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Pe̍h-ōe-jī tī 台灣早期ê福音傳道 kah智識傳播

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Tiah-iàu

Pe̍h-ōe-jī（白話字）tī早期主要透過福音傳道kah智識傳播來推廣。本文主張早期ê Pe̍h-ōe-jī推廣，需要khǹg tī長老教會透過教漢字青盲牛Pe̍h-ōe-jī，閣鼓勵信徒參與宗教活動ê架構下理解。Ùi 1860年代英國tī台灣行使天津條約簽訂ê傳教權，一直到日本統治台灣早期，Pe̍h-ōe-jī對台灣社會有兩項重要ê功能：第一，伊是受洗成做長老教會信徒ê必要條件，嘛是傳播基督教信仰kah西方智識ê核心工具；第二，因為Pe̍h-ōe-jī簡單好學，傳教士 m̄-nā kā 白話字當做 o̍h 漢字 ê 輔助文字，嘛 kā 伊當做獨立 ê 文字，透過教會 ê 觀點，用Pe̍h-ōe-jī解說經典。用這个方法來認bat在地文化。本文自按呢特別關注tī台灣ê語言文化生態下，傳教士按怎透過調適ê策略，一方面牽引Pe̍h-ōe-jī當做基督教傳教ê工具，一方面將Pe̍h-ōe-jī kah 漢字融合形成互助關係。Chiah-ê融合策略對白話字ê推廣有幫助，mā進一步說明需要kā Pe̍h-ōe-jī ê推廣當做社會實踐，tī社會歷史環境中，理解伊傳播ê方式。

關鍵詞：白話字、羅馬字、福音傳道、智識傳播、台語

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The Pe̍h-ōe-jī romanization, evangelicalism, and knowledge transmission in Taiwan

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Abstract

The spread of the Pe̍h-ōe-jī (POJ) romanization in Taiwan is closely associated with evangelicalism and knowledge transmission. This article argues that the early promotion of the POJ can be understood in the context of how European Presbyterian missions bolstered evangelicalism in terms of teaching POJ to Han-ji (Chinese script) illiterates and thus encouraged them to participate in religious practices. From the 1860s to the early Japanese occupation, POJ served two fundamental functions to Taiwan society. Firstly, it was a prerequisite for baptism into the British Presbyterian Church and a critical religious tool through which Christian doctrines and knowledge were spread to POJ users. Secondly, taking advantage of its ease and simplicity as an auxiliary device, church educators encouraged POJ leaners to recognize Han-ji transcribed in POJ for further acquisition of local culture. This article thus pays considerable attention to what roles the Romanized script and POJ users in Taiwan had played in enriching our understanding of how foreign missionaries adapted themselves to local language and cultural ecology by means of creating POJ literacy in the late 19th century.

Keywords: Pe̍h-ōe-jī, romanization, evangelicalism, knowledge transmission, Tài-gî

1. Introduction: the Early Romanization and Evangelicalism in Taiwan

The early writing systems and the use of romanization in Taiwan pertain to European evangelicalism. The world trade business and travel to Taiwan came with the globalization of missionary works since the 17th century. The Dutch East India Company in their mercantilist purpose attempted to establish worldwide trade networking in the Far East (Heylen 2001). The Dutch Reformed Church's mission to Asia was a byproduct of the Dutch chartered company which brought Asia not only European migration but also its exotic culture including the literacy in romanization and inculcation of religious knowledge. This group of Western diasporas set their sights on both the trans-Asian exchange of goods, including copper, silk, and tea, and expansion of Christianity with supporting political and economic power. After its failure to negotiate with the Ming regime regarding opening trade stations in Pescadores Islands in 1622, the Dutch had no choice but to seek trade ports in southern Taiwan (today's An-pêng in Tainan) two years later. (Davidson 1903; Ang and Huang 2017)

The history of writing about Taiwan by native residents is decidedly related to the worldwide spread of Christianity. Current research indicates that the Sinkan Manuscripts are the earliest written records by plains islanders (Chiung 2001a; Klöter 2002). During the period of Dutch regime in Taiwan (1624-1662), a Dutch missionary group of Reformed Church invented the Sinkan scripts, a writing system based on the Roman alphabet that could transcribe languages used in Sinkan areas so the plains indigenous peoples in southern Taiwan could have a common written medium to facilitate Bible study and daily written activities (Li 2000; Klöter 2008). The missionaries struggled to communicate in Taiwan's multilingual environment. Not only were inhabitants from different linguistic groups unable to understand each other's speech, but some people from different subgroups who shared the same language could not understand each other's pronunciations of specific words (Campbell 1903). This language

environment spurred the missionaries to create a shared writing system that could be used by native peoples who spoke different languages. Their larger goal was to establish Western-style education in Taiwan in terms of creating a script to write a catechism that could be used around several villages of plains aborigines who spoke the Sinkan language, or Siraya. The Sinkan romanization was not used in Taiwan after the 1830s, one hundred and seventy years after the Dutch occupation ended (Li 2002, 2010)[1] . Recent research has not explained why Sinkan scripts disappeared several decades into the 19th century.

The next missionary group came in after the Manchu Empire (1636-1912) failed in the Second Opium War (1856-1860). The Manchu court was forced to compensate the victorious countries in the Treaty of Tianjin in 1858. Article 11 stated that British subjects could frequent the Taiwan port (An-pêng Harbor), so British missionaries enjoyed privileges and considerable advantages over the islanders since the port was already opened to them for trade. Under the treaty's protection, the first Scottish doctor-missionary, James Laidlaw Maxwell (1836-1921), a graduate of Edinburgh University, settled in Tâi-oân-hú (the capital of Taiwan, now Tainan) in 1865. He introduced another romanization system, Pe̍h-ōe-jī (POJ), into Taiwan (Chiung 2001b; Tiuⁿ 2001). Benefiting from the treaty and the rise of British imperial power, the British Presbyterian Church took advantage of a foreign-introduced romanization to conduct evangelism in Formosa, or Taiwan. (Chiung 2001c)

The Presbyterian Church required Taiwanese converts to learn POJ before they could be baptized, as many Taiwanese natives were completely illiterate

[1] Although the last piece of Sinkan scripts is dated in 1818, Li suggests that it might take one or two more decades for a written language to disappear completely. Also see Paul Jen-kuei Li, *Studies of Sinkang Manuscripts* (Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2010), p.1.

in Chinese script[2] . Converts learned POJ so that they could read Scripture and church-disseminated brochures and booklets at home, with the aid of a dictionary if necessary. Having the congregations themselves read the church's writing lightened the burden of overworked clergymen's travel back and forth in the plains and mountain areas.[3]

POJ also enabled the British missions to transfer knowledge to the native inhabitants via printed sources. POJ functioned symbolically to (re)produce knowledge in a written format through the practice of transliterating Chinese and Western epistemology, learning Chinese scripts and local culture, and circulating church publications. In fact, the receivers of knowledge through POJ were not limited to Taiwanese converts. All those illiterate in Chinese, including European missionaries who lacked knowledge of classical Chinese but earned degrees in foreign languages, benefited by POJ's ease of access to written knowledge transcribed in POJ as long as they could speak the Taiwanese language (Taigi). In order to effectively disseminate knowledge, the Church imported the first Western movable-type press into Taiwan and, starting in 1885, published the Taiwan Church News (Tâi-oân-hú-siâⁿ kàu-hōe-pò, TCN, 1885-) to create a public forum for sharing information. POJ readers thus evolved into writers as the Church

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2 The term "literacy" has its history in English. It refers to the familiarity of literature or being well educated before it means the abilities to read and write in the 19th century. See UNESCO, Understandings of Literacy, *Education for All Global Monitoring Report—Literacy for Life* (Paris: UNESCO, 2006), pp.148-149. Literacy in the 19th century Taiwan society referred to the ability to read and write in Chinese script before the introduction of POJ. For Chinese immigrants and Taiwanese natives, except some plains indigenous peoples who used Sinkan romanization until the first two decades of the century, knowledge acquisition and production were customarily recognized through the system of Chinese script and later evaluated by the civil service examinations. Illiteracy in the Chinese context traditionally meant those who did not know the first thing about Chinese writing. This definition, however, changed when literacy in POJ made knowledge and Chinese written information accessible. Even so, the use of POJ in its early phase was limited to a small group of people, namely, Christians in Taiwan, and overall as not recognized by the majority of Taiwanese residents, particularly Chinese scholars.

3 The Close of 1880 at Ka-gi, Formosa, EPM, April 1, 1881, pp.63-65.

encouraged them to submit essays to the newspaper rather than merely reading the Bible at home.

2. POJ's Origin and the Evangelical Journey to Taiwan

Taiwan was not the first place where POJ was used to help spread Christianity. POJ was used in Amoy, China, and Malacca on the Malay Peninsula before it was formally introduced in the first newspaper in Formosa by Rev. Thomas Barclay (1849-1935). Linguistic studies concur with that Rev. Walter Henry Medhurst (1796-1857) was the first writer to use POJ to transcribe Hokkien languages (Tân 2015)[4] . His work launched the use of POJ among the Chinese communities of early Hokkien emigrants in Malacca and Singapore (Dong 2004; Heylen 2008). Restricted by the Manchu's law, foreigners were not allowed to establish a mission in China's territories or learn Chinese languages from the natives before the Treaty of Wangxia was signed in 1844. Before the treaty, the most convenient approach to learning Chinese languages was to reside in countries with large Chinese diasporas (Hong 1996)[5] . Regardless of the ban on foreigners' printing in Chinese, he chose to have his first Hokkien language dictionary, *Dictionary of the Hokkeen Dialect of the Chinese Language* (Chang

[4] In his preface, Medhurst proudly states that the collection of 12,000 Chinese characters originated from the colloquial idioms of the Hokkien language. Medhurst's dictionary was grounded in *Fifteen Sounds* (1818) and followed the spelling of nasal tones from Dr. Robert Morrison's (1782-1834) *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (1819). Medhurst's dictionary was the first of its kind in POJ and was later revised for day-to-day use in Amoy.

[5] For more about the prohibition against foreign mission by Yongzheng Emperor, please refer to Guo Chengkang's and Wang Tianyou's *History of the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Taipei: Wunan Books Inc., 2002), p.498). After the James Flint Incident in 1759, Qianlong Emperor disallowed native Chinese teach Chinese languages to foreigners. Therefore, it was very difficult for later missionaries to hire a Chinese teacher in China or purchase language textbooks (See Guangzhou Daily, July 30, 1913).

2015), published in Macao by the East India Company Press in 1832.[6]

To encourage more people to read the Scriptures and other types of religious texts in Medhurst's romanization[7] , John Van Nest Talmage (1819-1892) (Fagg 2004:106) and his Christian colleagues restructured POJ with seventeen letters representing consonants and vowels, and several tonal markers to transliterate the Amoy language, a type of language close to the Taiwanese language[8] . They

6 It was a type of Romanized writing published by the British East India Company and the first extant Hokkien language dictionary, but not exclusively for the Amoy dialect. Since Fuzhou was one of the five ports open to foreigners in the Treaty of Tianjin, Western missionaries were allowed to preach religion in Fuzhou, Fujian. However, this does not mean that no mission works were engaged in the interior of China before the Treaty was signed. According to Hong Wei-Jen (*Annotated Bibliography of Taiwan Historica—Language*. Taipei: National Taiwan Library, 1996), Medhurst was a friend of Robert Morrison and continued Morrison's mission after his death. At that time, missionaries were not permitted to live in China, so Medhurst found his missionary work especially difficult when he first arrived in Canton (Guangzhou).

7 The relationship among Medhurst's system, the previous Sinkan romanized writing system, and other romanization warrants discussion. Referring to Yoshihide Murakami's article, Henning Klöter argues that Medhurst's dictionary was not based on the earlier romanization from *Dictionario de la lengua Chincheo* (The Foukien Dialect Dictionary) codified by the Spanish in 1609 (See Yoshihide Murakami, W. H. Medhurst in the History of Chinese Linguistics, *Tenri Journal of Religion* 7, pp.59-63 and Henning Klöter, The History of Peh-oe-Ji, in 2002 International Conference of Taiwan's Peh-Oe-Ji Teaching and Studies. Taidung: National Taitung University, 2002). As for the connection with the romanized system in the Sinkan scripts devised by the Dutch priests, Medhurst admitted that since he had never been to China by 1832, he did not have access to the Dutch documents in Formosa, let alone any contact with Formosan plains natives to help him develop his written sources. In addition, a linguistic comparison of the systems suggests that the two romanization systems differ in spelling and tonal markers. The Hokkien language transcribed by Medhurst is not the same as the one spoken in Amoy or Formosa. The languages spoken in Amoy and other areas in Fujian province might not have been mutually intelligible. Moreover, Medhurst had never been to Amoy before his publication was released for public use. This implies that the Hokkien language he learned in the Malacca archipelago differed significantly from the one spoken in Amoy. Interestingly, Medhurst's romanized system was an important base for later lexicons to transliterate other Chinese languages. For instance, Rev. Samuel Wells Williams' (1812-1884) *Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect* (Yinghua fen yun cuoyao, 1856) used Mehurst's system to transliterate Cantonese.

8 Zhou Changyi in his *Dictionary of Southern Hokkien Dialects* (Fujian: Fujian renmin chuban she, 2006, pp.29-34) compares the finals of the languages used over Taipei, Amoy, Zhangzhou, and Quanzhou. His comparison shows that those finals spoken in Amoy, Zhangzhou, and Quanzhou were all collectively used in Taiwan.

codified the first POJ textbook *Tn̂g-ōe Hoan-jī Chho-ha̍k* (Romanized Amoy Dialect for Beginners, 1852) for Amoy missionaries and non-Chinese character users. Rev. Talmage's incomplete lexicography, *E-mng im e jitian* (Dictionary of Amoy Dialect), published two years after his death by the Chūi-keng-tông bookstore in Kó-lōng-sū, Amoy, was the earliest dictionary of POJ for the Amoy language in China.[9]

As Carstairs Douglas (1830-1877) observed, after several years in overseas missions, missionaries were still struggling with Chinese characters and the Amoy language. The later is linguistically very different from Mandarin Chinese. He suggested that missionaries concentrated on learning the Amoy language. A POJ version of the Bible was therefore a welcome invention for missionaries, who found it useful for helping them master the local language much faster, and for the use of local illiterates who did not know the first thing about how to read Chinese characters. POJ was successfully popularized among the Amoy missionaries and their churches because they could all skip the tough process of learning Chinese script and begin to read a transliteration of the Amoy language. Regardless of whether Douglas' understanding of the Amoy language was recognized[10] , the Formosan missionaries found his dictionary to be a great help in the study of POJ and actually purchased three copies of it in their early periods of studying the Taiwanese language[11] . Rev. Douglas' argument demonstrates the hardships that missionaries experienced in their struggle to learn Chinese script and the hope that using a simpler written format, i.e. POJ, furthered their evangelical work.

9 Rev. Talmage's incomplete lexicography, *Dictionary of Amoy Dialect* (E-mng im e jitian) was published in 1894. The first, probably the most important, POJ lexicon in Formosa, *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa* (E-mng-im sin ji-tian, 1913) by Rev. William Campbell, was a revised version of Talmage's and has been in constant use ever since.

10 William Campbell disagreed with this thinking and preferred to use a POJ dictionary as a "cheap convenient little Handbook for helping those who use it to a fuller and more accurate knowledge of the written language of China." See *A Dictionary of Amoy Vernacular Spoken throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa*, iii.

11 Letter from Rev. Hugh Ritchie, *EPM*, December 1, 1873, p.314.

The Amoy language and the Taiwanese language were mutually intelligible. The British missionaries modelled their mission on the successful strategy of using the local language in Amoy. Missionaries chose to learn the Taiwanese language for Formosan mission because the Taiwanese language had best got ahold of the major population of Taiwan since the 17th century, or even earlier.

In a letter to Mr. George Barbour of Edinburg (n. d.), Rev. Carstairs Douglas recorded his first impression of language use in Formosa. On a nice day in October 1860, while he and Rev. Hen. L. Mackenzie (n. d.) travelled around the Bang-kah area in northern Formosa, he found a large group of people from the Fujian province as they spoke the same accents of the Amoy language. Not only did they use "the same language" that was used in Amoy, but the language was spoken all over Formosa as well. The constant interactions between natives, foreigners and immigrant groups made it a natural choice to evangelize Taiwan using the same strategy they employed in Amoy. As Douglas blurted out, "it seems quite strange, after crossing the sea, to find the very same language, while a hundred miles, or even seventy, on the mainland, would bring us to unintelligible languages. Therefore, the call from Formosa is very strong to us... [12]" After he discovered the same language being used in the city of Bang-kah, Douglas decided that the missionaries were called to Formosa. By suggesting "the same missions" as at Amoy, he meant that they should copy the proselytism strategy and the medical missions in Amoy. Douglas's observations during the 1860 journey were no doubt a shot in the arm to the prospect of a Formosa mission. Such a strong call finally induced Dr. James Maxwell to journey to Formosa after he read the 1860 report of Formosa news from *The Chinese Repository*.

In addition to his hospital work, the medical missionary Dr. Maxwell prioritized teaching POJ as a common writing and reading medium for Taiwanese converts[13]. It was the most urgent service in the Formosan mission. The British

[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

missionaries learned the colloquial written format several months before they arrived in Taiwan. They usually stayed in Amoy with senior colleagues in order to get themselves acquainted with local languages and the missionary culture in China. They found reading the Chinese Bible was too challenging for converts who were illiterate in Chinese characters[14]. Pubic readings of the Scriptures could only temporarily attract irregular listeners who had no opportunity to read the Gospel for themselves. The ability to read and write facilitated the process of spreading knowledge of the Gospel. POJ made the mission work more effective since it enabled missionaries to speak and study with potential converts in the converts' native language. With prayers and hymns written in Roman letters, people who "were ignorant of the language (meaning Chinese script) were able to join with the natives in singing the psalms in their own language during the evening service." [15]

Learning POJ was not simply an auxiliary tool to participate in worship. It later was a requirement for the examination for Presbyterian Christian baptism in Taiwan. Being baptized signified the ability to read POJ in the early phase of the missions, since the examinations required Formosan converts to answer questions from the missionary and the Gospel that they could not have studied without first learning POJ. The written language training was intended to ensure that a convert illiterate in Chinese characters could read the Bible at home or with dictionaries at hand.[16]

3. Knowledge Transmission

Overseas European missionary work can be understood as a form of knowledge transmission in which various vehicles carry knowledge from their original culture and languages to a new local site (Renn, Schlögl, and Schutz

[14] The London Mission Society published the Chinese New Testament in High Wenli in the Delegates version in the 1850s in Shanghai and Canton.
[15] Formosa, *EPM*, December 1, 1874, p.296.
[16] The Close of 1880 at Ka-gi, Formosa, *EPM*, April 1, 1881, pp.63-65.

2012:7-28). Such transmission is considered a progress of globalization in which the migration of knowledge occurs in different significant ways.

Missionaries are one group of the worldwide traveling agents who carry religious identities that are embedded in the knowledge they attempted to diffuse (Unknown author 1816). Many missionary societies aim to enable language-based global religious development through literacy and translation. Following the trend of imperialism and thus globalized evangelicalism, the spread of western knowledge to the eastern world occurred with colonial or imperial power expansion (Errington 2008). Such power decided the techniques and strategies of how knowledge is transmitted to the illiterate in colonized lands and how western culture is diffused deliberately. (Brown 1944)

Renn and Hyman suggest that during the process of global encounters, the transfer of knowledge involves "multilingualism and linguae francae" (Renn, Schlögl, and Schutz 2012: 37). Both were practical linguistic phenomenon that the Presbyterian mission in Taiwan had faced in the second half of the 19th century. The use of different languages, say the indigenous languages, Hakka, and the Taiwanese language, was a critical issue at the outset of Formosan evangelicalism. Following the encouragement of the church, the practice of a common spoken and written language, namely the Taiwanese language and POJ, played different roles respectively to solve the problems of linguistic pluralism in cross-cultural encounter.

During cross-linguistic encounter, knowledge transfer occurs among individuals or groups "where the knowledge receiver has cognitive understanding, has ability to utilize the knowledge or applies the knowledge" (Shariff, Zahari, and Norazmir 2016:569). In the case of Formosa, three vehicles had driven POJ users to further utilize the knowledge that POJ carried forward: POJ romanization as a linguistic tool, the Taiwanese language as a lingua franca, and print culture as a sociolinguistic form. They, furthermore, guided POJ users to cross the boundaries between non-Christians and converts, the literate and the illiterate, and Chinese and non-Chinese readers. These crossings denote the

changes of social status and cultural identity while knowledge is acquired via a visual system of written symbols, particularly if it is publicly disseminated.

Moreover, a common writing system "enabled knowledge to travel, in both time and space" (Renn, Schlögl, and Schutz 2012:37). What a writing system can convey is definitely more than oral transmission. POJ facilitated the delivery and preservation of the bodies of knowledge that nurtures "the capability of an individual, a group, or a society to solve problems and to mentally anticipate the necessary actions" (Renn, Schlögl, and Schutz 2012:31). Learning through POJ literacy was the first step to becoming literate. POJ functioned symbolically to transfer knowledge in the written format as people used it to write and read the Church newspaper and to transliterate and read Chinese classic works. [17]

3.1. The First Newspaper in Taiwan

A printed form of knowledge transmitted through POJ could definitely do more. Technical aids from printing technology gave the work of Christian knowledge transmission a big hand. Rev. Thomas Barclay, who arrived in Formosa in 1875, founded the first newspaper, *Taiwan Church News*, on July 12, 1885 (Chiung 2016). It was circulated through the Taiwan-fu areas of Formosa to propagandize the use of POJ after Dr. Maxwell donated the first Western movable-type press in Taiwan. To move the mission further and amplify the effects of Dr. Maxwell's evangelical strategy via a written language, this Scottish minister made his mark by devoting himself to the publication of the POJ newspaper and teaching (Band 1936). His great work to convince the

[17] Knowledge written in POJ can be elaborated in different categories. For the discussion of Christian education, please refer to Chang Miao-Chuan's *Open Your Eyes and Minds-Taiwan Church News and the Christian Education of Presbyterian Church*. For the views on civilization, please read Tân Bō͘-Chin's Views on Civilization in Romanized Taiwanese Literature—Centering on "Taiwan Prefectural City Church News" (1885-1942). For the representation of literature, please see Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo's Pe̍h-ōe-jī as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Taiwan and Huang Chia-hui's Researching of Taiwanese Literature in Phonetic Writing System. For the discussion of modernization, please read Tiuⁿ Hak-khiam's Localization and Modernization of Written Taiwanese: A Case Study of Pe̍h-ōe-jī.

Presbyterian Church in Formosa to use POJ earned him a reputation as the most authoritative promoter of Romanized writing. [18]

On the first page of the first issue of *Taiwan Church News*, Barclay addresses that the newspaper was designed to promote POJ as an innovative instrument for reading the Bible, acquiring knowledge, and studying Chinese classics. He said,

> We are here to broadcast the words of the Kingdom of God; therefore, we urge you to read the Bible. We hope that you will gradually learn the truth from God and do not rely on Reverends or pastors to lecture God's messages if you can read on your own. Although you read alone, you still learn from the instruction of God. Unfortunately your Chinese written language is very difficult, and only a few people can read in Formosa. We therefore use other written language. We use POJ in publication so as to make general public easily read. Also, recently the Taiwan-fu has set up a printing press. Prints looked as they were in newspaper. We hope that you will try hard to learn POJ in order to read later publication from us. People should not have blind faith in thinking that it is not necessary to learn POJ because one can read Chinese or it is a language for children. The two languages are both useful, but POJ is much easier to learn. Therefore, people should learn it first. After that, it is good to learn Chinese. Hence, I again urge that Christian and laity, women and men, and the old and young, all come to learn

[18] Early ministers read POJ Scripture. Rev. Barclay engaged in revising Dr. Maxwell's POJ Bible starting in 1884 as Maxwell's transcription was based on English Bible and thus was different from the original Bible. Due to the heavy workload of the daily mission and the war in Shanghai, his revision was not published until 1916 and reprinted in 1933, when the New Testament and Old Testament were published separately. For more information, please see John Lai's database, http://www.laijohn.com/Bible/F/about/skkh.htm, accessed on December 12, 2013.

POJ…(author's translation) [19]

The promotion of POJ obviously was not a rejection of using characters (called *khóng-chú-jī*, Confucius' words, in the newspaper)[20] . Barclay's opening statement in *Taiwan Church News* clearly indicates that he believed POJ was beneficial for learning Chinese characters for all groups of people[21]. POJ language education was not designed to exclude the Chinese literates. As missionaries were primarily concerned with the linguistic needs of the common people, Barclay's goal was to see that Taiwanese Christians could read the Bible in their homes without the aid of a pastor. POJ was a new language tool to increase the natives' ability to read the Bible and later Chinese script. Barclay urged people not to look down on POJ and thus he invited everyone, regardless of their sex or age, to learn POJ.[22]

[19] *TCN*, July 1885, p.1. "Goán kòe-lâi chit-pêng sī in-ūi ài thoân Thian-kok ê tō-lí…só͘-í goán ta̍uh-ta̍uh khó͘-khn̄g lín tio̍h tha̍k-chheh lâi khòa^{n} Sèng-keng, n̂g-bāng lín ná^{n}-kú ná^{n}-bat Siōng-tè ê tō-lí; iā m̄ bián tek-khak óa-khò Bo̍k-su á-sī Thoân-tō-lí ê lâng lâi kóng hō͘ lín thia^{n}; in-ūi lín pún-sin khòa^{n} Sèng-chheh, Sèng-sîn ê kám-hòa, sui-jiân bô lâng lâi ka-sī, lín iáu kú ē chai Siōng-tè ê chí-i. Khó-sioh lín pún-kok ê jī chin oh, chió chió lâng khòa^{n} ē hiáu--tit. Só͘-í goán ū siat pa̍t-mi̍h ê hoat-tō͘, ēng pe̍h-ōe-jī lâi ìn-chheh, hō͘ lín chèng-lâng khòa^{n} khah khoài bat. Iā kīn-lâi tī chit-e Hú-sia^{n} goán ū siat chit-ê ìn-chheh ê khì-khū, thang ìn-jī chhin-chhiū^{n} chit hō ê khoán-sit. Ta^{n} goán n̂g-bāng lín chèng-lâng beh chhut-la̍t o̍h chiah-ê Pe̍h-ōe-jī; āu-lâi goán nā ìn sím-mi̍h chheh lín lóng ē hiáu--tit khòa^{n}. Lâng m̄-thang pha̍h-sn̄g in-ūi i bat Khóng-chú-jī só͘-í m̄-bián o̍h chit-hō ê jī; iā m̄-thang khòa^{n}-khin i, kóng sī gín-á só͘ tha̍k--ê. Nn̄g-iū^{n} ê jī lóng ū lō͘-ēng. Put-kò in-ūi chit-hō khah-khoài iā khah-bêng, só͘-í lâng tio̍h tāi-seng tha̍k-i. Āu-lâi nā^{n} beh sòa tha̍k Khóng-chú-jī sī chin hó; chóng-sī pe̍h-ōe-jī tio̍h khah tāi-seng…. Só͘-í goán khó͘-khn̄g lín chèng-lâng, ji̍p-kàu í-ki̍p thia^{n} tō-lí ê lâng, lâm-hū ló-iù, bat-jī, m̄-bat-jī ê lâng lóng-chóng tio̍h kín-kín lâi o̍h…"

[20] In most contexts, Khóng-chú-jī means a Chinese character as the stereotype that classical Chinese mainly elaborates Confucian doctrine so that script seems a language written for Confucius. In addition, the term symbolizes that learning characters is as difficult as understanding the sage's philosophy.

[21] Based on such conviction of promoting POJ, he also supplemented Rev. Douglas's dictionary in adding the newly usage of the Taiwanese language in Formosa after 1867. The changes on listing Chinese characters along with POJ suggest his stand on reading Chinese as an additional value of studying the language. He thus came out with the *Supplement to the Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Amoy* in 1923. See Edward Band, *Barclay of Formosa*, pp.67-70.

[22] TCN, July 1885, p. 1.

The benefits of using the romanization were also noted by POJ users in essay competitions. Intriguingly, before Rev. Barclay published the first issue of his newspaper, an Amoy pastor, Tông Hián-Lí organized a POJ writing competition on "*Pe̍h-ōe-jī ê Lī-ek*" (Discussion of the Benefits of POJ) in 1884. The Church encouraged all the POJ users in Amoy and Taiwan to submit creative essays. The works of the first and second place winners by Ia̍p Hàn-chiong and Lâu Bō-chheng were published sequentially in *Taiwan Church News*. In their long essays, the authors did not focus simply on opinions about benefiting the illiterate. Rather, both essayists emphasized the time for studying Chinese script. Ia̍p suggested that if people could acquire knowledge in a few weeks, or an even shorter period, by reading texts written in POJ, they should not bother with several years of reading Chinese characters[23]. For the laboring class who worked every day, as opposed to the elite, learning POJ meant saving time.

3.2. Learning Chinese Script through POJ

Missionaries wanted to become qualified POJ users so they could study Chinese culture, literature, and languages via the romanization. They believed that precise knowledge of both oneself and the other (in this case, the Chinese culture) would enable them to convert people. To expand the use of POJ, the Church was engrossed in the task of translation and lexicography. Dr. Maxwell transliterated the New Testament into a POJ catechism. From then on, converts could read the Bible on their own. Furthermore, publishing Chinese-Amoy dictionaries reveals POJ's importance to the missionaries' knowledge of Chinese. A Chinese-Amoy lexicon was designed to assist Taiwanese native POJ users in recognizing characters. Foreign evangelists valued it for different reasons as the more they could master the local culture and language, the more accurate they could transform knowledge from the western counterpart into the eastern

[23] *TCN*, July 1885, p.2 and January 1886, p.7. On the second page of the first issue in 1885, Ia̍p describes that the writing composition between Amoy and Taiwan was initiated in 1884. The award winning articles were not published until 1885 as there were no POJ newspapers in Taiwan by the year.

epistemology.

The Church also never discouraged missionaries from learning the Chinese script[24]. POJ was designed as an auxiliary device for studying Chinese texts. A remarkable message annotated in the POJ New Testament suggested that the Church expected that a "striking gain" of teaching people POJ was that it would also help pastors teach everyone to read in Romanized Chinese[25] . Some Chinese-centered users thought that POJ might be less appropriate than characters to articulate profound ideas in the Taiwanese language. Yet the advantages of learning POJ incontestably overrode its disadvantages. For instance, studying activities recorded in Rev. George Leslie Mackay's (1844-1901) diary bear witness to its benefits[26]. Every week, he and his students recited classical Chinese. With the aid of POJ, they could read Chinese classics aloud in the Taiwanese language. Native islanders who were illiterate in Chinese script had as much difficulty learning to read it as the foreign missionaries did. Rev. Barclay, an accomplished scholar, confessed that in grappling with the complexity of characters, missionary teachers did not understand many of the ones that were necessary to understand the meaning of Chinese classics[27]. POJ transliteration was very helpful to Chinese script learners. As long as they could speak the Taiwanese language, learners could easily grasp the meanings of Romanized Chinese script, despite the typical issues of transliterating a text from one language to another.

POJ did not just help Taiwanese natives who were illiterate in characters to read the Gospel. Learning POJ helped to convert people who were Chinese literates from Confucianism because POJ introduced them to the Taiwanese Christian community. In comparison to Dr. Maxwell's focus on transliteration and lexicography, Rev. Hugh Ritchie (1840-1879), the second minister who came to Formosa on December 13, 1868, paid more attention to teaching POJ. Through

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., p.68.

[26] The *Diaries* of George Leslie *Mackay*, March 16, 1875.

[27] Chinese characters versus roman-letter words in the Formosa mission, *EPM*, April 1, 1881, p.68.

the process of his enthusiastic religious teaching in POJ, a notable baptism case in the 1870s occurred that is worth mentioning. Rev. Ritchie witnessed a beautiful moment when a Chinese degree-holder (equivalent to a BA degree in England), who should have been able to read the Chinese Bible, asked to be baptized after he learned POJ[28]. According to his testimony, this young man spontaneously destroyed idols and tablets at home that were symbols of his former Confucian beliefs, since keeping them was incompatible with practicing Christianity. Mr. Ritchie described this conversion as an illustration of the enlightening and regenerating power of teaching people POJ and encouraging them to read the Gospel in POJ [29]. We do not know if the young man acquired Western medical knowledge as a medical assistant in the Presbyterian training hospitals, as many of his brethren who were Chinese illiterates did. Such an extraordinary case of conversion demonstrates that even a Chinese scholar, fluent in classical Chinese, might choose to learn POJ and be greatly changed in the process.

3.3. The Representation of Cultural Values

Knowledge transmission is orally and textually demonstrated as a reproduction of the transmitters 'values and re-education of receivers,' especially when the former reined in the church press (Crook 1996; Bourdieu 1973). The global knowledge reproduction as a learning process in a local site could be understood as a plurality of cultural values or conflicts with the localism, a type of cultural heterodoxies. Missionaries, playing the roles of Western culture introducers, made an attempt to deliver knowledge with religious unification and cultural identities. That is, the exchange value of knowledge in Romanized writing might be higher than we expect. Learning and becoming literate through non-traditional writing, or the romanization, reveals the "evolutionary" character of globalized unification—making the local society change (Crook 1996:27-28). As in India, the control of media in the Christian community was a "powerful

[28] For the Chinese graduate here, he probably meant jinshi (a degree holder in the Manchu dynasty). Mr. Ritchie did not offer further information about the degree in the Chinese title.

[29] In his letter to *The English Presbyterian Messenger*, August 8, 1871.

weapon" in the monopolization of public education and moral cultivation. (Crook 1996:16)

Foreign missionaries working throughout Formosa and Amoy utilized POJ to popularize local cultural values in the Taiwanese language. The idea of learning the ancestral tradition attaches great importance to how the transmission of knowledge is conducted (Collins et al. 2012). In 1908, a POJ version of the *Sacred Edict* was published in Amoy and circulated in Taiwan, which eased the pain of studying the Chinese version. Protestant missionaries designated the *Sacred Edict* a must-read text because it was the most widespread educational material circulated in the Manchu dynasty (1644-1912). The Manchu Emperor, Kangxi, issued sixteen maxims in 1670, and Emperor Yongzheng (1678-1735) elaborated his father's rules into sixteen essays and a preface in 1724. The *Sacred Edict*, composed of the two emperors' words, was promulgated in the same year that all civilians, from scholars and officials in the capital area to county people, young and old, were asked to read the edicts. Staff from every county administration had to publicly read out the edict twice a month. Central officials or regional gentry would gather people in the municipal temple, township meeting plaza, or any adequate public space for further interpretations of its meaning. The law also demanded civil service examinees, at both county and capital levels, to copy out the edict from memory. To pass the examinations their copies could not contain mistakes or revisions. To help newly-hired missionaries understand Chinese culture, the Tainan Mission Council in Formosa prescribed the *Sacred Edict* as one of the required textbooks for recently arrived missionaries to meet the criteria of the qualification of Formosan mission (Liao 2008). It was agreed that this didactic work was valued as "a model of style, the principles on which the Emperors of China profess to conduct their rule are to be found in it in the smallest possible compass". (Campbell 1908:preface) [30]

[30] In his preface, Rev. Campbell said he was indebted to Chinese-language intellectual Lîm Bō͘-seng (Lin Mosei, 1887-1947), the first Formosan who received a Ph.D from Columbia University, U. S. A. With his help, Campbell completed and promoted his transliterated work throughout the Taiwanese language communities.

For missionaries, the small book of emperors' rules was the best text to acquire eloquent speaking skills to deal with incidental religious conflicts and to learn how Chinese officials propagandized imperial ideology. In addition to publishing vernacular translations of the text, British administrators believed that regular public lectures elaborating on the edict were necessary to help the general public understand the emperors' profound instructions in the sublime classical Chinese in which the Edict was originally written. Civil lecturers would prepare handouts in a variety of vernacular spoken languages written in Romanization or Chinese to simplify the emperors' words (Liao 2008). Westerners learned how Chinese performed political rituals and how the state propagandized the top-down decrees in terms of attending the lectures. For the foreign evangelists, observing these public acts could not have been more significant to the advancement of their mission in China and Taiwan. Understanding the Chinese people's own strengths and weaknesses was a sure way to success for the foreign missions. According to Rev. H. R. Eichler (n. d.), missionaries liked to read the *Sacred Edict* because they first patterned their missions after the Manchu government's method of moral education. Secondly, they learned lessons that helped them defend why some critical issues emphasized in Buddhism and Daoism were not included in Christianity (Eichler 1882). In Formosa, such refutations in religious debates were important to inspire the native inhabitants to adopt Christianity.

Most strikingly, in comparison with the Western counterparts, these aforementioned POJ essay authors voiced their enthusiasm for women's education, specifically women from non-elite families. In the *News*, Iáp said that Western women were capable of educating their children because a good number of mothers could read. By comparison, their Chinese counterparts were stuck studying numerous pictographic characters. Reading made women wise, another author Lâu claimed. In addition, women's aptitude for reading was not in any way lower than men's and, therefore, women should be taught to read.[31]

[31] *TCN*, July 1885, 2 and January 1886, p.7.

Another article echoes the social value that women were expected to be the better half of married couples (*lōe-chō*)[32] . If they were not educated, there was no way for them to teach their children. The author, Ông Chiap-thôan, criticizes the Chinese tradition that valued sons over daughters. He believed that if women's education could be popularized as it was in the West, then Taiwan would have female doctors, teachers, and reporters[33]. Women's capacity to study was not doubted, since girls from elite families were sometimes educated. Education, he suggested, would release women (*hū-jîn-lâng*) from their hell of ignorance[34] . This hell prevented females from being informed. Thus he concluded, "How could we expect women to be responsible for children's education at home.[35] " Ông argued that Taiwanese people simply took for granted that women learned from life's experiences, and not from texts or school education. He argued that this fallacy had to be examined. He proposed that free printed POJ course books and cheap tuition (four silver yuan per year) in women's boarding schools sponsored by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan were an incentive, especially being tremendously attractive for plains native girls, to attend[36]. No matter what genre it was used for, be it textbooks, the Bible, catechetic handouts, novels, or medical guidance, POJ provided a text-friendly environment. Unlike the traditional ideology taught in Chinese text, these POJ writers emphasized that all women, rich or poor, should equally learn to read and write.

Moreover, POJ publications enabled Taiwanese natives who were illiterate in Chinese script to share their ideas and cultural values publicly. Some people who could not read characters probably wanted to be able to learn by reading Chinese texts, but they did not have enough time to tackle the complexity of the Chinese characters. Making a living was the priority of their lives. If they learned POJ in a short time, other users could share miscellaneous information and

[32] Ibid.
[33] Ông Chiap-thôan, Lē-lú-ha̍k (Encouraging Girls' school), *TCN*, November, 1902, p.86.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Anonymous, Khui-siat Lú-o̍h (Launching a Girls' School), *TCN*, November 1886, p.17.

social values with them. One day, Iáp's missionary friend obtained a pamphlet in POJ telling of a girl's filial piety to her father. They were both touched by the narrative and felt it would benefit people, both inside and outside the church, if the story were reprinted. The following year, a historian's anecdote attracted Iáp's friend's attention. The friend not only admired the protagonist of the story but also wanted to share the story with others. Upon the friend's request, Rev. John Van Nest Talmage, who revised POJ from the Amoy language, transcribed the story for him. The friend published it later.[37]

3.4. Issues of Knowledge Transmission

Apart from supporting POJ transliteration, Iáp criticized Chinese translated copies of the Bible as inadequate. Iáp argued that the Chinese translation of the Scriptures often contained mistakes that derived from the Chinese script's inability to articulate the texts phonetically. Iáp believed that the original meaning of the Bible was gradually lost in the translation with each new error. Iáp also complained that the errors in the translation were being spread throughout China since people were actively using the faulty translation and the Church was not sending out a corrected copy[38].

Iáp's argument on translation issues seems reasonable, but was problematic in practice. He neglected two factors in his argument. Firstly, he did not make the translation issue clear in the process of information sharing. He neglected the fact that the Bible was first translated to Chinese script from English or other languages and later was transliterated into POJ from the Chinese version[39]. That

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Walter Benjamin in his The Task of the Translator claims that "translation is a mode of its own." A translator has the task of generating meanings from the original texts, a task different from that of a poet. However, no matter how skilled the translator, we have to face those issues that occur in the two sides of the author, as the creator of the work, and reader, as the translator. To solve the predicament located in middle ground in which two languages find no precise correspondence, the latter must decide on his/her own which phrase, or word, articulates better for the former. To some extent, translation is a representation of the original.

is why he assumed that if the Chinese version was wrong, then the POJ one could not be correct. He ignored the possibility that the POJ version could be incorrect even if it was translated from a language other than Chinese into POJ. Secondly, he criticized that during the process of translating the Scriptures to Chinese sometimes it was difficult to find corresponding words within each linguistic system which would galvanize into mistranslation. He paid less attention to the fact that some POJ "transliteration" in fact was "translation," which was not monosyllabically sounded text, but a paraphrase of the transliterated text into a colloquial context or with an additional explanation. Mistranslations from foreign languages to Chinese could similarly (re)occur in the process of transliterating the Taiwanese language from classical Chinese writing.

The English Presbyterian Messenger (EPM) displays a contradiction to Ia̍p's assertion that POJ was always phonetically transcribed text (Figure 1). The figure is an example of the translated New Testament (John 3:16) that was used in Formosa. As juxtaposed, the Delegates' Chinese version of the New Testament was listed in the left column along with the POJ transliteration in the right column[40]. The writer of this piece commented that the POJ version was a "translation" of the Delegates' vision, not simply a reproduction. It was translated because a fixed sound to each character would generate a "dead language" that "conveys no meaning at all.[41] " It had to be translated into "the language of common speech" so that a precise meaning of the original was retained. In other words, even though POJ was designed to transcribe speech, the transmission from the classical Chinese of the Delegates to the Taiwanese language in POJ was necessary for meaningful delivery. That is, verbatim transliteration, word by word, was not feasible, based on the linguistic nature of the transliterated text.

[40] Completed by Rev. Medhurst, John Stronach, and William Charles Milne in 1850.

[41] Chinese characters versus roman-letter words in the Formosa mission, *EPM*, April 1, 1881, p.67.

CHINESE CHARACTERS
versus
ROMAN-LETTER WORDS IN THE FORMOSA MISSION.

HERE is a specimen of both. It is John iii. 16 as we find it in the Delegates' Version of the New Testament, and the same verse as it appears in the Romanised Colloquial Version used so largely in Formosa :—

1. CHINESE. (*Delegates' Version*).

蓋上帝以獨生之子賜世、俾信之者免沈淪、而得永生、其愛世如此。

2. CHINESE. (*Romanised Colloquial*).

Siông-tè chiong tók-sit ê Kiáⁿ siáⁿ-sù sè-kan, hō͘ sin i ê lâng-m-sái tim-lûn, óe tit-tioh éng-oah ; I thiàⁿ sè-kan ê lâng kàu àn-ni.

[The above is read from left to right as in reading English.]

Figure 1. *The Messenger and Missionary Record* (aka *The English Presbyterian Messenger*), April 1, 1881.

In addition to translation issues, the impulse of obtaining "benefits" that are transferred from receiving POJ knowledge might impact on the number of baptized adults. The ability to read and write POJ was an essential instrument for religious knowledge transmission. This language strategy earned the foreign mission a great number of local converts when compared to the number of Christian conversions in Amoy and Swatow, Guangdong province[42]. The statistics on Formosan converts from the 1860s-1880s shows that the number of native converts who did not know Chinese characters increased dramatically as a result of the use of POJ [43]. This implies that the majority of the Christian

[42] Before the Hainan and Singapore missions were added in, most church statistics, notes, and news were reported from Formosa, Amoy, and Swatow, the three main areas of Foreign mission of Presbyterian Church in southern China.

[43] Missionary notes, *EPM*, May 2, 1880, p.90.

population in Formosa may have been illiterate in Chinese characters. Moreover, Taiwanese tribal culture also benefited from the increase of POJ users. In the 1870s, Dr. Maxwell sent a letter to the church in Amoy highlighting the spectacular phenomenon of witnessing collective conversion. In reality, the tribal structure often brought in additional family members after the head of a family or tribe decided to believe in God [44]. The congregations and the use of POJ prospered coincidentally thanks to the indigenous groups' exclusive ethnicity.

The British Empire's endorsement of the European Presbyterian missionaries indirectly backed up their promotion of POJ and its publications. Many marginalized indigenous groups converted to Christianity and thus became POJ users because the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan would bring them "benefits" in exchange for their profession of faith. The local government, in order to maintain peace with foreign pastors, also offered converts "benefits," such as dealing with litigation cases with neighbouring ethnic groups (Shepherd 1996:120). The church, on behalf of native converts, could heavily impact how local Chinese officials ruled on legal cases.[45]

Apart from safeguards and advantages, the political influence of foreign missionaries and military support sanctioned by British imperial endorsement increased the number of Christians in Taiwan. It was exemplified when the

44 Formosa, *EPM*, August 1, 1870, pp.185-187.

45 John Shepherd, an anthropologist who specialized in Taiwan's non-Han aboriginal groups took account of why Chinese immigrants showed less interest in conversion to Christianity. For the Chinese, only the traditional institutions (the imperial bureaucracy and Confucian institutions) could confer access to power, prestige, and wealth. Since they already had access to power through existing cultural institutions, converting to Christianity was unnecessary and might largely cost them access to the traditional institutions. Shepherd concluded that the plains aborigines were looking for short-term advantages by adopting Christianity. They also sought "a worldview and reference group that enables them to set a higher value on their own cultural identity." Since the Manchu officers from China regarded plains aborigines as "barbarians," the plains natives found a champion in Christianity to restore their self-esteem. The foreign religion might not be very well received among the indigenous people, but it interested them because of the leverage it offered to rival the Chinese immigrants and other ethnic groups. See Shepherd, From Barbarians to Sinners: Collective Conversion among Plains Aborigines in Qing Taiwan, 1859-1895, p.132.

missionaries peacefully escorted the Japanese army into Tainan as Formosa was ceded to the Japanese Empire as a result of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895. The British missionaries were not simply the third party who was remitted from the Treaty of Tianjin but also the mediators between the Japanese state and the Taiwanese residents. At the time, the Black Flag Army, mustered by the independent regime of Liu Yongfu (1837-1917), had retreated to Canton province, China, although social order and riots were temporarily kept under control by his military, while the Manchu lost their authority over Taiwan. A senior naval officer informed the South Formosa Mission Council that he would soon withdraw the Navy guarding An-pêng Harbour and also provide safe passage for British, German, and American subjects to Amoy in June of the same year. Not having the heart to turn down their church members and other Taiwanese people, Revs. Barclay and Ferguson walked to submit the signed petition to the Japanese barracks at Ji-chan-hang in northern Kaohsiung city. General Maresuke Nogi (1849-1912) accepted the plea only on the condition that no people would be harmed as long as the entire city surrendered peacefully. However, this agreement could be reversed if any uprising occurred. As a result, General Nogi ordered Rev. Barclay to deliver this conditional oral consent throughout the city. He asked Rev. Ferguson to lead the Japanese army through the city gate the next morning. Surprisingly, the takeover was concluded as the missionaries had hoped. The natives developed a significantly better impression of the missionaries because of this, since they had demonstrated the power to broker the peaceful transition to Japanese rule[46]. As a result of their intervention, the missionaries enjoyed a great increase in the number of baptized Christians and a larger POJ population in the early years of Japanese rule.[47]

Unfortunately, by the end of 1901, expulsions from the Church in plains

[46] Letter to Foreign Mission, 1895, from special archive stored at SOAS, University of London.

[47] Campbell, *Handbook of the English Presbyterian Mission in South Formosa*, p.84. At the end of 1895, there were about 1,256 regular churchgoers and thus POJ users involved with church activities, but the number of baptized adults in southern Taiwan rapidly increased to 2,190 between 1896 and 1901.

native groups occurred from time to time[48]. The Missionary Council attributed their betrayal of the Church to a lack of knowledge about Christianity. They were not serious converts, but opportunists who took advantage of the "benefits" offered by the Church and thus easily transferred their loyalty from God to the Japanese emperor. The opportunism of renegade converts demonstrates the importance of political and military power in conversion. The switch of political regime from the Manchu to the Japanese rule in Taiwan complicated the Presbyterian evangelical mission and the motivations of learning knowledge in POJ during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

4. POJ as a Writing Repertory to Share Knowledge and Records

The import of a writing system culturally and changed the modes of knowledge sharing and transmission in Taiwan because written modes of communication enabled their users to convey more complex ideas and information than spoken modes. Some ideas are too complex to be fully grasped through oral communication. The new forms of acquiring knowledge trigger social changes (Whiteman 1981:91). The revolution created by the use of POJ transformed its users to Chinese literate so they could learn culture and history from Chinese script not only through reading but also writing as long as they ramped up their efforts to learn the languages.[49]

Printing, at its very beginning, was devised to solve the problem of the shortage of religious teaching pamphlets in POJ delivered from Amoy[50] . Intense demand for printed catechisms and hymnals spoke volumes about the fact that Christianity had spread more rapidly than expected. In addition, the early reports repeatedly asserted that the Formosa mission was short-handed. Since the indigenous Christians had risen in number, the demand for more churches

[48] Ibid.

[49] Missionaries, including the Revs. Thomas Barclay and William Campbell, outstandingly succeeded both in writing literacy of Chinese and POJ, though they thought they fell short of reading classical Chinese in the early days of studying POJ.

[50] William Campbell, Handbook of the South Formosa Mission, 67.13, p.144.

increased. However, in most remote areas, there were no on-site ordained or diaconal ministers. Rev. Campbell complained continuously that missionaries were exhausted from traveling to distant churches to preach. They had to regularly confirm converts' progress in POJ studies, examine new Christian candidates, baptize converts, and most significantly, give medical treatment to the sick who lived far away from cities. Missionaries were frustrated not just because they were overextended, but also from the lack of printed sources[51]. Dr. Maxwell's donation of a printing press from England in 1880 diffused the crises in labour and printed matters. Native coverts could read printed Bibles and catechisms in POJ and thus lessen the missionaries' burden of having to read the Gospel to church members.

4.1. Symbolic Importance of the Printed Romanization

Romanized printing in Taiwan was used much more in Christian teaching during the last few decades of the Manchu Empire. At first, it offered a diachronic information platform for didactic sharing in lieu of synchronic oral communication. In addition to advancing the Theological College's work by making it easier to create more teaching materials, the technique of Western movable-type printing, which was more efficient and less labour-intensive than the woodblock-type printing, eased Rev. Campbell's anxiety about the shortage of missionaries for the plains aboriginal tribes[52]. Colporteurs made regular trips to remote churches in mountain and rural regions to distribute free religious flyers and pamphlets. POJ users, who resided in remote areas, owned their printed copies without having to share them with churches[53]. So the missionaries did not have to travel to remote areas to see congregations as often. With a united and clear layout of the printed format, social interaction and interpersonal

[51] Rev. Campbell was even forced to leave Formosa in consideration of his anxiety over missionary work. Rev. Maxwell and Dr. Barclay suffered from high fevers when they left, with no support, to get a handle on church affairs and teaching.

[52] *EPM*, March 1, 1884, p.122.

[53] In *TCN*, colporteurs often were mentioned that their job was to regularly back and forth plains and mountain areas for free book and publication delivery.

communication between Taiwanese Christians was maintained in spite of topographical limitations and ethnic boundaries.

An anonymous essay in 1892 attests to the essential role that a printed language played in circulating information in Christian society. The author stated that anything posted in Taiwan Church News was important to deliver to Christian communities. The more the church was established, the more Christianity was accepted, but its expansion was hindered by the obstacles they encountered circulating the newspaper. Christian values, great achievements, school and church rules were circulated through the newspaper to other churches as far as it was possible. Information about newly opened churches, donations, an increase in conversions, and hiring missionaries needed to be shared with the Christian community. Furthermore, reading the newspaper guarded against potential nuisances from precedents set by other churches, such as problems with alcohol among church members. The most favourable aspects of the Christian community were displayed in the newspaper, a space in which the learned expressed their points of view on issues of interest. Before the operation of the press, the profound preaching of erudite pastor-teachers was only available to those who lived in the immediate vicinity of the church[54]. Western movable-type printing technology not only improved people's access to well-developed sermons but also the structure of social interaction to which the Christian community was closely tied.

Benedict Anderson's view of the printed language is worthy of further examination since it helps elaborate the significance of printed POJ itself. He argues that Protestants used print-capitalism, by "exploiting cheap popular editions," to create a new readership among those who had little knowledge of the classical written language (Anderson 2006:40). This phenomenon occurred during the 19th century in foreign missions in Formosa. The unique characteristics granted by the printed language, what he calls "fixity" for various dialects, were

[54] Anonymous, Lūn Kàu-hōe-pò (An essay on Taiwan Church News), TCN, January 1892, p.3.

probably similar to those found in transliterated works. Printed POJ, as a type of transliterated language, was chiefly designed for the Taiwanese language users' convenience to distribute information and carried no "image of antiquity" from the Romanized letters themselves. It was, instead, kept in a "permanent form" and was simply a form, since printed POJ had no fixed meanings in spelling. (Anderson 2006:44)

Furthermore, Romanized publication signified a decisive turning point in the use of POJ. It began the process of transforming POJ readers into POJ writers. POJ compositions in public spaces were an evaluation of Bible studies and the competence in using POJ. The new writing population established an "imagined community" of POJ users[55]. Participants identified their imagined writing community as a group who would never meet but whose members would become acquainted through reading one another's works in the newspaper. This imagined writing community created a type of POJ writing identity which largely overlapped with the Christian society in Amoy and Taiwan.

Currently, we do not have sufficient information to demonstrate how many non-Christian participants were involved in this "imagined community." The writing community members had no obligation to contribute to church activities. They could simply pay six *qian* monthly[56] or read the paper for free on the bulletin board at any church[57] . However, without textual and statistical evidence,

[55] The "imagined community" in quotation mark refers to different definition from what Benedict Anderson understands in his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Anderson's understanding of imagined community is closely associated with the building of nationalism. The POJ user communities here showed no interest in the discussion of nationalism. They instead identified themselves as a cluster of writers who knew how to use POJ for information and knowledge distribution. They also acknowledged that many of community members were Christians. In the 19th century, POJ's linguistic features did not nurture anything related to "national consciousness." The spread of POJ was not mobilized by a political drive or ideology of the Manchu Empire's or any of Taiwan's historical glory.

[56] Ten qian was equivalent to one tael. According to Morse's A Report of Danshui Custom from Taiwan, 1882-1991, the price of rice in 1885 was highest between 1882 and 1891, and the average price was about 1.75-80 tael per dan (1 dan was equivalent to 100 liters).

[57] One or two pages in every *TCN* have larger font size, most likely for bulletin board reading.

one can speculate that being baptized was not a prerequisite to be a POJ user at that time. Some of them might simply have taken a shortcut to the written information or paid a regular visit to the church in order to receive the benefits offered by the missionaries. In addition to free obligation, in comparison to Chinese characters, POJ was relatively easy to master for the Taiwanese language speakers. The first local operator of the donated press, Saw Sa (n. d.), only spent three days learning POJ, and the general public might need a few weeks at most (Band 1936:71). Becoming literate and reading Chinese text were no longer a privilege of certain classes or time-consuming task to achieve. We can assume that at least some Taiwanese were willing to give it a try without converting.

Taiwanese natives experienced noteworthy transformations as they went from being illiterate in Chinese script to being literate in POJ via the published language. Following the definition of literacy as the ability to read and write in social practice, being illiterate in the early context of the Formosa mission meant being "without book-learning or education and ignorance or lack of learning or subtlety" in classical Chinese (Pennycook 2002:76-77). Becoming literate in Chinese typically took a few years' study of the Chinese script. Traditionally, having an education meant receiving instruction in a private Chinese academy or from home tutors. Chinese characters, as the official written language of Fujian province and Taiwan during the late Manchu periods, were the only officially-recognized written medium through which to acquire knowledge. People who were illiterate in characters were not supposed to be able to read or publish texts. The Taiwanese who were illiterate in Chinese script were unable to create their own texts before the advent of POJ. The underrepresented groups, including the blind, the poor, and women, were stereotyped as unable to produce their own written works. POJ publications signal nothing short of a revolutionary change in the "illiterate's" cultural involvement.

POJ users belonged to a special group in which some were conditionally "illiterate" and marginalized for their lack of proficiency in characters or had been natively taught in another language system. Others were purely illiterate

at the beginning and had not received any training in writing. They were remarkable inasmuch as they all learned a set of letters beyond the mainstream writing system and might have wished to enable themselves to read characters. They definitely were not incapable of producing their own works, for their literary works were published in the newspaper. Publishing the newspaper in POJ publicly demonstrated that a foreign-imported transliteration system equally transformed foreign intellectuals and the domestic "uneducated" into a group of writers, though many of them were still "illiterates" in Chinese script.

5. Conclusion

To encourage new Christians to read the Bible on their own, the British Presbyterian mission in Taiwan, coming along with western imperial power, promoted POJ as a religious marker for the Taiwanese Christian community. The European ministers decided to primarily use the Taiwanese language and POJ to engage in the same missions they were using in Amoy because of the linguistic similarities. It was also appropriate to do so because the majority of Taiwanese converts were illiterate in Chinese script. Taiwanese converts had to pass POJ examinations in order to participate in church activities. During the early decades of the mission, POJ played a pivotal role by helping Taiwanese Christians write and read. Becoming Christians symbolized not only their transformation from illiterate in Chinese script to literate in POJ; the process also enabled users to study Chinese script and local culture. Knowledge transmission through POJ not only changed the traditional mode of acquiring Chinese literacy but also expanded from religious information exchange to the Chinese language world. The Church invented the print culture through the first Taiwanese newspaper and other church publication, which enabled POJ users to become writers and share church knowledge. The printed romanization had successfully circulated knowledge written in the Taiwanese language. Both the POJ and its users substantialized the process of western evangelicalism and

knowledge transmission during the late Manchu period in Taiwan. The POJ writing community filled a unique niche in the canon of literacy studies and thus complicated the interrelation among knowledge transmission, missionary work, and a foreign written format.

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台語「反倒轉（來）」kap「顛倒」ê語法研究

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摘要

本研究主要探討兩个台語轉折副詞—「反倒轉（來）」kap「顛倒」。根據教育部臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典，這兩个轉折副詞是近義詞，其詞意kap華語ê「反而」真siâng。雖然辭典已經提供這兩个副詞ê詞意，毋閣阮閣想欲知影這兩个副詞有啥物句法上ê特色。另外，阮嘛想欲探討為啥物佇台語俗語—「拍斷手臂顛倒勇」中ê「顛倒」換做是「反倒轉（來）」時，這句俗語會聽起來無合文法。為著欲閣較了解「反倒轉（來）」kap「顛倒」ê仝款kap無仝ê所在，本文會對這兩个轉折副詞ê句法進行研究，而且本文所研究ê語料是以書面語為主。「反倒轉（來）」kap「顛倒」其中一个仝款ê句法特色是—兩个轉折副詞攏是出現佇補詞層。這兩个副詞其他ê語法仝款ê所在佇第三部份有研究。另外，這兩个副詞佇語法上無仝ê所在分析佇第四部份。本研究期望藉由句法特色上ê分析，來了解這兩个近義詞仝款kap無仝ê所在。

關鍵詞：轉折副詞、反倒轉（來）、顛倒、台語

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A syntactic study of hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) ‘contrarily’ and tian-tò ‘contrarily’ in Taiwanese

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Abstract

In *Tâi-ôan Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sû Sû-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 ‘Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan’, *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) ‘contrarily’ and *tian-tò* 顛倒 ‘contrarily’ are near-synonyms, for both are equivalents of *fǎn'ér* 反而 ‘contrarily’ in Mandarin Chinese. Although the dictionary provides the sense of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) ‘contrarily’ and *tian-tò* 顛倒 ‘contrarily’ for us, we wonder what their syntactic forms are. Besides, we would like to investigate the reason why *tian-tò* 顛倒 ‘conversely’ in the Taiwanese proverb, *Phah-tīg chhiú-kut tian-tò ióng* 拍斷手骨顛倒勇 ‘The arm was broken; contrarily, the arm will become stronger when it heals.’ is replaced by *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉來 ‘conversely’, and then, this proverb becomes strange. In order to have a better understanding of the two adverbs in Taiwanese, we aim to compare and contrast them from the perspective of syntactic features in the paper. We mainly focus on analyzing written data of the two adverbs. One of the syntactic similarities between *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) ‘contrarily’ and *tian-tò* 顛倒 ‘contrarily’ is that they occupy the complementizer layer. Other similar syntactic features are presented in Section 3. The syntactic differences between them are illustrated in Section 4. Section 5 concludes the paper.

Keywords: adversative adverbs, *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi), tian-tò*, Taiwanese

1. Introduction

In *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sû Sû-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典[1] *'Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan', hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' are near-synonyms. The two Taiwanese adverbs are equivalents of *fǎn'ér* 反而 'contrarily' in Mandarin Chinese. According to Wang's (1985) analysis[2] , adverbs such as *fǎn* 反 'contrarily', *daò* 倒 'however' and *què* 卻 'however' in Mandarin Chinese are under the type of relation tertiary[3] , indicating adversative relation between sentences or texts. In addition, they belong to the category of mood tertiary (Wang 1985:176). That is, one of the functions of *fǎn* 反 'contrarily', *daò* 倒 'however' and què 卻 'however' in Mandarin Chinese is to connect information between the preceding proposition and the following one, and to express specific moods (L. Chang 2011). Moreover, Guo (1999) considered that *què* 卻 'however', *daò*倒 'however', *fǎndaò* 反倒 'contrarily', and *fǎn'ér* 反而 'contrarily' in Chinese are adversative adverbs which do not refer to the opposite meaning between two clauses, but rather refer to a psychological contrast, which means that the proposition in the sentence after an adversative adverb does not match the addresser's expectation.

Based on Wang's (1985), Guo's (1999) and L. Chang's (2011) analysis, we can also categorize *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' in Taiwanese into the type of adversative adverbs. The term,

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1 *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sû Sû-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 *'Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan'*: http://twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict_new/index.html

2 Based on Wang's (1985) analysis, there are eight categories of adverbs in Chinese: adverbs of degree, adverbs of scope, adverbs of time, adverbs of manner, adverbs of possibility and necessity, negative adverbs, mood tertiary, and relation tertiary.

3 Tang (2000) used 'adverbial' to explain tertiary. According to Chang (2003), the difference between adverbs and adverbials is described as follows. Adverbs, based on their grammatical category, are mainly used to modify sentences, verbs, adjectives or other adverbs, but it does not modify nouns. Adverbials, based on their grammatical function, including adverbs and adverbs converting from adjectives, nouns, and prepositions appear before the heads of the predicates. In the paper, we consider that *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' are adverbs.

adversativity, not only signals that the relationship between the preceding and the following content is contrastive in the language (Rudolph 1996), but also refers to 'contrary to expectation'. (Halliday and Hasan 1976)

Although the dictionary provides the senses of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' for us, the question of what their syntactic similarities and differences are arises. For example, in (1) and (2), *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' are interchangeable. Both adversative adverbs *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' mean that the actual fact is contrary to expectation.

(1) I　　m̄-nā　　bô　　khioh-hīn,　　hoán-tò-tńg / tian-tò　　koh
伊　　毋但　　無　　抾恨，　　反倒轉 / 顛倒　　閣
3SG　NEG-only　NEG　pick-hate　contrarily / contrarily　also

lâi　　kā　　lán　　tàu-saⁿ-kāng.
來　　共　　咱　　鬥相共。
come　KA　　2PL　　help
'He did not bear grudges; contrarily, he came here and helped us.'

(Google[4])

(2)I　　bô　　beh　　lâi,　　gún　　tian-tò / hoán-tò-tńg　　khah　　hoaⁿ-hí.
伊　　無　　欲　　來，　　阮　　顛倒 / 反倒轉　　較　　歡喜。
3SG　NEG　want　come　2PL　contrarily / contrarily　more　happy
'He does not want to come; contrarily, we are happy about that.'

(Google[5])

However, we wonder why example (4) below is awkward when *tian-tò* 顛倒 'conversely' is replaced by *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'conversely'. In the

[4] *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sû Sû-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 '*Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*'

[5] *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sû Sû-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 '*Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*'

Taiwanese proverb (3), *phah-tn̄g chhiú-kut* 拍斷手骨 'breaking an arm' elicits an expectation that the arm is useless, and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'conversely' signals that the real fact is contrary to expectation: the arm becomes stronger. But, if *hoán-tò-tn̂g-(lâi)* 反倒轉來 'conversely' replaces *tian-tò* 顛倒 'conversely', as in (4), this proverb becomes strange.

(3) Phah-tn̄g chhiú-kut tian-tò ióng.
拍斷 手骨 顛倒 勇。
beat-broken hand-bone.(arm) contrarily strong
'The arm was broken; contrarily, the arm will become stronger when it heals.'
(Google[6])

(4) ?Phah-tn̄g chhiú-kut hoán-tò-tn̂g-(lâi) ióng.
?拍斷 手骨 反倒轉(來) 勇。
beat-broken hand-bone.(arm) contrarily strong
'The arm was broken; contrarily, the arm will become stronger when it heals.'

The paper primarily aims to compare and contrast the syntactic features of the two Taiwanese adverbs and to illustrate the reason why the Taiwanese proverb (4) is strange. The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we briefly review the hierarchy of adverbs and previous studies on the functions of *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' and *hoán-tò-tn̂g-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' in Taiwanese. In Section 3, we present our analysis of their syntactic similarities. In Section 4, our analysis and discussion of their syntactic differences are demonstrated. Section 5 concludes the paper.

The data to be analyzed in the paper are mainly collected from the online corpus, Taiwanese Concordancer[7] , administrated by Iunn Un-gian, and other online resources such as writings in blogs, press releases, and articles for recitation contests, retrieved using Google search engine. The paper primarily

[6] *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sû Sû-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 '*Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*'

[7] Taiwanese Concordancer: http://210.240.194.97/tg/concordance/form.asp

focuses on the written data of adverbs. Table 1 shows that a total of 723 examples were collected to be analyzed.

Table 1. Total amount of data to be analyzed

	Taiwanese Concordancer	Other online sources	Total
hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily'	48	118	166 (22.96%)
tian-tò 顛倒 'contrarily'	477	80	557 (77.04%)
Total	525	198	723 (100%)

2. Literature Review

In this Section, we first review Cinque's (1999) universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections of adverbs, and then review previous studies on the functions of *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' and *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' in Taiwanese.

2.1. Functional Projections

Cinque (1999) explored a universal hierarchy of adverbs and considered that each adverb in a sentence has its own position. The following is the universal hierarchy of higher (sentence) adverbs from left to right (top to bottom) proposed by Cinque. (1999)

higher adverbs

[*frankly* $\text{Mood}_{\text{speech act}}$ [*fortunately* $\text{Mood}_{\text{evaluative}}$ [*allegedly* $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$
[*probably* $\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}}$ [*once* T(Past) [*then* T(Future) [*perhaps* $\text{Mood}_{\text{irrealis}}$
[*necessarily* $\text{Mod}_{\text{necessity}}$ [*possibly* $\text{Mod}_{\text{possibility}}$

In this hierarchy, there are four mood adverbs, $\text{Mood}_{\text{speech act}}$, $\text{Mood}_{\text{evaluative}}$,

$Mood_{evidential}$, and $Mod_{epistemic}$, that are higher than temporal adverbs and tense phrases. Speech act mood adverbs such as *frankly*, *honestly*, and *sincerely* appear in the leftmost (highest) position of the CP level. Evaluative mood adverbs are applied to express a speaker's evaluation, approval or disapproval of facts, expectations, and disappointment, and do not influence the truth of the content of a sentence. Examples such as *unfortunately*, *surprisingly*, and *unexpectedly* belong to this category. Evidential mood adverbs such as *allegedly*, *reportedly*, *obviously*, and *evidently* reveal the confidence the speaker has toward the evidence in his/her assertion. Such evidence may come from witnessing, being reported, previous experience, or hearsay. Epistemic modal adverbs such as *probably* and *supposedly* are relevant with a speaker's level of confidence about a proposition. The features of epistemic adverbs are that first, they are not suitable to appear in question sentences; and second, the position of epistemic modal adverbs in the hierarchy is higher than that of root modals.

Tsai (2010, 2015), based on Cinque's (1999) analysis of adverbs and Rizzi's (1997) left periphery, proposed three tiers of modals in Mandarin Chinese. The hierarchy from left to right is the complementizer layer, inflectional layer, and lexical layer. The order of modal expressions is as follows:

$MP^{epistemic\ adverb}$>epistemic modals> $MP^{deontic\ adverb}$>deontic modals>dynamic modals

For example, in (5), epistemic adverb *dà-gài* 大概 'probably' occurs before epistemic modal *huì* 會 'HUI', and both appear at the complementizer layer. The future modal *huì* 會 'will' in (6) and the deontic modal *huì* 會 'can' following after the frequency adverb *cháng-cháng* 常常 'often' in (7) occupy the inflectional layer, while the dynamic modal *huì* 會 'can' in (8) occupies the lexical layer.

(5) Wài-jiao-guān	dà-gài	huì	lái.
外交官	大概	會	來。
diplomat	probably	HUI	come

'Diplomats probably will come.'

(6) Wài-jiao-guān huì cháng-cháng lái zhè-lǐ.
外交官 會 常常 來 這裡。
diplomat will often come here
'Diplomats will come here often.'

(7) Wài-jiao-guān cháng-cháng huì lái zhè-lǐ.
外交官 常常 會 來 這裡。
diplomat often can come here
'Diplomats often can come here.'

(8) Yǐ-qián wài-jiao-guān dōu huì shuo fǎ-yǔ.
以前 外交官 都 會 說 法語。
before diplomat all can speak French
'In the old days, all diplomats could speak French.'

In sum, the hierarchical structure provided by Cinque (1999) and Tsai (2010, 2015) will be adopted in this paper to observe the syntactic features of Taiwanese *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily'.

2.2. M. Chang (2008)

M. Chang (2008) analyzed spoken data drawn from casual conversations among Taiwanese native speakers and from TV soap operas. In M. Chang's (2008) analysis, *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' is considered as a non-conjunctive contrastive marker, and typically follows the subject in a sentence. The second speaker who uses *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' to start a sentence asserts his or her statement with an attitude of certainty and finality, and indicates a contrast to the overtly expressed or implied information from the first speaker.

M. Chang's (2008) study focused on the oral data of *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily', while the data in the paper are drawn from written data. In addition, the paper will further investigate the syntactic features of *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' and *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily'.

2.3. Lien (2011)

Lien (2011) investigated the directionals of Southern Min in the sixteenth century and Modern Southern Min, in which directional *tn̂g* 轉 'return' and *tò* 倒 'return' were discussed. Both of the two directionals refer to departures from one location and then a return to that location again. *Tò* 倒 'return' and *tn̂g* 轉 'return' can combine together as another directional *tò-tn̂g* 倒轉 'return' and the meaning does not change. It can be in conjunction with the deictic motion verb *lâi* 來 'come' to become a complex directional complement. Lien (2011) found that although *tò-tn̂g-lâi* 倒轉來 'return' does not appear in data originating in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, it can be found in data of Modern Southern Min. The result of this analysis showed that when *tò-tn̂g-lâi* 倒轉來 'return' is a complement, it usually collocates with a spatial movement verb.

In addition to indicating the concrete meaning of spatial movement, *tò-tn̂g* 倒轉 'return' can also express abstract meanings; for example, *hoan-tò-tn̂g-lâi* 翻倒轉來 'out of expectation' in (9) refers to something being out of an addresser's expectation.

(9) I　　hoan-tò-tn̂g-lâi　　kóng.
　　伊　　翻倒轉來[8]　　講。
　　3SG　out.of.expectation　speak
　　'Out of expectation, he says'

To sum up, in Lien's (2011) analysis, the directional *tò-tn̂g-lâi* 倒轉來 'return' does not appear in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, but it is found in the Modern Southern Min data. *Tò-tn̂g-lâi* 倒轉來 'return' usually specifies spatial movement and seldom refers to abstract meanings, unless it collocates with non-movement verbs. For this reason, in our analysis, we are only going to observe

[8] We wondered whether the first sound should be hoan or hoán. We asked Taiwanese native speakers and they pronounced *hoán-tò-tn̂g-lâi* (the first sound is the 2nd tone). In addition, based on *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sû Sû-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 '*Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*', written data represent *hoán-tò-tn̂g-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily'. Due to the two reasons, we finally decided to adopt *hoán-tò-tn̂g-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' in the paper.

examples of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' collected from modern Taiwanese data, and compare and contrast these with *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily'.

2.4. Summary

We began by reviewing studies on functional projections in Section 2.1. In Section 2.2, we discussed M. Wang (2008), whose research investigated spoken data of *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily'. In Section 2.3, we reviewed the study of Lien (2011), who researched directional verb *tò-tńg-lâi* 倒轉來 'return', its non-directional functions, and the meaning of *hoan-tò-tńg-lâi* 翻倒轉來 'out of expectation'.

3. Syntactic Similarities between *Hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉（來）'Contrarily' and *Tian-tò* 顛倒 'Contrarily'

In this section, the syntactic similarities between *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' in Taiwanese are investigated.

3.1. Appearing in the Sentence Initial and Medial Positions

As for syntactic positions of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily', they can not only appear in the initial position of a sentence, as in (10) and (13), and can also immediately follow a subject, as in (11) and (14) respectively. However, if the two adversative adverbs appear in the final position of a sentence, as in (12) and (15), the sentence is ungrammatical.

(10)	Hoán-tò-tńg	i	sī	ū	in-tián	ê	Siōng-tè.
	反倒轉	伊	是	有	恩典	的	上帝。
	contrarily	3SG	be	have	grace	MOD	God

'Contrarily, he is a gracious God.'

(Google[9])

[9] *Tâi-oân Sîn-hák-īⁿ tong-tāi káng-tō-hák hák-seng pò-kò* 台灣神學院當代講道學學生報告 'A term paper of a student in the course of contemporary preaching at Taiwan Theological College and Seminary': http://ir.taitheo.org.tw:8080/ir/handle/987654321/5051 (link無效)

(11) I hoán-tò-tńg sī ū in-tián ê Siōng-tè.
伊 反倒轉 是 有 恩典 的 上帝。
3SG contrarily be have grace MOD God
'He contrarily is a gracious God.'

(12) *I sī ū in-tián ê Siōng-tè hoán-tò-tńg.
*伊 是 有 恩典 的 上帝 反倒轉。
3SG be have grace MOD God contrarily
'*He is a gracious God contrarily.'

(13) Tian-tò góa kái hun kái pin-nn̂g.
顛倒 我 改 薰 改 檳榔。
contrarily 1SG quit smoke quit betel.nut
'Contrarily, I quit smoking and chewing betel nuts.'
(Taiwanese Concordancer)

(14) I tian-tò tio̍h chi̍t kia^{n}.
伊 顛倒 著 一 驚。
3SG contrarily get one scare
'He contrarily was scared.'
(Taiwanese Concordancer)

(15) *I tio̍h chi̍t kia^{n} tian-tò.
*伊 著 一 驚 顛倒。
3SG get one scare contrarily
'*He was scared contrarily.'

3.2. Preceding Future Modal Verb *ē* 會 'Will'

In the data that we collected for analysis, adversative adverbs *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' appear before future modal verb *ē* 會 'will' that is in inflectional layer. Examples (16) and (17) show that the two adverbs precede *ē* 會 'will'. However, if the two adverbs follows after *ē* 會 'will', as in (18) and (19), sentences would be ungrammatical. Based

on Tsai's (2007, 2011) analysis, when adverbs precede the future modal verb *ē* 會 'will', they are outer adverbs, occupying the inflection or complementizer layer.

(16) 'Chū-sat' m̄-nā bē-tàng kái-koat būn-tê, hoán-tò-tńg ē
「自殺」 毋但 袂當 解決 問題， 反倒轉 會
suicide NEG-only cannot solve problem contrarily will
hō· būn-tê koh-khah giâm-tiōng.
予 問題 閣較 嚴重。
HOO problem also-more serious
'Suicide not only is never a solution to a problem; contrarily, it will cause the problem to be more serious.'

(Google[10])

(17) In mā bē tit-tio̍h siáⁿ-mih hó-chhù, tian-tò ē
恁 嘛 袂 得著 啥物 好處， 顛倒 會
3PL also NEG get-arrive what-thing benefit contrarily will
ín-khí Tang-lâm-a kok-ka ê put-an.
引起 東南亞 國家 的 不安。
provoke southeast.Asia country MOD nervousness
'They do not receive any benefits; contrarily, they will provoke the nervousness of countries in Southeast Asia.'

(Taiwanese Concordancer)

(18) 'Chū-sat' m̄-nā bē-tàng kái-koat būn-tê, *ē hoán-tò-tńg
「自殺」 毋但 袂當 解決 問題， *會 反倒轉
suicide NEG-only cannot solve problem will contrarily
hō· būn-tê koh-khah giâm-tiōng.
予 問題 閣較 嚴重。
HOO problem also-more serious
'Suicide not only is never a solution to a problem; *it will contrarily cause the problem to be more serious.'

[10] *Tâi-oân-gí Kàu-ha̍k kap Bûn-ha̍k Kù-khan* 台灣語教學和文學季刊 'Quarterly Journal of Taiwan Languages Teaching and Literature': http://www.dang.idv.tw/2005/20050214/20050214.htm

(19) In mā bē tit-tio̍h siáⁿ-mih hó-chhù, *ē tian-tò
恁 嘛 袂 得著 啥物 好處， *會 顛倒
3PL also NEG get-arrive what-thing benefit will contrarily
ín-khí Tang-lâm-a kok-ka ê put-an.
引起 東南亞 國家 的 不安。
provoke southeast.Asia country MOD nervousness
'They do not receive any benefits; *they will contrarily provoke the nervousness of countries in Southeast Asia.'

3.3. Preceding Frequency Adverbs

In order to judge whether adversative adverbs *hoán-tò-tn̂g-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' occupy the complementizer or inflectional layer, we adopt a method by observing the order between frequency adverbs and the two investigated adverbs. Based on Tsai (2007, 2011), outer adverbs precede adverbs of frequency, while inner adverbs follow them. *Hoán-tò-tn̂g-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' only appear before frequency adverbs. Examples (20) and (22) show that both appear before the frequency adverb *tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ* 定定 'often'. If frequency adverbs occur before *hoán-tò-tn̂g-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily', as in examples (21) and (23), these sentences would be ungrammatical.

(20) I bô hòng-khì, hoán-tò-tn̂g tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ koan-sim ta̍k-ke.
伊 無 放棄， 反倒轉 定定 關心 逐家。
3SG NEG quit contrarily often care everyone
'He does not quit. Contrarily, he often takes care of everyone.'

(Google[11])

11 *Kàu-iok-pōo 97 nî iōng lán ê bú-gí siá lán ê bûn-hák tshòng-tsok tsióng ka-tsok* 教育部97年用咱的母語寫咱的文學/恩兜个母語寫恩兜个文學創作獎佳作 'the Honorable Mention for the 2008 Taiwanese and Hakkanese Literature Award': https://language.moe.gov.tw/001/Upload/Files/site_content/M0001/first_language_98/literature/%E9%96%A9-%E6%95%A3%E6%96%87-%E5%AD%B8%E7%94%9F-%E4%BD%B3%E4%BD%9C-%E8%83%A1%E7%92%BF%E8%95%99.pdf

(21) I bô hòng-khì, *tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ hoán-tò-tńg koan-sim tak-ke.
伊 無 放棄， *定定 反倒轉 關心 逐家。
3SG NEG quit often contrarily care everyone
'He does not quit. *He often contrarily takes cares of everyone.'

(22) Tian-tò lí tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ hôe phoe hō góa.
顛倒 你 定定 回 批 予 我。
contrarily 2SG often return letter HOO 1SG
'Contrarily, you often write me back.'
(Taiwanese Concordancer)

(23) *Lí tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ tian-tò hôe phoe hō góa.
*你 定定 顛倒 回 批 予 我。
2SG often contrarily return letter HOO 1SG
'*You often contrarily write me back.'

3.4. Hierarchy of the Two Adversative Adverbs

In the section, we would like to investigate the position of the two adverbs based on the analysis of Cinque (1999). According to Cinque (1999), the hierarchy of higher adverbs from left to right is: $Mood_{speech\ act}$> $Mood_{evaluative}$> $Mood_{evidential}$>$Mod_{epistemic}$. Example (24) shows that the positions of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' are between the speech act mood adverb *láu-sit-kóng* 老實講 'frankly' and epistemic modal adverb it-tēng 一定 'must', which is grammatical. However, if the positions of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' are higher than the speech act mood adverb, *láu-sit-kóng* 老實講 'frankly', as in example (25), or precede epistemic modal adverb, *khó-lêng* 可能 'probably', as in example (26), the sentence will be ungrammatical.

(24) Láu-sit-kóng i hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) / tian-tò it-tēng ē jiá
老實講 伊 反倒轉(來) / 顛倒 一定 會 惹
frankly 3SG contrarily / contrarily must will provoke
lâi chit tōa tui ê mâ-hoân.
來 一 大 堆 的 麻煩。
come one big CL MOD trouble
'Frankly, contrarily, he must make a lot of trouble.'

(made-up sentence)

(25) *Hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) / tian-tò láu-sit-kóng i it-tēng ē
*反倒轉(來) / 顛倒 老實講 伊 一定 會
contrarily / contrarily frankly 3SG must will
jiá lâi chit tōa tui ê mâ-hoân.
惹 來 一 大 堆 的 麻煩。
provoke come one big CL MOD trouble
'*Contrarily frankly, he must make a lot of trouble.'

(26) *I it-tēng hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) / tian-tò ē jiá lâi
*伊 一定 反倒轉(來) / 顛倒 會 惹 來
3SG must contrarily / contrarily will provoke come
chit tōa tui ê mâ-hoân.
一 大 堆 的 麻煩。
one big CL MOD trouble
'*He must contrarily make a lot of trouble.'

According to Ernst (2008), *hǎo-xiàng* 好像 'apparently' in Mandarin Chinese is an evidential modal adverb, indicating that the speaker expresses their own opinion towards a situation based on their observation. The corresponding word in Taiwanese is *chhin-chhiūⁿ* 親像 'apparently'. In example (27), when *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' precede

chhin-chhiūⁿ 親像 'apparently', the sentence is grammatical. However, if their positions are reversed, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (28).

(27) Koan-chiòng hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) / tian-tò chhin-chhiūⁿ tùi
觀眾 反倒轉(來) / 顛倒 親像 對
audience contrarily / contrarily apparently toward
in ê piáu-ián kám-kak chin siān.
伊 的 表演 感覺 真 癌。
3PL GEN performance feel really bored
'Contrarily, apparently, the audience feels really bored with their performance.'
(made-up sentence)

(28) *Koan-chiòng chhin-chhiūⁿ hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) / tian-tò tùi
*觀眾 親像 反倒轉(來) / 顛倒 對
audience apparently contrarily contrarily toward
in ê piáu-ián kám-kak chin siān.
伊 的 表演 感覺 真 癌。
3PL GEN performance feel really bored
'*Apparently contrarily the audience feels really bored with their performance.'

Based on the above analysis, the adversative adverbs, *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' are categorized as evaluative mood adverbs.

3.5. Appearing in Affirmative Declarative Clauses

In the section, we are going to identify in what types of clauses that both *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' appear. According to Saeed (2009), clauses can be categorized into four types, namely declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative; however, it is not clear whether there are specific optative syntactic structures in Taiwanese, but it can be seen as a type of imperative (Yang 2014). Based on the data that we collected,

most examples show that both of the two Taiwanese adverbs under study appear in affirmative declarative clauses, such as, (29) and (30). Negative declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses will be further discussed in Section 4.

(29) I m̄-nā bô khioh-hīn, hoán-tò-tn̂g koh lâi kā lán
伊 毋但 無 抾恨， 反倒轉 閣 來 共 咱
3SG NEG-only NEG pick-hate contrarily also come KA 2PL
tàu-saⁿ-kāng.
鬥相共。
help
'He did not bear grudges; contrarily, he came here and helped us.'
(Google[12])

(30) I bô beh lâi, gún tian-tò khah hoaⁿ-hí.
伊 無 欲 來， 阮 顛倒 較 歡喜。
3SG NEG want come 2PL contrarily more happy
'He does not want to come; contrarily, we are happy about that.'
(Google[13])

3.6. Summary

To sum up, firstly, the interaction between *hoán-tò-tn̂g-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' and the future modal verb *ē* 會 'will' and qualification adverbs was observed to make sure that they are outer adverbs occupying the complementizer layer, and are evaluative mood adverbs. Moreover, adverbs *hoán-tò-tn̂g-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and tian-tò 顛倒 'contrarily' in Taiwanese appear in affirmative declarative clauses.

[12] *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sû Sû-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 '*Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*'

[13] *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sû Sû-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 '*Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*'

4. Syntactic Differences between *Hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉（來）'Contrarily' and *Tian-tò* 顛倒 'Contrarily'

This section investigates the syntactic differences of the two adverbs under study from the perspectives of adjectives, negative declarative clauses, and interrogative sentences.

4.1. Adjectives

Adverb *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' can be directly followed by an adjective in a sentence or clause. For instance, example (31) presents that *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' directly appears with *ióng* 勇 'strong'. However, if *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' is replaced by *hoán-tò-tńg* 反倒轉 'contrarily', the clause would become ungrammatical, shown in example (32).

(31) Khòaⁿ-tio̍h in sió-chek-á bô sí,
看著 恁 小叔仔 無 死，
see-arrive 3SG-GEN husband's.younger.brother NEG die
tian-tò ióng, i tio̍h koh-chài hē tāng io̍h.
顛倒 勇， 伊 著 閣再 下 重 藥。
contrarily strong 3SG then also-again fall heavy drug
'Seeing that her husband's younger brother does not die; contrarily, he is strong and healthy. She then poisons him again.'
(Taiwanese Concordancer)

(32) Khòaⁿ-tio̍h in sió-chek-á bô sí,
看著 恁 小叔仔 無 死，
see-arrive 3SG-GEN husband's.younger.brother NEG die
*hoán-tò-tńg ióng, i tio̍h koh-chài hē tāng io̍h.
*反倒轉 勇， 伊 著 閣再 下 重 藥。
contrarily strong 3SG then also-again fall heavy drug
'Seeing that her husband's younger brother does not die; *contrarily, he is strong and healthy. She then poisons him again.'

We observe the sentences that we collected for analysis, and find that if *hoán-tò-tńg* 反倒轉 'contrarily' appears between a subject and a predicate adjective in a sentence or clause, the adjective would usually be modified by a degree adverb, such as *jú-lâi-jú* 愈來愈 'more and more' in (33) or chin 真 'really' in example (34). Therefore, example (35) illustrates that example (32) can be corrected by adding a degree adverb such as *jú-lâi-jú* 愈來愈 'more and more' before the adjective *ióng* 勇 'strong', and the clause becomes grammatical.

(33) Khó-sioh lâng ê tō-tek koan-liām pēng bô teh
可惜 人 的 道德 觀念 並 無 咧
pity people GEN morality concept even NEG PROG
chìn-pō, hoán-tò-tńg jú-lâi-jú kē-lō.
進步， 反倒轉 愈來愈 低路。
progress contrarily more.and.more useless
'It is a pity that people's concept of morality has not improved; contrarily, it has worsened'

(Taiwanese Concordancer)

(34) I pēng bô kiau-ngō, hoán-tò-tńg chin kheh-khì.
伊 並 無 驕傲， 反倒轉 真 客氣。
3SG even NEG pride contrarily really kind
'He is not proud; contrarily, he is really kind.'

(Google[14])

(35) Khòaⁿ-tiòh in sió-chek-á bô sí,
看著 恁 小叔仔 無 死，
see-arrive 3SG-GEN husband's.younger.brother NEG die
hoán-tò-tńg jú-lâi-jú ióng, i tiòh koh-chài hē tāng iòh.
反倒轉 愈來愈 勇， 伊 著 閣再 下 重 藥。
contrarily more.and.more strong 3SG then also-again fall heavy drug
'Seeing that her husband's younger brother does not die; contrarily, he is stronger and healthier. She then poisons him again.'

[14] *Ko-hiông-chhī Sūi-siông Kok-sió Bân-lâm-gí kàu-hák kàu-châi* 高雄市瑞祥國小閩南語教學教材 'Taiwan Southern Min teaching materials of Ruei-Siang primary school in Kaohsiung city': www.tpps.kh.edu.tw/teachsource/file/65.doc (link無效)

4.2. Negative Declarative Clauses

In section 3.5, we discussed that both of the two adverbs can appear in the affirmative declarative clauses, and now, we are going to focus on studying whether both of them can exist in negative declarative clauses or not. Several sentences in our corpus under study present that *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' appears in negative declarative clauses. For instance, in (36) and (37), negation *bô* 無 'NEG' follows after *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily'. Nevertheless, we can hardly find *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' occurring with negations in a clause. We consider that *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' cannot appear in negative declarative clauses, shown in (38) and (40), but it can only appear in affirmative declarative clauses, illustrated in (39) and (41).

(36) In-ūi kang-chok ê koan-hē, lán tian-tò bô lōa-chē
因為 工作 的 關係， 咱 顛倒 無 偌濟
due.to job MOD relation 2PL contrarily NEG much
sî-kan chò-hóe.
時間 做伙。
time together
'Due to our jobs, we instead do not have lots of time together.'
(Google[15])

(37) Kin-á-jit ū tām-po̍h-á thàu-hong, bē kài joa̍h, tian-tò
今仔日 有 淡薄仔 透風， 袂 蓋 熱 顛倒
today have a.little windy NEG very hot contrarily
bô siáⁿ-lâng lâi peh-soaⁿ.
無 啥人 來 爬山。
NEG what.people come climb-mountain
'Today, it is a little windy and not very hot. However, nobody comes here for climbing.'
(Google[16])

[15] *Tâi-bûn Chiàn-sòaⁿ Pō·lo̍k-keh* 台文戰線部落格 'Taiwanese Literature Battlefront Blog': http://twnelclub.ning.com/profiles/blogs/xing-zan-lai-english-bayniu

[16] *Tâi-oân pún-thó gí-giân bûn-hak chióng tit-chióng chok-phín* 臺灣本土語言文學獎得獎作品 'a work winning Taiwan mother tongue literature award': eva.moe.gov.tw/C/MNC002.pdf (link無效)

(38) In-ūi kang-chok ê koan-hē, *lán hoán-tò-tńg bô lōa-chē
因為 工作 的 關係， *咱 反倒轉 無 偌濟
due.to job MOD relation 2PL contrarily NEG much
sî-kan chò-hóe.
時間 做伙。
time together
'Due to our jobs, *we instead do not have lots of time together.'

(39) In-ūi kang-chok ê koan-hē, lán hoán-tò-tńg ū chin chē
因為 工作 的 關係， 咱 反倒轉 有 真 濟
due.to job MOD relation 2PL contrarily have really much
sî-kan chò-hóe.
時間 做伙。
time together
'Due to our jobs, we instead have lots of time together.'

(40) Kin-á-jit ū tām-po̍h-á thàu-hong, bē kài joa̍h, *hoán-tò-tńg
今仔日 有 淡薄仔 透風， 袂 蓋 熱， 反倒轉
today have a.little windy NEG very hot contrarily
bô siáⁿ-lâng lâi peh-soaⁿ.
無 啥人 來 爬山。
NEG what.people come climb-mountain
'Today, it is a little windy and not very hot. *However, nobody comes here for climbing.'

(41) Kin-á-jit ū tām-po̍h-á lo̍h-hō, hoán-tò-tńg chin chē lâng
今仔日 有 淡薄仔 落雨， 反倒轉 真 濟 人
today have a.little rain contrarily really many people
lâi peh-soaⁿ.
來 爬山。
come climb-mountain
'Today, it is a little rainy. However, so many people come here for climbing.'

4.3. Interrogative Sentences

There are relatively more examples of *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' appearing in interrogative sentences. However, it is hard to find adversative adverb *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' appearing in interrogative sentences. Twenty tokens of *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' are found in interrogative forms. *Choán-iūn* 怎樣 'how' in (42) and *sī-án-choán* 是按怎 'how' in (43) occur with *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' are all examples of interrogative words. According to Tsai's (2007, 2011) analysis in which *zěn-me* 怎麼 'how' in Mandarin Chinese is used for asking causes when it is in complementizer layer, and for asking methods when it is in the lexical layer, *choán-iūn* 怎樣 'how' and *sī-án-choán* 是按怎 'how' in the following examples are adopted for asking causes and occupy the complementizer layer.

(42) Choán-iūn tian-tò bē-hiáu khak chia̍p-chia̍p khì hóng-būn
怎樣 顛倒 袂曉 較 捷捷 去 訪問
how contrarily NEG-know more frequently go visit
in neh?
您 呢？
3PL PART
'Contrarily, why don't I know that I could go to visit them more frequently?'
(Taiwanese Concordancer)

(43) Sī-án-choán chi̍t ê Tâi-gí ián-oân tian-tò Tâi-gí
是按怎 一 个 台語 演員 顛倒 台語
how one CL Taiwanese actor/actress contrarily Taiwanese
ē kóng bē hó-sè？
會 講 袂 好勢？
can speak NEG good-state
'Contrarily, why can't an actor/actress who acts in Taiwanese soap opera speak Taiwanese fluently?'
(Taiwanese Concordancer)

4.4. Imperative Sentences

We do not find any example of *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' and *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' appearing in imperative sentences. The following sentences are made up by us, and our consultant agrees with the use of (44) and (45). However, if *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' is replaced by *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' in imperative sentences, shown in example (46) and (47), sentences would be ungrammatical. These examples demonstrate that *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' appears in imperative sentences, but *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' doesn't.

(44) Lí tian-tò mài khì.
你 顛倒 莫 去
2SG contrarily NEG go
'Contrarily, don't go there.'
(made-up sentence)

(45) Lí tian-tò ài sió-sim.
你 顛倒 愛 小心
2SG contrarily need careful
'Contrarily, be careful.'
(made-up sentence)

(46) *Lí hoán-tò-tńg mài khì.
*你 反倒轉 莫 去
2SG contrarily NEG go
'* Contrarily, don't go there.'

(47) *Lí hoán-tò-tńg ài sió-sim.
*你 反倒轉 愛 小心
2SG contrarily need careful
'*Contrarily, be careful.'

4.5. Summary

As for syntactic differences between the two adverbs in Taiwanese, firstly, we found that predicate adjectives after *hoán-tò-tńg* 反倒轉 'contrarily' usually need to be modified by degree adverbs, but *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' does not. Secondly, in terms of clause types, *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' does not appear in negative declarative , interrogative and imperative clauses, but *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' does appear in these clauses.

In Section 1, we wonder why *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' cannot replace *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' in the Taiwanese proverb, as in (48). From the perspective of syntax, the reason is that *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' does not directly precede adjectives, while *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' does. If *hoán-tò-tńg* 反倒轉 'contrarily' takes an adjectival phrase as a predicate, the adjective would usually be modified by a degree adverb. Therefore, the syntactic difference between the two adverbs can explain why *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉來 'conversely' in this proverb is strange. However, *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉來 'conversely' in the sentence (49) is grammatical when the adjective *ióng* 勇 'strong' is modified by a degree adverb, such as *jú-lâi-jú*愈來愈 'more and more'.

(48) ?Phah-tn̄g　chhiú-kut　hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)　ióng.
　　?拍斷　手骨　反倒轉(來)　勇。
　　bea-broken　hand-bone.(arm)　contrarily　strong
　　'The arm was broken; contrarily, the arm will become stronger when it heals.'

(49) Phah-tn̄g　chhiú-kut　hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)　jú-lâi-jú　ióng.
　　拍斷　手骨　反倒轉(來)　愈來愈　勇。
　　beat-broken　hand-bone.(arm)　contrarily　more.and.more　strong
'The arm was broken; contrarily, the arm will become stronger when it heals.'

5. Conclusion

In the paper, the syntactic features of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' are investigated. Similar and different syntactic features between adversative adverbs *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' in Taiwanese are shown in Table 2. In terms of the similarities between the two adverbs, it is certain that they are outer adverbs occupying the complementizer layer, as both of them precede the future modal verb *ē* 會 'will' and qualification adverbs. Furthermore, we observe their hierarchy and consider that they are evaluative mood adverbs in CP when they are adversative adverbs. Besides, the two adverbs in Taiwanese appear in affirmative declarative clauses.

In terms of their syntactic differences, first of all, adjectives after *hoán-tò-tńg* 反倒轉 'contrarily' usually need to be modified by degree adverbs, but adjectives after *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' does not. In addition, as for clause types, we can hardly find any example of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' appearing in negative declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses. We consider that *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' does not appear in these clauses, but *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily' does. The percentage of data collected for analysis can be used to explain why the syntactic limitations of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' are more numerous than those of *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily'. The percentage of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' is 22.96% (shown in Table 2), which is less than the 77.04% of *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily'. Because the occurrence of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' is much less, its various syntactic structures are not easy to find.

Table 2. Similar and different syntactic features between *hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily'

	syntactic features	*hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi)* 反倒轉來 'contrarily'	*tian-tò* 顛倒 'contrarily'
Similarities	appearing in the initial position of a clause	Yes	Yes
	preceding future modal *ē* 會 'will'	Yes	Yes
	preceding qualification adverbs	Yes	Yes
	evaluative mood adverb	Yes	Yes
	appearing in affirmative declarative clauses	Yes	Yes
Differences	directly preceding adjectives	need to be modified by degree adverbs	Yes
	appearing in negative declarative clauses	No	Yes
	appearing in interrogative clauses	No	Yes
	appearing in imperative clauses	No	Yes

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Similarities and Differences Between Heroes' Stories from Taiwan and Vietnam: A Perspective from The Dam San Epic and The Fight of Siraya

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Abstract

Taiwan and Vietnam's history is the process of struggling to preserve the national independence, territorial sovereignty and cultural identity. Therefore, subjects in literature often indicate the heroes, the resistances against foreign enemies and conspiracy to Hanization of Vietnam. From folklore to medieval and modern literature, the themes of national identity and independence are always mentioned strongly in literary writing both in Vietnam and Taiwan. However, folklore of Taiwan and Vietnam has been destroyed and lost quite heavily, especially the heritage related to the epic and legend written about the heroes fighting invaders because of many reasons of the history, particularly the long-term domination of Han people. On the other hand, folklore of ethnic minorities in Taiwan and Vietnam has been sufficiently preserved regarding the heritage of epic and stories about heroes. The article is to study the story of Siraya hero in the Fight of Siraya (Siraya's ethnic group) in Taiwan and Dam Sam Epic (Ede ethnic group) in Vietnam in terms of contents, ideas, genres and poetics. As the result, similarities and differences involving in the nation of these two works are clarified. From these two works, we are able to better study the nationality of Taiwan and Vietnam, the way of resisting foreign invaders as well as the approach of preserving traditional culture.

Keywords: nationality, epic, puppet, Siraya, Ede

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Ùi *Đam San Sú-si* kap *Koat-chiàn Siraya* Khòaⁿ Tâi-oân hām Oa̍t-lâm Eng-hiông Kờ-sū ê Sio-siāng kap Bô-kâng

Phoaⁿ Chùn-eng, N̂g Bûn-hián
Oa̍t-lâm Sūn-hòa Tāi-ha̍k Kho-ha̍k Tāi-ha̍k
Hoan-e̍k:Chhoà Sī Chheng-chhúi & Lîm Bí-soat

Tiah-iàu

Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm ê le̍k-sú sī tit-tit ūi tio̍h beh kờ léng-thó chú-koân, bîn-cho̍k to̍k-li̍p kap pó-hō͘ bûn-hòa jīn-tông ê chiàn-cheng le̍k-sú. M̄-chiah chiah-ê eng-hiông a̍h-sī hoán-khòng gōa-lâi chèng-koân, hùn-tōa Hàn-hòa ê im-bô͘ ê sio-chiàn tō chiâⁿ-chò bûn-ha̍k chú-iàu ê chú-tê. Ùi bîn-kan bûn-ha̍k kàu tiong-sè-kí bûn-ha̍k koh kàu hiān-tāi bûn-ha̍k, Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm ê bûn-ha̍k chhòng-chok, tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ kā to̍k-li̍p, jīn-tông hām bîn-cho̍k ê būn-tê te̍k-pia̍t tiám--chhut-lâi. Hoān-sè sī kú-tn̂g ê le̍k-sú, a̍h-sī Hàn-jîn thóng-tī kú lâu--lo̍h-lâi ê sái-bóe éng-hióng--tio̍h ê in-toaⁿ, Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm to-sờ ê bîn-kan kờ-sū bûn-ha̍k lóng hông sńg-tn̄g, phah-bô--khì, te̍k-pia̍t sī kap hoán chhim-lio̍k ê eng-hiông sú-si, thoân-soat ê ûi-sán ū koan-hē--ê. Chóng--sī, Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm ê chió-sờ bîn-cho̍k ê bîn-kan kờ-sū bûn-ha̍k lāi-té, chiah-ê eng-hiông sú-si ê ûi-sán iáu pó-liû kah put-lí-á oân-chéng. Pún-bûn chú-iàu gián-kiù Tâi-oân Siraya cho̍k ê *Koat-chiàn Siraya* hām Oa̍t-lâm Êđê cho̍k ê *Đam San Sú-si*, chit nn̄g phō chok-phín lāi-té ê lōe-iông, su-sióng, chéng-lūi kap chhòng-chok ki-khá chia--ê. Lán ǹg-bāng ē-tàng ùi chit nn̄g phō chok-phín koan-hē bîn-cho̍k-sèng ê pō͘-hūn, in tó-ūi sio-kâng, tó-ūi bô-kâng kā pun--chhut-lâi, mā ē-tàng koh khah liáu-kái lâi gián-kiù Oa̍t-lâm kap Tâi-oân ê bîn-cho̍k-sèng, án-chóaⁿ tùi-khòng gōa-lâi ê sè-le̍k hām thoân-thóng bûn-hòa ê pó-chūn.

Koan-kiān-sû: bîn-cho̍k-sèng, sú-si, pò͘-tē-hì, Siraya, Êđê

1. Tah̍-ōe-thâu

M̄-koán sī tiōng-sè-kí le̍k-sú ah̍-sī hiān-tāi le̍k-sú, Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm ê le̍k-sú ūn-miā lóng chiâⁿ kâng, he tō-sī bîn-cho̍k jīn-tông kap pó-hō͘ léng-thó ê kiàn-kò kòe-têng, leh tùi-khòng pak-hong tāi-lio̍k hong-kiàn sî-tāi ê thóng-tī, hùn-khoah ê im-bô hit-chūn, tit-tit hông thiau-chiàn, mô-chhat kap bôa-liān--ê. Nn̄g ê kok-ka lóng sī hông si̍t-bîn, chhim-lio̍k chiâⁿ kú, ah lâu--lo̍h-lâi ê sái-bóe kàu taⁿ iáu tī--leh ê siū-hāi-chiá, chún chiok kut-la̍t beh kā cháu-lī mā lī bē lī. Bó chi̍t hong-bīn lâi kóng, Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm ê le̍k-sú tō-sī chiàn-cheng ê le̍k-sú, hoán chhim-lio̍k ê chiàn-cheng, tī kāng chi̍t ê léng-thó in kok cho̍k-kûn ê chiàn-cheng (lāi-chiàn). Che tī Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm ê bûn-ha̍k lāi-té lóng khòaⁿ kah chiâⁿ bêng, ē-tàng kiàn-chèng chin chē hām chiàn-cheng ū koan-hē kap ū kiông-lia̍t bîn-cho̍k-sèng ê chhòng-chok. Só͘-pái, nn̄g kok ê bîn-cho̍k bûn-ha̍k le̍k-sú lāi-té, siá kah eng-hiông iú-koan ê chok-phín ū chin tāi-châi, sîn-sèng ê tē-ūi.

Tō-sī ū téng-koân kóng ê te̍k-teng, goán tō ùi pí-kàu bûn-ha̍k ê kak-tō͘ kéng ū bîn-cho̍k-sèng ê sio-siāng kap bô-kâng ê só͘-chāi, lâi hun-sek Tâi-oân Siraya cho̍k hām Oa̍t-lâm Êđê cho̍k ê bîn-cho̍k jīn-tông m̄-nā sī pó-chûn ê būn-tê niâ, mā koh ū tī tong-kim chèng-tī ê kok ì-gī chân-bīn.

Kun-kù chin chē le̍k-sú chu-liāu, Tâi-oân bat hō͘ Hàn-jîn chhim-lio̍k chiâⁿ chē pái, lī chit-má siōng chá--ê sī Chiúⁿ Kài-chio̍h ê Kok-bîn-tóng tô-bông lâi Tâi-oân ê sū-kiāⁿ liáu-āu. Kap Tâi-oân ê goân-chū-bîn cho̍k-kûn pí--khí-lâi, Hàn-jîn sī chi̍t ê ū si̍t-bîn sèng-chit ê î-bîn cho̍k-kûn. Chha-put-to chit-má Oa̍t-lâm ê léng-thó, Kiaⁿ cho̍k mā-sī î-bîn lâi ê cho̍k-kûn, sòa-chiap sī pau-hâm chiàn-cheng kap chèng-tī khai-thok, hùn-tōa léng-thó, pêng-tēng kap thóng-it ê kòe-thêng. Kiaⁿ cho̍k ah̍-sī kiò-chò Oa̍t-lâm-lâng sī ùi tiong-sè-kí Pak-kî ê Âng-hô-saⁿ-kak-chiu khí-goân--ê. Koh khah chá--kóa, Oa̍t-lâm-lâng sī sio̍k tī Tiong-hôa lâm-pō͘ kàu chit-má Oa̍t-lâm pak-pō͘ ê só͘-chāi leh khiā-khí ê Pah-oa̍t-cho̍k ê chi̍t cho̍k. Tiong-kî, Lâm-kî kap Se-goân choân-pō͘ só͘-chāi lóng m̄-sī Oa̍t-lâm-lâng (Kiaⁿ cho̍k) chū-té tòa ê tē-pôaⁿ. Thàu-kòe kú-tn̂g kap Hàn-jîn kau-liû, bō͘-e̍k, pau-hâm thàu-lām ê kòe-thêng, hiān-chhú-sî ê Kiaⁿ cho̍k, sui-bóng in ê to̍k-lip ì-sek kap jīn-tông-kám chiâⁿ kiông, m̄-koh chioh gōa-lâi ê bûn-hòa chiâⁿ bêng-hián, bô hoat-tō͘ hùi-tû. Khêng-si̍t sī Oa̍t-lâm-lâng (Kiaⁿ cho̍k) ê sú-si, eng-hiông-koa kap sîn-ōe chia ê hē-thóng,

nā m̄-sī sòa^{n}-iā-iā, bô tō-sī chha-put-to beh bô ah. Ū kóa sîn-ōe kò-sū sī chhiong-boán ùi Hàn-jîn chioh--lâi ê goân-sò, chhiū^{n} Lú-o pó-thi^{n} chit ê kò-sū. Só-pái, Oa̍t-lâm Êđê cho̍k ê *Đam San Sú-si*, tī Oa̍t-lâm eng-hiông sú-si lāi-bīn sī chiâ^{n} hán-tit khòa^{n} ê chok-phín ê chi̍t-ê, iōng chāi-tē-lâng su-siá lâi te̍k-pia̍t têng-hiān Oa̍t-lâm ê le̍k-sú bûn-hòa te̍k-teng kap bîn-cho̍k ì-sek.

Nā beh koh khah siông-sè lâi liáu-kái chit nn̄g phō chok-phín, lán tùi Êđê kap Siraya chit nn̄g cho̍k ài ū chong-ha̍p ê koan-tiám.

2. Êđê cho̍k kap Siraya cho̍k in sio-siāng kap bô-kâng ê só-chāi

Siraya lâng sī Tâi-oân chió-sò bîn-cho̍k ê chi̍t-cho̍k. In chú-iàu tòa Tâi-lâm chit ê só-chāi. In kóng--ê sī Tâi-oân pún-thó ê gí-giân, m̄-sī Hàn-jîn î-bîn lâi ê Tiong-kok phó-thong-ōe. Sui-bóng *Koat-chiàn Siraya* sī pò-tē-hì ê kio̍k-pún, m̄-koh chú-kak, gí-giân kap bûn-hòa lóng sio̍k Tâi-oân bûn-hòa ê jīn-tông. Kun-kù Chiú^{n} Ûi-bûn kàu-siū ê khòa^{n}-hoat, chit ê būn-tê tī tong-kim ū chiâ^{n} iàu-kín ê ì-gī, m̄-nā sī kóng, "Gí-giân sī su-ûi tit-chiap ê sò-chāi", koh ū bîn-cho̍k chú-gī cheng-sîn ê in-toa^{n}. "Sui-bóng ùi 1945 nî kàu ta^{n}, chiàm Tâi-oân liáu-āu, Chiú^{n} Kài-chio̍h ê kun-tūi í-keng pek Tâi-oân jîn-bîn kóng Tiong-kok-ōe, m̄-koh tùi chin chē Tâi-oân-lâng lâi kóng, Tâi-oân-ōe iáu sī siōng chin-chhiat ê gí-giân." Che kap Oa̍t-lâm-lâng ài khòa^{n} chúi-siōng ang-á-hì, a̍h-sī kah-ì thia^{n} Koan-hō (Quan Họ) ê chêng-hêng chiâ^{n} sêng...(Tran 2018:8). Chiú^{n} kàu-siū te̍k-pia̍t kiông-tiāu "Tâi-oân-ōe kap Tiong-kok-ōe chū-té tio̍h sī nn̄g ê bô-kâng ê gí-giân, ē-sái kóng in ê koan-hē tō chhiū^{n} Oa̍t-lâm-ōe hām Tiong-kok-ōe ê koan-hē." (Tran 2018:8) Kéng chió-sò bîn-cho̍k koh iōng pún-thó gí-giân su-siá ê chok-phín, tú-hó sī goán teh chhōe Tang-a bîn-cho̍k-sèng ê kòe-thêng ê iōng-ì, i ê ì-gī sī leh le̍k-sú-te̍k ū chiâ^{n} phó-phiàn ê Hàn-hòa sia^{n}-sè hêng-tōng lāi-té, tùi-khòng Tiong-goân bûn-hòa tiong-sim ê phah-pià^{n}. Àn Tē^{n} Pang-tìn kàu-siū ê kóng-hoat, Tâi-oân iáu ū chi̍t ê hō̍ Siraya cho̍k chià^{n}-miâ kap kó-bú ho̍k-heng chit cho̍k ê pún-thó (chió-sò) gí-giân ê ūn-tōng. Chit ê bûn-hòa ho̍k-heng ê kòe-thêng mā kap Chhòa Eng-bûn chèng-hú tùi gōa ê sin-lâm-hiòng chèng-chhek, ū kiōng-tông ê bo̍k-te̍k, tō-sī phah-pià^{n} beh kā Tâi-oân kap Tiong-hôa tāi-lio̍k pun hō̍ khui.

Kun-kù sú-ha̍k-ka tī keng-sin-sè boa̍t-kî hit kha-tau, Tâi-oân-tó iáu sī kap kî-tha tāi-lio̍k liâm chò-hóe. M̄-koh, liōng-kî-iok chi̍t-bān nî chêng, hái-pê^{n}-bīn chhèng-koân soah hō͘ Tâi-oân kap tāi-lio̍k hun-khui. Tâi-oân pún-tē ta̍k cho̍k ê lâng, pau-hâm Siraya cho̍k lóng sī liōng-kî-iok peh-chheng nî chêng ùi lio̍k-tē chhian-sóa lâi ê cho̍k-kûn ê goân-chū-bîn, in sú-iōng Lâm-tó-gí-hē (Austronesian) ê gí-giân. Sui-bóng chit-má Tâi-oân ê Hàn-jîn chiàm to-sò͘, m̄-koh, in kî-si̍t sī 18 sè-kí Phê^{n}-ō͘ sî-kî chiâ^{n} chió-sò͘--ê chiah î-bîn lâi Tâi-oân. Tâi-oân ê goân-chū-bîn, sui-bóng chiah chiàm chit-má ê jîn-kháu chha-put-to 2% niâ, m̄-koh, in sú-iōng Malay-Polynesia gí-hē, sńg sī Lâm-tó-gí-hē lāi-té ê chi̍t ê gí-hē, chiah hông khòa^{n} chò sī chit lia̍p bí-lē tó-sū chin-chià^{n} ê chú-lâng. Le̍k-sú-te̍k, Hàn-jîn chiàm Tâi-oân ū chiâ^{n} kú ê le̍k-sú, ùi Goân-tiâu tio̍h kā Phê^{n}-ō͘ siat chò Tiong-kok tāi-lio̍k tùi Tâi-oân thâu chi̍t ê khòng-chè ê ki-kò͘, it-ti̍t kàu Bêng-tiâu, Chheng-tiâu kap chú-tiu^{n} “hoán Chheng ho̍k Bêng” hiah ê lâng lóng chīn pià^{n}-sè beh kiàn-li̍p Tiong-kok tāi-lio̍k tùi Tâi-oân thóng-tī ê chè-tō͘. Só͘-pái, chi̍t-kóa hong-kiàn sî-tāi tō î-bîn lâi Tâi-oân ê Hàn-jîn, a̍h-sī kòa Chiú^{n} Kài-chio̍h chèng-koân chāi-lāi, tùi Tiong-kok Hàn-jîn ê siû-hūn, thó-ià kap tùi-li̍p mā piáu-bêng liáu chiâ^{n} chheng-chhó. Î-bîn lâi Tâi-oân ê Hàn-jîn, sui-bóng in “í Hàn ûi Tiong” ê sim-thài iáu koh leh tak-tî^{n}, m̄-koh in í-keng tô-thoat kàu pi^{n}-á, lī-khui tiong-sim ê sim-thài mā chiâ^{n} bêng-hián--ê. Chū-jiân-tek, Siraya lâng kap î-bîn lâi ê Hàn-jîn, in chhím-thâu tùi-li p ê koan-hē, í-keng chiâ^{n}-chò ū hái-iû^{n} cheng-sîn ê Tâi-oân-lâng, kap ū tāi-lio̍k Tiong-goân cheng-sîn ê tāi-lio̍k Hàn-jîn ê koan-hē. Ē-sái kóng, *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té, Siraya lâng kap o͘-àm, ok-mô͘, kok-chè chhiu^{n}-toa̍t sè-le̍k ê chiàn-cheng, sī Tâi-oân lím-kî^{n} kap Tiong-hôa tiong-sim ho̍k-cha̍p, to hong-bīn chiàn-cheng ê chi̍t bīn kià^{n}.

Êđê lâng sī Oa̍t-lâm chi̍t ê chió-sò͘ ê bîn-cho̍k, soah sī siōng béng-ióng--ê, chiàm Oa̍t-lâm Se-goân kui phiàn pûi koh jîn-kháu ba̍t ê thó͘-tē. Êđê lâng kóng Lâm-tó-gí, hām Chăm Pa (Champa) gí chiâ^{n} kâng. In chhiū^{n} Tâi-oân ê Siraya lâng kāng-khoán, sio̍k Malay-Polynesia gí-hē bûn-bêng ê cho̍k-kûn. Tong-jiân, in mā chhiū^{n} Siraya lâng sio-kâng hông lia̍t jip-khì sú-iōng Lâm-tó gí-hē ê cho̍k-kûn. Kap chū-té tòa thoân-thóng hái-iû^{n} tē-hêng ê Siraya lâng pí, sui-bóng chit nn̄g ê cho̍k-kûn lī chiâ^{n} hn̄g, bô bûn-hòa chiap-chhiok ê ki-hōe, m̄-koh gí-giân, lâng-chéng ûi-thoân hong-bīn ū chiâ^{n} chē sio-

kâng ê sớ-chāi. Kun-kù chhut-miâ bîn-chǒk-hák gián-kiù ê Anna de Hautecloque-Howe siá ê Êđê lâng—Chı̍t ê Bó-koân Siā-hōe (Người Êđê – Một xã hội mẫu quyền), Êđê lâng sī lék-sú-ték ūi-tiǒh siám in lāi-pō̍ ah-sī kî-tha chǒk-kûn, mài hō̍ in liáh--tiǒh, soah ài tı̍t-tit chhian-sóa ê chǒk-kûn. Liōng-kî-iok tī 19 sè-kí tiong-kî, in í-keng sóa kah lī hái lú lâi lú hn̄g, kàu koh khah koân ê liǒk-tē, koh khah gûi-hiám ê soaⁿ-nâ ah. Êđê lâng hām Chăm Pa lâng sui-bóng seng-oáh kah ū chin bı̍t-chhiat ê kau-liû, hō̍-siong hō̍ bûn-hòa éng-hióng--tiǒh-ê mā chiâⁿ bêng, chóng--sī, án-ne ê koan-hē mā sī kā tùi-hong tòng-chò éng-oán lóng sī oan-siû-lâng. Chăm Pa lâng kap Êđê lâng, in ū chı̍t ê chiâⁿ hǒk-cha̍p ê koan-hē. In tī bō-e̍k kap keng-chè chit-pêng sī siōng iàu-kín ê tâng-phōaⁿ, m̄-koh lék-sú-ték, lék-tāi koh sī ték-jîn. Kî-tha bô-kâng gián-kiù ê chu-liāu, kā Êđê lâng liát chò sú-iōng Chiàm-pô-gí ê chǒk-kûn, che sī ū kho-hák kun-kù--ê, tō-sī in ū chin chē sio-kâng ê sớ-chāi. Che kap Siraya lâng hām Hàn-jîn in ê koan-hē chiâⁿ sêng. Êđê chit ê miâ tō chhut chāi Chăm Pa lâng ê thǒk-im. Ū lâng kóng, Êđê lâng kap kó-chá ê Jorai lâng lóng siǒk Chăm Pa chǒk, tō-sī hō̍ Goân kun, Java kun (Inodenesia) kúi-nā pái kā in kong-kek, koh Oa̍t-lâm lâng ūi-tiǒh beh hùn-tōa in ê tē-kài khì lâm-chìn ê sū-giap, m̄-chiah in ta̍uh-ta̍uh-á sóa khì Se-goân ko-goân hia pī-lān. Chū-án-ne, in khí-chō ka-kī ê bûn-hòa, sui-bóng ū leh óng-lâi, chóng--sī mā tı̍t-tit kap tòa iân-hái pêⁿ-iûⁿ ê Chăm Pa bûn-hòa leh tùi-khòng.

Êđê lâng kap Siraya lâng lóng ū chı̍t ê ki-pún bûn-hòa sio-kâng ê sớ-chāi, che tùi seng-oáh-ték áh-sī bûn-hák chhòng-chok bīn-téng ū chin tōa ê éng-hióng, he tō-sī in kàu taⁿ iáu î-chhî bú-hē chè-tō ê siā-hōe. Che tō kap Hàn-jîn hām Kiaⁿ chǒk ê bûn-hòa lóng bô-kâng. Sớ-pái, lú-sèng ê kak-sek tī in ê siā-hōe tiǒh chiâⁿ iàu-kín ah.

Kui-ê lâi kóng, tī chong-kàu sìn-gióng-ték, Êđê lâng kap Siraya lâng lóng ū kóa chin kî-biāu sio-kâng ê sớ-chāi. Chit nn̄g chǒk ê lâng lóng bô chun-thàn jīm-hô ê it-sîn-kàu, soah ū bān-mı̍h kai iú lêng ê koan-liām (hoān lêng sìn-gióng). In ài chū-iû, ài tī khòng-iá ê tāi-chū-jiân seng-oáh. In ê jîn-bu̍t, ték-piát sī lú-sèng jîn-bu̍t, tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ tī chiàn-cheng--nı̍h chiok béng-ióng, tī ài-chêng--nı̍h chiâⁿ chú-tōng. Lú-sèng iau-kiû lâm-sèng ài hō̍ in chio, lú-sèng ē kā lâm-sèng kiû-hun, lú-hong hū-chek hun-lé ê sớ-hùi. Che tī *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-té, lán ē-sái khòaⁿ kah chiâⁿ bêng. Êđê kap Siraya ê siā-hōe--nı̍h, ang-î sī chiâⁿ iàu-kín ê kak-sek. Hū-jîn-lâng sī chhù-lāi ê chú-lâng, in ū ke-hóe, hun-

in chú-tōng, sīm-chì khéng chhut-bīn kóng tiâu-kiāⁿ, bé-bē, kā cha-po͘-lâng bé--tn̂g-lâi. Chit-má Êđê chȯk iû-goân sī chng-thâu ê kiat-kò͘, khêng-sit lóng sī sī-chȯk. Êđê chȯk lāi-té, hó-giȧh-sàn pun kah chiâⁿ bêng.

Chit nn̄g chȯk ê lâng siōng bêng-hián ê chha-piȧt sī in tòa ê khong-kan. Chit chȯk tòa tāi-chū-jiân ê hái-tó, tē-lí khong-kan khah e̍h, m̄-koh kap gōa-kháu ê sè-kài ū chiap-chhiok, bō͘-e̍k ê ki-hōe. Lēng-gōa chit chȯk tian-tò sī tòa khòng-khoah ê soaⁿ-nâ, chóng--sī hông ko͘-li̍p--khí-lâi. Sui-bóng in lóng sóa n̂g ko-goân khì, m̄-koh chiâⁿ bêng-hián, Siraya lâng ū koh khah chē ê ki-hōe ē-tàng kap pȧt chȯk ê lâng chiap-chhiok, chhin-kūn hái-iûⁿ bûn-hòa. Án-ne, in ê keng-chè, bō͘-e̍k, gí-giân kap bûn-hòa chia--ê tō ū pau-iông-sèng kap chiap-hȧp-sèng. Tian-tò Êđê lâng khah pó-siú, in ê bûn-hòa mā khah ko͘-tȧk. In chha-put-to lóng kap Se-goân ko-soaⁿ chhiūⁿ Jorai lâng, Mnong lâng kap Bih lâng chia ê chió-sò bîn-chȯk kau-pôe. Chiah-ê chȯk-jîn ê kin-goân pún-té chiâⁿ óa Êđê lâng, in ê keng-chè, bûn-hòa kap su-sióng ê thêng-tō͘ mā chiâⁿ sio-siāng.

3. Siraya lâng kap Êđê lâng ê Eng-hiông-toān

Êđê hām Siraya chit nn̄g chȯk ê lâng, in ê bîn-sio̍k bûn-hòa seng-oȧh lóng chin phong-phài, tō-sī Hàn-hòa bûn-bêng tī in ê sin-khu téng iáu-bōe chò hō͘, ȧh-sī kóng tùi chó͘-sian kú-tn̂g ê kó͘-chá kì-tî iáu bô kā hú-tiāu, siau-bia̍t--khì ê in-toaⁿ. Tī iâu-oán, hiám-ok ê tē-hêng, chhiūⁿ ko-goân, tó-sū ȧh-sī chhiū-nâ, chit khoán ko͘-tȧk kap hun-koah chhut--lâi ê chêng-hêng, nā ùi tùi-gōa, keng-chè, bō͘-e̍k chia--ê kóng--lâi sī chit-khoán chó͘-gāi, m̄-koh tī bîn-chȯk-hȧk, bûn-hòa-hȧk kap bîn-kan-bûn-hȧk chia--ê soah sī chiâⁿ hó kā chiú-tiâu ê tiâu-kiāⁿ. Nā kā in kap Oȧt-lâm Kiaⁿ chȯk ê bîn-kan-bûn-hȧk lâi pí tō chiâⁿ hó liáu-kái ah. Oȧt-lâm-lâng tī ka-kī kúi chheng nî ê le̍k-sú lāi-bīn, mā ū chit ê kap pȧt chȯk chhiūⁿ Chăm Pa lâng, Khmer lâng, Lào lâng kap Xiêm (Thái Lan) lâng , te̍k-pia̍t sī in kap Hàn-jîn it-tit kian-chhî, chhi-chhám, choa̍t-tùi bô beh thò-hia̍p ê chiàn-tàu ê le̍k-sú. Che iáu bô kā hit-chūn Oȧt-lâm-lâng kap Ji̍t-pún-lâng, Tiâu-sián-lâng, se-hng ê pe̍h-lâng (Bí-kok, Hoat-kok) sio-chiàn sn̂g chai-lāi. M̄-koh, lán thang khòaⁿ kóng, Oȧt-lâm-lâng ê sú-si kap eng-hiông-koa kòa sîn-ōe ê hē-thóng í-keng hông ut-sí bē-chió--khì ah, sīm-chì bô--khì. Oȧt-lâm-lâng ê sîn-ōe kò͘-sū ū chin chē kap Hàn-jîn--ê sio-kâng. Che

sī Âng-hô-saⁿ-kak-chiu tòa lâng ê sớ-chāi lī Hàn bûn-hòa tiong-sim siuⁿ kīn, koh chih-chài pak-siok chit chheng nî ê in-toaⁿ, tì-sú thàu-lām koh hām Hàn-jîn ê bûn-hòa lo̍h-láu liáu chiâⁿ thàu, m̄-chiah Oa̍t-lâm-lâng bô hoat-tō kā ka-kī ê sú-si, eng-hiông-koa ê ûi-sán pó-chûn kah cha̍p-chn̂g. Chit-má Oa̍t-lâm ê bîn-kan bûn-ha̍k pó-khò lāi-bīn, bîn-kan sū-sū ê chéng-lūi, Oa̍t-lâm Kiaⁿ cho̍k kan-na tī thoân-soat a̍h-sī kò͘-sū khah ū châi-tiāu, chia--ê sī khah òaⁿ chhut-hiān ê chéng-lūi (Oa̍t-lâm-lâng í-keng kā to̍k-li̍p ùi Hàn-jîn ê chhiú-tiong chhiúⁿ--tn̂g-lâi ê sî-kî). Ah tī ta̍k cho̍k ê bûn-hòa lāi-té siōng thâu koh khah chá chhut-hiān ê bîn-kan sū-sū chéng-lūi, chhiūⁿ sîn-ōe kap sú-si, Se-goân-cho̍k (chhiūⁿ Mnong, Khinh Dú, H điêu, Ba na, Chăm...) tō khah ū iâⁿ-bīn.

Chit khoán chêng-hêng chāi Êđê lâng lâi kóng khah bô-kâng. Chún-kóng chit-má Êđê lâng kap Kiaⁿ-jîn lóng sī hiaⁿ-tī, kāng chi̍t ê to-bîn-cho̍k ê chó-kok, Êđê lâng kap hām i khah chhin ê cho̍k-jîn (Chăm lâng, Bana lâng, Xơ đăng lâng), lóng ū kóng Khan chit khoán ê gē-su̍t lūi-hêng. Kóng Khan tō sī tîn-su̍t bó chi̍t ê kò͘-sū, hoān-sè sī ji̍t-siông seng-oa̍h ê kò͘-sū. Àn Ńg Iú-thàu (Nguyễn Hữu Thấu), Êđê lâng ê Khan sī" sú-iōng ah-ūn gí-sû ê chong-ha̍p bîn-kan sū-sū pau-hâm lāi-iông kap piáu-ián hong-sek ê chéng-lūi" (Trung 1998:318). Khan piáu-ián ê sî-kan tī cheh-ji̍t, biō-hōe kap hun-iàn chia--ê, siâng-sî tī tek-ko-chhù (Nhà rông)/tn̂g-ok (Nhà dài) chìn-hêng, che sī Se-goân ta̍k cho̍k ê lâng chò-hóe oa̍h-tāng ê sớ-chāi. Àn Sơ Gio̍k-chheng (Tô Ngọc Thanh) ê kóng-hoat, piáu-ián Khan ê lâng sī bîn-kan ê gē-jîn, in ē-tàng ná kóng-ko͘ ná tó--leh, chē--leh, chhiùⁿ-koa a̍h-sī siâng-sî lāng ga̍k-khì. Khêng-si̍t, chi̍t ê Khan ē-tàng sio liân-sòa kóng kúi-nā àm, it-poaⁿ-te̍k sī bô leh tiám-hóe, hō͘ khì-hun koh khah sîn-pì, ò-biāu. Se-goân-lâng sìn kóng, tîn-su̍t Khan ê sî-kan kap khong-kan sī chiok sîn-sèng--ê, sio̍k tī sim-lêng ê in-sò͘, bē-tàng chiò tio̍h kng. Nā ū kng, hiah ê eng-hiông ê lêng-hûn tō bô thang tn̂g--lâi, bô hoat-tō chiūⁿ kóng Khan ê lâng ê sin. Chit-khoán tîn-su̍t Khan sú-si--ê sī chi̍t-khoán kap chó-sian, sîn-lêng kau-liû, ū sîn-sèng ê chong-kàu-sèng. I ê hêng-sek ū tiô-tâng ê sèng-chit, kap Kiaⁿ-cho̍k a̍h-sī Chăm lâng ê Salman kàu ê oa̍h-tāng kāng-khoán.

Khêng-si̍t, *Đam San Sú-si* sī leh kóng chi̍t ê kāng-miâ ê eng-hiông Đam San ê Khan, tī chin chē cho̍k ê bîn-kan kò͘-sū pōe-kéng lāi-bīn chhut-hiān, lāi-té ū Chăm lâng. Êđê lâng ê *Đam San Sú-si* tîn-su̍t lāi-bīn ū chin chē bûn-hòa sè-chiat iáu koh pó-liû khah

chhim-khek ê Chăm bûn-hòa ê ìn-kì, chhiūⁿ kóng tē-miâ, miâ-chheng kap bûn-hôa chia--ê. M̄-koh, *Đam San Sú-si* mā ū chin chē ka-kī ê bûn-hôa tėk-sek, hoán-èng Êđê lâng ê hong-siȯk sip-koàn, chhiūⁿ seng-sán, hun-in, tāi-chū-jiân kap lông-giȧp chia--ê. Êđê lâng ê bîn-kan bûn-hòa lāi-té ê Đam San sī leh kóng chit ê lí-sióng eng-hiông ê seng-oȧh kap ūn-miā ê Khan. Khêng-sit, beh kā Đam San liȧt chò sú-si ȧh-sī eng-hiông-koa bô kan-tan, sī tȧk chȯk ê bûn-hôa sit-chiān, hām se-hng-lâng ê bîn-kan bûn-hȧk ê lūi-piȧt hêng-sek kap lūi-piȧt lí-lūn ê chha-ī ê in-toaⁿ. Đam San sī tîn-sut kap Đam San chit ê eng-hiông ū koan-hē ê bîn-kan kò-sū, i bô hoat-tō hȧh se-iûⁿ-lâng ê Iliat, Odysseus (Homer) sú-si ȧh-sī kó-chá ê Ìn-tō-lâng ê Ramayana ȧh-sī Mahabharata tȧk-hāng sím-bí ê goân-chek ȧh-sī chéng-lūi ê kui-hoān. Ngô Tek-sēng (Ngô Đức Thịnh) gián-kiù-chiá kā chit-kóa sú-si, chhiūⁿ Đam San Khan khòaⁿ chò sī kó-chá hit-chūn ê sú-si, tī tȧk ê pō-lȯk sī-chȯk ê chêng kai-kip, chêng chèng-hú ê siā-hōe hêng-thài chhut-hiān. Ah hit-kóa keng-tián ê sú-si, chhiūⁿ Iliat, Odysseus, Ramayana lóng sī kó-chá ê sú-si, tī í-keng ē-sái hêng-sêng kok-ka kap chèng-hú ê siā-hōe hêng-thài chhut-hiān. Tong-jiân kap Iliat, Odysseus ê sú-si pí--khí-lâi, *Đam San Sú-si* tī chheng nî, kúi chheng nî liáu-āu seⁿ--chhut-lâi (tāi-iok ùi 16 sè-kí kàu 17 sè-kí, tn̂g-tioh tȧk ê iân-hái kap pêⁿ-iûⁿ ê chȯk-jîn kā kong-kek ê tí-khòng), m̄-koh, tī siā-hōe kiat-kò ê thêng-tō, Đam San tō sn̂g sī khah kó-chá ê khoân-kéng. Siȯk-gí kóng, só-ū ê pí-kàu lóng sī bô chiâu-chn̂g, ngē-áu--ê, lán mā bô eng-kai thèh Ìn Au ê kó-chá bûn-bêng chiâⁿ-chò î-it ê phiau-chún lâi niû, phêng-kó Tang-lâm-a ê Êđê lâng in ê bîn-kan bûn-hòa. Tī chia, lán chiām-sî kā Khan tòng-chò sī Êđê lâng ū sú-si ȧh-sī eng-hiông sú-si sèng-chit ê chong-hȧp bîn-kan sū-sut ê hêng-sek ê chit-ê.

Gián-kiù-chiá Ngô Tek-sēng (Ngô Đức Thịnh) kā Đam San liȧt jip-khì siā-hōe siat-tì sú-si ê chéng-lūi (koan-hē eng-hiông jîn-bu̍t ê sú-si), kap lēng-gōa chit-khoán sī chhòng-sè ê sú-si. Chit nn̄g khoán sú-si lóng tī "Tn̂g-phiⁿ ūn-bûn lūi kháu-thoân" chit lūi (Trung 1998:52), Đam San sī tn̂g ū 2077 chōa, iōng ūn-bûn su-siá ê sú-si. It-poaⁿ-tėk, Se-goân tȧk-chȯk ê sú-si kòa Đam San chāi-lāi, thong-siông pun-chò chin chē tōaⁿ-lȯh kap sió-chiat, chhin-chhiūⁿ chiuⁿ ê ì-sù, tȧk tōaⁿ, tȧk sió-chiat kóng bô-kâng ê kò-sū, sū-kiāⁿ ȧh-sī jîn-bu̍t. Kun-kù Ngô Tek-sēng ê kóng-hoat, Se-goân eng-hiông sú-si ê gē-sut, it-poaⁿ-tėk ū "àm-jū kap tô-siōng chē ê piáu-tȧt hong-sek, phòng-hong ê siàng-thé." (Trung

1998:53) Lán lóng chai-iáⁿ, Oa̍t-lâm Se-goân siā-hōe chō-chiâⁿ ê sî-kan liōng-kî-iok tī 16 sè-kí, chit-chūn iáu-bōe ū kai-kip hām chi̍t-kóa kai-kip pak-siah ê hêng chhut--lâi, chit ê sî-kî, Se-goân siā-hōe iáu tiàm tī pō͘-lo̍k, sī-cho̍k niâ. Hō͘ kun-sū thâu-lâng (Mtao a̍h-sī Mơ tao) tòa-niá, chiah-ê pō͘-lo̍k hām sī-cho̍k ūi-tio̍h beh cheng-ka jîn-le̍k, bîn-chiòng kap ke-hóe chia--ê, tiāⁿ chò kun-tūi ê chhiong-tu̍t. *Đam San Sú-si* ê chêng-kéng kap lōe-iông tī chit khoán ê pōe-kéng têng-hiān chhut--lâi. Lán thang àn i ê lōe-iông (su-siá koan-hē eng-hiông jîn-bu̍t) kap si-hoat ê hêng-sek (iōng si-kù piáu-ta̍t sū-su̍t), kā Đam San liа̍t chò eng-hiông sú-si a̍h-sī eng-hiông-koa. Gián-kiù-chiá Bú Kong-jîn (Võ Quang Nhơn) ê khòaⁿ-hoat sī *Đam San Sú-si* bô sêng Sabatier ê koan-tiám, tī 17 sè-kí chhut--lâi, sī tī koh khah chá tāi-iok 12 sè-kí chhut-hiān. M̄-koh, chi̍t ê koan-tiám chiâⁿ bêng-hián sī ngē-áu--ê, bô ha̍h khó-kó-ha̍k kap le̍k-sú chu-liāu.

Kun-kù Ńg Iú-thàu (Nguyễn Hữu Thấu) ê kóng-hoat, leh siu-chip *Đam San Sú-si* ê kòe-thêng, í-keng chhōe tio̍h Khan ê sì ê pán-pún. M̄-koh, chit lāi-té ū nn̄g ê siōng thang sìn-jīm--ê sī 1934 nî Sabatier kap 1959 nî Tô Chú-chì (Đào Tử Chí) kong-pò ê pán-pún. Lēng-gōa nn̄g ê pán-pún mā sī chit nn̄g ê chok-chiá ê, tī bô-kâng ê sî-kan kong-pò, ū kóa só-chāi í-keng bô lâu Khan siōng kó-chá ê te̍k-teng. Ngô Tek-sēng jīn-ûi, Êđê lâng ê *Đam San Sú-si* thâu chi̍t pán tī 1927 nî kong-pò, lēng-gōa koh ū tòa Se-goân ê chió-sò bîn-cho̍k ê sú-si, liōng-kî-iok ū jī-cha̍p ê pán-pún.

Nā chù-ì tio̍h chió-sò bîn-cho̍k (goân-chū-bîn), it-poaⁿ-te̍k hō-chò Pêⁿ-po-cho̍k ê bîn-kan bûn-ha̍k ki-chhó, kòa Siraya lâng chāi-lāi, án-ne Tâi-oân chiū sī chi̍t ê ū kú-tn̂g bûn-ha̍k ê kok-ka. Goán iáu bô ki-hōe chhâ-khó Tâi-oân ê eng-hiông-koa sú-si, che mā sī bī-lâi goán ē lo̍h cheng-sîn khùi-la̍t khì liáu-kái kap gián-kiù ê khang-khòe. Só-pái, pún-bûn beh iōng lēng-gōa chi̍t khoán ê eng-hiông-koa — pò-tē-hì ê kio̍k-pún. Tio̍h sn̄g lán beh sêng-jīn in tī piáu-ián khong-kan kap si-hoat hêng-sek ū kóa chha-pia̍t, tī su-sióng, lōe-iông, sè-kài-koan kap jîn-seng-koan chia--ê, pò-tē-hì eng-hiông chú-tê ê hì-bûn a̍h-sī tāi-kong ū chin chē só-chāi kap *Đam San Sú-si* saⁿ kiat-liân. Tâi-oân bûn-hòa ê ki-chhó lāi-té, pò-tē-hì sī chi̍t ê ū kiông-li̍t bîn-cho̍k kiau-ngō͘ cheng-sîn kap pún-thó͘ ì-gī ê bûn-hòa siōng-teng. Tēⁿ Pang-tìn tī chit phinⁿ chiâⁿ siông-sè ê lūn-bûn Tâi-oân ê Eng-hiông, Chún-pī Chhiong-tīn lāi-té kóng tio̍h, 2006 nî Hêng-chèng-īⁿ Sin-bûn Thoân-pò-chhù pān chi̍t tiûⁿ teng-kiû Tâi-oân ê bûn-hòa siōng-teng ê kong-thiaⁿ-hōe

(choân-bîn kong-tâu), lō͘-bóe pò-tē-hì sī hông kéng--tio̍h siōng koân phiò--ê, i chhiau-kòe kî-tha mā chiâⁿ ū hūn-liōng ê tùi-chhiú, chhiūⁿ Gio̍k-san, lāu-jia̍t hiān-tāi ê Tâi-pak 101 tōa-lâu. Tâi-oân pò-tē-hì ê chú-tê chiâⁿ to-iūⁿ, oa̍h lin-lin, m̄-koh chiàm siōng chú-iàu--ê iáu-sī eng-hiông-koa. Tēⁿ Pang-tìn jīn-ûi, chit ê chú-tê thê-chhéⁿ Tâi-oân-lâng tn̂g-kî kap Tiong-kok tāi-lio̍k ê khòng-cheng, kiàn-li̍p Tâi-oân-lâng ê chú-thé ū chō͘-chān, pī-bián “gōng-mà-mà, bē lí-kai, oai-chhoa̍h, piàn-khoán” ê sim-thài, chiâⁿ kú ah, “Tâi-oân í-keng hō͘ si̍t-bîn-chiá ê thóng-tī...chú-thé kè-ta̍t hām chú-thé ì-sek kàu taⁿ iáu chhiūⁿ chi̍t ê òe tio̍h PCBs to̍k-sèng ê seng-khu, bô hoat-tō͘ chhiūⁿ chèng-siông-lâng hoe-ho̍k ióng-kiāⁿ.” (Tran 2018:20-21)

Pò-tē-hì sī Tâi-oân-lâng hoán-khòng ì-sek ê piáu-hiān, chit lāi-té *Koat-chiàn Siraya* sī siōng ū tāi-piáu-sèng, siōng tián-hêng ê chok-phín lāi-té ê chi̍t-ê, i tu̍t-hián khòng-cheng, hoán-khòng ê cheng-sîn, ūi-tio̍h khéng-tēng bîn-cho̍k-sèng, thâu-khí-seng tō seng tùi lāi-pō͘ ê Kok-bîn-tóng (ùi Tiong-kok tāi-lio̍k lâi--ê). “Tùi Kok-bîn-tóng lâi kóng, Tâi-oân pún-té kan-na sī chi̍t chō pha-hng--khì ê tó-sū, Tâi-oân-lâng ài tông-chêng chit-khoán ê Tōa-sì-tāi, án-ne Tâi-oân chiah piàn-chò “khòng-khoah ê khe-hô”... tn̂g-kî tī kài-giâm sî-tāi hông khu-kìm, koh ū chiah-ê gō͘-kî-kā-ka̍p, hō͘ Tâi-oân thè-pō͘ kah sì-cha̍p gōa tang ah, Tâi-oân it-ti̍t ài jím-siū Kok-bîn-tóng.” (Tran 2018:22-23) M̄-koh, Tâi-oân chāi-tē--ê kap î-bîn lâi ê Hàn-jîn (chú-iàu sī Kok-bîn-tóng ê lâng), in ê chiàn-cheng ta̍uh-ta̍uh-á chiâⁿ-chò Tâi-oân kap Tiong-kok-tāi-lio̍k ê chiàn-cheng. Tâi-oân-lâng siūⁿ beh ài ū-la̍t, m̄-koán chó-sian ùi toh lâi--ê a̍h-sī toh chit ê cho̍k-kûn, tiāⁿ-tio̍h ài chin-chiàⁿ thoân-kiat, it-tì. Só͘-pái, chò-hóe tī Tâi-oân khiā-khí ê Hàn-jîn kap Tâi-oân-lâng ài chhiú khan chhiú, tàu-tīn hoán-khòng gōa-pang. Án-ne ê lōe-iông, tī *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té piáu-hiān kah siōng bêng ah, keng-kòe ūi-tio̍h kap chhiúⁿ-tō͘, mô-kúi hām ùi Au-chiu (Philip Toa lô) a̍h-sī Ji̍t-pún (Âm Dương Dã Gian tăng) lâi ê chhim-lio̍k-chiá, Siraya lâng ê eng-hiông chhiūⁿ Tông Bō͘-hûn, Tông Bō͘-niá í-keng kap Hàn-jîn ê eng-hiông chhiūⁿ Tiō Ngá-êng, Koan Chê-bûn chò-hóe chiàn-tàu ê sū-kiāⁿ.

Pò-tē-hì sī Tâi-oân siōng chiūⁿ-kioh ê bîn-kan gē-su̍t. Kun-kù ha̍k-chiá in ê kái-soeh sī,“Pò-tē-hì thài-ē hō͘ lâng hiah ài? Chin kán-tan, he sī bô jīm-hô Kok-bîn-tóng ê iáⁿ-jiah tī hit lāi-té.” (Tran 2018:24) Hiān-chhú-sî ê pò-tē-hì kiâⁿ n̂g hiān-tāi, kiat-ha̍p im-ga̍k, bú-tō kap hiān-tāi chèng-tī su-sióng khì hoat-tián. Pian-kio̍k-ka, chhut-miâ ê chok-

ka mā khò thoân-thóng pò-tē-hì gē-sut chhòng-chok sin ê chok-phín. *Koat-chiàn Siiraya* sī si-jîn Tân Kiàn-sêng siá kiok-pún, im-gak-ka Chiā Bêng-iū chok-khek kiam chú-chhiùⁿ, gē-jîn Ông Gē-bêng poaⁿ pò-tē-hì, Lâm-khu Bûn-hòa Tiong-sim Tiuⁿ Iàn-jû chí-tō kap Lū Oat-hiông (Lù Việt Hùng) hū-chek hoan-ek chò Oat-lâm-gí pán ê chok-phín. Leh heng-hok chit khoán ū Tâi-oân chin-sit ê tek-sek kap jīn-tông ê gē-sut ê kòe-thêng, thang poaⁿ chit chhut pò-tē-hì sī Tâi-lâm Chhī-chèng-hú ê phah-piàⁿ koh ū Kok-lip Tâi-oân Bûn-hak-koán ê chàn-chō. Chit khoán chip-thé piáu-ián ê hêng-sek, tioh sǹg tī hiān-tāi sî-kî, iû-goân kap Êđê lâng ê Khan ê hêng-sek ū chin chē ki-pún-tek sio-kâng ê só-chāi. Chiū-sī chit ê tong-kim ê gē-jîn iōng i í-keng léng-gō koh khòaⁿ kòe tak khoán bô-kâng ê pán-pún ê hêng-sek, koh poaⁿ chit ê chok-jîn in chin iâu-oán ê kì-tî ê kò-sū. Tēⁿ Pang-tìn khéng-tēng kóng, "Góa jīn-ûi, tùi pò-tē-hì ê gē-sut, m̄-koán i sī án-chóaⁿ poaⁿ, hì-chhut lōe-iông án-chóaⁿ, pò-tē-hì hō̤ koan-chiòng ê gē-sut khì-hun, hō̤ i chiâⁿ chò chit khoán hong-hù pún-thó bûn-hòa jīn-tông ê piáu-ián hêng-sek...pò-tē-hì ê kiok-pún it-poaⁿ-tek sī chit-kóa kó-tián, ián-gī kò-sū kap bú-kiap sió-soat chia--ê, m̄-chiah i ê kak-sek lóng kāng-khoán." (Tran 2018:25)

Só-pái, sui-bóng pò-tē-hì *Koat-chiàn Siraya* ê chéng-lūi kap *Đam San Sú-si* bô-kâng, m̄-koh *Koat-chiàn Siraya* mā sī hiān-tāi chok-phín, ū chok-chiá, chāi-tē bûn-hòa ê kun-thâu kap koan-hē eng-hiông su-sióng chia--ê kāng-khoán ê só-chāi. Chit chhut pò-tē-hì sī kun-kù Tâi-oân Eng-hiông-toān chit phō siá--ê, hông chhòng-chok kap chip-thé ê piáu-ián, án-ne bó̤ hong-bīn lâi kóng, mā sǹg sī chin chiàⁿ ê bîn-kan bûn-hòa ê chok-phín. Tâi-oân pò-tē-hì gē-sut ê seⁿ-chiâⁿ kap *Đam San Sú-si* kiông-beh sī kāng chit ê sî-kan, tō sī 17 sè-kí hit-chūn. Goán koh thê-chhéⁿ chit nn̄g phō chok-phín in kāng-khoán--ê sī in piáu-ián ê hong-sek. Chit nn̄g phō chok-phín lóng ài gē-jîn tiàm bú-tâi téng ah-sī tāi-chiòng ê sîn-sèng khong-kan leh oah-lin-lin ê ián-chhut. Só-pái, gē-jîn ê ián-chhut ah-sī koh-chài chhòng-chō lóng chiok iàu-kín, che koat-tēng chok-phín ū sêng-kong ah bô.

Koan-chiòng ê kak-sek kāng-khoán mā chiâⁿ iàu-kín, i koat-tēng chok-phín beh án-chóaⁿ kái-soeh. Tiāⁿ-tioh hām koan-chiòng tùi gē-sut ū kiōng-bêng, koan-chiòng kap gē-jîn chò-hóe hiáng-siū chit ê bûn-hòa khong-kan, tùi chok-phín ê lōe-iông chiah ū hoat-tō̤ liáu-kái, thé-hōe kah chiâu-chn̂g.

4. *Koat-chiàn Siraya* kap *Đam San Sú-si* in ū bîn-chok jīn-tông sio-siāng hām bô-kâng ê só͘-chāi

Koat-chiàn Siraya kap *Đam San Sú-si* lóng siá koan-hē ū chāi-tē-lâng jīn-tông ê chhim-khek ìn-kì ê siā-hōe kò͘-sū. Chit nn̄g chok ū chi̍t ê chiâⁿ hó khòaⁿ--chhut-lâi sio-kâng ê só͘-chāi, tō sī in lóng sī bú-koân siā-hōe. Chit nn̄g phō chok-phín--nih, bú-koân sèng-chit têng-hiān kah chiâⁿ bêng, i hoa̍t-lo̍h jîn-bu̍t ta̍k-hāng ê oa̍h-tāng, sīm-chì chí-tō chok-phín ê su-sióng hām kò͘-sū ê thâu-lâi-bóe-khì ê ūn-chok. Kap Oa̍t-lâm-lâng a̍h-sī Hàn-jîn ê thoân-thóng hū-koân siā-hōe lâi kóng, bú-koân siā-hōe piáu-hiān jîn-lūi cho-chit koh khah kó͘-chá ê kòe-khì. Tō sī án-ne, bú-koân siā-hōe ê chûn-chāi hō͘ i ē-tàng poah-khui Hàn bûn-hòa chit ê kho-á, thoat-lī jû-kàu bûn-hòa khu-he̍k ê chi-phòe. Ùi āu-hiān-tāi ê koan-tiám kā khòaⁿ, bú-koân a̍h-sī lú-sèng lóng sī lím-kîⁿ koân-le̍k ê piáu-hiān/tāi-piáu, tùi sèng-piа̍t pêng-koân kap bîn-chú ê khat-bōng. Anne de Hautecloque-Howe tī Êđê Lâng— Chit-ê Bú-koân Siā-hōe (Người Êđê – Một xã hội mẫu quyền) lāi-té jīn-ûi, Êđê lâng ê siā-hōe sī siā-hōe--nih choân-pō͘ ê koân-le̍k lóng lú-sèng leh hōaⁿ ê kiàn-chèng, hū-jîn-lâng tī siā-hōe chhōa-thâu--ê. Hū-jîn-lâng ē chò seng-lí a̍h-sī kā cha-po͘-lâng bé--tn̂g-lâi. Tī chit ê Hoat-kok lú ha̍k-chiá ê gán-lāi, Êđê ê hū-jîn-lâng chiâⁿ giám-ngē, ióng-kám, tōa-siaⁿ-mn̂g. Ka-têng choân-pō͘ ê ke-hóe lóng in la̍k-tiâu leh, cha-po͘-lâng kan-na sī thè cha-bó͘-lâng koán-lí ke-hóe--ê niā-niā. Tī hun-in a̍h-sī ài-chêng--nih, lú-sèng lóng sī chú-tōng--ê, in ē kā cha-po͘-lâng chhōa tn̂g-lâi hō͘ in chio, koh hō͘ lâm-hong ê ka-têng kè-chng. Khòaⁿ *Đam San Sú-si*, kò͘-sū thâu-khí-seng, lán tō khòaⁿ tio̍h hū-jîn-lâng tng-ke chò-chú ah. Chhím-thâu, Hơ Nhí kap Hơ Bhí chit nn̄g ê cha-bó͘-lâng tō kā in hiaⁿ-tī chhōe--lâi, kiò in kā tàu chhōe ang-sài. Tng in hiaⁿ-tī kóng tio̍h in bô kah-ì ê lâng hit-chūn (Y Koat, Y Moat), in hoán-tùi kah beh lia̍h-kông, lō͘-bóe kiông-pek in hiaⁿ-tī sūn in ê ì khì kā Đam San kiû-hun. Đam San pún-té bô siūⁿ beh kap in chí-mōe-á kiat-hun, i ê hoán-èng chiâⁿ léng-tām, bô chhut-lâi gêng-chiap lú-hong lâi kóng chhin-chiâⁿ. Liáu in ché--á (Hơ Âng) ū chhùi kóng kah bô nōa kóng bē iâⁿ, sió-mōe Hơ Lí chiū kā i phah kah beh sí beh oa̍h, i mā m̄-káⁿ hoán-khòng. “Hơ Lí khì Đam San ê pâng-keng, kā i ê tò hīⁿ liàm kah lâu-hoeh, chiàⁿ hīⁿ liàm kah lâu-hoeh, liáu phah Đam San ê kha-chiah-phiaⁿ, i leh kún-liòng...” (Trung 1999:323) Tông-tông chi̍t ê béng-ióng ê thâu-ba̍k, ū chhiau-jîn ê thé-la̍t, chóng--sī, Đam San tī chhù-lāi soah hō͘ in chí-mōe-á ê koân-

le̍k ah-tiâu leh, sīm-chì tùi i sú-iōng po̍k-le̍k. Lō͘-bóe, Hơ Nhí kap Hơ Bhí nn̄g chí-mōe chhin-sin khì Đam San in tau chèng-sek kā kiû-hun. Chhōa tio̍h Đam San liáu-āu, in hō͘ lâm-hong ê ka-têng chiâⁿ tōa-lé ê kè-chng (chhiūⁿ gû, chhiūⁿ, chiú, koán chhiūⁿ ê lâng, sú-iōng-jîn...), m̄-koh ē-tàng hiáng-siū--ê, mā kan-na chhù-lāi ê hū-jîn-lâng (kòa í-keng kòe-óng--ê), chhiūⁿ a-má, a-bú a̍h-sī a-ché chia--ê. Hō͘ hū-jîn-lâng koat-tēng ê kám-chêng koan-hē sī chi̍t khoán chèng-thóng, ún-tēng ê kám-chêng (Đam San hām Hơ Nhí kap Hơ Bhí nn̄g chí-mōe ê hun-in), nā hō͘ lâm-sèng koat-tēng ê kám-chêng sī oân-choân bá̍k-nih-kú koh m̄-sī chèng-sek--ê (kiat-hun chêng Đam San kap lú-pêng-iú Hbia). Kun-kù Chu Thài-san ê ì-kiàn, "hó-gia̍h, béng-ióng ê thâu-bá̍k hoān-sè sī hoâiⁿ-sàu thian-hā ê ióng-chiòng, chhiúⁿ tio̍h chin chē lô-kó͘, gû, chhiūⁿ kap lâm-lú ê sú-iōng-jîn, m̄-koh siōng bóe chiah- ê chiàn-lī-phín iáu sī sio̍k tī bó͘ hit pêng ê ka-têng. Chiū sī i tòa bó͘ ê chhù, i thâu-bá̍k ê sin-hūn mā sī kè-sêng bó͘ hit pêng ê thoân-thóng, i hiah ê chhin-sìn ê chiàn-iú mā sī bó͘ hit pêng ê chhin-lâng. Lēng-gōa, ke-hóe, chiàn-kū kap chí-hui chham-ka sio-chiàn ê jîn-le̍k, chú-iàu mā sī bó͘ hit pêng ê ka-têng." (Tran 2018:301) Khêng-si t, Đam San í-keng pôaⁿ-kòe choân-pō͘ lé-kàu ê sok-pa̍k khì chhōe kám-chêng chū-iû ê khat-bōng, i tùi hō͘ lâng kiông-pek sūn-thàn nn̄g ê bó͘ ê hun-in bô móa-ì, m̄-chiah lō͘-bóe Đam San koat-sim koh chhōa chi̍t ê ka-kī kéng ê bó͘, chiū sī Thài-iông lú-sîn. Chit-chân koh ū chi̍t khoán ì-gī, chiū-sī cheng-ho̍k tāi-chū-jiân ê khat-bōng ia̍h-sī jîn-lūi sī ú-tiū ê tiong-sim ê chū-ngó͘ ì-sek. M̄-koh lán lóng chai-iáⁿ, chiū-sī tùi lú-koân chit-khoán ê thiau-chiàn (chiàu lâm-sèng ê ì-goān koh chhōa) ê in-toaⁿ, siōng bóe chi̍t ê béng-ióng ê thâu-bá̍k chhiūⁿ Đam San soah hi-seng ah. Jīn-ūi Thài-iông-sîn mā sī lú-sîn chit-khoán--ê mā hoán-èng Êđê lâng in chiâⁿ kiông-li̍a̍t ê lú-koân koan-liām. Nā thèh lâi kap Hi-li̍a̍p sîn-ōe lāi-té ê lâm Thài-iông-sîn Helios, a̍h-sī Tiong-kok sîn-ōe lāi-té hiah ê hō͘ Hō͘ Gē siā--lo̍h-lâi ê sîn-lêng thài-iông (hui sèng-pia̍t) pí, án-ne lán ē-tàng khòaⁿ kóng, i ê sèng-pia̍t ì-sek án-chóaⁿ kiông-li̍a̍t khì éng-hióng tio̍h sîn-ōe kap sú-si lāi-té tô-siōng ê kiàn-kò͘.

Koat-chiàn Siraya lāi-té, thâu chi̍t ê chhut-hiān--ê, lóng bē chiàn-pāi ê chiàn-sū sī chi̍t ê lú-sèng Tông Bō͘-hûn. Chit ê Siraya chió-sò bîn-cho̍k ê lú-seng ū ko-kiông ê bú-gē, ióng-kám ê cheng-sîn, ná chhiūⁿ sîn-bêng. Sī i chhut-chhiú pang-chān tng teh thoat-tô hiong-ok ê húi-tô͘ ê Hàn-jîn Tiō Ngá-êng. Tông Bō͘-hûn ê bú-su̍t chiâⁿ khiàng, chin chē hiong-ok ê hiong-siú chhiūⁿ Tek-ke, Khoah-chhùi--ê, Saⁿ-kha-niau kap Tōa-phīⁿ--ê..., in

iáu-bōe khòaⁿ hó ko-chhiú ê bīn-bo̍k sī siáng to í-keng chiàu-lûn hông phah-pāi ah. Chit ê chok-phín lāi-té, lán khòaⁿ tio̍h Siraya ê lú-koân-chiá khòaⁿ Hàn-jîn pa̍k-kha ê hong-sio̍k chiâⁿ bô. Hàn-jîn hō͘ Jû-ka hū-koân (lâm-koân) éng-hióng--tio̍h, siūⁿ beh bôa-sái cha-bó͘-lâng, kā in tòng-chò sèng-kang-kū, hông-chí in cháu-khau, chiah kiò in pa̍k-kha. Chū sè-hàn ū ka-kàu ê cha-bó͘-lâng tō tit-tit iōng si-tiû lâi pa̍k-kha, hō͘ kha tn̄g--khì, chiâⁿ chò phòa-siùⁿ, chiâⁿ oh kiâⁿ-lō͘, bô lī-piān. Tùi cha-po-lâng lâi kóng, ū chit siang iù-iù, bô chiūⁿ-chiàⁿ, bē-tàng chèng-siông kiâⁿ-lō͘, pek--tio̍h ài khò cha-po-lâng ê cha-bó͘-lâng chiah sī bí-lē ê cha-bó͘-lâng. Lâng lóng gia̍h hiuⁿ tòe pài, siong-sìn kóng pa̍k-kha ê hū-jîn-lâng ū chit khoán chiâⁿ te̍k-piát ê chêng-io̍k lêng-le̍k. Tùi Siraya lâng kóng--lâi, che sī chit khoán ia̍-bân, khok-hêng ê hong-sio̍k, tùi sèng-piát ê ap-chè. “Tōa-hiaⁿ, lí khòaⁿ Tiō ko-niû ū pa̍k-kha, siuⁿ khó-liân ah! Tn̄g tio̍h gûi-hiám hit-chūn, bô hoat-tō͘ cháu tio̍h chin kín. Án-ne, Hàn-jîn ê lâm-sèng siuⁿ kòe khó-òⁿ ah ! Kan-na ūi tio̍h ka-kī ê io̍k-bōng, siáⁿ khoán ê pō͘-sò͘ lóng siūⁿ ē chhut--lâi.” (Tran 2018:72) Ông Lộc À chit ê jîn-bu̍t ka-kī mā jīn-ûi, “Góa kám-kak ku-koài, in mā jīn-ûi góa koài-kî...cha-bó͘-lâng, hū-jîn-lâng siūⁿ khah chiu-chì, iù-lō͘, cha-po-lâng kan-na ē-hiáu iōng chhiú iōng kha. Sī án-chóaⁿ lán ê siā-hōe choân-pō͘ ê tāi-chì sī hō͘ cha-po-lâng koat leh?” (Tran 2018:75) Phoe-phêng hū-koân kap pa̍k-kha ê hong-sio̍k mā sī tùi Hàn-hòa bûn-bêng ê phoe-phòaⁿ kap hoán-khòng. Tiō Ngá-êng kóng, “Tōa-hiaⁿ, lí khòaⁿ, lí mā hō͘ Hàn-jîn ê bûn-hòa éng-hióng lo̍h! Thâu-khak lāi-té choân cha-po-lâng ê su-sióng. Lí chhiò sió-mōe kóng góa tòe leh pa̍k-kha ê hong-sio̍k, góa khòaⁿ lí thâu-náu mā khì hō͘ lâng pa̍k-kha ah...kám kóng kan-na cha-po-lâng chiah ū koân khì ióng-kám hêng-tōng? Kan-na cha-po-lâng chiah ē-tàng ū-chêng ū-gī hio̍h? Thài-ē un-jiû ê hū-jîn-lâng chiū bē-tàng ióng-kám leh kòe-jit?” (Tran 2018:116) Chia kóng ê lâm-koân—lú-koân ê àm-jū, chhin-chhiūⁿ kā chū-iû Tâi-oân ê pêng-téng-koân chò àm-hō, “Bō͘-hûn mā sī hū-jîn-lâng, m̄-koh i ē-sái ka-kī koat-tēng i ê seng-khu téng beh chò siáⁿ. Án-ne, nā bîn-á-chài ē-tàng tn̂g--lâi, sió-mōe góa mā siūⁿ beh kā pa̍k-kha ê hit iân si-tiû pak--lo̍h-lâi. Tōa-hiaⁿ ài hū-chek tī-liâu sió-mōe ê kha, hō͘ i hó.” (Tran 2018:117)

Tī siōng chhám-lia̍t ê chiàn-cheng--nih, Tông Bō͘-hûn tit-tit hām hiaⁿ-ko kap ài-jîn/ bī-hun-hu Koan Chê-bûn chò-hóe. Siraya lâng chhiūⁿ Êđê lâng kāng-khoán, mā ū hō͘ lâng chio ê hong-sio̍k. Tng hoán-khòng O-mô-sîn (Hắc Ma Thần) ê chiàn-cheng teh-

beh soah hit-chūn, chit ê Hàn-jîn ê ióng-sū tō hō͘ lâng bô kā thiah-pe̍h thê-chhé^{n} chit ê hong-sio̍k. Tông Bō͘-hûn kóng, "Lí mā chai-iá^{n} goán pō͘-lo̍k ê hong-sio̍k ah, lí tiā^{n}-tio̍h ài hō͘ goán chio...góa mā chin-sim leh kah-ì--lí, kan-na ài lí lâi goán tau tòa chiū hó, góa bô iau-kiû jīm-hô ê ke-hóe kap kè-chng." (Tran 2018:148)

Êđê lâng kap Siraya lâng lóng sī chhut-sì tī sio-liân-sòa kap kiông-tāi ê te̍k-jîn sio-chiàn ê nn̄g cho̍k. *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-té, lán khòa^{n} tio̍h Đam San hām kî-tha béng-ióng ê thâu-ba̍k, chhiū^{n} Mơ tao Grư, Mơ tao Mơ xây chân-khok ê kau-chiàn, sīm-chì Đam San koh ká^{n} phah Thi^{n}-kong. *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té, lán khòa^{n} ē tio̍h chió-sờ Siraya ê pō͘-lo̍k, ài tit-tit kap Nĝ Kài-béng tài-niá ê ok-tō͘ hām bē-chió ùi Au-chiu, Ji̍t-pún lâi ê te̍k-jîn sio-chiàn. Chiū sī chit khoán le̍k-sú te̍k-teng ê in-toa^{n}, chit nn̄g ê cho̍k-kûn ê eng-hiông-koa kap sú-si lāi-té, ūi tio̍h beh kờ bîn-cho̍k ê jīn-tông, tit-tit pià^{n} su-iâ^{n}.

Lēng-gōa chi̍t nn̄g cho̍k koh ū chi̍t ê sio-kâng ê só͘-chāi, chiū sī in iáu bô jīm-hô to̍k chun ê chong-kàu sìn-gióng. Chi̍t ê siā-hōe kiat-kờ ê thêng-tō͘ iáu sī pō͘-lo̍k sī-cho̍k ê chōng-hóng, in ê sìn-gióng iáu koh tī bān-mi̍h kai iú lêng hām to-sîn-kàu ê kài-hān niâ. *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té, lán khòa^{n} tio̍h nn̄g pêng chin-chià^{n} béng-ióng ê thâu-lâng m̄-sī Tông Bō͘-niá, Koan Chê-bûn a̍h-sī Nĝ Kài-béng, sī nn̄g chióng chhiau-chū-jiân, tāi-piáu siang-hong ê sè-le̍k, siān-hong ê A-li̍p-chó, ok-hong ê O-mô-sîn (Hắc Ma Thần). A-li̍p-chó sī Siraya lâng ê chó-lêng, ùi lêng-kài lâi beh pó-hō͘ in. A-li̍p-chó ū chí-hui siōng béng-ióng ê chiàn-sū ê chāi-tiāu, chiū-sī Lêng-pà chiàn-sū (in ê lêng-hûn lī-khui in ê seng-khu, piàn chò pà pó-hō͘ lâng). O-mô-sîn ta̍k-pái chhut-hiān tō chiū^{n} Âm Dương Dã Gian Tăng ê sin, chhin-chhiū^{n} A-li̍p-chó chiū^{n} ang-î Pe̍h Chin-chu (Siraya lâng ê hoat-su) ê sin chhut-hiān, che lóng sī Salman kàu ê thiàu-tâng. Thiàu-tâng sī Tang-lâm-a tē-khu chiâ^{n} phó-phiàn ê chiân chong-kàu ê bîn-kan sìn-gióng. O-mô-sîn siōng lī-hāi ê kun-tūi m̄-sī lán-lâng, sī i ê hoat-su̍t piàn ê chio̍h-thâu kap kúi-peng kúi-chiòng ê kun-tūi. Chit khoán to-sîn-kàu ê sìn-gióng chin bêng-hián leh hoán-èng Êđê kap Siraya nn̄g cho̍k ê lâng kap sîn-lêng koan-hē lāi-té pêng-koân sìn-gióng ê te̍k-sèng. Đam San koh ká^{n} phah, chūn Thi^{n}-kong ê ām-kún, a̍h-sī siū^{n} beh chhōa Thài-iông-lú-sîn chò bó͘. Khat-bō͘ bîn-chú, thê-seng jîn-lūi sîn-sèng ê le̍k-liōng chhiong-boán tī chit nn̄g phō chok-phín lāi-té. Tāi-chū-jiân a̍h-sī o͘-àm le̍k-liōng ê bīn-thâu-chêng, jîn-lūi piáu-hiān chi̍t khoán bô pêng-hoân, m̄ khut-ho̍k ê keh.

Chit nn̄g phō chok-phín lāi-té, lán khòaⁿ ē chhut-lâi nn̄g chǒk chì-koân ê sîn-bêng sī Êđê lâng ê Thiⁿ (Yàng) kap Siraya lâng ê A-li̍p-chó. Sui-bóng lóng sī chì-koân ê sîn-bêng, m̄-koh in ê kak-sek mā hām Hi-li̍ap sîn-ōe lāi-té ê Zeus beh sêng, tō-sī lóng hō̤ lâng "gí-jîn-hòa" kòe-thâu, ōaⁿ ōe lâi kóng, in sī hông "sè-si̍ok-hòa ê sîn-sèng sè-le̍k" ah. Thiⁿ kap A-li̍p-chó lóng m̄-sī choân-lêng ê chhòng-sè-chiá, chhiūⁿ Allah a̍h-sī Iâ-hô-hoa. Siraya lâng kap Êđê lâng kan-na khòaⁿ in sī lán-lâng ê pêng-iú, lāu-pē. Tī chin chē khoán ê chōng-hóng, Đam San koh tit-tit giâu-gî, phah-mē a̍h-sī khióng-hat kóng ē thâi Thiⁿ (Yàng). Che tō chèng-bêng kóng lán-lâng ū chi̍t ê kiông-tāi kap m̄-bat ū ê só͘-chāi, tāi-piáu chông-ko ê jîn-bûn cheng-sîn. Siraya lâng ê A-li̍p-chó tùi-tiōng leh pó-hō̤ lán-lâng, ū khioh-óa hiah ê sîn-sèng ê chiàn-sū (Lêng-pà chiàn-sū) ê lêng-le̍k. M̄-koh, tng A-li̍p-chó ùi chi̍t ê hoân-jîn ê seng-khu thiàu-tâng hit-chūn, chiah chin-chiàⁿ tī-teh. Che chèng-bêng kóng A-li̍p-chó kap Siraya lâng ê bîn-kan sìn-gióng, in ē khan-khap kah bā sǹg-sǹg, chhiau-kòe chin-sit to̍k-sîn chong-kàu hiah ê chhòng-sè-chiá. Sîn-lêng a̍h-sī lán-lâng ta̍k khoán ê jîn-bu̍t lóng tiâu-tit leh tùi-ōe, sio-chèⁿ, che sī bîn-chú cheng-sîn tùi-ōe ê piáu-hiān, sī āu-hiān-tāi sî-kî phó͘-sè ê kè-ta̍t.

Siraya lâng kap Êđê lâng tiàm ka-kī tòa ê só͘-chāi lóng keng-kòe thàu-chéng, cha̍p-phòe, kap gōa-kok kau-liû a̍h-sī chhin-kīn chǒk-kûn ê bûn-hòa chiah-ê būn-tê. Ùi Koat-chiàn Siraya lāi-té, lán khòaⁿ ē tio̍h chit-tiám, siān-hong sī Hàn-jîn Tiō Ngá-êng, Koan Chê-bûn kap Lí Chì-kia̍t..., hām Siraya lâng (A-li̍p-chó, Tông Bō͘-niá, Tông Bō͘-hûn, Tui-hong-hui-liâm, Pe̍h-chin-chu...) ê liân-bêng. Ok-hong sī Hàn-jîn (Ng Kài-béng) kap Ji̍t-pún-lâng (Cửu Châu Lãng Nhân) hām Se-pan-gâ lâng (Phillip Tualo) ê liân-bêng. Chiah-ê chǒk-jîn tī chèng-tī lī-ek kap chong-kàu sìn-gióng ū kiōng-tông a̍h-sī sio-ta̍h-thut ê só͘-chāi. *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-té, lán mā khòaⁿ tio̍h Êđê lâng hām kî-tha chò-hóe tī ko-goân tòa ê chǒk-jîn, in bi̍t-chhiat kau-liû a̍h-sī tàu-cheng ê koan-hē. Đam San bat kóng, "Kin-chio chhiū-kin ē-té óe ê hiāⁿ-chháu hō̤ góa bē-sí, chit ê hiāⁿ-chháu pang-chān góa ê chó͘-sian chiàn iâⁿ Mnong lâng ah. Lòng Đam hu kó͘ lah! Thiⁿ-kong-peh hō̤ góa ê sîn-kó͘, siaⁿ-im thàng-thiⁿ ê sîn-kó͘, thiaⁿ tio̍h i ê siaⁿ, Bih lâng chiū khan gû lâi tâu-hâng, Liâu-kok-lâng khan chhiūⁿ...ê kó͘-siaⁿ. Lô-hoân choân-pō͘ ê chhin-chiâⁿ kap pō͘-chǒk lâi chia, ùi khoah-chhùi ê Mnong lâng kàu tōa-hīⁿ ê Bih lâng lah!....Kā chit ê tē-khu choân-pō͘ ê lâng kiò tn̂g--lâi lah! Lán tàu-tīn khì phah chi̍t ê béng-ióng ê chiong-

kun." (Trung 1998:336) Khêng-sit, tòa Se-goân tak-chok ê lâng sǹg sī Malay-Polynesia gí-hē, chhiūⁿ Bih lâng, Mnong lâng, Êđê lâng, Jorai lâng...in ê gí-giân kap bûn-hòa lóng chiâⁿ óa. Chiū-sī án-ne, in chiâⁿ kín kau-liû, kau-ōaⁿ kap khơ-óa lek-liōng, chiâⁿ-chò kok kun-sū liân-bêng thang hoán-khòng gōa-lâi ê chhim-liok ah-sī sio-chiàn. Sớ-pái, *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-té, thàu-chéng sèng-chit kap chap-phòe ê bûn-hòa mā bô-su *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té--ê. Khêng-sit, Oat-lâm sī chit ê to-chéng-chok ê kok-ka, ū 54 ê bîn-chok tiàm bô-kâng bûn-hòa ê sớ-chāi chò-hóe khiā-khí. Siraya lâng mā tī chit ê sóng-tit ê tó-sū bûn-hòa ê sớ-chāi tòa. In chham Hàn-jîn, Pêⁿ-pơ-chok, ùi Au-chiu hām Jit-pún lâi ê gōa-kok-lâng kong-ke thớ-tē, léng-thớ. Siraya lâng piáu-hiān kóng in sī chin hah-sî kap chú-chhî chèng-gī ê lâng. Tông Bō-hûn khéng kè hō Hôa-è ê kiap-sū, kap i chò-hóe chiàn koh ē-sái thong-chêng, hòng-khì choân-pō ê kè-chng. Sui-bóng chìn-chêng, Siraya lâng kóng tùi Hàn-jîn ê bûn-hòa chiâⁿ kéng-kak kap chhiong-hīn. "In ê hong-siok sip-koàn tauh-tauh-á mā hō Hàn-jîn éng-hióng--tioh, liáu-āu kòe tak sè-tāi ê kái-piàn...chiàu goán chai, kî-sit Hàn-jîn chá tō lâi Tâi-oân ah...thiaⁿ-kóng Pêⁿ-pơ-chok pún-té ê sèng chiâⁿ lok-thiòng, sóng-tit koh seng-oah kán-tan, m̄-koh tō-sī tit-tit hō Hàn-jîn kā hớ, tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ chiah-khui, m̄-chiah tiāⁿ ū kiaⁿ-hiâⁿ, ē khì hông Hàn-jîn ê sim-thài." (Tran 2018:76) Chăm Pa lâng kap Êđê lâng, in ê koan-hē kap Hàn-jîn hām Siraya lâng ê koan-hē beh sio-siāng. Êđê lâng kap Chăm Pa lâng in ū chin chē sio-chiàn ê lek-sú, tì-sú Êđê lâng siû-hūn koh chiok tî-hông Chăm Pa lâng. Kun-kù chit-kóa hak-chiá ê ì-kiàn, tō-sī beh cháu-siám Chăm Pa lâng kong-kek ê in-toaⁿ, m̄-chiah Êđê lâng ài ùi chū-té tòa ê iân-hái pêⁿ-iûⁿ, tauh-tauh-á sóa khì chhim-soaⁿ nâ-lāi ê ko-goân tòa ah. Sui-bóng án-ne, m̄-koh bē-tàng bô kóng in koh ū chiâⁿ chhim-khek ê bûn-hòa, gí-giân, hiat-thóng kap bîn-kan bûn-hak ê koan-hē. Sīm-chì chin chē lâng siong-sìn kóng Êđê lâng ū kóa khah chá ê Chăm Pa lâng pôaⁿ-sóa khì tòa ko-goân, liáu kap tòa iân-hái pêⁿ-iûⁿ ê Chăm Pa lâng sit-khì liân-lok. Sū-sit chèng-bêng kóng in ê gí-giân chiâⁿ óa. Lēng-gōa, sui-bóng chiok tî-hông Chăm Pa lâng, m̄-koh lek-sú-tek, Êđê lâng ūi-tioh bé-bē, chhut-kháu chia--ê, pek--tioh kap Chăm Pa lâng hap-chok. Chit khoán koan-hē hām Hàn-jîn kap Siraya lâng in ê koan-hē sī kāng sèng-chit--ê. Sui-bóng hoán-khòng, chóng--sī ài sêng-jīn kóng Hàn-jîn ah-sī Chăm Pa lâng kòa Kiaⁿ chok chāi-lāi, lóng ū chhiⁿ-chhioh ê bûn-hòa kap bûn-bêng. Tòa keh-piah ê Siraya lâng ah-sī Êđê lâng lóng ài hō éng-hióng--tioh, chē-chió

ài chioh in ê bûn-hòa.

Koat-chiàn Siraya kap *Đam San Sú-si* chit nn̄g phō chok-phín chhiūⁿ téng-koân kóng--ê, pờ-tah, piáu-ián kap chiap-siū-tō͘ lóng ū ki-pún sio-kâng ê sớ-chāi, in-ūi nn̄g phō chok-phín lóng kap piáu-ián oa̍h-tāng a̍h-sī ián-chhiùⁿ gē-su̍t siong-koan. Êđê lâng ê Khan sī choan-gia̍p ê gē-jîn tī kong-kiōng ê khong-kan, chhiūⁿ hóe-lō͘ piⁿ a̍h-sī ū chin chē tāi tàu-tīn seng-oa̍h kap pān oa̍h-tāng ê tn̂g-ok lāi-bīn lóng-tho̍k. Kan-na tī chiâⁿ sîn-sèng ê khong-kan hām chiâⁿ chē koan-chiòng sī ka-kī ê tông-pau, ū kiōng-tông ê chong-kàu sìn-gióng ki-chhớ, Khan chiah ū hoat-tō͘ hông chiap-siū kap oân-choân têng-hiān. Nā bô hoat-tō͘ tī ka-têng ê sîn-sèng khong-kan ián-chhiùⁿ, hō͘ kúi-nā tāi cheng-thong ê gē-jîn kháu-thoân têng-hiān, án-ne Đam San Sú-si bô hoat-tō͘ oân-choân hoat-hui i ê bûn-hòa kap jîn-bûn kè-ta̍t. Lēng-gōa chi̍t pêng, Koat-chiàn Siraya sī chi̍t chhut pờ-tē-hì, chiâⁿ bêng-hián che sī chi̍t phō ài ū chin chē kî-tha ki-su̍t kap piáu-ián chham-ú, chiah ē-tàng oân-sêng ê chok-phín (chhiūⁿ kio̍k-pún, im-ga̍k, ián-oân, teng-kng kap tō-kū chia--ê) . Tō-sī ū chi̍p-thé piáu-ián ê te̍k-teng, piáu-ián ê hêng-sek mā ài ū chin chē jîn-le̍k ha̍p-chok, m̄-chiah *Koat-chiàn Siraya* kap *Đam San Sú-si* chit nn̄g phō chok-phín chha-put-to sī chi̍p-thé kiōng-tông ê chhòng-chok.

Chit nn̄g phō chok-phín lāi-té, Siraya lâng kap Êđê lâng ê hong-sio̍k mā ta̍t-tit lán tì-tiōng, mā hō͘ lán chiâⁿ chē chhù-bī ê chu-liāu. In hō͘ bú-koân siā-hōe éng-hióng--tio̍h, m̄-chiah hū-jîn-lâng tī ài-chêng lāi-bīn chiâⁿ chú-tōng. Béng-ióng ê eng-hiông ài chiap-siū hông chio. Tāi-chiàn-tàu iâⁿ liáu-āu sī pān chiâⁿ liông-tiōng ê khò-siúⁿ a̍h-sī ià n-se̍k. In lóng ū ka-kī ê sìn-gióng, tùi ka-kī ê sîn-bêng cho̍a̍t-tùi sìn-jīm, sîn-sèng ê chiàn-sū kap Salman kàu (thiàu-tâng) ê hêng-sek chin chē pái tiàm *Koat-chiàn Siraya* hām *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-bīn chhut-hiān kap tờ-ōe.

Koan-hē ū bîn-cho̍k jīn-tông ê te̍k-teng, lán khòaⁿ ē tio̍h in ê bûn-hôa lóng ū bô kāng-khoán ê phái n sip-koàn. Chhiūⁿ *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té, Hàn-jîn pa̍k-kha ê hong-sio̍k hông phoe-phòaⁿ kah siōng chām-gâm--ê, he sī khah-chá ê siā-hōe thún-ta̍h hū-jîn-lâng ê in-toaⁿ. Ah *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-bīn, Chuê nuê (bûn-jī pún-té sī “chiap soh-á” ê ì-sù) ê phái n sip-koàn sī lēng-gōa chi̍t ê hông phoe-phòaⁿ ê tùi-siōng. Pa̍k-kha ê hong-sio̍k lán kóng kòe ah, chia kan-na chìn chi̍t-pō͘ hun-sek Chuê nuê che phái n sip-koàn. Chiâⁿ bêng-hián, put-hēng ê kin-goân kap Đam San ê sí-bông, lóng sī Chuê nuê che

phái^{n} sip-koàn tì-sú ê hiō-kó. Êđê lâng ê Chuê nuê kui-tēng kóng ke-āu nā put-hēng kòe-sin, án-ne ang-sài hông ín-chún khì chhōa in bó ê chhin chí-mōe ah̍-sī chhin-chiâ^{n}, bô su-iàu nî-kí sù-phòe ah̍-sī kám-chêng ki-chhó. Lán koh ùi Đam San ê sí-bông kap hun-in ê pi-kio̍k ê khí-goân kóng, chiū-sī Chuê nuê ê hong-sio̍k hō͘ i bô hoat-tō͘ kap ka-kī ê ài-jîn kiat-hun. Hơ Nhí kap Hơ Bhí nn̄g chí-mōe chú-tōng kè Đam San, m̄-koh Đam San nā bô kah-ì, i ē-sái kī-cho̍at. Bêng-bêng sī Đam San bô ng̀-bāng chit tiû^{n} ê hun-in chhut-hiān, i pún-sin mā ū ài-jîn-á (Hơbia), m̄-koh sī Chuê nuê ê phái^{n} sip-koàn kā sok-pa̍k ê in-toa^{n} hō͘ i bô hoat-tō͘ kī-cho̍at. Lán siū^{n} tio̍h Hơ nhí tùi chit khoán sok-pa̍k ê kin-goân ê ōe-gí, "Tng goán a-má Hơklu óng-seng, chhù-lāi ê lâng chhōa góa tn̂g-lâi thè goán a-má (chò goán a-kong ê ke-āu, Chuê nuê ê hong-sio̍k ū thè-sin chit ê kui-tēng) kè hō͘ goán a-kong Y Kla ." Goán a-kong kiò góa chē tī i ê tōa-thúi téng-koân, kha-chiah-phia^{n} āi^{n} Đam San. I thâi chit chiah gû liáu, kā góa án-ne kóng, "Góa tiā^{n}-tio̍h bē-tàng chhōa góa ê cha-bó͘-sun siu^{n} kú, góa sī lāu-lâng ah, chhin-chhiū^{n} chit-phiàn pha-hng ê soa^{n}-pơ, í-keng hiú-nōa, ko-ta ê chhiū-kin...āu-pái lí ē kè Đam San." (Trung 1998:318-319) Sīm-chì kiat-hun liáu, lán mā khòa^{n} tio̍h Đam San ê hun-in sī hō͘ lé-siok sok-pa̍k soah bô chin-chià^{n} ê ài-chêng, tì-sú i tu̍t-phòa chit khoán sok-pa̍k khì chhōe lēng-gōa chi̍t ê cha-bó͘-lâng, kéng tio̍h Thài-iông lú-sîn—chi̍t ê bô hông chè-hān, chhiau-oa̍t thoân-thóng lé-kàu ê kám-chêng, lō͘-bóe sī chit ê eng-hiông in-ūi khat-bō͘ chū-iû loân-ài soah sit-khì sè^{n}-miā ah. Án-ne, *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té, pa̍k-kha ê phái^{n} hong-sio̍k hō͘ hū-jîn-lâng chiâ^{n}-chò tiong-sêng ê sèng-kang-kū, tùi cha-po-lâng sūn-ho̍k. Ah *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-bīn, Chuê nuê ê phái^{n} hong-sio̍k hō͘ cha-po-lâng ta̍h-ji̍p bô ài-chêng, sū-sian hông an-pâi hó-sè ê hun-in.

Koat-chiàn Siraya kap *Đam San Sú-si* chit nn̄g phō chok-phín ê chiàn-cheng hêng-sek mā bô-kâng, hoán-èng siang-hong siā-hōe thêng-tō͘ ê chha-pia̍t. Nā Đam San ê chiàn-cheng phian ng̀ lé-gî kap piáu-ián, án-ne *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té chiū-sī chiâ^{n} chhám-chhoeh, hoeh sai-sai kap sí-bông. Sui-bóng Đam San ê pō͘-tūi hêng-kun hong-hong-lia̍t-lia̍t, lâng chin chē, m̄-koh chú-iàu kan-na i kap kî-tha thâu-ba̍k (Mơtao Gru, Mơ tao Mơ xây) kau-chiàn niâ. Siang-hong ê su-iâ^{n} sī nn̄g ê chí-hui chiong-kun koat-tàu lâi koat-tēng. Tò-péng, *Koat-chiàn Siraya* ê kau-chiàn sī siang-hong kun-sū le̍k-liōng ê chhia-pià^{n}, kok chú-chiòng chú-iàu ê kau-chiàn kan-na ū siōng-teng ê ì-gī niâ. Kun-kù

John Keegan ê Chiàn-cheng-sú (Lịch sử chiến tranh) lāi-bīn ê koan-tiám, tng teh tī pō͘-lo̍k jī-cho̍k ê siā-hōe (chhiū^{n} Êđê lâng ê) kau-chiàn, chú-iàu sī pī-biān lâng-miā ê sńg-tn̂g, in-ūi chit kúi cho̍k ê jîn-kháu chin chió, bú-khì kán-tan. Chiàn-cheng tī che thêng-tō͘ iáu chin kán-tan, ū tián-hiān thâu-lâng le̍k-liōng (cheng-sîn) ê siōng-teng. Siang-hong ê sò͘-liōng chiâ^{n} chē, mā kan-na ū heh-kia^{n} tùi-hong ê ì-gī niâ, chhun--ê ê su-iâ^{n} oân-choân kau hō͘ nn̂g ê chú-chiòng. Chit khoán kau-chiàn chú-iàu mā ū chong-kàu lé-gî sèng, m̄-sī chi̍t pái pia^{n} su-iâ^{n}. Tò-péng kóng, ko-kai ê siā-hōe chhiū^{n} hong-kiàn sî-tāi a̍h-sī chu-pún sî-tāi ê chiàn-cheng sī choân-bīn ê chiàn-cheng, siang-hong iōng choân-pō͘ ê kun-tūi, hiān-tāi sat-siong ê bú-khì kong-khai sio-chiàn, ūi tio̍h siōng bóe ê sèng-lī put-te̍k-chhiú-tōa^{n}. Chit tang-chūn, chiàn-cheng ê kui-bō͘ mā tit-tit leh hùn-khoah. Sīm-chì koh ū choan-gia̍p ê kun-sū le̍k-liōng kap sîn-lêng le̍k-liōng (chhiū^{n} Peng-bé-ióng, Lêng-pà chiàn-sū) ê chham-chiàn, kā siang-hong chi-chhî.

Siraya lâng kap Êđê lâng in ê ka-têng koan-hē mā ū ki-pún ê chha-ī. Nā ū kiōng-tông hiat-thóng ê Siraya lâng chhiū^{n} Tông Bō͘-niá, Tông Bō͘-hûn lóng chiâ^{n} chhin-bi̍t, mā lóng sio-kēng, m̄-koh *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-té ê hia^{n}-tī tiā^{n}-tiā^{n} sī sûi-lâng kiâ^{n} sûi-lâng ê. Tng Hơ nhí kap Hơbhi nn̂g chí-mōe ê piáu-hia^{n} àn-sòng siāu-kài pa̍t-lâng hō͘ in chò ang hit-chūn, sûi hō͘ in mē koh koat-tēng kéng kî-tha ê lâng. Đam San sī chi̍t ê sîn-sèng ê eng-hiông, bē-tàng chiàn-pāi, ū phah-iâ^{n} Thài-iông-sîn ê lêng-le̍k. M̄-koh, tng i àn-sòng kī-choa̍t hām Hơ nhí kap Hơbhi nn̂g chí-mōe ê hun-in hit-chūn, i ka-kī ê chí-mōe tō͘ sio-liân-sòa tāi-hoat-lûi-têng, kā i phah kah kui seng-khu lóng siong ah.

Chóng kóng chi̍t kù, Tâi-oân hām Oa̍t-lâm in ê bûn-ha̍k ū chiâ^{n} chē chhù-bī sio-kâng ê só͘-chāi, siâng-sî mā ū chin chē ū bîn-cho̍k jīn-tông te̍k-sek bô kâng-khoán, ta̍t-tit chù-ì. Chit kúi tang, Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm ê bûn-ha̍k piàn kah hō͘-siong koh khah lí-kái, ke chiâ^{n} chhin-bi̍t, ū kóa pō͘-hūn sī chiah-ê sio-kâng kap bô-kâng lâi--ê. Kéng Koat-chiàn Siraya kap *Đam San sú-si*, goán sī siū^{n} beh khí chi̍t chō kiô kā Tâi-oân hām Oa̍t-lâm chiap--khí-lâi. Chit nn̂g phō chok-phín sī Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm bûn-ha̍k pó-khò lāi-té ê pó-chio̍h. In lâu ê lân-bōng kì-tî, le̍k-sú keng-giām kap cho̍k-jîn sim-lí ê te̍k-teng chia--ê, lóng sī tong-kim ê lán iû-goân ē-tàng ùi chit lāi-té thèh tio̍h pó-kù ê keng-giām. Chiah-ê keng-giām chiàn^{n}-chiàn^{n}-sī ńg-bāng bîn-chú kap chū-iû ê cheng-sîn, chún-kóng ài hù-chhut sè^{n}-miā ê tāi-kè, mā beh thè ka-kī tui-kiû hēng-hok.(*Đam San Sú-si*). Chiah-ê

keng-giām koh ū kiông-tiāu leh tùi-khòng te̍k-jîn ê kòe-thêng--ni̍h, thoân-kiat, lí-kái, kiat-ha̍p thoân-thóng kap hiān-tāi, kok-chè kap pún-thó ê ì-gī (*Koat-chiàn Siraya*). Soah-bóe, góa siū^{n} beh koh chi̍t pái kiông-tiāu Tē^{n} Pang-tìn kàu-siū chi̍t kù chiâ^{n} ū ì-gī ê ōe, "Góa jīn-ûi Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm siang-hong m̄-nā tī hoán-khòng ap-pek ê sū-gia̍p téng-bīn, í-keng "kiat-gī kim-lân", chú-tō gē-su̍t bûn-hòa kau-liû chit-pêng mā sī "ōa^{n}-thiap hia^{n}-tī" ah." (Tran 2018:11)

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冊評

Book Review:
DINGANG THE GIAN

Chheh-phêng:
CHIÀN HÓE JÎN SENG
Chiàn-hóe jîn-seng, Tâi-oân chi sia^{n}

Tì-têng TĒ^{n}
Ô-chì-bêng-chhī
Kok-ka Tāi-hák Siā-hōe Jîn-bûn Hák-ī^{n}
The University of Social Sciences and Humanities Vietnam
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Chit-pún Oa̍t-lâm chok-ka Tân Jūn-bêng sian-si^{n} ê si-soán "CHIÀN HÓE JÎN SENG" tī Tâi-oân iōng Tâi-gí chāi-lāi ê 3 chióng gí-giân hoan-e̍k chhut-pán, sêng-kong ta̍h chhut kiàn-li̍p Tâi-oân chú-thé-sèng ê chi̍t pō, ín-chhōa lán iōng Tâi-gí ê ba̍k-chiu kiâ^{n} hiòng sè-kài, hō--lán kám-siū Oa̍t-lâm thó-tē ê bí-lē kap khó-thia^{n}, liân-kiat Tâi-oân kap Oa̍t-lâm ê ūn-miā, siong-sìn tùi Tâi-oân bûn-ha̍k ê sī-iá kap bī-lâi ū chin tōa ê khai-thok kap pang-chān.

Tân Jūn-bêng sian-si^{n} ê si-chi̍p iōng Tâi-bûn chhut-pán chin ū i tāi-piáu-sèng ê ì-gī. Tē-it, iōng Tâi-bûn lâi hơ-èng si-jîn tùi ji̍ok-sè iù-jī ê koan-hoâi. Chhin-chhiū^{n} tī "CHIÀN HÓE JÎN SENG" chit siú si--lih, lán khòa^{n} ti̍oh kiông-beh sit kin ê Oa̍t-lâm-lâng kóng:

"Góa soan-pờ
Góa m̄-sī goân-lâi ê góa

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Góa siáⁿ-mih lóng m̄-sī”.

Che sī si-jîn tùi chó̍k-kûn siōng chhim-chêng ê koan-chhat kap thiàⁿ-thàng, chit-chióng chhōe bô ka-tī ê thiàⁿ, tek-khak sī chi̍t-ê chó̍k-kûn siōng-kài chhim-tîm ê thàng-thiàⁿ.

Tn̂g-kî í-lâi, Tâi-oân-lâng beh tī ka-tī ê thó·-tē kóng pē-bú-ōe siū-chīn phì-siùⁿ, ap-pek, kàu-taⁿ chō-sêng siàu-liân sè-tāi chhōe bô ka-tī ê kin. Nā sī Tâi-oân-lâng bô lâng ē-hiáu koh kóng Tâi-oân-ōe, án-ne Tâi-oân-lâng kám koh iáu sī Tâi-oân-lâng? “CHIÀN HÓE JÎN SENG” Tâi-bûn e̍k-pún ê chhut-sì tio̍h sī tùi gí-giân, chó̍k-kûn siōng chhim ê chiok-hok, hō͘--lán tùi Tâi-gí liû-sit ê iu-chhiû thèng hó koh bān--kúi-tang-á, mā hō͘--lán kám-liām, chai-iáⁿ koh ū lâng tng teh ūi beh chò Tâi-oân-lâng phah-piàⁿ.

Tē jī, si-jîn iōng si hoán-khòng, lán siá Tâi-bûn hoán-khòng. Tâi-gí tī Tâi-oân it-tit lóng sī to-sò lâng ê bó-gí kap kiōng-tông gí. Tān-sī sio-liân-sòa ê gōa-lâi chèng-koân bô chun-tiōng Tâi-gí, kàu-io̍k thé-chè m̄-bat hō͘--lán siū kòe bó-gí ê kàu-io̍k, tì-sú to-sò ê Tâi-oân-lâng m̄-chai bó-gí ê tiōng-iàu-sèng kap kè-ta̍t, sīm-chì lâi kā i khòaⁿ bô. Tī hiān-chhú-sî ê Tâi-oân siā-hōe, siá Tâi-bûn soah piàn-chò sī chi̍t-chióng sî-tāi cheng-sîn kap hoán-khòng.

Si-jîn só͘ siá ê si pún-sin tio̍h ū hoán-khòng ê khì-bī. Hoán-khòng bô iàu-ì jîn-bîn ê chèng-koân mā phoe-phòaⁿ bô beh su-khó siā-hōe gī-tê, kam-goān chò lō͘-châi ê jîn-bîn. Chhin-chhiūⁿ chit siú “CHŪ KÓ Í-LÂI”:

“Só͘-ū te̍k-koân lóng chhim-hāi tio̍h jîn-bîn
Bô kong-pêⁿ tō chhiūⁿ tn̂g-se̍h ê kha-kiû
Ùi chit ki kha liàn kàu hit ki kha
Tiām-chēng kám sī n̂g-kim? Tiām-chēng sī chōe-ok...”

Chit-ê siā-hōe chēng lán chhut-sì tio̍h í-keng koat-tēng hó i ê bô͘-iūⁿ, só͘-í lán koh khah ài khì su-khó i ê ióng-khì kap gī-bū. Bô lâng siūⁿ beh chò hit-li̍ap tn̂g-se̍h ê kha-kiû, hō͘ lâng that lâi koh that khì. Tī chi̍t-ê bô chèng-siông ê siā-hōe, ta̍k-ê lâng nā lóng kek hō͘ tiām-tiām m̄ chhut-siaⁿ, koân-le̍k beh án-chóaⁿ sek-hòng chhut--lâi? Chit-sî koân-le̍k

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tio̍h ē lâi chhim-hāi jîn-bîn. Chiong-kî-bóe lán lóng sī kok-ka ki-khì ê kiōng-hoān, chōe-jîn. Kâng-khoán sī tùi jîn-sèng ê hoán-séng, si-jîn ê koan-hoâi mā siâng-sî chhut-hiān tī lēng-gōa chit-siú si--lih, “BÔ ÀN-SÈNG SIÁ Ê SI”:

“Bô lâng ē-tàng thoat-chōe, tng chi̍t-ê gín-á
Kàu ta^{n} iáu bô châi-tiāu chia̍h chi̍t-tè pháng...”

Si-jîn thàu-kòe koa-si kā--lán tēng-chōe. Lán mā iōng Tâi-bûn ê hoan-e̍k chhut-pán lâi kā si-jîn hôe-èng. Gún tio̍h-sī bô goān-ì koh kè-sio̍k khòa^{n} Tâi-gí tī hia bo̍k-bo̍k-siû, só-í goán khiā--chhut--lâi. “Gún sớ ńg-bāng ê siā-hōe sī se^{n} chò siá^{n} khoán, gún ka-tī lâi kái-piàn, ka-tī lâi khí-chō”.

Tē sa^{n}, iōng Tâi-gí ê ba̍k-chiu khòa^{n} hiòng sè-kài, jīn-bat Oa̍t-lâm ê bí-lē kap iu-chhiû. Chēng-kang ê chúi-éng teh phah, lán khòa^{n} tio̍h si-jîn khiā tī khe-á-kî^{n}, siū^{n}-khí kòe-khì tī chia hoat-seng kòe ê chiàn-loān, ba̍k-thâu kat-kat, tiām-chēng siá lo̍h chit-siú “CHĒNG-KANG KÎ^{n}”:

“Khe ah, m̄-thang koh phah chúi-éng ah, thia^{n} góa kóng
Nn̄g pêng ê chng-thâu í-keng sio-thong
Jîn-bîn ê hoeh-chúi m̄-sī chúi
Chhiá^{n} mài koh tōng to-pēng, hō͘ peh-sè^{n} pêng-an”

Jîn-bîn ê hoeh-chúi m̄-sī chúi, cho̍k-kûn ê tùi-li̍p sī siá^{n} lâng lâi chō-sêng? Oa̍t-lâm Tē^{n}, Ńg 2 pêng chèng-koân ê kiù-hun kiat-sok tī se-goân 1777 nî. Kàu-ta^{n} keng-kòe chiah kú-tn̂g ê sî-kan, sui-bóng nn̄g pêng ê chng-thâu í-keng sio-thong, Chēng-kang kî^{n} ê chúi-éng kap si-jîn ê sim-chêng iáu-sī bô hoat-tō͘ pêng-chēng. Si-jîn iōng un-jiû pit-chiam siá chhut chiàn-hóe ê bô-chêng kap peh-sè^{n} ê bô-nāi. M̄-nā sī Chēng-kang kî^{n} chit siú si, si-jîn tùi thó-tē ê koan-hoâi iáu koh chin khoah, ē-sái kóng piàn-ki̍p Oa̍t-lâm ê thó-tē, chū se-pak pêng ê soa^{n}-khu ta̍h kàu lâm-pō͘ ê Hô-sian chhī, khòa^{n} chīn chit tè thó-tē bí-lē ê chhiò-iông kap sòe-goa̍t ê liâu-hûn.

Lēng-gōa, si-jîn tùi lú-sèng ū te̍k-pia̍t ê koan-hoâi kap khek-ōe. Tī bô-chêng ê

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chiàn-hóe chi-hā, lâm-sèng thong-siông sī ài ūi kok-ka, ūi lí-sióng lâi hi-seng ho̍k-bū, lú-sèng bīn-tùi--ê, m̄ nā sī ài taⁿ chi̍t-ê ka-têng chek-jīm, chiong-kî-bóe iáu-sī in ê chi̍t-sì-lâng.

"I bô siong-sìn ang-sài í-keng hi-seng
Tō sǹg i ê chiàn-iú bô pòaⁿ ê tńg-lâi
Tī bông-bông cho̍at-bōng tiong tán-thāi
Tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ tī pòaⁿ-mê kiaⁿ--chhéⁿ"

Chit siú si hō chò "KĀ CHI̍T-Ê PENG-Á Ê KHAN-CHHIÚ SÀNG-CHÁU". Chiàn-cheng sớ chō-sêng ê éng-hióng, sī chi̍t-ê kò-jîn, chi̍t-ê ka-têng, sīm-chì chi̍t-ê sè-tāi. Sí--khì ê lâng í-keng kòe-khì, oa̍h--ê ê lâng thòng-khớ kap thoa-bôa chiah tú beh khai-sí. Chhin-chhiūⁿ chit-siú "KIM CHÍM-PÔ":

"Khang-chhùi ū gōa chhim kan-taⁿ i chai-iáⁿ
Pòaⁿ-mê tiám teng-á-hóe
Kim chím-pô tiām-tiām khòaⁿ i ê li̍at-sū pó-chō-kim
Iōng chhiú hó-leh-á kā khǹg lòe àng-á lāi"

Kim chím-pô ê kờ-sū tio̍h-sī Oa̍t-lâm chi̍t-tāi lâng ê sok-iáⁿ, mā sī Oa̍t-lâm kờ-sêng hiān-tāi bîn-cho̍k kok-ka jîn-bîn sớ lâu--ê hoeh kap ba̍k-sái. In chit tāi lâng sớ keng-le̍k--kòe ê khớ-thiàⁿ, í-keng piàn chò sī tì-ìm kiáⁿ-sun ê chớ-kóng-á-sán, hō̤ hiō-tāi m̄-bián koh cho-siū kâng-khoán ê khớ-lān. Chia ê kờ-sū mā kā lán thê-chhéⁿ, lán sớ ióng-iú ê it-chhè, lóng m̄-sī chiah-nī lí-sớ tong-jiân.

Siūⁿ beh iōng Tâi-gí ê ba̍k-chiu khòaⁿ ǹg sè-kài, tī hiān-chhú-sî ê Tâi-oân siā-hōe mā m̄-sī chiah-nī lí-sớ tong-jiân. Chhī-bīn siōng chin hán--tit khòaⁿ tio̍h Tâi-bûn ê chhut-pán-phín, gōa-kok bûn-ha̍k chok-phín hoan-e̍k chò Tâi-bûn chhut-pán sī koh khah chió. Nā Tâi-gí siūⁿ beh khui-ki hoat-hio̍h, tek-khak sī su-iàu ta̍k-ke kè-sio̍k phah-piàⁿ, hō̤ chiàⁿ-káng ê Tâi-oân bûn-ha̍k tāi-tāi seng-thòaⁿ.

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Oa̍t-lâm iōng ka-tī ê gí-giân, bûn-jī chò té-tì, kiàn-li̍p chú-thé-sèng, khí-chō bîn-cho̍k to̍k-li̍p ê kok-ka, sī Tâi-oân chin hó ê ha̍k-si̍p tùi-siōng. “CHIÀN HÓE JÎN SENG” chhōa lán keng-le̍k chiàn-hóe, thé-hōe khó-thàⁿ, hō͘ --lán ùi keng-giām ha̍k-si̍p, ùi thòng-khó tiong kiâⁿ--chhut--lâi. Lán thàu-kòe chit-pún chheh, m̄-nā li̍áu-kái Oa̍t-lâm, mā ē koh khah jīn-bat ka-tī.

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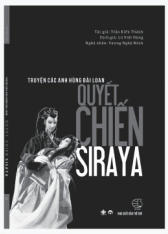

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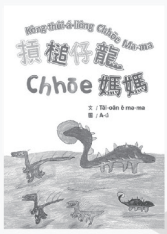

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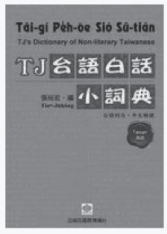

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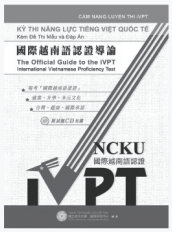

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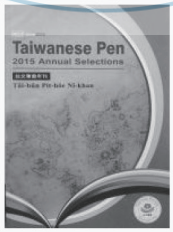

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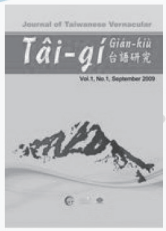

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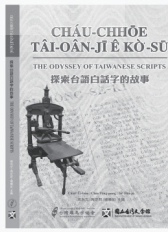

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