，mài講kah siu<sup>n</sup>複雜；
- (2) Kā囡仔想beh講ê意思，做進一步ê延伸；
- (3) 使用開放式ê問題，hō囡仔有發揮ê空間；
- (4) 鼓勵kap認可囡仔試beh使用族語表達意思；
- (5) 重視mā鼓勵囡仔 phah-piā<sup>n</sup>學習族語；
- (6) 做一ê好ê聽眾，傾聽囡仔ê心聲；
- (7) Kā字hām物品連結chò-hóe，加上肢體動作，幫助學習。

A-Bêng、A-Lêng kap A-Khēng lóng是雙語人，m̄-koh tī家庭維持一人一語ê溝通方式。囡仔去學校了後，tiā<sup>n</sup>受著同學ê影響，tng到厝開始講華語，boài講母語，bē少家長tō順sī細，tòe leh轉換講華語，結果囡仔本底ē-hiáu講母語，去學校了後pi<sup>n</sup>做bē-hiáu講。A-Bêng ê處理方式值得參考，A-Khēng kap A-Bêng講華語ê時，伊 tō假影聽無，愛伊改講台語。De Houwer（2009: 134-35）列出家長ē-sái參考ê五種言談策略，請參考圖表1，前三種khah會當維持母語ê使用。「繼續講」kap「語碼轉移」是雙語言談策略，容允囡仔



kan-ta<sup>n</sup>使用強勢語言，可能造chiâ<sup>n</sup> 囡仔 kan-ta<sup>n</sup> ē-hiáu單一強勢語言。雙語者真自然ē有語言轉換ê現象，無需要禁止，m̄-koh tī語言互動--nih，siōng好會當保持雙語ê平衡（King & Mackey, 2007）。慣勢pi<sup>n</sup>自然，A-Khēng雖bóng iáu真細漢，父母一人一語ê輸入mā chiâ<sup>n</sup>平衡，囡仔語言轉移ê時mā ē kā提醒，無pàng--leh m̄ chhap iah是tòe leh語言轉移，A-Khēng chiah thang保有添加式ê雙語現象，無因為學ē-hiáu華語來失去母語。

以上討論A-Khēng kap A-Bēng ê家庭語言政策。In家庭語言政策ê規劃kap實施過程ē-sái簡化做：透過語言意識形態啟動家庭語言管理機制，了後用一人一語ê家庭語言策略，區別家庭雙語空間，透過日常ê雙語實踐，形成添加式ê家庭雙語現象。

## 6. 結論kap建議

本文呈現ē是kap過去語言戰爭無kāng，造chiâ<sup>n</sup>母語流失ê削減式單語家庭景觀。家庭chiâ<sup>n</sup>做語言戰場ê比喻tī chia無適用，台語kap華語無用零和遊戲ê方式互相排斥，顛倒用「語域共享」ê方式，透過分工ê方式，營造出雙語並存ê家庭環境。

A-Khēng chiâ<sup>n</sup>做雙語人，源頭是A-Bēng kap A-Lēng採取ê一人一語ê家庭語言政策。一人一語已經chiâ<sup>n</sup>做這ê家庭慣勢e交談模式，台語hām華語tī家庭和平共存，分別有使用對象，超越「二項keng一項」ê兩難，ùi「零和遊戲」pi<sup>n</sup>做台語kap華語雙贏ê「正和遊戲」，形成添加式ê雙語現象。

Ùi削減式到添加式ê雙語現象，牽涉著語言權力關係ê改變。獨尊華語、放棄母語ê做法，形成Cummins（1996: 14-20）講ê「強制性ê權力關係」（coercive relations of power），語言之間形成對立、壓制ê關係。過去單一語言ê神話tō建立tī 這款ê權力基礎，koh chham-lām到家庭。為著家庭母語ê世代傳承，家長著愛「去除」（unlearn）獨尊華語ê神話，「重新學習」（relearn）來支持雙語並存ê語言生態觀，ùi彼此對立，轉向「合作分享ê權力關係（collaborative relations of power）。Án-ne chiah théng好形成「賦權予能」（empowerment）ê家庭語言政策（張學謙，2011）。

本文除去描述一人一語ê 台灣人家家庭個案，mā ùi Spolsky（2004）ê語言

政策模式進行分析，結果顯示一人一語需要相當ê語言管理，teh進行家庭語言政策規劃chìn前，事實上需要有夠額ê母語語言意識形態，ang-á-bó 二人ê語言能力hām使用，mā需要協調、互相配合，án-ne來hō雙語thang好平衡發展，達成添加式ê雙語現象。Piller (2001) 指出，囡仔 ê雙語現象chhiàng-chāi是家長「私人語言規劃」(private language planning) ê結果，為著保衛母語保存，家長著愛積極介入，提供家庭母語沉浸ê環境，hō母語有夠額ê學習hām使用空間。就án-ne來講，家長ē-sái講是雙語花園ê園丁，為著確保囡仔ê雙語發展，kap母語tī家庭ê世代傳承，家長有必要訂定家庭語言規劃。就家庭語言政策來講，家長著擔任以下三種角色：族語ê意識啓蒙者、族語家庭ê規劃者kap族語家庭ê實踐者。

最後，本文呼籲家長kā傳承母語ê責任擔--起來，積極規劃koh實踐添加式ê家庭語言政策。Baker (2001: 93) bat講：「Beh達到穩定、長久ê雙語現象，有必要進行家庭語言規劃。」自由放任ê結果tia<sup>n</sup>-tia<sup>n</sup>是據在社會強勢語言pì<sup>n</sup>做家庭語言，造chiá<sup>n</sup>母語流失。家長需要承擔傳承母語ê責任，積極規劃家庭語言政策。

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## 讀者回應

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# The New Image and Feeling of Taiwanese: Initial Visit on the “Rhetorical Techniques” and The “Display of the Images” of “Rouge Tears”

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## Abstract

The writer attempts to start the research of Mr. Lin, Yang-Min’s one hundred and ten thousand words master piece “Rouge Tears” from the perspective of rhetoric and cite examples in the work for verification. The writer finds that the “Rouge Tears” employees quite extensive and diversified rhetorical techniques, especially in the applications of five rhetorical techniques of “duality”, “parallelism”, “reiteration”, “metaphor” and “transformation”.

Next, with “rhetoric”, the writer initially sorts out three images for further analysis: “the image of time”, “the image of astronomy”, and “the image of rural scenery”. For “the image of time”, the writer finds that regardless of aspects of memory, history, waiting, universe, and appreciation, the poet displays different feelings toward “time” and in the meantime, different rhetoric techniques are used. For “the image of astronomy”, the poet creates a very apt appearance for sun, moon, and star, giving the epic a bright and vibrant background. For the description of rural scenery, based on Jianan Plain, the poet truthfully describes the beauty and ugliness of the countryside landscape and in the meantime, thoughts and emotions of the leading actor and actress in the work are also interpreted into the landscape, making it a charming scenery with mental states.

the poet’s relentless pursuit of new image, intense creative ambition, and in the meantime, dynamic and numerous uses of rhetoric techniques, all contribute to readers’ strong senses of form of beauty, showing a fresh and dense new image and feeling of Taiwanese language. Among the Taiwanese language revitalization movement, the poet’s creation let our ethnic and mother tongue have another feature and life to survive!

Keywords: Taiwanese, rouge tears, rhetoric, new image, new feeling

# 台語ê新意象kap新感覺： 初探《胭脂淚》ê「修辭手路」kap「意象塑造」

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## 摘要

筆者tui「修辭學」(rhetoric)ê視角切入研究林央敏先生十一萬字ê巨著：台灣史詩《胭脂淚》，而且舉作品當中ê實例來印證。筆者發覺著《胭脂淚》使用ê修辭技巧蓋濟款，尤其khah tsiáp運用「對偶」、「排比」、「類疊」、「譬喻」kap「轉化」tse五種ê修辭手路。

煞落來，配合「修辭學」，筆者初步整理：「時間意象」、「天文意象」kiau「農村意象」tsit三ê意象來分析，tī「時間意象」頂懸，筆者發現著無論是tī回憶、歷史、等待、宇宙kap體悟性，詩人對「時間」有bô-kâng ê感受，而且所用ê修辭技巧亦bô-kâng；tī「天文意象」頂懸，詩人將日月星光ê樣貌營造kah蓋鬥貼，hōo史詩有koh khah活靈靈ê背景；tī「農村意象」頂懸，詩人用嘉南平原tsit ê區域做對象，真真正正呈現出田園景緻ê嬌kap樾，同時作品當中男女主角ê思想情懷也會透濫tui風景當中去，hōo伊成做一幅有心境ê迷人風景。

因為詩人對新意象極力追求，而且伊ê創造ê企圖心足強，同時，修辭手路使用kah蓋活而且數額koh足濟，致使tsit部史詩整體上hōo讀者感受著厚厚厚ê形式美感，也呈顯出鮮尺koh密度懸 ê台語新意象kap新感覺。佇台語復振運動當中，詩人ê創作hōo lán ê族群kiau lán ê母語有另外一種新ê面腔、新ê性命，來繼續生淚落去！

關鍵字：台語、《胭脂淚》、修辭、新意象、新感覺

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## 1. 踏話頭

Tui歷史發展來論，戰後介入台語現代文學ê創作者，若略略á kâ分做四代，首先tī 1960、70年代，林宗源kiau向陽兩人開始寫方言詩。一直kàu 1979年美麗島政治事件了後，1980年代另外一波文學運動起磅，林央敏、李勤岸、黃樹根、黃勁連等人投入台語現代文學ê創作kiau運動；另外1990年代開始，南台灣ê方耀乾、陳正雄、周定邦等等新一代也已經覺醒；2000年kàu tann，也koh有新ê創作者加入，親像施俊州、呂美親、劉承賢等人。Lán ē-sái講台語現代文學ê運動者kiau寫作人數是越來越濟。koh加上真濟有心人士，親像南台灣學者呂興昌、蔣為文、施炳華等人，中台灣學者廖瑞銘、何信翰等人，北台灣學者李勤岸等人ê熱心推sak，以及文學比賽kap補助ê刺激kiau鼓勵之下，整體上來講，台語現代文學sui-bóng koh bô法度kap華語現代文學相比併，m̄過bô論是tī量ah-sī質頂懸，慢慢á hō人看會著成績，有ê作品ê開創性、實驗性以及作品ê份量是華語文學界bē-tàng輕視--ê，當然也已經是學術界leh研究ê對象。

有關戰後ê台語現代文學，lán以小說、散文kap新詩等等文類來論，新詩是目前khah濟人leh寫作ê文類，也已經得著bē bái ê創作成果。其中，第二代ê創作者林央敏先生ê史詩作品《胭脂淚》特別值得 lán來kâ認bat。《胭脂淚》是一部相當有份量ê作品，主要用漢字寫，大約有十一萬字，目前華語文學界，也ah-buē寫出hiah-nī大部ê詩體歷史書寫，詩人所付出ê文學勞動，真正hō人感覺足感心。

評論家張春凰bat講過，林央敏ê詩作注重美學，刻意修辭（張春凰等2002：218）。目前針對《胭脂淚》tsit本巨著，也已經累積bē少篇ê研究評論，其中sui-bóng有評論bat講著作品「意象經營」ê價值所在，m̄過ah-buē有人專工針對作品ê「修辭」kap「某一種意象」來論。因為「修辭學」（Rhetoric）是來leh研究beh án怎調整語文表意ê方法，beh án怎設計語文優美ê形式，beh án怎使用正確koh活靈靈ê話句來表達講話者或者是作者ê意象，期待án怎引起讀者共鳴ê一種藝術（黃慶萱1980：9）。所以，筆者希望挪用「修辭學」來研究《胭脂淚》，提出bô-kâng ê詮釋角度。

煞落來下跤面，筆者ê論述方式beh kâ分做四部分：第一部分，beh紹

介tsit部文學作品創作經過、內容簡介kiau目前ê研究成果；第二部分，挪用「修辭學」ê分析角度，大量掠出作品當中ê「詩句」，來舉證說明詩人常在leh使用ê修辭手路kap伊ê美學效果。第三部分，初步揀選三ê意象：「時間意象」、「天文意象」kap「農村意象」來kā深入分析伊ê修辭手路kap美學效果；第四部分，想beh探討詩人用心經營「修辭」所創造ê新意象kap新感覺，對lán台語復振運動ê意義。最後，進入結論部分，是將研究成果做一ê結尾。

## 2. 史詩《胭脂淚》創作經過、內容簡介kap伊ê研究評述

《胭脂淚》全篇分十三卷四十七節，量約有九千tsuā、十一萬字。是台語文學ê第一部史詩（epic），也是台灣文學史頂懸上澎派ê詩篇。Bat得著國家文藝基金會ê創作補助，後來台南真平企業公司tī 2002年9月kā出版。Tsit部巨著ui構思kàu完稿將近三冬，作者林央敏講「一九九八年，當我卸下所有纏身的俗事後，便下定決心要完成早年的心願，寫作一篇包含台灣歷史、溶合台灣神話傳說；反映台灣民族文化和社會風貌的史詩（epic）」「一九九年開始著手寫作，寫了幾個月大約五百多行後，因故停筆」「從二00一年初開始按計劃從頭寫起，每逢假日幾乎閉關書房，尤其寒暑假還特地南下家鄉閉門絕客，寫得不眠不休，意欲把愛情化成詩、把歷史化成詩、把想像化成詩、把神話化成詩、把傳說化成詩、把想像化成詩、把現實化成詩」（林央敏2002：自序），全本lóng用詩ê語言形式來寫，以新詩自由體ê台語白話為主，並且結合詩經、唐詩、宋詞、西洋史詩劇場等等，技巧結構多樣，文字典雅優美，有音樂性，詩質豐富，尤其贏過大多數台語小品詩，hōo人譬論做是台語文字ê百寶箱。（林央敏2002：扉頁）

《胭脂淚》ê內容kiau伊使用ê語言相當有台灣民族色彩kap歷史性。主要是leh敘寫一對男女ê愛情悲劇，內容所涵蓋ê時程uì 1919年kàu 1992年，以詩ê語言形式歌詠男主角陳漢秋kap女主角葉翠玉淒美而悲壯ê愛情，並且用著神話彼種手路回述男女主角自1841年kàu 1859年ê前世-陳文湖kiau葉玉珊ê事蹟。詩中直接kap間接描寫ê歷史事件、民族傳說kap社會現實，前後khaph著台灣四百年來歷史ê相關片段。Tsit部史詩反映一種kā人生正義kap神佛思想

融合做伙ê生命哲學。

目前針對史詩《胭脂淚》，已經累積bē少篇論述/研究成果，大概會使kā分做kuí類：（一）探討作品情景kap情節ê結構關聯、（二）以東西比較文學觀點，uì時代背景、民族語言等方面，研究《神曲》kap《胭脂淚》sio-kâng ê所在、（三）分析作品中歷史再現ê方式，尋出文學kap歷史ê交集點、（四）透過五首「詩中詩」來研究作品所開創ê音樂性kap節奏之美、（五）uì寫實主義理論kiau意象詩學切入，肯定作者對意象美學ê經營、（六）uì類型學探討當今創作史詩ê可能性、（七）從事歷史kiau反抗ê敘事研究。<sup>1</sup> Sui-bóng tsia ê論述/研究已經uì bō-kâng面向來指出作品ê重要特質，值得注意ê所在是，雖然bē少篇論文都有講著《胭脂淚》ê「手法kap文辭之美」，親像葉笛講過，林央敏透過〈念奴嬌〉（即百字令）ê語言形式將男女主角重逢ê情感變化來kā伊「形象化」，koh講「文字凝鍊，出之以口語卻如許含蓄，語言的張力與凝聚力都閃爍著詩之美」，肯定台語mā會當創造詩ê「意象語言」（葉笛2006）；或者是《胭脂淚》扉頁ê紹介文寫講「文字典雅優美」、「詩質豐富，尤其贏過大多數台語小品詩」。M-koh，khah少舉實例來leh說明。

學者黃慶萱tuè tiòh「修辭學」（rhetoric）ê定義是：研究beh án怎調整語文表意ê方法，beh án怎設計語文優美ê形式，beh án怎使用正確koh活靈靈ê話句來表達講話者或者是作者ê意象，期待án怎引起讀者共鳴ê一種藝術（黃慶萱1980：9）。因此，筆者想欲khiā tī前人ê研究基礎頂懸，挪用「修辭學」ê分析角度，補強說明史詩《胭脂淚》ê「修辭手路」kap「意象塑造」。

### 3. 《胭脂淚》ê「修辭手路」

運用正確koh活靈靈ê話句來表達出講話者或者是作者ê意象，期待引起讀者共鳴ê修辭學，伊ê媒介符號，包括著「語辭」kiau「文辭」。「語辭」是用語音來表達情思ê符號，「文辭」是用筆畫圖形來表達情思記錄語言ê符號。因為文辭紀錄語辭，文辭ê修飾技巧，差不多著是語辭ê修飾技巧。

<sup>1</sup> 有關研究《胭脂淚》ê各篇論文，請參閱本論文參考冊目。

(黃慶萱1980:5)

修辭ê手路包括「設計」kiau「調整」tsit兩種。其中屬tī優美形式ê設計, bô牽涉著語意ê調整, 有「類疊」、「對偶」、「排比」、「層遞」、「頂真」等等。屬tī表意手路ê調整, 有「譬喻」、「借代」、「轉化」、「誇飾」、「映襯」、「雙關」、「倒反」、「象徵」等等。(黃慶萱1980:7)

講著「修辭學」kiau「文學批評」ê關係, 文學批評是研討文學作品本身ê價值, 以及作品kiau作者、讀者、時代、環境之間ê互相關係。文學批評ê結論, 往往會使是修辭ê指導原則。(黃慶萱1980:19)

若來講「修辭學」kiau「美學」ê關係, 美學是研究美ê性質kiau伊ê法則ê學問。針對修辭媒介符號-語辭來講, 是用音響kiau時間做要素, 接近時間藝術或者是音響藝術; 針對文辭來講, 是用形象kiau空間做要素, 會使講接近空間藝術或者是形象藝術。所以, 文學本生著是1種ê綜合藝術。另外, koh tui修辭方面來觀察: 「類疊」是khiā tī美學上「劃一當中ê多數」; 「對偶」「排比」是khiā tī美學上「平衡」「對稱」ê原理; 「層遞」是khiā tī美學上「秩序」「和諧」ê原理; 「頂真」是khiā tī統調ê原理。Tī意念表出方法調整頂懸, 抑著是表意手路ê調整, 大多數kiau「形相ê直覺」「心理距離」「物我同一」「內模仿」等等美感經驗有密切ê關係(黃慶萱1980:20)。因此, 文學創作假使會當好好á運用修辭技巧, koh khah會當產生美學效果。所以, 修辭手路ê運用對文章來講, 是袂使欠缺ê, 會hōo文章khah鬥貼, 文句khah優美, 型式變化khah濟, 而且koh khah有藝術張力(tension), 是「美」袂使欠缺ê要素之一。

每一位文學家tī有意識或者是無意識中間都會運用著修辭手路, 但是因為文章ê需要, 或者是文學家ê才情、修養、習慣或者是時代風氣等等變數, bô-kâng文學家ê修辭會有差別, uì「修辭分析」當中, 會使看著文學家ê修辭手路kap特色。

下跤, lán beh uì黃慶萱kap陳正治兩位學者ê《修辭學》著作當中所定義ê修辭手路, 總看史詩《胭脂淚》<sup>2</sup>, 打破章節安排kiau詩篇架構, 以個別「詩句」做分析對象, 來歸納詩人ê修辭手路kap伊ê美學特色。

<sup>2</sup> 煞落來引用《胭脂淚》ê詩句時, 會tī詩句後壁說明頁數。

### 類疊：

Kâng 1 ê字詞話句，相連煞來leh使用著--ê是「類疊」。心理學上ê根據是，1 ê字詞語句若直直出現，會比孤kái出現koh khah會當打動人心。類疊會使分做疊字、類字、疊句、類句等（黃慶萱1980：411-412）。下駝，舉詩句來應證說明。親像「看兩條浮浮沉沉的靈魂」（頁23）、「互膏膏的光芒鍍成黃顏色」（頁23）、「目矚溢出燒燒的母愛」（頁51）、「昏昏死死的紅嬰才攔生出喟絲」（頁51）、「歲月舊去，傷痕亦新新」（頁243）、「傷痕一巡一巡」「證據一條一條」（頁186）等等。因為台語慣用語本身ê疊字詞著真濟，詩人mā容易來kā伊運用ti作品當中。

《胭脂淚》使用類疊來表達情意，會使講有達káu三ê作用：一、強調語意，收著表達ê效果。二、貫串文意，收著呼應ê效果。三、hōo語言koh khah有節奏之美。（陳正治2001：258-260）

### 對偶：

「對偶」是指講兩ê字句ê字數相kâng、平仄相對，以及相kâng位置ê字詞，伊ê詞性相kâng ê 修辭技巧。會使kā量約分做四類：句中對、單句對、隔句對kap長對（黃慶萱1980：447-463）。下駝，舉詩句來應證說明：

（一）句中對：指講1ê字句當中，有兩ê詞互相對丈，會使加強詩句ê節奏。親像「俛水靠海」（頁226）、「請天地日月同做證」（頁282）、「互庄人看做懶鰻囤仔浪蕩子」（頁354）、「給唐山漢、滿清婆淘甲瘦肢落葉」（頁355）、「家蚤人死命活逃」（頁359）、「一粒心肝兩蕊目矚/相掙望汝來」（頁417）等等。

（二）單句對：指講頂下駝相連ê兩句互相有對丈。親像「天上無甲子，人間有四時」（頁22）、「海神廟為滿漢大臣渡海保平安；文昌閣有魁星捧斗進士考狀元」（頁227）、「這片蓬壺書院漢學堂；/彼片五子廟祠振文教」（頁227）、「天俗海洋平闊/你俗赤嵌平老」（頁227）、「挖一寡溫暖的意象來公傢/歎一寡趣味的雲煙來相談」（頁244）、「伊鄉遇故知，故謙濫歡喜」（頁209）等等。

(三) 隔句對：指講第一句kap第三句對，第二句kap第四句對。親像「三碗雜錦麵、一碗下水做正頓，/一碟豆干鹵、三罐燒酒話頭長」（頁107）、「今日浮沉一條絕情影，無人知，/此後長長離別二十載，天安排。」（頁205）、「順利偷渡，無互客頭放生種芋/好運上岸，無互風湧灌水飼魚」（頁358）、「一頭匡置月眉潭，拓寬舊道/一頭匡置牛稠山，開造新路」（頁371）、「蔡拄蔡，神主牌仔損損破/陳拄陳，不驚夯刀來相殘」（頁375）、「十轉輪迴，無互孟婆的湯洗清汽，/十月懷胎，無互忘川的水洗清汽」（頁404）等等。

(四) 長對：「兩蕊目矦是閃熾的天星，下凡間，歇踎幼秀的目眉絞；棉仔做的面皮像月光曝礁的粉雪，飄落來，淹置美麗的面頂」（頁198）、「互相褒搓，褒搓對方少年青，舊識相歡好記智/互相客氣，客氣自己染白絲，重逢相嘆春老去」（頁209）、「不安，是當初被翠玉罵過的記憶，續到當今，驚做一名不速客。期待，是希望翠玉代念青春的愛，保留到旦，願意放粉鳥回來」（頁211）、「布庄、米店、拍鐵街，/旅舍、茶館、雜貨市」（頁358）等等。

對偶e運用，會當造成形式頂懸e對稱kap工整，對著營造作品e形式美感真有幫贊。《胭脂淚》因為運用真濟對偶修辭法，所以，hōo作品帶著厚厚e形式之美。

排比：

是指講用一長串（三個以上）結構類似、意義類似、語氣類似e字語，來表達類似或者是相關意思e一種辭格（黃慶萱1980：469）。下跤舉詩句來應證說明：「喟絲對一陣哭聲/哭聲牽一條生命/生命引一排惜疼/惜疼是一條毛巾」（頁51）、「踏三間厝、遼中洋仔、過月眉潭」（頁357）、「真理留予哲學家/金錢留予資本家/權力留予政治家/只求愛情留予咱這家」（頁424）、「每一條江河、每一條山脈、每一座城鎮、每一個港灣，攏流出臭臊的血」（頁171）、「一個嬌滴滴的面框，一句赤耙耙的命令，一仙

奔緊緊的身影」(頁197)、「故鄉的水卡甜、故鄉的土卡親，故鄉的人卡貼心」(頁198)、「永早，只有置歷史冊、置地理書、置臘日頁、置賀年片，看過平面的城樓」(頁216)、「目睷看味著台江渡/看味著彎彎的水路/看味著對相的紅毛城/看味著滾滾的海波/看味著滄海中搖動的樓影」(頁222)等等。

因為運用一連串內容相關、結構sio-kâng或者類似語句表達，造成排山倒海ê震撼效果，所以，排比會使增強語言ê氣勢，同時語言本身就真有反復ê節奏感，以及和諧美(陳正治2001:243)。《胭脂淚》因為kā排比修辭法運用了真好，hōo道理koh khah清楚、敘事koh khah明確、寫景koh khah鮮明，抒情koh khah深入。

#### 譬喻：

譬喻(metaphor)ê種類真濟，一般常在leh用ê譬喻法有明喻、隱喻kap借喻tse三種。譬喻ê理論架構是建立tī心理學「類比作用」ê基礎，利用舊經驗引起新經驗。通常是用易知來說明難知，用具體來說明抽象，hōo人tī頓悟當中，佩服作者設喻巧妙，因此來產生滿足kap信服ê快感(黃慶萱1980:227)。另外，依據認知語言學ê研究，譬喻性語言不只是文學ê修辭手段，無限定tī文學範疇，伊是一種思維方式，是lán思維、語言、行為、歷史、文化ê基礎(雷可夫(George Lakoff) &詹森(Mark Johnson)2006:17)。下駝，舉詩句來應證說明：

- (一) 明喻：指講本體(喻體)kap譬喻(喻依)間，用譬喻詞相接，親像「像」、「親像」、「若」、「譬如」等等有「好親像」ê意思，或者是「成做」、「變成」等詞(黃慶萱1980:231)。親像「大線火車跑了一日，將陳漢秋位台北送到台南，親像早起精氣神飽足的日頭，趕到下甫已經倦垢垢」(頁300)、「無依偎的漂浪之女/像一蕊無山頭通歌的浮雲」(頁304)、「無膽的人親像敗戰的木虱家蚤」(頁359)、「戒嚴法像紅毛土/給二二八的傷痕抹起來/給台灣人的尊嚴嵌起來」(頁411)、「漢秋親像一隻迷路的孤鳥/越山嶺攔遼過荒涼的沙漠」(頁418)、「漢秋吐出

鯉置心內的一個怨嘆/像粉紅的落日濺出黏黏的雲彩」(頁420)、「鎖匙像一隻惡毒蟲，咬置紙頂『翠玉』伊的名字，名下的『吾愛』受傷疼心房」(頁423)、「這粒相思仔籽像一粒新孵出來的心肝」(頁426)、「叔公的病像恂恂降落的冬天」(頁181)、「漢秋的形影就會像土地公，白目眉，無人請，家己來」(頁213)、「短短字句像雨水/給青春的種子沃肥」(頁126)、「歸尾仇恨堅疵，化做一粒/重砢砢的石頭，園置心肝，/給心內窒甲凝血，早早收束人生」(頁380)、「棉仔做的面皮像月光曝礁的粉雪，/飄落來，堙置美麗的面頂。」(頁198)等等。

(二) 隱喻：隱喻kap明喻 ê bô-kâng所在是tī譬喻詞，明喻ê譬喻詞是「親像」，隱喻ê譬喻詞是「是」、「著是」(黃慶萱1980：233)。親像「二叔公的目屎是七分水，給三分希望淹做藥頭塊炸」(頁184)、「愛情恰革命是兩葩相剋的火」(頁414)、「感覺夢是油漆/漆置烏色的胸坎」(頁427)、「人生是一條長長的悲傷/重逢是一段短短的美麗」(頁427)、「時間是上高明的醫生/安心是上有效的藥方」(頁175)、「鄉愁是一葩孤單的火，燒規暝」(頁180)、「相思是焯火的鼎底油，給日子愈煎(炸)愈瘦抽」(頁253)、「兩蕊目矙是閃熾的天星，/下凡間，歇踎幼秀的目眉跋」(頁198)等等。

(三) 借喻：將「喻體」kap「喻詞」省落來，kan-na留「喻依」，目的是leh隱藏文章真正ê意旨，hōo人有想像空間，常在hōo作品加寡弦外之音，增加閱讀ê挑戰性kap趣味性(黃慶萱1980：237)。親像「翠玉的面頂透出彩色的霜/不知是見笑的景緻/或是日頭的紅光」(頁148)，用「彩色ê霜」來比喻「臉紅」，而臉紅ê原因，可能是心理上ê害羞或者是太陽照射ê結果，或者兩者lóng有。攔親像「拼勢操練升學的考古」(頁152)，用「考古」來比喻「考古試題」(頁152)。「也被漢秋判定斷頭刑」(頁153)，「斷頭刑」是



「砍伐」ê喻依；親像「十六歲蘋果青青/抑昧曉散發情話綿綿」（頁155），「蘋果青青」是「青澀年齡」ê喻依；「置珍動的海湧內底認著熟似的面」（頁178），「海湧」ê喻體是「人群」。親像「離枝的落葉不知安在何處」（頁210），「離枝ê落葉」用來比喻「離婚ê翠玉」。親像「這本史冊，周圍百四米，身懸三丈三，無法度測量的開本，版本幾開？…」（頁217）。「這本史冊」用來比喻「赤崁樓」等等。

對著譬喻tsit種使用頻率上高，上有表現力ê修辭法，ui以上所整理出來ê詩句lán會使了解著，《胭脂淚》有掌握著「精確」、「生動」、「創新」、「熟悉」等等原則，用具體譬喻抽象、求相類似、就近取關，同時koh求創新，蓋少見著離奇、粗鄙、晦澀、牽強ê譬喻方式（陳正治2001：21），化平淡為生動，化繁複為簡易，將抽象深奧ê事理變hōo khah淺好理解，hōo作品khah生動活潑、妙趣橫生。

#### 轉化：

指講描述一件事物ê時陣，轉變原來ê性質，換做是另外一種本質完全bô kâng ê事物，譬如kā伊人性化（擬物為人）、物性化（擬人為物）kiau形象化（擬虛為實）等（黃慶萱1980：267）。下駝，舉詩句來應證說明：親像「目凋溢出燒燒的母愛」（頁51）、「關味稠的悲傷煞位目凋縫珍出來」（183）、「這是伊燒滾滾的希望」（頁245）、「烏底紅內裡的伴風恰大衣，鏞出權力的金邊，胸前金草花，布置一粒瑞光發射的日頭，下襪鏞兩隻金龍搶珠，吐出一身大官虎的威嚴」（頁357）、「像一座欲死欲死的文明」（頁358）、「心狂火熱，給勇氣飼甲誠大漢」（頁375）、「什麼仇恨會堅凍/會凝出無情冰刀/砍斷天地牽線的愛」（頁405）、「愛的汗水已經洗清塵埃，/吩咐漢秋先給疲勞交予眠床」（頁416）、「用思念給頭毛染做蠶絲」（頁419）、「看桌頂，留予伊一張失望」（頁423）、「靠一支手，拄稠回憶的頭額」（頁428）、「漢秋就給甜物物的新夢紮去空課場予陳世清哺」（頁187）、「內面這封儲一片流浪天涯的思念」（頁191）、「就安呢翠玉的身影浸了半年，若來若膏的思念浸出酒味」（頁

211)、「雙人約東南都會/漢秋血管起潮汐/潮來溢希望/汐去留不安」(頁215)、「回鄉路叨給相思牽甲長長長/織做網紗/一條一條放去嘆問/迭迭會置黃昏/走去麻寮庄/只是思念的魚網/不別網著人」(頁215)等等。

《胭脂淚》透過轉化ê修辭技巧，掌握「合情理」、「生動」兩ê原則，有達kàu兩ê作用：一是「變化本質以創造有情世界，增強語文ê感染力」；一是「變化本質以創造具體形象，增加語文ê生動活潑性」。(陳正治2001：28、36、37)

經過頂懸分析，lán歸納出詩人tī史詩《胭脂淚》中使用ê修辭手路蓋濟種，尤其偏tī運用「類疊」、「對偶」、「排比」、「譬喻」及「轉化」等等五種ê修辭技巧。此外其他修辭手路，親像「借代」：「伊看著幾片提早青的春天，飛來歇置校舍前的麵龜樹扭」(頁203)、「愛情的拐仔斷去，味凍互伊扶」(頁204)；「頂真」：「喟絲對一陣哭聲/哭聲牽一條生命/生命引一排惜疼/惜疼是一條毛巾」(頁51)；「誇張」：「血河鋪做軍人的點仔膠路」(頁354)、「十七歲踏城梯，一步跨入清廷」(頁354)、「漢秋拍開批囊，隨互一股 沖出來的怒火燒甲心痛疼」(頁203)；「設問」：「敢講翠玉已經移情別愛？」；「擬人」：「可嘆的日誌紙若掠若無血色」(頁202)、「冷風吹疼街市，路邊樹滴目屎」(頁202)、「受傷的白雲/血漉漉 倦倦 掛置半天/歷史 漸漸 無元氣」(頁222)等等，lóng bat出現tī作品當中。

#### 4. 《胭脂淚》ê「意象塑造」

詩人ê詩，藏著詩人ê情、意、志，詩會使抒情、達意，tse kiau任何藝術kâng款，bô-kâng ê所在只是工具。詩用文字，音樂用音符，美術用色彩，雕塑用木石，kâng款是為著傳達詩人或者是藝術家kiau別人bô-kâng又koh會當kiau一般人相通ê情、意、志。Tsit種傳達ê共同基點是「意象」。詩ài會當感動人，必須將情、意、志，用意象表達(蕭蕭1998：165-167)。也就是講，詩ê創作方式是一種「形象思維」，無論是描寫主觀ê情或者是客觀ê景，詩ài避免情緒化、概念化。有關「意象」ê定義有真濟種，親像「經驗ê再生或者是記憶」、「心理上ê圖畫」、「瞬間ê知覺kiau情緒複合了後ê表現」、

「意tō是情，象tō是景，或者是寓情於景，或者是觸景生情，或者是情景交融」等等（白靈2006：54、61）。有關詩ê「意象」分類，學者潘麗珠認為會使分做「視覺意象」、「聽覺意象」、「觸覺意象」kiau其他感官意象；又koh因為外界ê物象有動態靜態之別，mā會使kā分做「動態意象」kap「靜態意象」。（潘麗珠1998：61）

巨著台灣史詩《胭脂淚》當然亦有視覺、聽覺、觸覺等等各種bô-kâng ê感官意象，或者是動靜態等等意象示現。筆者tī本篇初探性論文中欲先揀選「時間意象」、「天文意象」kap「農村意象」做對象，來觀察詩人對「意象」ê塑造手路。筆者揀選tsit三ê意象ê理由是：lán知影史詩是用「長時間發展」kiau「故事/敘事」做詩ê主幹，因此「時間意象」應當有伊ê重要性，同時「時間」亦屬tī khah特殊ê「抽象性」ê意象，揀撰「時間意象」，希望來看詩人塑造抽象性物件ê手路。「天文意象」屬tī一種ê背景描寫，寫史詩ê時，背景án怎安貼hōo好勢是真重要ê代誌。Koh來，「天文意象」mā是複合型意象，看起來是靜態--ê，m̄過因為會徙捻動，所以mā是一種ê動態意象；雖然屬tī視覺意象，亦會使屬tī觸覺意象，尤其是「太陽意象」，uì早起、中晝kàu黃昏，uì冬陽kàu夏日亦有bô-kâng ê情調，詩人亦有bô-kâng主、客觀上ê感受。最後，本故事主要場景是設tī嘉南平原ê一ê農村空間，tse也是作者林央敏ê出世血跡地，同時作者leh創作ê時亦bat轉去hia「閉關」，因此揀選「農村意象」tsit ê空間意象，該當有伊特殊ê意義。

#### 4.1. 時間意象

物理上ê時間是抽象--ê、客觀--ê，kan-na會使用鐘錶來表示，一分一秒蓋規律來過去--à。毋過，對各種bô-kâng ê時間狀況，親像超越人間ê宇宙光年時間，或者是tī人類心理上可長可短，亦tuè心情起起伏伏來變形轉化ê心理時間，beh án怎表現？愛因斯坦bat講過：「跟一個漂亮女孩並坐兩小時，你會覺得那只是兩分鐘；叫你在熱爐子上坐個兩分鐘，你會覺得那是兩小時。這就是相對論」（勒范恩 Robert Levine 1999：40），tse表示講心理時鐘是蓋主觀ê代誌。Tī《胭脂淚》當中，詩人林央敏是án怎用著詩ê語言表現bô-kâng ê「時間意象」leh？經過筆者研究了後，發覺著詩人tī（一）回憶性ê時間、（二）歷史性ê時間、（三）等待ê時間、（四）宇宙ê時間、（五）

體悟人生ê時間，tsit五ê bô-kâng ê時間分類，有bô-kâng ê時間感受，下跤用例證來說明。

(一) 回憶性ê時間：

1. 台語慣勢用「牽」一字來表達「引介」、「帶領」、「牽連」等等濟款ê意涵。為著beh hōo抽象ê「回憶」kā「轉化」做具體物件，詩人kā伊譬喻做「電線」，來產生「生份化」ê美學效果：「回憶的電線自然牽到翠玉去」（頁210）。
2. Tī法國人普魯斯特《追憶似水年華》（La recherché du temps perdu）ê「在斯旺家那方」茲章當中，寫講「小湯匙輕搖杯中咖啡，隨之進入青春年少」，tī本部史詩中，詩人用倒茶tsit ê動作，引出「倒流」ê回憶性時間：「鳳英即時滾水泡茶米茶，/黃茶一杯，/光陰倒流二十年」（頁209）。
3. 將抽象性ê時間用液態物ê動詞「流入」來表現，tse是第一次轉化；第二次是koh轉化做是「茫霧」，表現出對回憶ê bô確定感。詩句是：「陳漢秋想到茲，感覺時間流入一片茫霧，/不知安怎，愈近愈暗愈看昧明」（頁234）。
4. 回憶過去ê同時，也leh展望未來，kâng款產生親像茫霧彼款ê時間感：「位故鄉的近況講到流浪的人生/熟似的過去恰生疏的未來/攪濫做一片苦命飄浮的茫霧，/置漢秋的手指頭仔縫流來流去，/恰若磕會著/無過鄭味稠」（頁180-181）；值得提出來講ê是，朱志清ê名散文「匆匆」一文，bat寫著講「入千多日子已經從我手中溜去，像針尖上一滴水滴在大海裡。」，另外「時間從指縫中流逝」，是華語文學慣用ê形容方式，只是林央敏kā tsit句kā創造性ê轉化，創造出時間「置漢秋的手指頭仔縫流來流去」tsit款有新鮮感ê字句。

(二) 歷史性ê時間：

Tī參觀赤崁樓ê時，男主角手摸著城壁ê實感，用轉化修辭，轉做物-化石ê方式，親像摸著「歷史」，表現台灣漢人四百年史ê開始，詩án-ne寫：「伸手摸過四百年，摸著時間的化石」（頁217）。

(三) 等待ê時間：

1. 情節安排tī男主角leh等候女主角愛ê回音ê時，tsit種苦苦等候ê心理情

緒，詩人如何將抽象時間用具象方式來形容leh？首先是擬人化手法，詩人將時間比論做人行傷久腳酸歇暈了後閣再啟程：「會跛痠/暫且歇困/等伊完成愛的表示才攔起行」，但是實際上卻日子煞親像流水hit款「流緊緊/欲似欲給人催老」。或者擬物化：「十日後，時間的發條自動放線/位緊張的考期矯到意愛的良時」。

2. Tng-tong女主角ê回信了無音訊：「致使光陰位破去的魚網流過」，煞只是惹出男主角心中ê怨恨：「干單網著無消無息的怨感」（頁203）。用「網」ê名詞kap動詞，kā伊所引發ê情緒反應來具象化。

#### （四）宇宙ê時間：

詩人bô直接描寫宇宙時間，是借著星斗移動來牽起人間天涯：「無停困的天星置宇宙巡迴/一徙振動/就給歲月催老去/斗位輪轉 一轉二十年/斷無消息的愛/才攔牽做夥」（頁208）。

#### （五）體悟人生ê時間：

1. kā擬人化做「跛步聲」，叫少年人來互相勉勵：「我若准聽著時間的跛步聲，/人生親像彼彎綠水碧影，/春去秋來流水行/ ---可古如斯，青春一步跛跡，/好好把握，即時拍拚」（頁191-192）。
2. 用著情景交融ê修辭手路，對身體老化ê時間體悟：「厝宅翻新人翻老/歲月行過面掠溝/看家已 一頭烏絲密變疏/西爿失光 東爿失血/額頂夜夜落小雪/舊去的面像也留做史蹟」（頁225）。

## 4.2. 天文意象

天文宇宙是地球大氣高層以外ê外太空對象，包括發生tī地球大氣層高層ê流星雨現象、kàu外太空ê太陽系九大行星、銀河系、星體ê演化，甚至是宇宙ê本質kap結構等等。下跛筆者將對象設定tī「太陽」、「月娘」kap「天星」，分析詩人án怎來形容表現bô-kâng ê「天文意象」。

### （一）太陽：

#### 1. 早起時ê朝陽：

透過轉化修辭法，將太陽擬人化「彼一工，日頭早早出來喘喟，雁奴所映望的姑娘又攔來」（頁176）或者是擬物化「日頭跑上中央山脈，像一粒紅帕帕的籃球，拄好園置新高山的尻脊敲（piaN）」（頁

67)。

## 2. 下晡ê太陽：

- (1) 下晡ê日頭大，強烈照射之下，詩人án怎來形容？他用著動物「虎」ê意象來把握，用「歎」tsit ê「吹送」ê動作，將光線tī雲層當中ê感受，表現kah蓋鮮尺 (tshinn-tshioh)：「下晡，日頭虎給天歎甲真通光」，活潑陽剛ê行為，是beh hōo適合賞玩ê人世間會使「佈置一個好蹉跎的天色」（頁105）。
- (2) hōo下晡薄雲遮著ê太陽，詩人用著紙ê質感來kā表現：「過晝的日頭互薄薄的雲紙遮咧/下晡互海西風吹甲涼勢涼勢/遠遠的西天/烏雲疊成山」（頁153）。
- (3) 烏雲密佈ê太陽，kā擬人化做「無嬾無脈的日頭」，煞「遭受烏雲創治/致使天色溘溘味熱人/坐置馬鞍頂的王大人/遠遠就看著家蚤庄貧血的面容，像一座欲死欲死的文明」（頁357-358）。
- (4) 過中晝，西北雨過了後，天清天明，詩人亦是用擬人化手法leh表現太陽：「互雷嚇驚著的日頭緊逃走，置西天留下兩啜煩惱的跤印，散做破碎的彩霞」（頁67）。

## 3. 黃昏之時，夕陽斜西，án怎形容？

- (1) 黃昏ê太陽沉入海中，親像hōo大海含tī嘴：「看著黃昏拄好互海含置嘴斗/紅天反烏，彩雲飄落土」（頁106）。
- (2) 斜西ê太陽親像樹頂ê果子，熟裡紅透，強beh落落來：「恁恁看見舛西的日頭/紅帕帕，將欲掛味稠/就徒來頭構橋邊聽候」（頁130）。
- (3) kā太陽ê紅想做是目矚紅，是同情艱苦ê心情：「無張弛，給過晝的日頭徙到西天，/瞻頭看見故鄉的黃昏也搬過來，/全款是將欲落山的日頭，/目矚反紅，親像伊真呷甘」（頁179）。
- (4) 主角嘴乾，看著夕陽落海之景，用同理心理聯想著太陽落海飲水，屬tī情景相融ê手路：「漢秋幪著赤燿燿的日頭趕路，/位草山跛行到艋舺，/行甲日頭也嘴礁，彎身/領落去淡水河口飲海水」（頁180）。

- (5) 戰敗落寞ê場景，原本屬於立體ê空間，hōo黃昏太陽sit一ê鏡頭翕落來成做地方志書上平面ê「刻版畫」，屬tī擬物化手路：  
「起城的人去了，霸業成空，/渡船頭的煙火墜落台江，/黃昏猶原給海水抹紅，/孤單的詩人踣在赤崁樓上，互欹欹的日頭照做〈台邑古景〉」（頁221）。

4. 其他：

- (1) 北國夏日ê太陽：用著擬人動態ê動作「跳朗思」、「鑽入水」、「滑流廊」等等形容太陽，將暖冬ê感受，表現kah蓋鮮尺（tshinn-tshioh）：「北國的夏天，上活潑的季節，/日頭光徙動燒烙烙的身驅，/置長長的草埔跳朗思；/有時鑽入水底，舐金色的荷貝；/有時置青瓦頂滑流廊。/紅磚仔牆展露見笑的面容，/溫純的風置田郊野地走相逐，/若像囡仔塊蹉跎官兵抓強盜」（頁168）。
- (2) 童話式ê太陽：kâng款用著動作詞「曝」、「流出」、「煎互礁」、「烘」，創作一幅充滿著幻想、超現實ê趣味ê畫面：「殘酷的日頭給浮雲曝做棉仔干，/天頂流出一條紅跑道，/拄好予魔鬼怪獸開運動會，/擱給大地煎互礁，給生物/當做pang，置鼎鍋仔頂塊烘，燒燙燙的湖，像一鼎十錦湯/增差魚蝦青菜抑未煮熟」（頁170）。
- (3) 勞動者所見著ê太陽：用著原始體力leh賺錢渡三頓ê勞動者所看著ê太陽，是kiau伊ê雙趂雙手ê勞動結合作夥：「每日，用雙趂給拍拚的日頭/撐到半暝，才將趂痠手軟的暗夜/放予這個岫來解，解做/明仔載的喟力」（頁305）。
- (4) 南台灣烈陽：用明喻法、情景交融等修辭手路來leh表現：「日頭像幻鏡，將溪埔照甲礁酷酷，/溪灣地帶的蟲隨著氣溫蒸懸，/不安的身軀開始蟻蟻動」、「月眉潭恰麻魚寮置溪灣的衝突，/無張無弛互炎熱的日頭點焯起來」（頁374）。

(二) 月娘：

將月亮擬人化，koh將抽象ê「相思感」轉化性質，tse是第一次轉化；第二次是轉化「月光」ê性質，最後hōo月亮kap女主角影像相疊，詩句ê敘述

是：「這暝故鄉的月將相思熨甲燒燙燙，/電火跋，一條人影對月影，/月娘吓准伊給思念戒嚴，/撒落月光做思念的酵素，/互愛人的形影浮在腦海生炭，/漢秋就給月娘看做翠玉，」（頁311）。

### （三）天星：

1. 夜晚時刻，男主角tī眠夢當中愛情漸漸滋長，詩人用著露水、淚水kap溪水，來譬論自然ê星月kiau夢境，蓋巧妙來融做一伙，詩文寫講：「冥想，天星的露/月娘的淚/暝夢的溪河/攏變成補，滋養愛情發芽緊大漢，/生成一儂美麗的形影」（頁127）。
2. 表現趣味性、動態化ê天星，用譬喻kiau轉品修辭法：「天星趁舊月剗（缺）做魚鉤，/相爭走出來夾夾熾」（頁201）。
3. 表現歲月無情，一日nih著過去，屬tī擬人化修辭法，用星星巡迴ê動作來代表，tsit款ê詩句是「無停困的天星置宇宙巡迴 /一徙捻動，就給歲月催老去。/斗位輪轉，一轉二十年」（頁208）。

### 4.3. 農村意象

本部史詩，詩人將男女主角自細漢leh生活ê所在，安排tī今仔日嘉義縣太保市附近ê水牛厝一帶，tsia也是詩人林央敏家己成長大漢ê故鄉。Tsia是倚tī嘉南平原頂懸ê一ê小農村，世代務農為生。lán來看māi leh詩人án怎leh描寫農村田園ê景緻。竹á是農村常在leh種作--ê，真濟地名kap竹子有關，親像三抱竹、竹仔尾、竹仔跤等等，種竹仔除了割竹筍，竹籬會當做傢俱材料，竹葉會當做粽葉，lóng有真懸ê利用價值。行tī竹林當中，詩人按呢描寫：「天互尖尖的竹模鑿破幾仔孔，/碎裂的日頭光淪落來。」真明顯詩人是運用轉化kap誇張修飾法，畫面有一種超現實ê感覺，藉tsit種方法來營造竹林尖尖挺立ê姿態，煞落來，恢復直述式ê書寫：「竹葉被風昇出幾仔個縫，/拄好互伊的眼光攢過去」（頁114）。

冬尾時ê陣，一冬收成三擺ê嘉南平原頂懸，冬芽開始leh發，詩人用著圖像化ê方式寫落來：「水牛厝圖茅出年冬的新牙」，閣來tī「長犀四角的水田一塊一塊」頂懸，用譬喻當中ê明喻法án呢形容：「田夫潑水給土被淹做玻璃」，掠外，將「天」kā擬人化，伊tī leh水田當中ê倒影，用著動詞「跌進田裡」來形容：「九層天甚過頭重的款勢/有一重跋落田底」，煞



落來，路邊牛棕草代先ka腳後tsan夯懸：「五條路邊的牛棕草先躡懸/瘦抽的肢骨互風歎一個彎彎」；然後，蔓藤草也搶beh旋入去岸邊：「爬置田岸頂的蔓藤草/搶晉前旋落去岸跔飲茶」，農夫落苗bô外久：「無外久秧仔栽播了/經過一暝/溫純的春天/就給黃裡透烏的爛土/嵌一重正織好的青布」（頁120），展現春冬之際，嘉南平原，一元復始，萬象更新ê景緻。Tsia是屬tī自然界ê循環一部分。

有時陣，tī詩人筆尾下跔，自然風景其實也帶著蓋濟情緒，親像男主角tī溪仔邊一面看冊一面等候女主角ê時，詩人用著擬人化ê意象：「彎彎的溪水目頭結結」，同時苦棟也「憂愁陪伴憂愁客」，tsit時「漸漸冷淡的風輕輕吹/吹到天黃昏 地將暗」（頁130），uan-na看袂著心愛ê人ê形影。夠尾á，兩人總算相會著--ah，等待兩人話講煞了後，沿路行轉去，一路ê風景是「草鋪地毯順溪行/跔踏南風看日斜/懶爛田蠅歇水聲/水蛇滑水展身影/月桃點頭塊照鏡」（頁147），tsit時ê詩文中，出場ê是南風、夕陽、田蠅、水蛇kap月桃。兩人再度約會選tī水橋頭ê溪坎底，tsit時詩人所描寫ê是一幅真嬌ê農村田園風光「光kap影」ê變化：看會著時間ê光影leh徙振動，太陽鑽出來kàu雲縫，日頭出面，水面上有光波，鐵橋ê黑影跋落東邊，男主角將身體徙kàu橋影內底。當日頭雨落落來，夯頭看天，就親像是生菇ê宣紙，hōo雲山染黑。本段原文是án呢寫，請欣賞：

溪水淺淺看會著時間的光影/無知底時/日頭鮑到雲縫/給光掖置水面，魚鱗閃熾/紅鐵橋的烏影徂徂跋落東邊/沙埔彼節變粗變扁/水底彼節互水沖灣去/伊給身軀徙入橋影內/拖長的人影隨互橋影吞無去/日頭雨恂恂洒落來/攔給兩人趕到橋跔匿/看天，親像臭醜的萱紙/逗逗互西引飛來的雲山染烏/（頁156-157）

除了自然景色之外，傳統農村也常在看會著因為舊ê民俗所帶來ê風景，親像男主角「恂恂互伊看著礙 qierh 的風景」，因為「半截迷信掛置公路邊的麻黃：/『死貓吊樹頭』」，koh有「另外半截浮置埤仔尾的水面：/『死狗放水流』」，因此「胡繩俗蛆仔攏吓驚臭/相掙給屍體嗆甲魂飛魄散/味凍變鬼變怪來害人」（頁124），tsit款歹看ê畫面，事實上，也是

農村風景ê一部分。

## 5. 《胭脂淚》ê新意象kiau新感覺kap伊對台語復振運動ê啟示

Ui頂懸筆者舉證出來有修辭技巧ê大量ê詩句當中，tsia ê台語詩句ê形容詞、動詞、名詞意象kiau伊ê用法等等，有屬tī傳統ê用法，親像「傷痕一巡一巡」「證據一條一條」、「漢秋の形影就會像土地公，白目眉，無人請，家己來」、「殖民地一隻牛剝雙領皮」等等，也有真濟是詩人ê想像創新，親像「愛情的拐仔斷去，味凍互伊扶」、「雙人約東南都會/漢秋血管起潮汐/潮來溢希望/汐去留不安」、「相思是焯火的鼎底油，給日子愈煎（炸）愈瘦抽」、「散赤人，一個陷入讀書孔，全家攏掙咧目眶紅」、「將當頭白日的困苦，提來暗暝做柴焚」、「肥贄贄的市街瘦做散鄉」、「相連的商號吐出人群像漲水」、「面頂生出一片歡喜的雲」、「兩人的相思井搨力出泉，/害電話俗批信相諍味煞」、「心内琵琶弄曲暗暗仔甜」等等，甚至是傳統kap創新ê結合體詩句，親像「兩蕊目矚是閃熾的天星，/下凡間，歌蹠幼秀的目眉跂；/棉仔做的面皮像月光曝礁的粉雪，/飄落來，堙置美麗的面頂。」、「給唐山漢、滿清婆淘甲瘦肢落葉」等等，筆者認為《胭脂淚》ê修辭技巧有kàu濟種、足有變化，除了hōo語言有音樂性、語句活潑化、hōo文字有形式美kiau意象美，掠外，tī字詞kap字詞中間所產生新ê意義，實在是leh豐富台語詩句ê表達方式，hōo台語有koh khah新ê生命力！若ui修辭手路技巧活用ê數額相當高來論，會當看著詩人林央敏對台語文創作發明ê膽識kiau功力，致使本部史詩整體上hōo讀者有厚厚厚ê形式美感享受，mā呈顯出兼顧台語ê傳統kap創新，精鍊出鮮尺koh高密度ê“台語新意象”kap“台語新感覺”。

《胭脂淚》ê修辭手路，確實會當應證文學原理所講--ê，tī修辭ê運作過程當中，語言會偏離或者是改變一般語法規則來煥發出新ê表達張力，致使表達者kiau接受者產生共同ê思維動勢，來得著生動性kap鮮尺感（董學文等2014：133）。Tāk種ê修辭手路，帶來hōo文學kiau文學語言--ê，lóng是一寡積極價值。若bô修辭，藝術想像是無法度展開，koh無法度固化，活靈靈ê描寫、幼膩ê刻劃kiau倚tī tsit ê基礎頂懸產生ê「栩栩如生」ê形象著無法

度得著。修辭是ka語言「簡練化」蓋有路用ê途徑，會使ka濟濟感情、意願kiau創作構想，壓縮tī違反語言習慣ê話語方式當中，hōo人盡興來品味kiau想像，來得著再創造ê空間。（董學文等2014：136）

Tī lán台灣現今政府公告、法律條文、教科書、報紙、雜誌、電子媒體、平面出版品差不多全面lóng用華語文leh書寫，知識份子也已經慣si用華語leh思考，而且用華語書寫足簡單。台語ê社會功能也越lú來lú低，有ê人對母語ê認知mā有偏差等等因素（方耀乾2012：219-220），造成華語/文成做一種“文化霸權”ê現象。Tng-tong lán想beh脫離華語/文文化霸權ê支配，積極復振台灣各族群母語，恢復各族群性命ê時陣，lán所拍拚leh揣轉來ê物件是hiaê失落去--ê、原汁原味--ê、會使牽連頂下兩代甚至數代之間ê「傳統語言」（語音、語彙kap語法）。毋過，除了傳統語言對lán足重要以外，面對著親像本論文所研究ê史詩作品《胭脂淚》內底新意象、新感覺ê台語或者是其他ê台語現代詩文，lán會使án-ne來講，tsia ê台語新創作作品確確實實mā是hōo lán ê族群kiau lán ê母語-台語有另外一種新ê面腔、新ê性命，來繼續生炭落去！

## 6. 結尾

台灣上大部ê史詩《胭脂淚》是台灣上大族群-台語系作家用伊ê母語所寫作--ê，準講你是tsit ê族群ê人，一定mā會感覺著「與有榮焉」。會當使用母語寫出tsiah-nī大部ê史詩，又koh隨時兼顧著文學修辭手路，koh試驗各種東西詩型ê運用，實在是真bó簡單！

筆者tī本篇論文內底，頭起先運用「修辭學」來研究分析，發現著《胭脂淚》使用ê修辭手路蓋濟款，尤其偏tī運用「類疊」、「對偶」、「排比」、「譬喻」、「轉化」等五種。此外，親像「借代」、「頂真」、「誇張」、「擬人」等等ê修辭手路亦常在出現tī作品當中，uì tsia看出著詩人足重視「修辭學」而且koh有深厚ê文學功力kiau旺盛ê實驗意圖。

另外tī「意象塑造」分析頂懸，筆者初步先整理「時間意象」、「日天文意象」kiau「農村意象」tse三ê意象。配合「修辭學」ê分析，tī「時間意象」頂懸，發現著詩人tī回憶、歷史、等待、宇宙kap體悟性，詩人對

「時間」有bô-kâng ê感受，詩人用ê修辭技巧亦bô-kâng，ui這lán看會著詩人幼路兼用心ê書寫；tī「天文意象」頂懸，詩人將日月星光ê樣貌營造kah蓋鬥貼，hōo史詩有koh khah活靈靈ê背景；tī「農村意象」頂懸，詩人用著嘉南平原tsit ê區域做對象，真真正正kā田園風貌ê嬌kap穠lóng呈現出來，同時tī leh詩人ê巧思安排之下，作品當中男女主角ê思想情懷也會透濫tui風景當中去，hōo伊成做一幅有心境ê迷人風景。

因為詩人對新意象ê亟力追求kap創造力，同時靈活使用修辭手路而且數額蓋濟，甚至相互透濫混用，致使tsit部史詩整體上會hōo讀者感受著厚厚ê形式美感，也呈顯出精鍊過ê鮮尺koh密度蓋懸ê“台語新意象” kap “台語新感覺”。Tng-tong lán想beh脫離華語/文文化霸權ê支配，積極復振台灣各族群母語，各族群性命ê時陣，lán所拍拚leh揣轉來ê物件是遐ê失落去--ê、原汁原味--ê、會使牽連頂下兩代甚至數代之間ê「傳統語言」。M̄-koh，除了傳統語言對lán足重要以外，面對著濟濟台語現代詩文內底ê新意象kap新感覺，tsia ê台語新創作作品確確實實mā是hōo lán ê族群kiau lán ê母語有另外一種新ê面腔、新ê性命，來繼續生炭落去！

剖白講，《胭脂淚》是部重量級ê巨著，是tī台灣歷史舞台上，透過「修辭學」多變化ê修辭手路，融合傳統kap現代，精鍊出蓋有美感ê台語新意象、新感覺語言kap型式來講故事，值得lán逐家來táuh-táuh-á欣賞。本論文ê研究重點是tī個別「詩句」ê修辭美學研究，除了tī「農村意象」tsit部分有分析著修辭手路kiau「詩篇」之間ê關係，tī其他所在論述khah少講著，tse是本論文khah欠點ê所在。

因為kan-na揀選「時間意象」、「天文意象」kiau「農村意象」tse三ê意象來分析，本篇是屬tī初探性質ê論文，映望未來分析單位會當tui「詩句」hùn大kàu「詩篇」，而且會當koh分析其他ê意象表現，親像「愛情意象」、「政治事件意象」等等，甚至是「句法分析」，來做一ê koh khah全面koh幼路ê整體考察。

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Tâi-gí iáh-sī Bân-lâm-gí?  
Tâi-gí Miâ-chheng Cheng-gī ê Gián-kiù  
台語iáh-sī閩南語？台語名稱爭議ê研究

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Tiah-iàu

‘Tâi-gí’ chit-ê hō-miá tī Tâi-oân í-keng iōng pah gōa tang ah. M̄-koh, kàu ta<sup>n</sup> Tiong-hôa Bîn-kok gōa-lâi cheng-koân iáu sī m̄ cheng-sek kā sêng-jīn. Bô-tá<sup>n</sup>-kín, in koh chin khok-hêng kóng Tâi-gí sī ‘Bân-lâm-gí.’ Kun-kù Chi-ná ê kó jī-tián, ‘Bân’ sī ‘chōa cheng ê iá-bân-lâng’ ê ì-sù. Chit-ê sù sī ū bú-jiók khòa<sup>n</sup> lêng bô ê ì-sù. Ûi tiòh Tâi-oân-lâng ê chun-giâm, tī 2009 nî 7 goeh ū 40 gōa ê pún-thó siá-thoân khi Kàu-iók-pō khòng-gī. Chit phi<sup>n</sup> lūn-bûn ùi siá-hōe gí-giân-hák kap cheng-tī ê kak-tō lāi thàm-thó Tâi-gí miâ-chheng ê cheng-gī. Pún-bûn kí-chhut, ‘Bân-lâm-ōe’ tī Tâi-oân siōng-hó ài kiò-chò ‘Tâi-gí.’ Nā beh ùi khah tōa ê sī-ia lāi khòa<sup>n</sup>, tī Hok-kián, Tâi-oân, Tang-lâm-a ê ‘Bân-lâm-ōe’ ē-sái hō-chò ‘Lán-lâng-ōe.’

Koan-kiàn-sù: Tâi-oân-ōe, Bân-lâm-gí, Tâi-gí, Lán-lâng-ōe, Ē-m̄ng-ōe

漢字關鍵詞：台灣話、閩南語、台語、咱人話、廈門話

# Taiwanese or Southern Min? <sup>1</sup> On the Controversy of Ethnolinguistic Names in Taiwan

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## Abstract

‘Tâi-gí’ the ethnolinguistic name for Taiwanese has been used for more than one hundred years in Taiwan. However, it has not always been politically and officially approved by the government, the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. In contrast, ‘Southern Min’ is officially adopted by the ROC to refer to the language Taiwanese. ‘Min’ is the abbreviation of Hokkien province in China. In addition, it is a pejorative name with the meaning ‘barbarians with snake origin,’ according to Chinese classical dictionaries. In response to ROC’s racial discrimination against Taiwanese-speaking people, around 40 Taiwanese organizations protested against the ROC in July 2009. The purpose of this paper is to survey the controversy over the term ‘Tâi-gí’ from the perspective of sociolinguistics and political science. It is suggested that ‘Southern Min’ be replaced by ‘Taiwanese’ when referring to varieties spoken in Taiwan, and by ‘Lán-lâng-ōe’ when referring to all varieties spoken in China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asian countries.

Keywords: Taiwanese, Southern Min, Tai-gi, Lan-lang-oe, Amoy

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## 1. Introduction

Taiwan is a multilingual and multiethnic society. Traditionally, the people are divided into four primary ethnic groups: the indigenous (around 1.7% of Taiwan's population), Tâi-oân-lâng or Taiwanese (73.3%), Thòi-vân-ngìn or Hakka (12%) and post war immigrants<sup>2</sup> (13%) (Huang 1993:21). In addition, as international marriages have become more and more common in the globalization era, and Taiwan being no exception, foreign spouses in Taiwan number 483,587 as of September 2013, according to the statistics of Taiwan's National Immigration Agency, Ministry of Interior.<sup>3</sup> These foreign nationals account for 2.07% of Taiwan's total population.<sup>4</sup>

The speakers of Tâi-gí (台語 Taiwanese language) are traditionally and commonly called Tâi-oân-lâng (台灣人), literally 'the Taiwanese people.' Occasionally, they are called Hō-ló-lâng (or Hô-ló, Hok-ló, in different spellings) or Bân-lâm-lâng (閩南人 Southern Min people) by other ethnic groups. The language Tâi-gí is also occasionally called Hō-ló-ōe (福佬話) or Bân-lâm-ōe (閩南話 Southern Min language) in different contexts. Although the term 'Tâi-gí' has been used for more than one hundred years in society in Taiwan, it has not always been politically and officially approved by the government of Republic of China on Taiwan (ROC, thereafter). On the contrary, 'Southern Min' is officially adopted by the ROC to refer to Taiwanese.

'Min' comes from the abbreviation of Hokkien (福建) province of China. In addition, it is a pejorative name with the meaning 'barbarians with snake origin,' according to the famous Chinese classical dictionaries *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì* (說文解字 *Interpretation of Chinese Characters*) by Xǔ Shèn (許慎) and *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì*

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<sup>2</sup> Mainly the immigrants came to Taiwan with the Chiang Kai-shek's KMT regime after 1945.

<sup>3</sup> The data are available at <<http://www.immigration.gov.tw/public/Attachment/31031955020.xls>>

<sup>4</sup> By the end of October 2013, the amount of Taiwan's total population is 23,361,147 according to Taiwan's recent updated statistical data of Ministry of Interior, available at <[http://www.ris.gov.tw/zh\\_TW/346](http://www.ris.gov.tw/zh_TW/346)>

Zhù (說文解字注) by Duàn Yù Cǎi (段玉裁).

Because the Ma Ying-jeou regime of ROC still considers itself a Chinese regime rather than a native Taiwanese regime, Ma insists on using the term ‘Southern Min’ in order to make a connection to China. For example, the term ‘Southern Min’ was officially adopted in the “2008 Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines” (97年九年一貫課程綱要) by the ROC’s Ministry of Education (thereafter MOE) in July 15, 2009. In response to MOE’s discriminatory labeling for Taiwanese speaking people, around 40 Taiwanese organizations formed an alliance called ‘Alliance against the Discrimination Term on Southern Min’ (「反對閩南語歧視稱呼」正名聯盟) and demonstrated against MOE in July 29, 2009.

Another case occurred in 2013. Five Chinese KMT members of the Committee on Education and Culture of the ROC Legislative Yuan, Tē<sup>n</sup> Thian-châi (鄭天財), Lí Tōng-hô (李桐豪), Khóng Bûn-kiat (孔文吉), Chiú<sup>n</sup> Nái-sin (蔣乃辛) and Tân Siok-hūi (陳淑慧), proposed to cut 10% of the promotional budget for exhibition for the National Museum of Taiwan Literature. Their major claim was that the term ‘Taiwanese literature’ (台語文學) was adopted in the exhibition entitled “Exhibition on Vernacular Literature in Native Languages of Taiwan.” They demanded that the term ‘Taiwanese’ be replaced by Southern Min or Hō-ló-ōe.

The purpose of this paper is to survey the controversy over the term ‘Tâi-gí’ from the perspective of sociolinguistics and political science. Some historical background and current developments are surveyed. Solutions are also provided for readers’ considerations.

## 2. The historical context of migration, indigenization and ethnic relations

Generally speaking, Taiwan was an indigenous society before Dutch occupation (1624-1661) in the early seventeenth century. There was only tribal

awareness and no awareness of being “Taiwanese” at that time.

The aboriginal tribes, which belong to the Austronesian-Formosan language family, have been living in Taiwan for over a thousand years (cf. Lewis 2009). The classification of different tribes varies from scholar to scholar. Up to July 2014, the existing indigenous people are officially recognized as sixteen ethnic groups by the government of ROC on Taiwan. Their ethnic names also vary from past to present. For example, ‘Sèk-hoan’ (熟番; ‘cooked savages’ or ‘sinicized barbarians’) or ‘Chhe<sup>n</sup>-hoan’ (生番; ‘raw savages’ or ‘rude barbarians’) were frequently used during the Chinese feudal period. Those pejorative names were later replaced by ‘Takasago’ (タカサゴ高砂族<sup>5</sup>) during the Japanese rule. ‘Takasago’ was further replaced by ‘Shānbāo’ (山胞mountain compatriots) by the Chinese ROC regime. The current official name ‘Yuánzhùmín’ (原住民 indigenous peoples) was not approved by the ROC until 1994.

The first half of the seventeenth century saw the fall of the Ming Empire (1368-1644) in China. The Qing Empire was then eventually established in China by the Manchurians. There were several remnant forces after the last Ming emperor was killed. The remnant forces spread out to different areas, such as Taiwan, Vietnam and other Southeast Asian areas. They tried to resist the military attacks of the Qing with the slogan “opposing Qing to restore Ming.” This situation lasted for several decades after the fall of Ming.

Koxinga (國姓爺 or 鄭成功), leader of one of the remnants, brought 25,000 soldiers to Taiwan and drove away the Dutch, who were the colonizers of Taiwan at that time. The Koxinga Regime was then shortly established in Taiwan from 1662 to 1683 (Su 1980:102; Ong 1993b:56). The Koxinga regime was later defeated by the Qing armies. Consequently, Taiwan became the colony of Qing Empire from 1883 to 1895.

Among the soldiers of Koxinga, they mainly came from southern Hokkien and partly from eastern Canton (廣東). The language spoken by the people

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<sup>5</sup> A cognatename derived from an indigenous tribe in Kaohsiung.

from southern Hokkien is the so-called ‘Southern Min.’ In fact, ‘Southern Min’ was not even a common term by its speakers at that time. A local prefecture or county name where the speaker lived was usually used by its speaker to refer to her/his vernacular. For example, the terms, such as Chiang-chiu (漳州), Choan-chiu (泉州), Amoy (廈門), and Formosan, were widely employed in dictionaries compiled by missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see appendix I). The term ‘Southern Min’ was not even common until ROC’s promotion of it in Taiwan after World War II.

The languages used by the people from northeastern and eastern Canton are Hakka (客家) and Tio-chiu (or spelled Teochew潮州). Hakka means ‘outsiders’ or ‘guests,’ which was the name given by other neighboring ethnic groups during their continual immigrations in the history of the formation of Hakka (Lo 1933). In addition to Hakka, there are some other terms used to refer to Hakka in different areas and social contexts. For example, Hakka is also called Ngái or He in Vietnam. Nowadays, ‘Hakka’ is the official name approved by governments both in ROC and People’s Republic of China (PRC). In addition to Hakka, the terms ‘Thòi-vân-ngìn’ or ‘Theù-kâ-ngìn’ or ‘Ngìn’ or ‘Ngài’ were recently coined to refer to ‘Hakka people in Taiwan.’

Due to Qing’s restrictions on migration, Hakka and Tio-chiu people are less numerous than the Hokkien during the process of migration to Taiwan. For example, right after Qing defeated Koxinga regime in 1683, the Qing announced such restrictions as “people who lived in Tio-chiu and Hui-chiu (Fuichiu惠州) were not allowed to move to Taiwan, because those places were suspected of being the bases for pirates.” Such restrictions on Hakka were continued until 1760 (Su 1980:129).

After the restrictions on migration were completely lifted by the Qing emperor, more and more Hokkien and Hakka people moved to Taiwan. Conflicts among the Hokkien, Hakka and aborigines frequently occurred in regard to disputes such as land and natural resources (Ong 1993b:84-87). As a result, some pejorative terms were coined by each ethnic group to refer to other groups.

For example, ‘hoan-á’ (番仔 ‘barbarians’ or ‘savages’) was used to refer to indigenous people by the Hokkien and Hakka; ‘pailang’ (白浪 or 歹人), which means ‘bad guys’ was coined by indigenous people in return to refer to the Hokkien and Hakka. ‘Kheh-hia<sup>n</sup>-kong’ (客兄公), which literally means ‘Hakka adulterer’ was used by Hokkien to refer to male Hakka speakers. In return, ‘Hok-lo-ma’ (福佬嫖 Hok-lo concubine) was created by Hakka to refer to the female Hokkien speakers.

The number of immigrants increased and soon became higher than the number of the indigenous people. The majority of the early immigrants who moved to Taiwan were male. Many of them intermarried with local indigenous women. The indigenous tribes that mainly resided in the western plain areas were more likely to come into contact with immigrants than tribes living in the mountains. They either were conquered by immigrants or intermarried with them (Su 1980).

There is an old Taiwanese saying reflecting this history of intermarriage: “ū Tng-soa<sup>n</sup>-kong, bô Tng-soa<sup>n</sup>-má” (有唐山公, 無唐山媽). Tng-soa<sup>n</sup> was the old-fashioned term widely used by these immigrants to refer to their homeland in China. The saying literally means, “we have got a Mainland Grandpa, but no Mainland Grandma” (Kan 1995:152-162). Moreover, recent DNA studies by Doctor Lin Marie (2010) have revealed that the gene of Taiwanese people are much closer to People in Vietnam and Southeast Asia than those in China. It shows that although only 1.7% of the Taiwanese population are currently “pure” aborigines, as a matter of fact, most of the current Taiwanese population are partly descended from aboriginal stock (Brown 2004:149; Lin 2010). This phenomenon is similar to those cases such as Ming Huong people in Vietnam, and Baba Nyonya in Singapore and Malaysia.

In the early period of migration, most of those immigrants only intended to live in Taiwan provisionally, and they identified themselves with their original clans in southeast China (Tan 1994:140-141). However, during the course of indigenization, they moved from an immigrant society to a native society in

the nineteenth century (Tan 1994:92). That means that the immigrants began to settle down and to distinguish themselves from the people who lived in China. For example, there was an old Taiwanese saying, “T̄ng-soa<sup>n</sup>-kheh, t̄i-pò<sup>n</sup> soeh” (唐山客, 對半說). Literally, it means that “you should discount the words of the guests from China.” It advised that you should not believe the Chinese too much while you are doing business with them. This old saying also reveals that the indigenized immigrants had considered themselves as ‘masters’ rather than ‘guests’ in Taiwan, where they have been living for several generations. In short, the late nineteenth century saw the origin of a proto-Taiwanese nation, according to historian Su Beng (Su 1992:196-200).

In 1895, Taiwan and the Pescadore islands were transferred by the Qing emperor to Japanese emperor as a consequence of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which ended the first Sino-Japanese War. The Japanese colonization (1895-1945) of Taiwan was the historical turning point in Taiwan in the transition from traditional Chinese feudal society to a modern capitalist society (Su 1992:205-215). Owing to modernization and capitalization during the Japanese rule, the earlier proto-Taiwanese identity advanced to Taiwanese nationhood (Su 1992:220). Those immigrant identities, once connected to the homeland of their ancestors such as ‘Chiang-chiu people’ and ‘Choan-chiu people,’ began to be replaced by a developing sense of being a ‘Taiwanese people’ in contrast to being a Japanese people. Thereafter, ‘Taiwanese language’ and ‘Taiwanese people’ were widely used by the people all over Taiwan.

The strong Taiwanese identity during the Japanese era could be well illustrated by the formation of political organizations, such as Sin Bîn Hoe (新 民會 New People Association), established in 1920. Its organization guidelines mentioned: “To promote political reforms in Taiwan in order to improve the happiness of the Taiwanese people” (Ong 1988:44-49). Moreover, the declarations (1925) of the Tokyo Association of Taiwanese Academic Studies (東京台灣學術研究會), which was organized by some overseas Taiwanese students in Tokyo, included: (Ong 1988:91-92)

“To support the liberation of Taiwan!” (支持台灣的解放運動)

“To obtain the freedom to speak Taiwanese!” (獲得使用台灣話的自由)

“Taiwan independence forever and ever!” (台灣獨立萬歲)

In addition to the identity transition from seeing themselves as immigrants to seeing themselves as native Taiwanese, the linguistic genres of vernacular spoken by the immigrants also changed. For example, although Choan-chiu and Chiang-chiu were originally two major different varieties of Southern Min, they gradually merged and became a new “non-Chiang non-Choan” (不漳不泉) vernacular after they were brought to Taiwan (Iwasaki1913; Ong 1957:3-5, 1987:18-23; Ang1992a, 1992b:71).<sup>6</sup> Moreover, they were greatly influenced by the languages of indigenous plain tribes, and particularly the Japanese language during the Japanese ruling period (Ong 1957:44-45). For instance, ‘tá-káu’ (former name of Kaohsiung city), ‘Tâi-oân’ (current name of Taiwan), ‘má-se’ (drunken) and ‘Báng-kah’ (a place name in Taipei) are cognates from Formosan Austronesian languages. In addition, ‘chù-bûn’ (ちゅうもん to order), ‘sú-sih’ (すし Japanese sushi), ‘se-bí-loh’ (セビロ a suit), ‘ò-bah’ (オーバー an overcoat) are loanwords in Taiwanese coined from Japanese. In short, this new “non-Chiang non-Choan” language has been widely called ‘Tâi-gí’ or ‘Tâi-oân-ōe,’ which all mean the ‘Taiwanese language’ by the Taiwanese people since the early twentieth century.

### 3. Dictionaries, Bibles and literary works in Taiwanese

The Taiwanese language could be written in different orthographies. Currently, there are three major writing systems: 1) Roman-only, or exclusive use of Roman scripts, 2) Han characters only, which means exclusive use of Hanji, and 3) Han-Lo ‘Hanji with Roman script,’ which means a combination of Hanji with Roman scripts (Cheng 1990:219-237; Ong 1993a; Tiun1998:230-241;

<sup>6</sup> There are some differences between Choan-chiu and Chiang-chiu, such as /koe/ vs. /ke/ to represent the same meaning of word ‘chicken.’

Chiung 2001; Klöter 2005).

The Roman scheme for writing Taiwanese was mainly developed and contributed by Western missionaries in the nineteenth to early twentieth century (Klöter 2005:89). Called Peh-ōe-jī, which means the scripts of vernacular speech in contrast to the complicated classical Han writing, it was introduced in Taiwan in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> It is currently also called ‘Tâi-oân-jī’ or Taiwanese scripts. It made important impact in three significant aspects: 1) cultural enlightenment, 2) education for all people and 3) literary creation in colloquial Taiwanese (Chiung 2013b:111, Chiung 2011:ix).

Those applications and publications of Peh-ōe-jī since the nineteenth century can be summarized in the following six categories: 1) textbooks, 2) dictionaries, 3) religious literature, include in the translation of the Bible, catechisms, and religious tracts, 4) newspapers, 5) private note-taking or letters, and 6) other publications, such as physiology, math, and novels (Chiung 2005:36, 2012).<sup>8</sup>

Carstairs Douglas’s *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* of 1873 is regarded as an influential dictionary on the orthography of Peh-ōe-jī.<sup>9</sup> After Douglas’s dictionary, most Romanized dictionaries and publications followed his orthography with little or no changes (Ang 1993b:1-9, 1993a). George L. Macky’s *Chinese Romanized Dictionary of the Formosan Vernacular*, which was considered the first dictionary to focus on vernacular spoken in Taiwan, was completed in 1874 and printed in 1891 in Shanghai. William Campbell’s dictionary *Ē-mâng Im Sin Jī-tián or A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken Throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa*, firstly published in 1913 was the first Peh-ōe-jī dictionary

<sup>7</sup> It was reported that the earliest development of Peh-ōe-jī was contributed by the Spanish missionaries of Mania in the early 17th century (Klöter 2002 & 2004).

<sup>8</sup> Some publications may be available at the website of Memory of the Written Taiwanese, which was initiated by Iû<sup>a</sup> Ún-giân. This site is located at <<http://ip194097.ntcu.edu.tw/Memory/TGB>>

<sup>9</sup> This dictionary was scanned and available at <<http://ip194097.ntcu.edu.tw/memory/TGB>>



published in Taiwan.<sup>10</sup> It is the most widely used Romanized dictionary in Taiwan (Lai 1990; Ang 1996). This dictionary has been reprinted and renamed as *Kam Uî-lîm Tâi-gú Jī-tián* or *William Campbell's Taiwanese Dictionary* since 2009.

Generally speaking, missionaries' dictionaries were using Amoy vernacular as the criteria by the early twentieth century. Thereafter, the vernacular spoken in Taiwan gradually became the criteria. For example, *The Amoy-English Dictionary* and *English-Amoy Dictionary*, published by The Maryknoll Language Service Center in Taichung in 1976 and 1979, are two such dictionaries. Their vocabularies and pronunciation systems are mainly based on the local Taichung vernacular even though 'Amoy' was named. The publisher had to use 'Amoy' rather than 'Taiwanese' was due to the factor that Taiwan under ROC's martial law from 1949 to 1987. At a later time, they were republished as *Taiwanese-English Dictionary* in 2001 and *English-Taiwanese Dictionary* in 2013, respectively.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to missionaries' efforts, the Taiwan Governor-General's Office also published several dictionaries during the period of Japanese rule (Ang 1993c). For example, we have the *Japanese-Taiwanese Encyclopedic Dictionary* in 1907 and *Taiwanese-Japanese Encyclopedic Dictionary* in 1931 and 1932. Vocabularies based on Taiwanese were collected in those dictionaries and they were written in Hanji with revised Japanese Kana.<sup>12</sup>

Dictionaries compiled by individuals were mainly published after 1945 (see Appendix I). These could be divided into two periods: 1) the martial law period before 1987, and 2) after the martial law. Many more dictionaries were published after the martial law was lifted. In addition, the term 'Taiwanese' was adopted by almost all dictionary publishers, except the one published by ROC's National

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<sup>10</sup> This dictionary was digitized and available at <<http://taigi.fhl.net/dick>>

<sup>11</sup> This dictionaries are available at <<http://www.taiwanesedictionary.org>>

<sup>12</sup> Taiwanese-Japanese Encyclopedic Dictionary was digitized and supplemented with modern Taiwanese translations in Han-Roman style, available at <<http://taigi.fhl.net/dict>>

Translation and Compilation Center in 2001. In this case, ‘Southern Min’ was adopted to fit the political ideology of ROC. On the contrary, dictionaries published during martial law period were much more limited in number. Moreover, more than half of them had to politically compromise with ROC and use the name ‘Southern Min.’

In addition to dictionaries, the Bible is regarded as an important medium for the standardization of written Taiwanese. There were two major contributors to the completion of the Taiwanese Romanized Bible: Dr. James L. Maxwell and Rev. Thomas Barclay. Dr. Maxwell was the first medical missionary to Taiwan in 1865. Under his supervision, *Lán ê Kiù-chú Ia-so Ki-tok ê Sin-iok*, the first Romanized *Taiwanese New Testament* was published in 1873, and *Kū-iok ê Sèng Keng*, the *Taiwanese Old Testament*, was published in 1884. They were both printed in the UK (Lai 1990). Their revised editions were completed by Rev. Barclay. The revised New Testament was published in 1916. Later, the Revised Old Testament along with the revised New Testament were collected together and published in 1933. The 1933 Barclay edition of the Bible is the most widespread Romanized Bible in Taiwan (Niu 2013). In short, the Taiwanese Bible of Barclay and Maxwell plays the same role as Martin Luther’s translation of the Bible from Latin into the German vernacular.

Amoy vernacular was regarded as the criteria for compiling the Bible by both Maxwell and Barclay. Thereafter, all editions of the Bible were translated in Taiwanese vernacular. For example, the *Ko-Tân edition of Colloquial Taiwanese New Testament*,<sup>13</sup> which was mainly translated based on the vernacular spoken in the central Taiwan areas, was completed by the Maryknoll Society in 1972 (Niu 2005; Lim 2005). This Bible is also called ‘Âng-phôe Sèng-keng’ or ‘Red Cover Bible’ because of the color of its front cover. It was expected to fulfill the needs of modern Taiwanese speakers. Unfortunately, it was seized by the ROC regime in 1975. It was later transcribed into Han-Lo version by Lîm Chùn-iòk

<sup>13</sup> Ko-Tân Tâi-oân Pêh-ōe Sèng-keng Ìk-pún 高陳台灣白話聖經譯本.

and published by the Taiwan Church Press in 2005.<sup>14</sup>

Several revised or newly translated editions of the Bible in Taiwanese were published again after the martial law was lifted in Taiwan. During this period, the Taiwanese Bibles were published in three ways: 1) Roman-only, 2) Han-only, and 3) Han-Lo hybrid. For example, *Hiān-tāi Tâi-gú Sin-iok Sèng-keng*, or The Today's Taiwanese New Testament, which was translated directly from Greek into Romanized Taiwanese mainly based on northern Taiwanese varieties, was published by the Bible Society in Taiwan in 2008 (Li 2010:74-75).<sup>15</sup> It was later published again in the Han-Lo version in 2013 (Tiu<sup>n</sup> 2014:16-17). Recently, *Choân-bin Tâi-gí Sèng-keng* or The Common Taiwanese Bible, which was revised from 1933 Barclay's edition and transcribed into southern Taiwanese accents, was completed in 2013. It contains three versions: 1) Roman-only, 2) Han-Lo, and 3) Han-Lo plus Ruby functions.<sup>16</sup> They are expected to be published in recent years. In addition to Roman-only and Han-Lo editions, Taiwanese Bible in Han characters “台語漢字本聖經” was published in 1996 for the first time. This Hanji edition was merely transcribed from Barclay's edition into Han characters.

In addition to dictionaries and the Bible, newspapers and other publications are also important in the promotion and standardization of written Taiwanese. The first modern newspaper *Tâi-oân-hú-siâ<sup>n</sup> Kàu-hōe-pò* (*Taiwan Prefectural City Church News*) was published monthly by Rev. Barclay in July 1885 (Tiu<sup>n</sup> 2005; Tan 2007). This newspaper was published in Pêh-ōe-jī until March 1969. Thereafter, it was shifted to Mandarin Chinese under the political pressure from ROC.

In order to print Taiwanese Roman scripts, which contain some distinctive features and tone marks, a state-of-the-art printing machine was imported from

<sup>14</sup> Its original texts are available at <<http://taigi.fhl.net/list.html>>, and sound archives are available at <[http://bible.fhl.net/new/audio\\_hb.php?version=6](http://bible.fhl.net/new/audio_hb.php?version=6)>

<sup>15</sup> The Bible was copyrighted in 2007 and published in 2008. For the comparisons of different editions of Taiwanese Bible, readers may refer to Niu (2005) or Iu<sup>n</sup> (2013).

<sup>16</sup> Three versions of Common Taiwanese Bible are available at <<http://taigi.fhl.net/list.html>>

Scotland in 1881. This printer was in operation from 1885 until 1960s. After the printer was imported, the first publishing house in Taiwan, known as Chū-tin-tông or Sin-lâu Bookstore, was established in Tainan by Rev. Barclay in 1884. It was later called Taiwan Church Press.

Although *Taiwan Prefectural City Church News* was a religious oriented newspaper, it also contained a variety of articles, such as aspects of literature, history, culture and science (Ng 2000; Chiung 2011). For example, a short story entitled as “Jit-pún ê koài-sū” (an oddity in Japan) and a travel note “Pak-káng Má ê sin-bûn” (news on the goddess Pak-kang Ma) were published in 1886.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to newspapers, there were some other publications, such as *Pit Soàn ê Chho. Hák* (Fundamental Mathematics) by *Ūi-lîm Gê* in 1897, *Lāi Gōa Kho Khàn-hō-hák* (The Principles and Practice of Nursing) by G. Gushue-Taylor in 1917, the novel *Chhut-Sí-Sòan* (Line between Life and Death) by Khe-phòan Tē<sup>n</sup> in 1926, and the collection of commentaries *Cháp-hāng Koán-kiàn* (Opinions on Ten Issues) by *Pôe-hóe Chhòa* in 1925.<sup>18</sup>

Due to the successful promotion of written Taiwanese in the second half of nineteenth century, it had contributed to the emergence of Taiwanese new literature, which was written in accordance with the Taiwanese colloquial vernacular rather than traditional classical Han writing (Chiung 2005:35). Comparing to the May Fourth New Culture Movement of 1919 in China, Taiwanese people had experienced colloquial writing decades earlier than the Chinese people. This is one of the reasons why the development of modern literature in Taiwan is quite different from China.

#### 4. People's resistance to ROC's Chinese policy

Usually, the religious believers apply Pêh-ōe-jī writing to their daily life

<sup>17</sup> Articles in this newspaper were digitized and researchable at <<http://210.240.194.97/nmtl/dadwt/pbk.asp>>

<sup>18</sup> Some photos of these publications are available at <<http://www.de-han.org/pehoeji/exhibits/index.htm>>

after they acquire the skill of Romanization. For example, they may use Pêh-ōe-jī as a tool for note taking or writing letters to their daughters, sons, or friends in addition to reading the Bible. Pêh-ōe-jī was widely used among the church people in Taiwan prior to 1970s (Chiung 2012, 2013a). Among its users, women were the majority. Most of those women did not command any literacy except Pêh-ōe-jī. Today, there are still a few among the elder generations, especially women, who read only Pêh-ōe-jī.

Why did Pêh-ōe-jī declined severely in the 1970s? It is the consequence of the ROC colonialism. From the political perspective of ROC, Mandarin Chinese in traditional Chinese characters was considered the only orthodox language. The Bible in Romanized Taiwanese was definitely regarded as a challenge to the Chinese regime, which is considered a foreign regime by many Taiwanese.

At the end of World War II, Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Chinese Nationalist (KMT) took over China (excluding Manchuria), Taiwan, and French Indo-China north of 16° north latitude on behalf of the Allied Powers under General Order No.1 of September 2, 1945 (Hodgkin 1981:288; Peng & Ng 1995:60-61; Chiung 2007:110-111, 2008). In accordance with this order, Chiang sent troops to Taiwan and Vietnam. After Japanese forces were disarmed, Chiang was requested by Ho Chi Minh and French power to withdraw his troops from Vietnam in 1946. However, Chiang's troops remained in Taiwan even though the well-known February 28 Revolution occurred in 1947 (Kerr 1992; Su 1980:749-801; Ong 1993b:157-162). Simultaneously, Chiang Kai-shek was fighting against the Chinese Communist Party in Mainland China.

In 1949, Chiang's troops were completely defeated and then pursued by the Chinese Communists. At that time, Taiwan's national status was supposed to be dealt with by a peace treaty among the nations at war. That is Treaty of Peace with Japan signed by 48 nations at a later time in San Francisco in September 1951. However, because of Chiang's defeat in China, Chiang decided to occupy Taiwan as a base and from there he would fight to recover the Mainland (Kerr 1992; Ong 1993b; Peng & Ng 1995; Su 1980). Consequently, Chiang's political

regime Republic of China (ROC) was renewed in Taiwan and has remained there since 1949.

Chiang claimed that Taiwan was a province of China, and ROC was the only legitimate government of China even though the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in Beijing by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in October 1949. Due to Chiang's control of Taiwan, his mortal enemy, the communist leader Mao Zedong, also claimed that Taiwan was a part of PRC. In fact, both KMT and CCP used to support Taiwan to become an independent state from the Japanese during the 1920s and 1930s (Siau 1981). Nevertheless, the current relation between Taiwan and China remains a political issue to solve. From the perspective of people in Taiwan, many public opinion polls done lately have shown that the majority of Taiwanese people are more likely to support Taiwanese independence. For example, the polls conducted by Taiwan Thinktank in July 2014 revealed that 82.9% of the subjects agreed that Taiwan and China are two countries independent from each other.<sup>19</sup>

Monolingual Mandarin Chinese policy was adopted during ROC's occupation of Taiwan (Huang 1993; Heylen 2005). Taiwanese people were forced to learn Mandarin Chinese and to identify themselves as Chinese through the national education system (Cheng 1996; Tiun 1996; Hsiau 1997:307). Consequently, research has revealed that a language shift toward Mandarin is in progress (Lu 1988:73; Young 1989:55; Chan 1994:iii). In response to ROC's Chinese language policy, the promoters of Taiwanese have protested against the monolingual policy and have demanded vernacular education in schools. This is the so-called 'Tâi-bûn Ûn-tōng' or 'Taiwanese language movement' that has substantially grown since the second half of the 1980s (Hsiau 1997; Erbaugh 1995; Li 1999; Lim 1996; Chiung 1999, 2007; Klöter 2005).

Although Pêh-ōe-jī was originally devised for religious purposes, it is

<sup>19</sup> Press release available at Taiwan Thinktank <<http://www.taiwanthinktank.org/chinese/page/5/62/2840/0>>

no longer limited to religious applications after the contemporary Tâi-bûn movement was raised in the late 1980s (Chiung 1999:42, 2005:40). Pêh-ōe-jī has been adopted by many Taiwanese promoters to write Taiwanese either in Roman-only or Han-Lo styles. For example, famous Taiwanese periodicals such as Tōi-oân-jī (*Taiwanese Scripts*), *Tâi-bûn Thong-sìn* (*TBTS Newsletter*), *Tâi-bûn Bông Pò* (*Bong Newspaper*), and *Hái-ang* (*Whale of Taiwanese Literature*) all adopt Pêh-ōe-jī as the Romanization for writing Taiwanese. Moreover, academic Journal, such as Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular accepts Pêh-ōe-jī as official writing. In addition, professional organizations such as Tâi-oân Lô-má-jī Hiáp-hōe (Taiwanese Romanization Association) was organized in August 2001 for the promotion of writing in fully Romanized Taiwanese.<sup>20</sup> Tâi-bûn Pit-hōe (Taiwanese Pen), the literary society of Taiwanese writers for the promotion of literary creations in Taiwanese vernacular was established in 2009. The Center for Taiwanese Languages Testing at National Cheng Kung University was established in 2010.<sup>21</sup> They all recognized Pêh-ōe-jī as the official orthography for Taiwanese.

Under the pressure of the Taiwanese language movement, the ruling KMT regime had no choice but to open up some possibilities for vernacular education. Eventually, the president Lee Teng-hui, who is a native of Taiwan, approved the compromised proposal that elementary schools be allowed to have vernacular education starting in fall semester 2001. Prior to implementation of the vernacular education proposal, KMT lost its regime during the 2000 presidential election for the first time in Taiwan. Chen Shui-bian was elected president. Consequently, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) became the ruling party until 2008 when the KMT retrieved regime again.

This vernacular education proposal was thus conducted by the ruling DPP. A class called ‘pún-thó’ gí-giân’(native languages), with a period of 40 minutes

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<sup>20</sup> TLH’s official website at <<http://www.tlh.org.tw/>>

<sup>21</sup> CTLT’s official website at <<http://ctl.tl.twncku.edu.tw/>>For more information on the development of General Taiwanese Proficiency Test, please refer to Chiung (2010).

per week, is required in all elementary schools from fall semester 2001. Schools may choose the vernacular languages to teach in accordance with the demands of their students. In the vernacular education, course titles were officially named ‘Taiwan Southern Min Language,’ ‘Taiwan Hakka Language’ and ‘Formosan Austronesian languages’ to refer to the languages taught in class. In addition to elementary schools, universities were encouraged to establish new departments of Taiwanese languages and literatures or relevant studies. About twenty some such departments or graduate institutes were therefore established by 2008. The National Museum of Taiwan Literature was also officially established in Tainan in 2003.

While people were feeling hopeful and confident about mother tongue education, Ma Ying-jeou, from the KMT, won the presidential election in 2008. Once KMT became the ruling party again, all native policies regarding Taiwanese languages and culture adopted by the DDP were gradually changed. For example, the budget for Taiwanese proficiency test was cut by KMT legislators in February 2009.<sup>22</sup> Also, ‘Taiwan’ was withdrawn by MOE from ‘Taiwan Southern Min’ of the “Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines” in 2009. Moreover, private publishers such as King-an were later forced to replace ‘Taiwanese’ with ‘Southern Min’ on the title of Taiwanese textbooks for elementary students.<sup>23</sup> The major excuse of the MOE officials and KMT legislators was that the term ‘Taiwanese’ would mislead people into thinking that Hakka and indigenous Formosan languages were excluded from the list of native languages in Taiwan. It sounded like that they were calling for racial equality. In fact, they were oppressing the Taiwanese speaking people’s growing awareness of their own identity and sowing seeds of discord among ethnic groups in Taiwan.

Because Ma Ying-jeou was regarded as a pro-China president by the

<sup>22</sup> Petition and press release are available at <<http://www.tlh.org.tw/liansu.htm>> Relevant news reports, available at <<http://www.peopo.org/news/29178>>, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pz1b6dWrpuE>>, and <<http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/paper/283646>>

<sup>23</sup> The press releases against the policy are available at <<http://ungian.pixnet.net/blog/post/28744136>> and <<http://taigi.fhl.net/News/News41.html>>



Taiwanese people, these actions hostile toward Taiwanese were considered Ma's step toward de-Taiwanization (去台灣化). In response to MOE's racial discrimination against Taiwanese speaking people, around 40 Taiwanese organizations immediately formed an alliance called "Alliance against the Discrimination Term on Southern Min"(ADTSM) and protested against the MOE.<sup>24</sup> The organizations include Taiwanese Romanization Association, Haiang Taiwanese Association, Taiwan South Society, Taiwan Hakka Society, etc.

The major arguments by the ADTSM are summarized, as follows:

First of all, 'Southern Min' contains the Chinese character 閩 'Min', which is an offensive and pejorative word. It means 'savages' or 'barbarians' according to Chinese classical dictionaries *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì* (說文解字) by Xǔ Shèn (許慎) and *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì Zhù* (說文解字注) by Duàn Yù Cǎi (段玉裁). It was the term used by the officials in northern China, where was the political center of ancient China. Although the term 'Min' have been used for a thousand years to refer to Hokkien, it does not mean that it is still appropriate today. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of UN of 1948 it was stated that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. How can we use such a pejorative and insulting term to refer to a modern people?

Secondly, 'Taiwanese' is the traditional term which has been used for more than one hundred years in society in Taiwan. It is used not only by the Taiwanese people, but also by the Chinese people in Taiwan. For example, Lian Heng (連橫), grandfather of KMT's former chairperson Lian Chian (連戰), published a book entitled as *Etymology of Taiwanese Language* (台灣語典) in 1933. In addition, a book entitled as *Taiwanese Dialect Symbols* (台語方音符號) was published

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<sup>24</sup> The videos on the protest are viewable with keyword '送蛇到教育部' (sent snakes to MOE) on Youtube, or at <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GdkkAobYkFQ>>, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yuWDOQqBIV4>>, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9D0EGCC4zHM>> Their relevant news reports are available at <<http://hongtintgb.pixnet.net/blog/post/277018-090729>> 「反對閩南語歧視稱呼」新聞連結2> and <<https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/nihonnokoe/conversations/messages/1555>>

by the Provincial Council for National Language Promotion in 1955. Also, *Taiwanese Conversions in Phonetic Symbols* (注音台語會話) was published by the Ministry of National Defense in 1958. They all used the term Taiwanese in these books. The term was not replaced by ‘Southern Min’ until the 1960s when the KMT tried to strengthen their assimilation policy. That is, force the Taiwanese people to identify themselves as Chinese rather than as Taiwanese.

To give readers a better idea of how different names are preferred and used in Taiwan, search results using Google Taiwan, dated on July 23, 2014, of different names (in Han characters) are provided in Table 1. It reveals that 台灣話 or Taiwanese Language was the most popular one with 20.6 million items found on Google. It was even higher than Chinese except Beijinghua in number. 台語 or Taiwanese was the second largest in number. 閩南語 or Southern Min is the fourth one and accounted only 1.1 million. This shows that Taiwanese language is the most favored name by the Taiwanese people.

Table 1. Searching results of different names by Google Taiwan (2014/7/23)

|         |                     |                           |                 |                       |                    |                      |
|---------|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Names   | 台灣話<br>(Taiwanese1) | 台語<br>(Taiwanese2)        | 鶴佬話<br>(Ho-lo1) | 閩南語<br>(Southern Min) | 河洛話<br>(Ho-lo2)    | 福佬話<br>(Ho-lo3)      |
| Results | 20,600,000          | 3,420,000                 | 2,180,000       | 1,100,000             | 978,000            | 432,000              |
| Name    | 北京話<br>(Beijinghua) | 國語<br>(National Language) | 華語<br>(Huayu)   | 漢語<br>(Hanyu)         | 普通話<br>(Putonghua) | 中國話<br>(Zhongquahua) |
| Results | 32,900,000          | 6,650,000                 | 4,500,000       | 4,140,000             | 1,790,000          | 1,410,000            |

Thirdly, ‘Taiwanese’ is simply a proper noun rather than an abbreviation of “languages in Taiwan.” ADTSM pointed out that Hakka, Formosan Austronesian languages and Taiwanese are all native languages in Taiwan. It does not necessarily mean that Taiwanese is the only native language in Taiwan as MOE officials and KMT legislators faulted. If their logic was correct, National Taiwan University (NTU) should be the first one to be renamed since there are

around 160 universities in Taiwan. Why is NTU the only one using ‘Taiwan’? In addition, aboriginal people such as ‘Seedig’ and ‘Tao’ should both be renamed because the terms all mean ‘people’ in their languages. How can they use the name ‘people’ since they are not the only people in Taiwan!?

Fourthly, there are also Hakka people living in the so-called ‘Southern Min’ areas, such as Chiau-an (詔安) and Lam-cheng (南靖) in southern Hokkien, China. In MOE officials’ logic, the term ‘Southern Min’ should not be used either!

Fifthly, the so-called Southern Min language is not limited to the southern Hokkien areas, but is also spoken in the eastern part of Canton, especially in the areas of Tio Soan<sup>n</sup> (潮汕) and Hai Liok Hong (海陸豐). Following the officials’ logic, the term ‘Southern Min’ would exclude the speakers in eastern Canton.

The sixth reason is that, in practice, none of the Taiwanese promoters asserted that Hakka and Formosan Austronesian languages are not languages of Taiwan. For example, in the case of the National Museum of Taiwan Literature, Taiwanese as well as Hakka and Formosan Austronesian languages were all included in the Exhibition on Vernacular Literature in Native Languages of Taiwan. How could we say Taiwanese promoters were narrow-minded?

Seventhly, the right to use one’s own name in one’s own language is an important issue recognized by international organizations. For example, in the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights of 1996 is found the statement that “all language communities have the right to preserve and use their own system of proper names in all spheres and on all occasions,” in article 31; and “all language communities have the right to refer to themselves by the name used in their own language. Any translation into other languages must avoid ambiguous or pejorative denominations”, in article 33. The term ‘Taiwanese’ has been widely used for more than a hundred years in Taiwan. Therefore, ROC regime should respect it.

## 5. Solutions and conclusions

A name referring to an ethnic group could be given by members of the group themselves, or by neighboring ethnic groups. In the past, the reference was more frequently given by other people. It would be acceptable if the name is a neutral term without any discriminatory intent. For example, the term ‘Tâi-oân’ was originally given by new settlers to refer to the tiny area of An-pêng, where the indigenous Siraya tribe resided (Ong 1993b:17). Later on it was expanded to refer to the whole territory of Taiwan, and the suffix ‘lâng’ (people) was added as ‘Tâi-oân-lâng’ to refer to the Taiwanese.

On the contrary, the ethnic name is neither appropriate nor acceptable if it contains pejorative denominations, such as ‘hoan-á’ and ‘Min’ as mentioned above. In this case, it is best to respect the way members of an ethnic group use “to refer to themselves by the name used in their own language” as declared in the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights.

In the case of ‘Southern Min,’ it is definitely not appropriate to be used any more since it contains a pejorative meaning. I propose that ‘Lán-lâng-ōe’ (咱人話) be used to refer to all language varieties spoken in southern Hokkien, eastern Canton, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippine, Vietnam, Thailand and other places, which were formerly considered as ‘Southern Min’ speaking areas. ‘Lán-lâng’ literally means ‘our people’ or ‘we as human beings,’ referring to the ethnic name. A suffix ‘ōe’ (language) is added as ‘Lán-lâng-ōe’ to refer to its language. Actually, the term ‘Lán-lâng-ōe’ is not a brand new one but has been used by ‘Hokkien’ speakers in Philippine for a long time.

While ‘Lán-lâng-ōe’ is assigned to refer to the language family, particular local terms can also be given to its varieties in particular areas, as long as their speakers agree with the practice. For example, ‘Tâi-gí’ or ‘Tâi-oân-ōe’ (Taiwanese) is given to specify the varieties spoken in Taiwan, and ‘Pin-siâ<sup>n</sup>-ōe’ or ‘Pinang-ōe’ refer to the varieties spoken in Penang, Malaysia. Further, ‘Tâi-gí-lâng’ is given as an ethnic name to the speakers of Tâi-gí, and ‘Pin-siâ<sup>n</sup>-lâng’ to the speakers of

Pin-siâ<sup>n</sup>-ōe.

Someone may suggest that ‘Hô-ló,’ ‘Hō-ló’ or ‘Hok-ló’ be used instead of Taiwanese. However, they cannot represent the characteristics of Taiwan. ‘Hô-ló,’ ‘Hō-ló’ and ‘Hok-ló’ are merely spellings of varieties spoken in different areas. In Taiwan, they were not widely and commonly known until the 1990s when the language revival movement became a hot issue. It was usually the name used by Hakka people to refer to Taiwanese speaking people. For those Taiwanese speakers who do not live near Hakka communities, they might have never heard this word. For example, the famous Taiwanese linguist Ông Iòk-tek (1924-1985), who was born in Tainan, had never heard of ‘Hô-ló’ until he went to university in Taipei in the 1940s (Ong 2002:185).

‘Hô-ló’ may be written in different Han characters and different scholars have interpreted as having different etymological meanings. However, there is no consensus yet. One assumption was 河洛 (Lim 1991:7-8), which means the plains between the Yellow River and the Lok River (洛水) in China. It was said that Hô-ló people were originally from these areas. The second assumption, raised by Ang Ui-jin (1987:148), asserted that the Han characters should be 貉獠, which was one tribe of the Hundred Yue (越族) in southeast China. Thirdly, Kho Kek-tun (1992:10-14) asserted that it might be 福佬, which means the people from Hokkien province.

According to *Taiwanese-Japanese Encyclopedic Dictionary* (Ogawa 1931:829), ‘Hô-ló’ and 福佬 were recorded and it means the ‘pejorative’ name given by the Cantonese to refer to people from Hokkien. In addition, missionaries Samuel Wells Williams (1874:ix) and Kennelly (1908:207) both pointed out that ‘Hoklo’ was the name referring to ‘Swataw<sup>25</sup>’ (汕頭) people by local Cantonese people. The name was later written in different varieties of Han characters, such as 學老, 福猪, or 福佬. In Canton, in addition to Cantonese, there are also Hakka and the so-called ‘Southern Min’ speakers. Teochew (潮州) and Swataw speakers

<sup>25</sup> Original spelling by S. W. Williams (1874).

mainly reside in eastern part of Canton. They were traditionally considered as a branch of ‘Southern Min’ because they were descended from Chiang-chiu, Hokkien (Ong 1987:13-15).

All the facts have shown that Hakka people used to assign the name ‘Hoklo’ to ‘Hokkien descendants in Canton.’ Once the Hakka immigrated to Taiwan, they kept using the name to refer to Taiwanese speakers who were mainly descended from Hokkien. However, the population of Hakka accounts for only 12%, and they are limited to certain areas. Therefore, the name ‘Hoklo’ is not widely known by the Taiwanese speakers except those who have frequent contacts with Hakka.

In short, ‘Taiwanese’ is probably the best ethnolinguistic name to refer to the language spoken by Tâi-gí speakers in Taiwan. Further, ‘Southern Min’ should be replaced by ‘Lán-lâng-ōē’ from a broader perspective to refer to all speech varieties spoken in China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asian countries.

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## Appendix I: Dictionaries relevant to Taiwanese.

| Year published | Titles                                                                                                                                                          | Editors                         | LG written      | Given names | Places    | publishers                                       |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1837           | Dictionary of the Hok-keen Dialect of the Chinese Languages, According to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms (福建方言字典)                                            | W. H. Medhurst (麥都思)            | 閩南語、英語          | 福建話         | 澳門        | Honorable East India Company (英國東印度公司)           |
| 1838           | A vocabulary of the Hok-keen Dialect as spoken in the county of Tsheang-tshew (漳州語彙)                                                                            | S. Dyer                         | 漳州話、英語          | 福建漳州話       | Malacca   | Anglo-Chinese College Press                      |
| 1853           | Anglo-Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect (翻譯英華廈腔語彙)                                                                                   | Elihu Doty (羅啞)                 | 廈門話、英語          | 廈門話         | 廣州        | S. Wells Williams                                |
| 1866           | A Vocabulary of the Hokkien Dialect, as Spoken at Amoy and Singapore                                                                                            | J.A. Winn                       | 閩南語、英語          | 福建話         | 新加坡       |                                                  |
| 1873           | Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy (廈英大辭典)                                                                                 | Carstairs Douglas (杜嘉德)         | 廈門話、英語          | 廈門話         | 倫敦        | Missionary of the Presbyterian Church in England |
| 1874           | A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language; Arranged According to the Wu-Fang Yuen Yin, with the Pronunciations of Peking, Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai (漢英韻府) | S.W. Williams (衛三畏)             | 北京話、廣東話、廈門話、上海話 | 廈門話         | 上海        | 上海長老教會                                           |
| 1882           | Chineesch-Hollandsh Voordenboek van het Emoi Dialect (廈荷辭典)                                                                                                     | J.J.C Franken & C.F.M. de Grijs | 廈門話、荷蘭話         | 廈門話         | Bata-via  | Landsdrukkerij                                   |
| 1882-1890      | Nederlandsch-Chineesch Woorden Book Met de Transcriptie der Chineesche Karaters in het Tsiang-tsiu Dialect (荷華文語類參)                                             | Gustave.Schlegel                | 漳州話、荷蘭話         | 漳州話         | 荷蘭 Leiden | E.J.Brill                                        |
| 1883           | English and Chinese Dictionary of the Amoy Dialect (英廈辭典)                                                                                                       | John Macgowan                   | 英語、廈門話          | 廈門話         | 倫敦        | Fruber& Co                                       |

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|                        |                                                                                                                                               |                                             |              |          |    |                                             |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|--------------|----------|----|---------------------------------------------|
| 1874 完<br>成、1891<br>出版 | Chinese Romanized<br>Dictionary of the<br>Formosan Vernacular<br>(中西字典)                                                                       | George L. Makay<br>(馬偕)                     | 廈門話、<br>英語   | Formosa  | 上海 | 台北耶穌聖教<br>會                                 |
| 1894                   | Ē-m̄ng-im ê jī-tián<br>(廈門音 ê 字典)                                                                                                             | John Talmange<br>(打馬字)                      | 廈門話          | 廈門話      | 廈門 | 鼓浪嶼萃經堂                                      |
| 1898                   | 日臺小字典                                                                                                                                         | 上田萬年、<br>小川尚義                               | 台語、日語        | 台灣語      | 台北 | 總督府                                         |
| 1900                   | Diccionario Tónico<br>Sino-Espanol, Del<br>Dialecto de Emoy,<br>Chiang-chiu,<br>Choan-chiu Formosa                                            | R.P.Fr. Ramon<br>Colomer                    | 閩南語、<br>西班牙語 | Formosa  | 廈門 | 鼓浪嶼萃經堂                                      |
| 1904                   | 日臺新辭典                                                                                                                                         | 杉房之助                                        | 台語、日語        | 台灣語      | 台北 | 日本物產合資<br>會社                                |
| 1907                   | 日臺大辭典                                                                                                                                         | 小川尚義                                        | 台語、日語        | 台灣語      | 台北 | 總督府                                         |
| 1908                   | 日臺小辭典                                                                                                                                         | 小川尚義                                        | 台語、日語        | 台灣語      | 東京 | 大日本圖書株<br>式會社                               |
| 1913                   | 廈門音新字典(A<br>Dictionary of the Amoy<br>Vernacular Spoken<br>Throughout the<br>Prefectures of Chin-chiu<br>Chiang-chiu and<br>Formosa (Taiwan)) | William<br>Campbell (甘為<br>霖)               | 閩南語、<br>英語   | Formosa  | 台南 | 台灣教會公報<br>社                                 |
| 1923                   | Supplement to<br>Dictionary of the<br>Vernacular or Spoken<br>Language of Amoy<br>(廈英大辭典補編)                                                   | Thomas Barclay<br>(巴克禮)                     | 閩南語、<br>英語   | 廈門話      | 上海 | 台南長老教會                                      |
| 1931                   | 臺日新辭書                                                                                                                                         | 東方孝義                                        | 台語、日語        | 台灣語      | 台北 | 總督府                                         |
| 1931-1932              | 臺日大辭典(上)(下)                                                                                                                                   | 小川尚義                                        | 台語、日語        | 台灣語      | 台北 | 總督府                                         |
| 1932                   | 臺日小辭典                                                                                                                                         | 小川尚義                                        | 台語、日語        | 台灣語      | 台北 | 總督府                                         |
| 1938                   | 新訂日臺大辭典(上)                                                                                                                                    | 小川尚義                                        | 台語、日語        | 台灣語      | 台北 | 總督府                                         |
| 1946                   | 國臺音萬字典                                                                                                                                        | 二樹庵、<br>詹鎮卿                                 | 華語、台語        | 臺語       | 嘉義 | 蘭記                                          |
| 1954                   | 增補彙音寶鑑                                                                                                                                        | 沈富進                                         | 台語           | 台語       | 斗六 | 文藝學社                                        |
| 1957                   | 臺灣語常用語彙                                                                                                                                       | 王育德                                         | 台語、日語        | 台灣語      | 東京 | 永和語學社                                       |
| 1957                   | 台灣語典                                                                                                                                          | 連橫                                          | 台語、文言        | 台灣語      | 台北 | 中華叢書編審<br>委員會                               |
| 1969                   | 閩南語國語對照常用辭<br>典                                                                                                                               | 蔡培火                                         | 閩南語、<br>華語   | 閩南語      | 台北 | 正中                                          |
| 1970                   | 漢英台灣方言辭典                                                                                                                                      | 陳嘉德                                         | 台語、英語        | 台灣方<br>言 | 臺北 | 南天                                          |
| 1971                   | A Dictionary of<br>Southern Min                                                                                                               | Bernard L.M.<br>Embree                      | 台語、英語        | 閩南語      |    |                                             |
| 1976                   | 中國閩南語英語字典<br>(Amoy-English<br>Dictionary)                                                                                                     | The Maryknoll<br>Language<br>Service Center | 台語、英語        | 閩南語      | 台中 | The Maryknoll<br>Language<br>Service Center |

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|      |                                      |                                             |                  |                    |    |                                             |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|----|---------------------------------------------|
| 1979 | 英廈辭典<br>(English-Amoy<br>Dictionary) | The Maryknoll<br>Language<br>Service Center | 英語、台語            | 閩南語                | 台中 | The Maryknoll<br>Language<br>Service Center |
| 1980 | 臺語辭典                                 | 徐金松                                         | 台語               | 臺語                 | 台北 | 南天                                          |
| 1981 | 現代閩南語辭典                              | 村上嘉英                                        | 閩南語、<br>日語       | 閩南語                | 日本 | 天理大學                                        |
| 1984 | 普通話閩南方言詞典                            | 黃典誠 etc                                     | 普通話、<br>閩南語      | 閩南語                | 廈門 | 廈門大學                                        |
| 1986 | 綜合閩南方言基本字典                           | 吳守禮                                         | 閩南語、<br>華語       | 閩南語                | 台北 | 文史哲                                         |
| 1986 | 台灣禮俗語典                               | 洪惟仁                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語、閩<br>南語、鶴<br>佬語 | 台北 | 自立                                          |
| 1991 | 簡明台語字典                               | 林央敏                                         | 台語               | 台語                 | 台北 | 前衛                                          |
| 1991 | 台灣話大詞典                               | 陳修                                          | 台語、華語            | 台灣話                | 台北 | 遠流                                          |
| 1992 | 台語大字典                                | 魏南安                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 自立晚報                                        |
| 1991 | 國台音彙音寶典                              | 陳成福                                         | 華語、台語            | 台語                 | 台南 | 西北                                          |
| 1992 | 常用漢字臺語詞典                             | 許極燉                                         | 台語               | 臺語                 | 台北 | 自立晚報                                        |
| 1992 | 台灣漢語辭典                               | 許成章                                         | 臺語、華語            | 漢語                 | 台北 | 自立晚報                                        |
| 1992 | 國台雙語辭典                               | 楊青矗                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 敦理                                          |
| 1994 | 分類臺語小辭典                              | 胡鑫麟                                         | 台語               | 臺語                 | 台北 | 自立晚報                                        |
| 1994 | 實用臺語小字典                              | 胡鑫麟                                         | 台語               | 臺語                 | 台北 | 自立晚報                                        |
| 1995 | 蘭記臺語字典                               | 二樹庵、<br>詹鎮卿                                 | 華語、台語            | 臺語                 | 嘉義 | 蘭記                                          |
| 1996 | 實用華語臺語對照典                            | 邱文錫、陳憲國                                     | 華語、台語            | 臺語                 | 台北 | 樟樹                                          |
| 1997 | 台語語彙辭典                               | 楊青矗                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 敦理                                          |
| 1997 | 台灣俗諺語典                               | 陳主顯                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 前衛                                          |
| 1998 | 台華字典                                 | 陳慶洲陳宇勳                                      | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 陳慶洲                                         |
| 1998 | 福全台諺語典                               | 徐福全                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 徐福全                                         |
| 1998 | 常用漢字台語詞典                             | 許極燉                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 前衛                                          |
| 1999 | 實用臺灣諺語典                              | 陳憲國、邱文錫                                     | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 樟樹                                          |
| 2000 | 台語字彙                                 | 王王辰                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 萬人                                          |
| 2000 | 國臺對照活用辭典                             | 吳守禮                                         | 華語、台語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 遠流                                          |
| 2001 | 台灣閩南語辭典                              | 國立編譯館                                       | 閩南語、<br>華語       | 台灣閩<br>南語          | 台北 | 五南                                          |
| 2001 | 台語俗語辭典                               | 楊青矗                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 敦理                                          |
| 2001 | Taiwanese-English<br>Dictionary      | The Maryknoll<br>Language<br>Service Center | 台語、<br>華語、<br>英語 | 台語                 | 台中 | The Maryknoll<br>Language<br>Service Center |
| 2002 | 新編華台語對照典                             | 邱文錫、陳憲國                                     | 華語、台語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 樟樹                                          |
| 2002 | 普實台華詞典                               | 邱豔菱、莊勝雄                                     | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台中 | 台灣語文研究<br>社                                 |
| 2002 | 台灣彙音字典                               | 謝達鈿                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台中 | 謝達鈿                                         |
| 2003 | 台語實用字典                               | 董峰政                                         | 台語               | 台語                 | 台南 | 百合文化                                        |
| 2003 | 通用台語字典                               | 吳崑松                                         | 台語、華語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 南天                                          |
| 2004 | 新編台日大辭典                              | 王順隆                                         | 台語、日語            | 台語                 | 台北 | 王順隆                                         |

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|      |                                                                                    |                                             |                   |     |    |                                             |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------|-----|----|---------------------------------------------|
| 2004 | 國語台語對比辭典                                                                           | 陳成福                                         | 華語、台語             | 台語  | 台南 | 建利書局                                        |
| 2005 | 台語音外來語辭典                                                                           | 張光裕                                         | 台語、華語             | 台語  | 台中 | 雙語                                          |
| 2005 | 國語臺語綜合字典                                                                           | 陳成福                                         | 華語、台語             | 台語  | 台南 | 大正書局                                        |
| 2007 | 東方台灣語辭典                                                                            | 村上嘉英                                        | 台語、日語             | 台灣語 | 東京 | 東方書店                                        |
| 2007 | 重編新訂日台大辭典<br>上卷                                                                    | 王順隆                                         | 日語、台語             | 台語  | 台北 | 王順隆                                         |
| 2007 | 高階標準臺語字典                                                                           | 陳冠學                                         | 台語、華語             | 台語  | 台北 | 前衛                                          |
| 2009 | 甘為霖台語字典<br>KamUî-lîm Tâi-gúJī-tián<br>(William Campbell's<br>Taiwanese Dictionary) | William Campbell<br>(甘為霖)                   | 台語、<br>閩南語、<br>英語 | 台語  | 台南 | 台灣教會公報<br>社                                 |
| 2009 | 台語白話小詞典                                                                            | 張裕宏                                         | 台語、華語             | 台語  | 台南 | 亞細亞國際傳<br>播社                                |
| 2009 | 福爾摩莎語言文化詞典                                                                         | 張宏宇                                         | 台語、<br>華語、<br>英語  | 台語  | 台北 | 文鶴                                          |
| 2011 | 全民台語認證語詞分級<br>寶典                                                                   | 蔣為文                                         | 台語、華語             | 台語  | 台南 | 亞細亞國際傳<br>播社                                |
| 2011 | 實用台語詞典                                                                             | 盧廣誠                                         | 台語、華語             | 台語  | 台北 | 文水藝文                                        |
| 2012 | 精解台語漢字詞典                                                                           | 王華南                                         | 台語、華語             | 台語  | 台北 | 文水藝文                                        |
| 2013 | English-Taiwanese<br>Dictionary                                                    | The Maryknoll<br>Language<br>Service Center | 英語、<br>台語、<br>華語  | 台語  | 台中 | The Maryknoll<br>Language<br>Service Center |

\*This inventory was updated by Wi-vu Taiffalo Chiung with some references from Ang (1996) (2014/7/27 updated).

Major Han characters with English translation:

福建話 Hokkien language

閩南話 Southern Min

漳州 Chiang-chiu

泉州 Choan-chiu

廈門 Amoy

台語/臺語/台灣語/台灣話 Taiwanese

華語 Mandarin Chinese

鶴佬 Ho-lo, Hoklo

英語 English

日語 Japanese



**Book Review:**  
Chua Beng Huat's  
“Taiwan’s Future/Singapore’s Past:  
Hokkien Films in Between,”  
in *Life is not Complete without Shopping:  
Consumption Culture in Singapore*

Peter KANG

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Pôe-tek KHNG

Kok-lip Tong-hôa Tâi-hâk Tâi-oân Bûn-hôa Hâk-hê



“Taiwan’s Future/Singapore’s Past: Hokkien Films in Between” sī Chhòa Bêng-hoat (Chua Beng Huat 蔡明發) kàu-siū siu tī-leh i 2003 nî Sin-ka-pho Tâi-hâk chhut-pán ê *Life is not Complete without Shopping: Consumption Culture in Singapore* chit-pún lûn-bûn-chip lâi-bīn, ûi-it ū thó-lûn tiòh lán-lâng-ōe ê bûn-chiu<sup>n</sup>. Chhòa Bêng-hoat ê hâk-sút pōe-kéng sī siā-hōe-hâk; pún-té tī tâi-hâk sī-tâi òh seng-bùt hām hòà-hâk, gián-kiù-só sī chiah choán thâk siā-hōe-hâk; hiân-chú-sí sī Sin-ka-pho Tâi-hâk Siā-hōe-hê

kiam A-chiu gián-kiù-ī<sup>n</sup> (Asia Research Institute) ê kàu-siū.

“Taiwan’s Future/Singapore’s Past” chú-iàu iōng Sin-ka-pho tō-ián Niū Tì-kiông (Neo Chee Keong Jack 梁智強) tī 1998 nî chhut-phín ê Chī<sup>n</sup> bô-kàu-iōng (錢不夠用 / *Money No Enough*) kah Tâi-oân tō-ián Gô Liām-chin (吳念真) tī 1996 nî chhut-phín ê Thài-pêng thian-kok (太平天國 / *Buddha Bless America*) chit 2 chhut tiān-ia<sup>n</sup>, hun-

piát tãi-piáu Sin-ka-pho kah Tãi-oân ê lán-lâng-ōe tiān-ia<sup>n</sup>, thó-lūn lán-lâng-ōe tī chit n̄ng-ê kok-ka ê tãi-chiòng gû-lòk sán-giáp lâi-bīn ê bûn-hòa tē-ūi.

Chhòa Bêng-hoat seng kán-tan siāu-kài Sin-ka-pho kah Tãi-oân jī-chhù sè-kài tãi-chiàn í-lâi ê lèk-sú pōe-kéng, cheng-tī kah gí-giân ê koan-hē, i jīn-ūi chit n̄ng-ê só-chhāi ê cheng-koân tui lán-lâng-ōe lóng chhī hū-bīn ê thāi-tō. M̄-koh, chok-chiá liáh-chò Tãi-oân in-ūi kóng Tãi-gí ê lāng chiām tōa-to-sò, só-í lán-lâng-ōe tī Tãi-oân ê hoat-tián, pēng bô in-ūi Tiong-kok Kok-bīn-tóng cheng-koân ê kim-chí kah ap-chè soah-lâi choát-lō, hoán-tò-túg sī piàn-chò tui-khòng Tiong-kok Kok-bīn-tóng ê Tiong-hôa-bīn-kok, iáh-sī pi<sup>n</sup>-puih Tiong-kok Kiōng-sán-tóng ê Tiong-hôa-jīn-bīn Kiōng-hô-kok ê bīn-chòk ūn-tōng ê chit-hāng bûn-hòa sîn-chú-pâi (pp. 165, 172). Tī Sin-ka-pho, lán-lâng-ōe in-ūi ài kah Kúg-tang-gí keng-cheng, lēng-gōa koh siū-tiòh chiàn-cheng Tiong-kok bīn-chòk-chú-gī ūn-tōng ê éng-hióng, hō Sin-ka-pho ê Hok-kiàn-lāng āu-tāi chin-chá tiòh óa tui Hôa-gí kàu-iòk. Tòk-líp kiàn-kok liáu-āu ê Sin-ka-pho cheng-hú koh í Eng-gí siōng-tōa, sī só-ū kok-bīn ê kiōng-tōng-gí; Hôa-gí chò Tng-soa<sup>n</sup> í-bīn āu-tāi ê kiōng-tōng-gí, lán-lâng-ōe sī hō cheng-hú chē-ap ê tui-siōng. Lán-lâng-ōe tī Sin-ka-pho bé-á soah piàn-chò tòe-bē-tiòh keng-chè kah bûn-hòa hoat-tián ê lòk-ngó gí-giân, piàn-sēng sī hō sin-heng tiong-sán-kai-kip khòa<sup>n</sup> bē-khí ê kē-chân iōng-gí (p. 167).

Chhòa Bêng-hoat iōng chit n̄ng-chhut tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> lâi ê jīn-bút kak-sek chò-lē, soat-bêng lán-lâng-ōe tī Sin-ka-pho í-keng piàn-chò siā-hōe kē-chân jīn-kháu sú-iōng ê gí-giân chit-ê sū-sit. Chit-ê hiān-siōng mā hoán-èng tī tãi-chiòng gû-lòk mui-thé lâi-bīn. Ūi-tiòh beh cheng-bêng lán-lâng-ōe tī Sin-ka-pho tãi-chiòng gû-lòk mui-thé lâi ê tē-ūi, Chhòa Bêng-hoat koh kú pát-ê lē lâi soat-bêng, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> Khu Kim-hái (Eric Khoo 邱金海) 1995 nī chhut-phín ê *Bē pók-mī ê lāng* (Mek Pok Man), iáh-sī Tông Éng-kiàn (Kelvin Tong 唐永健) 1999 nī chhut-phín ê *Chiáh-hong* (吃風/ Eating Air),<sup>1</sup> chit n̄ng chhut tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> lâi-bīn kóng lán-lâng-ōe ê kak-sek, lóng-sī khiā-tī siā-hōe lím-kī<sup>n</sup> iáh-sī pi<sup>n</sup>-ián ê jīn-bút (p. 161).

Tãi-oân chit-pêng, chok-chiá iōng *Thài-pêng thian-kok* chit-chhut tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> chò-lē,

<sup>1</sup> *Chiáh-hong* sī Sin-ka-pho kah Má-lâi-se-a lán-lâng-ōe tèk-piát ê chhāi-tē gí-sū, ì-sù téng-í Tãi-gí ê *chhit-thô*; khi koan-kong, khi iū-lám mā ē-sái kóng-sī khi *chiáh-hong*. *Chiáh-hong chhū* kó-chá tãi-piáu Áng-mô-lāng (Eng-kok-lāng) tòa ê iū<sup>n</sup>-lâu, chit-má iōng-lâi chí piát-chong.

soat-bêng lán-lâng-ōe tī Tâi-oân iū-koh-sī kui-chng jîn-kháu tók-it sú-iōng ê jí-giân, pēng-bô siū-tiòh Tiong-kok Kok-bîn-tóng cheng-koân ê kim-iōng kah kî-sī soah-lâi bô-khì. Lán-lâng-ōe tī Tâi-oân ê pó-chûn kah hoat-tián pí-khí tī Sin-ka-pho koh-khah ū iá<sup>n</sup>-bīn.

Tâi-oân thók-chiá it-poa<sup>n</sup> sī bē jīn-tōng Chhòa Bêng-hoat tùi Tâi-gí hoat-tián ê kóng-hoat. Chok-chiá iōng ê lē, *Thài-pēng thian-kok* chit-chhut tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> ê lèk-sú pōe-kéng sī 1960 nî-tāi ê Tâi-oân, siōng òa<sup>n</sup> mā-bē òa<sup>n</sup> kòe 1970 nî-tāi chhō-kî Bí-kok kah Oát-lâm ê chiàn-cheng siu-soah. Hit tong-sī Tiong-kok Kok-bîn-tóng lâi Tâi-oân iah bē chhiau-kòe 30 tang, sng-sī kan-na thóng-tī Tâi-oân chit-tāi, chhan-chhiū<sup>n</sup> 400 gōa tang chêng thóng-tī kòe Tâi-oân ê Hô-lân Tang-ìn-tō kong-si kâng-khoán. Koh-chài-kóng, tã-chiòng mùi-thé tùi Tâi-gí ê choân-bīn chè-ap, sī 1970 nî-tāi chia<sup>n</sup> khai-sí ê tã-chi. Chhòa Bêng-hoat iōng ê Sin-ka-pho tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> ê lē, lóng-sī 1990 nî-tāi ê kò-sū pōe-kéng, nn̄g-ê cheng-chha jī sa<sup>n</sup> cháp tang, pîn-liáh-chún it-tēng ē-ū pí-kàu kah thui-lūn siōng ê oai-chhoáh. Sui-bóng chok-chiá oân-kó ê sí-kan sī 1990 nî-tāi, mā-ū ka-jip i tùi 1990 nî-tāi chhō-kî Tâi-oân cheng-tī ūn-tōng ê koan-chhat sim-tek; m̄-koh, chok-chiá só kú ê cheng-tī ūn-tōng ê lē, pēng bô-hoat-tō giah-khui hit tang-chūn Tâi-oân siā-hōe tī kong-khai tiū<sup>n</sup>-só ê Tâi-gí sú-iōng, cha-pō-lâng kah cha-bó-lâng í-keng ū chin-tōa ê chha-pia<sup>t</sup>, lāu-bú tùi kiá<sup>n</sup>-jī sī-sè ê kàu-iók í-keng òa<sup>n</sup>-tng iōng Hôa-gí chò chú-liú. Siōng-tiōng-iàu ê sī, hit-sī-chūn kui-ê siā-hōe tùi Tâi-gí kàu-iók pēng-bô kè-siók kian-chhī kàu-té, bô chhan-chhiū<sup>n</sup> chok-chiá só-kóng--ê, lán-lâng-ōe pián-séng Tâi-oân tùi-khòng gōa-lâi cheng-koân iah-sī Tiong-kok bîn-chók chú-gī ê bûn-hòa kang-kū kah tô-thêng.

In-ūi Chhòa Bêng-hoat sī iōng siā-hōe-hák ê kak-tō thó-lūn bûn-hòa hiān-siōng, tùi siū<sup>n</sup>-beh liáu-kái lán-lâng-ōe sú-iōng siōng-sè chêng-hêng ê thók-chiá lâi kóng khó-lêng ē tām-póh-á sit-bōng. Nā-sī siū<sup>n</sup>-beh tùi siā-hōe jí-giân-hák kak-tō, liáu-kái bô-kâng kok-ka tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> lâi-bīn kóng lán-lâng-ōe ê jīn-bút kak-sek pí-kàu gián-kiù, kî-sit ē-sái chham-khó Phoa<sup>n</sup> Hūi-hôa (潘惠華) 2013 nî tī Tâi-oân Su-hoân-tāi-hák Tâi-oân jí-bûn-hē chhut-pán ê *Tâi-oân hák-chi* (台灣學誌 / Monumenta Taiwamica) tē-peh-kî lâi-bīn, hoat-piáu ê “Tâi Sin nng-tè bân-lâm-gú tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> ê jí-giân sú-iōng hiān-siōng thàm-thó: í ‘Tīn-thâu’ kah ‘Gín-á bô gōng’ ūi-lē” (台、新兩地閩南語電影的語言使用現象探討：以《陣頭》、《小孩不笨》為例). Bûn-chiu<sup>n</sup> tùi siā-hōe jí-giân-hák ê kak-

tō hun-sek tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> lāi-bīn bô-kâng ê jīn-būt kak-sek lán-lâng-ōe sú-iōng chêng-hêng, tiòh ū koh-khah iù-lō̍ ê hun-sek kah thó-lūn.<sup>2</sup>

Sui-bóng ū kú-lē pí-kàu hong-bīn ê sit-gō, m̄-koh Chhòa Bêng-hoat chit-phi<sup>n</sup> lūn-būn lāi-té ū chit-kóa iōng-sú sú-iōng chin sim-sek, ū khòa kok-kài ê lán-lâng-ōe bô-kâng iōng-sú ê sú-iōng siāu-kài. Chhan-chhiū<sup>n</sup> *soa<sup>n</sup>-ku* (soanh goo, hill tortoises), tī Tâi-gí lāi-bīn kan-na chí tòa-tī soa<sup>n</sup>-lāi ē chiáh chōa ê ku, tī Sin-ka-pho chit-ê jí-sú soah cheng-ka bô-kâng ê ì-sù, tãi-piáu tòa-tī chng-kha kan-na thia<sup>n</sup>-ū lán-lâng-ōe ê lāng (p. 171). Chhòa Bêng-hoat iōng *soa<sup>n</sup>-ku* lāi hêng-iōng *Thài-pêng thian-kok* chit-chhut tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> lāi-bīn ê chng-kha-lāng, tui Tâi-oân thók-chiá kóng--lāi eng-kai sī bô-kâng ê thé-giām. Koh-chài iōng Sin-ka-pho lán-lâng-ōe ê giát-á-ōe chò-lē, Chhòa Bêng-hoat kú *tē-ne* (teh-nee, tea with milk) chit-ê lē, *tē-ne* thia<sup>n</sup>--khí-lāi hām *tē<sup>n</sup>-ne* (breast squeezed) sió-khóa kâng, m̄-koh ì-sù chha chin-chē (p. 161). Tâi-gí bô *tē-ne* chit-chióng kóng-hoat, nā-beh tiòh kiò-chò *leng-tē* (milk tea), só-í chit-ê Sin-ka-pho lán-lâng-ōe ê òe-jīn, tui Tâi-oân thók-chiá kóng--lāi sī sin-ê keng-giām.<sup>3</sup>

Chéng-thé kóng--lāi, Chhòa Bêng-hoat tui tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> lāi-bīn kóng lán-lâng-ōe kak-sek ê pí-kàu khah óa biâu-sút sèng, tui lán-lâng-ōe tī Thài-phêng-iū<sup>n</sup> chiàn-cheng liáu-āu tī sè-kài bô-kâng só-chai hoat-tián ê lèk-sú chêng-hêng, bô Jeremy E. Taylor tī 2011 nî ê chheh: *Rethinking Transnational Chinese Cinemas: The Amoy-Dialect Film Industry in Cold War Asia* lāi-bīn só-kóng--ê hiah-nī iù-lō̍ koh chêng-khak, m̄-koh Chhòa Bêng-hoat tī lūn-būn chit-khai-sí siāu-kài lán-lâng-ōe ê miā-chheng chit-pò-hūn, tian-tò kóng-

<sup>2</sup> Ū chhù-bī liáu-kái Sin-ka-pho tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> lāi-bīn hui koa<sup>n</sup>-hong jí-giân sú-iōng, kah tui-khòng koa<sup>n</sup>-hong thui-sak ê kok-ka jīn-tōng, kok-ka jí-giân téng-téng gī-tê ê koan-hē, ē-sái lēng-gōa chham-khó Bí-kok Oregon tãi-hák Alison M. Groppe ê bûn-chiu<sup>n</sup>, lāi-bīn mā-ū thó-lūn Chhòa Bêng-hoat chit-phi<sup>n</sup> lūn-būn iōng-tiòh ê lē kah lūn-tiám. Alison M. Groppe, "'Singlish' and the Sinophone: Nonstandard (Chinese/English) Languages in Recent Singaporean Cinema," in Audrey Yue and Olivia Khoo, eds., *Sinophone Cinemas* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 147-168.

<sup>3</sup> Tê thàu gū-leng Tâi-gí kiò-chò *leng-tē*, tī Sin-ka-pho kah Má-lāi-se-a kiò-chò *tē-ne* (teh-nee). Tī Sin-ka-pho kah Má-lāi-se-a ê iōng-hoat, chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> lán-lâng-ōe kóng *hong-thai* kâng-khoán; chú-thé miá-sú *hong* khng-tī thâu-chêng, hêng-iōng miá-sú *thai* khng-tī āu-piah. Nā-sī kóng-chò *thai-hong*, tiòh piàn-chò hōa-gí khui-kháu ê kóng-hoat. Kī-tha ê lē, bô thàu gū-leng iah-sī thng ê ka-pi Tâi-gí kóng *σ ka-pi*, tī Sin-ka-pho kah Má-lāi-se-a kóng-chò *ka-pó σ*. Só-í Khu Kim-hái 1995 nî chhut-phín ê *Bē pók-mī ê lāng* (Mek Pok Man), kī-sit sī chiàu Tâi-gí kóng-hoat ê hoan-ék, nā chiàu tī Sin-ka-pho ê lán-lâng-ōe kóng-hoat, *pók-mī* eng-kai kiò-chò *mī-pók* (Mek Pok).

chhut chit-kóa gián-kiù lán-lâng-ōe bûn-hòa hiân-siōng ê hák-chiá bô chù-i ê só-chāi:  
“Taiwan’s Future/Singapore’s Past: Hokkien Films in Between” lūn-bûn lâi-bīn sī iōng  
Hok-kiàn-ōe (Hokkien) t̄ai-piáu lán-lâng-ōe, chok-chiá chìn-chit-pō tiám-chhut Bân-lâm  
“hong-giân” (Minnan ‘dialect’) sī Hôa-gí (Mandarin) tui lán-lâng-ōe ê gōa-lâi chheng-  
hō, m̄-sī lán-lâng-ōe goân-lâi ka-kī ê kóng-hoat; nā-sī tī Tâi-oân tiōh kiò-chò Tâi-gú  
(Taiwanese), m̄-sī Hok-kiàn-ōe iah-sī Bân-lâm-gú (p. 156).

Lán-lâng-ōe tī hiân-tāi sè-kài ê kok-ka thé-chè lâi-bīn, sng-sī gí-giân jîn-kháu  
chē, m̄-koh in-ūi bô chit-ê cheng-hú ê gí-giân iah-sī bîn-chók cheng-chhek sī tui-i chiá-  
káng chah-khùi ê, só-i i tī hiân-tāi sè-kài ê seng-chhū kah hoat-tián chin gûi-kip, tiōh  
chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> Jeremy E. Taylor tī 2011 nî ê chheh lâi só-kóng-ê kâng-khoán.

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siu.

Hù-liók: *Thài-pêng thian-kok* kap *Chi<sup>n</sup> bô-kàu-iōng* tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> hái-pò.





# Book Review: INTRODUCTION TO TAIWANESE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Ju-khai LIM

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## Chheh-phêng: CHHÙI KÓNG TÂI-GÍ CHHIÚ SIÁ TÂI-BÛN

Jū-khái LÍM

Chin-lí Tâi-hák Thong-sek-tiong-sim



Thák chit pún chheh喺講台語·手寫台文, lán siū<sup>n</sup>-kóng hun-hun loān-loān ê Tâi-gí lūn-sút theng-hó kiát-sok ah.

Part A sī Tâi-bûn Phêng-lūn. Sī Chiú<sup>n</sup> kàu-siū chiam-tùi Tâi-oân ê chú-liū Tjong-bûn tì-sek-kài gē-bûn-kài ê phoe-phòh<sup>n</sup>. Tâi-gí lāng sú-iōng Tâi-gí thia<sup>n</sup>, kóng, thák, siá cheng-tong-seng pún-tóe m̄-bián piàn-cheng. M̄-kú, pī sit-bîn ê kàu-iók thé-chè lāi-tóe, lán pī sit-bîn ê lāng soah lóng tiòh siū<sup>n</sup> kang siū<sup>n</sup> phāng lāi lūn-cheng ka-kī ê chûn-chāi kap kè-tát, nā su-iàu,

Chiú<sup>n</sup> kàu-siū í-keng lūn-sút chiok chōe ah.

Part B só kóng sī Tâi-gí kàu-hák sit-bū. Thê-kiong ki-chhó khài-liām kap Tâi-gí kàu-iók kap hák-sip ê hong-hoat sūn-sū. Siók kán-tan chheng-chhó. Hó m̄-hó, khó-sioh iah-bô phó-phiàn sit-si gián-kiù lāi giām-keh ìn-cheng. DPP ê tē-hng siú-tiú<sup>n</sup> mā kan-ta Takao Tân Kiok khah iú-siān niá. Tiòh-sī in iah bô thé-hōe Tâi-gí kàu-iók ê pit-iàu. Iú-kí Tâi-lām, beh kā Eng-gí liáh lāi chòe koa<sup>n</sup>-hong jí-giân, pún-tē jí-giân lóng bô. Chit khoán bê-loān ê siū<sup>n</sup>-hoat, chheh lāi-tóe iā ū cheng-chhái lūn-sút.

Part C sī khah chām-gâm ê hák-sút lūn-chèng. Lūn-sút hoān-ûi khah chiam-tùì Hàn-jī sú-iōng ê bê-su kap Tâi-oân bûn-hák-sú lâi-pō khiàm-khoeh ê pō-hūn. Che lán chai-ia<sup>n</sup> lóng-sī gōa-lâi sít-bīn chèng-koân thè-chè kàu-iòk só-tì. Jī-kim, tōa pō-hūn Tâi-oân bûn-hák-hē ê kàu-siū iah-sī án-ni. In ka-kī nā m̄-bat Eng-gí mā m̄-ká<sup>n</sup> kóng Eng-gí bô bûn-hák, put-jī-kò, hoan-thâu lóng kóng Tâi-gí bô bûn-hák. Chit-khoán tōa kàu-siū chū-phòk-kí-toán koh ok-khiák-khiák.

Koh lâi, siōng gâu ín-khí chhá-ke-lā-kê ê gī-tê, Tâi-gí-bûn kài 3 chióng Tâi-gí su-siá hêng-sek, té kī-kan lâi pah-sng goân-chāi bô-siá<sup>n</sup> ē ké-pi<sup>n</sup>. M̄-koh, lán chai-ia<sup>n</sup> chòe-kīn Âng Í-jīn kàu-siū ū hoat-piáu 1 phi<sup>n</sup> bûn-chiu<sup>n</sup> kóng Tâi-gí bô lô-má-jī bōe-sái-chit. Hoān-sè ē ū lú-lâi-lú chōe hiah-ê òh Tiong-bûn chhut-sin ê kàu-siū, lâu-su ē-thang hoat-hiān in ê put-chiok lâi kin-tòe.

Chiu<sup>n</sup> kàu-siū thèh Oát-lâm, Hàn-kok lâi khòa<sup>n</sup> hàn-jī kàu-iòk tùi in pún-tē lāng ê sok-pák kap misleading. Pháng lāng ē kóng in pún-tòe tiòh bô káng chòk, ah nā lán Tâi-oân lāng sī Hàn-jīn tiòh kángchòk chit khoán khòa<sup>n</sup>-hoat. Che iā-sī chheh lâi-tòe beh khui-phòh ê tōa bê-su.

Chit-kú, lán Tai-gí lāng ê Tâi-gí cho-gū lú tōa ê gūi-ki, kiông-sè ê hōa-bûn hōa-gí mùi-thé lóng í-keng chin chāi chin tōa, koh phó-phiàn ah. Lán Tâi-gí ê lóng chhun 1 khui-si-á niá. Koh kok-ka thè-chè ok-ì khin-sī, hut-liòk, ap-chè, tì-sú siā-hōe jīn-sū iā lóng chin khòa<sup>n</sup> khin Tâi-gí kàu-iòk. Iah Tâi-gí bûn kài koh teh hoe su-siá hêng-sek. Lán siū<sup>n</sup> eng-tong tiòh khai-sí gián-kiù Tâi-gí kàu-iòk kap su-siá ê chhek-liòk bûn-tòe. Chhiū<sup>n</sup> beh Hàn Lô lām-siá[lán kun-kū Âng kàu-siū ê ì-kiàn, choán Hàn-jī bô hoat-tō su-siá Tâi-gí ], án-chóa<sup>n</sup> kui-hoān Hàn-jī, Lô-má-jī, Hàn kap lô ê pí-lē gōa-chōe chit-khoán sít-bū chin bêng-khak ê pō-hun. Khah hó chhui-sak.

Lóng-chóng khòa<sup>n</sup>--khí-lâi, chit pún chheh thèng-hó tong-choh Tâi-oân Gí-bûn hák-hē it-ní-á ê jip-m̄ng kàu-kho-chu. Part C iā ē-sái hō ko-ní-kip ê tãi-hák-seng chòe chhim-jip thàm-thó. Ah lâi-bīn koan-hē Hàn-bûn, Oát-lâm-bûn ê chāi-liāu ē-sái thèh khi hō ko-tiong-seng thak, thang pó-chhióng kap khui-khoah tùi gí-giân ê kiàn-kài.

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Jīm-hō phoe-phêng chí-kàu, hoan-gêng email: jukhai.lim@gmail.com, Lâm Jū-khai siu.



[Tâi-oân-jī Pán-pún]

2015

Tē 7 Kài Tâi-oân Lô-má-jī Kok-chè Gián-thó-hōe &  
Lí Kang-khioh Tâi-gí Chheng-liân Hák-chiá Siú<sup>n</sup>

Hōe-gī Chú-tê: Gí-giân koh-oáh kap chók-kûn chiá<sup>n</sup>-miá &

kì-liām TLH khai-ki-chó Tē<sup>n</sup> Jī-giók bòk-su

Chú-pān tan-ūi:

Kok-lip Sêng-kong Tâi-hák Tâi-oân Gí-bûn Chhek-giám Tiong-sim

Lí Kang-khioh Tâi-gí Bûn-kàu Ki-kim-hōe

Hiáp-pān tan-ūi:

Choân-bîn Tâi-gí Sêng-keng Hiáp-hōe

Tâi-oân Lô-má-jī Hiáp-hōe

Tâi-bûn Pit-hōe

Tâi-Oát Bûn-hoá Hiáp-hōe

Hōe-gī tē-tiám: Kok-lip Sêng-kong Tâi-hák Chheng-á Hâu-khu

Hōe-gī bāng-chām: <http://CTLT.TWL.ncku.edu.tw/conf/2015>

Hōe-gī jít-kí: Kong-gôan 2015 nî 5 gòeh 22~23

Tiah-iàu cháh-chí jít-kí: Kong-gôan 2015 nî 1 gòeh 31

Lòk-chhú thong-ti jít-kí: Kong-gôan 2015 nî 2 gòeh 28

Chù-chheh cháh-chí jít-kí: Kong-gôan 2015 nî 3 gòeh 20

Choan-tê ián-káng:

1. Siau Chheng-hun (Choân-bîn Tâi-gí Sêng-keng Hiáp-hōe lí-sū-tiú<sup>n</sup>)

2. John Edwards (St Francis Xavier University kàu-siū)

3. Mio Yuko (Tang-kiá<sup>n</sup> Gōa-kok-gí Tâi-hák kàu-siū)

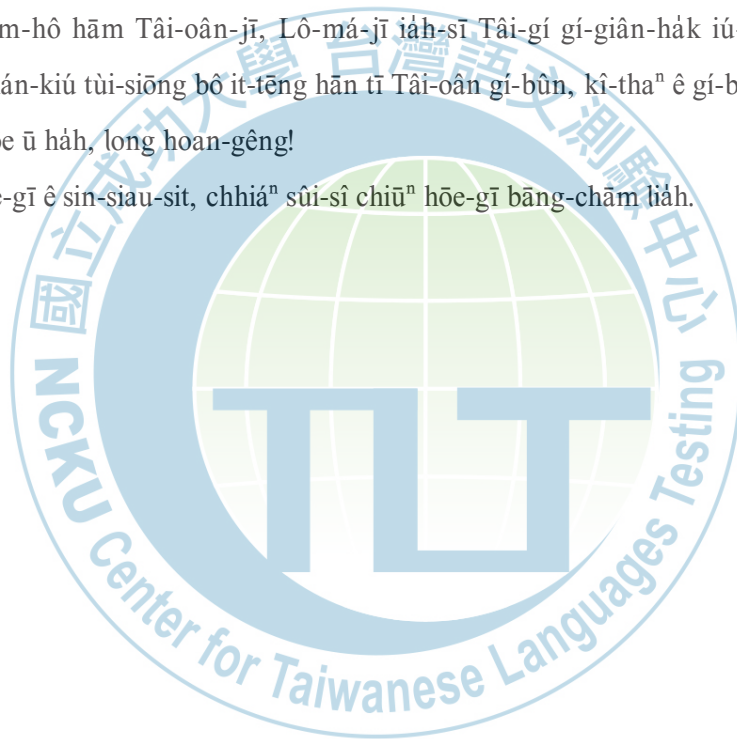
Teng-kó hoān-ūi:

1. Só-ū koan-hē gí-giân koh-oáh, kì-liók kap to-gí-giân chú-gī ê gī-tê

2. Chók-kûn miá-chheng kap chók-kûn bó-gí ê chiá<sup>n</sup>-miá

3. Tē<sup>n</sup> Jī-giók bòk-su tui TLH kap Tâi-gí-bûn ūn-tōng ê kòng-hiàn

4. Tang-lâm-a Lán-lâng-ōe ê koh-oáh ūn-tōng
5. Tâi-oân Pêh-ōe-jī (Tâi-oân-jī) ê khí-goân kap hoat-tián
6. Tâi-oân-jī ê bûn-hák chok-phín, chhut-pán-phín gián-kiù
7. Tâi-oân-jī ê kàu-hák kap jīn-chèng gián-kiù
8. Tâi-oân-jī kap kok-kok Lô-má-jī ê pí-kàu gián-kiù
9. Tâi-oân-jī ê jí-giân-hák kap siā-hōe jí-giân-hák gián-kiù
10. Tâi-oân-jī hām tong-tâi Tâi-gí-bûn ūn-tōng
11. Jīm-hô hām Tâi-oân-jī, Lô-má-jī iá-h-sī Tâi-gí jí-giân-hák iú-koan ê gī-tê.  
Gián-kiú tui-siōng bô it-tēng hân tī Tâi-oân jí-bûn, kí-tha<sup>n</sup> ê jí-bûn nā kap tãi-hōe ū háh, long hoan-gêng!  
Iú-koan hōe-gī ê sin-siau-sit, chhiá<sup>n</sup> sùi-sí chiū<sup>n</sup> hōe-gī bāng-chām liáh.



[English]

2015

## The 7th International Conference on Taiwanese Romanization & LKK Taiwanese Young Scholar Awards

**Theme: Language revival and elimination of ethnic slurs &**

**In memory of TLH founder Rev. John Jyigiokk Tin**

Co-organizers:

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Conference venue: National Cheng Kung University (Tainan, Taiwan)

Conference website: <http://CTLT.TWL.ncku.edu.tw/conf/2015>

Conference date: May 22-23, 2015

Deadline for abstracts: January 31, 2015

Notification of acceptance: by February 28, 2015

Registration deadline: March 20, 2015

Keynote speakers:

1. Prof. John Edwards (St Francis Xavier University)
2. Prof. Mio Yuko (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
3. Chair Siau Chheng-hun (Common Taiwanese Bible Association)

**Papers with the following topics are invited:**

1. All issues in language revival, documentation and multilingualism
2. Elimination of ethnic slurs
3. Rev. John Jyigiokk Tin's contributions to TLH & Taiwanese movement
4. Lán-lâng-ōe or Hokkienese in Southeast Asia
5. The origin and development of Romanized Taiwanese Peh-ōe-jī (POJ)
6. Study of literary works and publications in POJ
7. Teaching and testing of POJ
8. A comparative study of POJ and Romanization in other countries
9. Linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of POJ
10. POJ and contemporary Taiwanese language movement
11. Any other issues related to POJ, Romanization, or Taiwanese language(s). The target language studied in paper is not necessarily limited to Taiwanese languages. Any languages with the conference theme are also welcome.

For the most updated information regarding the conference, please visit conference website.

[台語漢羅版]

2015年

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會議主題：語言koh活 kap族群正名&紀念台羅會開基祖鄭兒玉牧師

主辦單位：國立成功大學台灣語文測驗中心、  
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協辦單位：全民台語聖經協會、台灣羅馬字協會、台文筆會、  
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會議網站：<http://CTLT.TWL.ncku.edu.tw/conf/2015>

會議日期：公元2015年5月22-23號

摘要截止日期：公元2015年1月31號

錄取通知日期：公元2015年2月28號

註冊截止日期：公元2015年3月20號

專題演講人：

1. 三尾裕子 日本東京外國語大學亞非研究所所長
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