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Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù
台語研究

Vol.9, No.2, September 2017



Tâi-lâm, TAIWAN

Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

Tâi-qi̍ Gián-kiù 台語研究

Vol.9, No.2, September 2017

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出版者 Publishers

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

訂閱 Subscription

國內機關團體一年兩期：NT2,000
國內個人一年兩期：NT1,000
Please refer to subscription form for
international subscription fees.

Abstracting & Indexing
本期刊收錄於 TCI, CEPS
電子版本 Electronic journal
<http://www.ceps.com.tw>

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Don't Turn Your Back on Taiwanese: Language Management and Taiwanese Maintenance and Loss

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Abstract

The metaphor of “hospitalization” is often used to symbolize the degree of language endangerment in Taiwan. Taiwanese (Taigi) comparatively is less severe and “treated in an outpatient department,” as its users occupy the majority of language population in Taiwan. A new description of the symptom of language shift is “Oat-thau-cheng” (symptom of turning-head), as a depiction of the improper conduct in which parents talk to each other in Taiwanese but speak with children in Mandarin Chinese. Such undue behavior, as inappropriate family language management, is critical to the loss of the mother tongue. Family is a key domain where a mother tongue is maintained. How parents’ family language management takes its toll on mother-tongue maintenance is the main focus of the article.

From the perspective of family language management, this article analyzes the maintenance and loss of Taiwanese in southern Holo families, centering on the discussion of family language policy and language management. The research results demonstrate that some southern Holo parents are short of effective family language policies and language managements. The inadequacy of family language policies brings about the potentiality of that Taiwanese is replaced with Mandarin and thus becomes an endangered language. Language policy and management both are highly associated with making changes in language use. Hence, the authors suggest that parents should actively step in to formulate family language plans through which family language environment is established to reverse the language shift. For the promotion of intergenerational transmission of Taiwanese, this article provides several practical alternatives appertaining to the strategies of language maintenance and suggestions on the follow-up of family language revitalization.

Keywords: family language policy, language management, language maintenance, language revitalization, Oat-thau-cheng

毋通予台語越頭無去： 對語言管理看台語ê保存kah流失

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摘要

本土語言流失定定hông譬如做破病tòa院，台語ê症頭較輕干焦leh掛號niā-niā。雖然Hô-ló人人口上濟，總是語言全款流失，最近有人提出「越頭症」來形容台語無容易保存，互相講台語ê父母，一越頭kah囡仔講話連鞭換講華語。會曉講母語ê人，無kah囡仔講母語，越頭一目瞞，囡仔失去傳承母語ê機會，這款越頭換話講ê策略，是造成母語流失ê重要原因。家庭當做母語保存ê核心場所，家長ê語言管理按怎影響著語言ê保存kah流失是本文beh探討ê議題。本文佇家庭語言政策ê角度，分析南部Hô-ló台灣人家庭台語保存kah流失ê狀況，集中討論家庭語言決策ê過程以及家庭語言管理策略。研究發現，南部Hô-ló台灣人家庭常常欠缺有意識ê語言決策kah相關ê語言管理策略，致使華語侵門踏戶，取代母語成為家庭語言，母語無法度世代傳承，成做瀕危語言。語言政策kah語言管理全款攏要意改變語言行為kah態度。本文建議，家長需要積極參與家庭ê母語語言管理，透過管理規劃，營造家庭母語ê使用環境kah機會，才有法度逆轉語言流失，佇家庭建立台語ê世代傳承。最後本文討論幾種會當促進語言保存ê語言管理策略，同時提出後續台語語言復振ê建議。

關鍵詞：家庭語言政策、語言管理、語言保存、語言復振、越頭症

收件日期2017.5.2/修訂日期2017.6.19/接受日期2017.6.25

1. 踏話頭

本土語言流失定定hông譬如做破病tòa院，上有名ê是葉菊蘭講ê譬如：「閩南語正在『掛號中』，客家話已進入『急診室』，而原住民語則已住進『加護病房』」（黃以敬 2003）。Hô-ló台灣人是台灣thōng大ê族群¹，佔台灣總人口ê 73.3%（黃宣範 1995），毋過台語全款有流失、轉用華語ê情形（聯合報 2002；Sandel et al. 2006；蕭素英 2007）。換話講（code-switching）是雙語社會常見ê現象，毋過頂下代若定定換講強勢語言，無講母語，就會造成母語失傳。最近有人提出「越頭症」來形容造成台語失傳ê語言策略：本底講台語ê父母，一越頭連鞭轉換做華語kah囡仔講話。這欸會曉講母語ê人，無kah囡仔講母語，越頭一目瞞，囡仔失去學習kah使用母語ê機會。越頭症會當講就是「換話講，致使語言流失」ê策略。（“Medium request: Talking language shift into being”, Gafaranga 2010）

本文認為無妥當ê語言管理，親像換話講ê言談策略，可能會予弱勢語言ê支持者，無意中加入造成語言流失ê行列（Gafaranga 2010）。本土語言大量流失，轉向華語，真濟囡仔語言社會化ê經驗，變做「按怎學會曉國語，袂記得母語」ê過程（Mair 2007）。會曉母語ê雙語者，無kah囡仔講母語，對母語世代傳承有不良ê影響（Hinton 2013）。照顧者使用母語kah囡仔講話，囡仔煞用強勢語言回答，照顧者綴teh使用強勢語言，按呢全款造成語言流失。真可惜，這就是現此時台灣各本土族群母語ê現狀。陳淑娟（2004：237）觀察著台灣家庭語言轉移有以下ê趨勢：「少年一輩ê語言使用中，舊ê家庭語言已慢慢仔退出家庭領域，華語取代台語變做家庭語言。」囡仔、少年人是母語ê未來，若是會曉講母語ê人口超過二十歲以上，毋過五歲到十九歲這個年齡層袂曉講母語，這個語言就變做「瀕危語言」（endangered language）。（McConvell & Thieberger 2001: 54）

家庭ê母語世代傳承是語言永續生存ê保障（Fishman 1991），毋過，家長傳承母語有當時仔會遇著阻礙，親像：母語ê社會地位低，對語言傳承有

¹ Hô-ló人kah in講ê語言beh按怎稱呼一直有爭議，王甫昌（Wang 2014）對Hô-ló ê相關稱呼（福佬、河洛、閩南）ê演變kah爭論有清楚ê分析，不管toh一款名稱攏有人無滿意，有影是「毋情毋願ê認同」（reluctant identity）。本文使用「Hô-ló台灣人」這個名稱，有當時仔簡寫做「Hô-ló人」、有當時仔簡寫做「台灣人」。引用時按照原作者ê用法。

負面ê態度，欠缺政府kah教育ê支援，異族通婚kah少年人母語學了無好勢（Romaine 1995）。母語流失有濟濟ê原因，真濟人會對宏觀ê政府政策、社會因素來探討語言流失ê原因，本文對微觀ê家庭語言政策（family language policy）切入，主要是考慮著家庭是母語保存ê核心，家長是兒童語言社會化上蓋重要ê影響者，家長ê語言管理按怎影響著語言ê保存kah流失是本文欲探討ê議題。

一般認為南部人ê台語保存較好勢，本文倚佇家庭語言政策ê角度，想欲了解南部Hô-ló家庭台語保存kah流失ê狀況，同時討論家庭語言決策ê過程kah家庭語言管理策略對台語保存抑是流失ê影響。家庭語言政策是最近相當受著重視ê微觀語言政策ê研究領域（Spolsky 2004, 2007; King, Fogle & Logan-Terry 2008; Schwartz 2010）。家庭語言政策ê理論架構包括語言意識形態、語言管理以及語言實踐這三大面向（Spolsky 2004）。本文認為欠缺語言管理kah語言管理策略，無法度起造夠額ê母語使用環境，提昇母語能力kah學習意願。因為按呢，本文強調家庭語言政策規劃ê必要性kah做法，將家庭當做語言政策ê執行單位，探討家長按怎進行家庭語言使用kah學習ê規畫，所以特別ka分析重點囡佇語言管理kah語言實踐。語言意識形態對語言有啥物影響ê問題，會佇別篇論文另外討論。

本文結構如下：前言之後，第2節回顧台語保存現狀kah家庭語言政策；第3節簡介研究方法；第4節是結果kah討論；最後第5節是本文ê結論kah建議。

2. 台語保存狀況kah家庭語言政策

2.1. 台語語言保存狀況

語言人口是語言活力ê重要指標之一，毋過族群人口無一定等於語言人口，因為按呢，就算是人口多數ê族群語言，嘛有可能面對語言流失ê問題。囡仔是毋是會曉母語是判斷母語kám有未來，上蓋直接ê指標，囡仔無閣學母語，母語有成做瀕危語言ê危險。家庭是母語世代傳承ê核心，囡仔袂曉講母語，就是家庭語言世代傳承（intergenerational language transmission）失調，家庭語言被社會ê強勢語言取代。語言保存抑是流失會當對囡仔ê母

語使用、母語能力kah母語世代傳承ê狀況觀察。以下回顧相關ê台語使用ê社會語言學調查。

社會語言學家真早就發現台灣ê本土語言，不管是原住民語、客家語抑是台語攏有流失ê現象。Young (1988) 佇1980年代中期就發現各本土語言攏有母語徙位到華語ê現象，少年人佇家庭使用華語ê比例明顯增加。黃宣範 (1995) 佇1987年進行ê大專生語言使用調查，結果發現有47.1% ê受訪者家庭上常用ê語言是華語，台語做家庭上常用語言有48.9%。曹逢甫 (1997) ê調查全款顯示，雖然本土語言佇家庭場域使用ê比例閣比華語較懸，毋過佇社會華語已經慢慢仔取代台語變做社會通用語，本土語言猶是家庭語言，毋過慢慢仔失去家庭ê地盤。聯合報 (2002) 關係台灣母語傳承與流失調查，就發現台語ê保存狀況無好勢：(1) 台語能力衰退：台語能力一代不如一代，愈少年，台語能力愈穰；(2) 家庭母語傳承無理想：會曉講台語ê受訪者干焦五成四表示in thōng細漢ê囡仔台語輾轉；(3) 母語傳承意願弱：有兩成ê家長認為母語無重要；四成二ê家長認為英文對後一代較重要，比認為台語較重要ê家長加真濟。

一般認為台語使用有城鄉差異，庄跤比都市ê台語保存較好勢。Sandel et al. (2006) ê調查發現台語在都會區已經失去家庭這個領域，雖然老一輩猶會曉講台語，毋過長輩kah囡仔真少用台語溝通，家長嘛無kah囡仔講母語。庄跤拄好佇母語是毋是會當傳承ê關鍵階段，台語是家庭ê日常語言，華語用佇正式場合。台語流失最主要ê因素，可能是家長kah囡仔溝通模式無妥當。Sandel et al. (2006: 135) 指出：

家長使用較濟ê華語，較少ê母語，可能致使囡仔語言流失，就是講，家長會當親像kah同事全款選用華語抑是台語講話，但是in定定選華語kah囡仔講話。

國家教育研究院ê《臺灣地區國民中小學本土語言教學現況之整合型研究期末報告》(曹逢甫2011) 有調查學生囡仔ê語言使用kah語言態度，結果顯示：(1) 學生ê台語能力比爸母hit代加真退步，毋過高達77.4% ê囡仔會曉講台語，會講英語嘛真懸，有54.9%²；(2) 學生佇家庭、學校、廟仔、

² 這可能是因為是自評語言能力，學生高估家己ê語言能力。

教堂、商店、市場等場合ê台語使用頻率攏無懸；（3）學生ê語言態度嘛無積極，學生認為華語比台語較容易表達心情，回答「閩南人應該會講閩南語」ê干焦27.6%；（4）南區學生使用台語比北區學生較懸。問題是雖然家長ê台語能力袂標，毋過家長定定無用台語kah因仔講話，造成少年一代台語能力衰退。

對中央研究院執行ê「臺灣社會變遷調查」嘛會當看出台語ê家庭世代傳承ê問題（轉引自文化部 2017）。爸母攏是Hô-ló人ê受訪者家庭上捷使用ê語言是台語ê干焦56%，通婚家庭大部分攏用華語做家庭語言。另外一項調查項目測試母語忠誠感：「請問在家裡，您最希望您的小孩及您說哪一種話？」爸母攏是Hô-ló人ê受訪者通常kah因仔講台語ê比例是53.2%，通婚家庭大概傾向華語。對家庭上常用ê語言kah以後欲kah因仔講ê語言，攏顯示台語傳承狀況無好。

後續ê研究嘛顯示，台語能力降低kah台語使用下降ê問題。陳淑嬌（2007）ê研究顯示，台語能力隨年齡降低來下降，各年齡層會當用台語有效溝通ê比率分別是：12歲以下（含）有44.09%；13-18歲有55.29%；19-29歲有71.48%；30-45歲有93.21%；46-59歲有93.29%；60歲以上（含）有100%。蕭素英（2007）對語言活力（language vitality）ê指標評估台語ê活力，發現台語缺乏活力，佇六等級程度（0表示瀕危程度上嚴重；5表示安全），大概佇等級3 kah 4之間，特別是世代傳承不佳，佇「3」「明確危險」kah「4」「無安全」之間；台語使用方面屬佇「3」「範疇縮減」這級。2010年「99年人口與住宅普查」ê調查包括6歲以上民眾家庭ê語言使用。洪惟仁根據這份資料推斷全國368個鄉鎮中將近三分之一ê家庭，華語使用率超過本土語。閩南語優勢區有301個（76.7%）鄉鎮保持優勢，但是倚四分之一ê鄉鎮已經失去家庭ê台語堡壘（轉引自文化部 2017）。洪惟仁主要對都市化、語言混雜kah語言競爭力ê角度，分析語言流失ê宏觀因素。本研究按算對家庭語言政策ê微觀角度分析台語流失ê原因，特別是家庭語言管理ê面向。

2.2. 家庭語言政策

近來語言政策對宏觀語言政策研究，擴展到微觀語言政策研究。Spolsky（2004）認為語言規劃ê「執行者」（agent）毋但是政府，其他社會

領域全款有語言規劃。Spolsky (2004) 列四種語言管理者，其中第四種是家庭成員。因為家庭ê母語世代傳承是語言保存ê關鍵，語言政策應當擴充到包括家庭kah社區層次 (Fishman 1991; Spolsky 2004)。家庭語言政策kah弱勢族群語言世代傳承普遍失調有關。Spolsky (2012) kā家庭語言政策當做是「關鍵領域」(critical domain)，特別強調家庭語言政策對母語保存ê重要性，伊講 (張治國譯 2011: 54-55)：

家庭是研究語言政策的重要領域。家庭要做出決定是否給後代傳承族裔語言。這個決定極大地影響著家庭的語言轉用和語言保存。在對扭轉語言轉用效果的研究中，人們通常把這個決定看做是影響家庭語言政策成敗的關鍵措施。

家庭語言政策ê一个重要發展方向是kā家庭語言使用園佇語言政策ê架構下來研究 (Smith-Christmas 2016)。家庭語言政策ê理論基礎是Spolsky (2004) ê語言政策理論架構，基本ê想法是，家庭語言政策kah其他ê語言政策全款，會當對語言實踐、語言意識形態kah語言管理，這三個面向來探討。語言實踐就是實際語言使用ê狀況；語言意識形態牽涉著語言政策背後ê信仰、意識形態信念；語言管理kah語言規劃真相關主要是控制抑是管理語言ê行為 (Shohamy 2006)。語言實踐、語言信仰kah語言管理有交互影響ê關係，Spolsky (張治國譯 2011: 17) 講著「遮ê信仰來自語言實踐，同時，影響著語言實踐。語言信仰會當成做語言管理的基礎，抑是，語言管理政策會當用來確保抑是修改語言信仰。」比如講，語言管理ê策略，如「一人一語」，實際進行了，也會當當做語言實踐ê部分。

語言政策會當分做顯性kah隱形ê語言政策 (Spolsky 2004)。「顯性語言政策」ê定義是：「為修改某一語言實踐和語言意識型態進行的語言管理或語言規劃活動」(張治國譯 2011: 48)。隱形語言政策無按算欲改變語言實踐抑是語言信念，會當講是「自由放任」ê語言政策。本研究按算探討家庭語言管理kah語言保存之間ê關係。家庭語言政策既然牽涉著政策，是毋是有語言管理規畫，就成做kám有法度改變語言實踐ê關鍵。King et al. (2008: 907) kā家庭語言政策定義做「關係家庭成員之間語言使用ê明確 (explicit)、顯明的 (overt) ê規劃」，Curdt-Christiansen (2009: 352) 嘛有

相像ê定義：「佇家庭成員做對象，有意ê執行特定ê語言使用模式kah特定ê語言實踐。」遮ê定義強調有語言ê管理kah規劃，嘛是本研究採取ê立場，就是要意家長透過啥物款ê語言選用決策，運用啥物資源，達成啥物語言實踐（King et al. 2008: 910）？家庭語言政策研究關切家庭語言政策kah因仔雙語發展ê關係，結果會當是添加式ê雙語現象，嘛可能是削減式ê雙語現象（Lambert 1977）。頂面所講ê語言政策觀，對本研究有真大ê啟示，佇華語成做「無標記」（unmarked）ê家庭主導語言，培育母語無法度親像過去遐爾自然達到，顛倒是需要刻意ê規劃kah執行，這個計畫ê面向，會當連結家庭語言實踐，考查語言管理kah語言保存之間ê關係。

家庭語言管理是家庭語言政策ê一部分。家庭語言管理就是透過語言選用kah資源ê管理kah運用，影響抑是改變語言行為抑是語言態度。語言政策就是語言選擇，家長選擇使用啥物家庭語言kah因仔交談，就是leh從事語言政策制定ê活動。本研究注重語言管理對語言實踐ê影響，認為家長ê語言選用kah因仔交談採取ê言談策略會影響因仔ê語言保存抑是流失。Schwartz（2010）區分兩種語言管理：（1）外在控制：起造支持家庭語言政策ê社會語言環境；（2）控制家庭語言環境，親像建立家庭文化傳統，使用語言ê獎懲辦法。

家長是因仔早期語言社會化ê主要影響者，透過選擇使用啥物語言kah因仔溝通，就會當影響因仔ê語言發展。家長kah因仔交談ê語言策略嘛影響母語保存。黃宣範ê研究發現，上容易造成弱勢語言流失ê家庭語言策略是（1995：249）：「父母親相互以母語交談，但用強勢語言跟下一代交談。」這個策略就是「越頭症」。這款語碼轉換可能會kā語言講kah無去，家長若是堅持用母語回答，因仔可能猶會當學會曉被動ê語言能力，若是綴leh轉講其他語言，就會造成「換話講，致使語言流失」ê現象（Gafaranga 2010）。欲避免越頭症，家長愛記得in有不只一種ê選項，親像Lanza（1997）區分ê兩種言談策略：1.「單語言談策略」（monolingual discourse strategies）：造成溝通限制佇一種語言；2.「雙語言談策略」（bilingual discourse strategies）：致使交談使用兩種語言，抑是造成對一種語言轉換做另一種語言。全款除了「換話講」以外，閣有「最小理解策略」（minimal grasp strategy）、「問問題策略」（expressed guess strategy）、「重複策略」

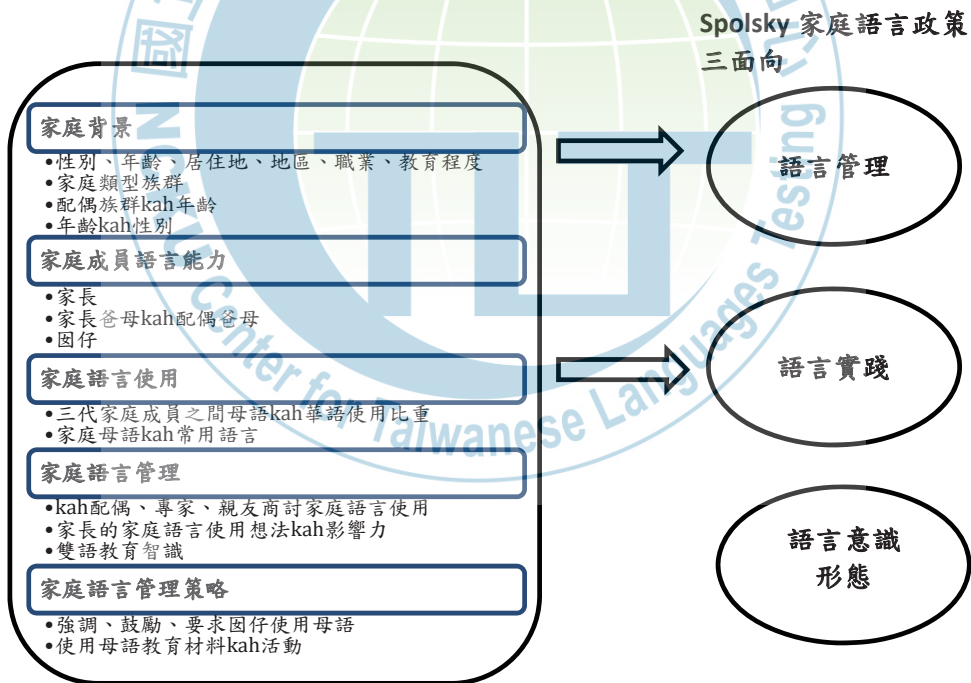
(repetition)、「繼續講」(move on strategy)等會當繼續母語使用的策略。(轉引自De Houwer 2009: 134-35)

3. 研究方法

3.1. 研究架構

本文參考Spolsky (2004) ê家庭語言政策理論—語言實踐、語言管理kah語言意識型態三面向，注重頭兩個面向，透過語言使用kah語言能力刻畫南部Hô-lô家庭ê語言實踐樣貌，同時探討家長ê語言管理kah家庭語言管理策略，來呈現語言管理kah語言保存之間ê關係。圖表1是本研究ê研究架構。

圖表1. 研究架構



3.2. 研究方法

本研究是國科會《家庭語言政策與語言保存》研究計畫ê部分成果，這個計畫佇全國北、南、中、東四區發送問卷，總共發出4000份問卷，回收3124份問卷。問卷發放ê對象，包括台灣各族群ê家庭，本文干焦使用其中南部Hô-ló家庭ê問卷。佇南部地區，包括台南、高雄kah屏東，進行問卷發放調查。調查對象是南部ê Hô-ló通婚kah內婚家庭。總共發432份問卷，其中有效問卷有384份。

本研究以「家庭語言政策kah語言保存問卷」為研究工具，並請家長添寫問卷³。問卷分做五個部分：（1）相關ê個人社會背景資料，包括：性別、年紀、地區、職業、教育程度、家庭類型、族群等變項；（2）家庭成員ê語言能力kah語言使用狀況；（3）語言態度；（4）家庭語言管理；（5）家庭語言管理策略。問卷回收了後，刪除無效問卷，以SPSS進行相關ê統計分析。

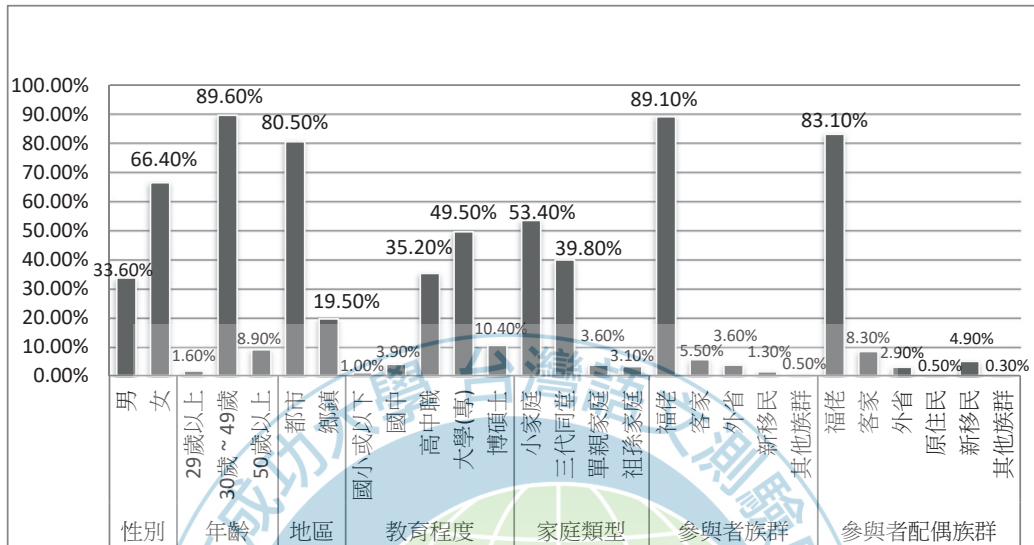
4. 研究結果kah討論

4.1. 家庭背景變項

圖表2是本研究ê家庭背景變項基本統計，圖表2顯示，本次問卷訪查家庭大部分集中佇都市ê Hô-ló家庭（佔添寫者80.5%），參與者kah參與者配偶嘛以Hô-ló族群為主，各佔89.1% kah 83.1%，大部分是女性家長添寫（66.4%）。家長教育程度集中佇高中職kah大學（共84.7%）。值得注意ê是，參與者ê家庭類型有53.4%是爸母kah囡仔ê小家庭kah 39.8%是三代同堂（共93.2%）。這代表家長（第二代）kah in ê爸母（第一代）是家庭中thōng有機會kah囡仔做伙ê成員，in ê語言使用kah管理策略有可能影響囡仔佇學齡前kah學齡時期ê母語習得。

³ 問卷內容請參考附錄。

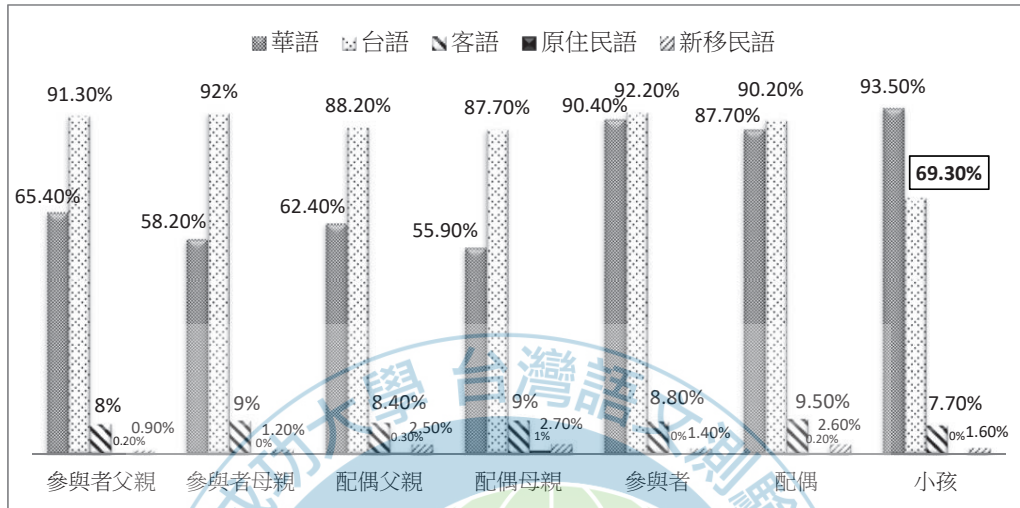
圖表2. 家庭背景變項基本統計



4.2. 家庭語言實踐

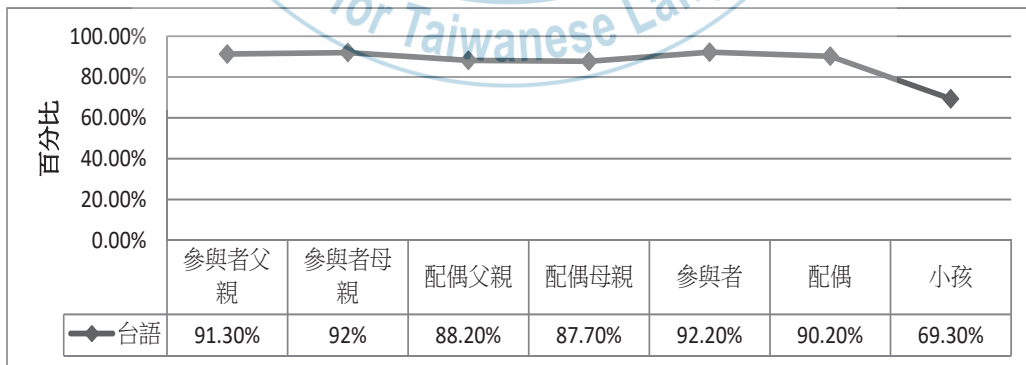
頂面有講過，語言實踐就是實際語言使用ê狀況。家庭成員ê語言能力kah語言使用是語言保存或流失ê重要指標。圖表3是家庭成員語言使用能力，對圖表3會當看出，囡仔台語能力明顯下降，對第一代家長有87.7%會曉講台語，到第三代會曉講台語ê比例降至69.3%。第一代有華語能力分布佇55.9%~65.4%，in使用台語ê能力比華語加真好，落佇87.7%~92%之間，每十位第一代爸母中，就有九位會當使用台語。第二代家長（參與者kah配偶）ê華語能力kah第一代比較提高至87.7%~90.4%，in ê台語能力閣維持懸點（90.2%~92.2%），甚至比第一代懸出2~4.5%。也就是講，第二代爸母大部分攏有相當懸程度ê雙語使用能力（華語kah台語）；但是，第三代ê台語能力就下降真濟倚20%（降到69.3%，圖表4），in ê華語能力猶是真懸，有93.5%。第三代ê囡仔台語能力下降，顯示台語佇第二代kah第三之間世代傳承出問題。

圖表3. 家庭成員語言使用能力



Kah華語能力比較，會當看出台語語言能力下降，同時母語認同嘛綴leh下降。問卷結果顯示，因仔自我宣稱in ê母語是華語ê有33.2%、母語是台語有40.7%、母語是華台雙語有18.4%。因仔認同華語kah台語分別是in ê母語ê比例差7.5%，語言能力ê落差閣較大，會曉講華語ê人懸出會曉講台語ê人倚24.2%，見圖表3。看起來，母語ê定義毋但愛考慮所屬ê族群，嘛會對上會曉講ê角度做定義。通婚嘛會造成多重母語認定。一般認為，族群認同若是kah族語認同脫離，定定是語言流失ê反映。（Sandel et al. 2006）

圖表4. 台語使用能力



家庭成員之間ê語言選用也是觀察語言保存ê重要指標。咱會當對圖表5「家庭成員交談使用母語kah華語ê比重」看出第三代母語能力下降真濟。第二代ê爸母kah第一代以母語溝通占64.8%，但第二代kah第三代以母語溝通

ê百分比突然間降到21.6%~20.5%。

圖表5. 交談使用母語kah華語ê比重

	華語為主	母語&華語	母語為主
翁仔某kah爸母（第一代kah第二代）	14.50%	20.70%	64.80%
參與者kah配偶（第二代間）	31.30%	32.90%	35.80%
參與者kah囡（第二代kah第三代）	52.00%	27.50%	20.50%
參與者配偶kah囡兒（第二代kah第三代）	52.50%	25.90%	21.60%
a-kong、a-má kah囡兒（第一代kah第三代）	17.40%	26.60%	55.90%
囡兒之間（第三代間）	63.60%	17.30%	19.10%

對圖表3通知影，第一代ê語言能力，台語比華語較好，所以圖表5顯示第一代kah第三代之間有55.9%閣以台語溝通。第三代ê華語能力懸到93.5%（圖表三），身為第二代華台雙語ê爸母有52%~52.5%選擇以華語kah第三代囡仔溝通。第三代之間因為母語能力無夠好，有63.6%ê囡仔傾向使用華語溝通，干焦19.1%以母語溝通，華語佇這一代已經成做家庭ê共通語。第一代kah第二代佇kah第三代溝通過程中，交叉使用母語kah華語ê比例變化無大，分布佇25.9%~27.5%之間；第二代之間ê溝通佇「華語為主」、「華語母語」、「母語為主」三者之間ê比例相差無大，各為35.8%、32.9%、31.3%，閣一擺顯示這代ê爸母具備雙語能力。第二代kah第三代佇家庭使用ê語言已經過半以華語為主，用母語干焦chhun五分之一。對遮通知，囡仔ê台語能力下降，kah家長較少使用台語kah in交談有真大ê關係。家長選用toh一種語言kah囡兒溝通，背後牽涉家長ê語言管理kah語言管理策略。

4.3. 家庭語言管理

家庭語言管理kah語言政策真相關，攏是透過語言決策影響抑是改變語言行為抑是語言態度。本大項問卷共六題，分析家長佇以下ê面向是毋是積極teh從事家庭語言管理：「kah配偶刻意討論」（題1）、「影響ê信心」（題2）、「參考雙語資料」（題3）、「徵詢專家」（題4）、「請教親友」（題5）kah「順應囡仔語言使用」（題6）。佇分析ê時陣，本研究將問卷問題分做三類：「家長態度kah自我信念管理」（題1 kah題2）、「家庭

語言管理資訊」(題3至題5)、「語言使用態度管理(題6)」。語言管理kah語言政策全欸，會當分做顯性kah隱形，本項問卷設計主要欲知影家長是毋是進行顯性e語言管理，kám有啟動家庭語言決策過程？

參與添寫e家長會當勾選「真反對」、「反對」、「無意見」、「贊成」、「真贊成」五个選項。統計e時陣，本研究將前三个選項歸類做「無積極」管理，閣將後兩項歸類做「積極」管理。圖表6是家庭語言管理統計統計結果，圖表6顯示，題1有過半數e家長(64.2%)佇kah配偶討論kah囡兒使用e語言選擇態度上並無積極，只有35.9%e家長採取積極e語言管理。家長選用啥物語言kah囡兒交談，對母語e世代傳承有重大影響，多數無考慮使用啥物語言kah囡兒交談e家庭，通常以社會e強勢語言做預設e語言，致使弱勢母語佇家庭流失。雖然干焦有35.9%家長kah配偶討論家庭語言規劃，題2顯示對家庭使用母語e影響力有信心e家長無過半(44.3%)。De Houwer (1999: 83)認為家長對囡仔語言運作e「影響信念」(impact belief)會影響囡仔日後e母語發展kah使用能力，遮e有信心影響囡仔母語e信念，可能來自家長對大社會台語環境e信心。對題1 kah題2會當看出，佇無積極kah積極e連續體上，家長通常傾向無積極彼片，佇獨尊華語e社會環境下，缺乏家庭e積極語言管理作為，採用自由放任e管理，對母語保存不利，親像Wright (2004: 187)所指出e：自由放任「終其尾就是予有權勢kah聲望e語言佔領所有e領域。假影無看、無所作為e輕忽(benign neglect)……實際上攏是支持強勢團體e語言」。

圖表6. 家庭語言管理統計

題目	真反對 (1)	反對 (2)	無意見 (3)	贊成 (4)	真贊成 (5)	平均數 (1~5)
1我bat kah配偶討論過使用啥物語言kah囡兒交談。	10.90%	10.00%	43.30%	21.30%	14.60%	3.19%
2我有信心會當影響囡仔佇家庭講母語。	5.10%	8.80%	41.90%	30.60%	13.70%	3.39%
3佇決定家庭語言e時陣，我有參考雙語方面e資料。	10.60%	10.00%	46.10%	23.80%	9.50%	3.12%
4決定家庭語言e時陣，我有徵詢專家e意見。	24.50%	16.20%	47.50%	8.10%	3.70%	2.50%
5決定家庭語言e時陣，我有請教親友e意見。	21.30%	16.00%	44.40%	13.20%	5.10%	2.65%
6佇阮兜，家長kah長輩定順應囡仔e語言使用。	14.40%	31.00%	30.80%	14.60%	9.30%	2.73%
平均	14.47%	15.33%	42.33%	18.60%	9.32%	2.93%

題3至題5想欲知影家長佇規劃家庭語言管理過程中kám有得著有夠額ê資訊，當做實踐kah明智決定（informed decision）ê參考。圖表6顯示，「無積極」尋求正式抑是非正式ê管道得著管理資訊ê家長攏過半，親像：無積極尋求雙語資料（66.7%）、無積極尋求專家學者提供意見（88.2%）kah無積極尋求親友提供經驗談（88.2%）。缺乏對雙語現象kah雙語教育ê正確資訊，恐驚無法度予家長佇家庭中有母語ê規劃kah實踐。這部分ê支援系統閣需要政府、學校kah民間相關單位主動倡導並行銷家庭母語ê重要性、促進家長對母語使用ê主動關懷、並進一步提供資源取得管道。

題6是針對家長kah囡仔語言使用態度管理ê問題：家長kah長輩是毋是定定順應囡仔ê語言使用。有45.4%家長表示並無單向順應囡仔所使用ê語言，就是對囡仔ê語言使用，家長本身有想法kah規劃，無得著「越頭症」。這個結果呼應題2懸過四成ê家長對影響母語有信心。毋過，猶有接近四分之一ê家長（23.9%）選擇順應囡仔ê語言使用，無意見ê家長嘛佔三成（30.8%），就是講超過五成家長並無積極進行自身ê態度管理，無法度主動改變無仝世代之間語言ê使用。對圖表5統計結果嘛通知，52%~52.5%第二代家長kah囡兒講華語，題6 ê統計呼應囡仔kah父母以華語溝通ê現象，家長閣順應囡仔ê結果。這毋但呈現第二代五成家長「越頭症」ê嚴重性，嘛說明家長無積極ê語言管理kah不當ê「越頭」語言實踐，攏會影響著第三代囡仔母語ê流失。囡仔講華語ê時陣，家長有以下ê策略（De Houwer 2009）：

（1）聽無ê策略：囡仔講華語，家長會當講：「我聽無」抑是「請講母語」；（2）問問題策略：囡仔講華語，家長用母語臆意思，通常使用是非問句；（3）重複策略：囡仔講華語，家長用母語重複講一擺；（4）堅持策略：家長無插囡仔講華語，繼續用母語講話。

台灣ê雙語家庭研究顯示，上容易造成語言流失ê家庭語言策略是：會曉講母語ê家長，無用母語kah囡仔交談（黃宣範1995）。黃宣範（1995）建議以「一人一語」抑是「一地一語」ê方式發展家庭雙語現象。通婚ê家庭會當採用「一人一語」培育囡仔ê雙語能力，就是，父母各自用各自ê母語kah囡仔講話，囡仔按照父母所使用ê語言回答in。「一地一語」劃分語言使用領域：家長佇家庭以母語kah囡仔講話，起造干焦用母語ê家庭環境；囡仔對厝邊隔壁、朋友抑是學校等其他途徑學習強勢語言。

4.4. 家庭語言管理策略

家庭會當透過語言管理策略實踐家庭語言計畫。管理策略有真濟種，親像語言態度、語言選用、對話策略kah資源ê管理。語言管理策略透過直接抑是間接ê方式影響語言能力、語言使用機會kah動機，閣再影響著語言ê保存或流失。本大項問卷共十二題，將家庭語言管理策略分類做：「對人ê管理」（題1、2、3、9、10）、「語言資源管理」（題4、6）、「語言活動管理」（題5、7、8、11、12）。家長會當勾選「毋捌」、「真少」、「有當時仔」、「經常」四種頻率。根據頻率次數，咱將頭三項歸類做「消極管理」，後者是「積極管理」兩類，以上述三項管理策略ê實踐頻率來評估，結果顯示大部分ê家長無啥使用語言管理策略kah實踐，佇人、地、資源、活動、態度等方面ê規劃攏毋是真積極，傾向消極被動ê無所作為。

圖表7是語言態度管理kah對人ê管理ê統計結果。題1「要求囡兒佇厝愛講母語」kah頂節「家庭語言管理」問題中，家長「有信心影響囡仔佇厝講母語」kah是毋是「順應囡仔ê語言使用」兩小題有異曲同工之妙，攏kah家長ê影響信念有關。不過，經常按呢要求ê家長ê無到三分之一（31.90%）。接近四成ê家長（39.2%）重視母語意識、會kah囡仔強調母語ê重要性（題2）；有閣較懸比例ê家長（53.8%）以鼓勵囡兒講母語ê方式來進行管理（題3）。題1至3向囡兒「要求」、「強調」、「鼓勵」ê行為攏是語言意識形態ê管理，除了鼓勵講母語ê家長有過半之外（53.8%），其他攏無普遍。對前三題通知影，家長的確有鼓勵使用母語ê態度，但是佇實際行為kah推動上，並無積極。題9至10顯示高達88.6%家長無積極「安排囡兒kah講母語ê人做朋友」（題9）、83.2%對僱用「會曉講母語ê人照顧囡仔」（題10）無積極參與。這顯示，語言態度kah語言實踐，無一定有直接ê關係，真濟研究發現，語言態度kah行為之間常有落差，支持弱勢語言ê意識形態，無一定會當轉換做弱勢語言保存ê行動（Smith-Christmas 2016）。當然，家長對囡仔ê語言使用缺乏積極性管理需要進一步社區支持，整合資源kah人力，協助建立完整ê母語支援系統。

圖表7. 家庭語言管理策略統計（語言態度管理kah對人ê管理）

題號	毋捌	真少	有當時仔	經常
1要求囡兒佇厝愛講母語	22.60%	17.00%	28.50%	31.90%
2 kah囡兒強調母語ê重要	15.80%	17.00%	28.00%	39.20%
3鼓勵囡兒講母語	11.20%	12.70%	22.40%	53.80%
9安排囡兒kah講母語ê人做朋友	44.50%	22.40%	21.70%	11.40%
10倩會曉講母語ê人照顧囡仔	45.70%	19.00%	18.50%	16.80%

圖表8是關係語言資源管理ê統計結果。對題4 kah題6 ê結果會當知影，家庭「擁有母語出版品」ê數量真少（題4），若將四個頻率用詞轉換做量化用詞：「無」、「真少」、「有一寡仔」、「有夠額」，36.5%家庭無母語書面資源，回答真少kah有一寡仔母語出版品ê家庭加起來欲倚一半（48.4%），干焦15.10% ê家長認為家庭有有夠額ê母語出版品。相對佇書面參考媒介，家庭有較容易取得視聽媒體ê語言資源，題6顯示近三成（29.4%）家庭經常「觀賞母語視聽媒體」。Hô-lô家庭中，毋捌觀賞視聽媒體ê家庭比例佔22.90%，有47.6%家庭真少觀賞母語視聽媒體，遮攏顯示家庭母語資源不足。母語資源缺乏，袂當怪家長，不管是教學抑是娛樂ê台語資源適合囡仔ê資源並無濟。弱勢語言通常缺乏商業利益，定定需要透過官方補助出版、開發母語資源，家庭缺乏母語友善ê視聽環境，嘛反映語言缺乏制度性ê支持。

家庭缺乏台語資源會當透過「跨語言實踐」（translanguaging, García 2009），用改造語言資源ê方式解決，比如講：用台語念出華語ê故事書。當然，政府嘛有責任開發缺乏市場支援ê弱勢語言資源。若是欠缺母語ê口語、書面語、數位媒介、視聽媒體等語言資源，囡仔就無法度kah母語產生有效ê連結，若無開發kah利用母語資源，家庭嘛真oh建立做母語為主ê語言實作社群（a community of practice, Lave & Wenger 1991），囡仔ê語言社會化過程當中，母語隱形hông看無，hông聽無，囡仔就失去傳承母語ê機會。

圖表8. 家庭語言管理策略統計（語言資源）

題號	不曾 (無)	很少 (真少)	偶爾 (有一寡仔)	經常 (定定)
4擁有母語出版品	36.50%	26.50%	21.90%	15.10%
6觀賞母語視聽媒體	22.90%	23.80%	23.80%	29.40%

圖表9是關係語言活動管理ê家庭語言管理策略統計。「語言活動管理」統計家庭、學校、社區母語活動ê頻率，對數據來看，參與狀況無理想。五个問題中只有佇「要求囡兒選母語課」（題7）回答「經常」ê比例較懸一點仔，毋過嘛無到三分之一，其他問題回答「經常」ê比例嘛無懸，參與社區母語活動（題12）甚至低kah 11.2%。國小母語課程是必修，國中是選修，佇師資kah開課資源有限ê情況下，多數學校以開設台語課程為主，家長其實並無需要規範囡仔選修台語課，凡勢這是「無積極」要求ê家庭佔70.8% ê原因。題5 kah題12分別參與「趣味ê母語活動」kah參與「社區母語活動」，前者回答定定ê比率为17.5%，後者有11.2%，可見囡仔佇家庭或是社區攏欠缺趣味ê語言kah文化活動，家庭kah社區作有語言文化資源ê角色，也綴母語落坐失去in ê傳統扮演ê功能。家庭kah社區是學校母語教育之外ê重要語言社會化場所，會當補充學校無法達到母語「溝通外功能」（extracommunicational functions）ê不足。Fishman（1991）指出，母語是情感ê寄託、認同ê記號、文化ê表徵kah社會ê聯繫，佇遮ê象徵面向上，學校功能有限，需要透過充滿情感、親切ê家庭、鄰里kah社區，才會當開始語言ê世代傳承（引自張學謙2011）。後續ê母語推廣需要將語言kah活動結合，創造家庭kah社區ê母語使用環境kah機會。

圖表9. 家庭語言管理策略統計（語言活動管理）

題號	毋捌	真少	有當時仔	經常
5趣味ê母語活動	31.90%	25.30%	25.30%	17.50%
7要求囡兒選母語課	28.20%	19.00%	23.60%	29.20%
8囡兒參加母語認證抑是比賽	48.90%	16.30%	20.00%	14.80%
11去講母語ê所在（家鄉）旅行	33.10%	20.70%	22.60%	23.60%
12參與社區母語活動	48.70%	20.40%	19.70%	11.20%

透過認證抑是比賽鼓勵母語學習是學校單位經常使用ê方法。家長佇這大項問卷中，回答「毋捌」ê比例以「囡兒參加母語抑是認證比賽」上懸，有48.90%。以競賽抑是獎賞方式來做母語學習策略其實需要開閣較濟時間，一般嘛表示學習者母語能力有到相當ê程度，家長無積極要求囡仔參與，可能嘛是因為囡仔母語能力不足ê關係。對回答「經常」ê比率看來，「趣味ê母語活動」得著比「母語認證抑是比賽」較懸ê支持，對囡仔而言，語言學習ê內在動機，可能比外在ê動機閣較重要。營造家庭母語環境，創造豐富有趣味ê語言環境是家庭語言管理ê重點。King & Mackey (2007) 建議，有效ê語言學習是佇輕鬆愉快ê氣氛下，融入日常生活活動kah互動，並kah真實生活結合。對囡仔而言，過分強調語言ê工具性價值，檢采功效無大，但是強調「快樂語言學習法」，予囡仔沉浸佇充滿情感kah趣味ê活動下，檢采閣較會當提升學習效果（張學謙 2015）。文獻上講著足濟營造趣味ê母語活動ê做法，像以母語耍遊戲，角色扮演、聽囡仔歌、故事、笑話、諺語或看書、錄影帶、電視、衛星電視等。（張學謙2011）

母語人口集中ê區域較有法度提供母語單語ê環境，避免因為語言多元，干焦使用共通語ê困境。題11「去講母語ê所在（家鄉）旅行」是通過地方ê管理，創造出母語環境。將母語kah原鄉連結，也是語言認同行為（act of identity）ê表現。語言有地域性，運用領土原則（territorial principle），將台語使用kah家鄉產生連結，嘛通知影家長是毋是刻意起造語言環境，來增進囡仔ê文化認同kah語言學習ê情感動機。33.10%家長「毋捌」按呢做，只有接近五分之一（23.6%）ê家長「經常」按呢做，這反映家長對主動管理母語活動ê意識無強。

5. 結論kah建議

家庭語言ê世代傳承是語言復振ê重點，加一个囡仔會曉講母語，母語就加一份活力。本文對語言實踐kah語言管理考察台語家庭語言政策kah語言保存ê關係。南部Hô-ló人ê台語並無一般想像ê hiah安全，台語語言流失表現佇囡仔ê台語能力下降kah家庭台語使用愈來愈少。家庭語言實踐ê調查顯示，第一代kah第二代攏有真好ê台語能力，毋過到第三代囡仔ê台語能力就

比華語能力較穩，台語下降20%（降至69.3%）。家庭語言使用e狀況嘛無樂觀：爸母kah囡仔交談有六成干焦使用華語，干焦使用台語e無夠五分之一（19.10%），囡仔兄弟姊妹之間閣較捷使用華語。雙語使用慢慢仔變做以華語為主e單語現象，囡仔學會曉華語、失去母語e削減式雙語現象。家庭是母語保存e核心，台語家庭面對著囡仔台語能力下降kah台語傳承失調這雙重e危機。

家庭語言政策考慮語言意識形態、語言管理按怎影響著語言實踐。本文干焦考慮家庭語言管理這部分，主要e論點是因為欠缺適當e家庭語言管理，台語才會得著越頭症，致使台語世代傳承失調，第三代行向華語單語現象。本文ka語言管理分做家庭語言管理kah家庭語言管理策略，調查結果會當歸納如下：家長真少有語言管理e討論kah資訊，大部分攏是順其自然，採取自由放任e語言管理；家庭語言管理策略是營造家庭語言環境e作為，全款無積極e管理，表現佇真少有規劃家庭e語言使用，嘛無要意管理語言態度，所以族語認同kah族群認同有分開e現象，欠缺語言學習資源，閣無夠額e語言使用環境。真濟家庭欠缺家庭語言管理，致使台語kah其他弱勢語言全款，無法度培養囡仔e台語能力，欠缺台語學習kah使用環境，閣加上換話講e越頭症，失去台語世代傳承e機會。

囡仔無閣學習e語言，就是瀕危語言。雖然台語毋但是台灣上大族群e母語，嘛捌是台灣e共通語，毋過全款面臨流失e危機。對囡仔台語能力下降、台語使用減少，閣加上台語世代傳承無好，台語已經慢慢仔行向瀕危語言。對語言管理e角度分析台語流失，會當清楚看出，佇華語成做家庭kah社區e習慣語言，若採取隱形e家庭語言政策，無適當e語言管理，就會出現會曉雙語e家長，佇越頭中間，隨波逐流，kā台語講kah流失去。

台語流失是現代進行式，若無積極作為，恐驚未來會成做死亡e語言。有人認為閣有真濟人leh講台語，台語無可能會流失。這是無注意著囡仔才是母語e未來，閣較濟大人會曉講母語，無學習、使用母語e囡仔，終其尾猶是會列佇語言死亡e烏名單。目前e語言生態是華語獨佔語言市場，真oh透過自由放任e語言政策，得著本土語言e能力kah使用機會。

囡仔欲按怎學會曉華語，同時保存母語，達到添加式e雙語現象？以下分別對家庭成員kah學校kah政府單位，就語言管理提出建議：

對家庭成員ê建議：

1. 佇母語漸漸流失ê時，有必要進行積極ê家庭語言管理；
2. 堅持母語ê對話策略：當家長越頭對囡仔講話ê時陣，需要堅持繼續使用母語，袂當予母語佇越頭當中失去；
3. 促進母語保存ê言談策略，家長攏會曉講母語，會當採用「一地一語」ê方式，規定佇家庭干焦講母語；通婚家庭採用「一人一語」ê策略；
4. 以活潑、有意義、互動ê方式進行母語交流，將母語融入日常生活；
5. 鼓勵親朋好友kah囡仔講母語，促進母語世代傳承；
對學校kah政府單位ê建議：
6. 進行家庭母語推廣活動，宣導家庭母語ê重要性kah做法；
7. 打造母語積極正面ê形象，鼓勵囡仔講母語；
8. 提供家庭親子母語學習、使用kah娛樂ê資源；
9. 提供囡仔接觸母語ê機會，聘請講母語ê奶母、母語幼兒園、安親班，抑是串聯母語家庭，建立囡仔族語遊戲班；
10. 提供囡仔、青少年母語ê數位資源；開創新媒體ê母語使用，像網路、社群媒體等。

母語流失ê危機予咱認識著語言復振ê必要性。語言復振需要轉去上基礎ê家庭母語世代傳承。只有透過家長制定閣實施家庭語言政策，進行積極ê家庭語言管理，才有法度扭轉語言流失，促進語言延續力。

感謝

本文為國科會《家庭語言政策與語言保存》（NSC 101-2410-H-143-009-MY2）研究計畫的部分研究成果，感謝國科會補助。感謝康培德教授對本文初稿提出寶貴的建議kah修改意見。

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附錄：家庭語言政策與語言保存問卷

家庭語言政策與語言保存問卷（請家長填寫）

親愛的家長：

感謝您抽空填寫問卷。本問卷是關於家庭語言政策的調查，目的是想瞭解家庭的語言使用、語言態度及管理的狀況，並探討家庭語言政策與語言保存的關係。本調查純屬學術研究，請放心作答。感謝您的協助。

國立台東大學華語文學系

張學謙教授 敬上

A. 受訪者基本資料：請勾選（V）適當的空格

- A1. 性別：男性 女性; A2. 年齡：_____歲
A3. 居住地：北 中 南 東; A4. 地區：都市地區 鄉鎮地區
A5. 職業：軍公教 商 工 農 上班族 自由業 家管 其他
A6. 教育程度：國小或以下 國中 高中職 大學（專） 博碩士
A7. 家庭類型為：小家庭（夫妻、小孩） 三代同堂 單親家庭 祖孫家庭
A8. 您的族群：福佬人 客家人 外省人 原住民_____族 新移民_____國
A9. 配偶族群：福佬人 客家人 外省人 原住民_____族 新移民_____國
A10. 配偶年齡：_____歲;
A11. 小孩年齡：_____歲; A12. 性別：男 女

B1. 語言能力：請勾選家人會說的語言（具日常對話的能力），可複選。

	華語	台語	客語	原住民語	新移民語	其他
您父親	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
您母親	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
配偶的父親	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
配偶母親	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
您本人	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
您的配偶	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
小孩	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	

B2. 您小孩的語言能力：

您小孩的母語為：華語 台語 客語 原住民語 新移民語 其他

小孩的母語能力：流利 聽懂，會說一些 聽懂一些，不會講 無法聽說

華語能力：流利 聽懂，會說一些 聽懂一些，不會講 無法聽說

B3. 家庭成員交談使用母語與華語的比重（單選）：

夫妻與父母	<input type="checkbox"/> 母語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多母語	<input type="checkbox"/> 約一半	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多華語	<input type="checkbox"/> 華語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 不適用
您與配偶之間	<input type="checkbox"/> 母語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多母語	<input type="checkbox"/> 約一半	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多華語	<input type="checkbox"/> 華語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 不適用
您與子女	<input type="checkbox"/> 母語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多母語	<input type="checkbox"/> 約一半	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多華語	<input type="checkbox"/> 華語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 不適用
配偶與子女	<input type="checkbox"/> 母語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多母語	<input type="checkbox"/> 約一半	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多華語	<input type="checkbox"/> 華語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 不適用
祖父母跟子女	<input type="checkbox"/> 母語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多母語	<input type="checkbox"/> 約一半	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多華語	<input type="checkbox"/> 華語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 不適用
子女之間	<input type="checkbox"/> 母語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多母語	<input type="checkbox"/> 約一半	<input type="checkbox"/> 大多華語	<input type="checkbox"/> 華語為主	<input type="checkbox"/> 不適用

B4. 家人在家裡使用母語的頻率：幾乎沒有 很少 偶爾 經常 總是

B5. 家庭最常用的語言：華語 台語 客語 原住民語 新移民語 其他

C. 語言態度：請勾選最能代表您的意見的選項，數字越大表示越贊成。

1=很反對；2=反對；3=沒意見；4=贊成；5=很贊成

很 反 沒 贊 很

反 意 贊

對 對 見 成 成

1. 1 2 3 4 5 我認為越早學華語，華語會越好。
2. 1 2 3 4 5 我贊成在家中跟小孩只說華語。
3. 1 2 3 4 5 我認為家庭為了保存母語必須跟小孩只說母語。
4. 1 2 3 4 5 我贊成在家說母語和華語。
5. 1 2 3 4 5 我認為母語對小孩的華語有不良的影響。
6. 1 2 3 4 5 我認為小孩很容易在外學會華語。
7. 1 2 3 4 5 我認為會雙語的兒童學業比較好。
8. 1 2 3 4 5 我認為對母語非華語的學生，學校的母語教育相當重要。
9. 1 2 3 4 5 我認為家長有保存母語的責任。
10. 1 2 3 4 5 我贊成學校實施母語教育。
11. 1 2 3 4 5 我認為會說母語，才算是那一個族群的人。
12. 1 2 3 4 5 我認為華語最方便，台灣只要說華語就好。

D. 家庭語言管理：請勾選最能代表您的意見的選項（數字越大表示越贊成）

1. 1 2 3 4 5 我曾與配偶討論過使用什麼語言與子女交談。
2. 1 2 3 4 5 我有信心能影響小孩在家庭說母語。

3. 1 2 3 4 5 在決定家庭語言時，我有參考雙語方面的資料。

4. 1 2 3 4 5 決定家庭語言時，我有徵詢專家的意見。

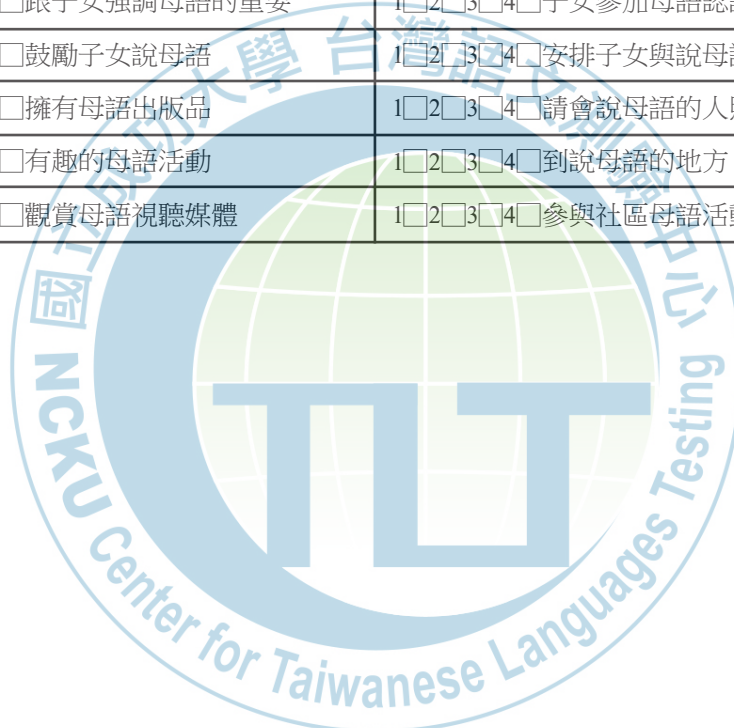
5. 1 2 3 4 5 決定家庭語言時，我有請教親友的意見。

6. 1 2 3 4 5 在我家，家長和長輩常順應小孩的語言使用。

E. 家庭語言管理策略：請勾選您參與的程度（數字越大表示越常使用）：

1=不曾；2=很少；3=偶爾；4=經常

1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 要求子女在家要說母語	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 要求子女選母語課
1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 跟子女強調母語的重要	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 子女參加母語認證或比賽
1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 鼓勵子女說母語	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 安排子女與說母語的人做朋友
1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 擁有母語出版品	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 請會說母語的人照顧小孩
1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 有趣的母語活動	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 到說母語的地方（家鄉）旅行
1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 觀賞母語視聽媒體	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 參與社區母語活動





A Study of Hêng-chhun Folksongs and Analysis of Lyrics from the Oral Tradition

Tēng-pang CHIU

National Museum of Taiwan Literature

Abstract

Hêng-chhun Peninsula was outside of official control when the Ching Dynasty government ruled parts of Taiwan. But after the Bó-tan siā Incident, The Ching government was forced to set up a county administration unit and build county walls in Hêng-chhun. Before these measures were taken, the area had long been occupied by a mix of people and races. Long isolation from the outside world helped preserve the folksong tradition more completely.

However, except for a few ethnomusic scholars who studied the music of the Hêng-chhun folksongs, very few people had thought of studying the lyrics passed down through the oral tradition. This paper intends to study the folksongs and analyze the value and meaning of the lyrics.

To achieve the above ends, the method of field research was used to collect the tunes and lyrics currently in existence in Hêng-chhun, for studying, analyzing and deciphering the meaning and value of Hêng-chhun folksongs.

Keywords: Hêng-chhun folksongs, Sū-siang-ki, Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ, Sù-kùi-chhun, Hong-káng-tiāu

收件日期2017.5.10/修訂日期2017.6.28/接受日期2017.7.6

Hêng-chhun Bîn-iâu Thàm-thó kap Kháu-thoân Koa-sû Pun-thiah

Tēng-pang CHIU

Kok-lip Tâi-oân Bûn-hâk-koán

Tiah-iàu

Hêng-chhun poàn-tó tī Boán-chheng tè-ko̍k thóng-tī Tâi-oân ê sī, iáu sī “hòa-gōe chi tē”, lō-bóe hoat-seng “Bó-tan siā sū-kiāⁿ”, Chheng-ko̍k chheng-hú chiah kō-put-jī-chiong kā Hêng-chhun siat chò koān, kí koān-siāⁿ. Tī siat koān chìn-chêng chia tiòh sī to chòk-kûn thau-lām tòa ê só-chāi, in-ūi tng-kī kap gōa-kài chíó chíh-chiap, chiah hō i ê bîn-iâu ē-tàng pó-chûn kah hiah ka-nng.

Khó-sioh, chia ê bîn-iâu khioh-khì chhī-kóa chò bîn-chòk im-gák gián-kiù ê hák-chiá, bat chhái-chip chò im-gák gián-kiù liáh-gōa, hán-tit ū lāng lái gián-kiù i leh thoân-chhiùⁿ ê koa-sû. Lán chit phiⁿ lūn-bûn tiòh phah-sng àn Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê khek-tiâu kap thoân-chhiùⁿ ê koa-sû lái thàm-thó, pun-thiah i ê kè-tát kap ì-gī.

Beh tát kàu téng-koān ê bók-ték, lán ē ēng tiân-iá tiâu-cha ê pō-sò lái chhái-chip bák-kim tī Hêng-chhun poàn-tó leh thoân-chhiùⁿ ê khek-tiâu kap koa-sû, chiah koh kā chhái-chip--tiòh ê khek-tiâu kap koa-sû hun-lūi pun-thiah, kái-soeh, lái tēng-hiān Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê kè-tát kap ì-gī.

Koan-kiàn-sû: Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu, Sū-siang-ki, Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ, Sù-kùi-chhun, Hong-káng-tiâu

1. Õe-thâu

Hêng-chhun kó-chá kiò-chò Lông-kiau, tī Bó-tan-siā sū-kiāⁿ liáu-āu ê 1879 nî, kap Hông-soaⁿ-koān thiah--khui, chiáⁿ-chò tók-líp ê koān-siáⁿ, hō-chò Hêng-chhun-koān, i ê koán-hát khu-hék pau-hâm chit-má Pîn-tong-koān ê Hêng-chhun-tìn, Chhâ-siáⁿ-hiong, Boán-chiu-hiong, Pang-soaⁿ-hiong, Bó-tan-hiong chit 5 ê nā kàu chhiu--nih tòh khai-sí thàu lóh-soaⁿ-hong ê só-chāi, ùi-tiòh beh kap chit-má ê Hêng-chhun iú-só khu-piát, lán kā i kiò-chò Tōa-hêng-chhun. Tōa-hêng-chhun tē-khu tī Tâi-oân ê siōng lâm-pêng, Tiong-iong-soaⁿ-mêh sòa lái kàu chia, chiáⁿ-chò koān-koān-kē-kē chē-chē sio-liân-sòa ê sió soaⁿ-lūn, i ê tang-pêng sī Thài-pêng-iōⁿ, sai-pêng sī Tâi-oân hái-kiap, lâm-pêng Pa-sū hái-kiap, sī chit tè 3 bīn óa hái ê poàn-tó, tī tē-lí--lín lán kā i kiò-chò Hêng-chhun poàn-tó.

Chá-chêng Hêng-chhun poàn-tó sī chit ùi chin oh thàn-chiáh ê só-chāi, chò tng-kang, lóh chhân-choh-sit sī it-poaⁿ lāng ê seng-oáh hong-sit chi it, chái-khí jít-thâu tú chhut--lái ê sí, choh-sit-lāng sái gū-chhia khi siáⁿ-gōa ê chhân--nih chêng-choh, jít-thâu beh lóh-hái ê sí, in chit-kūn chit-kūn hoaⁿ-hoaⁿ-hí-hí chhiùⁿ Hêng-chhun bīn-iâu, ùi chhân--nih tng--lái, siáu-tháu kui jít ê phî-lô, àm-sí-á pñg-pá liáu-āu, bô siáⁿ thang hó chò gī-niū, pêng-iú chio-chio--leh, ùi tiàm mng-kháu-tiáⁿ ah-sī kang-liâu, e hiân-á--ê e hiân-á, toaⁿ goeh-khîm--ê toaⁿ goeh-khîm, chhiùⁿ-koa--ê chhiùⁿ-koa, Hêng-chhun bīn-iâu tòh án-ne chit tē chit tē thng lóh-lái tī chit-ê keng-ti iu-bí, bīn-chêng sùn-phok ê só-chāi. M̄-koh, lán nā chim-chiok thiaⁿ in leh chhiùⁿ ê lōe-iông, ē hoat-hiân koa-sū lái-té, ù chok chē khi tang-pō thàn-chiáh, khui-hng ê kò-sū, chhiong-boán jîn-seng ê kiâm sng khó-siap, mā ù hong sit-bīn chò jī-téng kok-bīn ê pi-ai bû-nāi, iáh ù chhin-chêng kiⁿ-bīn kap su-hiong ê pi-hí, lī-hiong tók-sin-á ê loân-ài-kó, koh ù sin ùi tī-hiong-jîn tui Hêng-chhun kò-hiong ê siào-liām, só chhiùⁿ--chhut-lái ê sim-siaⁿ, che tòh sī in-ù khah-chá chia sī chit ùi thó-tē chin sán, ē-tàng chêng-choh ê só-chāi chió, Hêng-chhun lāng kơ-put-chiong tiòh-ài lī-hiong thàn-chiáh ê in-toaⁿ, só-pái, tī Tâi-oân bīn-iâu--nih, siōng ē-tàng hiáⁿ-bák tē-khu hong-keh--ê, ē-sái kóng tòh-sī tī Hêng-chhun poàn-tó tãi-tãi liú-thoân ê Hêng-chhun bīn-iâu.

1967 nî Khó Siōng-hūi, Sú Ûi-liāng in chiaⁿ-ê bīn-chòk im-gák hák-chiá hoat-khí

“bîn-koa chhái-chip hêng-tōng”, tī Hêng-chhun tē-khu hoat-hiân Tân Tàt kap bē-chió chít-sì-lâng lóng leh thoân-chhiùⁿ bîn-iâu ê cháu-chhiùⁿ si-jîn, hām chē-chē kām-tióh kâu-kâu tē-hng sek-chhái kiau seng-oáh keng-giām ê Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu. Liáu-āu, in chhái-chip--tióh ê bîn-iâu chu-liáu, chiah-ê bûn-hòa chu-sán m̄-nā ē-tàng hō lán chai-iaⁿ sian-bîn ê jîn-seng thé-giām, mā sio-siāng ē-tàng ùi hin lāi-té lāi lí-kái siā-hōe hong-māu ê kái-piàn, kap bîn-iâu liú-thoân ê chhim-chân ì-gī.

Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ē-tàng chāi-chāi khiā tī Hêng-chhun poàn-tó, khioh-khí i hit khoán hō lāng kiōng-bêng ê khek-tiāu: Sū-siang-ki, Pêⁿ-pō-tiāu, Sù-kùi-chhun, Gō-khang-á, Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ, Hong-káng sió-tiāu, Chiú-gû-tiāu liáh-gōa, chú-iàu sī i liú-thoân ê koa-sû, put-koán sī Tng-soaⁿ kòe Tâi-oân, áh-sī lī hong pōe chíⁿ í-ki tang-pō, khai-khún phiau-pók ê khó-chhó, su hong ê kan-khó hoaⁿ-hí, lī hong toaⁿ-sin lâm-lú chhi-bí ê ài-chêng kò-sū, hong sít-bîn pak-siah ê hiat-lūi khòng-sò, kan-khó ê lóng-chhoan seng-oáh, sīm-chì khng hàu, khng siān téng-téng, á sī o-ló poàn-tó bêng-bí-hong-kong, áh-sī liú-thoân Tâi-oân kok só-chāi ū sò pah nī lèk-sú, koh tài ū Hêng-chhun poàn-tó tēk-sek ê po-koa, lóng sī in thoân-chhiùⁿ ê hoân-úi. Á chiah-ê lōe-iōng ē-tàng kóng chin tàu-tah piáu-tát Hêng-chhun tē-khu chū-bîn ê chêng-kám, jîn-seng-koan, mā siang-tong thêng-tō lāi hoán-èng in ê siā-hōe hong-siók kap seng-oáh khoán-kéng, in-úi koa-sû kiau seng-oáh kiát-háp kah chiah-nih bā, só-pái, koa-sû--lín piáu-hiân--ê sī chin kâu chin tēk-sū ê tē-hng sek-chhái, chia chē-chē tēk-piát ê tē-lí khoán-kéng hām seng-oáh keng-giām, hō Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu tī chē-chē ê Tâi-oân tē-khu-seng bîn-iâu--lín khiā tī bô hoat-tō hong chhú-tāi ê tē-úi.

2. Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu kok-chióng khek-tiāu ê thàm-thó

1970 nî-tāi Tân Tàt tī Tâi-oân chò-chiāⁿ “Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu” kap “goèh-khím” ê ká-lê-á-hong liáu-āu, “Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu” kap “goèh-khím” ē-sái kóng í-keng chiāⁿ-chò Hêng-chhun tē-khu chit-ê só-chāi ê bûn-hòa piau-ki. Eng-kok im-gák-ka Ralph Vaughan Williams tī i ê tù-chok Bîn-chòk Im-gák-lūn--lín kóng, bîn-koa sī sùn-chhùi tít-kak--ê, m̄-sī chiàu sáⁿ-mih kè-ōe pian--ê, i sùn-chhùi sī kháu-thoân--ê, m̄-sī lóng bē piàn--ê, bîn-koa lóng sī sùn-chhùi soân-lút--ê, só-tì i ê pán-liâu sī ē-tàng chū-iú tiâu-chéng--ê, soân-lút tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ sī tēng-tháh kúi lō piàn--ê. Sú Úi-liāng jîn-úi bîn-koa sī bô

kì phó, sùn-chhùi kháu-thoân ê té koh it-tít tò-táh ê im-gák kiát-kò, bîn-koa sī siók sùn hiong-thó-sêng--ê. Lū Péng-chhoan kóng bîn-koa m̄-bián tui-kiù chok-chiá, thoân-sêng ê pō-sò m̄-bián óa-khò bûn-jī àh-sī gák-phó, mā m̄-sī kò-jîn lâi ká, sī hiong-thó chí p-thé thoân-sêng--ê. Khó Siông-hūi jîn-úi bîn-koa m̄-sī kò-jîn chò--ê, i sī tãi-chiòng chò-hóe chhòng-chok--ê, bîn-koa tī bô káng ê só-chāi kap sí-kan i ē kái-piàn, i thoân-sêng ê hong-sek sī kháu-thâu--ê, ài keng-kòe tng sí-kan ê khó-giām. Ûi téng-koân bô káng láng ê kóng-hoat, lán ē-tàng kóng bîn-koa sī “kháu-thoân--ê”, “hiong-thó--ê”, “tò-táh--ê”, “phok-sò--ê”, “chíp-thé--ê”, “chū-jiân--ê”, “liū-thoân--ê”, m̄-nā án-ne, tòh chún kóng i keng-kòe bô thêng ê ián-piàn, sio-siāng ē-tàng pò-chûn i giám-ngē ê sèⁿ-miā-lát. (胡紅波1995: 335)

Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu pún-sin tòh-sī bîn-koa, só-pái i tiāⁿ-tiòh mā ù téng-koân kóng--ê ê bîn-koa ê tèk-sèng: “kháu-thoân--ê”, “hiong-thó--ê”, “tò-táh--ê”, “phok-sò--ê”, “chíp-thé--ê”, “chū-jiân--ê”, “liū-thoân--ê”.

Liáu-kái Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê tèk-sèng liáu-āu, lán lâi thàm-thó Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê kok-chióng khek-tiāu. It-poaⁿ-tèk lâi kóng, Hêng-chhun láng só kóng ê bîn-iâu khek-tiāu chú-iàu sī “Sū-siang-ki”, “Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ”, “Sù-kùi-chhun”, “Gō-khang-á”, “Pēⁿ-po-tiāu” chit 5 ê khek-tiāu. Ê-té lán tiòh lâi siāu-kài chiaⁿ-ê khek-tiāu.

2.1. Sū-siang-ki:

Tī chia lán seng lâi thàm-thó “Sū-siang-ki” ê khí-goân. Kin-kù Chiong Bêng-khun ê khó-chhat, Hêng-chhun pòan-tó tī Hô-lân sī-tāi kap Bêng-tēⁿ sī-kî tòh ù im-gák ê liū-thoân--a (徐麗紗&林良哲2006:121). Oân-chéng kì-liók Hêng-chhun tē-khu siōng chá ê koaⁿ-hong bûn-hiàn, sī 1894 nî Tô Kè-siān chú-pian ê Hêng-chhun Koān-chì (恆春縣志), sui-bóng lâi-té kì-chài bē-chió Hêng-chhun tong-tē ê tèk-sū hong-siók, bîn-chêng, m̄-koh lóng bô kì-chài Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê kì-liók. 1926 nî chhut-pán ê Hêng-chhun Àn-lāi-chì (恆春案內誌) lâi-té ù kì-liók chit-chhiú Sū-siang-ki ê koa-sū, che eng-kai sī bók-chiàn iú-koan Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu siōng chá ê bûn-jī kì-liók. Chiàn-āu, 1947 nî 8 goèh 26, Lím Chheng-goat tī Tâi-oân Bûn-hòa Hiáp-hōe chú-pān ê bîn-iâu chō-tám-hōe kóng “...阮恆春方面有“四常車”¹，tsit條歌真普遍，...”，che lóng kan-na sī bûn-

¹ “四常車” tòh sī Sū-siang-ki ê ì-sù.

jī ê biô-sút niā-niā (徐麗紗&林良哲2006: 125). Ê ũ téng-koân chit-khoân hiân-siōng, chin ũ khó-lêng sī in-ũi chá-chêng Hêng-chhun kau-thong bô lī-piān, bô lāng chhái-liók, chiah ē kàu kah 1950 nî-tāi í-āu chiah chhut-hiân Sū-siang-ki ê iú-siaⁿ chu-liāu, sui-bóng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu hông hoat-hiân liáu khah òaⁿ, m̄-koh che sī bô hoat-tō kan-chèng i sán-seng ê nî-koh tòh khah òaⁿ.

Sū-siang-ki, Hêng-chhun lāng kóng i sī Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê koa-bú (周定邦 2006), Ô Âng-pho kóng i sī lâm Tâi-oân siōng ũ tãi-piáu-sèng ê bîn-koa (胡紅波1995: 335). Kín-kù Boán-chiu hong im-gák hák-chiá Chiong Bêng-khun ê tiâu-cha, chit-ê khek-tiâu tī Hêng-chhun tē-khu ũ “Sū-siang-ki”, “Chū-siang-ki”, “Sū-siang-khi” téng-téng bô-kàng ê kóng-hoat (鍾明昆63-70)². Khó Siōng-hūi tī siâu-kài Hêng-chhun-tiâu “Sū-siang-ki” ê Khí-goân kap Hoat-tián (恆春調“Sū-siang-ki” ê起源kap發展) ê bûn-chiuⁿ--nih, i kóng:

Sū-siang-ki ê lâi-goân ũ nng-chióng kóng-hoat. Chit-chióng kóng-hoat sī Hêng-chhun tī 1875 nî khai-sí khí koân-siáⁿ ê sī, in-ũi su-iàu chiok chē kang-lāng, Chheng-kok chêng-hú tiòh ùi Tng-soaⁿ chhōa bē-chió kang-lāng lâi, chia chē-chē ùi Tng-soaⁿ lâi thàn-chiáh ê kang-lāng, tī khang-khòe chò soah, in-ũi su-liām kò-hiong, siâu-liām bó-kiáⁿ, chiah lâi sán-seng--ê. Lán ùi Koeh Sù-lông pian ê Hêng-chhun Hong-kong (恆春風光) tòh ē-tàng chêng-bêng, i án-ne kóng: ... Lông-kiau ká siat koân-tī, bîn hoan siú-sat sū-kiáⁿ chiām chió, siā-hōe tauh-tauh an-tēng, Tng-soaⁿ ê í-bîn chit jít pí chit jít khah chē. Hiàng-sī Sòaⁿ-thâu lāng Bû A-tong, Bû Éng-seng pē-á-kiáⁿ, kap kúi-ā-ê tông-hiong--ê tī Thiàu-chiòh-soaⁿ ê soaⁿ-téng khò sio hóe-thòⁿ ùi-seng, ták-jít nā jít-thâu lóh-soaⁿ, khòⁿ ùi sai-pēng--khi, sim-koaⁿ-lâi tòh siūⁿ khí kò-hiong, chiah lâi phó-sēng chit-chūn miá-siaⁿ thàng choân Tâi ê bîn-iâu: “Sū-siang-ki”...

Tē-jī chióng kóng-hoat sī 17 sè-kí í-āu, ùi Tng-soaⁿ í-bîn lâi Tâi-oân ê hàn-jîn, tōa pō-hūn lóng tòa tī Tâi-oân se-pō ê pēⁿ-iūⁿ, bók-chhiú koh-chài í-bîn lâi--ê, in-ũi se-pō pēⁿ-iūⁿ hō khah chá lâi ê khai-khún kah chhap-to--a, tì-sú khah òaⁿ lâi--ê chí-hó pōaⁿ-soaⁿ kòe-niá, lâi Hêng-chhun

² Chiong Bêng-khun tū Hêng-chhun Bîn-iâu, siu tī Hêng-chhun Tin-chi (恆春鎮志) koàn 6 phiⁿ 2.

khui-hng thàn-chiáh, chia-hê lêng tī khang-khòe chò soah, àh-sī kòe-nī kòe-cheh ê sí, in-ūi siàu-liām kò-hiong, iú-kám-jī-hoat chia-hê lêng sán-seng “Sū-siang-ki”--ê.

Á nā kóng tiòh “Sū-siang-ki” ê khek-tiâu khí-goân, che tòh chin pháiⁿ kóng i sī tī Tâi-oân àh-sī tī hiàng-sī ê Tng-soaⁿ thoân--kòe-lái-ê. Kin-kù thâu-chêng ê soat-bêng, ū lêng kóng “Sū-siang-ki” sī Sòaⁿ-thâu lêng Bū A-tong, Bū Éng-seng in pē-á-kiáⁿ chhiùⁿ--chhut-lái-ê, nā án-ne i sī m̄-sī chioh Tiong-kok Sòaⁿ-thâu ê bîn-koa khek-tiâu chhiùⁿ--ê? Áh-sī kī-tha ê kang-lêng chioh Hok-kiàn àh-sī Kng-tang ê bîn-koa khek-tiâu chhiùⁿ--ê? Tī bô hoat-tō chêng-sit “Sū-siang-ki” ê khek-tiâu sī chioh Tiong-kok bó chit-ê só-chāi ê bîn-koa khek-tiâu chhiùⁿ--ê ê sí, goán kam-goân toân-tēng “Sū-siang-ki” sī àn Tiong-kok í-bîn kàu Tâi-oân hia chá-kī ê hàn-chòk chhiùⁿ--chhut-lái ê bîn-koa, i sī pah-gōa tang chêng ê Hêng-chhun kang-lêng chhiùⁿ--chhut-lái-ê. (許常惠1999a: 19-20)

Téng-koân lán khòaⁿ--tiòh-ê sī Khó Siông-hūi tui “Sū-siang-ki” ê khí-goân ê khòaⁿ-hoat. Sòa--lòh, lán lán khòaⁿ Gô Chhàn-khun ê kóng-hoat, i tī Hêng-chhun Bîn-iâu Thâm-soh (恆春民謠探索) lái-té kóng:

Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu kin-kù sú-liâu, sī khí-goân tī Tông-tiâu Cheng-goân Goân-hô nī kan liú-hêng ê tiok-ki. . . . Ūi téng-koân ê soat-bêng lán thang chai, Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê goân-miá sī “Sū-siang-ki” m̄-sī “Su-sióng-khí”. “Su-sióng-khí” chit 3 jī sī Hêng-chhun-tin koaⁿ-phài ê tē-it-jīm tìn-tiúⁿ Iáp Teng-hoat sian-siⁿ (Bîn-kok 35 nī kàu 37 nī), kin-kù i ai-oân sò-chêng ê soân-lút, kap i tī Hêng-chhun tē-khu liú-thoân ê pōe-kéng, chia-hê ká kái-chò “Su-sióng-khí”. Kī-sit “Sū-siang-ki” chia-hê sī chiaⁿ-miá.

Tī Bêng boát Chheng chho; in-ūi Bân-lâm tē-khu thian-chai, chiàn-loân chiáp-khí, pēh-sèⁿ liú-lí-sit-só, sūi-lêng lī-hiong cháu-loân. Tòh tī Kng-tang séng Phó-lêng koân Āu-chng ê Bū Goân-sok chit ke 6 káu-chàu, tòe Tēⁿ Sêng-kong tē-saⁿ the-chhù ê jīn-má, tī Bêng-tiâu Éng-lék 15 nī

hit kha-tau lâi-kàu Tâi-oân, lô-bóe koh cháu lâi-kàu Lông-kiau Lâm-oan Thiàu-chiòh-soaⁿ téng-koân tòa, sio hóe-thòaⁿ leh thàn-chiáh,... Tng-tán jit-lòh hông-hun sí,... , chit-ê sí-chūn tùi 1 ê lí-hiong pōe-chéⁿ ê lāng lâi kóng, sī siōng ē siàu-liām kò-hiong ê sí, bô-tiuⁿ-bô-tí chhiùⁿ tiòh tī kò-hiong sèk-sāi ê koa. Hit chióng iu-bí, ai-oàn ê soân-lút, hō lāng kám-tōng, ín-khí chin-chē lāng ê kah-ì kap kiōng-bêng. Chiah si-kè liū-thoân, chiáⁿ-chò Hêng-chhun tē-khu chit-khoán ték-sû ê bûn-hòa, táuh-táuh-á liū-thoân kàu Hêng-chhun tē-khu ê múi-chit-ê chng-thâu, mā chiáⁿ-chò Hêng-chhun peh-sèⁿ seng-oáh--nih áh-sī pŋg-pá liáu-āu ê gī-niū. Chū-án-ne chiáⁿ-chò seng-oáh--nih bē-tàng bô ê koa-khek,... (吳燦崑2001: 9-10)

Lán ùi Khó Siōng-hūi kap Gô Chhân-khun tùi “Sū-siang-ki” ê khí-goân ê khòaⁿ-hoat, ē-tàng kā in kui-láp chò ē-bīn kúi tiám:

- (1) Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu kin-kù sú-liáu, sī khí-goân tī Tông-tiâu Cheng-goân Goân-hô nī kan liū-hêng ê tiok-ki.
- (2) Sòaⁿ-thâu lāng Bū A-tong, Bū Éng-seng pē-á-kiáⁿ, kap kúi-ā-ê tông-hiong--ê, tī Thiàu-chiòh-soaⁿ ê soaⁿ-téng khò sio hóe-thòaⁿ ūi-seng, ták-jit nā jit-thâu lóh-soaⁿ, khòaⁿ ùi sai-pêng--khì, sim-koaⁿ-lāi tóh siūⁿ-khí kò-hiong, chiah lâi phò sêng chit-chūn miá-siaⁿ thàng choân Tâi ê bîn-iâu “Sū-siang-ki”...
- (3) 17 sè-kí í-āu, ùi Tng-soaⁿ í-bīn lâi Tâi-oân ê Hàn-jîn, tōa-pō-hūn lóng tòa tī Tâi-oân se-pō ê pēⁿ-iūⁿ, bóe-chhiú koh-chài í-bīn lâi--ê, in-ūi se-pō pēⁿ-iūⁿ hō khah chá lâi--ê khai-khún kah chha-put-to--a, ti-sú khah òaⁿ lâi--ê chí-hó pōaⁿ-soaⁿ kòe-niá, lâi Hêng-chhun khui-hng thàn-chiáh, chiah-ê lāng kang-khòe chò soah, áh-sī kòe-ní kòe-cheh ê sí, in-ūi siàu-liām kò-hiong, iú-kám-jî-hoat chiah lâi sán-seng “Sū-siang-ki”--ê.

Sòa--lòh, lán lâi khòaⁿ Tiong-kok ê hák-chiá án-chóaⁿ kóng. Tiong-kok ê hák-chiá Nâ Soat-hui (藍雪霏) tī 1998 nī 12 goèh 31 chhut-pán ê Tâi-oân Goân-liú (臺灣源流) tē 12 kí--nih, hoat-piáu 1 phiⁿ bûn-chiuⁿ Hêng-chhun Bîn-koa ê Chhō-pō Piān-sek—Tân

Chùn-pin Hêng-chhun Bîn-iâu Gián-kiú Thak Liáu-âu (恆春民歌之初步辨識—陳俊斌《恆春調民謠研究》讀後), i tī lâi-té kóng:

Hêng-chhun 5 chióng bîn-koa im-tiâu kap Bân-lâm bîn-koa, kiau Bân-se, Bân-pak, Bân-lâm Kheh-ka bîn-koa, hām Tâi-oân goân-chū-bîn Pi-lâm-chòk, Pâi-oân-chòk bîn-koa long ú koan-hē. Chhin-chhiūⁿ Hêng-chhun bîn-koa ê koa-sû ū chit-kóa kap Bân-lâm soaⁿ-tē liū-hêng ê bîn-koa ê koa-sû sio-kâng; Hêng-chhun bîn-koa--nih ê “Sù-kùi-chhun” ê khek-tiâu kap Bân-lâm soaⁿ-tē Hôa-an Kiⁿ-chí Khui-hoe Pêh-phau-phau (梔子開花白波波) beh siâng beh siâng; “Sū-siang-ki” kap “Pêⁿ-po-tiâu” lâi-té ún-hâm Bân-lâm bîn-koa chi kàn-chiap peh tō im-têng kiap-kò hām chhit tō tōa-thiâu soân-lút chìn-hêng; “Gō-khang sió-tiâu” ê “gō-khang” ê chheng-hō; eng-kai tit-chiap lâi-chū Bân-lâm Chiang-chiu “Gím-koa”, kàn-chiap goân chū Choân-chiu “Lâm-khek”. “Gū-bóe-pōaⁿ” eng-kai lâi-chū Hêng-chhun Pâi-oân-chòk bîn-koa. (藍雪霏1998: 84-85)

M̄-koh, Chhâ-siâⁿ ê lâu chhoan-tiúⁿ Lâm Thiam-hoat in jīn-úi “Sū-siang-ki” pún-lâi tòh chhut-chū Chhâ-siâⁿ. 1967 nî Khó Siông-hūi tī Hêng-chhun-tìn Tâi-kong-lí hoat-hiân 62 hòe ê Tân Tât, hō Tân Tât hiông-hiông chhut-miâ, Sū-siang-ki mā thoân phiàn choân Tâi-oân, lō-bóe soah hō choân Tâi-oân ê lāng lóng liāh-chún Sū-siang-ki sī ùi Hêng-chhun-tìn sán-seng--ê. (屠佳&林德龍2005)

Koh-chài kóng, pit-chiá tī 2006 nî H--goeh kā Chu Teng-sūn chhái-hóng ê sí, i kóng:

A-peh³ : Hit-chūn tòh leh chhiūⁿ--lah, goán ê téng-pòe, to ē-sái kóng ū Hêng-chhun tòh ū Hêng-chhun-tiâu--lah, só-í kòe-âu in leh kóng, Tiuⁿ Sin-thoân lâu sian-siⁿ leh kóng ū chit-lē Sū-siang-ki, kóng sī Bū Goân-sok tī Tng-soaⁿ kòe-lâi Lâm-oan sio hóe-thòhⁿ, siūⁿ tiòh kò-hiong tī hia leh chhiūⁿ Sū-siang-ki, chit-chióng--ê góa chng-jân bô leh kā lí siàn-táu kah chit-chióng--ê lah. Tong-kí-sí Chê-lò-tông kòe--lâi siáⁿ-mih sí-tâi,

3 Ê-té ê chhái-hóng kì-liók “A-peh” sī kí Chu Teng-sūn, “Pang” sī pit-chiá.

Bû Goân-sok kòe--lâi siáⁿ-mih só-chāi? Kóng chit-ê khah chhián--leh-lah, góa káⁿ hām Tiuⁿ Sin-thoân sio-chìⁿ--lah, góa kóng lí ka-tī gūi-chō-ê-lah, m̄-bián kóng siáⁿ, chit-ê gōa-séng-lâng kòe-lâi Tâi-oân tit-beh 5, 6 chap nî--a-lah, ū ê kóng-ōe iáu-bōe chiàⁿ-im, i ē chhiùⁿ Sū-siang-ki? I ē chhiùⁿ Sū-siang-ki? He gūi-chō-ê-lah, góa m̄ ài sìn. Á í chit-lō sio hóe-thò^a, kó-chá thà ū lāng leh sio hóe-thò^a? Hêng-chhun sio hóe-thò^a sī tī Jit-pún-lāng kòe--lâi, Jit-pún sī-tāi chiah sio hóe-thò^a--ê, sio hóe-thò^a in lóng ūn kòe Jit-pún leh hiáⁿ, lóng ūn kòe Jit-pún, lí he kóng hit-chióng--ê lóng pèh-pèh-chhát--lah, he gūi-chō-ê, kóng hit-chióng--ê góa m̄ ài sián. Lí kóng chit-ê Sū-siang-ki kan-na lí ka-tī leh kóng--lah, Boán-chiu lāng bô lāng leh kóng Bû Goân-sok--lah, Chhâ-siáⁿ lāng bô lāng leh kóng Bû Goân-sok--lah, Hong-káng lāng ā bô lāng leh kóng Bû Goân-sok--lah, tók-tók lí Tiuⁿ Sin-thoân leh kóng Bû Goân-sok--lah, he bô lāng kóng án-ni. Ū Hêng-chhun tòh ū chit-ê Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu.

Pang: Gín-á ê sī-tāi tòh ū thiaⁿ lāng leh chhiùⁿ bîn-iâu--ah?

A-peh: Lóng ū, long ú. Lí leh kóng chit-ê Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu, Sū-siang-ki tòh-sī bó, Tân Tât lâu-sian-siⁿ ê téng-pòe hit-lō kui-pah-nī tòh leh chhiùⁿ, chhiùⁿ lóh-lâi sò^a Tân Tât--á lah, Tân Tât tī leh chím-á 1 pah khòng it hòe--lah, só-í m̄-thang o-lām kóng-ōe--lah. I nā kóng, lán ê chór-sian tong-kí-sī mā ùi Tng-soaⁿ kòe--lâi hoⁿ, tòh tiàm tī Tâi-oân khai-khún, á tòh hoat-bêng chit-ê Sū-siang-ki khi chhiùⁿ, góa tòh beh sián--lah, sím-mih Bû Goân-sok tī Tng-soaⁿ kòe-lâi Lâm-oan, bô, khi hō-chèk-khò kā hian, nā-ū Bû Goân-sok miá ē tī hō-chèk-khò--lah, khò^a kúi nī-chhù, lán nāng lāng lâi hian--lah, góa tòh káⁿ hām i chìⁿ--ah, iá in bó hō-chò Kí-bí, he lí ka-tī hō ê miá lah, m̄-thang kóng siáⁿ-mih Bû Goân-sok in bó hō-chò Kí-bí, lán m̄ hó o-lām kóng, lèk-sú siōng bô án-ni--ê.

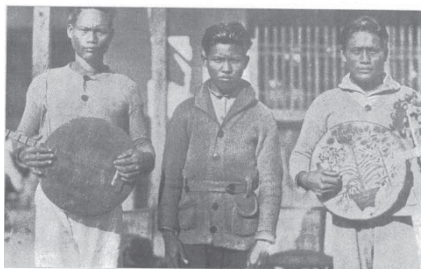
Pang: Só-í lín sè-hàn ê sī, tòh thiaⁿ téng-pòe án-chó^a chhiùⁿ, tòh kā óh--khit-lâi? Kám-sī án-ne?

A-peh: Tiòh--ah, chím-á goán Hêng-chhun lāng nā-ū chiūⁿ soaⁿ-tiūⁿ lâi kóng--lah, chiūⁿ soaⁿ-tiūⁿ leh sio hóe-thò^a áh sī leh thoa-liâu--lah, lóng

ka-tī ū khí 1 keng liâu-á, àm-sí chiáh-pá lóng khi 1 keng chóng-liâu, lòh-khi chóng-liâu hia, ták-ke tī hia chhiùⁿ--lah, hit-chūn leh chhiùⁿ, tī soaⁿ-tiūⁿ lóng-chóng he ta chhiùⁿ--ê, bô kóng leh e hiân-á lah hoⁿh, ū pūn phín-á, ēng tek-á chò phín-á, lóng ū leh pūn phín-á, cha-pơ cha-bớ lóng tī leh sio-po chhiùⁿ án-ni, kóng chit-ê Bū Goân-sok, góa chin-chiàⁿ hoán-tùi, góa hoán-tùi che. (周定邦2006)

Lán ùi téng-koân pit-chiá ká Chu Teng-sūn chhái-liòk ê hóng-tâm kì-liòk lâi-té, lán ē-tàng chai-iaⁿ Chu Teng-sūn tui Sū-siang-ki ê khí-goân ê khòaⁿ-hoat, i jīn-úi Sū-siang-ki sī Hêng-chhun ê téng-pòe lāng, Tân Tát lâu-sian-siⁿ ê téng-pòe kui-pah-nī tòh leh chhiùⁿ--ah, ē-sái kóng ū Hêng-chhun tòh ū Hêng-chhun-tiâu, in-úi Boán-chiu lāng bô lāng leh kóng Bū Goân-sok, Chhâ-siáⁿ lāng bô lāng leh kóng Bū Goân-sok, Hong-káng lāng mā bô lāng leh kóng Bū Goân-sok, tók-tók Tiuⁿ Sin-thoân leh kóng Bū Goân-sok, koh-chài kóng, kó-chá thài ū lāng leh sio hóc-thòⁿ? Hêng-chhun sio hóc-thòⁿ sī Jit-pún lāng kòe--lâi, Jit-pún sī-tāi chia h sio hóc-thòⁿ--ê, só-í Chu Teng-sūn bô tông-ì Sū-siang-ki ê khí-goân sī Bū Goân-sok in pē-á-kiáⁿ chit khoán kóng-hoat, i tian-tò jīn-tông Sū-siang-ki sī lán ê chò-sian tong-kí-sī ùi Tng-soaⁿ kòe--lâi, tiàm tī Tâi-oân khai-khún chia h lâi hoat-bêng Sū-siang-ki--ê, chit khoán kóng-hoat kap Chhâ-siáⁿ ê lâu-pòe chú-tiuⁿ Sū-siang-ki sī ùi Chhâ-siáⁿ sán-seng--ê, sī kâng-khoán ê tō-lí, lóng sī chú-tiuⁿ Sū-siang-ki sī tī Hêng-chhun poán-tò sán-seng--ê. Lán ká chhim-siūⁿ, keng-sit Chu Teng-sūn chit khoán kóng-hoat kap Ng Tit-sī kóng “Tâi-gí lāng ê koa-iâu chhō-kí lóng sī ùi Bân-lâm tē-khu chah--lâi-ê, m̄-koh āu--lâi bân-bân-á thàu-lām tiòh Tâi-oân tēk-iú ê sek-chhái, chiong-kí-bóe chhòng-chō chhut Tâi-oân tēk-iú ê mih-kiāⁿ.” (黃得時1967: 48) bô oân-choân óa-ì, koh-chài kóng Ng Tit-sī chit khoán kóng-hoat siuⁿ kòe ló-chhó, kàu bók-chiân iáu bô jīm-hô ê cheng-kì ē-tàng cheng-bêng “Tâi-gí lāng ê koa-iâu chhō-kí lóng sī ùi Bân-lâm tē-khu chah--lâi-ê,” he kan-na sī it-poaⁿ lāng ê sióng-siōng niā-niā, sióng-siōng ka-tī sī Hàn-jīn, khiā tī Hàn-jīn ê koan-tiám lâi kóng--ê, hoân-sè chia ê Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu sī Pēⁿ-pơ-chòk lāng àh-sī Pâi-oan-chòk lāng in goân-té ê bîn-koa khek-tiâu, in-úi kap kí-tha ê chòk-kūn bîn-hòa sán-seng kau-liú, iông-háp, koh-chài hàn-hòa liáu-āu òaⁿ ēng Tâi-gí chò bîn-koa ê gí-giân--ê mā bô tek-khak, che lán ùi ē-té ê tō-phìⁿ 1,

tô-phiⁿ 2 kap tô-phiⁿ 3 lâi pò-chhiong soat-bêng.



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← Tô-phiⁿ 1. Jit-jîn-á sí-tāi Ko-hiông chiu Pîn-tong kûn ê Pêⁿ-pò-chòk lāng. (張德水1996: kah-tô)



← Tô-phiⁿ 2. Chiàn-āu Hêng-chhun tìn Tāi-kong lāng Tân Tăt. (風潮有聲出版有限公司 2000: hong-bīn)



← Tô-phiⁿ 3. 2007 nî Hêng-chhun tìn Bang-sa lāng Chu Teng-sūn. (2007 nî 9 goèh 22, Chiu Tēng-pang hip)

Lán chim-chiok kā khòaⁿ téng-koân hit 3 tiuⁿ siòng-phiⁿ, tô-phiⁿ 1 chiàⁿ-chhiú pêng kap tò-chhiú pêng hit 2 ê Pêⁿ-pò-chòk lāng, in kap tô-phiⁿ 2 ê Tân Tăt, tô-phiⁿ 3 ê Chu Teng-sūn in phāiⁿ goèh-khîm ê hong-sek lóng sio-siāng, lóng sī tī khîm-pèⁿ óa khîm-kó (im-siuⁿ) ê só-chāi khan 1 tiâu soh-á kòa tī keng-kah-thâu. Chit 3 tiuⁿ tô-phiⁿ sī 3 ê bô-kāng sí-tāi ê bîn-iâu koa-chhiú, thâu 1 tiuⁿ sī khan tī Tiuⁿ Tek-chúí 1996 nî chhut-pán ê

Tâi-oân Chéng-chók, Tē-miâ, Chèng-tī lân-kek (台灣種族、地名、政治沿革) hit pún chheh--lín-ê, chiàu i hit tiuⁿ tô-phiⁿ ê bûn-jī soat-bêng, sī Jit-jîn-á sî-tâi Ko-hiông chiu Pîn-tong kûn ê Pêⁿ-pò-chók lâng, tī chia lán ē-tàng ùi Jit-jîn-á sî-tâi ê tē-hng chè-tō lāi chhui-sng hit tiuⁿ tô-phiⁿ ê nî-tâi. Tâi-chèng 9 nî (1920) Jit-pún chèng-hú tī Tâi-oân sít-si tē-hng chè-tō kái-chèng, kā tē-hng hêng-chèng khu-hèk tiông-ōe chò 5 chiu (Tâi-pak, Sin-tek, Tâi-tiong, Tâi-lâm, Ko-hiông), 3 thiaⁿ (Tâi-tang, Hoe-lian-káng, Phêⁿ-ô), chiu ē-té siat chhī, kûn, ... (張德水1996: 18), 5 chiu 3 thiaⁿ ê khu-ōe sī: Ko-hiông chiu siat 2 chhī 7 kûn, 2 chhī tóh-sī Ko-hiông chhī kap Pîn-tong chhī, 7 kûn tóh-sī Kong-san kûn, Hōng-soaⁿ kûn, Kî-san kûn, Pîn-tong kûn, Tiō-chiu kûn, Tang-káng kûn, Hêng-chhun kûn, ... (張德水1996: 46). 1945 nî chiàn-āu Kok-bín-tóng iân-siòk Jit-pún tī Tâi-oân ê Chóng-tok-hú ê hêng-chèng thé-chè, kan-na kā chiu, thiaⁿ kái chò koān, chiu ē-kha ê chhī thê-seng chò kap koān kâng keh ê séng-hat-chhī, chiu, thiaⁿ ē-kha ê kûn kái chò khu, ... (張德水1996: 56); ùi téng-koān ê soat-bêng, lán ē-tàng kóng hit tiuⁿ siông-phiⁿ sī 1920 nî kàu 1945 nî hit-chūn hip--ê. Nā-sī tē 2 tiuⁿ siông-phiⁿ, sī Tân Tât boán-liân hip--ê, chiàu i kòe-sin ê nî-tâi (1981) chhui-sng, sī 1970 nî-tâi hip ê siông-phiⁿ. Tē 3 tiuⁿ siông-phiⁿ sī pit-chiá tī 2007 nî 9--goèh kā Chu Teng-sūn hip--ê, kàu-taⁿ Hêng-chhun lâng sio-siàng koh án-ne leh phāiⁿ khîm chhiùⁿ Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu, kap tô-phiⁿ 4 Tiong-kok lâng Siōng Tióng-kùi (尚長貴) ê giáh khîm hong-sek oân-choân bô-kâng, jī-chhiáⁿ Tiong-kok ê goèh-khîm kan-na ēng tī phōaⁿ-chhiùⁿ, pēng bô chū tóaⁿ chū chhiùⁿ bîn-iâu ê thoân-thóng, tī chia lán ē-tàng chèng-bêng 1 hāng sū-sít, Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu sī kó-chá ê Hêng-chhun lâng lâu--lòh-lâi ê bîn-iâu, kap Tiong-kok chít-sut-á koan-hē to bô.



⇐ Tô-phiⁿ 4. 2008 nî Tiong-kok lâng Siōng Tióng-kùi. (咚咚鏘中華戲曲網2008)

Lán koh ùi Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ēng ê gák-khì lâi thàm-thó, Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu chá-kî lóng sī ēng ta chhiùⁿ--ê, che kap Tâi-oân po-koa sio-siàng, iah tóh sī kóng, chá-

chêng chhiùⁿ Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu sī bô ēng gák-khì phōaⁿ-chàu--ê, che ùi chit-chūn koh ù chit-kóa chhiùⁿ Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê koa-chhiú ê sin-khu téng ē-tàng tit-tiòh chêng-bêng. Āu--lâi, in-úi goèh-khîm ê hoat-bêng, Hêng-chhun lêng chiah ēng goèh-khîm lâi phōaⁿ-chhiùⁿ, m̄-koh mā ù lêng ēng khak-á-hiân àh-sī tōa-kóng-hiân leh phōaⁿ-chhiùⁿ, kán-tan kóng, goèh-khîm, khak-á-hiân, tōa-kóng-hiân sī Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu phōaⁿ-chhiùⁿ ê gák-khì, lâi-té goèh-khîm siōng chē lêng ēng, só-í hiân-chhú-sī goèh-khîm í-keng chiáⁿ-chò Hêng-chhun thoân-thóng bûn-hòa ê siōng-teng--ah. Hêng-chhun lêng chhiùⁿ Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ēng lâi phōaⁿ-chhiùⁿ ê goèh-khîm, i ê gōa-koan chhiūⁿ tô-phiⁿ 5 án-ne, che sī Tâi-oân liām-koa leh ēng ê goèh-khîm, lán ká i hō-chò Tâi-oân goèh-khîm, kiau tô-phiⁿ 6 ê Tiong-kok goèh-khîm bô siáng, ùi chia lán koh ē-tàng chêng-bêng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu sī ēng Tâi-oân gák-khì chò phōaⁿ-chhiùⁿ, kap Tiong-kok chit-sut-á khan-liân tò bô, in-úi tī Oát-lâm mā ù lúi-sū ê goèh-khîm (chhiáⁿ khòaⁿ tô-phiⁿ 7), Hân-kok mā ù lúi-sū ê gák-khì, Jit-pún mā ù lúi-sū goèh-khîm ê gák-khì (Sam-bí-sián, chhiáⁿ khòaⁿ tô-phiⁿ 8) (中華百科全書網站2008), m̄-koh bē-sái in-úi án-ne kóng Oát-lâm, Hân-kok, Jit-pún in ēng goèh-khîm phōaⁿ-chhiùⁿ ê bîn-iâu tòh kap Tiong-kok ù koan-hē, sī Tiong-kok thoân--kòe-khì-ê, nā-bô lán khòaⁿ tô-phiⁿ 9 Í-chòk ê goèh-khîm kap tô-phiⁿ 10 Í-chòk tōaⁿ sam hiân goèh-khîm àh-sī tô-phiⁿ 11 Sat-nî-chòk tōaⁿ peh-kak goèh-khîm, lán kám ē-tàng toàn-tēng in leh chhiùⁿ ê bîn-iâu sī Tiong-kok thoân--kòe-khì-ê, nā án-ne kóng tòh siuⁿ ló-chhó, mā bô chêng-kì, só-í lán kóng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu, choát-tùi m̄-sī ùi Tiong-kok àh-sī pat-ê kok-ka thoân--kòe-khì-ê, sī tī lán chit tè thó-tē seⁿ--chhut-lâi ê bîn-koa.

Tô-phiⁿ 5. Tâi-oân goèh-khîm. ↓

Tô-phiⁿ 6. Tiong-kok goèh-khîm. ↓



Tô-phiⁿ 7. Oát-lâm goèh-khîm. ↓
(NGUYET goèh-khîm)



Tô-phiⁿ 8. Jit-pún ê Sam-bí-sián. ↓



Tô-phiⁿ 9. Tiong-kok Í-chòk goèh-khîm. ↓ Tô-phiⁿ 10. Í-chòk tôaⁿ sam-hiân goèh-khîm. ↓



Tô-phiⁿ 11. Sat-nî-chòk tôaⁿ peh-kak goèh-khîm. ↓



Lán kok lâi pun-thiah Gô Chhàn-khun tùi Sū-siang-ki ê khí-goân ê kóng-hoat, tī thâu-chêng lán ū ín-iōng i ê bûn-chiuⁿ, i kóng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu kin-kù sú-liâu, sī khí-goân tī Tông-tiâu Cheng-goân Goân-hô nî-kan liú-hêng ê tiok-ki, koh kóng Bêng boát Chheng chhō, in-ūi Bân-lâm tē-khu thian-chai, chiàn-loān chiáp khí, peh-sèⁿ liú-lí-sit-só, sūi lāng lí-hiong chāu-loān. Tòà tī Kng-tang séng Phó-lêng koān Āu-chng ê Bû Goân-sok chit ke 6 káu-chāu, tòe Tēⁿ Sêng-kong tē saⁿ the-chhù ê jîn-má, tī Tiong-kok Bêng-tiâu Éng-lèk 15 nî hit kha-tau lâi-kàu Tâi-oân, lō-bóe koh chāu lâi-kàu Lông-kiau Lâm-oan Thiàu-chiòh-soaⁿ téng-koân tòà, sio hóe-thòàⁿ leh thàn-chiáh. Tī chia, it-lâi, Gô Chhàn-khun bô kóng i sī kin-kù siáⁿ-mih sú-liâu lâi chêng-bêng Hêng-chhun

bîn-iâu ê ian-goân sī Tông-tiâu Cheng-goân Goân-hô nî-kan liú-hêng ê tiok-ki; jī--lái, i koh kóng Bû Goân-sok chít ke 6 kháu-chàu, sī tī Bêng Tēⁿ chiàm Tâi ê sî-kî lâi--ê, che bêng-bêng chêng-âu mâu-tún, jī-chhiáⁿ sio hóe-thòⁿ ê hāng-giáp sī kàu kah Jit-pún sî-tâi chiaⁿ ũ--ê, só-í Gô Chhàn-khun ê kóng-hoat ē oân-choân bô kho-hák kin-kù ê thoân-soat, bē-tàng chún-sng--ê.

Nā-sī Tiong-kok hák-chiá Nâ Soat-hui ê kóng-hoat mā-sī bô sáⁿ kin-kù--ê, i kóng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê koa-sû ũ chít-kóa kap Tiong-kok Bân-lâm soaⁿ-tē liú-hêng ê bîn-koa koa-sû sio-kāng, só-í Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu lâi-chū Tiong-kok, m̄-koh Chiā Hùn-seng bat kóng--kòe, “Tâi-oân ê ku-bîn, pún-té sī lán Hok-kiàn láng sóa--kòe-khì-ê, bók-koài hit-ê só-chāi ê koa-iâu, ē liú-thoân tng-lâi lán Hok-kiàn” (謝雲聲1928: 11-12). Che piáu-sī Tiong-kok ê koa-iâu mā ũ khó-lêng sī ùi Tâi-oân thoân--khì-ê; i koh kóng tiòh Hêng-chhun bîn-koa--nih ê Sù-kùi-chhun ê khek-tiâu kap Bân-lâm soaⁿ-tē Hôa-an Kiⁿ-chí Khui-hoe Pèh-phau-phau (梔子開花白波波) beh siāng beh siāng, chít khoán hām-hô ê lūn-soat, thèh kui-ê khek-tiâu--nih chít-chat-á sió-khóa beh siāng beh siāng ê só-chāi, tòh kóng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu lâi-chū Bân-lâm soaⁿ-tē bîn-koa, sít-chāi sī chin chho-ló ê lūn-sút, in-ūi nā-sī án-ne kóng lūn-tiám tòh sêng-lip, án-ne lán mā ē-sái thèh Au-chiu áh-sī Bí-chiu, Hui-chiu kap in Tiong-kok bô-chít-ê só-chāi ê bîn-koa ũ kóa sio-siāng, lâi kóng in Tiong-kok ê bîn-koa sī lâi-chū Au-chiu áh-sī Bí-chiu, Hui-chiu. Só-í i kóng Sū-siang-ki, Pēⁿ-pō-tiâu lâi-té ún-hām Bân-lâm bîn-koa chi kàn-chiap peh tō im-tēng kiak-kò hām chhit tō tōa thiâu soán-lút chìn-hêng, áh-sī kóng Gō-khang-sió-tiâu ê “gō-khang” ê chheng-hor eng-kai tit-chiap lâi-chū Bân-lâm Chiang-chiu “Gím-koa”, kàn-chiap goân chū Choân-chiu “Lâm-khek”, téng-téng ê lūn-sút, kap Khó Siông-hūi hit khoán Tâi-oân bîn-koa sī Tiong-kok bîn-koa ê chít-pō-hūn ê tōa Tiong-kok su-sióng, kóng-hoat sī káng khoán--ê, lóng sī bē-tàng sêng-lip ê lūn-sút. Àn Gô Êng-sūn ê lūn-sút lán ē-tàng tit tiòh chêng-bêng:

“Gō-khang-sió-tiâu” pún-té khó-lêng sī koa-á hē-thóng ê khek-tiâu, thoân jip Hêng-chhun liáu-âu, sán-seng kok-chióng piàn-thé, chiáⁿ-chò tài ũ Hêng-chhun tèk-sek ê chhiùⁿ hoat. ...Chit-ê khek-tiâu siāng-chāi thèh lâi chhiùⁿ kui phiⁿ ê sū-sū koa, koh tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ sī pi-chêng--ê, siông chiáp leh thoân-chhiùⁿ--ê sī “ Iúⁿ Êng sí bó ”, ùi it--goeh chhiùⁿ kàu

cháp-jī--goèh, ... Pêⁿ-pō-tiâu chit-ê khek-tiâu miá ná-chhiūⁿ àm-sī i kap goân-chū-bîn koa-iâu ê ian-goân, kâng-khoán, Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ mā-sī chit-ê pí-kàu khó-lêng goân chū goân-chū-bîn im-gák ê khek-tiâu. (陳俊斌& 吳榮順1999: 22-23)

Chóng kóng--chit-kù, tī to-goân chòk-kûn thau-lām tòa ê khoân-kéng--lin sán-seng ê Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu, kap tong-tē goân-chū-bîn ê koa-iâu, Kheh-ka lāng ê San-ko-tiâu hām Tâi-gí lāng pún-té tòh ũ ê bîn-koa lóng ũ chin chhim ê ian-goân (徐麗紗& 林良哲2006: 124), m̄-koh ũ chit-hāng kiat-lūn choát-tùi cheng-khak--ê, tòh-sī Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu sī Tâi-oân chit tè thó-tē pū--chhut-lâi ê bîn-koa, kap Tiong-kok bô koan-hē.

Kóng kàu chia, lán tòh ē-tàng chò chit-ê khak-tēng ê kiat-lūn, Sū-siang-ki ê khí-goân, sī lí-hiong pōe-chéⁿ khi gōa-thâu mō-hiám, thàn-chiáh, khai-thok sin thiⁿ-tē ê Tâi-oân lāng, in-ūi siâu-liām kòe-hiong ê ka-hng, chhin-lāng, ũi-tiòh siâu-thâu sim-koaⁿ-thâu ê sim-būn só chhiūⁿ--ê, che iáh sī i ê koa-sū múi chit kù lóng kō “su~a~siang a~ki” khí-thâu ê in-toaⁿ.

“Sū-siang-ki”, chit chhiú Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê koa-bó sī chit chhiú chin ũ tèk-piát hong-keh ê bîn-iâu, i ũ chin chē tèk-sek, Khó Siông-hūi án-ne kóng:

“Sū-siang-ki” ê khek-tiâu-hoat sī oân-choân kin-kù koa-sū ê jī-sò kap kù-sò tēng--ê; I sī siók “Chhit-jī-á”, tòh sī chit kù chhit jī (kék chió-sò lē-gōa), múi chit pha sī kù, nā-sī pha sò sī bô tek-khak--ê, chió--ê 3 pha, 5 pha (bîn-koa lūi), chē--ê kú chap pha (soat-chhiūⁿ lūi ê kò-sū koa-iâu) chiáⁿ-chò chit chhiú.

“Sū-siang-ki” ê koa-sū tōa pō-hūn sī káu-thâu-gí (tòh sī pèh-ōe), bûn-giân ê koa-sū khah chió... Chiah-ê “Chhit-jī-á” ê koa-sū, chhiūⁿ ê sī thâu chit kù it-tēng iú “Su~a~siang~a~a~ki” chhōa lō, liáu-āu, tē jī, tē saⁿ kap tē sī kù ê bóe, it-tēng ka “Ái-iòh-òe” (áh-sī “a~oe”) ê kám-thàn-sū chiáⁿ-chò kòe-pán áh-sī kiak-sok.

Ji kap jī tang-tiong chin chē hi-im, mā-sī “Sū-siang-ki” ê tèk-sek. (許常惠1999b: 48)

Lán chham-khó Khó Siông-hūi téng-thâu ê soat-bêng, koh kin-kù pit-chiá chhái-liók hām ka-tī ê keng-giām kā “Sū-siang-ki” ê tèk-sek chéng-lí chò ē-té kúi hāng:

- (1) Bô kòr-tēng ê koa-sû: Chhiùⁿ ê lāng ē-tàng lī-iōng chhit-jī-á ê bûn-thé pian sū.
- (2) Bô kòr-tēng ê khek-tiāu: I ê khek-tiāu ū chit-ê ki-pún ê kiát-kò, m̄-koh ē tòe koa-sû bô kâng sán-seng piàn-hòa.
- (3) Bô kòr-tēng ê chiat-chàu: In-ūi koa-sû kap khek-tiāu lóng bô kòr-tēng, jī-chhiáⁿ hoaⁿ-hí kap pi-siong--ê lóng ē-tàng chhiùⁿ, só-í chiat-chàu ē in-ūi chhiùⁿ-chiá kám-chêng ê piàn-hòa sán-seng tng-té bô kâng ê chêng-hêng.
- (4) Ēng “a” chō chhiùⁿ.
- (5) Tèk-piát ê khí-thâu “sū-siang-ki”, “chū-siang-ki” ...
- (6) Kòr-tēng ê kám-thàn-sû: “ai-io”, “ai-io-òe”.

2.2. Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ:

1967 nī 7 goah 28 Khó Siông-hūi tī i ê Bîn-koa Chhái-chip-tūi Sai-tūi Jit-ki (民歌採集隊西隊日記)--lín kóng:

Tī Hêng-chhun-tūn Tai-kong-lí, ū chit-ê lāu-lāng kiò-chò “Ti-bóe--á”, i ê chiáⁿ-miá sī Gô Ti-bóe, ... , i chhiùⁿ ê “Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ”, koa-siaⁿ chhi-liāng, iu-būn, kā góa ê sim-koaⁿ kau kah ân-ân-ân, ... hō góa bô-tiuⁿ-bô-tí bák-sái lāu. Oh! Chit-chūn toaⁿ soán-lút ê Hêng-chhun bîn-koa “Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ” iáⁿ Ludovicus van Beethoven he tōa kui-bô ê kau-hiāng-khek iáⁿ thiám-thiám! In-ūi i sī sòr-pah-nī lāi lāu tī lán ê bîn-chòk ê kiōng-tōng ê hoeh--nih-ê; in-ūi i sī bô-ng-bô-cháh ê jîn-sèng siōng kai chin-sit ê piáu-hiān. Bô chng-thāⁿ, bô ki-khá, bô hi-gūi, i ná chhiūⁿ bô keng-kòe su-khó tòh tiān tiòh góa ê sim-lêng. (許常惠1967)

“Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ”, mā koh kiò-chò “Chhiùⁿ-khek”, “Gû-bóe-phōaⁿ”, “Gu-bó-phōaⁿ”, sī Hêng-chhun tiāu lāi-té siōng kó-nó ê koa-iâu, i ê sū khek kiát-kò lóng sī nng kù hêng--ê, múi chit kù ê jī-sòr sui-bóng bô it-tēng, m̄-koh iáu sī í chhit-jī-á bûn-

thé ùi chú, ián-chhiùⁿ ê sí tōa pō-hūn lóng sī ta chhiùⁿ bô phōaⁿ-chàu, it-poaⁿ-ték sī tī kè cha-bó-kiáⁿ chìn-chêng, chiáh chí-moãi-toh ê sí leh chhiùⁿ ê koa-iâu, chìn-hêng ê hong-sek sī chhin-lâng chít-ê chít-ê kap sin-niū tùi-chhiùⁿ, ná-chhiūⁿ gû chiáh chháu ê sí, gû-bóe pōaⁿ lâi pōaⁿ khi, só-pái chiah hō-chò “Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ”. “Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ” leh chhiùⁿ ê koa-sû chin kháu-gí, lâi-iông pau-hâm chêng chhin-lâng tùi sin-niū ê chiok-hók, sin-niū tùi bī-lâi sin seng-oah ê kiaⁿ-hiáⁿ, sin-niū ê pē-bú kà-sī chò lóng sin-pū ê tō-lí, kap tùi chhin-chiáⁿ pêng-iú ê kám-kek chi chêng téng-téng. Kin-kù Chiong Bêng-khun ê tiâu-cha, i jīn-úi chít-ê khek-tiâu chin ū khó-lêng sī hō tong-tē Pâi-oan-chòk kó-nó ê bîn-koa éng-hióng chiah sán-seng--ê (黃瓊娥2005: 104-156). M-nā án-ne, lán ùi “Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ” ê khek-tiâu kiát-kò kā khòaⁿ, ē hoat-hiān i kap Kheh-ka San-ko ê khek-tiâu kiát-kò chin sio-siāng, ē-tàng kan-chêng “Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ” chít-ê khek-tiâu sī Hêng-chhun tē-khu kok chòk-kūn bîn-hòa sio thàu-lām só sán-seng ê sin bîn-hòa.

2.3. Sù-kùi-chhun:

Chheng-kok tãi-sin Sím Pó-cheng kā Lông-kiau kái-chò Hêng-chhun, piáu-sī sù-kùi jū chhun ê i-sù, só-í “Sù-kùi-chhun” tòh-sī Hêng-chhun-tiâu. Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu koa-chhiú Tiuⁿ Sín-thoân sian-siⁿ kóng “Sù-kùi-chhun pún-lâi kiò-chò Tōa-tiâu, kap Sū-siang-ki tông-sí tī Hêng-chhun liū-hêng. Āu--lâi tak-ke nā ēng chít-ê tiâu leh tùi-chhiùⁿ ê sí, lóng ēng Hêng-chhun ê sù-kùi hoe-chháu khí-thâu, só-í chiah hō-chò Sù-kùi-chhun” (徐麗紗&林良哲2006: 129). “Sù-kùi-chhun” sī chít-ê kiát-kò khah kán-tan ê khek-tiâu, it-poaⁿ chhiùⁿ-chiá ē ūn-iông áu-ūn ê hong-hoat phòe-háp siaⁿ-tiâu ê piàn-hòa, lâi chhòng-chō bû-chīn ê soân-lút, só-í múi chít ê lóng chhiùⁿ ê Sù-kùi-chhun, tī soân-lút, chiat-chàu ē chin bô-kâng, sīm-chì, tī bô-kâng ê só-chāi iáh ē sán-seng tē-khu-sèng ê ték-sek. Chhin-chhiūⁿ, tī Hong-káng kap tī Hêng-chhun tiòh ū chiáⁿ tōa ê bô-kâng, m̄-chiah tī Hong-káng ê Sù-kùi-chhun tòh kiò-chò “Hong-káng-tiâu-á”, sīm-chì tī Boán-chiu, in kā Sù-kùi-chhun kap Hong-káng-tiâu-á pun-khui, chiáⁿ-chò n̄ng ê bô siāng ê khek-tiâu khòaⁿ-thāi (陳俊斌&吳榮順1999: 21). Tī koa-sû hong-bīn, Sù-kùi-chhun lóng sī thèh lâi sū-chêng kap siá kóng--ê khah chē.

2.4. Gō-khang-á:

Gō-khang-á koh kiò-chò Gō-khang-siò-tiâu, ē hō-chò Gō-khang sī in-ūi chit-ê khek-tiâu múi chit tōaⁿ si-kù nā chhiùⁿ soah, bóe-kù long ē koh tò-táh chit kù, chiáⁿ-chò gō kù koa. Thoân-soat Gō-khang-á sī kah chá chò tng-kang ê ku-lí leh chhiùⁿ--ê, só-í iah kiò-chò “Tng-kang-koa”, “Ku-lí-tiâu”.

Gō-khang-á goân-chá khó-lêng sī koa-á hē-thóng ê khek-tiâu, thoân jip Hêng-chhun liáu-āu, sán-seng kok-chióng piàn-thé, chiáⁿ-chò tài ũ Hêng-chhun ték-sek ê chhiùⁿ-hoat (陳俊斌&吳榮順1999: 22), m̄-koh, chit-khoán kóng-hoat iáu bô bēng-hián ê cheng-ki, hông kám-kak kóng liáu kah tó-kióng. It-poaⁿ chhiùⁿ Gō-khang-á lóng sī kō goeh-lēng chò khí-thâu, ùi it-goeh chhiùⁿ kah chap-jī-goeh, só-í i chhiang-chāi hō lāng thèh lái chhiùⁿ kui phiⁿ ê kò-sū, jī-chhiáⁿ sī kah pi-cheng--ê, kah chiáp chhiùⁿ-ê sī “Iúⁿ Êng sit chhe” kap “Tng-kang koa”. “Iúⁿ Êng sit chhe” ùi it-goeh chhiùⁿ kah chap-jī-goeh, biô-siá Iúⁿ Êng sí bó liáu-āu hit khoán khó-chheh, sim-būn, ut-chut, chū-lián ê sim-chiáⁿ. “Tng-kang koa” mā sī chit chhiú goeh-lēng koa, ùi it-goeh chhiùⁿ kah chap-jī-goeh, biô-siá chò lāng tng-kang ê kan-khó, sim-sng kap bū-nāi ê sim-chiáⁿ.

2.5. Pēⁿ-pō-tiâu:

“Pēⁿ-pō tiâu” ũ lāng kiò-chò “Tài-tang tiâu”, “Tài-tang Pi-lâm Peh-siā tiâu”, “Hôe-lian-káng A-bí-chòk Hoan tiâu”, “Hôe-lian-káng Ka-lé-oán tiâu”⁴ kap “Ka-lé-hoan tiâu” téng-téng. “Pēⁿ-pō tiâu” ē kiò-chò “Tài-tang tiâu”, sī in-ūi khi tang-pō hoat-tián ê Hêng-chhun lāng chhiang-chāi kō Pēⁿ-pō tiâu chhiùⁿ “Beh khi Tài-tang~~~” khí-thâu ê bîn-iâu, só-í chin chē lāng kā i kiò-chò “Tài-tang tiâu”; “Tài-tang Pi-lâm Peh-siā tiâu” sī Tân Tát ê kóng-hoat, che kap Tân Tát sè-hàn ê sī-chūn bat tng-kí tòa tī Tài-tang koān ê Pi-lâm hong ũ chin tōa ê tē-iân koan-hē. Tân Tát chhiùⁿ chit-ê tiâu ê sī-chūn, ē tòe leh chhiùⁿ A-bí-chòk gí ê “Ná-lu-oan”, Khó Sióng-hūi kā hō-chò “Hôe-lian-káng A-bí-chòk Hoan tiâu”, koa-chhiú Gô Ti-bóe kā chit-ê khek-tiâu hō-chò “Hôe-lian-káng Ka-lé-oán tiâu”, ũ lāng thiaⁿ chò “Ka-lé-hoan tiâu”. (徐麗紗&林良哲2006: 132)

⁴ Gí-lân koān lái, kó-chá hō-chò “Kavalan 36 siā”, chit pō-hūn poaⁿ-sóa khi Hôe-lian, Tài-tang, lāng kiò-chò “Ka-lé-oán”, chhiáⁿ chham-khó Iúⁿ Phek-chhoan, 1997, Tài-oân Lèk-sú Sū-tián (臺灣歷史辭典), Tài-pak chhi: Chiân-ōe, 198.

Kin-kù Gô Êng-sūn ê tiân-ia̍ tiâu-cha, tī Hoa-liân koān Sin-siā ê Pêⁿ-pō-chòk Kavalan lāng ū chit chhiú miâ kiò “Bán koah-niau-chhài (qayqutay)” ê bîn-koa, khek-tiâu kap tī Hêng-chhun tē-khu liú-thoân ê “Tâi-tang tiâu” beh siâng-á beh siâng, koa-sû sī Kavalan gí kap Tâi-gí thàu-lām--ê, i jīn-ūi hit tong-sí ê Hêng-chhun lāng bat khi kàu Hoa-liân khai-khún, koh in-ūi Hêng-chhun lāng kiò goān-chū-bîn sī “Ka-lé-hoan”, só-í Kavalan chit chhiú bîn-koa ū khó-lêng tóh sī “Pêⁿ-pō tiâu” ê goān-thâu, m̄-koh put-koán án-chóaⁿ kóng, chin bêng-hián che sī chit chhiú kap goān-chū-bîn chiáⁿ ū ian-goān ê Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu. (陳俊斌&吳榮順1999: 23-24)

Liáh-gōa, “Pêⁿ-pō tiâu” kap “Keng-lóng koa”, “Chheⁿ-ô-á só”, “Saⁿ-siaⁿ bô-nāi” sī ū hoeh-iân koan-hē--ê. Boán-chiu hong Boán-chiu kok-siò ê lâu hāu-tiúⁿ Chan Sin-tit sian-siⁿ kā tong-tē liú-thoân ê “Pêⁿ-pō tiâu” kái-pian chò “Keng-lóng koa”, liáu-āu, chit-ê khek-tiâu koh hong kái-pian chò Koa-á-hì ê “Saⁿ-siaⁿ bô-nāi” kap liú-hêng koa-á ê “Chheⁿ-ô-á só”. M̄-koh Hêng-chhun chāi-tē lāng mā sī lóng kiò i sī “Pêⁿ-pō tiâu”.

3. Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu káu-thoân koa-sû pun-thiah

1967 nī 7 goèh 28, Khó Siông-hūi chhōa-thâu ê bîn-koa chhái-chip tūi sai-tūi, tī Hêng-chhun tūn Tâi-kong lí gū-tiòh Âng-bák-tát--á⁵, Khó Siông-hūi tī i ê Bîn-koa Chhái-chip Jit-ki án-ne kóng:

Kin-á-jit, góa tī lí Tâi-pak gō pah kong-lí ê Hêng-chhun ê soaⁿ-lāi, ūi-tiòh 2 ê sán-chiah ê lâu-lāng lâu bák-sái. ... I tóh sī 62 hòe ê Tân Tát sian-siⁿ. I bô chhin bô chiáⁿ, ko-toaⁿ tòa tī chit keng m̄ sī lāng tòa ê chhù (Nā-chún he ē-tàng kiò-chò chhù). I ê chhù sī bīn sī thô-kak thiáp--ê, bô thang-á, kan-na lâu 1 ê chhut-jip-kháu (bē-tàng kiò-chò m̄ng), tiòh àⁿ thâu àⁿ io chiah ū hoat-tō jip--khì, chhù-téng kō kúi ki tōa tek-kóng chò kông, téng-koân khàm hm̄-á-chháu. Kin-á-jit, tī chit-ê joáh--lāng e-pō 4 tiám ê sī, góa tú jip-khì, tóh sūi kám-kak lāi-bīn sī-khō-liàn-túg àm bong-bong, koh chok hip-joáh, chhiūⁿ hip-oe--leh. Tī chit keng chhù--lín, góa táuh-táuh-á khòaⁿ chai ū chit téng bîn-chhng kap chit-kóa kú lak-lak ê tiáⁿ-oe-á, lō-bóe góa jīn tiòh 1 ki goèh-khīm tiâu tī thô-kak piah téng, chiah-ê

⁵ Âng-bák Tát--á sī Tân Tát ê gōa-hō.

mih-kiāⁿ tòh sī Âng-bák-tát-á choân-pō ê ke-hóe. I tī chit-khoán o-àm, sà-n-chiáh kap ko-toaⁿ ê sè-kài--lìn, kap 1 ki phòh kê-kê kũ lak-lak ê goèh-khîm tòa tàu-tīn. Chit-ê khoân-kéng í-keng hông kám-kak chin chhim-tím ê pi-chhám--ah. Á i ká goèh-khîm giáh--leh, sùi tòe leh chhiùⁿ chhut hit khoán chhiùⁿ leh pi-khàu ê koa-siaⁿ ê sí, ùi i ê “Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ”, “Sū-siang-ki”, “Sù-kùi-chhun”, “Tâi-tang tiâu”--lìn, góa kám-kak chit-ê sè-kài, chit-ê hō tōa tō-chhī ê lāng bē kì--ê ê sè-kài sī gōa-nih-á chin-sit, gōa-á-nih-á khó-kùi.

Góa chai-iaⁿ góa chiong-á chhōe tiòh i--ah, chē nī lái leh cháu-chhōe ê Tiong-kok bîn-chòk im-gák ê lēng-hûn. Góa lâu bák-sái, m̄-koh góa sī gōa-á-nih-á hēng-hok leh. (許常惠1968: 154-155)

Ùi téng-thâu chit chat kì-chài, lán ē-tàng lí-kái Tân Tatt hit khoán chhong-song ê koa-siaⁿ, keng-sit í-keng kì-liók hiàng-sī siōng kai ki-chân ê lāng in seng-oah tī o-àm lím-kīⁿ ê sim-siaⁿ, kap ún-chông tī koa-siaⁿ--lìn ê jîn-seng kám-ngō, ah tiòh sī lāng kap thó-tē kau-phoah chò-hóe hit khoán hòk-cháp pak bē khui ê kám-chēng, kán-tan kóng tòh sī chin-sit, chit khoán chin-sit ê kám-chēng hoán-èng hiàng-sī ê lāng kok-chióng su-sióng ê bīn-māu, só-í nā-sī lán beh koh khah chhim-lòh lái liáu-kái, tiāⁿ-tiòh ài thèh in leh chhiùⁿ ê koa-sû lái thâm-thó, pun-thiah, chiaⁿ ē-tàng tit tiòh khah tau-tah ê kiát-lūn.

Hêng-chhun tē-khu sī chit ùi chòk-kûn thau-lām tòa ê só-chāi, ù Tâi-gí-lāng, Kheh-lāng, Goân-chū-bîn chia bô siāng ê chòk-kûn, in lóng ù leh chhiùⁿ Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu, m̄-koh ùi in leh chhiùⁿ ê koa-sû ká khòaⁿ, mā bô in-ù chòk-kûn bô-kāng chhiùⁿ ê sū ē bô siāng, só-í ki-pún tèk, lán nā-sī ùi in ê koa-sû ká khòaⁿ, sī bô hoat-tō hián-sī chòk-kûn bô siāng ê só-chāi, sīm-chi Tân Chùn-pin i jīn-ù “Tī koa-sû ê lōe-iōng tēng-thâu, ē-tàng kóng sī kō Tâi-gí lāng⁶ ê ì-sek hēng-thài lái piáu-tát ùi chú.” (陳俊斌1993: 89)

Sè-kài jīm-hō bîn-chòk in ê bîn-koa ê hoat-tián, lóng sī ùi chēng-koa khí-khiàn--ê, chhin-chhiùⁿ Tâi-oân po-koa--lìn ê:

Tē-ē thau hong khí thô-hún, thiⁿ-téng lòh-hō khí hong-hûn, kap niú kò-

⁶ Goân-bûn sī siá “Hō-ló-lāng”.

tiâu sim-koaⁿ bŭn, môe-pŋg bōe chiáh ám bōe thun. (黃勁連1995: 28)

Mŋg-kháu chit châng siuⁿ-si châng, siuⁿ-si pēⁿ lóh m̄ chai lāng, sian-siⁿ lâi
khòaⁿ kóng bô bāng, tah-sim--ê lâi khòaⁿ hó tang-tang. (黃勁連1995: 33)

Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu m̄ kâng-khoán ū pó-liú chit-khoán chêng-koa ê hong-keh kap tê-châi, m̄-nā án-ne, Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu tī i hoat-tián ián-pián ê kòe-têng, koh ē chham-lóh kí-tha ê tê-châi, tút-hián i tèk-iú ê tē-hng tèk-sek kap hong-keh. Lán nā ùi koa-sû ê lâi-iông lâi thàm-thó Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu, lán ē-tàng khòaⁿ chai i pau-hâm ê hoān-úi chin khoa, ū tŋg-phiⁿ sū-sū si, kóng lí khng siān--ê, su-chêng--ê, siāu-kài Hêng-chhun keng-ti--ê, lâm-lú sio-po koa (chêng-koa) têng-têng, á chiah-ê lōe-iông, chú-iàu sī tī koa-chiá sin-khu piⁿ hoat-seng--ê áh-sī chhin-bák khòaⁿ--tiòh ê sū-bút, só-í chiah-ê lōe-iông tiāⁿ-tiòh ē-tàng chin tàu-tah piáu-tát Hêng-chhun tē-khu ê lāng ê kám-chêng, jîn-seng koan, m̄ ē-tàng siong-tong thêng-tō lâi hoán-êng siā-hōe hong-siók kap seng-oáh khoân-kéng ê chà-hián, koh in-úi koa-sû lōe-iông kap seng-oáh kat kah chiah-nih-á bā, só-í lâi-té it-têng m̄ ē kám tiòh ū chin kâu ê tē-hng tèk-sek. Chiah-ê koa-sû lán nā koh kap Tâi-oân kí-tha tē-khu ê koa-iâu sio pí-phēng, lán ē hoat-hián Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê koa-sû kap in sio-siāng, m̄-sī “khoân-sè” kap “chêng-koa” ê giáh khah chē. M-koh, in-úi Hêng-chhun tē-khu ū chin tèk-sû ê tē-lí khoân-kéng kap jîn-bûn pōe-kéng, só-í tī koa-sû lâi-té lán ē hoat-hián chok chē sī Hêng-chhun tē-khu jîn-bûn tē-lí tèk-sek ê biô-siá, chiah-ê koa-sû khioh-khi chit-kóa sī tan-sûn siá keng áh-sī sū-sū liáh-gōa, m̄ piáu-hián tī kō “khoân-sè” áh-sī “chêng-koa” chò chú-tê ê koa-sû--lín, chiáⁿ-chò “pí-jū” kap “khi-hin” ê pō-hūn. M-koh, put-koán sī siá keng, sū-sū, pí-jū, khi-hin, in lóng ē-tàng chiáⁿ oáh-thiàu têng-hián Hêng-chhun tē-khu ê tē-lí tèk-chit, chū-jian keng-koan kap seng-oáh bîn-siòng, ē-sái kóng sī siōng ē-tàng piáu-hián Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu koa-sû lōe-iông ê tèk-sek-ê.

Ē-té lán tiòh kin-kù pit-chiá só chhai-chip--tiòh kap siu-chip--tiòh ê koa-sû, ká pun chò tŋg-phiⁿ sū-sū si kap si-koa lâi thàm-thó Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê koa-sû.

3.1. Tng-phiⁿ sū-sū si:

Tng-phiⁿ sū-sū si chit khoán chhiūⁿ koa-á-chheh lūi-hêng ê koa-sû, ēng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê khek-tiâu lâi ián-chhiūⁿ--ê, it-poaⁿ-ték lóng sī thèh tong-tē ê siā-hōe sū-kiāⁿ chò tê-châi, keng-kòe chhiūⁿ-chiá pian chhiūⁿ liū-thoân--lòh-lâi-ê, chhiūⁿ *Káng-kháu Sū-kiāⁿ: A-oán kap A-hoat ê Pi-chhám Kò-sū* (許常惠&邱坤良2000), *Lím Sin-kàu Tâu-thai Piàn Gū* (徐麗紗&林良哲2006: 149) kap Tân Tắt chū-pian chū-chhiūⁿ ê *Lím--a kap Io--a Sio-chhōa-cháu* (徐麗紗&林良哲2006), *Tâi-oân Āu-lâi Hó-só-châi* (台灣商務印書館1979), Chiu Tēng-pang chū-pian chū-tôaⁿ chū-chhiūⁿ ê *Gī-chiàn Ta-pa-nī—Tâi-gí Chhit-jī-á Pêh-ōe Sū-si ...* têng-têng. Ē-té lán lâi khòaⁿ chit-chat *Káng-kháu Sū-kiāⁿ: A-oán kap A-hoat ê Pi-chhám Kò-sū kap Tâi-oân Āu-lâi Hó-só-châi* ê koa-sû:

Káng-kháu Sū-kiāⁿ: A-oán kap A-hoat ê Pi-chhám Kò-sū:

Kiāⁿ kàu a-tia ê sin-khu piⁿ, kiāⁿ kàu chhia-thâu āiⁿ lí chiūⁿ chhia beh lâi-khì, lí lâi khiā leh ài hōaⁿ tiòh í, hóc-chhia beh kàu góa lâi-khì khoán chhia-chiⁿ. Khó-liân a-tia lí khah chit hêng, saⁿ-keⁿ pòⁿ-mê lâi tit pēⁿ-chèng, beh lâi āiⁿ tia lí khi chhia-téng, lí ê sîn-hûn tòe kiáⁿ lâi sūi-hêng. Hóc-chhia beh kiāⁿ Bân-lí-kiô, pē-kiáⁿ sio-lám chiok khó-sioh, sîn-hûn tiòh thiaⁿ kiáⁿ ká lí kiò, lí ê lêng-hûn tòe kiáⁿ ē-tiàng tiòh. Bân-lí-kiô kòe liáu Má-thài-an, kin-jit ūi tia chiok tiau-lân, lí kiáⁿ lâi ū khah sán, lí ê pēⁿ chit-si teh chit-si ân. Má-thài-an kòe liáu kàu Tâi-hô, kàu chia hioh-khùn āu-lâi chia koh kiám-thó, chò-lâng sít-châi ài pē-bó, siā-hōe lêng lêng chia ū o-ló ... (許常惠&邱坤良2000)

Liòk-khòng nī-tâi Tân Tắt siōng ū miá ê soat-chhiūⁿ chú-tê, tòh-sī *Káng-kháu Sū-kiāⁿ: A-oán kap A-hoat ê Pi-chhám Kò-sū*. Tân Tắt ián-chhiūⁿ ê sī-chūn, khah kah-ì ēng Sū-siang-ki kap Gō-khang-á chit 2 ê khek-tiâu sio-thè chhiūⁿ.

Káng-kháu Sū-kiāⁿ: A-oán kap A-hoat ê Pi-chhám Kò-sū sī Hêng-chhun lêng í-ki khi Tâi-tang khai-khún ê chit phō hiat-lūi sú, kiàn-chèng sian-bîn lí-hiong pōe-chéⁿ phah-piàⁿ khai-khún ê kiâm sng khó siap, kap Tâi-oân lêng kian-kiông hùn-tàu, m̄ kiaⁿ

kan-khó ê ì-chhi só tián-hiân ê Tâi-oân cheng-sîn. Sòa--lòh lán lâi khòaⁿ Tân Tât chhiùⁿ ê Tâi-oân Āu-lâi Hó-só-chāi:

He Sù--a siâng--a ki, chó-sian kian-sim kòe Tâi-oân, iáh m̄-chai Tâi-oân seⁿ-chò chit-ê sám-mih khoán. He Sù--a siâng--a ki, hái-chúí kài chhim tòh lâi hoán ɔ, tī hái-soaⁿ teh phû-phiò lí sim-koaⁿ khó. He Sù--a siâng--a ki, ɔ chúí beh kòe kúi têng sim khah ē chheng, nā tú-tiòh hong-thai teh ká tōa éng, ùi--ê leh taⁿ-thâu taⁿ lâi khòaⁿ thiⁿ-téng, iá ùi ê leh siūⁿ án-ne leh lâi m̄ng sîn-bêng. He Sù--a siâng--a ki, sîn-á-bêng pó-iū chó-sian-á lâi, hái-té chhian-bān m̄-thang lâi chò hong-thai, Tâi-oân āu-lâi hó só-chāi, keng-kòe saⁿ pah nī āu chiâu-chiâu chai. He Sù--a siâng--a ki. (台灣商務印書館1979: tē-it siú, 陳達chhiòⁿ) He Sù--a siâng--a ki, tú lâi kàu Tâi-oân teh leh khiā-khí, chiòh-thâu iū hiah-á liáp hit ê chhiū iū-koh hiah tōa ki, chit ká leh khai-khún iū-koh bē-tiàng khi, sè liáp á chhòng chéng-thâu-á leh jiàu hoeh lâu käng hoeh tih. He Sù--a siâng--a ki, Tēⁿ-sèng kóng beh lâi chia lâi khai-khún, chiong-lâi beh lâi tō kiáⁿ lí kap tō sun, beh hō che kiáⁿ-sun-á hó chiáh khùn, chó-sian āu-lâi hō hiō-sè hit ê hó gi-lūn. He Sù--a siâng--a ki, gún ē ki teh khai-khún hō lín āu-iân-ê oáh, lín sī-sè āu-lâi tōa-hàn sim-koaⁿ m̄ chai seⁿ siáⁿ-khóan. He Sù--a siâng--a ki (台灣商務印書館1979: tē-jī siú, 陳達chhiòⁿ). He Sù--a siâng--a ki, boeh lâi Tâi-oân teh boeh keng-êng, lán ê tiū-á han-chí lóng beh siu-sêng, beh hō lí ê kiáⁿ-sun-á pak-tó lâi chò chán-keng, pát-jit tōa-hàn lí tòh tap a-kong kap a-pa che ê jîn-chêng. He Sù--a siâng--a ki, siang-chhiú beh ó thô lâi keng-chhân, bô gū thang sái thiâu-thiâu lân, sī-kan lí lâi chiām-sī lí ká i tán, kiáⁿ-sun-á lóng mā siang ki chhiú iáu thô chhī lín chiâu tōa-hàn. He Sù--a siâng--a ki. (台灣商務印書館1979: tē-saⁿ siú, 陳達chhiòⁿ)

Tâi-oân Āu-lâi Hó-só-chāi sī Tân Tât tī 1978 nī 11 goèh té, keng-kòe Lâm Hoài-bîn iau-chhiáⁿ, beh thè Ūn-bún Bú-chiáp tī hit tang nī-té ián-chhut ê bú-kék “Sin-thoân” chò choàn-tiūⁿ im-gák, iū Tân Tât chū pian chū chhiùⁿ ê chit phō sū-sū sú-si. Koa-sū chú-iàu leh têng-hiân sian-bîn tō kòe ɔ-chúí-kau, lâi kàu Tâi-oân khai-khún ê kò-sū, chit phō sū-sū sú-si ká chó-sian phah-piáⁿ ê cheng-sîn, ēng siōng phoh-sit, ū lát ê siaⁿ-sàu

chit tã chit tã liú-thoân tī Tâi-oân múi chit ê só-châi, kiàn-chèng ún-chông tī bîn-kan hit káng bîn-chók siōng gió-toh ê sèⁿ-miã-lát.

Tī Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu liú-thoân ê tng-phiⁿ sū-sū si, khioh-khí thèh tong-tē ê siã-hōe sū-kiãⁿ chò tê-chài lâi pian chhiùⁿ ê liáh-gōa, mā ũ thèh koa-á-chheh ê chhiùⁿ-pún lâi ián-chhiùⁿ--ê, chhin-chhiùⁿ Tiuⁿ Sin-thoân tōaⁿ-chhiùⁿ ê *Tēⁿ Kok-sèng Khai Tâi-oân*:

Sù--a siāng--a ki, beh chhiùⁿ Kok-sèng khai Tâi-oân, tong-sí Bêng boát kok kai loãn, Tâi-oân siū tiòh Hô-lan koán, Sêng-kong lâi phah pã Hô-lan hoan. Sù--a siāng--a ki, lók-siōng Tâi-lâm Lók-ní-mng, chiàn-cheng kék-liát si e-hng, pau-úi Chhiah-khám niú-sít tng, Hô-lan chiah tâu-hâng chiah lâi siu-peng tng. Sù--a siāng--a ki, Bêng-tiâu Éng-lék cháp-gō nî, Sêng-kong chiap-png lâi thóng-tī, chhut png an bîn tah kò-sī, tiòh bō chók-sian lâi khai-ki. Sù--a siāng--a ki, teng-liók Tâi-lâm Lók-ní-káng, sūi lâi nng bân gō chheng lāng, Tâi-oân chheⁿ-hoan ok bang-bang, sî-siōng beh thāi Hàn-jîn lāng. ... (阿猴文化藝術工作社, ní-tāi m̄ chai: tē-jī siú, 張新傳chhiòⁿ)

Ūi téng-thâu lán khòaⁿ--tiòh ê tng-phiⁿ sū-sū si ê lōe-iōng lâi thàm-thó, lán ē-tàng kóng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu sī Tâi-oân pún-thó ê liām-koa gē-sút, i ê chhiùⁿ-pún ê bûn-thé, hêng-sek, kiát-kò lóng kap it-poaⁿ lán kóng ê koa-á-chheh sio-siāng, chá-kí ê piáu-ián hong-sek ũ kâm tiòh kâu-kâu ê Tâi-oân tēk-sek ê style kap khui-kháu, piáu-ián-chiá ũ chit kóa hām liú-lōng kang-ô ê koa-á-sian käng-khoán, lóng sī ũi-tiòh seng-oáh sî-kè liú-lōng, sî-kè thó-thàn ê chhau-chhiùⁿ si-jîn.

3.2. Si-koa:

Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu tōa pō-hūn ê koa-sû lóng sī siók si-koa khah chē, ē-té lán tòh hun-lūi lâi thàm-thó chit pō-hūn ê koa-sû.

3.2.1. Kóng lí khoán siān--ê:

Chit khoán kap koa-á-chheh ê khoán-sè-koa sio-siāng ũ siã-hōe kàu-hòa kong-lêng ê koa-sû, mā tī Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu lâi-té leh thoân-chhiùⁿ. Chit khoán ê koa-sû chú-iàu leh kóng kò-jîn ê jîn-seng-koan, kè-tát-koan, sèⁿ-miã ê ì-gī, seng-oáh thāi-tō, khng lāng chò hó tã, khng lāng iú-hàu...ê lōe-iōng ũi chú, lâi-té Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu--lín, khoán-sè

lūi ê tòh kō khng lāng iú-hàu chò chú-tê ê koa-sû siōng chē, ē-bīn lán tòh kí lē soat-bêng:

Tē it kài tōa tiòh sī thiⁿ kap tē, tē jī kài tōa tiòh sī lán ê lāu-bú thīn lāu-pē, m̄ siàn lán t̄ai-ke lāi k̄a siūⁿ siōng-sè, kut-thâu sī lāu-pē hō--lán, bah tiòh sī lāu-bú--ê. Iú-hàu pē-bú lāng bē chhiò, put-hàu pē-bú chiah tōa m̄ tiòh, sè-hàn lāi k̄a lán lāk sái-jīō, mē-mē jīt-jīt kan-khó io. Iú-hàu lán ê pē-bú tiòh ē ki, seⁿ lán tiòh koh i chhiāⁿ-tí, sè-hàn ê sī-chūn nā lāi pháiⁿ io-chhi, pòāⁿ-mē chhōe i-seng koh lāi m̄ng tang-ki. Pē-bó nā bô tiōng boeh tiōng hô jīn, hū-bió bô chhin siáng khah chhin, chhian niú ũg-kim bān niú gīn, ũ chiⁿ bô tiàng bé lán ê pē-bó sin. (阿猴文化藝術工作社, nī-tāi m̄ chai: tē-chhit siú, 張文傑chhiòⁿ)

3.2.2. Su-chêng--ê:

Chit lūi ê koa-sû ũ chit pō-hūn sī leh biō-siá chêng-sū kap kám-siū--ê, lāi-té tōa pō-hūn lóng sī leh tháu-pàng ai-oàn ê chêng-sū khah chē, hoaⁿ-hí ê biō-siá khah chió, chit khoán ai-oàn ê koa-sû--lìn, chok chē lóng sī kō “sàn-chiáh”, “ko-toaⁿ kan-khó” chò chú-tê--ê khah chē, ũ ê sī tui kong-bêng bī-lāi ê kià-bāng ê sim-siaⁿ, lán khòāⁿ ē-té ê lē tòh chai.

Lán Hêng-chhun khah chá chiok kan-khó, chiah beh siūⁿ beh î-ki kòe tang-pō, lán kòe-khì ang-bó siāng chheng chit niá khò, siūⁿ beh hō bók-kiáⁿ āu--lāi tit-tiòh chit ê seⁿ-oah lō. Taⁿ beh kian-sim beh lí Hêng-chhun, chhin-chiāⁿ pēng-iú sio chió beh lāi chē hóe-chūn, lán tōa tī chit ê Hêng-chhun tòh ũ-kàu pháiⁿ chiáh khùn, kin-á-jīt ē-tàng chhut gōa khòāⁿ ē thang chhut-ūn. Hóe-chūn beh kòe chit ê Ngô-loàn-phiⁿ, khòāⁿ tiòh hái-chú kim sih-sih, ek tiòh chhut-gōa beh khòāⁿ hó kég-tì, soah khòāⁿ tiòh o-ngô-á leh chia hō-sòāⁿ hí. (風潮有聲出版有限公司1999c: tē-káu siú, 董添木chhiòⁿ)

3.2.3. Siāu-kài Hêng-chhun kég-tì--ê:

Hêng-chhun ê kég-tì chin súi, í-keng sī Tái-oân ũ miā ê tō ká sèng-tē, só-í Hêng-chhun bīn-iâu--lìn, mā ũ chin chē koa-sû lāi siāu-kài Hêng-chhun ê kég-tì, chhin-chhiūⁿ Hêng-chhun pat-kég⁷ :

Niau-phīⁿ-thâu---

Thiⁿ chō giâm-chiòh niau-phīⁿ hêng, pòⁿ-îⁿ toân-gâi chū-jiân seng, ku-chôa chiong-kun tin siang pêng, Lông-kiau chhut-miâ tē it kêng.

Liông-loân-thâm---

Liông-loân pó thâm ũ lèk-sú, hî hê ku pih hāng-hāng ũ, chhun hā tiò-kkeh kap hî-hu, jip tang chú-ah phōⁿ chhiah-gû.

Chhiah-gû-niá---

Chhiah gû soaⁿ-niá hùn tióng kêng, iâu-bōng sù-hong hó tē-hêng, soaⁿ-io tè-kun biō chit keng, Koan-kong tin tiân cheng-gī bêng.

Kâu-tōng soaⁿ---

Lông-kiau chit chō sío soaⁿ-hong, hoat-hiân sîn-pi tōa chiòh-tōng, tōng lâi chit chiah súi kâu-ông, khó-sioh hiân-chāi bô hêng-chong.

Sam-tâi-soaⁿ---

Lông-kiau su-soaⁿ miâ Sam-tâi, chit chō chiūⁿ koân jip hùn lâi, ún-tiōng sîn-pi chhiau sam-kài, tì-ìm Lông-kiau chhut jîn-chāi.

Hó-thâu soaⁿ---

Hó tiân hiông-ui tin san-lím, thau-bák ui-giâm tēng bîn-sim, soaⁿ-lêng kiat-hiát pòⁿ phû-tím, tē-lí im chng thô sêng kim.

Bé-oaⁿ soaⁿ---

Jit-goát hâp-pêng thiⁿ tē bêng, sîn-pút lí-liām tō chiòng-seng, Lông-kiau tút-chhut tōa kî kêng, soaⁿ-thâu seⁿ-chò bé-oaⁿ hêng.

Ngô-loân-phīⁿ---

Bêng boát Chheng chhō lèk-sú thoân, Hô-lan chhim-chiâm lâm Tâi-oân, ũi-tiòh chú-lō hó ũn-choán, kiàn-chō teng-thah tī Ngô-loân. (屏東縣恆春鎮思想起民謠促進會2001)

Hêng-chhun pat-kéng sī Ngô-loân, chit chō teng-thah siōng kai koân, chit pha teng-kng teh hôe-choán, chí-sī chūn-chiah ê an-choân. Ngô-loân tui tang bô-sòⁿ-tiân, gōa-kok kóng-ōe thiaⁿ hiân-hiân, bô-sòⁿ chū-

⁷ Hêng-chhun pat-kéng koa-sû choân-pō ín chū 2001 nî Pîn-tong koân Hêng-chhun tin Sū-siang-ki Bîn-iâu Chhiok-chin-hōe Hêng-chhun Bîn-iâu Thoân-sip Kè-ōe Sêng-kó Hoat-piáu-hōe Síó-chheh (恆春民謠傳習計劃成果發表會小冊). Hoat-piáu-hōe ián-chhut jit-kî sī 2001 nî II goeh chhe chap (pài-lák) àm-sí chhit tiám pòⁿ, ián-chhut ê só-chāi tī Hêng-chhun tin lóng-hōe chhit lâu lé-tńg.

tōng ē hoat-tiān, hoat-bêng ê lâng khah gâu sian. Tâi-kong kòe-khì Niau-phīⁿ-thâu, gō lō iū-kheh lóng ē kàu, pak-pêng tui-chê Chhut-chúi-kháu, chêng-bīn tit khòaⁿ sī Teng-lâu. Phīⁿ-thâu siat ū koan-sióng têng, ē-bīn Koan-im-tōng chū-jiân sêng, bóe toan tiò-hí siúⁿ hong-kéng, Tâi gōa iū-kheh hó hong-phêng. (屏東縣恆春鎮思想起民謠促進會2001)

Hêng-chhun lâng ēng tong-tē iu-bí ê tē-lí kéng-tì, jīn-bùn tèk-sek chò sū, chit hong-bīn ē-tàng têng-hiān lân kap thó-tē chhin-bit ê koan-hē, chit hong-bīn kā Hêng-chhun ê súi, thàu-kòe bīn-iâu kā sè-kài soan-thoân, hō tak-ê lóng chai-iaⁿ chit tè tī lâm Tâi-oân ê jīn-kan sian-kéng, chit khoán koa-sū lūi-hêng sī Hêng-chhun bīn-iâu chia^h ū ê tèk-sek, tī Tâi-oân kí-tha tē-khu-sèng ê bīn-iâu--lín lóng bô chit khoán lūi-hêng ê koa-sū, ē-sái kóng sī Hêng-chhun tèk-iú ê tèk-sek.

3.2.4. Lâm-lú sio-po-koa (chêng-koa):

Po-koa mā kiò-chò “Chhit-jī-á”, “Êng-á-koa”, “San-ko”, “Bán-tê-koa”, “Chhī-gū-koa”, sī lâm-lú chi kan tī hng--lín, tē-soaⁿ tiâu-chêng só chhiūⁿ ê koa-iâu, ah-sī bô-liâu ê sí, chhī-gū ê sí, choh-sit ê sí, su-chhun ê sí só chhiūⁿ ê koa-si. Sī siōng lōng-bān, siōng iu-bí ê bīn-kan koa-iâu, kúi-nā pah tang lâi tī Tâi-oân bīn-kan kok só-chāi leh liú-thoân, piáu-hiān lâm-lú ài-chêng ê kok-chióng bīn-māu, ū su-chhun, toaⁿ-loân, chho-loân, jiát-loân, sio-tak, sit-loân, siuⁿ-si, mī-nōa, iok-hōe, siōng-hó, thó-kheh-hiaⁿ, thau-chiāh-chho ê chêng-su. Hêng-chhun lâng kā bīn-kan liú-thoân ê po-koa kā i liên-hoe hòa sin, chiáⁿ-chò ū Hêng-chhun tèk-sek ê chêng-koa, in kā goeh-khīm kap Hêng-chhun tē-khu chia^h ū ê tōng-bút sit-bút, thian-jiân kéng-tì têng-téng chia^h-ê jīn-bùn kéng-koan pian tī koa-sū lâi-té, hō Hêng-chhun bīn-iâu koh khah ū i ê phang-khùi. Lán lâi khòaⁿ ē-bīn ê lē.

Chhiú giáh goeh-khīm áⁿ sim-koaⁿ, chit chhiú chò im chit chhiú tôaⁿ, ko-hiaⁿ ū niú thang chò-phōaⁿ, cháp-jī--goeh hân-léng m̄-chai kôaⁿ. Chhiú giáh goeh-khīm m̄-chai im, khe-chúi bô liâu m̄-chai chhim, sió-niú kap ko pōaⁿ-chhùi-gím, kám sī sió-niú beh phoān-sim. Chit-pêng khòaⁿ kòe hit-pêng soaⁿ, khòaⁿ tiòh khe-té chit káng chōaⁿ, góa kun hiông-hiông lim chit óaⁿ, lim beh kap niú käng sim-koaⁿ. Chit-pêng khòaⁿ kòe hit-pêng khe, sió-niú sái lê tī khe-té, hit poaⁿ a-niú chia^h-nih ē, siūⁿ beh chhōa i

lâi hōaⁿ-ke. Chhiú giáh hō-sò^a íⁿ lìn-lìn, giáh koân giáh kē siám ko sin, ko-á bô siám bô iàu-kín, sió-niú bô siám put jím-sim. Kú-chhài khui-hoe chit ki hong, kha tǎh liâng-ńg ngó-sí tiong, chò-lâng it giân tit it tiong, chhian giân bān jí bô lō-iōng. (風潮有聲出版有限公司1999c: tē-gō siú, 張文傑chhiòⁿ)

Tē it hó chiáu sī pan-kah, chhiū téng m̄ hioh hioh thô-kha, a-kun khòaⁿ niú ū chiàⁿ-háh, thiu-chhiam pok-kò^a bô cheng-chha. N̄ng chiah pan-kah hioh kāng oe, chit chiah hiàⁿ sit n̄ng chiah poe, góa niú chit kiàⁿ kun chit tòe, chhin-chhiūⁿ thiⁿ-chhiⁿ hūn phō^a goeh. (風潮有聲出版有限公司1999d: tē-lák siú, 張碧蘭chhiòⁿ)

3.2.5. Bó chit khoán kek-tiāu choan-ēng ê koa-sû:

Tī Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu lâi-té, ū chit-kóa kek-tiāu ū chhiang-chāi leh chhiūⁿ ê sū, mā ē-sái kóng hia-ê sū sī kò-tēng ēng chit khoán tiāu leh chhiūⁿ--ê, chhin-chhiūⁿ Iúⁿ Êng Sit-chhe, Tng-kang Koa ē ēng Gō-khang-á lâi chhiūⁿ, khí-thâu sī “Beh khi Tâi-tang ~” chit khoán sū ē ēng Pēⁿ-po-tiāu lâi chhiūⁿ, koh ū chhiāh chí-mōe-toh ê sī, cheng chhin-lâng tui sin-niú ê chiok-hók, sin-niú tui bī-lâi sin seng-oah ê kiaⁿ-hiàⁿ, sin-niú ê pē-bú kà-sī cha-bó-kiáⁿ chò lāng ê sin-pū ê tō-lí, kap sin-niú tui chhin-chiāⁿ pēng-iú ê kám-kek chi cheng téng-téng, che kan-na ē-tàng ēng Gū-bóe-pō^a lâi chhiūⁿ.

(1) Gō-khang-á:

Iúⁿ Êng Sit-chhe

Chiaⁿ--goeh sng-lâi thô-hoa khai, Chheng-koaⁿ pēⁿ loh chāi pāng lâi, chhiú thèh chheng-hiūⁿ hē sam-kài, hē beh Chheng-koaⁿ hó khí-lâi. Jī--goeh sng-lâi chhân-chháu chhiⁿ, Chheng-koaⁿ sit-lòh chāi thiaⁿ-piⁿ, iáu-siū hiân-chhe kui-im khi, pàng beh sè-kiáⁿ siáng beh chhiāⁿ-tí. Saⁿ--goeh sng-lâi lāng Chheng-bēng, Iúⁿ Êng chhōa kiáⁿ kàu bōng cheng, sam-seng chiú-lé lâi pài-keng, tap-siā hiân-chhe íong-iòk cheng. Sì--goeh sng-lâi jít-thâu tng, Iúⁿ Êng sit chhe bīn tài ng, iáu-siū hiân-chhe kui im tng, pàng gún múi-jít sim-thâu sng. Gō--goeh sng-lâi lāng pāk-chàng, Iúⁿ Êng sit chhe bīn tài āng, bāng khi hiân-chhe jip góa pāng, bāng-tà hian-khui khòaⁿ bô lāng. Lák--goeh sng-lâi lák-goeh tōa, Iúⁿ Êng sit chhe bô

ta-ôa, kiáⁿ lí koai-koai chham kơ-á tòa, án-tia kian-sim beh lái chhut-gōa. Chhit--goèh sng-lâi chhit-goèh sió, Iûⁿ Êng sit chhe pī lāng chhiò, góa mng lí chhiò goán siáⁿ tãi, āu-pái lí nā sit chhe lí tiòh chai. Peh--goèh sng-lâi sī Tiong-chhiu, Iûⁿ Êng sit chhe bīn tài iu, siūⁿ beh keh-piah chhōe pêng-iú, tek-ko ni saⁿ bô lāng siu. Káu--goèh sng-lâi léng-hong kôaⁿ, Iûⁿ Êng khui-siuⁿ chhōe chiam-sòⁿ, chhōe beh chiam-sòⁿ pó phòⁿ-nōa, pó beh hō kiáⁿ chhēng bē kôaⁿ. Cháp--goèh sng-lâi siu-tang sí, Iûⁿ Êng kian-sim chhut-gōa khi, ūi-tiòh góa chhe kui im-si, pàng-sak sè-kiáⁿ chò i khi. Cháp-it--goèh sng-lâi lāng so-îⁿ, ke-ke-hō-hō lāng thoân-îⁿ, Iûⁿ Êng múi-jit siūⁿ kiáⁿ-jī, siūⁿ tiòh siòng-sim bak-sái tih. Cháp-jī--goèh sng-lâi nī-kha-pīⁿ, thàn tiòh chíⁿ-gīn tng huiⁿ-lí, tōa-î jīn-chēng chhin-chhiūⁿ thiⁿ, khan tiòh sè-kiáⁿ kòe sin-nī. (風潮有聲出版有限公司1999d: tē-it siú, 張文傑chhiòⁿ)

Tng-kang koa

Chiaⁿ--goèh sng-lâi lāng khí-kang, chiaⁿ-chhiú thiⁿ-png tò-chhiú phang, pē-bú seⁿ gún bô só bāng, chiong gún it sin chò tng-kang. Jī--goèh sng-lâi chhân-chháu chhiⁿ, siang kha kúi lòh siang chhiú mi, hô-sin bāng-thang poe lái ká, siang chhiú bak thō mā tiòh phah. Saⁿ--goèh sng-lâi saⁿ-goèh-saⁿ, am-kng bô chúi khơ-lòh taⁿ, taⁿ kah tōa kng sè kng tīⁿ, chò lāng khơ-lòh m-tat chíⁿ. Sī--goèh sng-lâi jít-thâu joáh, chò lāng khơ-lòh bô ta-ôa, gū sin chhut-sí kai tiòh thoa, bô lāng kan-khó chhin-chhiūⁿ góa. Gō--goèh sng-lâi lāng pāk-chàng, thâu-ke tng--lâi beh chiáh chàng, khơ-lòh tng--lâi chhiú khang-khang, keh-piah a-pô kiò chiáh chàng. Lák--goèh sng-lâi jít-thâu tng, chhiú thèh ng-taⁿ beh phau-hng, chit phau nng phau thiⁿ beh kng, tó-lòh chhân-hōaⁿ chún bīn-chhng. Chhit--goèh sng-lâi lāng phó-tō, chò lāng khơ-lòh chin kan-khó, bô-lūn thau-hong iáh lòh-hō, thau-chá chhut-mng kàu e-pō. Peh--goèh sng-lâi peh-goèh pòⁿ, chhiam-taⁿ liú soh khoán chiūⁿ soaⁿ, tōa beh png-pau hām khak-óaⁿ, beh koah hm-chháu móa-si-soaⁿ. Káu--goèh sng-lâi káu o-im, chit-ê thau-ke siang-iūⁿ-sim, ka-tī kiáⁿ-jī kah chhiat-iàu, pát-lāng bó-kiáⁿ sí bē liáu. Cháp--goèh sng-lâi lāng siu-tang, beh giá chhek-pau jip tōa-pang, giá kah tōa-pang sè-pang tīⁿ, thau-ke mē goán bô kè-piⁿ. Cháp-it--goèh sng-lâi lāng

so-îⁿ, thâu-ke khí-lâi beh chiáh îⁿ, kho-lòh khí-lâi chhùi bô tīⁿ, keh-piah a-pô kiò chiáh îⁿ. Cháp-jī--goèh sng-lâi nî-kha-piⁿ, beh chio thâu-ke lâi sng-chîⁿ, chit sng nng sng pah-jī îⁿ, thèh tng bó-kiáⁿ kòe sin-nî. (風潮有聲出版有限公司1999d: tē-saⁿ siú, 張日貴chhiòⁿ)

(2) Pêⁿ-pơ tiâu:

Beh khi Tâi-tang thàn gîn-phiò, bē chai khi kàu Tâi-tang thàn bô tiòh, siūⁿ beh hôe-tng kiaⁿ lāng chhiò, ko-put-jī-chiong hō niú chio. Beh khi Tâi-tang chiáh liáp-png, bē chai khi kàu Tâi-tang tōa ki-hng, siūⁿ beh hôe-tng chiah-nih hng, siūⁿ tiòh kò-hiong sim-thâu sng. Beh khi Tâi-tang Hôe-lian-káng, chheⁿ-sơ m-bat pòⁿ ê lāng, ng-bāng sió-moái lâi thiàⁿ-thàng, thiàⁿ-thàng a-ko chhut-gōa lāng. Beh khi Tâi-tang bô gōa hng, chit liáp Chiam-soaⁿ tìn tiong-ng, tán-thāi Chiam-soaⁿ sèh lián-tng, chiah beh hām niú khùn kāng chhng. (風潮有聲出版有限公司1999d: tē-gō siú, 朱可順chhiòⁿ)

(3) Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ: Gû-bóe-pōaⁿ chit-ê khek-tiâu kap kí-tha ê Hêng-chhun tiâu bô siāng ê só-chāi sī i ê sū chit tē koa kan-na nng kù, bûn-thé ē-sái sī chhit-jī-á, mā ē-sái sī cháp-liām-á, sī chit-ê chok chū-iū ê khek-tiâu.

Pē-bó thiàⁿ kiáⁿ tng liú-súi, bāng kiáⁿ beh thiàⁿ pē-bó chhin-chhiūⁿ chhiū-téng leh iò lō-chúí. Lāng--a lāng pē-bó chú-i, Koan-kong hū Lāu Pī, goán ê pē-bó ká goán chú-i, sī nâ-tâu kau tek-chhi. Âng-khī hó chiáh sī tui toeh lâi khí-ti, bîn-á-hiō-jit m-thang lâi bōng in (un) kap pōe gī. Mōe-kun bîn-á-hiō-jit beh khi phāng lāng ê png-óaⁿ, lí tiòh-ài ē-hiáu lâi iú-hàu, lí ê ta-ke-koaⁿ. Mōe-kun lí ê chéng-chí ná ē iā tī ló-kó-soaⁿ, góa mā sī hi-bāng āu--jit khòⁿ ē-tàng lâi seⁿ kin hoat hiòh hō lāng khòⁿ. Chéng-thâu-á ká--lòh ki ki thiàⁿ, cha-pơ cha-bó pēⁿ-pēⁿ lóng sī kiáⁿ. Ū pē ū bó chhin-chhiūⁿ thiⁿ-téng chit liáp chhiⁿ, bô pē bô bó chhin-chhiūⁿ kó-chíⁿ goèh àm-mī.

Hūn saⁿ hūn sì hūn lán miā, hūn lán pháíⁿ-miā lóh-thō sí. Lāng--a lāng pē-bó chú-i, sī ơ-thō sip-lūn tē, goán ê pē-bó ká goán chú-i, sī sán soa

chiòh-thâu lê. Chí-mōe-á lí ê pē-bó kā lí chú-ì, sī chiūⁿ koan khòaⁿ kong-kéng, chhin-chhiūⁿ goán ê pē-bó kā goán chú-ì, sī lóh-kē thiaⁿ hái-éng. Sun-á-jī án-kū--á leh kā lí kóng, bîn-á-hiō-jit beh khi chiáh lâng ê p̄ng, khi kàu lâng hia, m̄-thang hoaiⁿ cháu tit t̄ng. Chí-mōe-á lí ê pē-bó kā lí chú-ì, āu-lâi ū hó ê jit-chí, bîn-á-hiō-jit, khi kàu lâng hia, m̄-thang bōng un kap pōe-gī. Sun-á-jī án-kū--á leh kā lí kóng, khi lâng hia tiòh-ài hó kui-kí, múi-jit chit-ê b̄n-tháng-á-chúi sī ài lâi phang sam sī. Lâng--a lâng pē-bó chú-ì, sī t̄ng-saⁿ ê-boéh-bō, goán ê pē-bó kā goán chú-ì, sī t̄ng-kang tòe kho-lòh pō. Chí-mōe-á pē-bó lâi kā lán chhī tōa, seⁿ-sêng ài kā lán chhiāⁿ, āu--jit beh chhut-m̄ng chiaⁿ ū hó miá-siaⁿ. Sun-á-jī án-kū--á kā lí kau-tài, lí bîn-á-chài sī beh kè khi téng-thâu, āu-lâi āu--jit lí tiòh-ài siūⁿ lí ê pē-bó lâi hōe-thâu. Lâng--a lâng pē-bó chú-ì, sī móa thiaⁿ âng, goán ê pē-bó kā goán chú-ì, sī móa thiaⁿ khang. Sun-á-jī lí bîn-á-hiō-jit sī beh kè khi lâng hia hó miá-siaⁿ, lí khi kàu lâng hia sam-chióng sù-tek lí tiòh cho hó chiaⁿ. (風潮有聲出版有限公司1999c: tē-it siū, 許秀金, 張碧蘭&張日貴chhiòⁿ)

4. Kiat-lūn

Lán ùi téng-koan ê thàm-thó kap pun-thiah, lán ē-tang kóng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu pún-sin tòh-sī bîn-koa, í sī “kháu-thoan--ê”, “hiong-thó--ê”, “tò-tàh--ê”, “phok-sò--ê”, “chíp-thé--ê”, “chū-jīn--ê”, “liū-thoan--ê”. Nā chhim-chhek Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu kok-chióng khek-tiāu ê lâi-goan, sui-bóng ū chē-chē bō-kang ê hong-siaⁿ kap kóng-hoat, m̄-koh, tī to-goan chòk-kùn thàu-lām tòa ê khoan-kéng--lín sán-seng ê Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu, kap tong-tē goan-chū-bîn ê koa-iâu, Kheh-lâng ê San-ko-tiāu hām Tâi-gí lâng pún-té tòh ū ê bîn-koa lóng ú chin chhim ê ian-goan, jī-chhiáⁿ ū chit-hāng kiat-lūn choát-tùi cheng-khak--ê, tòh-sī Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu sī Tâi-oân chit tè thó-tē pū--chhut-lâi ê bîn-koa, kap Tiong-kok bō tī-tāi, che lán ùi Sū-siang-ki ê khí-goan sī lí-hiong pōe-chéⁿ khi gōa-thâu mō-hiám, thàn-chiáh, khai-thok sin thiⁿ-tē ê Tâi-oân lâng, in-ūi siàu-liām kò-hiong ê ka-hng, chhin-lâng, ū-tiòh siàu-tháu sim-koaⁿ-thâu ê sim-būn só chhiūⁿ--ê, tit-tiòh chin bēng-khak ê kan-cheng.

Sòa--lòh, lán ùi téng-koan ê thàm-thó kap pun-thiah, ē-sái kóng Hêng-chhun bîn-

iâu ê tèk-sek ū:

- (1) Koa-sû sùi-lâng pian sùi-lâng chhiùⁿ, bô kò-tēng, lóng chin kháu-gí.
- (2) Tōa pō-hūn lī-iōng chhit-jī-á ê bûn-thé lâi pian sù, leh chhiùⁿ ê sí chiah-koh thap sù, chiâⁿ-chò ū chấp-liām-á hong-keh ê koa-sù.
- (3) Khek-tiâu khioh-khi tiāⁿ-tióh ê kiát-kò liáh-gōa, ē tòe koa-sù sán-seng piàn-hòa.
- (4) Bô kò-tēng ê chiat-chàu: In-ūi koa-sù kap khek-tiâu lóng bô kò-tēng, jī-chhiáⁿ hoaⁿ-hí kap pi-siong--ê lóng ē-tàng chhiùⁿ, só-pái chiat-chàu ē in-ūi chhiùⁿ-chiá kám-chêng ê piàn-hòa sán-seng tng-té bô kâng ê piàn-hòa.
- (5) Ū ê khek-tiâu ū tek-piát ê khí-thâu, kò-tēng ê kám-thàn-sù kap chō chhiùⁿ.
- (6) “Gū-bóe-pōaⁿ” ê sù khek kiát-kò lóng sī nng kù hêng--ê, ián-chhiùⁿ ê sí tōa pō-hūn lóng sī ta chhiùⁿ bô phōaⁿ-chàu, it-poaⁿ-ték sī tī kè cha-bó-kiáⁿ chin-chêng, chiaⁿ chí-moāi-toh ê sí leh chhiùⁿ ê koa-iâu.
- (7) “Gū-bóe-pōaⁿ” chit-ê khek-tiâu sī Hêng-chhun tē-khu kok chòk-kûn bûn-hòa sio thau-lām só sán-seng ê sin bûn-hòa.
- (8) “Sù-kùi-chhun” lóng hông théh lâi kóng chêng kap keng khah chē, sī chit-ê kiát-kò khah kán-tan ê khek-tiâu, it-poaⁿ chhiùⁿ-chiá ē ūn-iōng áu-ūn ê hong-hoat phòe-háp siaⁿ-tiâu ê piàn-hòa, lâi chhòng-chō bû-chîn ê soán-lút.
- (9) “Sù-kùi-chhun” tī bô-kâng ê só-chāi iah ē sán-seng tē-khu-seng ê tèk-sek. Chhin-chhiūⁿ, tī Hong-káng kap tī Hêng-chhun tióh ū chiáⁿ tōa ê bô-kâng, m̄ chiaⁿ tī Hong-káng ê Sù-kùi-chhun tòh kiò-chò “Hong-káng-tiâu-á”.
- (10) “Gō-khang-á”, chit-ê khek-tiâu múi chit tōaⁿ si-kù nā chhiùⁿ soah, bóe-kù lóng ē koh tò-táh chit kù, chiâⁿ-chò gō kù koa.
- (11) It-poaⁿ chhiùⁿ Gō-khang-á lóng sī kō goeh-lēng chò khí-thâu, ùi it--goeh chhiùⁿ kah chấp-jī--goeh, só-í i chhiang-chāi hō lāng théh lâi chhiùⁿ kui phiⁿ ê kò-sū.
- (12) “Pēⁿ-pō tiâu” kiàn-chèng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu sī to chòk-kûn thau-lām ê bûn-hòa, mā kì-chài Hêng-chhun lāng khi tang-pō khai-khún ê lèk-sú.
- (13) Ūi Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ê koa-sù ká khòaⁿ, lán thang kóng i chú-iâu sī kō Tâi-gí lāng ê ì-sek hêng-thài lâi piáu-tát.
- (14) Tī Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu--lín khah chió leh chhiùⁿ tng-phiⁿ ê sū-sū si, tōa-pō-hūn lóng sī té-phiⁿ ê si-koa khah chē.

- (15) Tng-phiⁿ ê sū-sū si leh chhiùⁿ ê sí, ē ēng bô-kâng ê tiâu lâi piáu-tát sū-sū ê lōe-iông. Té-phiⁿ ê si-koa lóng sī kō chit-ê tiâu ùi thâu chhiùⁿ kàu bóe.
- (16) Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu mā-sī chit khoán pún-thó ê liām-koa gē-sút.
- (17) Si-koa ê koa-sū lâi-iông ū “Kóng lí khoán siān--ê”, “Su-chêng--ê”, “Siāu-kài Hêng-chhun kóng-ti--ê”, “Lâm-lú sio-po-koa (chêng-koa)”.
- (18) “Gō-khang-á”, “Pêⁿ-pōⁿ tiâu” kap “Gū-bóe-pōaⁿ” lóng ū in choan-bûn leh chhiùⁿ ê koa-sū.

Sui-bóng Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu ū têng-koán hiah chē tèk-sek, m̄-koh put-koán án-chóaⁿ pun-thiah, kêng-sit Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu khó-kùi-ê sī í-keng kì-liók hiàng-sí siōng kài ki-chân ê lāng in seng-oah tī o-àm lím-kiⁿ ê sim-siaⁿ, kap ún-chông tī koa-siaⁿ--lín ê jîn-seng kám-ngō, ah tiòh sī lāng kap thó-tē kau-phoah chò-hóe hit khoán hók-cháp pak bē khui ê kám-chêng, kán-tan kóng tòh sī chin-sit, chit khoán chin-sit ê kám-chêng hoán-èng hiàng-sí ê lāng kok-chióng su-sióng ê bîn-māu, kap Tâi-oân lāng kut-lát pah-piàⁿ, m̄ kiaⁿ kan-khóⁿ ê ì-chì só tián-hiān ê Tâi-oân cheng-sîn. Chit khoán ùi bîn-iâu seⁿ-thòⁿ ê cheng-sîn, lâi piáu-tát Tâi-oân lāng ê jîn-seng koan, kè-tát koan, chiàⁿ-sī Hêng-chhun bîn-iâu siōng kài kè-tát kiau siōng ū ì-gī ê só-chāi.

Thók-chiá hōe-èng

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Siraya語新港方言ê元音前置kap一寡音素ê構擬

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摘要

Tsit篇論文用Adelaar (2011) 對Siraya《馬太福音》kap《教理問答》ê語音分析做基礎，斟酌歸納Siraya語用tī《馬太福音》kap《教理問答》內底ê方言（本文照文獻傳統kā tsit个方言叫做新港方言）ê元音前置化現象，嘛提出解說，了後透過優選理論做分析。論文指出，tsit个方言ê元音前置化，雖bóng受著音節位置kap相隔壁ê硬顎擦音ê制限，m̄-koh猶原保留選擇性。Tse掠外，連元音和諧律to也無強制性；雖然無強制性，m̄-koh咱uì元音前置化tī尾音節hām其他位置無全ê表現，全款thang看出無全程度ê弱化，tī感知提升過程中是有程度精差tī--leh--ê，比論：有一部分ê尾音節ê首音，就會將元音和諧拍斷。Tsit个研究m̄-nā有pué-huē tsit个方言tī元音前置化所呈現ê無全類型，嘛有對tsit个方言ê部分音素ê實際音值kap韻律結構提出擬測ê線索，包括指出重音ê位置應該是tī尾音節，另外，嘛提出包括x、l、r、p佢前置化 ê u可能ê音值線索。

關鍵字：Siraya、元音前置化、元音和諧律、擴散、自由變體

收件日期2017.6.16/修訂日期2017.8.1/接受日期2017.8.22

Vowel Fronting in the Sinkang Dialect of Siraya and Reconstruction of some of its Phonemes

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Abstract

Based on Adelaar's (2011) observations of Gravius 1661 and Gravius 1662, a further investigation of vowel fronting in the Sinkang dialect of Siraya (the dialect used in Gravius 1661 and Gravius 1662) is carried out to provide fine-grained generalizations and an analysis in Optimality Theory. Vowel fronting in this language, although conditioned in the final syllable and in the vicinity of extant/disappearing palatal fricatives, is optional. Additionally, even the vowel harmony is also subject to free variation. The disparity of fronting targets between final syllable positions and elsewhere demonstrates that different extents of lenition may induce variance in perceptual enhancement processes. Moreover, the privilege of some final syllable onsets to appear as blockers suggests the contrast with respect to faithfulness. This study not only further clarifies the patterns of vowel fronting in this language, but it also sheds light on the hidden phonetic properties of a dormant language, including its metrical structure and the phonetic details of segments: *x*, *l*, *r*, *p*, and the fronted *u*.

Keywords: Siraya, vowel fronting, harmony, spreading, free variation

1. Introduction

This study is intended as a comprehensive investigation of vowel fronting in the Sinkang dialect of Siraya. Note that the term “Sinkang dialect” throughout this study refers to the dialect employed in the translation of *the Gospel of Matthew* (Gravius 1661), but not the dialect that was spoken in the Sinkang village¹. According to the title page of the gospel, this dialect used in the gospel text was spoken by the inhabitants of the villages of Soulang, Mattau, Sinckan (i.e. Sinkang), Bacloan, Tavokan, and Tevorang, and possibly also for some people in Dorko and Tilocen (Adelaar 2011:4). The length of the Gospel’s translation provides us relatively abundant data for analyzing this dialect, and readers are advised not to be confused it with the dialect solely spoken in the Sinkang village, the denotation used in some other studies such as Li (2010).

In the first section, a brief introduction of the language in question and its vowel inventory, which plays a main role in this study, will be delineated respectively.

1.1. Siraya and its dialects

Siraya is an extinct Formosan language, which used to be spoken in a variety of dialects on the plains of Southwest Taiwan. The language is known to us through several sources: a translation of *the Gospel of Matthew* (Gravius 1661), a translation of a *Protestant catechism* (Gravius 1662), a large number of land contracts (Li 2010 and the references cited in it), and a wordlist called “Utrecht manuscript” (henceforth “UM”). (Adelaar 1999, 2011)

The several Siraya sources together represent a considerable dialect variation, and researchers have different opinions about their categorization (e.g., compare Adelaar 2011 with Li 2010). The differences can be exemplified by contrasting the dialect used in the Gospel and the catechism with the dialect used in UM. According to Adelaar (2011:4), the UM dialect and the dialect of the

¹ Also notice that the place name “Sinkang” is written as “Sinckan” in Gravius 1661.

gospel and catechism differ predominantly in their reflexes of Proto Austronesian *d, *R and *S, and *-an, listed as follows:

(1)

Proto Austronesian	UM	gospel
*d	s	d-/r- in initial position, r elsewhere
*R and *S	x	x in root-final position, h or Ø elsewhere ²
*-an	-ang	-an

Apart from the above, there is an additional but minor difference observed. In the Utrecht manuscript, *b* and *f* are found to be free variants. For instance³: *agoulbey* and *agoulifey* are both paraphrased as “Open the door! (Imperative).” If *b* and *f* are free variants in this dialect, one would expect the term *agoualilif* (“key”) to have a counterpart, and *agoualilib* is its variant. This is evidenced by its cognate in the Sinkang dialect: *äw-a-lǐ-lib* / *aäw-a-'lǔ-lǔp*, which reflects in its final consonant the variant not documented in the Utrecht Manuscript.

This study does not intend to resolve the issue of grouping Sirayaic dialects /languages. Instead, thanks to the length of the translation of *the Gospel of Matthew*, the aim of this study is to exploit the dialect employed in it (referred to as Sinkang dialect herein) in order to investigate the phenomenon of vowel fronting and, based on the findings, to speculate about some phonemes of this dialect.

² According to Adelaar, *x* is a voiceless velar fricative. In the Utrecht Manuscript, it is transcribed as *g* and *ch* (Adelaar 2011:37). However, there are some dubious counterexamples. Pairs like *ikaguan* (as spelled in UM) vs. *ĩ-ka-kua-n* (as spelled in Gospel of Matthew in the Sinkang dialect) and *itoougua* (as spelled in UM) vs. *itu-u-kua* (as spelled in Gospel of Matthew in the Sinkang dialect) seem to indicate that sometimes *g* in the Utrecht Manuscript is actually an allophone of *k* (a voiced counterpart) instead of a velar fricative.

³ In this paragraph, examples in UM follow their original spelling in UM, and examples in the Sinkang dialect are adopted from Adelaar (2011).

1.2. The vowel inventory of The Sinkang dialect

The vocalic phoneme inventory proposed in Adelaar 2011 is listed as follows.

(2)

i	[i:],	ĩ,	[i]	u	[u:],	ũ	[u]
			e			ə	o
			a	[a:],		ă	[a]

As shown in (2), vowels /i/, /u/, and /a/ are further divided into long and short vowels, but according to Adelaar, it is unclear whether length is phonemic. Vowels other than *ă*, *ĩ*, *ũ*, and *ə* do not systematically distinguish it (Adelaar 2011:51), and the differentiation suggested by Adelaar is made to avoid the risk of information loss (2011:51). I will ignore the length differentiation in this study.

Apart from the length differentiation, the phonemic status of /o/ and /e/ is also dubious. As argued by Adelaar, the evidence corroborating them as phonemic is precarious. (Adelaar 2011: 21-3; 27-9; 51)

In fact, as seen in both the Sinkang dialect and the dialect used in UM, *o* and *u* seem to be allophonic⁴. Additionally, the number of the words containing *o* also indicates the uncertain status of this segment. Among the 1,530 items or so in the lexicon compiled by Adelaar (2011:296-400), only 92 items have *o*, which looks relatively low compared with languages that feature *o* as a vowel. In addition, merely two among the 92 contain a segment *o* that is adjacent to *x*. Note that the segment *x*, written so in Adelaar (2011), is suggested to be the critical segment that triggers vowel fronting (Adelaar 2011:56-8). Due to its suspicious position, I will not include the reportedly back phonemic *o* in the following analysis.

This study is based on the observation of the distribution of fronted

⁴ This is evidenced by the observations that *o* in words from UM is often found revealed as *u* or fronted to become *æu* (*äw*) in the data of the Sinkang dialect—e.g., *vaxiox* vs. *bäyux*; *vaxo* vs. *vahäw*; *tataxof* vs. *taäwf-ən*; *taxo* vs. *pa-ka-täw-ən*; *vuxox* vs. *väux*; *muxo* vs. *mäwäw*.

allophones of *a* and *u* in the dialect employed in the gospel text and the catechism—i.e., the Sinkang dialect, relying on the compiled vocabulary provided in Adelaar (2011).⁵

2. Sirayan Vowel Fronting Depicted in Adelaar (2011)

In the original gospel text and the catechism, *æ* and *æu* are commonly found vowel symbols. Adelaar (1999, 2011) suggests that they represent palatalized (fronted/palatal) counterparts of *a* and *u*. In addition, he indicates that they often alternate with *a* and *u* in the dialect of the gospel text and the catechism. However, the vowel fronting in question is not observed in the dialect of the Utrecht Manuscript.

The fronting claimed by Adelaar is based on the phonetic characteristics of *æ* in the Dutch spelling in the 17th century (refer to Adelaar 2011:19). With respect to the distribution of *a* and *ä* (*ä* indicates fronted *a* in Adelaar 1999 and 2011) and *u* and *äw* (*äw* indicates a diphthong that is a result of fronting of *u* in Adelaar 1999 and 2011), Adelaar summarizes its environments as follows. (refer to Adelaar 2011:56-7)

(3)

Group 1. *a* in the vicinity of a velar fricative (x).

“(UM)” indicates that a word is from the Utrecht Manuscript.

no fronting observed	fronting observed	gloss
pasanax (UM)	päränäx	tree
pulax (UM)	puläx	barren country
xiltax (UM)	'ltäx	thunder
rix + uhu	rix-äwhu	mind-2S.GEN pronoun
pa-ka-rämäx + aw	pa-ka-rämäx-äw	let shine-IRREAL-PV

⁵ That is to say, unless noted otherwise, Adelaar’s orthography, which is consistent and carefully avoids information loss, is adopted throughout this study.

Group 2. *a* or *u* in the vicinity of a palatalized ä.

no fronting observed	fronting observed	gloss
ma + uäx	mä-uäx	AV-live
pihä + a	piä-ä	give-IRREAL
puläx	päwlä-päwläx	barren country
m + u + pänäx	m-äw-pänäx (or <i>m-u-pänäx</i>)	AV-MOTION-outward (‘to appear in the open’)

Group 3. *a* or *u* in the vicinity of *x*, a reflex of Proto Austronesian *R and *S.

Utrecht Manuscript	The Sinkang dialect	gloss
xamax	ämax	blood
xapit	äpit	to get up
raxang	räang	rib
nixaha	niähä	sister
maxanix	mä-änix	It’s good/beautiful
waxi	wäi	day; sun
vaxiox	bäyux	thunderstorm
vaxo	vahäw	new
tataxof	taäwf-ən	blanket; -ən: PV (covered)
taxo	pa-ka-taäw-ən	shoulder; laid on the shoulders
vuxox	väux	enemy
xuma	äwma	village, town
uxla	äwla	snow
uxing	äwing	candle
muxo	mäwäw	whale
muxax	m-äwäx	AV-live

Just as Adelaar has pointed out, vowel fronting (in his word: *palatalization*) occurs within a base as well as across morpheme boundaries. However, it is

not always found in the expected environment (2011:56). Unpredictable vowel fronting cases are not rare in the data—for example, unpredictable vowel fronting cases are often found in oblique pronoun suffixes. (2011:58)

In the next section, I will provide my own generalizations, which are different from Adelaar (2011) in several aspects.

3. The Phonetic Properties of Two Specific Segments

Before we delve into the vowel fronting patterns, due to the critical roles of *x* and *u* in this study, I would like to look into the phonetic properties of two specific segments: *x* and *u*.

3.1. The phonological status of *x*

As mentioned in the last section, according to Adelaar, one of the initiators of vowel fronting in the Sinkang dialect is *x* (written as *g*, *hg*, *gh*, and sometimes *h* or \emptyset in the original texts), which is an assumed voiceless velar fricative in Adelaar's analysis. But the idea that a velar initiates vowel fronting is improbable because of its backness⁶. By comparing the data in the dialect of the Utrecht Manuscript, in which no palatalization occurs, to the data in the Sinkang dialect, a more reasonable premise is that what is found in the Sinkang dialect is a palatal fricative, the counterpart of a velar fricative in the dialect of the Utrecht Manuscript. What we see is presumably another dialectal discrepancy.

The suggestion above is not rare in the cross-linguistic aspect. By way of example, German has an allophonic variation between [ç] and [x]. Moreover, according to Booij (1995:8), the articulation of the velar fricative in Dutch varies from postvelar to postpalatal. The latter variant is characteristic for speakers from the southern part of the Netherlands and the Dutch speaking area of Belgium.⁷

⁶ I am grateful to Prof. Feng-fan Hsieh for reminding me of this point.

⁷ The main contributor of the Gospel of Matthew in Siraya, Daniel Gravius, came from Dordrecht, which is in the southwestern part of the Netherlands. Although the phenomenon described by Booij belongs to Modern Dutch, his observation still evidences the existence of this variation in Dutch.

3.2. The qualities of the fronted *u*

Remember from section 2 that *u* is suggested to be fronted to become [æu] (äw). In Adelaar's analysis, the allophone of *u* is a diphthong. Additionally, its relative positions with respect to *x* bear on its fronting. In Adelaar's words:

[W]here the Utrecht manuscript has a /xu/ sequence, the corresponding sequence in the gospel and catechism is usually a diphthong äw with syllabicity shifted to ä; where the Utrecht manuscript has an /ux/ sequence, the corresponding sequence in the gospel dialect sometimes exhibits feature metathesis involving vowel quality and maintaining syllabicity on the first segment (hence: *ux > *uä > äw). (2011:57)

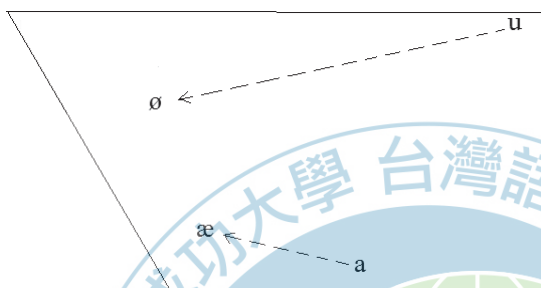
However, the proposal of the diphthong and the consequences of syllabicity shift and metathesis, which is mainly based on the two-letter form, complicates the fronting process and looks improbable.

It is noteworthy that Dutch has much less umlaut (vowel fronting) than German does. In addition, it is not inconceivable for the Dutch transcribers to transcribe the sound of a fronted vowel in Siraya with a double-segment form. In fact, this kind of practice is also found in Modern Dutch orthography—for instance, in *neus* “nose” [nø:s]. Moreover, in Middle Dutch, the vowel /ø:/ was variably written as *eu*, *ue*, *o*, or *oe*. In other words, it is not peculiar for a Dutch transcriber to employ the ostensible diphthong shape to note a single fronted segment. Based on the line of thought, the fronting result of *u* (cf. [æ] (ä) from *a*) should not be complicated with an additional segment. The allophone of *u*, after becoming fronted, is the monosegmental [ø], with the ostensible digraph form *æu* (the original spelling in Gravius 1661 and 1662), in which *æ* suggests front and *u*

indicates round.⁸

The vowel fronting of *a* and *u* in the Sinkang dialect, then, is presumably as follows.⁹

(4)



4. Generalizations of Vowel Fronting in the Sinkang dialect

As noted by Adelaar (2011), vowel fronting in the Sinkang dialect is not always found in the expected environment, and unpredictable vowel fronting is observed in the data. Therefore, to simply say that fronting is triggered by a palatal fricative or a fronted vowel cannot satisfactorily explain the data comprehensively.

In this section, I will put forward my generalizations based on the data provided in Adelaar (2011).

4.1. *x* is not an unfailing trigger

Regarding the trigger of vowel fronting, unlike what is suggested in Adelaar (2011), the abutting segment *x* does not necessarily give rise to vowel fronting.

⁸ Feng-fan Hsieh (p.c.) observes that high back vowel fronting accompanied by lowering is rare cross-linguistically. Another possibility is that /u/ is fronted to become [y] or [Y]. The alternative analysis of *u* fronting does not bear on the main claims of this paper. To adapt to the alternative, we will have to rearrange the constraint ranking, including demoting *[+high, -back, +round] and promoting some faithfulness constraints, etc.

⁹ If /o/ is phonemic, as proposed in Adelaar (1999, 2011), a possible fronting allophone of this back vowel is [œ].

This point is supported by the data below (from Adelaar 2011:297-400):

- (5) a. aäwkax “to take as a child-in-law” ämax “front; the open; blood”
dipax “to spit” handax “high; length”
kavax “covenant”
- b. apux “to whitewash” bäyux “bad weather”
kurux “to bend (the knees)” limux “the end”
urux “to dishonor”
- c. mha “to know” pixa “to give”
u-mxa-ən “mind” xalap “surface, the outside”
xarmil “to cool off”
- d. kxun “large animal” xuxpīt “heavy, difficult”

In (5a), all of the vowels *a* immediately precede an *x*, which occurs as the coda of the final syllables, and the vowel is not fronted. In the final syllables of the lexical items in (5b), the segment that precedes *x* is *u*. In addition, (5c) and (5d) illustrate the cases in which *x* occurs in the onset position and is followed immediately by *a* or *u*, which are not fronted at all.

In Adelaar’s lexicon of the Sinkang dialect, which consists of about 1,500 items, the count of items that contains *x* and/or fronted *a* or *u* is 393. Among these relevant items, unexpected cases are not uncommon at all, as we can see in the following table (including all occurrences, wherever its position in a word):

(6)

type	ax	ux	xa	xu	Total
count	57	41	18	2	118

Because they are more than sporadic cases, it is not quite suitable to bury

the numbers in (6) by simply claiming that they are exceptions.¹⁰

With these instances, it is reasonable to say that *x* does not necessarily trigger the fronting of adjoining *a* or *u*.

4.2. Fronting and spreading as free variation

Aside from the issue of fronting triggered obligatorily, there are also vowel fronting cases which are apparently not obligatory. This is demonstrated by the variations of some lexical items (again, from Adelaar 2011:297-400):¹¹

(7) ad/äd	“to bring”	ahīd/ähīd	“girdle; belt”
angat/ängat	“to scourge”	darikax/darikäx	“to recover”
äwrif/urif	“to give”	inä/ina	“mother”
ĩnax/ĩnäx	“to be astonished”	kuridax/kuridäx	“to cure; to heal”

Importantly, (7) only exemplifies and does not exhaust all of the pertinent cases. In fact, there are 91 items that have un-fronted variants among all of the 262 entries that contain fronted *a* or *u*. Therefore, we have to admit that vowel fronting must be optional.¹²

¹⁰ An anonymous colleague suggests that some of these words may have been semantically prone to unusual phonotactics, such as mimetics, borrowings (e.g., *tsunami*), proper nouns (e.g., place names in Turkish), diminutives, “dirty” words and slang, baby talk, motherese, gangster talk (e.g., rolled, not flapped, /r/ in Japanese), expressive language (e.g., French initial stress in emphatic contexts), paralinguistic phenomena, and certain semantic fields; many kinds of (especially non-core) vocabulary can fall under this category. I leave this as an open question.

¹¹ An anonymous colleague points out several other possibilities for these graphemically different versions of the same word, including that Gravius simply did not have a good ear, or that Gravius did not record rigidly, or that there may be idiolects involved, and so on and so forth. I acknowledge that there are assumptions in this analysis. However, I cannot even name an analysis that is based on no assumptions (and few are based on only one single assumption).

¹² A peculiar example is found in the vocabulary. Although *amäx* and *ämäx* are free variations when they are used to mean “front, the open, to be visible, public, etc.,” the word glossed “blood” has only one realization: *ämax*; in other words, no spreading is observed. If this is true, fronting or not fronting may concern lexical meanings. Currently, I have no definite answer to this.

Moreover, spreading of fronting in the Sinkang dialect is not obligatory, either. This is exemplified by the pairs of realizations listed below.¹³

(8) amäx/ämäx	“front; blood”	äas/ääs	“to hate”
aäw-/ääw-	inversive verbal prefix	ad/äd	“to bring”
aäwkax/ääwkax	“to take as a child-in-law”	äläy/äläy	exclamation
haräläx/häräläx	“to doubt”		
lamäx/lämäx	“to burn something”		

4.3. Obligatory fronting conditions

Though we have seen that *x* is not an unfailing trigger and fronting is sometimes optional, it is still hasty to conclude that all cases of vowel fronting in the Sinkang dialect result from free variation. Apart from the free variation cases, there are clear patterns that trigger obligatory vowel fronting.

Firstly, as Adelaar (2011) mentioned, historically existent *x*, which is only retained in the dialect of UM, a reflex of Proto Austronesian *R and *S, does cause abutting *a* or *u* to be fronted in the Sinkang dialect. This is well-illustrated by Group 3 in (3), which offers a comparison between the two dialects¹⁴. The effect can be either leftward or rightward.

Secondly, among the prevalent free variation cases, word-final *x* does bring about fronting of immediately preceding *u*. This pattern is obscured by the almost rampant free variation and becomes transparent only when the onset consonant of the final syllable blocks the fronting operation.

The hidden pattern can be revealed by an out-and-out review of the lexicon compiled by Adelaar (2011: 297-400). An overall survey of the vowel fronting and its spreading (vowel harmony) is shown in the table below. Limited by

¹³ There is a mysterious example: *karäwmatäx*, in which more than one back vowel is fronted, but the fronting harmony is intercepted. It is not certain whether the fronting is initiated respectively or, alternatively, spreading is followed by de-fronting of fronted vowels in a harmony chain by other causes. Without further evidence, I will leave this open.

¹⁴ There is an exception in which no fronting occurs in either direction: *ui* “left-hand side.” Compare the two pairs: *mougy* (UM) vs. *m-ui* (Sinkang) “to the left”; *rima ka ougi* (UM) and *rima ka ui* (Sinkang) “left hand.” No fronting occurs.

the available data of this dialect, what is demonstrated in the table cannot be a strictly drawn statistical conclusion. However, it does reveal something worthy to be considered, unless we decide to shelve it and sit on our hands.

The segments in the first column are either in the onset position of a final syllable or in the way of an expected vowel harmony spreading chains. Note that there are 242 items containing *x*, and 199 items of these have a final *x*. The table below demonstrates the counts of non-fronting vowels in a final syllable with coda *x* in the first two columns (each is further split into three columns). The third column gives counts of the occurrence of each consonant, wherever it is in a word, and the number of times these consonant blocks spreading of vowel fronting (indicated by “no spreading count”).¹⁵

(9)

	non-fronting <i>u</i> in a final syllable with coda <i>x</i>			non-fronting <i>a</i> in a final syllable with coda <i>x</i>			fronting spreading		
	non-fronting count	total	%	non-fronting count	total	%	no spreading count	total	%
l	7	7	100%	2	7	29%	11	17	65%
n	5	5	100%	2	11	18%	7	15	47%
r	6	7	86%	2	4	50%	6	15	40%
p	4	5	80%	4	8	50%	8	20	40%
t	2	2	100%	2	8	25%	19	47	40%
s	1	2	50%	1	1	100%	2	5	40%
m	1	3	33%	2	6	33%	7	13	54%
b	1	4	25%	0	2	0%	3	11	27%
k	1	6	17%	5	7	71%	15	25	60%
d	0	1	0%	5	11	45%	6	11	55%
v	0	1	0%	3	6	50%	10	27	37%
w	0	1	0%	3	6	50%	4	10	40%
ng	0	0	NA	1	4	25%	1	2	50%
h	0	0	NA	0	1	0%	11	30	37%

¹⁵ Typically, one would expect approximately 20 tokens at least to draw statistically valid conclusions. However, the data in this language does not allow us to do so. At any rate, what is presented in Table 9 includes all of the relevant lexical items in this dialect. Either we try to find something based on what is available, or we can say nothing.

By excluding the cases that have few total counts¹⁶, we can see that the numbers in (9) generally exhibit free variation of fronting and fronting spreading. Nonetheless, there are four consonantal segments (*l*, *n*, *r*, and *p*) that display obvious blocking effect when they occur as final syllable onsets followed by *u* and coda *x*¹⁷. This contrast indicates that a final syllable coda *x* fronts the preceding *u*, and this obligatory fronting in question is blocked by the four aforementioned onset consonants.

To sum up, generally, *x* is not an unfailing vowel fronting trigger, and vowel fronting and fronting spreading exhibit free variation in the Sinkang dialect (in other words, vowel fronting and spreading are optional, in general); however, the data suggest that coda *x* obligatorily fronts the preceding *u* and historically existent *x* obligatorily fronts *a* and *u* in vicinity.¹⁸

I summarize the generalizations in comparison to Adelaar's (2011) as follows.

¹⁶ For instance, we have only single one or merely two cases in which *s* blocks a fronting in a final syllable and the ones in which *t* blocks *u* fronting in a final syllable.

¹⁷ There is one count with regard to *r* and *p*, respectively, that shows no blocking effect. I will include these two consonants in the analysis that follows. However, their status is, of course, always challengeable due to the single occurrence of fronting in a final syllable. Furthermore, the number of the back semivowel *w* as the final syllable onset followed by *u* is not enough to discern their interaction. Note that *w* shares all of the features with *u*, except that it is [-syllabic]. In other words, *w* is endowed with a special status, and it is quite different from the blocking consonants. I will not include *w* in the discussion with respect to its blocking effects.

¹⁸ Logically, there is another possibility that fronting precedes word-medial [ç] dropping. However, this is refuted by the cognate pairs of the two dialects: *gapit* (UM) vs. *apit* / *äpit* / *äpīt* (Sinkang, with three allophones); *glaf* (UM) vs. *laf* (Sinkang).

(10)

This proposal	Adelaar (2011)
<i>x</i> does not necessarily trigger fronting.	<i>x</i> triggers fronting (exceptions observed).
Final syllable coda <i>x</i> only fronts <i>u</i> .	Not mentioned.
Fronting and spreading are free variations.	Not mentioned.
Final syllable <i>u</i> fronting is obligatorily blocked by specific onsets.	Not mentioned.
<i>x</i> is a palatal fricative.	<i>x</i> is a velar fricative.
<i>u</i> fronts to become [ø].	<i>u</i> fronts to become diphthong [æu] with occasional metathesis.

4.4. Explaining the observations

With the observations in the previous subsection, I will try to come up with explanations before proposing my analysis. Among these observations, no special comment is given to the free variation, for examples of free variation are abundant in natural languages. (Free variation is included in the analysis provided later.)

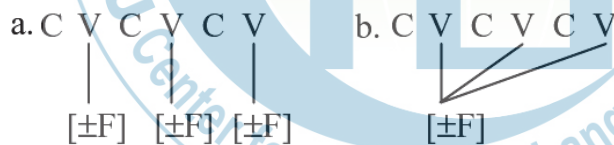
As for the two types of obligatory vowel fronting, a functional explanation is provided in the following.

In the literature regarding harmony, which has the effect of making segments that are not necessarily adjacent and are more similar to each other in some domain, a main pursuit in the study of its properties is to find out the reasons for the spreading. Among the approaches to carrying out such a pursuit, some are perceptually based and suggest that harmony results from languages attempting to license contrasts in maximally perceptible positions (Steriade 1995; Zoll 1997 among others; also refer to Lloret 2007). Under this approach, the harmonic feature in a weak structure is attracted to strong positions to become more perceptible. For example, in cases of rounding harmony, it appears

that those vowels for which the addition of lip rounding induces a relatively weak acoustic effect are the typologically preferred triggers of harmony, whereas those for which the acoustic effect of lip rounding is relatively dramatic are the typologically preferred rounding harmony targets. In addition, it is suggested that vowel harmony is essentially a perceptually driven phenomenon (Kaun 2004: 95). This idea was first put forth by Suomi (1983), who proposes that harmony is best regarded as a means by which to enhance the probability that a given contrast or set of contrasts will be accurately perceived by the hearer. In Kaun's words:

[T]he key idea is that harmony gives to an extension of the temporal span associated with some perceptually vulnerable quality, represented below as $[\pm F]$. By increasing the listener's exposure to the quality in question, harmony increases the probability that the listener will accurately identify that quality. (2004:95)

(11)



(Kaun 2004: 95 (5))

For a listener who perceives that a given feature is harmonic and, thus, that over some span the value of that feature will remain constant, the harmonic structure in (11b) has an additional advantage over the structure in (11a) perceptually, according to Kaun.

Just like the motivation that triggers vowel harmony, I propose that in the Sinkang dialect, the two types of obligatory vowel fronting are also propelled by a similar perceptual reason: to enhance the perception of the consonant $[\zeta]$ (written as x in Adelaar 2011) in a weak position (coda position) or to cue a weakened

(historically existent¹⁹) [ç], regardless of its position. The differences lie merely in that the trigger in the dialect in question is a consonant, and the involved feature is [front]. Moreover, the sequence harmony is optional, as it offers free variations.

A parallel case with consonantal triggers is found in Eastern Andalusian Spanish. Based on the analysis of Jiménez and Lloret (2007), Eastern Andalusian shows a stable process of word-final /s/-weakening, involving systematic opening of the preceding vowel, which becomes [-ATR] (see (12a)), and further fronting of the low vowel /a/, which becomes [-ATR, +front] (see (12b)). As we can see, the pertinent feature derives from local assimilation. (The following data are from Lloret 2007 (23).)

(12)

a.	-/is/:	[i]	mis	[mɨ]	‘my (pl)’
	-/us/:	[u]	tus	[tʊ]	‘your (pl)’
	-/es/:	[ɛ]	mes	[mɛ]	‘month’
	-/os/:	[ɔ]	tos	[tɔ]	‘cough’
b.	-/as/:	[æ]	mas	[mæ]	‘plus’

Moreover, Lloret (2007) points out that Spanish words ending in -j /h/ also show the same behavior as -s words do.

According to Adelaar (2011: 37, esp. footnote 19), in the Sinkang dialect, the segment *x* is undergoing different extents of weakening and is only relatively well preserved in the word-final position. Motivated in an analogous manner as the perceptually-based approach that explains vowel harmony and the local

¹⁹ Here, the term “historically existent” does not mean “reconstructible.” Based on Adelaar (2011), the dialect of UM is relatively conservative compared with the Sinkang dialect. By juxtaposing the data of these two dialects, we then find many *x* (following Adelaar’s orthography) in the dialect of UM have no corresponding elements in the Sinkang dialect. In this vein, these *x* are left out in the Sinkang dialect and, therefore, dubbed as “historically existent.”

assimilation of Spanish mentioned previously, a word-medial historically existent (very weakened) *x* in the Sinkang dialect then triggers fronting of adjacent non-front vowels (*a* and *u*)²⁰. The word-final *x*, which is still present but occurs in a coda position that is weak, sets off the fronting of an immediately preceding back vowel *u* in order to enhance its own perceptibility.

This proposal can be further deliberated as follows. Compared with the word-medial *x*, which is not explicitly pronounced anymore, the word-final *x* is relatively stronger in its status. We can suggest the reason why the word-final *x* only fronts *u* but not *a* in this way: *a* is less back than *u* and, therefore, *u* impedes the articulation of the following palatal fricative more than *a*. As for the disappearing *x*, which is even weaker, it has to take all non-front vowels to be the fronting targets in order to note its vanishing perceptibility. The discrimination then can be attributed to both articulatory and (consequently) perceptual reasons.

The perceptually-based explanation is evidenced by the fact that a word-medial *x* that is still overt does not give rise to vowel fronting in vicinity. (See 4.1, especially (5c) and (5d).)

Additionally, in the preceding section, we also mentioned that the vowel fronting process is blocked by onset of *l*, *n*, *r*, and *p* in the final syllable. It is proposed that the blocking effects indicate the phonetic properties of these consonantal segments. To be a fronting blocker, it is reasonable to suggest *l* to be a dark l ([ɫ]) and *r* a guttural fricative ([ʀ]); *p* in the Sinkang dialect may be articulated with some kind of tongue root raising or tongue retraction²¹. Lastly, the observation that the coronal nasal blocks vowel fronting may be due to a cross-linguistic tendency to avert the combination of a nasal and a fronted vowel.

²⁰ One may challenge how historical entities that no longer exist can function as triggers for synchronic phonological process. Nonetheless, it is possible for an extremely weakened segment to leave some traits and cause variation when there is motivation (e.g., lexical distinction). This can be well explained by theories, like “floating features” or “floating mora.”

²¹ A possible candidate is the labio-velar, either a labial-velar (a consonant made at two places of articulation, one at the lips and the other at the soft palate) or a labialized velar (a consonant with an approximant-like secondary articulation).

Some cross-linguistic examples are demonstrated in the following.

Blust (2000: 290-3) indicates that an intervening nasal blocks the spread of fronting in Mirii and some other languages. Also, Mahanta (2008:170) claims that vowel harmony is sometimes blocked by intervening nasal consonants in Assamese, while Dinkin (2011: 79) points out that the nasal system in some English dialects blocks the development of /æ/-raising; additionally, the umlaut in Korean is blocked by coronal nasals (refer to Shim 1986 and Kang 1991 mentioned in Shin 1996: 492). Apart from the cases in which nasals block fronting, with respect to the umlaut process in Korean, Kim (1973) and Lee (1971) also suggest that all coronal consonants are blockers. Note that the case in the Sinkang dialect is not parallel in every aspect to the ones in the literature. Firstly, only the coronal nasal /n/ is a blocker. Non-coronal nasals, such as /m/ and /ŋ/, do not block fronting. Secondly, the Sirayan n only blocks u fronting but not a fronting (symbolized: *[nø]). In other words, the nasal blocker in question wards off round front vowels only. Its targeting is relatively narrowed.

Before winding up this section, let us turn to the issues with regard to the containment of blocking effects within the final syllable and the interaction between onset blockers and final *x*.

Why is fronting merely blocked in the final syllable but not elsewhere? Consider this with the relatively well preservation of *x* in the final syllable. A probable explication is of positional faithfulness. Moreover, this explication is supported by functional considerations. It has been pointed out that contrasts are best realized in perceptually salient positions (Nooteboom 1981; Ohala and Kawasaki 1984; Hawkins and Cutler 1988; Ohala 1990). Salient positions include stressed syllables and word-initial consonants (Kager 2004: 408). The resistance of the *x* deletion in the final syllable and the privilege of blocking power belonging to those specific consonants at the final syllable onset imply that the final syllable is perceptually salient in the Sinkang dialect. An educated guess is that the Sinkang dialect of Siraya is final-stressed.

In addition, as for the phenomenon that, within a final syllable, onset

blockers overcome the fronting trigger at coda, we can explain it away analogously with positional faithfulness by saying that positionally, onsets are stronger than codas.

5. An Analysis in Optimality Theory

Based on the observations and explanations put forward previously, I will provide an analysis in Optimality Theory in this section.²²

5.1. Free variation of vowel fronting

Unlike what Adelaar (1999, 2011) proposes, it has been pointed out that vowel fronting and spreading in the Sinkang dialect exhibit a certain amount of free variations (see 4.2). Stated differently, vowel fronting in the language in question is optional, aside from in the obligatory cases.

Several proposals have been put forth in order to reconcile free variation with the deterministic nature of Optimality Theory, including Kiparsky's (1993) grammars in competition, Reynolds' (1994) floating constraint, Anttila's (1997) partial grammars, and Boersma's (1998) stochastic OT (also refer to Boersma and Hayes 2001). In this study, free ranking of pertinent constraints will be adopted to analyze free variation.

- (13) Interpretation of free ranking of constraints C_1, C_2 (Kager 2004: 406 (60))
Evaluation of the candidate set is split into two sub-hierarchies, each of which selects an optimal output. One sub-hierarchy has $C_1 \gg C_2$, and the other has $C_1 \gg C_2$.

Regarding the free variation of vowel fronting, we can assume that two sets of constraints are freely ranked; that is to say that there are two sub-hierarchies as follows.

²² Readers may refer to Kager (2004) for either an introduction or a comprehensive picture of Optimality Theory.

- (14) a. *a, *u >> *æ, *ø (No fronting occurs)
b. *æ, *ø >> *a, *u (fronting occurs)

Before we deal with free variation of harmony (spreading), we have to decide in what way harmony should be analyzed.

5.2. Harmony

With respect to the ways in which harmony is coped with in Optimality Theory, there are at least five approaches (see Sasa 2009): feature alignment (Kirchner 1993), feature linking with Spread (Padgett 1997), Local Agree (Bakovic 2000), Agreement-by-Correspondence (ABC) (Rose and Walker 2004; Walker 2009), and Span Theory of harmony. (McCarthy 2004)

Critiques regarding these approaches, of course, must be noted. For instance, McCarthy (2002) points out that there are two issues with regard to the alignment approach to harmony. First, alignment constraints can be satisfied in multiple ways; as a result, the analysis with alignment predicts unattested harmony patterns. Second, the analysis with alignment mischaracterizes harmony processes, in general. To resolve the problem, McCarthy (2002: 25) suggests the use of the Anchor constraint. Otherwise, a possible alternative, suggested by Sasa (2009:17), is to assume an Input-Output positional faithfulness constraint. However, the alignment approach still mischaracterizes the harmony process as a phenomenon, in which a certain feature aligns with the edge(s) of a word. (refer to Sasa 2009:18)

As for the approach of Local Agree, it has been pointed out that to select a transparency candidate as optimal becomes impossible if Agree is employed as a harmony constraint. (See the example provided in Sasa 2009: 29.) To resolve this problem, Bakovic and Wilson (2004) propose an additional OT mechanism referred to as a target constraint. This mechanism then is criticized by Finley (2008) for its failure to predict the transparency patterns. Rubach (2004) also

casts strong doubt as to the existence of targeted constraints as part of the OT grammar.

In order to analyze the optional spread of vowel fronting in the Sinkang dialect, I will employ the approach of Agreement-by-Correspondence.

The essence of this approach is summarized as a “similarity-driven” account of harmony; the key claim is that output segments that are similar or, more specifically, output segments that are identical for (a) certain feature(s), stand in an output correspondence relation. (Sasa 2009: 38-39)

Below are the constraints employed to analyze vowel harmony in this study.

(15) Corr V-V (Refer to Walker 2009)

Let S be an output string of segments, and let X and Y be [+syllabic] segments. If X and Y belong to S, then X and Y correspond.

(16) Ident VV [+front] (Ident VV [+front]) (Refer to Walker 2009)

Let X be a segment in the output and Y be a correspondent of X in the output. If X is [+front], then Y is [+front].

The optionality of vowel harmony (spreading) in the Sinkang dialect can then be tackled by the following two sub-hierarchies, which exhibit different rankings between the constraints of harmony and I-O faithfulness.

(17) a. Corr V-V, Ident VV [+front] \gg Ident-IO [back], Ident-IO [front] (Harmony occurs)

b. Ident-IO [back], Ident-IO [front] \gg Corr V-V, Ident VV [+front] (No harmony)

As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, both [front] and [back] feature are employed in this analysis due to the existence of the mid vowel in this dialect.

5.3. The interactions between the two sources of free variation

Logically speaking, there are four possible circumstances with respect to the occurrences of vowel fronting and fronting spreading. They can both occur, or only one of them may occur. Otherwise, it can be the case that neither of the two occurs.

The four possibilities are captured by ranking manipulation as follows.

- (18) a. $*a, *u, \text{Corr V-V, Id VV}[+\text{front}] \gg \text{IDENT-IO}[\text{back}], \text{IDENT-IO}[\text{front}]$
and other general IO-faithfulness constraints $\gg *æ, *ø$
(Both vowel fronting and harmony occur)
- b. $*a, *u \gg \text{IDENT-IO}[\text{back}], \text{IDENT-IO}[\text{front}]$ and other general
IO-faithfulness constraints $\gg \text{Corr V-V, Id VV}[+\text{front}], *æ, *ø$
(Only vowel fronting occurs)
- c. $*æ, *ø \gg \text{IDENT-IO}[\text{back}], \text{IDENT-IO}[\text{front}]$ and other general
IO-faithfulness constraints $\gg \text{Corr V-V, Id VV}[+\text{front}], *a, *u$
(Neither vowel fronting nor harmony occurs)
- d. $\text{Corr V-V, Id VV}[+\text{front}] \gg \text{IDENT-IO}[\text{back}], \text{IDENT-IO}[\text{front}]$
and other general IO-faithfulness constraints $\gg *æ, *ø, *a, *u$
(Only vowel harmony occurs)

In (18a), there is no competition between the markedness constraints ($*a$ and $*u$) and the ABC constraints. The other set of markedness constraints ($*æ$ and $*ø$) dominates IO-faithfulness constraints, for it is conceivable that if some underlying forms contain $[æ]$ and $[ø]$ (ROTB), the markedness constraints can still be kept not infringed at the expense of violating IO-faithfulness constraints. The ABC constraints are dominated by the IO-faithfulness constraints, for

no spreading occurs, and the properties of the segments are unchanged at the expense of breaking ABC constraints. By parity of reasoning, the ranking of (18c) and (18d) can also be obtained. Moreover, the outcomes of (18a) and (18b) are completely parallel.

5.4. Analyzing the obligatory fronting

On the functional grounds (refer to 4.4), the following constraints are proposed for the obligatory fronting in the final syllable with coda *x* and in the vicinity of historically existent *x*.²³

(19) *[+syl, +bk]ç#

A back vowel cannot precede a word-final palatal fricative immediately.

(20) a. *[+syl, -front](ç)

No [-front] vowel can precede a historically existent palatal fricative immediately.

b. *(ç)[+syl, -front]

No [-front] vowel can follow a historically existent palatal fricative immediately.

Under the premise that, in the Sinkang dialect vowel, *u* is [+back, -front] and *a* is [-back, -front] (refer to triangular vowel systems), the difference of feature specification between (19) and (20) then serves to distinguish the target disparity of the two types of obligatory vowel fronting.

Remember that the fronting in a final syllable is blocked by [R], [l], [p-], and

²³ I agree with an anonymous reviewer in the opinion that the constraints in (19) and (20) seem to be more or less ad hoc. As suggested by the reviewer, the inevitability of employing such constraints is due to the limited data from a language that currently has no native speakers and the data probably do not entirely reflect phonetic details. At any rate, the use of such constraints does not undermine the most significant findings of the OT analysis. I am in debt to the reviewer for kindly providing me this suggestion.

[n]. Among these blockers, the first three consonants are identical in their feature specification as [+back]. The blocking effect is essentially a tug between a de-fronting onset and a fronting coda. A possible way to formalize the de-fronting force is to appeal to Correspondence Theory, especially the correspondence between an onset consonant and a vowel; string-internal correspondence constraints. (Hansson 2001; Rose and Walker 2004)

It has been noted that secondary articulations on consonants, especially palatalization, can interact with vowel harmony systems. For example, Turkish (Clements and Sezer 1982) and Barra Gaelic (Clements 1986) features on the consonant block the spreading of incompatible vowel features, often instantiating a new domain where the consonant features propagate onto the following vowel(s). Additionally, in order to explain the harmony fashion of the San Francisco del Mar dialect of Huave, Kim (2007) posits a constraint Agree-CV[*bk*], which enforces agreement in [\pm back] between the preceding consonant and the harmonic vowel. By parity of reasoning, the following positional agree constraint is proposed to explicate the de-fronting force of consonants [R], [ʔ], and [p-].²⁴

(21) Agree-CV([*bk*], σ)

The consonant and the vowel agree with respect to [back] in a final syllable CV sequence.

The constraint above is a positional one, for the blocking effect is observed merely in a final syllable. The additional position specification is not factitious because, as we have seen previously, the final syllable in the Sinkang dialect is privileged. The positionally-specific blocking force of these consonants (including the nasal coronal) is probably due to the perceptually saliency that preserves the pertinent phonetic properties, which are weakened elsewhere.

²⁴ Remember that we assume that [p] in the Sinkang dialect involves tongue retracting movement.

Now, let us turn to the remaining coronal nasal [n]. Recall that it is not uncommon to find nasals as blockers cross-linguistically (see 4.4). Nonetheless, the fronting blocking target of [n] in the dialect in question is more restricted; the fronting of vowel [a] is not included. Therefore, the relevant constraint is supposed to be as follows.

(22) *nø (σ)

A sequent of coronal nasal and front round vowel is prohibited in the final syllable.

5.5. Other constraints and the overall constraint ranking

Besides the constraints that have been put forward, there are some others suggested to be ranked high for no violation observed among the surface forms. Consider the ranking schema for positional neutralization IO-faithfulness. (Kager 2004:408-9)

(23) Ranking schema for positional neutralization

IO-Faithfulness (prominent positions) >> Markedness >> IO-Faithfulness (general)

Below are these high-ranked constraints.

(24) Ident-IO-C([back], σ)

(25) Ident-IO([pl], σ)

(26) *[+high, -back, +round]

Notably, (24) and (25) are IO-Faithfulness constraints of prominent positions, by which the onset consonants in the final syllable cannot be altered feature-wise; (26) belongs to the markedness constraints. By ranking (26) high, it is assured that no high front vowel occurs in the Sinkang dialect. (Remember that /u/ is suggested to be fronted to become [ø] instead of [y] or [ɥ].)

With these constraints, the rough and overall constraint ranking based on (23)

is proposed as follows.

- (27) Ident-IO-C([back], σ), Ident-IO([pl], σ) \gg *[+high, -back, +round],
 other markedness constraints \gg other general IO-Faithfulness constraints

The markedness constraint of (27) is the highest among the markedness constraints for $b\ddot{a}wb\ddot{a}wx < b\ddot{a}wb\ddot{a}wx$ ($\ddot{a}w$ stands for [ø] sound); high front vowel is impossible whenever fronting occurs.

In order to sort the sub-hierarchy among the markedness constraints, the following observations are made. First of all, there is no evidence for the ranking among the three constraints with respect to obligatory fronting (refer to 5.4). On the other hand, final syllable fronting is blocked by the four specific consonants (e.g., $a\ddot{u}l\ddot{a}wx < a\ddot{u}lux$; $ilp\ddot{a}wx < ilpux$; $tur\ddot{a}wx < turux$; $banun\ddot{a}wx < banunux$). Therefore, the constraints that block fronting in prominent positions dominate the foresaid three constraints. The hierarchical relationship among the markedness constraints is as (28).

- (28) *[+high, -back, +round], Agree-CV([front], σ), $*n\emptyset(\sigma) \gg$ *[+syl, +bk]ç#,
 *[+syl, -front](ç), *(ç)[+syl, -front]

The last part of this jigsaw puzzle is about the constraints with regard to free variation.

By looking into the data, we learn that free variation is not allowed when a fronting blocker is adjacent. For instance, $d'l\ddot{a}wx < d'lux$ and $ap\ddot{a}wx < apux$. In other words, the markedness constraints are supposed to dominate the ones of free variations.

By parity of reasoning, the constraints of free variation should be ranked with the general IO-faithfulness constraints based on the realization types of free variation. For example, when spreading is at work, we have: $kar\ddot{a}wmat\ddot{a}x < kar\ddot{a}wm\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}x$.

Now, we finally obtain the overall ranking of vowel fronting in the Sinkang

dialect. The overall ranking is composed of two fractions: the lower fraction varies upon the sub-hierarchies derived from free variation.

(29) The overall ranking

a. Ident-IO-C([bk], σ), Ident-IO([pl], σ) \gg *[+high, -back, +round],
 Agree-CV([bk], σ), *n \emptyset (σ) \gg *[+syl, +bk] ζ #, *[+syl, -front](ζ), *(ζ)
 [+syl, -front] \gg <...>

b. The ranking within <...> (Repeating (18))

1. *a, *u, Corr V-V, Id VV[+front] \gg IDENT-IO[back], IDENT-IO[front] and other general IO-faithfulness constraints \gg * \ae , * \emptyset
 (Both vowel fronting and harmony occur)
2. *a, *u \gg IDENT-IO[back], IDENT-IO[front] and other general IO-faithfulness constraints \gg Corr V-V, Id VV[+front], * \ae , * \emptyset
 (Only vowel fronting occurs)
3. * \ae , * \emptyset \gg IDENT-IO [back], IDENT-IO[front] and other general IO-faithfulness constraints \gg Corr V-V, Id VV[+front], *a, *u
 (Neither vowel fronting nor harmony occurs)
4. Corr V-V, Id VV[+front] \gg IDENT-IO [back], IDENT-IO[front] and other general IO-faithfulness constraints \gg * \ae , * \emptyset , *a, *u
 (Only vowel harmony occurs)

5.6. Exemplification

In this subsection, I will demonstrate how the ranking obtained previously can generate the correct surface forms. Only relevant constraints are shown in each of the tableaux in concern of space limit.

The first instance is a case in which vowel fronting and spreading both occur and the fronting of *u* in the final syllable is blocked.

(30)

Input: /banunux/	Ident- IO([p], σ)	AGREE- CV([bk], σ)	*nø (σ)	*[+syl, +bk]ç#	*a	*u	Corr V-V	Id VV[+front]
a. bänäwnäwx		*	*!					
b. \curvearrowright bänäwnux		*		*		*	*	*
c. bänunäwx		*	*!			*	*	*
d. banäwnäwx		*	*!		*		*	*
e. banunäwx		*	*!		*	*	*	**
f. banunux		*		*	*	**		*!***
g. bänäwtux	*!	*				*	*	*

In this case, all candidates violate AGREE-CV([bk], σ), for their final syllable onsets are [0back] and followed by backness-specified vowels. Candidates in which the final syllable *u* is fronted ((30a), (30c), (30d), and (30e)) are excluded for their violation of *nø (σ). In addition, (30g) is excluded due to its alteration of the final syllable onset place feature. The two candidates, (30b) and (30f), which tie until the section of markedness constraints, settle a score with each other by the constraints of free variation. Under the ranking of (29b-1), the candidate (30b) with both fronting and spreading wins out.

Let us now take the second instance with neither fronting nor spreading. See the tableau below.

(31)

Input: /karumatax/	AGREE- CV([bk], σ)	*æ	*ø	IDENT- IO(back)	IDENT- IO(front)	Corr V-V	Id VV[+front]
a. karäwmätäx	*	*!*	*	*	***	*	*
b. \curvearrowright karumatax	*						****
c. käräwmätäx	*	*!***	*	*	*****		
d. karumatax	*	*!				*	***
e. käräwmätax	*	*!*	*	*	****	*	*
f. käräwmatax	*	*!	*	*	***	**	**
g. kärumatax	*	*!			*	*	***
h. kärumätax	*	*!*			**	**	**

In this case, no blocker is present in the final syllable. However, candidates with final syllable onset [t] (all the candidates in the tableau) violate Agree-CV ([bk], (σ)) for the specification of [0bk] of segment [t], which has no way to agree with the specification of nucleus [a] ([-back]). The draw is broken, again, in the constraint section of free variation. In this case, (29b-3) applies, and (31b) becomes the optimal, though it has most violations of the lowest-ranked constraints.

The third example is assumed to be one in which no fronting is triggered by final *x*, although fronting initiates elsewhere and spreads. See (32).

(32)

Input /aukax/	Ident-IO- C([bk], σ)	Ident- IO([pl], σ)	*[+high, -back, +round]	AGREE- CV([bk], σ)	*a	*u	Corr V-V	Id VV[+front]
a. äawkax				*	*!		*	*
b. aukax				*	*!	*		**
c. aurax	*!	*			*!	*		**
d. äawnax		*!		*	*!		*	*
e. aawkax				*	*!*		*	**
f. äawkäx				*				
g. äykäx			*!	*				

In this tableau, (32c) and (32d) are excluded first for their violating un-dominated IO-faithfulness constraints of prominent positions. In (32g), u is fronted to become a high front vowel in which the high-ranked markedness constraint is infringed upon. Because /k/ is [0back], all of the rest candidates violate Agree-CV ([bk], (σ)) and the optimal candidates are not picked out until, once again, the section of free variation. Under (29b-1), (32f) fares best.

The following example is one in which fronting is triggered by word-final *x* only, and the fronting spreads.

(33)

Input: /vubux/	Ident-IO([p], σ)	*[+high, -back, +round]	AGREE-CV([bk], σ)	*[+syl, +bk]ç#	Corr V-V	Id VV[+front]
a. ↻vāwbāwx			*			
b. vubux			*	*!		**
c. vubāwx			*		*!	*
d. vāwbux			*	*!	*	*
e. vāwtāwx	*!		*			
f. vāwtrx		*!	*			

Among the candidates of (33), (33e) and (33f) are excluded at the first place for the final syllable onset place feature change and the presence of a high front vowel, respectively. Because both [b] and [t] are [0back], all candidates violate Agree-CV ([bk], (σ)). Moreover, (33b) and (33d) are out due to their violation of *[+syl, +bk]ç#. The remaining (33a) and (33c) differ merely in the occurrence of vowel harmony, and the latter is excluded by the constraints enforcing fronting spreading.

In the last instance, final syllable fronting is blocked, and no fronting occurs elsewhere.

(34)

Input: /apux/	Ident-IO-C([bk], σ)	Ident-IO([p], σ)	AGREE-CV([bk], σ)	*[+syl, +bk]ç#	*æ	*ø
a. ↻apux				*		
b. āpāwx			*!		*	*
c. āpux				*	*!	
d. apāwx			*!			*
e. atāwx	*!	*	*			*
f. atux	*!	*	*	*		

In this case, (34e) and (34f) are out due to their violation of the dominant positional faithfulness constraint. Among the remaining candidates, only (34a) and (34c) do not violate Agree-CV ([bk], (σ)) for their final syllable labio-

velar onsets correspond to the nuclei with respect to their backness. Because we assume no optional fronting in this example, (34c) is out for possessing a fronted vowel.

6. Concluding Remarks and Residual Issues

In this study, I came up with fine-grained generalizations regarding vowel fronting in the Sinkang dialect of Siraya. Vowel fronting in this language, although conditioned in the final syllable and in the vicinity of extant/disappearing palatal fricatives, is optional. Additionally, even the vowel harmony is also subject to free variation. This study not only further clarifies the empirical patterns, but it also provides some materials on reconstructing the hidden phonetic properties of a dormant language, including its metrical structure and the details of segments: *x*, *l*, *r*, *p*, and the fronted *u*, if the analysis is on the right track.

Apart from what has been presented, the exceptions in the data mentioned principally in the footnotes still need to be further scrutinized; thus, they are open to question and left for future research.

Acknowledgement

I am very grateful to Prof. Feng-fan Hsieh, Prof. T.-H. Jonah Lin, Dr. Chao-Kai Bali Shih, and Li Shu-fen for their helps, comments, and suggestions. The two anonymous reviewers are also gratefully acknowledged.

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Book Review: Vietnamese Spirit: Language, Orthography and Anti-hegemony

冊評：

《越南魂：語言、文字與反霸權¹》

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作者是1994年開始研究越南歷史kap語言，其實我彼陣對越南有興趣，就hō伊一本觀點khah屬古早派陳重金（mā譯做陳仲金）ê《越南史略》中國譯本《越南通史》（北京商務印書館版）看，伊才開始研究ê。雖然我mā tī 1994年bat去過越南河內kap胡志明市，後來貧惰無繼續koh做越南研究。M̄-koh伊繼續拍拚，這馬算是台灣，尤其是台派內底越南研究ê第一个權威ah。

阮彼陣共有ê觀點是，越南進前bat接受中國（歷史上應該愛叫做China）ê統治，接受漢文化ê程度mā真深，甚至比台灣接受漢文化ê時間久，深度koh-khah深，是按怎彼pêng會當獨立，台灣無？當然che mā m̄是hiah-nī簡單會當解說ê問題，應該有真複雜ê因素介入ê代誌。

這本是台語版（漢羅）kap華語版故ê（頭前用台語，後面用華語），ùi

1 蔣為文2017。

語言文字現代化ê過程kap華人移民土著化ê切入點來證明台灣kap越南ê共同點kap台灣所欠ê所在。目前應該是台灣國內唯一一本ê台越兩國比較文化研究ê學術冊。Nā是注意著用台語文來寫ê，是台灣國內唯一有關東南亞kap台灣文化比較ê學術冊ah。

Chiok chē篇是作者去日本進行研究所得著ê資料koh用台灣人ê觀點重新解讀，m̄-nā按呢作者koh家已進行田野調查ê結果。第1章是概論，第2章是戰後tòa越南ê台灣人ê個案研究，第3章是探討中越戰爭對台灣ê啟示，第4章到第7章是討論越南文學kap文字發展對台灣ê啟示，第8章討論越南少數民族政策ê進步性，第9 kap 10章是探討華人移民t越南土著化ê概論kap田野調查。

其中特別愛注意ê是，第6章『越南語文主體性ê建立：《南風雜誌》hām「范瓊」研究』。彼篇是針對南風雜誌ê研究。彼是一份鼓吹越南現代語文指標性雜誌），m̄-koh mā有chiok chē用漢文（現此時台灣所叫「文言文」）來寫ê文章，內底mā有像這馬台灣ê古董派按呢強調儒教kap古文ê重要性。

彼陣日本時代ê台灣有chiok chē漢文派mā有漢字台語白話文派，koh有台語羅馬字派。所以，彼當時ê越南kap台灣ê語文意識kap情形是差不多ê。這馬哪會變無全？作者m̄-nā tī這篇，tī kui本內底指出講越南kap台灣ê宗主國，法國kap日本對漢字漢文ê態度無全，是日本mā是用漢字愛推sak漢字，法國愛hō越南kap中國ê關係切開，刁工sak羅馬字。

Koh有第9章kap第10章teh探討越南華人（華鄉人）土著化ê歷史kap提示這馬ê情形ê田野調查來啟示台灣戰後移民ê本土化方向。

文獻調查結合田野調查是當今學術研究普遍ê方法，所以後擺有意願做研究者ê學生mā會當參考，當做教科書。

總講一句，這本ê學術價值kap啟蒙性格真koân。

M̄-koh mā ē感覺後擺愛有補充ê所在有兩點：

1. 這本本身用台語koh有華語，但是讀者應該是「本來khah有台灣主體語文意識ê人」。M̄-koh驚á有chiok chē人根本to無法度接受「台灣kap越南有法度比較」ê觀點，就是講，「Hāⁿ？人越南本來kap中國無全民族，m̄-koh台灣kap中國是全一个民族，所以『不能相提並論！』」其實類似彼種ê人連tī所謂本土派內底mā有。

當然che nā用學術界，尤其是我ê專長ê政治學普遍ê討論來講，真簡單會當反駁。就是像歷史學者Hobsbawm所指出，這馬所講ê民族攏m是ùi古代留落來ê約定俗成ê觀念，是近代以後ùi歐洲開始創造發展ê一種幻想、意識形態niâ。當然有chiok chē無全意見，m-koh大概一致ê是「民族是會當創造ê」。所以，「越南本來kap中國無全民族，m-koh台灣kap中國是全一个民族」mā是錯誤ê偏見才tiòh！

M-koh這本對這點無講kah hiah明顯，所以希望後擺koh補一下！

2. 咱這馬慣勢講1912年ê中華帝國抑是漢族ê範圍當做中國，其實che mā錯誤。中華民國開國ê1912年以前，世界無「中國」這個國名ê國家，所以1900年代去日本留學ê清國學生，寫國籍ê時陣，攏無一致，「清國」、「支那」、「中華」攏有，只是無「中國」。日本ê地理學kap語言學界koh有保留「Shina」ê講法，因為1912年以前無「中國」這個國家，地理kap語言ê名mā袂使有「國家」ê觀念來扭曲。M-koh袂使用漢字ê「支那」，因為有點仔歧視，攏用片假名（katakana）來寫。

所以我mā建議，講tiòh 1912年以前ê「中國」，應該愛改做「China」，按呢mā會koh-khah突顯出來民族kap國家是近代ê產物這種khah中性ê概念。

讀者回應

任何批評指教，歡迎email: sakaitihru17@gmail.com，酒井亨收。



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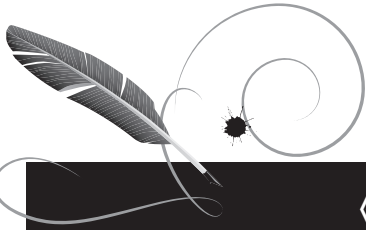
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