# Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

Vol.4, No.1, March 2012

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# **Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular**

# TAI-Gián-kiù 台語研究

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Tâi-lâm, TAIWAN

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# TAI-Gián-kiù 台語研究

Vol.4. No.1. March 2012

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# Manchus, Japanese, Chinese, or Taiwanese? Look at Political Writings in Kua-a-tsheh from the 19th to 20th century

#### Hongtin TENG

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#### Abstract

Who, exactly, are the people living in Taiwan? What is the identity of the Taiwanese? This paper will discuss the self-identification of the Taiwanese through looking at kua-a-tsheh (song books), to organize and compare the portrayals of the Manchus, the Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese and analyze the mindset and ideology of kua-a-tsheh writers in regard to these different labels. The texts examined mostly consist of Taiwanese Kua-a-tsheh from the 19th to 20th century, that contain descriptions of the standoff between the people and the authority, the police and citizenry, and the change in power authority. Through the political writing of some Taiwanese kua-a-tsheh, we look for the process of the evolution of Taiwanese self-identity. Tha paper also examines how change in power in 1895 and 1945 is viewed through the interpretive angle of history.

Keywords: Kua-a-tsheh, Taiwanese literature, politics of identities, political writing

# 清國人、日本人、中國人,á是台灣人? —Àn 19世紀尾kàu 20世紀尾ê台語歌仔冊 Tshiau-tshuē起

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## 摘要

到底tuà tiàm Formosa台灣J頁頭ê人是哈物人?到底台灣人是哈款 ê身分?本論文按算beh探討台語歌仔冊內底ê台灣人ê身分認同,整理比較歌仔冊內底對清國人、日本人、中國人kap台灣人ê形象描寫,分析歌仔冊對清國人、日本人、中國人kap台灣人所採取ê書寫態度。討論ê文本以發表tī 19世紀尾kàu 20世紀尾ê台語歌仔冊為主,包含《台省民主歌》、《士林土匪仔歌》、《義戰噍吧哖》、《昭和敗戰新歌》、《過去台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》、《寶島新台灣歌》、《五十年前的事件》、《台灣歷史說唱》、《歡迎祖國》、《台灣白話史詩》、《勇士為義來鬥爭一漚汪儒俠林崑岡》。透過台語歌仔冊對台灣政治ê書寫,tshiau-tshuē台灣人身分認同演變ê心路歷程。

關鍵詞:歌仔冊、台語文學、身分認同、政治書寫

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#### 1. 前言

「歌仔冊」原本是「歌仔」ê唱本,koh號做「歌仔簿」、「歌冊」。「台灣歌仔」tuè漢移民來台灣落塗釘根,已經有大約三百冬ê歷史¹。往過,「台灣歌仔」與「歌仔冊」是咱ê祖先生活ê gī-niū,mā bat hōo咱ê祖先tit tioh心靈安慰kap知識啟蒙。有關歌仔冊ê紹介kap研究ē-tàng參考施炳華《歌仔冊欣賞與研究》(2010)、杜建坊《歌仔冊起鼓——語言、文學與文化》(2008)、丁鳳珍《「歌仔冊」中的台灣歷史詮釋——以張丙、戴潮春起義事件敘事歌為研究對象》ê第二章「台灣歌仔」ê歷史回顧與現況(2005),以及國立台灣文學館ê「台灣民間文學歌仔冊資料庫」。(施炳華2011a)

到底tuà tiàm Formosa台灣頂頭ê人是啥物人?到底台灣人是啥款ê身分?本論文按算beh探討台語歌仔冊內底ê台灣人ê身分認同,整理比較歌仔冊內底對清國人、日本人、中國人kap台灣人ê形象描寫,mā beh分析歌仔冊對清國人、日本人、中國人kap台灣人所採取ê書寫態度kap意識型態。所beh討論ê文本以有描寫tióh 1895年kàu 1945年前後ê台灣官民對抗、警民衝突、統治政權轉換ê台語歌仔冊為主,包含《台省民主歌》、〈士林土匪仔歌〉、《義戰噍吧哖》、《昭和敗戰新歌》、《過去台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》、《寶島新台灣歌》、〈五十年前的事件〉、〈台灣歷史說唱〉、《歡迎祖國》、《台灣白話史詩》、《勇士為義來鬥爭一漚汪儒俠林崑岡》。透過tsit-kuá台語歌仔冊對台灣政治ê書寫,tshiau-tshuē台灣人身分認同演變ê心路歷程。

#### 2. 台灣歷史敘事歌紹介(1985-)

2.1. 《過去台灣歌》、《寶島新台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》 紹介

1996年陳健銘tī〈從歌仔冊看台灣早期社會〉論文,有講tioh新竹「竹

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 參見張炫文《台灣的說唱音樂》:「台灣的說唱音樂,無疑是直到明末清初,大量移 民從閩南粵東等地渡海來台墾殖之後才有的。」(1986:1)

林書局」發行ê《鄭國姓開台灣歌》、《寶島新台灣歌》、《過去台灣歌》,伊指出tsit三phō歌仔冊ê內容tsiânn sio-siāng,kan-na「繁簡不同」。 (陳健銘1996:66-67)

施炳華註釋唸讀ê《台灣歌仔冊欣賞》冊內有《寶島新台灣歌》,冊ê 頭前有《寶島新台灣歌》kap《鄭國姓開台灣歌》ê比較,施炳華àn用字kap 用詞ê異同,推論《鄭國姓開台灣歌》ê發行年代比《寶島新台灣歌》khah 早。伊指出:「二書的出書先後,是《鄭歌》在前,《寶歌》在後。出版 商為了增加商品種類與銷路,乃就《鄭國姓開台灣歌》換個書名、前後順 序顛倒,改為《寶島新台灣歌》。』(施炳華2008:28)

陳兆南收藏有一本竹林書局tī 1958年7月8日發行ê《過去台灣歌》,總共有7面,82 tsuā,tāk tsuā 4句,總共328句。內容主要是leh講台灣人tī日治時期艱苦ê hông殖民經歷。歌詞頭前30句是台灣簡史,an鄭成功講kàu 1945年中華民國接管台灣,歌詞落尾24 tsuā o-ló中華民國kap蔣介石,尾句用反攻大陸做結束。筆者thèh《寶島新台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》ê歌詞來比對,發現絕大部分ê歌詞sio-siāng;而-koh《寶島新台灣歌》kap《鄭國姓開台灣歌》有詳細唸唱清領時期台灣人ê生活,tī《過去台灣歌》無講tiòh。《過去台灣歌》真有可能是《寶島新台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》ê粗坯版本。

#### 2.2. 鹿耳門漁夫《台灣白話史詩》紹介

「鹿耳門漁夫」本名蔡奇蘭(1944-)<sup>2</sup>,在1995-1997年間創作ê《台灣白話史詩》(鹿耳門漁夫1998:78-97)。施炳華ê〈七字仔史詩〉指出鹿耳門漁夫是一位「繁華落盡見真純」ê詩人,指出《台灣白話史詩》是「台灣『史無前例』的台灣史詩」(施炳華2001:247-254)。1998年呂興昌發表〈古早七字入文林:論鹿耳門漁夫的台灣白話史詩〉,論述鹿耳門漁夫創作ê台灣長篇敘事歌《台灣白話史詩》,呂興昌指出:「面對漁夫這一系列的作品,把他定位在史論、史評等詠史之作的範疇裡,那麼我們將會發現,漁夫在扼要描繪他所認為最具代表性的台灣史事的同時,是有一個企圖的,

<sup>2</sup> 蔡奇蘭,男性,1944年出生於台南土城子,早年經商,現專注於詩歌創作,成立「台 江詩社」,創辦《台江詩刊》,現旅居加拿大,被譽為「七字仔大師」。(見鹿耳門 漁夫《鹿耳門漁夫詩集》,台南市立圖書館編印,2002.12,封面摺頁作者介紹)

那就是顛覆長期以來大中國思考模式的台灣史觀。」此外,呂興昌指出《台灣白話史詩》特別重庶民而輕英雄豪傑,同時批判台灣人ê劣根性。 (呂興昌1998)

2.3. 吳天羅〈台灣歷史説唱〉、丁進燈〈五十年前的事件〉紹介 吳天羅演唱ê《台灣史詩》bat收錄tī張炫文《台灣說唱音樂》(1986)ê 錄音帶內底,可惜kan-na節錄部分niā-niā;2000年雲林縣文化局出版《雲林 縣閩南語謠集(二)》mā有收錄吳天羅演唱ê長篇敘事歌〈台灣歷史說唱〉 (胡萬川、陳益源總編輯2000:2-90);2003年出版ê《雲林縣閩南語謠集 (五)》,kā吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉、〈太地動〉、〈歲月流轉〉tsit 三phō歌仔ê手稿整理出版,可惜無出版影音紀念專輯。(胡萬川、陳益源 總編輯2003:68-162)

吳天羅,雲林縣土庫鎮人,生tī 1930年,tī 2000年過身。2000年雲林縣文化局出版ê《雲林縣閩南語謠集(二)》,冊前特別指出:「謹以本書懷念雲林縣國寶級說唱藝術大師吳天羅先生」,tsit本冊收錄吳天羅演唱ê長篇敘事歌〈台灣歷史說唱〉,koh有附華語ê譯文;tse是陳益源tī 1997年5月13日所採錄ê演唱版本。陳益源tī tsit本書前ê〈序〉內底指出:「這首長篇敘事歌謠,結合了吳天羅十一、二歲時從七十多歲的阿媽那裡聽來的『幾代仔人的傳說』,以及他本身在日本佔領台灣時代的實際生活經驗,他採用傳承自民間而又兼具即興創作的七言四句聯形式來表現,說說唱唱;而台灣歷史命運的坎坷,台灣社會治安的多變,乃至台灣百姓生活的辛酸苦楚,自然流露其間。」陳益源確信tsit phō歌仔是「台灣長篇敘事歌謠的重要代表作,將來一定還會受到台灣文學研究者更大的注目」。(胡萬川、陳益源總編輯2000:序7-13)

吳天羅ê學生周定邦tī 2011年10月29擔任本論文tī中山醫學大學第六屆台灣語文暨文化研討會發表ê評論人,hit時伊指出:「吳天羅演唱的《台灣史詩》,tī伊ê手稿號名叫做《歷史台灣開墾》、《台灣故事》、《台灣四百年》,CD號做《日據殖民生活史跡》(吳天羅ka-tī灌音)、《蔣公抗日歌》(《來自台灣底層等聲音》,水晶有聲出版社,1991.11.20出版,1991.6月~10月灌音),台灣文學館『台灣民間文學歌仔冊資料庫』號做《台灣史

詩》等。」<sup>3</sup> 毋管歌名有幾種,tsit phō歌仔ê內容àn台灣古早ê原住民社會、 荷蘭時代、清國時代、日本時代,描寫kàu 1945年了後ê中華民國時代,會當 看出吳天羅對政治ê批評kap khau洗。

《雲林縣閩南語謠集(五)》mā有收錄丁進燈唱唸ê歌仔〈五十年前ê事件〉(胡萬川、陳益源總編輯2003:2-19),是1999年8月tiàm雲林縣台西鄉採錄--ê。內容唱唸1945年「日本戰敗中國勝」tsit ê時期前後ê台灣時勢,主要ê內容是leh講台灣人去南洋做日本兵ê代誌,kap 1944年(昭和19年)台灣遭受大空襲ê情形,落尾以1945年歡迎祖國來管台灣做結束。

2.4. 《台灣民主歌》、〈士林土匪仔歌〉、《義戰噍吧哖》、《昭和敗戰新歌》、《勇士為義來鬥爭——漚汪儒俠林崑岡》紹介

1895年大清帝國kap日本國簽訂「馬關條約」,kā台灣永遠讓hōo日本國,hōo清國pàng-sak ê台灣人tī 1895年5月25日成立「台灣民主國」,1897年吟唱tsit ê歷史ê《台省民主歌》(又名《台灣民主歌》)tī清國出版。關係《台灣民主歌》 ê版本kap作者,請參考張裕宏校注ê《臺省民主歌》(1999) kap施炳華ê論文〈《臺省民主歌》作者與腔調的探討〉(施炳華2011b);詳細注音註解,參考施炳華主持ê國立台灣文學館「台灣民間文學歌仔冊資料庫」。(2011a)

日本國軍隊àn 1895年5月29日對北台灣ê「澳底」攻佔台灣,kap台灣ê反 抗軍相戰,kàu 1895年10月21日tsiah進駐台南城。台灣總督tī 1898年頒布「匪徒刑罰令」來打擊抗日ê台灣人,m-koh一直kàu 1915年,台灣人ê武裝抗日行動猶原有,「歌仔冊」有kóng tiổh tsit-kuá抗日事件ê有三phō,一ê是〈士林土匪仔歌〉,由何連福口述、吳萬水筆紀(1954:55-56),唱唸1895 kàu 1899年中間發生tiàm北台灣ê「簡大獅」抗日行動;二是周定邦唱唸ê《勇士為

<sup>3</sup> 周定邦擔任本論文(hit時ê論文題目號做〈清國人、日本人、中國人,á-sī台灣人?—— Àn台語歌仔冊ê 1895 kap 1945年ê政治書寫tshiau-tshuē起〉)ê評論人,伊所提供ê紙本 意見。(中山醫學大學第六屆台灣語文暨文化研討會論文集,2011/10/29,台中:中山 醫學大學台灣語文學系)

義來鬥爭一漚汪儒俠林崑岡》<sup>4</sup>,林崑岡生tī 1832年(清·道光12年),人稱「武秀才」,因為毋願臺灣成做日本ê領土,1895年率領義軍對抗日軍,不幸犧牲。三是由周定邦創作kap自彈自唱ê《義戰噍吧哖——台語七字仔白話史詩》(周定邦2001),唱唸1915年發生tiàm南台灣ê「余清芳抗日事件」(koh稱做「西來庵事件」、「噍吧哖事件」)。<sup>5</sup>

1937年7月kàu 1945年8月中間,日本國發動「大東亞戰爭」,1942年4月開始向台灣人募兵,1944年9月開始tiàm台灣強制徵兵,kàu 1945年8月15日本天皇宣布投降,台灣人無因端去hông捲入tsit場戰爭,自1943年11月25日開始kàu 1945年8月,美國kap同盟國ê戰機來空襲台灣各所在。竹林書局發行ê「歌仔冊」《昭和敗戰新歌》(封面題名《日本拜戰擂檯對答》),有講tiòh台灣軍伕參加南洋戰爭kap台灣人bih空襲ê經驗。詳細注音註解,參考施炳華主持ê國立台灣文學館「台灣民間文學歌仔冊資料庫」。(2011a)

# 2.5. 《歡迎祖國》、《接迎祖國河山光復歌》、〈三二八見證歌〉、《桂花怨》紹介

1945年10月25日「台灣光復」,台灣人對「祖國」歡心期待,tsit時有汪思明在廣播電台演唱 ê《歡迎祖國》,唸唱hit當時台灣各界歡迎「祖國」 ê情形kap台灣人對未來 ê期待kap美夢。1946年邱清壽書局出版《接迎祖國河山光復歌》,由陳健銘收藏(陳健銘1996:95-96),唱唸1940年代台灣受英、美飛機空襲kap日本戰敗 ê情形,koh o-ló祖國光復台灣。

1945戰後ê台灣,因為「祖國」ê貪官污吏,1947年台灣發生悲慘ê 228事件。根據受害者ê口述歷史所改寫ê歌仔,有2 phō:就是1997年鹿耳門漁夫創作ê〈二二八見證歌〉(鹿耳門漁夫1998:198-203)kap周定邦beh tī 2012年2月出版ê 228口述歷史《桂花怨——台語七字仔白話史詩》,為228歷史留下見證。

<sup>4 《</sup>勇士為義來鬥爭—漚汪儒俠林崑岡》寫tī 2004.7.4,刻tiàm林崑岡紀念館內,無koh 另外發表。林崑岡紀念館tī台南市將軍區忠興里196號ê漚汪文衡殿ê文衡大樓2樓,展示 1895年抗日英雄林崑岡ê手稿、木造床舖等文物佮英勇抗日ê事蹟。

<sup>5 「</sup>余清芳抗日事件」(「西來庵事件」、「噍吧哖事件」)發生tī 1915年(大正4年),是台灣漢人武裝抗日事件中犧牲上tsuē、上慘烈--ê。主謀是余清芳,起事地點tī台南市ê西來庵,抗日行動爆發ê地點tī噍吧哖(今台南縣玉井鄉)。詳見李筱峰1999a:122-128。

鹿耳門漁夫創作ê七字歌仔〈二二八見證歌〉描寫台灣人沈義人tī 1947年228事件ê時陣所拄tióh ê真實受難故事。《桂花怨——台語七字仔白話史詩》mā是根據真實ê 228受難事件所創作ê歌仔<sup>6</sup>,由台南ê台灣說唱藝術工作室出版,受國家文化藝術基金會贊助,tī 2012年2月28下晡2:28 beh tiàm國立台灣文學館舉辦新冊發表會。本論文截稿ê時,因為《桂花怨——台語七字仔白話史詩》猶buē出版,所以tsit篇論文無討論tióh tsit phō歌仔。

#### 3. 歌仔冊內底ê「人」ê書寫探討

到底tuà tiàm Formosa台灣頂頭ê人是啥物人?到底台灣人是啥款 ê身分? Tsit節按算beh探討台語歌仔冊內底ê對「人」ê描寫,整理比較歌仔冊內底 對清國人、日本人、中國人kap台灣人ê形象描寫,透過台語歌仔冊對台灣 政治ê書寫,tshiau-tshuē台灣人身分認同演變ê心路歷程。

#### 3.1. 荷蘭人

有荷蘭人出場ê台語唸歌有吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉,以及鹿耳門漁 夫ê台語歌仔冊《台灣白話史詩》。

吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉採錄tī 1997年5月13號。吳天羅講伊所唱ê代誌,是in阿媽kā伊講--ê,tse是代代流傳落來ê傳說7。〈台灣歷史說唱〉講:荷蘭人iáu無來台灣進前,台灣先有原住民,tī明朝國家尾年政治敗害,漢人為beh脫離明國ê暴政,開始移民來台灣,荷蘭來台灣了後,人人叫in「紅毛番」。Tsit phō歌仔指出荷蘭人主要是為tiòh beh kap台灣做貿易,致使台灣ê鹿仔滅種,糖、芎蕉mā hōo in買了了,mā因為án-ni,台灣ê原住民kap漢人lóng thàn大錢。Tī政治tsit方面,荷蘭tú來ê時陣,「台灣猶閣無首領,自由生活自由行」,因為台灣ê物產好,荷蘭驚別ê國家會來相搶,tsiah派兵來台灣,koh起城堡、設大砲來顧守,漢人tsham荷蘭簽條約,台灣人賣

<sup>6</sup> 周定邦擔任本論文ê評論人,所提供ê意見。(中山醫學大學第六屆台灣語文暨文化研 討會論文集,2011/10/29,台中:中山醫學大學台灣語文學系)

<sup>7</sup> 周定邦擔任本論文ê評論人,指出:「吳天羅ê後生吳現山bat kā我講,是伊kā in老父講台灣ê歷史,吳天羅chiah編ê,ai chhōe吳現山請教清楚。」(中山醫學大學第六屆台灣語文暨文化研討會,2011/10/29,台中:中山醫學大學台灣語文學系。)

物產hōo荷蘭人,荷蘭人ài維持台灣ê治安。〈台灣歷史說唱〉koh有講tióh荷蘭人先借錢hōo台灣人來開設蔗廍(phōo),對台灣人真友善,互相lóng有錢thang趁,台灣人jú來jú好額。一直kàu鄭成功來phah台灣,荷蘭人看破tsiah投降離開台灣。

鹿耳門漁夫《台灣白話史詩》ê上卷第二首「荷蘭據台38年(西元1924-1662)」寫tī 1995年9月18號。用海權國家來定位荷蘭,指出荷蘭為tiòh貿易利益phah澎湖,因為明朝「不愛台灣顧澎湖」,荷蘭tsiah有機會佔領台灣,hit時台灣ê漢人kap原住民lóng m敢反抗,致使台灣ê 真濟物產lóng hōo荷蘭運去外銷趁大錢,台灣人拚老命做工種作,kan-na ē-tàng渡三頓。荷蘭人koh控制台灣人ê宗教信仰,害死尪姨,ài人改信耶穌。《台灣白話史詩》koh有講tiòh郭懷一反抗荷蘭ê代誌,失敗了後去hông五馬分屍。直kàu鄭成功攻台灣,台灣tsiah脫離荷蘭ê統治。

#### 3.2. 明國人

有明國人出場ê台語唸歌有吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉,以及鹿耳門漁夫ê台語歌仔冊《台灣白話史詩》。

吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉講:明朝國家尾年政治敗害,奸官勾結惡霸kap鱸鰻,食錢ê貪官親像虎,百姓因為明國ê暴政,食虧苦憐,真濟相招走對台灣來。

鹿耳門漁夫《台灣白話史詩》ê第一首「台灣原早生番島(西元 0-1624)」寫tī 1995年9月18號,寫tioh明國ê海賊kap明國軍方ê對抗。講Hōo 明國招降ê鄭芝龍是kài有福氣ê海賊<sup>8</sup>,福建ê漳州、泉州居民,mā大量移民來台灣。第二首「荷蘭據台38年(西元1924-1662)」,批評明朝「真糊塗」,「不愛台灣顧澎湖」,致使台灣hōo荷蘭佔領。

<sup>8</sup> 鄭芝龍(1604-1661)是福建省泉州府南安縣人,1623接手海賊李旦ê船隊kap勢力, 1624年將事業重心àn日本suá到台灣,1625年接收tú過身ê海賊頭顏思齊ê勢力,成做台 灣海峽ê海賊王。1628年hōo明國招降,替明國顧守沿海。1633年拍贏荷蘭艦隊,稱 霸台灣海峽。1946年放棄支持南明政權,投降清國。後生鄭成功阻擋失敗,爸囝分 途,鄭成功接收海賊勢力,繼續反清。1661年鄭芝龍tī北京hōo清國處斬。詳見李筱峰 1999a:30-35、王育德2000:19-21)、維基百科〈鄭芝龍〉。

#### 3.3. 鄭成功+漢人

竹林印冊局ê《寶島新台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》對鄭成功有buē tsió ê描寫。稱呼伊是「開台鄭國姓」、「民族英雄鄭國姓」,講伊是漢人所以亦肯投降滿清,「堅心守志卜復明」,tsiah會tshuā兵來開墾台灣。事實上,鄭成功ê阿母是日本人,Tsit phō歌仔kan-na講伊有漢人ê血統,是無kàu tsiâu-tsn̂g--ê。《寶島新台灣歌》講:「原早台灣無人管」,kan-na原住民,直到明國ê尾年kap清國初期,因為天下大亂,鄭成功tsiah tshuā漢人來開墾台灣,koh o-ló鄭成功ê將官lóng是忠心koh勇敢ê人,tī台灣建造磚仔城,建設南寧府;可惜鄭成功後來破病過身,換鄭經、鄭克爽接任,落尾去hōo清國phah 敗。

竹林印冊局ê《過去台灣歌》(1958年7月8日發行)對鄭成功ê描寫kan-na幾句,o-ló伊是「開台鄭國姓」,因為「明末清初天下亂,國姓即來建台灣」,「成功漢人不降滿,帶兵即來開台灣」。

吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉講是鄭成功kā荷蘭人趕離開台灣,鄭成功想beh kā台灣當做伊反清復明ê根據地,鄭軍入台南街ê時陣,受tioh tsiânn濟台南人民ê歡迎,逐家肯定鄭成功是「大忠臣」,kui群ê好額人捐真濟錢銀糧食beh來幫贊伊。鄭成功死了後,台灣人koh起廟來祭拜伊,因為逐家認為伊真疼惜百姓,buē oo-se,koh phah-piànn開墾台灣,替逐家開路,所以人民lóng真歡喜kā伊sann-thīn。〈台灣歷史說唱〉比《寶島新台灣歌》koh-khah o-ló鄭成功,kā鄭成功講kah可比聖王賢主,伊ê人格行為lóng是正面--ê。

鹿耳門漁夫《台灣白話史詩》 ê上卷第三首「鄭國姓開台21年(西元1662-1683)」寫tī 1995年9月18。Tsit首歌o-ló鄭成功是「台灣開基鄭國姓」,講伊來台灣屯兵是為beh反清復明,建立東寧國,可惜伊39歲tō過身,伊ê後生鄭經來台灣mā無好過,tak日lim酒,mā活kàu 39歲niâ。《台灣白話史詩》指出東寧國ê勢力kan-na管南台灣,山邊有「平埔番」ê威脅,鄭軍mā有投降清國ê,suah來反抗鄭氏王朝。Tsit phō歌仔mā指出hit時,真濟清國ê移民來台灣,種麻、曝鹽、做糖來外銷。《台灣白話史詩》同情鄭氏「朝政亂不平」,雖然有大臣陳永華leh經營台灣,koh有沈光文tī善化leh「和番」,亦-koh朝中出「奸臣」馮錫範,害死鄭經ê長子,koh勸鄭經ê次子鄭克塽投降清國。落尾施琅tshuā清兵來攻台灣,奸臣劉國軒koh煽動tak-ke投降清

#### 國,復明火種tō熄去ah。

《台灣白話史詩》對鄭成功本人mā是肯定kap支持--ê。M-koh,tsit phō 歌仔特別強調奸臣ê敗害,對東寧國來投降清國充滿遺憾。

歌仔冊內底ê鄭成功kap伊ê時代lóng是正面ê形像,koh講伊真為人設想,對人真好。M-koh,伊tī台灣敢真正tsiah-nih好?賴貫一ê《認識台灣族群關係》指出陳永華經營ê東寧國:「對於不肯服從的原住民部落,採取比荷蘭人更為殘酷的統治手段,自鄭成功時代開始就有大肚社原住民反抗的紀錄。特別是鄭經治台期間,對台灣原住民族極為霸道。」(賴貫一2002:34)武力奪取原住民ê土地,殘忍屠殺原住民,無kā原住民當做「人」來對待,tse是台灣所有外來ê侵入者共同ê罪行,鄭氏ê東寧國mā sio-siāng。

#### 3.4. 清國人

清國tī歌仔冊內底罕得有正面ê描寫,雖然有統治權,而-koh無台灣人ê緣。

《台省民主歌》內底ê清國官員雖然有gâu人賢臣劉銘傳,m-koh伊已經告老回鄉,tshunê是奸臣kap賣國者,清國皇帝光緒君是一ê可憐ê帝王,因為伊ê軍隊真弱,「水面並無一戰船」,koh伊信任ê李鴻章無盡忠koh kap日本勾結,可見伊識人不明。Ah,台灣人信靠ê台灣民主國總統唐景崧,mā是自私驚死愛錢ê善á組。1985年5月ê台灣陷入大亂,清國駐tiàm台灣ê兵仔mā變做匪徒,四界烏白搶。「一日無君天下亂」、「乞丐羅(路)漢多得權」。《台省民主歌》稱劉永福叫做「劉義」,m-koh歌內底無直接講tiòh伊ê事蹟行為。

周定邦ê《勇士為義來鬥爭一漚汪儒俠林崑岡》批評「清國」tī 1894年ê 甲午戰爭「戰輸舍體面」,kā台灣割予日本是「真了然」。周定邦tī《義戰 噍吧哖》mā怨嘆清國無愛tih台灣,kā台灣送hōo酷刑ê日本統治。

竹林印冊局ê《寶島新台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》有真濟所在描寫tióh清國時期ê台灣。指出清國看台灣無點,所以無用心經營台灣,清國統治ê台灣「文化未進步」、「市街袂建設」,交通mā無整頓,koh無設學校,tióh-ài有錢人ê囝孫tsiah有機會好好受教育。對台灣hông割hōo日本國ê代誌,tsit phō歌仔指出是李鴻章簽約kā台灣「賣去」,罵清國害台灣人tī日本

統治下艱苦50年。9

吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉講台灣是「去予清朝來侵入」,清國時代 ê台灣治安tsiânn bái,台灣四界有「土匪」,土匪koh勾結「奸官」,奸官 收土匪ê錢,無顧百姓。落尾清國kā台灣割hōo日本管,引起台灣人tsiânn不 滿。

鹿耳門漁夫《台灣白話史詩》ê上卷第四kàu十四首lóng是leh講清國時代ê台灣史。認為「滿清算來是異族」,台灣是去hōo清國「征服」--ê。康熙皇帝棄嫌台灣是「化外」ê小所在,統治台灣ê制度真bái,致使有朱一貴來反抗。雍正皇帝mā是無心治理台灣,時常有「官逼民反」ê衝突。直到乾隆皇帝,伊khah重視民生,tsiah hōo台灣「新生機」,鹿耳門漁夫o-ló伊「開山撫番功一等」,hōo台灣人jú來jú好額。鹿耳門漁夫o-ló乾隆皇帝「開山撫番功一等」,tse是漢人ê觀點;對台灣ê原住民來看,乾隆皇帝強制推行原住民漢化政策,koh侵佔原住民ê土地,的確是大惡人。

針對台灣人1985年hông割hōo日本,《台灣白話史詩》kap《台省民主歌》kāng-khuán,lóng講是李鴻章來所害,痛罵李鴻章是「龜」,批評清國「賣某做大舅」,落尾怨嘆台灣人gōng直,hông棄sak koh認定「光緒猶原是阮君」、「懷念祖國無怨恨」,實在是「可憐」。《台灣白話史詩》第4首1683年ê時代,台灣人認為清國是異族,kàu 1895年ê時,台灣民主國suah kā清國當做祖國,tsit款ê變化,是歷史leh kā人戲弄,所以,鹿耳門漁夫講台灣人siunn土直,gōng kah tsiânn苦憐。

#### 3.5. 日本人

1895年大清帝國kap日本國簽訂「馬關條約」,kā台灣永遠讓hōo日本國,hōo清國pàng-sak ê台灣人tī 1895年5月25日成立「台灣民主國」,日本國軍隊àn 1895年5月29日對北台灣ê「澳底」攻佔台灣,kap台灣ê反抗軍相戰,kàu 1895年10月21日tsiah進駐台南城。台灣總督tī 1898年頒布「匪徒刑罰令」來打擊抗日ê台灣人。1896年日本國會通過「第63號法律」(世稱「六三法」),使台灣總督將行政、立法、司法等大權獨攬一身,1921-1945年改換

<sup>9</sup> 本段歷史數據轉引自李筱峰(1999b:39-40)。白色恐怖時期政治獄ê數據是李筱峰引述bat擔任立法委員ê「謝聰敏」ê調查。

做「第三號法案」(世稱「法三號」)(李筱峰1999a:103-104),台灣人tī日本嚴酷ê殖民統治渡過50年ê歲月。

日本人tī歌仔冊內底lóng是惡毒歹款ê描寫,比清國koh-khah顧台灣人怨。

竹林印冊局ê《過去台灣歌》、《寶島新台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》用「臭狗」來罵日本人,有真濟所在leh批評日本人對台灣人酷刑ê統治方式,指出台灣人tī日治時期是艱苦50年,親像去hông用索仔縛tiâu-tiâu buē得自由。認為是台灣人siunn過好管,所以日本人上愛台灣,m-koh,「日本全無惜百姓」,「下司專是想食錢」。特別是日本ê警察,真gâu欺負台灣人,有真濟人「冤枉受刑」koh「無塊通訴冤」。Tsit phō歌仔mā認為日本落尾會戰敗,是因為做siunn濟歹代誌。

《台省民主歌》内底ê台灣人kā日本當做入侵ê異族,稱日本天皇叫做「番王」,日本兵是「番兵」,tse是中國漢人ê思維,中國ê漢人認為家己tsiah是「人」,其他ê人種lóng 兩是人,是「番」,人是有文明--ê,番是野蠻--ê;番tī中國漢朝許慎ê《說文解字》内底有解說,tō是四支腳ê野獸。《台省民主歌》主要批評ê人是李鴻章,為日本人ê描寫khah注重tī相phah相戰ê過程。内底有批判日本人「真無樣」,因為in會強姦台灣婦女;mā有o-ló日本兵「賢排陣」,koh有糧草kap先進ê武器,致使台灣兵輸kah 真thiám。M-koh mā有日本「落難」ê時,台灣人mā有phah贏ê時陣。落尾日本使用強制ê統治手段,hōo台灣人jú來jú m敢反抗。

〈士林土匪仔歌〉,唱唸1895 kàu 1899年中間發生tiàm北台灣ê「簡大獅」抗日行動。Tsit phō歌仔o-ló抗日ê台灣人kā「臺灣占返有功勞」,可見伊對台灣割hōo日本管,並無認同,稱日本是「番」。日本phah輸tō用àu步來招降,落尾日本「反面」,因為日本ê武器大砲 khah強,簡大獅tō輸ah。

日本國tī 1895年統治台灣,台灣人自北kàu南lóng有武裝反抗,《台省民主歌》kap〈士林土匪仔歌〉主要唱唸ê是北台灣ê反抗,ah周定邦ê《勇士為義來鬥爭一漚汪儒俠林崑岡》是真難得ê唱唸南台灣抗日ê歌仔,tsit phō歌仔是周定邦為tioh台南市將軍區ê漚汪文衡殿ê林崑岡紀念館所寫--ê。生tī 1832年(清·道光12年)ê林崑岡tī1895年率領義軍對抗日軍,後來戰敗自殺。Tsit phō歌仔以「儒俠」來o-ló林崑岡,講伊「做人義氣」、「文質彬

彬」,tī地方真受敬重。《勇士為義來鬥爭一漚汪儒俠林崑岡》認為林崑岡 抗日是「起義」,in是「義士」、「義軍」;用中性ê「日本」、「日軍」 來稱呼日本統治者。批評日本「心肝真粗殘」、「刣死真濟台灣人」,致 使林崑岡in勇猛反抗,雖然落尾輸予日本ê相戰經驗kap武器,義軍死真濟, m-koh「日本元氣傷真重,袂當烏白擱刣人」。《勇士為義來鬥爭一漚汪儒 俠林崑岡》o-ló林崑岡「捨生忘死留名聲」。

周定邦tiàm《義戰噍吧哖》對酷刑ê日本統治者有真濟描寫。Tsit phō歌仔稱呼日本人是「狗」,日本官是「狗官」,日本軍是「狗軍」,日本警察是「狗警」,《義戰噍吧哖》描寫真濟日本統治者對台灣人ê惡毒行為,Koh有日本ê警察tsiânn gâu蹧躂台灣人,作穡人ê日子比清國時代koh-khah 歹過,台灣人jú來jú散赤。余清芳in抗日「起義」,組織「義軍」,是因為「狗官無是非」、「同胞被欺」,想beh「趕狗消心恨」,「為着囝孫ê幸福」、「追求自由來抗暴」。落尾余清芳ê「義軍」phah輸,日本對台灣人展開屠殺kap報復,《義戰噍吧哖》批評講:「日本刣人真夭壽」,「可憐人民苦哀哀」,冤枉hông屠殺ê人上無有三、四千。

1937年7月kàu 1945年8月中間,日本國發動「大東亞戰爭」,1942年4月開始向台灣人募兵,1944年9月開始tiàm台灣強制徵兵,kàu 1945年8月15日本天皇宣布投降,台灣人無因端去hông捲入tsit場戰爭,自1943年11月25日開始kàu 1945年8月,美國kap同盟國 ê 戰機來空襲台灣各所在。

《昭和敗戰新歌》是leh慶祝日本1945年戰敗,歌內底批判日本「束縛台灣足無理」,台灣人實在有影足歹命,戰爭時期ê台灣,少年人hông逼去南洋替日本相戰,台灣人hông當做牛,日本政府逼台灣人「做勞務」、「緊開防空壕」,「騙咱後日有功勞」「害死人馬歸萬千」、「日本逐國都怨恨」,hó-ka-tsài美國kap英國gâu作戰,kā日本phah倒,台灣tsiah脫離日本ê苦毒。

Tuà雲林縣ê丁進燈tī 1999年唱唸ê歌仔〈五十年前的事件〉,主要是leh 講日本統治台灣尾期戰爭時代ê代誌,tsit phō歌仔稱日本人是「日本狗」,罵日本真不該,叫台灣人去南洋替in相戰,tú tiổh美軍來迫戰,差一點仔死 tī南洋。Koh講,台灣leh hông空襲ê時,防空壕(hô)hōo日本人bih,台灣人 kan-na ē-tàng tī外面驚惶hông炸。所以,日本戰敗,台灣人lóng tsiânn歡喜。

吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉有kài濟所在講tioh台灣人受日本統治ê苦憐代,稱日本人是「日本仔」(Jit-pún-á),日本加「仔(á)」有看輕ê意思,m-koh比「狗」加真好ah。吳天羅批評日本真歹,講日本「真夭壽」,是台灣人ê「大冤仇」,日本時代台灣人tsiânn散赤,警察對台灣人真粗殘,kā台灣人當作tsing-sinn leh蹧躂,剝削台灣人。

 $ar{M}$ -koh,吳天羅mā有o-ló日本人,講日本時代ê台灣「治安真好」,破案效率tsin緊,koh雖然有食錢ê官員, $ar{m}$ -koh in buē「官官相為」。吳天羅tī tsia有講tioh「彼一朝代一朝代lóng奸臣得害忠臣,你lóng無看--ê?」忠臣去hông 害kah tsiânn悽慘。雖然伊無講是啥人ê朝代,想mā知伊講ê是中國人ê政治;koh有伊o-ló日本ê治安kap破案ê速度緊,真有可能leh暗指中華民國ê治安差,政治鳥暗。

鹿耳門漁夫《台灣白話史詩》ê中卷第一kàu十首lóng是leh講日治時期ê台灣史。鹿耳門漁夫kā日本人號做「日本狗」,1895年反抗日本軍ê台灣人是「義軍」,ah幫助日本人ê辜顯榮是「走狗」,日本人講台灣人是土匪,事實上日本人是「偷」台灣人「美好家園」ê土匪。日本tú佔領台灣ê時,「用重法」,「百姓土地被強奪」,警察「親像活閻王」,台灣人hông phah sốg--ê,koh利用保甲制度來hōo台灣人互相監視,台灣人因為受盡苦楚,無論是漢人á是原住民lóng bat kap日本對戰。日本人tī語言政策上,ài台灣人學日語,致使「可憐一群蕃藷子,開嘴合嘴日語聲,甘願不認台灣娘」。《台灣白話史詩》中卷落尾批評日本軍人「愛臭槍」,引起戰爭,害台灣囡仔去南洋替日本相戰,死buē tsió人,koh因為戰爭糧食欠缺,台灣人營養不良。等到日本敗戰了後,「豬來狗去」,台灣又koh換人統治。

《台灣白話史詩》kap吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉kāng-khuán,lóng有o-ló 日本時代ê治安,另外,《台灣白話史詩》認為昭和天皇對台灣khah「溫存」,允准台灣人kap日本人通婚kap認養囡仔,台灣人māē-tàng做官,m̄-koh薪水á是比日本人khah tsió,mā khah oh升官。

#### 3.6. 美國人、英國人、蘇俄人

《昭和敗戰新歌》有講tioh日治尾期,同盟國ê pue-lîng-ki來空襲台灣ê時,英國kap美國有「好意」,「空襲專用下暗時」。

《過去台灣歌》、《寶島新台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》有kóng tiỏh 美國,認為美國對台灣tsiânn好,看台灣會起,用公道來幫贊台灣提升國際 ê聲望。

《過去台灣歌》尾第5句有指出:「流傳萬國人敬重,不比蘇俄心奸雄。」《鄭國姓開台灣歌》、《寶島新台灣歌》是寫做「不比日本即奸雄」。Koh,《過去台灣歌》有加講:「蘇俄想要吞世界,結識中共周恩來。」

#### 3.7. 中國人、中華民國人(「祖國」)

Tī竹林印冊局ê《昭和敗戰新歌》、《過去台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》、《寶島新台灣歌》、丁進燈ê〈五十年前ê事件〉kap邱清壽書局ê《接迎祖國河山光復歌》lóng講「祖國」(以蔣介石為領袖ê中華民國)是kā台灣àn日本人手頭解救出來ê大恩情人。Mā因為án-ni,kap蔣介石ê所tshuā領ê中國國民黨做對敵ê中國共產黨,tī竹林印冊局ê《過去台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》、《寶島新台灣歌》lóng使用hit時中華民國官方ê名稱,hông罵做「共匪」。

1945年10月汪思明唱唸ê歌仔《歡迎祖國》,是「臺北廣播電臺選定放送歌」(婁子匡、朱介凡編着1963:227-228)。Tsit phō歌仔徹底反映hit當時台灣人歡喜ê sim-tsiânn:

祖國今日大得勝,臺灣無上大光榮,愛民如子人欽敬,祖國永遠大振興。臺灣光復即平靜,是咱祖國的才情,着眞感謝伊重慶,受伊福蔭明明明。祖國為咱臺灣人,費了眞多的苦工,即層恩惰足眞重,費用心神五十冬。

事實suah m是án-ni,日本m是hōo中華民國phah敗--ê,中華民國家己hōo日本phah kah悽慘落魄,是同盟國ê美國、英國phah敗日本--ê,中華民國根本tō無時間kap心tsiânn來「為咱臺灣人,費了眞多的苦工」,tsit phō歌仔koh講「今咱不免做奴隸」,koh有《過去台灣歌》ê尾tsuā是:「效忠領袖蔣

總統,軍民準備卜反攻,光復大陸有希望,破滅朱匪毛澤東。」事實是,1945年了後來台灣ê中國人不三時公開討論「台灣人受日本奴化教育」ê問題,致使,中國人有理由m kā政府機關ê要職hōo台灣人做,koh看buē起台灣人,害台灣人koh變做二等國民。Koh,中華民國用出版品審查制度,思想控制,逼台灣人m-kánn公開批評「祖國」,koh為tióh beh通過出版品ê審查,不三時tō ài配合政策講白賊話。

就算是1987年台灣已經解除戒嚴,m-koh,台灣人心內對政治猶是kài敏 感kap緊張。丁進燈tī 1999年唱唸ê〈五十年前ê事件〉,mā猶講台灣因為kui 「咱祖國管」,「進入自由ê時代」、「安居樂業享太平」(胡萬川、陳 益源總編輯2003:12)。對中國國民黨主政ê中華民國,完全是o-ló kap感謝 niā-niā,無任何負面ê批評。

M-koh,tng咱若拍開1945年kàu 1987年ê台灣歷史,竟然發現事實卻是:「歡迎祖國」ê台灣人,suah hōo「祖國」嫌棄,台灣人hōo中國人批評是「受日本奴化教育」ê二等國民,「台灣省行政長官公署」ê 21名高層官員kan-na有1 ê台灣人,316名中層官員mā kan-na有17 ê台灣人(李筱峰1999b:6-7)。「台灣光復」mā害台灣hông捲入去中國ê「國共內戰」,「祖國」ê貪官污吏致使1947年發生「228大屠殺」。了後,1949年10月1日「中華人民共和國」舉行開國大典,kāng年12月7日「中華民國」政府避走逃來台灣,自1949年5月kàu 1987年7月tī台灣實施「戒嚴」,1950年4月台灣公布「懲治叛亂條例」,kāng年6月公布「動員勘亂時期檢肅匪諜條例」,tī 1949年kàu 1987年間ê「白色恐怖」時期,台灣發生29,000外件ê政治獄,有14萬人受難,其中有3,000 kàu 4,000人hông銃殺。

吳天羅tī 1997年唱唸ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉對中國國民黨主政ê中華民國政府,tioh有khah無kâng ê描寫,伊使用「今」來指稱當今ê政府(中華民國),無使用「祖國」tsit ê名稱,mā無o-ló kap感謝當今ê政府(中華民國);顛倒是講:台灣過去早前ê無政府時代,歹人直接由社會正義ê制裁處罰,比「今」(中華民國)較好。吳天羅指出:「政治若好,歹人就會消除,政治若bái,歹人就會愈旺盛出來,愈生愈濟。」伊o-ló早前ê台灣,因為無政府,所以「地方無人敢做歹」;ah「今」歹人是「政府

的官員得予偎靠」,「政府就是得保護歹人」(胡萬川、陳益源總編輯2000:10-12)。Tse是吳天羅tī〈台灣歷史說唱〉內底對中國國民黨主政ê中華民國政府ê批評,kapJ頁面hit幾phō o-ló「祖國」(中國國民黨主政ê中華民國政府)予台灣人「安居樂業享太平」ê歌仔來相比,完全顛倒反。Tsit phō歌仔對「今」ê政府ê描寫較少,主要是leh肯定荷蘭kap鄭成功時代ê台灣政治;koh有,對中國古早ê「明朝」kap「清朝」ê政治,是持負面ê看法,in ê官員kap「今」ê政府sio-siāng,lóng是奸官勾結歹人。會當看出吳天羅tuì「祖國」(中國)ê整體看法是負面--ê。

Tī 1997年,鹿耳門漁夫寫《台灣白話史詩》ê時,台灣已經解除解嚴 10冬ah,話tō ē-tàng講hōo明白。Tī中卷第十首落尾有講tioh日本敗戰了後,「豬來狗去」,台灣又koh換人統治,用「豬」來稱hōo中華民國政府,koh指出「國軍來台無規矩」,台灣人tsiah會怨嘆罵in是豬。最後,鹿耳門漁夫問講:「台灣建國等何時?」已經是棄sak「祖國」,行向台灣獨立ê新思考。正式棄sak『祖國」(中國),提出「台灣建國」ê ng望。

1997年鹿耳門漁夫koh有創作〈二二八見證歌〉ê七字歌仔,對「祖國一中華民國」來台灣了後ê酷刑行為,有詳細ê描寫。Tsit phō歌仔是台灣人沈義人ê真實故事,伊tī二二八ê時hông判死刑,後來伊ê家族開liáu舊台票70外億萬khoo來疏通tsiah無罪。內面有批評1945年來台灣ê中華民國政府:

日本戰輸回故鄉 台灣光復用硬強 中國軍隊像元凶 劫收日產大家衝 牽親引戚黑白嚷 貪官污吏搶米糧 一群土匪沒天良 豬官陳儀大昏庸

沈義人tī 228 ê時受陷害,作者怨嘆「台灣百姓大老實,思念祖國心直直」,suah hōo「鴨霸」ê國民政府欺負戲弄。得救liáu後,沈義人kui世人lóng 兩肯講北京話。〈二二八見證歌〉落尾講:「歷史一面後照鏡,台灣子孫沒人疼,統派想起大青驚,趕緊抹黑講無影。」希望tsit phō歌仔ē-tàng為歷史做見證,mā祈求台灣永遠和平。

## 4. 「台灣人」到底是啥物人?

吳天羅tī〈台灣歷史說唱〉o-ló荷蘭kap鄭成功ê統治;對中國ê明朝、清朝kap「今」ê中華民國政府,持負面ê看法,認為是bái ê政府。鹿耳門漁夫 ê《台灣白話史詩》o-ló鄭成功ê統治,批評荷蘭、清國、日本kap中國ê統治。Koh鹿耳門漁夫ê〈二二八見證歌〉透過228受難者ê描寫,批判中華民國政府對待台灣人ê期殘行為。

毋過,對照鹿耳門漁夫tī〈二二八見證歌〉kap《台灣白話史詩》內底,強烈批判中華民國政府對台灣人ê迫害kap屠殺;鹿耳門漁夫ê《台灣白話史詩》、吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉kap其他ê所有ê台語歌仔冊sio-siāng,對鄭成功in對台灣原住民ê迫害kap侵佔完全無講tiòh。

Koh再講,台語歌仔冊內底對鄭成功ê o-ló、美化、神化,對照汪思明 ê《歡迎祖國》、丁進燈ê〈五十年前ê事件〉,以及竹林印冊局ê《昭和敗戰新歌》、《過去台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》、《寶島新台灣歌》kap 邱清壽書局ê《接迎祖國河山光復歌》,對「祖國」(中華民國) kap蔣介石hit種無符合事實ê美化kap感恩,敢而是kài sio-siāng?

台語歌仔冊前-nā 無批評鄭成功in對台灣原住民ê粗殘行為,koh一直o-ló 鄭成功in,tse是kài無妥當--ê。Tse kap鹿耳門漁夫tī《台灣白話史詩》o-ló乾隆皇帝「開山撫番功一等」sio-siāng,lóng是khiā tiàm漢移民ê觀點,對台灣人ê原住民祖先in過去所遭受tióhê不公不義,suah無聲無說,甚至o-ló迫害原住民ê外來者。Thang講,台語歌仔冊猶欠台灣ê原住民一个歷史ê公道。像tsit款歷史ê公義不彰ê曖昧現象,tī tsit-máê台南mā猶存在,無論是猶無升格á是已經升格做直轄市(2009)ê台南市政府,tsit幾年lóng盛大舉辦「鄭成功文化節」,來紀念鄭成功"開台"三百外年,án-ni來"慶祝" bat tī三百外冬前來台灣追害西拉雅(Siraya)ê鄭成功,敢亦是值得咱來討論ê活動leh?

清國政府tī歌仔冊內底罕得有正面ê描寫。《台省民主歌》內底ê清國官員雖然有gâu人賢臣劉銘傳,mī-koh清國皇帝光緒君識人不明,信任奸臣李鴻章。《台省民主歌》批評hit時tī台灣ê中國官員kap兵仔,除了劉永福,其他差不多lóng是無愛台灣、無為台灣,koh因為台灣反亂,suah變做匪徒。莫怪吳天羅會tī〈台灣歷史說唱〉批評清朝ê官府勾結「土匪」。竹林

印冊局ê《寶島新台灣歌》、《鄭國姓開台灣歌》mā批評清國無用心經營台灣。

對tioh台灣人1985年hông割hōo日本,《台灣白話史詩》kap《台省民主歌》lóng講是因為奸臣李鴻章,tse mā是無夠符合歷史--ê。事實上,自佔領台灣以來,清國政府一直就是看台灣無點,歧視台灣koh剝削台灣;顛倒是日本知影台灣ê價值。M-koh日本mā是為著beh剝削台灣,而且,日本人剝削台灣ê手路kap技術比清國koh-khah厲害;所以,日本人tī歌仔冊內底差不多lóng是惡毒歹款ê描寫,比清國koh-khah顧台灣人怨。

對tion h武裝反抗日本ê台灣人,〈士林土匪仔歌〉o-ló抗日ê台灣人kā「臺灣占返有功勞」;而-koh,對照問定邦用「儒俠」、「義士」、「義軍」來o-ló抗日ê林崑岡in,《義戰噍吧哖》mā用「義軍」、「義士」來o-ló余清芳in「起義」抗日,koh鹿耳門漁夫ê《台灣白話史詩》稱呼抗日ê台灣人是「義軍」。〈士林土匪仔歌〉suah用日本政府所定義ê「匪」、「土匪仔」,來稱呼抗日ê「簡大獅」in。

「到底,台灣人是土匪呢?還是奴隸呢?」<sup>10</sup> 頂面tsit个質疑是咱台灣文學作家楊逵tī 1977年所提出--ê。Tng-tong台灣人beh成做tsit ê台灣人,亦-koh過去久長ê hông殖民hông編造ê台灣歷史kap台灣人ê形象,就親像楊逵所指出--ê,台灣人tī文學ê歷史內底,台灣人tī歷史ê書寫內面,有tsin tsuē需要咱重新thai選kap批判ê所在。就算是用台灣人ê母語所寫出來ê歌仔冊,就算是自認有台灣意識ê台語作家,tī無意中,過去所中(tiòng)ê hông殖民ê毒素,猶原會無tiunn無tî走出來。Tse 就需要咱去詳細kā伊清洗kap揀選。

吳天羅ê〈台灣歷史說唱〉雖然講日本是台灣人ê大冤仇人,tuì台灣人無好; m̄-koh,mā肯定日本時代ê台灣治安真好,koh khau洗當今(中華民國)ê治安無好,官廳kap歹人勾結,kap日本時代ê政府根本就buē比得。

咱ê行政院研究發展考核委員會自2007年開始,以「民眾的政治態度及族群觀點」為主題,每年進行一次民調。2009年5月27日公布民意調查顯示,tī台灣人á是中國人ê認同指標上,有64.5% ê台灣民眾認為家己是台灣人,kan-na 11.5%自認是中國人,自認是中國人koh是台灣人ê比率mā kan-na

<sup>10</sup> 楊逵〈把那些被埋沒的挖出來〉1977.7.7寫,收tiàm《1933-1943台灣新文學叢刊・第6 卷・台灣新文學・刊頭詞》(台北:東方文化書局復刻本)。

18.1%。根據統計數字顯示,認同家己是台灣人ê人,是認同家己是中國人 ê 6倍,若是kā自認是台灣人mā是中國人(兩者都是)計算入去台灣人ê認同,án-ni認同家己是台灣人ê人已經有8成27,顯示認同家己是台灣人已經是台灣ê主流民意。(黃維助2009)

鹿耳門漁夫ê《台灣白話史詩》棄sak中國(祖國),明確提出伊對台灣獨立建國ê期待,台語ê歌仔冊總算出現一phō堅持咱台灣人家己做主人ê歌仔,tse的確值得咱歡喜ê代誌。當然,咱猶需要有koh-khah濟ê台灣作家,用台灣人ê目tsiu,繼續書寫咱家己ê歷史,發展咱家己ê文學。

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#### 讀者回應

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# A Collection and Analysis of Taiwanese Poems, 2000-2010

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#### **Abstract**

The development of Taiwanese literature has become more and more mature, as more and more people participate in its writing and research. Its subjects have also become more extensive and diverse. In particular, the genre of poetry is the largest in terms of quantity. In the past, most Taiwanese poetry researchers classified poems according to individual poets. Even though some researchers compared two or more poets a comprehensive collection of poetry is still needed to complete research classification for a certain time period. This is very time-consuming and labor-intensive, since it is only possible when the researcher has a degree of understanding about Taiwanese-language poets. Therefore, most researchers on Taiwanese literature generally do not work on this area.

In this study, we focused on Taiwanese poetry from 2000-2010. First, the definition of Taiwanese poetry is established and the scope of research delineated so a selection method may be decided. Secondly, the poets are analyzed in terms of their output and creative process. Finally, Newspapers, magazines and poetry anthologies are analyzed to have a sense of the number of poems published in poetry publications. From these we can understand how Taiwanese poetry developed during this period. Thus from these aspects we look at Taiwanese poetry to show its diversity, while also establishing a basis for the study of modern Taiwanese poetry in the future.

Keywords: Taiwanese poetry, modern Taiwanese poetry, poetry journal

# 2000-2010年台語詩收集kap分析

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## 摘要

台語文學的發展ná來ná成熟,參與創作、研究 é人mā lú來lú濟,題材變kah khah豐富koh多元,尤其是詩 é 部份,數量比起其他文類kē真濟。 M-koh過去台語詩 ê 研究者,大部分是以個別詩人 ê 詩作chiâ n作範圍,當然mā是有一寡á人是用2 ê 以上 ê 詩人之間來做比較,總是beh用某一leh時期chiâ n做研究 ê 範圍,是需要全面性 ê 作品收集chiah有法度來完成,che是真費時kah費工 ê,mā需要對台語詩壇有一定程度 ê 了解chiah有才調做,所以一般 ê 研究者bē做chit方面 ê 研究。

本文選定ê範圍是以2000年kâu 2010年ê台語詩來做研究,首先先對台語詩下定義kap設定研究ê範圍,chiah進一步提供收集ê方法。第二部分是以詩人來做分析,看創作數量濟少以及分析這11年間詩人創作ê現象。第三是以報紙雜誌kap詩集/選集來分析,看每一ê詩刊有jōa濟詩的產生,由此看出台語詩tī這leh時期ê發展。Ùi chit kui-ê方面來看台語詩ê發展kap證明台語詩ê多元,對未來ê台語現代詩研究mā有一定ê根據。

關鍵字:台語詩、台語現代詩、詩刊

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#### 1. 話頭

台語文學 ê 發展 ùi 19世紀 ti oh 開始,起頭 ti oh 有詩 ê 出現,hit 當陣詩是發表 tī《台灣府城教會報》中,以全羅書寫 ê 聖詩為主 1。一直 kà u 日治時期,用羅馬字書寫台語詩 ê 風氣猶原存在,另外親像賴和、楊華等等作家攏試用台灣語文 2來寫詩,總是因為「國語」政策加上戰爭的發生被迫停止。後來國民政府來台,隨推行「國語」政策,致使「台語」詩方面 ê 創作情形更加困難,這會當講是國語教育 ê 霸權下,台灣本土語言 ê 生存空間一直受壓抑,最後漸漸無發聲 ê 所在。

一直kàu 70年代ê鄉土文學論戰,開始對社會意識kap鄉土文學做為當時ê主流訴求,漸漸開始有人用台語來創作,寫出台語詩作。發展kàu 80年代,親像林宗源、向陽、林央敏等人,大量用台語來chiân做書寫ê工具,出產了濟濟作品,in算是台語詩發展一個新ê開始。

1987年解除戒嚴,因為文學創作更加自由,真濟作家tī這陣踏入台語文學這個kho·á,親像陳明仁、李勤岸、方耀乾等等作家,kàu這陣,in ê影響力iáu是真大。現此時進入21世紀,因為社會風氣變liáu khah自由,各方面攏khah無受限制,加上網路、電視ê影響,因此作家會當接觸koh khah濟新奇ê物件,予作品tú活潑,題材tú豐富。另外,台灣語文相關系所ê成立,開始培養一寡á少年人來學習自己ê母語,除tiáu有保存母語ê意義外,mā訓練出in寫作ê能力。Jî-chhián這kúi年來,無論官方iáh是民間代表攏舉辦真濟kap台語文學相關ê比賽chham活動,透過各種活動予koh khah濟人來了解台語,這攏是促進台語文學的發展更加豐富ê原因。

台語文學的發展ná來ná成熟,參與創作、研究ê人mā愈來愈濟,題材變kah khah豐富koh多元,尤其是詩ê部份,根據方耀乾ê研究講出「投入台語詩書寫ê人遠遠超過小說、散文kap戲劇ê總人數數十倍」、「佇目前台語文學史的書寫,台語詩可能份量上kài濟³」。由此會當知影台語詩ê量真

<sup>1</sup> 親像1885〈Iâ-sơ siók góa〉、〈o-ló siōng-tè〉,1886〈Khiam-pi〉等等。

<sup>2</sup> 當時所謂ê台灣語文是指"全漢字"寫台語ê方式。

<sup>3</sup> 方耀乾2008〈台語文學文類範疇考察〉,《2008第四屆台語文學國際學術研討會》, 頁11-12。台南:金安出版社。

濟,成就mā會當講是siōng懸ê。另外,林央敏bat講過,「戰後台語文學運動以來,台語詩發展得最早、最熱烈,因此和其他文類譬如講台語小說、散文、戲劇比起來、詩作的題材是最為繽紛多元」4。事實上經過筆者收集2000年以後ê作品kap翻閱各種台語雜誌來看,台語詩ê出版專冊比起小說kap散文數量是真正ke真濟,tī雜誌上,詩出現ê數量mā遠遠超過其他種文類。會出現這種情形,筆者認為,對初學者來講,台語詩是siōng好上手ê一種文類,伊無需要經過人物設定、情節安排等等過程,只要有意境、有想法,短短á kúi句mā會使,達kàu一ê程度後,進一步開始注重各種手路ê呈現。Jî-chhián創作詩ê時間,比起其他文類所愛開ê時間ke khah少,tī短時間內創作就會當得到真大ê效益,因此,真濟人一開始chiah會由詩創作進入台語文學這ê kho-á。

本文是針對台語詩來討論,過去ê台語詩研究者,大部分是以個別詩人ê詩作chiâ<sup>n</sup>作範圍,當然mā是有一寡á人是用2 ê以上ê詩人之間來做比較,m̄-koh,用某一leh時期chiâ<sup>n</sup>做研究ê範圍來探討台語詩ê作品,除了中興台文所黃靜品所寫的〈當代台語詩中的庶民意像及其政治意識(1970-2005)〉以外,就無其他相關的研究。最主要是因為beh做時代性ê研究需要全面性ê作品收集chiah有法度來完成,che是真liǎu時kah費工ê,mā需要對台語詩壇有一定程度ê了解chiah有才調做,所以一般ê研究者bē做chit方面ê研究。本文第一部分是針對台語詩做定義,有清楚的定義後,研究的範圍才會精確,最後提供大家收集的方法,予後面的研究者知影beh收集chiah-nī大範圍的資料應該先作的功課。第二部分是將2000-2010年ê台語詩做統計,會當看出kúi-ê方面,其一是通算出in ê總數量,有詳細的數量以後,chiah知台語詩到底是濟kàu siá<sup>n</sup>-mih程度。其二是了解toh一寡作家tī這leh時期是最主要ê創作者kap觀察tióh ê現象分析,最後是beh看每一ê詩刊有jōa濟詩ê產生,由此會當知影發表台語詩是以toh kúi-ê詩刊為siōng主要ê所在。

目前tī台語詩ê研究方面,並無人做過這種收集kap分析,因此透過筆者 ê研究,希望提供逐家對台語詩環境ê了解,mā映望會當對台語詩ê創作有 新的想法kap意義。

<sup>4</sup> 林央敏2006〈歷史與審美的合一—論方耀乾的詠史詩〉,《台文戰線》,第四號, 頁49。

### 2. 台語詩定義、範圍kap方法

#### 2.1. 台語詩定義

若講著台語詩,每一ê人ê定義攏無仝,m-koh mā有相仝ê所在。親像 呂興昌講:

台語詩的發展,有兩條平行的路線,一條行向民間文學,伊對短篇歌謠發展出長篇七字仔說唱;另外一條行向作家文學,就是一般所講的新詩或是現代詩人的創作。5

這兩條平行線發展出無仝方向ê創作方式,以本文所收集ê現代台語詩,是khah偏向第二條,iah就是現代詩人ê創作,親像七字á kap歌謠方面本文並無收錄,tīē面無收錄ê範圍有講tiòh。

方耀乾ùi廣義kap狹義ê角度來為台語詩作定義,伊講:

Àn廣義角度來講,而管是文言詩抑是白話詩,只要是用台語思考所書寫出來的,應該lóng算是台語詩。不過若 àn狹義的、以「口語」的角度來看,文言詩若欲算是台 「語」詩mā是有較勉強。6

一般只要討論tioh定義ê問題,通常攏會ùi廣義kap狹義ê角度作伙來解釋,m-koh nā是用廣義ê來看,範圍siun過大,文體kap形式等方面mā需要koh再討論,因此,大部分ê人攏會採用狹義ê講法,tī chia筆者mā是採用此講法,因為khah符合本文收集台語詩的標準。

另外作家林央敏tī《台語詩一世紀》mā講:

台語詩是指台灣人用台語白話文創作的詩作;就是作家

<sup>5</sup> 呂興昌, 〈詩/歌中的台灣意象:第二屆台灣文學學術研討會〉宣讀論文,台南:成 大中文系、台文所承辦,台東文教基金會主辦,2000年3月,頁11-12。

<sup>6</sup> 方耀乾2006〈生產一個開始——台語詩史書寫問題初探〉,《詩歌kap土地ê對話》, 頁3-2。

使用台語文書寫現代自由形式的新詩,現此時的台語詩 恰過去傳統古詩、漢文詩有差別,傳統詩作四句聯、七 字仔形式固定、有押韻,有的用文言音唸讀,hām現代 台語語詞無全,依主要指的是用台語白話文寫的詩作。7

林央敏將過去傳統古詩、四句聯、漢文詩等等lóng排除在外,只有是用台語白話文來書寫,形式自由ê新詩chiah是台語現代詩,真清楚界定範圍,此種講法是大多數人所採用ê講法。

Ùi以上學者ê觀點來看,歸納出共同ê想法就是,台語詩就是以現代白話文寫成ê,用自由ê形式所展現的,用台語去思考所寫出來ê作品,kah傳統ê詩是無全ê。就筆者為本文ê台語現代詩所定義是,用台語這種語言所寫ê,運用自由形式所完成ê新詩,就是台語現代詩,因此,對林央敏所講ê定義,筆者認為是khah完整的,mā認同伊ê講法。另外,傳統古詩、漢文言詩因為需要講究ê是格律、平仄、對仗kap用韻,就是講字數愛仝款,詞性相仝但是聲調倒péng。當然chit-má所寫ê詩bē完全具備chit寡規則,總是tī台語詩中,若是有tông-chê具備2種條件,chiū bē收入來,第1是逐句ê字數lóng sio-kâng;第2是lóng有押韻。符合chit 2款ê本文就無收錄,因為若準每一句lóng仝字數,表示che是特別經過安排ê,chiū失去胡適先生原本beh拍破ê五言七言格式規則,另外,beh押韻是必須愛用tàu字ê方式來創作,會妨礙kui首詩ê「意境」。

#### 2.2. 收集ê範圍

本文選定ê範圍是2000年kàu 2010年ê台語詩來作研究,會選定ùi 2000年開始ê原因有2ê,第一是2000年等於是一ê新ê世紀,進入新世紀對整個社會來講必然會產生新ê元素,算是做一ê汰換kap交接。第二是2000年對台灣社會來講,發生一件大代誌,就是頭一擺ê政黨輪替。其實政治ê影響力是真大ê,不只影響tioh社會,mā包括整個文壇、社團等方面,以創作來講,對題材、風格、用詞等等攏會有無全ê元素產生。綜合以上ê原因,所以範圍就由2000年開始。

<sup>7</sup> 林央敏編2006《台語詩一世紀》,頁3。台北:前衛出版社

另外需要特別提出ê是,本文所講ê台語現代詩,並無包括客語詩、原住民語kap其他種母語ê詩。

本文所收集ê詩攏是以作品的出版年kap發表年為主,像講詩是tī 1999年完成,但是出版成專冊iāh是發表tī雜誌的時間是2000以後,本文攏會收錄在內。Nā是講原本出版的時間是tī 2000年以前,再版的時間是2000年以後,本文chiū無將伊收錄入來。簡單講就是第一pái公開發表ê時間,愛tī 2000以後,chiah有準算。

特別beh說明ê是,翻譯ê作品無收錄,無論是英文翻做台文,iah是中文翻做台文,攏總無收入本文ê範圍。因為每一種語言攏有伊獨特ê所在,透過翻譯有可能會失去了伊原本ê文學性、形式kap內容,親像方耀乾所講的:

語言有伊獨特ê質素,語言kap語言之間是無法度完全對譯--ê。將一種語言翻譯做另外一種語言必然會sńg-tng、增加、扭曲、誤譯、甚至創新一寡新ê意涵、節奏、語音、形式、語氣等等。8

另外,翻譯者是m知影原作者創作時陣ê心情,因此無法度完全精準用詞,所以有一leh m-tioh,真有可能就失去原本ê意思,因此,為tioh避免這種情形出現,翻譯ê作品就無收錄在內。M-koh nā是家己ê作品家己翻譯,本文就會將伊收入來,親像李勤岸ê〈夫妻〉、〈形kap影〉9,這原本是中文寫成ê,後來伊家己koh再翻譯做台文,這種就khah無頂面所講ê問題,所以有收錄。

另外,針對歌詩ê部份是兩是beh收錄,以本文ê界定是,nā是這首詩歌是先有詩後來chiah配樂,就在收集ê範圍,nā是先有旋律,後來chiah填詞,這種ê就無將伊收錄,因為nā先有詞chiah來配合音,思考方式就會無全,受著ê限制mā khah濟,tī本文就將這種定義做「流行歌謠」。當然少數會有模糊ê地帶,cheē-tàng koh個別來做研究。

<sup>8</sup> 方耀乾2008〈Ui邊緣kàu多元中心:台語文學ê主體建構〉,頁3。博士論文:國立成功 大學。

<sup>9</sup> 李勤岸2004《咱攏是罪人》,頁86、頁160。台南:真平出版

有 ê縣市政府、民間團體sù-siông會舉辦文學獎,iá h是參加研習營mā 定定會結合創作獎作伙來辦活動,m-koh nā只是單純收件來評選,最後 無發行做專冊,這種mā無算在範圍內底,chiū算是私人場所發表ê,親像 A-khioh賞<sup>10</sup>、中小學教師鄉土語文文學創作獎、鹽分地帶文學營創作獎 ……等等。

特別愛講ê是,所有詩ê創作者愛是大學時期以上ê學生所創作chiah有收錄,就是講若是tī高中時期iah是國中小時期所寫ê詩,就無算在內,因為有ê囡仔所寫ê詩雖然hông歸類是現代台語詩,m-koh kah囡仔詩chin sio-kâng,為tióh boaih增加研究ê困擾,所以無收錄。康原tī《彰化縣第四屆台語文學創作比賽》ê評審感言中有提起,囡仔詩因為beh hō囡仔好念,會安排押韻,mā只要注意語言ê音樂性kap語言ê技巧<sup>11</sup>。親像彰化縣每年會舉辦台語文學創作比賽,雖罔講in有分做「兒歌」kap「詩歌」,m-koh tī國小學生ê創作中,mā是看著真濟囡仔詩的影,親像為著beh好唸所以押韻、仝一leh句型一直重複,這種kah囡仔詩ê特色就真相kâng,所以本文就無收錄。這部分並亦是依作者ê學歷來做分析,所以作者是亦是讀過大學並無影響,不jî過台語詩tī這11年ê發展有向下發根ê現像,有真濟小學生tī老師ê協助下創作,nā無去界定所收集ê時期,就會khah濟問題產生。

所有收錄ê台語詩發行ê所在lóng是tī台灣,若是海外發行ê,就無算在內,親像《台文鄉訊》、《台灣公論報》kap《台文通訊》……等等,其中《台文通訊》前142期是tī北美聰美基金會發行ê,kàu 143期開始由台灣李江却文教基金會接手來發行。以下將無收錄ê範圍條列式列出來,hō人更加清楚本文收集ê範圍。

#### 無收錄ê範圍是:

- a 翻譯ê作品(ná是家己其他語言ê作品家己翻譯作台語,就無算在內)。
- b 囡仔詩。
- c 高中以下學生所創作ê詩。

<sup>10</sup> A-khioh賞雖然逐年lóng有公開發表頒獎,總是無出做專冊, m̄-koh得獎ê作品後續會刊tī 《台文Bong報》內底,所以附錄ê表格中mā有列入來做統計。

<sup>11 《</sup>彰化縣第四屆台語文學創作比賽》,彰化:彰化縣政府,2007年12月,頁7。

- d 七字á/歌仔冊。
- e 漢文言詩
- f 民間歌謠、流行歌謠(請參考頂面ê定義kap說明)。
- g 海外發行ê報紙雜誌、詩集/選集。
- h 無ISBN iah是無官方許可ê。

#### 2.3. 收集ê方法

本論文必須愛全面性來收集2000-2010年所出版ê台語詩,採用歷史資料整理法,系統性ê整理、歸納kap台語詩相關ê資料,che需要將台語文學相關ê冊kap雜誌——翻閱,以免有làu-kau。Tī—開始完全無頭緒ê時,一定愛先ùi國家圖書館的chhiau-chhoē系統來找台語文相關ê作品,soah落來koh去期刊系統找台語文相關雜誌,先有初步ê概念後,開始hian內容,這需要開非常chē ê時間,m-koh tī專冊kap雜誌中是siōng緊發現其他作品刊物ê所在,因為會有消息專欄,親像講tī《島鄉台語文學》第8號中,會看tioh《菅芒花台語文學》出刊ê消息,àn-ni chiū koh找tioh一種刊物。另外報紙方面,除liáu去hian目前iáu有發刊ê報紙,mā參考各年ê《台灣文學年鑑》,互相來比對,m-koh發現年鑑中有部份ê台語詩無收集chiâu-ûn。下面就將收集詩ê方式做一leh條列式ê分類,以便清楚了解過程kap方法:

- 1. 先ùi圖書館ê查詢資料全面性找出kap台語文相關ê專冊kap雜誌,建 議先ùi國家圖書館kap國立台灣文學館找起。
- 2. Ùi台語文專冊ê附錄找出相關台語詩。
- 3. Ùi各雜誌、詩刊中來找出台語詩。(親像:海翁台語文學、鹽分地帶文學、台文戰線、王城氣度、掌門詩學、新使者、笠詩刊、創世紀、台灣現代詩、台灣詩學、菅芒花詩刊、菅芒台語文學、島鄉台語文學、蓮蕉花台語文學、台灣字、湠根母語文刊、台灣鄉土雜誌、文學台灣、台灣新文學、淡水牛津文藝、臺灣文學評論、時行台語文月刊、掖種、府城詩刊、台文bóng報、台文通訊、首都詩報、台灣囡仔報、台灣詩學季刊)
- 4. 翻閱一般報紙找出台語詩作品。(親像:《台灣時報》、《台灣日報》、《自由時報》、《聯合報》、《民眾日報》)

- 5. Hian各年ê《台灣文學年鑑》來比對。
- 6. Ùi出版社來找每一年度出版ê台語詩專冊。
- 7. Ùi全國碩博士論文資訊網找相關議題ê論文, chiah由內容kap參考冊目來找出台語詩專冊。
- 8. 由台語詩刊登出來ê其他出處來找其他的線索。12
- 9. 参考其他台語網站kap作家的blog找出làu-kau ê台語詩。
- 10. 利用台灣文學年鑑中ê資料來比對。13
- 11. 詢問長期創作台語詩ê前輩資料kám有làu-kau iāh是不足的所在,koh 再做補充。
- 12. 最後將所有ê資料作一leh整理、交叉比對,將重複iá是不足的資料補入去,最後kui-ê完整整理出來。(親像:各種文學獎、各年度文選、文學創作比賽)

透過以上ê方法,會當完整收集2000-2010年之間ê台語詩。

# 3. 台語詩收集kap分析

Tī過去,台語文學一直tī市面上ê《台灣文學史》頂面欠席,甚至一直kàu tan iáu有學者會講,台語文學應該只有台語、並無文學產生,只有運動,並無學術研究。這種講法chit-má愛推翻,台語文學而-nā有文學,mā有真濟研究發表,就以博碩士論文來講,用台語文來寫作ê是lú來lú濟,親像施俊州、方耀乾、陳慕真等等,in ê論文lóng是用台語文來書寫,研究 ê方向mā是kah台語文學史有關係。另外,像黃文達伊ê碩士論文是收集 1986-2008之間ê台語小說來做研究,根據伊ê收集,這leh時期總共有400篇 ê小說,由此來證明講台語文學不但有文學,mā累積kàu一定程度ê數量通 hông chiân做一leh史來研究。

筆者身為一個台語文學研究者,仝款需要來證明台語ê文學是真豐富

<sup>12</sup> 舉例來講,陳金順〈地牛翻身〉,刊載tī《島鄉詩情》,但是最後有註明其他刊登所在1999/12/3民眾日報鄉土文學副刊,就會當去民眾日報的鄉土文學副刊找看無其他的láu-kau收著的台語詩。

<sup>13</sup> 台灣文學館有將台灣文學年鑑數位化,所以會使進入文學館網站就會使看tioh,網址是http://almanac.nmtl.gov.tw/opencms/almanac/index.httl(2011/4/16最後參考時間)

kap多元ê,因此收集2000-2010年之間ê台語現代詩來做分析,這是有真大ê 意義存在,藉由筆者全面性ê收集台語詩,提供未來ê研究者一leh方便查詢 ê所在,當然mā涌證明台語詩ê總數量是遠遠超過其他ê文類。

本部分所統計 ê數量是2000-2010年之間 ê台語詩,tī文中所統計 ê總數量是6842首,tī chia所有收入 ê台語詩第1 pái發表 ê時間必須愛tī 2000-2010年這leh期間 chiah 會使,親像林沉默 ê〈一聲故鄉一聲苦〉,tī 2002年真平企業公司出版 ê《林沉默台語詩選》有刊出, m-koh並 m是頭一擺發表,過去tī 1991年8月20號 ê台灣時報 chiū已經刊出過,所以並無算入本文 ê 範圍中。

另外,總數量mā已經khàu- tiāu發表2 pái以上ê詩,也就是講,若是發表超過2 ê所在ê作品,kan-ta算一pái nā-tiān。舉例來講,藍淑貞《思念》中lóng總有70首詩,亦-koh筆者統計出來tī出成專冊chìn前有62首已經先發表過ah,所以算tī《思念》內底ê只chhun 8首niâ,這部份是需要注意ê,亦是講《思念》這本冊內底只有8首詩。

# 3.1. 以詩人來分析

Tī 2000-2010年之前發表量siōng濟ê前10名分別是: 第1是陳正雄,有359首;第2是胡民祥,有231首;第3是李勤岸,有198首;第4是沙卡布拉揚,有183首;第5是藍淑貞,有181首;第6是宋澤萊,有179首;第7是許正勳,有174首;第8是福爾、卡庫,有152首;第9有2位,是莊柏林kap陳金順,有143首;第10是林央敏,有128首。

Tī 2000-2010年間lóng一直有leh創作 ê 有10位,分別是方耀乾、林文平、莊柏林、李勤岸、許正勳、陳金順、陳正雄、陳潔民、楊焜顯kap藍淑貞,in ê 創作量mā達kàu一定ê數量,jî-chhián lóng有詩集出版,是chit-ê 時期真核心 ê 創作家。

前十名ê作家有6成是一直有leh創作ê,會使講創作台語詩對in來講是真重要ê代誌。親像陳正雄tī這ll年中攏有創作,其中koh有4年是有出版詩集,這4年ê台語詩數量攏超過50首,甚至2001年出版ê《風中的菅芒》達kàu 83首,其他kui年平均起來mā攏有15首左右,所以講加起來ê總數是排頭名ê。

另外有4成ê作家雖罔無連續逐年攏有作品, m閣因為有創作ê時每一年數量攏差不多,累積起來mā真濟。有ê作者tī某一年ê作品量khah濟,所以

加起來 ê 總數mā是有一定 ê數量,親像胡民祥tī 2000-2006伊 ê 發表數量就 khah 少,大約是2-3首, 而閣 kàu 2007年開始就漸漸變濟,尤其2008年是伊發表台語詩 ê 大年,總共有166首,佔總數的7成。另外一位是沙卡布拉揚,伊 tī 《 俭魔神仔契約》有139首一系列 ê 詩,kan-na一本冊就佔這11年 ê 創作量 7成以上,其他年就差不多10首左右,所以講伊 tī 2003年有 chiah 濟 ê 創作量,總數算起來就會排入去前10名內底。

除了以上kui位作家外,iá有真濟人leh創作,m-koh若以總數量看來,有5成左右ê作者kan-ta發表一首詩,探討其原因有2ê,第1是經由學習所創作ê,親像經由各種台語文學iah是創作練習ê課程,要求ài交出作品,既然有作品產生就去投稿發表,課程結束chiu無koh繼續創作。第2是為tioh某1種目的來創作,親像beh參加文學獎比賽iah是懷念阿嘉老師所寫ê作品。以2009年kap 2010年來看,因為教育部有舉辦母語創作獎,所以ke真濟作品出現, ùi這部份咱會使證明,若有舉辦文學獎,事實上是會提高逐家創作ê動機,另外,主辦單位入選得獎ê人數,mā會影響chit 1年ê台語詩數量,像 說2009年教育部母語文學獎,除liáu前三名以外,入選佳作ê各組分別有10ê,m-koh 2010年就kan-ta選前三名,無佳作,所以數量上來講,會有cheng-chha。

創作者每一年ê創作量若有有一定篇數,大部分是先tī期刊雜誌上發表,最後chiū會匯集成冊,所以講,一首詩可能會tī kúi-á ê所在刊登,iā就是有一稿多投ê現象,根據黃文達收集台語小說來講,mā是有仝款情形,不jī過因為台語小說ê作品量少,所以是不得已ê現象<sup>14</sup>。以台語詩來講,會hông重複刊出來ê,表示是真有品質ê作品,m-koh台語詩ê數量是真濟,若是仝一首詩發表tī各種無仝雜誌,讀者會一直看著仝款ê作品,另外mā會壓縮其他作家發表ê機會,這款現象需要來改變,通hō koh khah濟人有發表ê空間。

另外一方面,無連續創作ê人mā bē少,筆者將in分作2種,第1是無繼續 創作ê詩人,in tī 2000-2010年中kan-na其中kúi年有發表作品,其他時間就無 繼續創作;有ê是前kúi年有作品,後面已經超過3年以上無新ê發表,仝款

<sup>14</sup> 會使參考黃文達2010《當代(1986-2008)台語小說kap內底的台灣意識型態研究》,國立中正大學台灣文學研究所。

代表無繼續創作,筆者用表格來呈現,會更加清楚。其中,親像鄭順娘雖 罔連續7年有創作,m-koh tī 2006年後就無新作品,賴妙華mā是仝款ê情形; 蔡享哲tī chit ll年中,雖然其中有6年有作品,m-koh最後ê是出現tī 2005年, che表示in lóng有一段時間無koh繼續創作新ê台語詩,所以就將in lóng列入 來。另外,最後l pái ê創作發表是tī 2008年,mā园入去無繼續創作,因為已 經超過2年以上無發表新作品。

第2種是有ê人創作ê時間隔真久,可能2000年bat創作,一直kàu 2009年 chiah koh有新ê台語詩出現,中間有超過3年以上是完全無leh寫作ê,kàu最 折chit kúi年chiah有新作品,這種情形mā算是無連續創作。

以上2種情形是無連續來創作ê現象,這部份是針對2000-2010年chit-ê時期來分析,有可能無繼續創作ê人未來會繼續寫作,chiū變成創作時間隔真久ê詩人,mā有可能創作時間隔真久ê詩人未來無koh寫作,chiū變成無繼續創作ê詩人,tī chia kan-ta先將這款現象點出來,並無beh深入來探討,未來會使另外針對這leh問題koh再研究。

# 3.2. 以報紙雜誌kap詩集/選集來分析

一phin稿投2 ê所在以上,這種情形是真chiap看tioh ê,iā chiū是重複發表,m-koh tī本論文ê統計內底,kan-na第一擺發表ê chiah有算入去。舉例來講,ná是有1首詩先tī《台文Bóng報》刊出,sûi後chiah koh刊tī《鹽分地帶文學》,án-ni chiū算tī《台文Bóng報》ê詩,就無算是鹽分地帶文學ê詩。Tī文中將雜誌kap專冊的部份分開來看,因為雜誌是一直有leh發刊,專冊只有發行一本,án-ni khah看會出來toh chit-leh雜誌是發表台語詩siōng主要平台。下面就分別依各年度ê報紙雜誌kap詩集/選集發行數量來做統計。

Chit 11年中,發表量siōng濟是《海翁台語文學》,總共有1289首,佔全部詩ê 19%,mā是唯一發表量超過1000首ê雜誌,前12期是雙月刊,kàu 2003年第13期開始變成月刊,因此2003年開始ê台語詩數量chiah會加chiah-nī濟。第2是《台文戰線》,總共是505首,2005年創刊,chit kúi年lóng有100 gōa首ê作品,有一定ê創作品質kap數量。第3是《台文bong報》,有321首,自2000年前就開始發行,差不多每一期lóng有作品,而-koh每期ê數量差不多是2-5首無一定。第4是《台灣教會公報》,有291首,每1期lóng有1 ê母語ê版面,雖

然無逐期lóng有台語詩,m-koh mā有一定ê數量。第5是《菅芒花詩刊》,這份詩刊無固定出版時間,每1期mā有一定ê數量來發表。第6是《蓮蕉花台文雜誌》,有287首,此雜誌tī 2008年停刊,無若照伊過去每一年ê數量來看,一定會koh khah濟作品。第7是《掌門詩學》,有227首,chit 1、2年每1期lóng有1部分專門刊出母語詩,所以就出現真濟新ê台語詩。第8是《島鄉台語文學》,有191首,目前已經停刊,tī 2000年左右是台語文學作品發表ê重要所在。第9是《咱的府城咱的夢-府城台語文讀書會文集》,有149首,目前此份刊物名已變成《府城台語夢-府城台語文讀書會文集》,1年出刊1擺,m-koh真濟作品lóng已經先tī其他所在發表過,所以新發表ê作品數量khah無一定。第10是《首都詩報》,有150首,tī 2009年chiah創刊就達kàu一定ê數量,相信未來會變成台語詩發表ê主要所在之一。

詩集/選集中,有1 kóa-á作者是將過去發表過ê作品匯集成詩集,所以tī 詩集中就khah少新作品,另外mā有新作品kap舊作品<sup>15</sup> 各佔1半,khah特別ê 是,沙卡布拉揚ê《佮魔神子仔契約》,內底ê詩是完全無tī其他所在發表過 ê。

# 4. 結語

台語一直是台灣這塊土地使用siōng頻繁ê語言。使用chit種語言所發展出來ê文學,自然有伊ê重要性kap文學歷史。只是今仔日tī台灣大多數ê人無接收tiòh這款消息,原本應該包含台灣各族群文學ê《台灣文學史》對chit塊mā無sián紹介。甚至kàu chit陣iá有人認為台語是無文學ê。推究原因,實在是過去ê殖民政府實施國語運動,壓迫in口中所謂ê土語、有音無字ê台語,致使台語變成弱勢ê語言。廖瑞銘bat講:「台語長久以來被『污名化』,台灣教育kap文化一直teh『去台灣化』,中國文化霸權對台灣本土ê侵犯soah當作應然而且正當。16」

Kīn-lâi台灣意識ê抬頭,有真濟人開始重視家己ê母語文學,hō母語文學ê量是lú來lú濟。根據筆者ê研究ùi 2000-2010年,kan-na公開發表ê台語現代

<sup>15</sup> Tī chia ê舊作品是指過去已經bat tī其他所在發表過ê作品。

<sup>16</sup> 楊斯顯2004〈陳明仁台語小說中ê 台灣人形象kap價值觀研究〉,頁1。碩士論文:靜宜 大學。

詩就已經有6842首。Chiah-nī大ê創作量,若會講是「無文學」。Jî-chhiá<sup>n</sup>分年看來,逐年ê創作量lóng有一定ê數字,表示這段時間有真濟人持續leh創作。

研究任何1ê時代ê文學,若有chit-ê時期完整ê資料來做基礎,會當完整評估各方面ê現象。所以,任何斷代/無斷代通史ê文學研究,若無先完整收集所需要ê資料庫,研究者根本無法度得tioh精確ê結論,所有相關ê研究,mā會變做大概ê講法,無正確性kap精密性。筆者透過收集kap整理來看各種數據,tùi kúi-ê台語詩環境有khah清楚ê了解,

台語文學 ê 發展一定會將台語文學 ê 水準提高 kàu 真 kôan ê 階段,thang產生koh khah濟用台灣人 ê 母語寫出疼痛台灣人、感動全世界 ê 作品。另外,期待未來 ê 研究者會使利用筆者所完成 ê 基礎,繼續深入研究台語詩,mā映望透過本文 ê 研究,會當提供kui- ê 台語詩 tī 創作上、研究上 lóng有新 ê 想法 kap意義。

# 讀者回應

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# An Analysis of Words in Elementary Taiwanese Textbooks

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#### Abstract

This paper analyzes Taiwanese textbooks in elementary schools. Five different versions, the An-kho, Han-lim, Kha-ji, Khong-hian and Tsin-ping versions, were investigated. The contents were inputted to establish a tiny corpus, transcribed in Romanized script, the texts aligned word by word. The number of word types/tokens, the percentage of the Taiwanese Mandarin common words and average sentence length were then computed. The differences among the lower, middle and upper grade were also compared. In addition, we took three volumes of the Khong-hian Mandarin textbook as examples to compare with the Taiwanese textbooks.

With regard to the number of word tokens and the average sentence length, we do not find significant differences in the three different learning stages. The number of word tokens in the Mandarin textbook is 20 times that of the Taiwanese textbook. Hence learning Taiwanese should not be too burdensome for school children. Besides, the high percentage of the common words in Taiwanese and Mandarin implies that learning Taiwanese is helpful to learning Mandarin, and vice versa.

On the basis of the quality criteria, we suggest that quantity criteria can be added for the selection and critique of Taiwanese textbooks. We also think it is important to establish graduated glossary lists to guide the editiorial direction of the contents. As for the Taiwanese Pronunciation and Grapheme Contest in the Elementary Students' Language Competitions, high frequency words in Taiwanese textbook can be considered as a word bank for the questions, to combine with the learning of Taiwanese.

Keywords: tiny corpus, word, Taiwanese, textbook

# 國民小學台語教科書詞彙使用分析

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# 摘要

本文分析國民小學安可版、翰林版、巧兒版、康軒版佮真平版等五个版本台語教科書ê詞彙使用情形。阮建立微型語料庫、kā課文輸入,並且轉寫做羅馬字,kā兩種文字形式ê語料隨語詞kā對齊,開發系統做詞頻統計,探討詞型(word types)、詞次(word tokens)、台華共通詞比例、平均句長,進行低、中、高年級三个學習年段間ê比較,並且提康軒版ê三冊華語課本佮台語課本做比較。

研究結果顯示,低、中、高年級三个年段ê課文,tī文字量恰平均句長差異並無大;台語課本ê文字量,kan-na有華語課本ê 1/20,無啥會造成囡仔ê負擔;另外,台華共通詞比例真懸,台語佮華語ê教學會當互相幫贊。

阮建議台語教科書 ê審查評鑑,除了質性 ê標準以外,mā會使訂一寡量 化 ê標準,建立分級詞彙,來引 chhoā課文編輯方向;台語教科書課文 ê詞頻 資料,mā會使考慮佮學生組字音字形比賽題庫相結合,予台語學習koh-khah 有效率。

關鍵詞:微型語料庫、詞彙、台語、教科書

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# 1. 踏話頭

教育部tī 2009年7月15日公布修正國民中小學九年一貫課程綱要語文學習領域閩南語課程綱要,100學年度開始ùi 1年級、7年級隨年向上實施,閩南語課程綱要kā學習階段分做國小低、中、高年段佮國中4个學習階段,能力指標ùi原來233條刪減修正做102條。(教育部2009)

詞彙教學是語文學習課堂中真基本ê要素,阮想欲透過國校台語教科書 詞彙ê整理、統計,來檢視現有ê國校台語教材。

2001年九年一貫課程實施以來,民間出版ê國校台語教材包括仁林、階梯、明台、開拓、光復、台灣文藝、真平、安可、康軒、南一、翰林、巧兒等等,部份縣市政府mā有編輯本土語教材,經過10冬後,民間出版業者包括安可、翰林、巧兒、康軒、真平等五種教材繼續編印,南一、仁林、階梯、明台、開拓、光復、台灣文藝版等已經無koh再出版。照國民中小學九年一貫課程綱要ê規定,國民中小學教科書應該依法受審查機關審定通過了後,才予學校選用,而-koh實際上,九年一貫課程ê七个學習領域,kan-na語文學習領域ê本土語言教科書,國家教育研究院(前身是國立編譯館)一開始並無實施教材審定,一直到2011年才進行審查,主要根據課程綱要、教材ê組織架構、教材內容、版面編排拾圖文表達等幾个面向來進行審查1,並且公告審查通過ê教科書,而-koh目前kan-na 第一冊倍第二冊(蘇上惠,2011)。提高雄市做例,97學年開始高雄市、高雄縣、屏東縣市三縣市聯合辦理未審定教科書ê議價採購作業,高雄市教育局要求各校袂當揀選無參與議價作業ê版本,thang揀選ê版本是安可版、翰林版、巧兒版、康軒版、真平版等五个版本。

本文以這五个版本做分析ê對象,阮提出量化ê幾項指標,包括語詞數量、台華共通詞比例、平均句長等等,用另外一个角度來看這幾个版本教科書ê特色抑是其中ê問題。

另外,阮提康軒版華語課本,低、中、高三个年段各抽一冊教材,統

<sup>1</sup> 國家教育研究院有提供本文作者「國民中小學本土語言教科圖書審查原則」ê文件,頂面列出這五項審查原則,根據私人訪談,審查原則內容是經過審查小組委員、教科書出版業者倫國家教育研究院三方座談會議確認。

計華語教科書ê詞頻、詞彙豐富度,檢視台語佮華語教科書語詞數量ê差異來做比並。

下面列出本文用著一寡ê專有名詞:

- (1) 詞型(word types)、詞次(word tokens) 咱以實例來說明,設使一份文本,攏總有100个語詞(words),其 中有ê語詞是仝款ê,設使這份文本攏總有40个無仝ê語詞,按呢表 示這份文本有100个詞次、40个詞型。(Stubbs 2001:133)
- (2) 台華共通詞(Taiwanese Mandarin common words)、台語特別詞 (Taiwanese special words)

台華共通詞,指這个語詞台語佮華語ê漢字字形仝款,意思mā仝款,精差發音無仝款nā-niā。Tī獨尊華語ê台灣,台語學習時數無夠ê情形下,台華共通詞ê比例會當chiân做量測台語學習效率ê一个指標,因為兩種語言ê漢字字形仝款,會當互相對照幫贊學習,thang減輕囡仔ê學習負擔。台語特別詞佮台華共通詞是相對ê,指這个語詞台語佮華語ê寫法無仝款。一般來講,愈端的[toan-tiah]ê台語,台語特別詞ê比例會愈懸。

(3) 詞彙豐富度(lexical richness) 詞彙豐富度有幾款無全ê定義,其中一个是詞型詞次比率(type-token ratio)(Sofie et. al. 2006),詞次全款ê文本,若詞型愈濟,詞彙豐 富度就愈懸。Tī遮阮用詞彙豐富度來檢視各版本ê台語詞彙運用情 形。

(4) 遮khàm率 (coverage rate)

整理出一份文本ê詞頻表,照頻率懸到低排落來,koh計算累積ê百分比。這个累積ê百分比就是遮khàm率。設使有遮khàm率ê資料,咱就thang知影學習外濟(頻率上懸ê)語詞了後,咱有法度讀有文本外濟ê比例。

# 2. 相關文獻回顧

關係國校台語教科書ê相關研究,李欣珉(2008)針對安可、翰林、真平、康軒、南一五个版本做整理研究,提出用:a)詞型/詞次是毋是照冊別順序增加,b)個別高頻詞tī整體高頻詞ê比例,c)高頻詞頭擺出現ê所在,d)使用教育部推薦用字用詞比例,e)用字無一致ê情形等五个面向做評鑑台語教科書ê標準,結果是真平版得著上懸ê分數。

林惠貞(2008)以彰化縣和美鎮國民小學所使用ê三年級台語教科書做研究對象,討論康軒、真平、南一、全教會四个版本,照出版、物理、內容、教學四个特性來分析,發現這四个版本ê教材難度並無明顯ê差異,教材單元架構ê延續性以字tī各課課文ê重複出現ê數量,抑是仝一冊重複出現 ê數量來探討教材ê延續性,四个版本攏有提懸字詞出現ê頻率,予囡仔會當一直練習變甲熟手。

林素琴(2009)調查台北縣一年仔鄉土語教師使用臺北縣國民小學本 土語言教材ê意見,分物理、內容、使用、發行等四个角度分析,發現有 內容佮認讀ê詞語傷少;課文無符合學生學習階段ê程度;教學CD內容傷過 簡單等問題。

關係國校教科書評鑑ê部份,教育部委託專家學者按照學習領域ê個別特性分別建立教科書評鑑指標,分做出版特性、課程目標、學習內容、內容組織、教學實施、輔助措施等六大項目(黃嘉雄等著2003)。國立編譯館(2004)進行鄉土語文教科書評鑑,其中教科書結構組織分析是以體裁多樣化、單元結構完整、新詞、新句型佮內容由淺入深,漢字ê安排考慮學生對漢字ê熟似度來分析。林于弘(2009)指出:教育部這个評鑑表ê內容雖然兼具量ê統計佮質ê描述,而-koh,若會當確實針對華語文教科書ê科目特色來分析探討,才是khah有意義ê統計,新字數量、文體比例、能力指標等khah幼節ê內容,攏愛有koh-khah精確ê數字做證據,才thang得著合理ê推論抑是解說;另外,袂少問題ê觀察佮考驗,袂使kan-na用單獨一冊來評斷,mā愛考慮冊佮冊,年級佮年級,甚至年段佮年段之間ê連接。

# 3. 研究步數

本研究主要利用量化ê方式來分析國校台語課本ê語詞。以下是阮ê研究步數:

#### (1) 蒐集語料:

本文所整理ê國校台語教科書,版本資訊請參考圖表1:

	回衣1. 台語教科青山版平衍果盆衣							
版本冊別	安可	翰林台	万 兒 海 天	康軒	真平			
	2007	2009修訂六版	無標示	2009三版	2009三版			
	2007/	2010修訂六版	無標示	2010三版	2010三版			
三	2007/	2009修訂四版	無標示	2009三版	2009三版			
四	2007	2010修訂五版	無標示	2010三版	2010三版			
五	2007	2009修訂四版	無標示	2009三版	2009三版			
六	2007	2010修訂五版	無標示	2010三版	2010三版			
セ	2007	2009修訂五版	無標示	2009三版	2009三版			
八	2007	2010修訂五版	無標示	2010三版	2010三版			
九	2007	2009修訂三版	無標示	2009三版	2009三版			
+	2007	2010修訂五版	無標示	2010三版	2010三版			
+	2007	2009修訂三版	無標示	2009三版	2009三版			
十二	2007	2010修訂三版	無標示	2010三版	2010三版			

圖表1 台語粉科畫出版在份量較表

# (2)建立微型語料庫:

將圖表1所列ê國校台語教材攏總60冊ê課文拍字,m-koh無包括句型練習、語詞練習、附錄ê歌謠、古詩詞等。課文是漢字抑是漢字為主,有少部份羅馬字,除了照課文拍字,為著整理ê結果koh-khah精確(有ê漢字無全讀音),所以mā轉寫做羅馬字,一段一段對齊。圖表2是輸入ê範例,包括後設資料(metadata)。

圖表2. 語料輸入範例

Π <u>Γ</u> +	古式	
版本	真平	
書名	台語讀本1	
出版者	真平企業有限公司	
年級別	一上	
出版年	2009	
篇名	第一課 歡喜學台語	
段	囡仔兄,囡仔姊,	Gín-á-hiann, gín-á-tsí, lán lâi tsò-hué
	咱來做伙學台	oh Tâi-gí, tsit kù lâi, tsit kù khì, Tâi-gí
	語,一句來,一句一	sè-kài tsin tshù-bī.
	去,台語世界真趣	
	味。	
篇名	第二課 真好禮	720
段	阿安阿安真好禮,	A-an A-an tsin hó-lé, khuànn-tioh
	看著人會問食飽	lâng ē mng tsiah-pá-bē, tuì lâng sit-lé
	未,對人失禮會講	ē kóng tsin pháinn-sè.
	真歹勢。	still
		72/

# (3) 開發詞頻統計合語詞檢索系統:

阮請電腦公司開發系統,輸入頂面ê語料,系統會將課文ê漢字文本份 羅馬字文本一个語詞一个語詞對起來。以真平一上第一課做例,系統會根 據咱拍好ê語料,kā轉做:

囡仔兄[Gín-á-hiann],[,] 囡仔姊[gín-á-tsí],[,] 咱[lán] 來[lâi] 做伙[tsò-hué] 學 [òh] 台語[Tâi-gí],[,] 一[tsit] 句[kù] 來[lâi],[,] 一[tsit] 句[kù] 去[khì],[,] 台語[Tâi-gí] 世界[sè-kài] 真[tsin] 趣味[tshù-bī]。[.]

利用程式做語詞對齊mā兼有校對ê功能,設使拍字有重耽[tîng-tânn],程式對袂起來,會用紅色標示,咱thang進一步檢查資料,揣[tshē]出拍字錯誤ê所在。

系統會根據語料,產生總ê詞頻表佮分冊ê詞頻表,另外koh有語詞檢索系統,輸入一个語詞,thang看著有幾筆佮伊ê前後文,mā會當知影出處。 查詢系統tī http://210.240.194.93/nttu/khopun/bang-cham/thau-iah.php

	,	1 1 - 1	u 1/2000 11/ 11/ 11/ 11/ 11/ 11/ 11/ 11/ 11/	244 1 1 4 14
An analysis of words in elementary	Taiwanese	textbooks	Un-gian IUNN & Poe-koan	CHHOA

圖表3.1	直平版詞頻	上懸ê 10/	、語詞ê分冊:	詞頻佮遮khàm率
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編	1年  三台	詞型	詞	第	第	第	第	第	第	第	第	第	第	第	第	百	遮
號	詞型(台羅)	- 西空 (漢字)		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	分	khàm
51/1	(口紅)	()美士)	<del>-</del> /\	冊	#	#	#	冊	冊	冊	#	冊	冊	冊	冊	比	率
1	ê	的	41	2	3	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	0	15	13	2.37%	2.37%
2	lí	你	33	0	0	2	3	4	1	0	1	8	2	2	10	1.91%	4.28%
3	khì	去	28	2	1	3	0	0	7	3	1	0	0	7	4	1.62%	5.90%
4	lâi	來	20	3	1	1	0	3	4	1	2	0	1	2	2	1.16%	7.05%
5	tsin	真	20	3	2	0	2	1	0	2	3	2	2	1	2	1.16%	8.21%
6	ū	有	17	0	0	2	0	0	14	0	2	0	3	2	7	0.98%	9.19%
7	guán	阮	15	0	1	4	2	2	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	0.87%	10.06%
8	guá	我	13	0	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	5	2	0.75%	10.81%
9	tsiah	食	13	1	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	3	0	2	1	0.75%	11.56%
10	tsit	_ /	13	3	2	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0.75%	12.31%

利用語詞檢索系統查詢「台語」這个詞,會當看著前後文佮出處:

圖表4. 語詞檢索系統



#### (4)計算詞彙豐富度,並且抽三冊ê華語課本來比較:

利用詞彙豐富度ê公式,來計算每一版本每一冊ê詞彙豐富度。另外, 阮提康軒版華語課本ê第三、七、十一冊來對照,看台語課本佮華語課本tī 詞彙豐富度敢有甚麼差異。華語課本這三冊仝款愛拍字,利用中央研究院 詞庫小組提供ê中文斷詞系統<sup>2</sup> 做斷詞,經過人工校對整理,才koh計算詞 次、詞型,算詞彙豐富度。

#### (5) 計算台華共涌詞 ê 數量恰比例:

阮利用計算語言學會發行ê「中文詞庫(八萬目詞)」³提來佮本研究所產出台語詞頻表比較。先利用EXCEL試算表軟體提供ê VLOOKUP函數,kā台語語詞分做華語詞有ê(漢字書寫ê台語語詞有出現tī中文八萬詞內底,台華共通詞)佮華語詞無ê(台語特別詞),m-koh愛koh經過人工校對,可比「走」佮「批」,電腦會當做是台華共通詞,總是這兩个語詞,台語佮華語ê意思並無仝款,愛kā當做台語特別詞才著,另外,一寡專有名詞(可比「打狗」)抑是疊詞(可比「快快樂樂」)無tī華語八萬詞內底,所以電腦當做是台語特別詞,m-koh應該kā當做台華共通詞。

#### (6) 計算語句長度:

國校台語課本ê課文,主要是簡單句,有時tú著逗點就換一choā,所以 阮所講ê語句,是以標點符號做隔界。國立台灣文學館台語文數位典藏資 料庫(第二階段)計畫有提供全羅台語文文本統計程式<sup>4</sup>,阮將課文ê羅馬 字文本輸入,會當得著計算結果,thang知影遮ê課文,平均一个語詞有幾个 音節、幾个語詞。

音節、幾个語詞。 這个系統設定"."、"?"、"!"恰":"做語句ê隔界,所以阮將","恰";"先改做"."了後才進行統計。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 中文斷詞系統http://ckipsvr.iis.sinica.edu.tw/

<sup>3</sup> 計算語言學會中文詞庫http://www.aclclp.org.tw/use\_ced\_c.php

<sup>4</sup> 全羅台語文文本統計程式<http://210.240.194.97/nmtl/dadwt/count.asp>

#### 圖表5. 台語羅馬字文本統計系統

#### 全羅台語文文本統計(Word Count)結果

#### 重新計算

#### 台語羅馬字:

Gin2-a2-hiann1.gin2-a2-tsi2.lan2 lai5 tso3-hue2 oh8 tai5-gi2.tsit8 ku3 lai5. tsit8 ku3 khi3.tai5-gi

#### 統計結果:

段落:1 句:6 語詞:17 音節:26

# 4. 結果分析恰討論

# 4.1. 詞型、詞次佮詞彙豐富度

受著篇幅ê限制,本文無法度將所有ê調查結果表現出來。五版本台語 教科書,攏總有4,204个詞型、13,842个詞次,每一版本ê詞型佮詞次請參考 下表:

圖表6. 五	版本台語教科書	各別ê詞型、	詞次合詞彙豐富度
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版本	安可	翰林	巧兒	康軒	真平
詞型(A)	1,724	1,358	1,101	1,078	905
詞次(B)	3,471	3,739	2,540	2,369	1,730
詞彙豐富度(A/B)	49.67%	36.32%	43.35%	45.50%	52.31%

詞彙豐富度以真平上懸,主要原因應該是因為伊ê課文量(詞次)上少。按呢看來,安可版ê表現恰其它版本khah無仝款。

咱若kā國校分做低年級、中年級、高年級三个年段,看每一版本課文tī 這三个年段ê詞次數,請參考下表:

圖表7 五版本台語教科書fī低中高年級三年段ê詞次數

版本	安可	翰林	巧兒	康軒	真平	康軒(華語)
低年級詞次數(A)	678	615	705	484	421	(第3冊) 1,767
中年級詞次數(B)	1,044	1,216	839	710	513	(第7冊) 4,613
高年級詞次數(C)	1,749	1,908	996	1,175	796	(第11冊) 6,718
B/A	1.54	1.98	1.19	1.47	1.22	2.61
C/A	2.58	3.10	1.41	2.43	1.89	3.80

高年級課文詞次數佮低年級課文詞次數相比,比值ê範圍是1.41~3.10, 互相之間ê差別有khah大。本研究kan-na提康軒版華語課本第三、七、十一 冊來比較,比較ê基準無全,m-koh華語高年級課文詞次數佮低年級課文詞 次數比值是3.80,明顯比台語khah懸。這是m是表示,連課本ê編輯者攏認為 本土語言ê學習成效真有限,所以低年級、中年級、高年級課文ê詞次數ê 變化無華語遐大?這个問題可能值得進一步ê來探討。

五版本台語教科書,詞頻上懸ê20个語詞佮遮khàm率請參考下表:

圖表8. 五版本台語教科書詞頻上懸ê 20个語詞俗遮khàm率

編號	羅馬字	漢字	次數	百分比之	遮khàm率
1	ê C	的	400	2.90%	2.90%
2	guá	我	240	1.74%	4.64%
3	tsit	Port	aiwanese	1.59%	6.22%
4	lâi	來	162	1.17%	7.40%
5	ū	有	155	1.12%	8.52%
6	lí	你	150	1.09%	9.61%
7	sī	是	148	1.07%	10.68%
8	khì	去	129	0.93%	11.61%
9	tsin	真	124	0.90%	12.51%
10	kóng	講	92	0.67%	13.18%
11	tī	佇	91	0.66%	13.84%
12	beh	欲	88	0.64%	14.48%
13	tióh	著	87	0.63%	15.11%

(後一頁koh有)

					(頂一貝 KON月)
14	ài	愛	85	0.62%	15.72%
15	i	伊	85	0.62%	16.34%
16	tsiåh	食	81	0.59%	16.93%
17	lâng	人	80	0.58%	17.50%
18	lóng	攏	80	0.58%	18.08%
19	hōo	予	75	0.54%	18.63%
20	ē	會	72	0.52%	19.15%

(頂一頁koh有)

對照一般ê文本,頻率上懸ê語詞「的/ê」ê比例差不多是 5%,可能表示,國校台語課本ê語體,恰一般ê台語文本有一寡無仝。實際去讀課文,會當發現,課文內底,歌謠ê比例khah懸。咱若對照英語ê教材,課文是歌謠ê,通常lóng出現tī幼兒ê教材,國校就khah少a。

五版本台語教科書所有ê語詞,遮khàm率恰語詞數量ê關係,以及詞類 恰語詞數量ê關係,請參考下表:

回认),是Kildill十旧品的数U则从							
遮khàm率	語詞數	遮khàm率	語詞數				
10%	7	70%	893				
20%	22	80%	1,541				
30%	56	85%	2,134				
40%	132	90%	2,824				
50%	269 <b>a</b> l	wanes <sub>95%</sub>	3,514				
60%	504	100%	4,204				

圖表9. 遮khàm率恰語詞數ê關係

表 10. 遮khàm率佮語詞數ê關係

詞 頻	語 詞 數	累積語詞數
>=100	9	9
<100 & >=50	21	30
<50 &>=20	52	82
<20 &>=10	123	205
<10 & >=5	316	521
<5 & >=2	1,118	1,639
<2 & >=1	2,565	4,204

# 4.2. 漢字用字無一致ê情形

漢字用字一直是台語課本ê一項大問題,教育部tī 2007年開始公佈建議用字以來,無仝版本ê漢字用字漸漸有調整甲khah一致。m-koh實際上整理 應ê課文ê時,猶原有發現一寡仝一版本漢字無一致ê情形,包括:

安可版:"iáu-koh"有寫「猶擱」合「猶閣」,"mi h-kiānn"有寫「乜件」合「物件」,"m-thang"有寫「無通」合「毋通」;

翰林版:"kàu"有寫「到」佮「狢」,"tiàm"有寫「踮」佮「掂」, "phah"有寫「拍」(拍球)佮「扑」(扑拳);

巧兒版:"gâu"有寫「敖」恰「勢」,"khiā"有寫「徛」佮「踦」, "tiàm"有寫「踮」佮「惦」;

康軒版:"ah-nā"有寫「抑若」合「啊若」 真平版並無發現漢字用字無一致ê情形。

2.21

# 4.3. 華語課本恰台語課本ê比較

C/A

華語ê部份,本研究kan-na提康軒華語版第三、七、十一冊來做比較,下表針對這三冊ê康軒台語版佮華語版做比較:

	康軒台語			康軒華語				
	詞型	詞次(D)	詞彙豐富度	詞型	詞次(E)	詞彙豐富度	E/D	
第3冊(A)	108	136	Or Ta79.41%	es 556	1,767	31.47%	12.99	
第7冊(B)	157	204	76.96%	1,851	4,613	40.13%	22.61	
第11冊(C)	210	300	70.00%	2,388	6,718	35.55%	22.39	
三冊總合		640			13,098		20.47	
B/A		1.50			2.61			

3.80

圖表11. 康軒台語版佮華語版ê比較

低、中、高年級三年段 ê 詞次差距,華語課本明顯khah大。另外一个面向,全年段 ê 詞次量,華語課本是台語課本 ê 12.99倍至22.61倍,ùi 遮咱會使看著一个現象,每一禮拜有一節本土語言課、五節華語課,社會上有一款意見講,這馬 ê 囡仔愛學華語、愛學英語koh愛學本土語言,負擔實在傷

大。咱若以台語來看,中年級以後,台語課ê時間是華語課ê 1/5,詞次量是華語ê 1/22,華語ê 負擔明顯加足大,怪罪台語是無公平ê。這份統計顯示,台語課本無難,無想beh學台語可能才是台語學習ê主要阻礙,這个阻礙ê來源,可能包括家長ê心態,mā包括政策面,語言學習領域,除了華語,高年級kā英語成做正式ê考試科目,m-koh台語教六冬,lóng無正式考試,偏偏咱ê社會koh chiân看重考試。

#### 4.4. 台華共涌詞 ê 比例

欲學一款語言,一禮拜kan-na一點鐘根本無夠,m-koh tī政策猶無調整ê情形下,咱是毋是會當kā這一節課做上好ê利用,得著上好ê學習效果?利用台語佮華語共通ê部份,來幫贊囡仔學習台語,是一个thang考慮ê方向。這是本研究計算台華共通詞ê基本想法。

下表是五个版本台華共通詞ê詞型數合比例:

版本	安可	翰林	巧兒	康軒	真平
台華共通詞(A)	1,106	913	635	671	607
詞型(B)	1,724	1,358	1,101	5 1,078	905
台華共通詞比例(A/B)	64.15%	67.23%	57.67%	62.24%	67.07%

圖表12. 五版本台語教科書台華共通詞詞型數俗比例

五个版本台華共通詞ê比例ùi 57.67%至67.23%,恰曾國榕(2008) ê研究結果差不多,伊針對學術類恰非學術類ê文本,分別計算台華共通詞ê比例,非學術類ê文本,台華共通詞ê比例是55.09%,若kan-na看遮khàm率80% ê語詞,台華共通詞ê比例是65.69%。

# 4.5. 平均詞長佮平均句長

音節數倍詞次數ê比率就是平均詞長(一个語詞平均ê音節數)。下面 ê表列出這五个版本ê平均詞長,tī 1.47到1.63之間。

版本	安可	翰林	巧兒	康軒	真平
音節數(A)	5,644	5,693	3,736	3,527	2,653
詞次數 (B)	3,471	3,739	2,540	2,369	1,730
平均詞長(A/B)	1.63	1.52	1.47	1.49	1.53

圖表13. 五版本台語教科書ê平均詞長

音節數合語句數就是句長(一个語句有幾个音節)。愛說明ê是,阮是用標點做語句ê分界,標點包括:「,」、「;」、「;」、「!」、「?」、「。」。下面ê表列出這五个版本ê平均句長,tī4.5到6.9之間。

	版本	安可	翰林	巧兒	康軒	真平
低年級	音節數(A)	985	924	1,025	695	615
	語句數 (B)	219	187	212	129	121
	平均句長(A/B)	4.50	4.94	4.83	5.39	5.08
中年級	音節數(A)	1,090	1,899	1,203	1,077	806
	語句數 (B)	230	306	232	177	135
	平均句長(A/B)	4.74	6.21	5.19	6.08	5.97
高年級	音節數(A)	2,405	2,870	1,508	1,755	1,232
	語句數 (B)	433	416	304	280	227
	平均句長(A/B)	5.55	6.90	4.96	6.27	5.43

圖表 14. 五版本台語教科書 ê 平均句長

咱會當發現,每一个版本,高年級佮低年級ê平均句長差異無大,表示課文那像並無愈來愈深;另外,巧兒佮真平版高年級ê平均句長比中年級khah短,這是khah奇怪ê現象。 wangs

# 5. 結論佮建議

阮將五个版本ê台語教科書拍字,建立詞頻統計資料佮語詞檢索查詢 系統。經過分析,咱thang了解目前國民小學台語教科書ê情形是:

- (1) 高年級、中年級佮低年級三个年段ê課文,文字量增加ê比例並無華 語課本遐爾明顯,若像編者認為學台語袂有啥物學習效果,所以無 需要比照華語課本ê比例隨冊隨冊增加文字量,這是阮認為khah無 合理ê所在;
- (2) 一寡版本ê漢字用字無一致,尤其遮ê版本應該攏是tī教育部公布ê

三批、攏總700字詞以後才出版ê,tī編輯佮校對方面應該koh-khah用心,配合教育部提出ê規範;

- (3) 台語一禮拜一節,華語一禮拜五節,m-koh課文ê文字量,華語是台語ê 20倍;這款情形下,講台語khah歹學,應該無符合事實;當然,咱知影華語有真大ê優勢,因為tī其它親像數學、社會等等ê課,mā是用華語進行,而且一禮拜一節beh學好一款語言實在有困難;
- (4) 以詞型ê角度看,五个版本台華共通詞ê比例是57.67%至67.23%,表 示台語佮華語ê教學,部份語詞ê學習是會當互相幫贊ê, m是學其 中一種,就影響另外一種ê學習;
- (5) 平均句長tī高年級、中年級佮低年級三个年段並無明顯ê差異,尤 其有ê版本高年級ê平均句長比中年級khah短,雖然而是講一句話愈 長,這句話就愈歹理解,總是徛tī編輯ê角度來看,這款編輯策略是 值得檢討ê。

語言學者真早就指出,堅強ê母語基礎對學習第二語言絕對有利,透過母語學著ê智識thang轉移到第二語言。Cummins(1979)ê語言互相倚靠[oá-khò]假設指出:第二語言ê學習必定是建立tī母語ê基礎頂面,母語m̄ nā m̄是學習ê負擔,顛倒是任何語言學習ê資源。

若是一个外國囡仔會曉幾lō款語言,咱可能認為伊有語言天份,會kā伊呵咾;台灣ê囡仔若beh學幾lō款語言,tī多數家長ê心目中,本土語言可能是上尾ê選項,用「學習負擔傷重」這个理由來反對囡仔學習本土語言。造成這个現象ê原因tī遮無beh討論,m-koh既然這是有問題ê想法,就應該利用政策來設法補正這款偏差,所以需要koh-khah認真看待審查工課。

九年一貫課程七个學習領域當中,kan-na語文學習領域ê本土語言教科書,國家教育研究院一直到2011年才公布第一冊、第二冊ê審查結果,蘇上惠(2011)指出這擺「初階審查」ê問題,包括 a)教科書是自願送審,若無通過審查,學校猶原會當自由選用, b)審查通過ê教科書並無定有效期限, c)教科書無納入聯合議價等等ê問題。總是有踏出第一步,往審查ê規範去行,是好ê開始。

本研究利用國校課本課文製作微型語料庫,利用語言計量ê基礎方

法,整理出初步ê資料,提出阮看著ê問題,希望對未來台語教科書ê審定 工課有一寡幫贊。

另外, ùi 2007開始全國語文競賽有包括台語佮客語ê字音字形比賽, 2009年開始,koh增加國小、國中、高中學生三組,目前看著ê情形是這三 組ê考顯是个款ê,出顯若像mā恰國校課本出現ê語詞無tī-tāi。雖然高中學 生考è成績未必會比國校學生khah好,總是年歲愈大智識佮能力應該是愈 懸,考題應該愛有一寡差異,建議出題mā愛參考台語教科書ê詞頗資料, 互相有關聯,才會當鼓勵學生學習,咱mā thang檢驗學習ê成果。

國家教育研究院初步審查誦過ê國校台語教科書,有安可、直平、侑 巧、翰林、大語佮康軒等版本。其中,侑巧就是巧兒,大語ê版本阮並無 收集著,mā因為這个版本並無tī高雄、屏東參與議價作業,所以這擺無處 理,期待未來會當補充這部份,予本研究koh-khah完整

#### 讀者回應

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# 馬來西亞華人母語失落 ê 因素

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# 商要

大多數馬來西亞ê華人是tùi中國東南部來ê,原本in ê語言有福建話、客家話、廣東話、福州話 kap海南話。Chia ê語言大部分漸漸teh流失,因為無tùi頂一代傳 hō下一代。佇厝裡講ê話大部分攏變成kanna華語kap英語niâ。這篇研究有去調查這ê族群漸漸teh離開祖先ê語言ê原因。Koh有收集有關馬來西亞ê華人 in ê語言態度、觀念kap意識ê資料,並且將chia-ê kap華人語言ê歷史發展做伙展現。也討論hia ê予這群人ê母語成做劣勢ê因素,以及chhiau-chhōe語言復振ê方案ê可能性。

關鍵字:語言復振、語言態度、語言政策、語言轉變、民族主義

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# Why are the Native Languages of the Chinese Malaysians in Decline?

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#### **Abstract**

The vast majority of Chinese Malaysians have originated from south China with their native languages, Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese, Teochew, Hokchew and Hainanese. Most of these native languages are weakening due to lack of intergenerational transmission. Languages spoken in the families are largely shifting to Mandarin and English. This paper has investigated the reasons why the community is shifting away from their native languages. Language attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies held by the majority of Chinese Malaysians have been collected and they are presented together with the historical development of Chinese languages. The origins of the factors, which put their native languages into disadvantageous positions, are discussed. This paper also explores the possibilities of running language revitalization programmes in the community.

Keywords: language revitalisation, language attitude, language policy, language shift, nationalism

#### 1 Introduction

A study conducted by Xu (2006) on 811 ethnic Chinese students from 5 secondary schools in Penang revealed that the use of non-Mandarin Chinese languages, like many other minority languages in the world, is in decline. Non-Mandarin Chinese languages in other parts of the country are believed to be experiencing the same trend as the importance of Mandarin and English are greatly emphasized by the government as well as individuals.

Not much research has been done so far on the issue of language endangerment in the community of Chinese Malaysians. Wang (2007) argued that the loss of linguistic groups, which form an important social identity, is one of the reasons causing the decline of non-Mandarin Chinese languages. Nevertheless, Mühlhäusler (2000:331) argued that the link between language and, for instance, a particular political ideology, can also weaken a language over time

The Chinese Malaysian community is increasingly aware of this trend and there have been calls to revitalise their native languages. It is crucial to determine the factors that are causing the decline before revitalisation strategies can be employed. This paper aims to explore the political situation and identify the ideologies, common beliefs and other important factors in causing non-Mandarin Chinese languages to weaken. Revitalisation efforts can only be successful if these issues are addressed.

The intention here is to investigate political situation, interethnic & intraethnic relations, language ideologies, common beliefs developed in Malaysia as well as those originating from China which directly or indirectly cause the decline of non-Mandarin Chinese languages. This paper also explores the awareness among the community members and their attitudes towards revitalisation programmes.

# 2. Methodology

Informal interviews and focus group discussions were conducted on almost 46 parents, future parents, school teachers and committees of clan associations in the two largest Malaysian cities of Penang and Kuala Lumpur in July and August year 2010. The interviews were conducted to encourage interviewees to speak leisurely about anything related to their native languages, current status and the viability of their native languages.

In consideration of the importance of intergenerational transmission at home, parents who did not pass native languages on to their children were specially selected for these informal interviews. Some young married couples who plan to have children in near future were also asked for their opinions. These parents were asked the reasons why they did not/do not (plan to) speak native languages to their children. The interviews were set to run for at least 40 minutes as long as the respondents did not digress.

To explore the possibilities of running language revitalisation programmes, school teachers, headmasters, committee members of clan associations and community leaders were asked for their opinions on the status of non-Mandarin Chinese languages. They were asked if there are any possible steps that the institutions and bodies they represent can take to help preserving the languages.

Apart from that, arguments and discourses on the newspaper clippings were collected and analysed to investigate the underlying ideologies, sentiments and social movements in the past which have had direct or indirect impact on non-Mandarin Chinese languages. In addition, the development of political movements and historical events happened in the past are also referred and illustrated in this paper in order to give readers a clearer views on how such ideas have developed.

# 3. Development of Chinese Languages in China and Malaysia

China is a vast country with many languages and dialects.<sup>1</sup> In the history, certain forms of common language called yayan (雅言) were used between the rulers and aristocrats to rule the country. They were usually the spoken language of capital cities (Wu 2005:107).

From the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911 until 1926, the Council for The Unification of National Language (國語語音統一會) was set up to create a standardized national language for China. There was an attempt to make pronunciation of the national language more inclusive by creating an artificial national pronunciation that combines the features of northern Chinese with southern Chinese languages. Nevertheless, the attempt failed because there was no native speaker of such artificial language (Chi 2009:14). The majority of committee members were in favour of the variety in Beijing (L. Wang 1999:14).

Prior to the New Cultural Movement (May Fourth Movement) which started in 1919 in China, the officially recognised written language was called Literary Chinese (文言). This form of written Chinese resembles ancient Chinese (L. Wang 1999:205).

Written vernacular language based on Northern Chinese had been developing since the 6th century and by the 9th century, it was used to record folk stories and mythologies. [...] This development led to the birth of some famous literary works such as Journey to The West (西遊記), Outlaws of the Marsh (水滸傳), Dream of the Red Chamber (紅樓夢) etc. (L. Wang 1999:206)

Some scholars(Shi, Snow 1991) found that there were many literary works written in vernacular south Chinese languages. However, it was only

<sup>1</sup> There have been debates on whether mutually unintelligible languages in China should be referred to as 'languages', 'dialects' or 'topolects' (Mair 1991) (Groves 2008). However, for the ease of reading, fangyan (方言) are translated as 'dialects' in interview transcriptions and as 'languages' in the main text.

the Northern Chinese, amongst others, which successfully developed into full-fledged written language.

The New Cultural Movement started in 1919 which aimed to promote literacy by providing the masses with the ability to read and write brought about the replacement of Literary Chinese by Northern Chinese (hereafter referred to as Mandarin). This was because the written form of Mandarin was well-developed as compared to other Chinese varieties.

Since then until year 1956, apart from a few lessons of Mandarin, school lessons were largely conducted in local vernaculars even though the textbooks were written in Mandarin. The students had to read Mandarin text in vernacular pronunciation. This method of learning written Mandarin is still being practiced in Hong Kong until today.<sup>2</sup>

The ideal of enabling the masses to write what their mouths speak did not occur to non-Mandarin speakers, especially to the southern Chinese people. For the non-Mandarin Chinese speakers, this meant that to be able to read and write, they had to learn a written language which didn't resemble how they spoke.

# 3.1. Development of Chinese Languages in Malaysia

The mass migration of Chinese from 19th to mid 20th century due to the harsh economic conditions in China brought various southern Chinese languages to British Malaya. Due to mass migration, the community has not assimilated into indigenous people but remains a cultural group distinct from the native

It is commonly thought that Cantonese is being taught at schools in Hong Kong. The more accurate way of describing the teaching of Chinese in Hong Kong's public schools is that written Mandarin is taught in Cantonese pronunciation. The illustrations of the differences are shown below.

English	He had a meal before work.		
Mandarin	他先吃了飯才工作。		
	Ta xian chi le fan cai gong zuo.		
Mandarin text read in Cantonese pronunciation	Taa sin hek liu faan coi gung zok.		
Cantonese	Keoi sik zo faan sin zi zou je.		
	佢食咗飯先至做嘢。		

Austronesian population. Many of the Chinese languages they brought with them continued to be spoken in the country for decades with little language shift to English and Mandarin. Only a small portion of the society who attended missionary schools and those who worked for the colonial government were familiar with English while Chinese who used Mandarin in their daily lives were even rarer

In Penang, from as early as 1819, there were already privately funded Chinese schools (私塾) that taught classical literatures, adopting southern Chinese languages as a medium of instruction (Sim 1994). In Singapore, which was also part of British Malaya, similar schools were set up by Chinese immigrants. The Chinese remained emotionally connected to their homeland and any major movements in China would affect the policy of the Chinese schools in British Malaya. This was demonstrated when Chinese schools in British Malaya switched its medium of instructions to Mandarin in 1920s, in response to the Kuomintang government instructing all schools in China to teach Mandarin (Chia 1994). The medium of instruction at schools started to change to Mandarin as early as in the 1920's and the transition almost completed by year 1935 (Lee 2006:135).

Due to the migration pattern and occupational preference, Chinese of different linguistic groups tend to live in the same area and usually the language of the dominant group tends to flourish in the town they live in. The dominant languages of these towns continue to grow and are successful in assimilating other linguistic groups<sup>3</sup>. Chinese of different linguistic groups tended to use the dominant Chinese language in the town for intergroup communication. Furthermore, families of intergroup marriages tended to adopt the dominant Chinese language as their family language and they also inclined to speak this to their children.

Some people of other ethnic groups e.g. the Malays and Indians who were in close contact with the Chinese were able to pick up these Chinese languages too.

Chinese Malaysians constitute around a quarter of the total population in Malaysia. The composition of different Chinese linguistic groups according to states published by Department of Statistics Malaysia (2001) is shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1. The composition of Chinese linguistic group according to states

Table 1. The composition of Chinese iniguistic group according to states								
Linguistic Groups	Hokkien 閩 南	Hakka 客 家	Cantonese 廣府	Teochew 潮 汕	Hokchew 福 州	Hainanese 海 南	Kwongsai 廣 西	others
Johor	415,012	139,577	97,408	91,111	11,442	28,371	7,954	34,127
Kedah	101,199	23,668	24,626	61,526	1,440	3,628	731	7,617
Kelantan	29,835	3,580	5,567	999	130	1,566	228	2,640
Melaka	81,424	32,375	17,150	11,092	834	11,151	544	16,204
Negeri Sembilan	63,940	62,463	55,447	4,330	5,402	7,924	2,293	5,862
Pahang	59,058	37,544	61,820	10,701	3,131	7,503	19,629	7,577
Perak	154,216	133,767	201,642	60,312	28,251	9,877	11,688	19,219
Perlis	9,273	4,062	1,839	2,842	62	442	320	468
Penang	297,605	39,605	64,505	122,681	3,298	10,775	579	10,449
Sabah	33,819	147,511	31,229	11,549	5,154	6,652	470	18,104
Sarawak	68,935	161,552	29,434	38,120	178,261	7,675	382	28,067
Selangor	505,504	203,998	289,455	58,465	9,376	27,203	4,444	63,472
Terengganu	11,428	2,186	4,078	1,005	141	3,124	154	1,891
Kuala Lumpur	185,062	98,926	182,909	22,259	4,161	14,849	2,246	26,365
Pulau Labuan	4,558	1,990	885	288	471	305	12	516
Total Population 5,365,846	2,020,868 (37.7%)	1,092,754 (20.4%)	1,067,994 (19.9%)	497,280 (9.2%)	251,554 (4.7%)	141,045 (2.6%)	51,674 (0.9%)	243,046 (4.5%)

It is stated in Article 152 of the Malaysian Constitution<sup>4</sup> that 'no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using (otherwise than for official purposes), or from teaching or learning, any other language.' However, the policies in education especially, which were enforced by British colonial government as well as those enforced by Malaysian government after the independence, have not been in favour of any languages other than Malay and English.

The eradication of native-tongue educations was influenced more by the ideology and political development in China rather than the language policy of Malaysia (Lee 2006:21, 22).

# 4. Speak Mandarin campaign and inter-linguistic group conflicts

The Politics of Malaysia cut along racial lines. There is resentment towards the government, which is perceived by ethnic Chinese as being controlled by the Malays, for employing the policy of assimilation and unequal economic policy. This spurs the Chinese to eliminate internal divides in the hope that they will consolidate their political power. The two dominant races, the Malays and the Chinese, are constantly encouraged by their community leaders to stay united so that they will not be dominated or assimilated by their 'rival' race. Linguistic diversity is seen by many as a divisive factor which could possibly split the Chinese up. Some think that by making Mandarin a powerful language, the Chinese can withstand the government's pressures for assimilation. The majority

Provided that-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Article 152 of Malaysian Constitution states that

<sup>(1)</sup> The national language shall be the Malay language and shall be in such script as Parliament may by law provide:

<sup>(</sup>a) no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using (otherwise than for official purposes), or from teaching or learning, any other language; and

<sup>(</sup>b) nothing in this Clause shall prejudice the right of the Federal Government or of any State Government to preserve and sustain the use and study of the language of any other community in the Federation.

of Chinese (with the exception of minority Baba & Nyonya<sup>5</sup>) do not speak to each other in Malay because this is seen as a sign of being dominated and assimilated

A commentary entitled 'From the Perspective of the Speak Mandarin Campaign for Achieving the Great Unity Among the Chinese People (從華裔大團結——談推廣講華語運動)' published in China Press on 7th of May 1982 emphasized that 'Each association is fighting for the benefits of their own clan, at the same time, the use of dialects is creating factions in the community. They put the benefits of their own clan over the benefits of the entire race. As a result, it (the use of dialects) prevents the community from achieving internal unity.'

On the 6th of April 1993, Goh Cheng Teik (吳清德), a politician in his column on Nan Yang Siang Pau<sup>6</sup>, urged the Chinese community to speak Mandarin because he thought the Chinese had split into several factions. 'We come from the same root but we cannot communicate with each other directly', he lamented

Some people see the Malays as their potential rivals and competitors to be emulated. A commentary in Nan Yang Siang Pau on 30th of July 1990 with the title 'Speak Mandarin Campaign Once Again Please (再來一次華語運動)' emphasized the importance of Mandarin in such a way.

'Let's look at the Malays. Every one of them speaks standard Malay. We thought they had no dialects, but actually they do speak them at home and at smaller group gatherings. They do have dialects like Kelantanese, Kedahan, Riau Malay and even Javanese and Minangkabau. But once they are out of their clique, they speak standard Malay, very uniformed. If we are like them, it will be very good.'

Babas & Nyonyas are early migrants who immigrated to Malaya as merchants who then got married to local women and formed affluent Creole community which their descendants speak local languages and practice Chinese customs. They are also called the 'Peranakans'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Nan Yang Siang Pau is one of the Chinese dailies in Malaysia.

Another commentary published in Nan Yang Siang Pau on 19th of February 1999 entitled 'There aren't enough efforts to promote the use of Mandarin (推廣講華語,未盡全力)' shows that some people in the community want to become as united as the Malays are.

"there is a slogan among the Malays 'Satu Bangsa, Satu Bahasa (One Race, One Language)' which gives us an impression how united they are, how strong they stick together."

Malaysian's social lives in most parts of the country. The ideologies and sentiments resulting from the political situation described above became the prime movers for the Chinese leaders to launch the Speak Mandarin Campaign, just a few months after the Singaporean government did the same in 1979. It was an important event which is very much related to the state of non-Mandarin Chinese languages today. Many younger generations born in the 1980s have got the slogan 'Speak more Mandarin and less dialect (多譯華語,少說方言)' vividly implanted in their minds. The campaign also shows the interrelatedness of Chinese Malaysians with the greater Sinosphere like Hong Kong and Singapore, in terms of their pop culture and cultural policies. (Read more on section 4.1)

According to a news report in Nan Yang Siang Pau, the campaign was first proposed by The Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry (雪蘭莪中華工商總會) on 7th of March 1980. The Promote Mandarin Working Committee of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur (雪隆推廣華語工作委員會) was formed on 22nd March 1980 with cooperation by most Chinese daily newspapers, teachers associations, the Federation of Alumni of Taiwanese University Graduates, the Federation of Alumni of Nanyang University, the Federation of Associations of Hokkien, the Federation of Associations of Hainanese and the Federation of Associations of Teochew. The slogan 'Speak more Mandarin and less dialect' became so popular that it came to be cited and repeated by many

others organisations, political parties and individuals who wanted to promote Mandarin

One member of the committee, Low Sik Thong (劉錫通), who pioneered the campaign in Malaysia expressed in an interview that some of the Chinese leaders in the organisation identified linguistic diversity among the Chinese in Malaysia as a problem. He believes that if one can speak Mandarin well, then they can also learn to write perfect Chinese easily as written Chinese is based on Mandarin. The committee intended to replace various native tongues with Mandarin to improve communication among the Chinese and to create an environment conducive to the learning of Mandarin. The reasons were identical to the ones given by the Singaporean government; they had launched a similar campaign just a few months before and could possibly have been the trigger point for the same campaign in Malaysia.

It was during this time that some people started advocating Mandarin to be made the mother tongue of all Chinese people. Goh Thean Chye (吳天才), an academician at the University of Malaya who was also a keen supporter of the Speak Mandarin Campaign encouraged parents to speak Mandarin to their children. He suggested in his article published in Sin Chew Jit Poh<sup>7</sup> on 7th of August 1980 that spouses and siblings should speak Mandarin to each other. He also promoted the prohibition of non-Mandarin Chinese languages at schools.

In reality, multilingualism has always been the norm. Most locally born people have been able to pick up the dominant Chinese language in towns where they grew up. Linguistic diversity in the Chinese community does not really pose a huge problem to the daily lives of the majority of the Chinese population. This can be proven by many non-Cantonese living in a non-Cantonese speaking environment who have learnt the Cantonese language by just watching Hong Kong TV shows. There have not really been any serious communication problems in the community that would urgently need Mandarin as a vehicle of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sin Chew Jit Poh is one of the Chinese dailies in Malaysia.

communication. Xu (2006) argued in her quantitative research that some people can even speak 8 languages.

There is some truth in saying that the people who pioneered the campaign were doing it for a pragmatic reason aiming to improve the command of Mandarin among the Chinese. However, it is obvious that Malay and English can be used as the vehicle of communication among the Chinese too. This again proves that the widespread nationalistic ideologies and sentiments illustrated in this essay had helped the campaign to gain support and spread from Selangor and Kuala Lumpur to other parts of the country as well.

During the time when television was not common, the majority of the Chinese population received entertainment shows in Mandarin as well as a variety of other Chinese languages on the radio and in the cinemas. 'Empat Sekawan (四喜語門)' (Seto 2008) which was shown on a local TV station from 1966 to 1988 is often regarded as the classical television sitcom that presented the richness of linguistic diversity in the Chinese community. The show featured four characters who spoke four different Chinese languages to each other and it was one of the most well-known television programmes during that time.

The rise of the Hong Kong entertainment industry in the mid-1970's encouraged the rise of Cantonese language. Hong Kong television series rentals became very popular and later on, when television sets became ubiquitous, Cantonese became a 'trendy' language: that even locally produced television and radio shows adopted Cantonese as their medium. The language became synonymous with the entertainment industry until early 21st century.

This provoked ire in various non-Cantonese speaking groups. The Speak Mandarin Campaign then became pretence for them to stifle the rise of the Cantonese language. Commentaries published in newspapers which encouraged people to speak Mandarin between the 1990s and early noughties of 21st century mainly comprised of complaints about the prevalence of Cantonese.

When taking the entire country's population into account, there is no predominant linguistic group among Chinese Malaysians. The largest linguistic group is Hokkien which is just slightly more than one third of the total Chinese population (see Table 1). Due to this linguistic group composition, it is impossible to call the support for their own native language. Therefore they simply employ Mandarin as a tool to counter the dominance of Cantonese and the campaign itself has become a pretence to vent their resentment towards the rise of Cantonese.

On 16th September 1990, The Youth Wing of The Federation of Hokkien Associations of Malaysia (馬來西亞福建社團聯合會青年團) openly urged the government to broadcast more Mandarin programmes and reduce 'dialect' programmes on television. Yap Pian Hon (葉炳漢), a member of parliament who himself is a Hakka, complained in his column on 3rd of July 1998 on Nan Yang Siang Pau that 'the television stations which continuously put Hong Kong's Cantonese series on air cause the dialect to become prevalent. Some newspapers have even adopted the vocabularies of Hong Kong-style Cantonese. This will hamper the efforts of encouraging the use of Mandarin.'

The point is there were no other Chinese languages on television except Cantonese and Mandarin. Only 10 minutes Hokkien, Teochew and Hakka news were aired on national radio per day. Thus, the 'dialect' mentioned by these leaders was undoubtedly referring to Cantonese only.

Some commentaries published in newspapers wanted Cantonese to be replaced with Mandarin for the reason that Cantonese was not the largest linguistic group in the Chinese community.

On 29th March 1991, a commentary in Nan Yang Siang Pau indignantly protested that 'As if there is no one who understands Mandarin anymore, as if everybody is a Cantonese. ... Is this fair to the non-Cantonese?'

On 4th February 1995 in the same newspaper, columnist Yong Sun Yong (楊善勇), wrote an article titled 'Get Cantonese Out of Our Way! (叫廣東話迴避!)'. He, too, protested at the prevalence of Cantonese in the capital city by arguing that the majority of Chinese population in Kuala Lumpur are not of Cantonese descents. He complained about the hegemony of Cantonese language which the

majority of Chinese living in the city had to endure. Interestingly, at the end of his article, Yong didn't promote his own native tongue but Mandarin instead.

No matter how strong the opposition to the Cantonese language is, it seems that the promotion of languages other than Mandarin when there is no predominant linguistic group is perceived as cliquey and politically incorrect. This could be the reason why many people have shunned away from championing their own language. Thus, the Speak Mandarin Campaign became a tool to counter the prevalence of Cantonese. The rise of Cantonese excited an upsurge of 'anti-Cantonese' sentiment and this, in turn, perpetuated the calls for the promotion of Mandarin.

# 5. Schools as a catalyst for language shift

The 21st century present a time when these native languages are facing more challenges than ever. The advent of satellite television, the internet and the rise of English and Mandarin as global lingua francas further erode the chances of survival for various native tongues of the Chinese. Many ethnic Chinese families living in new housing areas in the suburbs of Kuala Lumpur and Penang are adopting English as a family language.

The 'one race, one language' ideology and inter-linguistic group conflicts are not the only factors that have promote the shift. Fishman's development of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (1991) testifies that natural intergenerational transmission of native tongues at home is crucial for passing on language from one generation to another. The 8-level scale has also outlined the significance of the influence of social institutions on parents' language choice.

A mother of three confessed that she used to speak Teochew to her eldest son but then became worried after he had complained about not being able to understand the teachers on his first day at school. Thus, she decided to speak Mandarin to her second and third child.

Schools forbidding students from speaking their native languages constitute another important factor which causes the decline of many languages. Similar regulations are also being enforced in Malay schools where the students are only allowed to speak the schools' languages i.e. Malay and English. For Mandarin medium schools, they have the same policy where only Mandarin, English and Malay are allowed.

Crystal (2000:85) reported that similar phenomena are happening in many parts of the world. English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese policies of suppression of indigenous languages were common in their colonies. These regulations reinforce a feeling of shame and low confidence about their native tongues. It is interesting that Chinese Malaysians are imposing a similar rule that actually suppresses the use of their own native languages.

Although the national constitution guarantees that 'no one should be forbidden from using or from teaching or learning any other language', there are many schools which take punitive actions against students for speaking their native tongues even after language lessons.

The Constitution of Malaysia is the supreme law of the land and any laws or bylaws including school rules and regulations that contradict the constitution are lawfully null and void. Nevertheless, the same regulations are still being enforced undisputedly.

One mother of two, when asked why she did not speak Hokkien to her children gave an immediate response that her child would be punished for speaking the native language.

A babysitter of 5 children complained that all the kids she used to take care of spoke to her in perfect Hakka, but after they went to the schools, they came back speaking Mandarin to her and no longer wanted to use Hakka.

When queried whether her school has an official rule prohibiting the use of native tongues, a headmistress admitted that they do. When asked whether the school should continue the policy of prohibiting native languages, this headmistress adamantly maintained that she was not discouraging the students from speaking their native tongues. 'It's OK if they want to speak dialects, but it has to be after school. They are not allowed to do so in the schools.'. Another

headmaster explained 'Because the school is a place to teach Mandarin, the national language and English. So, every student has to speak Mandarin when they come to school. If you speak dialect, it will become a dialect school. This is because dialect is not in our curriculum'

Many parents opt to speak Mandarin and English from day one to prepare their children for schooling and better job opportunities. They say there are too many languages to be mastered – Malay, English and Mandarin. They do not wish to burden their children with extra languages which might make them 'confused'. If they have extra time, they deem it better to teach them other national languages rather than their native tongue.

Therefore, publicly funded schools have become institutions that systematically produce cohorts of children who employ school languages as the vehicles of their communication and these generations of students will later permeate entire neighbourhoods, communities and towns.

# 6. The myth of monolingualism and Mandarin-centric view of Chinese Languages

The standardisation of the writing system in Qin dynasty is often regarded as an important historical event which contributed to the formation of a united written language. Many people have a misconception that the emperor standardised the spoken language of the whole of China and thus they agree that similar efforts should be done once again to unite the Chinese. This historical event is often mentioned when people wish to show their support in unifying the languages of the Chinese.

Mair (2003) expressed his disapproval of the myth that there is only one Chinese language spoken by almost one billion Han people (Chen 1999 cited in Mair 2003) in China:

The mischief surrounding the myth of monolingualism was further exacerbated during the middle of the first half of the twentieth century with the mistranslation of the word fangyan as 'dialect'. [...] Although different dialects of the same language may have slightly different phonological, lexical, and grammatical properties, they are usually considered to be mutually intelligible. By uniformly translating fangyan as 'dialect', this gives the misleading impression that all Sinitic languages are mutually intelligible, but this is patently not the case. (Mair 2003)

This myth is very pervasive in Malaysia as well. Overseas Chinese call themselves Hua Ren (華人) as an ethnic term to differentiate themselves from Zhong Guo Ren (中國人) 'people of China' which refers to nationality. Mandarin is given the name Hua Yu (華語) by the ethnic Chinese in Malaysia to differentiate themselves from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan where they call Mandarin as Pu Tong Hua (普通話) 'common language' and Guo Yu (國語) 'national language'. The terminology has inflicted an emotional affiliation to the language among people who refer to themselves as Hua Ren (華人). Dong Jiao Zong (董教總)<sup>8</sup>, a prominent pressure NGO, called upon UNESCO's support for mother tongue education to resist the Malaysian government's assimilation policy that has intensified the emotional affinity within the Chinese community towards Mandarin. In their appeal they claim that Mandarin is the 'mother tongue' of every Chinese person and therefore, the government should provide as much financial support to Mandarin medium schools just as they give to Malay medium schools.

The intermixture of public discourses and ideologies has made many people unwittingly accept that Mandarin, *Hua* Yu (華語), a northern Chinese language, is the 'mother tongue' of all Chinese people, *Hua* Ren (華人), even though the

Bong Jiao Zong (董教總) is the Chinese acronym of the United Chinese School Committees Association of Malaysia. It is a coordination body of private Mandarin medium schools. The association is a pressure body backed by the Chinese community with the aim to fight against the national policy of assimilation. Their press releases and arguments can be read on <a href="http://www.djz.edu.my/">http://www.djz.edu.my/</a>.

majority of Chinese Malaysians are of southern ancestries and many of them do not speak it as their first language.

When a pair of parents who are of Hakka and Hokkien ancestry was questioned why they didn't speak their native tongues to their children, the husband said 'I didn't think of this issue related to culture when I had children. Furthermore, I thought that it is a matter of course that *Hua* Ren (華人) 'Chinese' should speak *Hua* Yu (華語) 'Mandarin'. But just a few years ago, when I read one day in a newspaper that some people pointed out that the dialects are fading away, I was shocked. I have never thought that this could happen.'.

Most modern languages have a written form. The absence of writing system which faithfully records how the languages are being spoken gives many speakers the impression that the languages in question are just dialects of Mandarin, patois, while Mandarin itself is the 'authentic' (正宗) language. A teacher in her 20s, when queried about the relation of Mandarin and non-Mandarin Chinese languages, answered 'Haven't all the things initially originated from Mandarin?'. This attitude corresponds with the attitude survey done by Mair (2003) in China that 'they (the speakers) willingly accept the inferior status and deficient nature of their native forms of speech in comparison with Mandarin.'

When asked whether vernacular Teochew vocabularies such as *chi chiap* (to chat), *ap chap* (dirty), *chhuah* (to turn or tilt) can be written, a 91-year-old man of Teochew ancestry said those words are *Thou Ue* ( $\pm$ iff). The word *Thou* ( $\pm$ ) has the meaning of 'native', 'unrefined' and 'backward' with negative connotations.

Although non-Mandarin Chinese languages have been transmitting Chinese cultures from generations to generations in all parts of China for thousands of years, Goh Thean Chye, interestingly expressed on 17th of September 1989 in an interview by Sin Chew Jit Poh that non-Mandarin Chinese languages do not have much functions in passing on Chinese cultures.

# 7. The lack of language planning and prescription of social functions

When people talk about Non-Mandarin Chinese languages, people generally feel that those languages can invoke nostalgic emotions and they have the function to retain their ancestral roots. Other than that, they do not have many other functions apart from being able to communicate with older people or those from lower social classes. 'You have to see if there is a need. If you learn a language which cannot be used, what is it for?', a man in his mid-30s said.

The lack of modern scientific terminologies is a reason why parents are shifting away from the language. A respondent whose children only speak English and Malay said '(If) you want the children to study, (if) you want the children to read, (and) to deal with concepts, you have to use (a) standard language, like how to talk about nuclear bomb and so on. (If it were to be) in Hokkien, I really don't know how.' He continued, 'when I was a teenager, certainly at (the age of) 17, my intellect was nothing compared with (that of) my children when they were 17.'

During interviews and discussion(s), respondents usually associate Non-Mandarin Chinese languages with the countryside, the working class, elderly, and less educated people.

'Actually those who stress on dialects should be those living in the countryside and those old folks. They still stick to the dialects a little more.' a female interviewee in her 50s replied.

Another teacher in her 20's said 'I feel that the students in A class are not very familiar with dialects. They speak Mandarin and English. But those who do not perform so well, like those in B class, have better command of dialects.

A school teacher in her 20s commented that 'In short, Mandarin sounds more melodious. I mean Cantonese, how should I say... is just confined to a small clique.' Another teacher said, 'Sometimes when they speak dialect, they will use the vulgar forms, so we don't encourage them to speak it.'

Many non-Mandarin Chinese languages have undergone localisation and

loss of vocabularies. The absence of native-tongue education in the school curriculum and in the media has made many students of younger generations become less familiar with many native vocabularies and many have been lost. These lost vocabularies are usually substituted with Mandarin, English and Malay. Many even experience language attrition in that they cannot express themselves entirely in the languages without code switching. This could be the reason why many respondents feel that the native tongues they speak are broken as they are not the 'original' ones spoken in China. One lady who just got married and is planning to have children soon said 'Our Hakka is not pure, I don't mind if my language dies off.'

### 8. Intermarriages

Prior to the 1980's, the family language of mixed marriages tended to be the dominant language of the town as couples knew each other mainly from occasions and social circles where non-Mandarin Chinese languages were spoken. Mandarin made its inroad to many social functions and domains in the 1980's during the Speak Mandarin Campaign, which reasoned that Mandarin was more 'progressive' and 'less cliquey'. With the dwindling of the number of domains and social functions where non-Mandarin Chinese languages can be used, the number of married couples who adopt the languages as their family language decreases as well. This is particularly true with married couples who get to know each other in places where Mandarin or English are institutionalised or obligated. These couples usually adopt Mandarin or English as their primary language at home.

As a result, the assimilation process of dominant non-Mandarin Chinese languages has come to a halt. Mandarin has taken over the role of non-Mandarin Chinese languages. In recent years, English has risen to be another 'more inclusive', 'more progressive' and 'more useful' language (than Mandarin), and there is an increasing number of families adopting English as their primary language at home.

Wang (2007) argued that the effects of identity and intermarriage are mutual. The more intermarriage occurs, the less the people identify themselves according to a linguistic group. The less the people identify themselves according to their linguistic group, the more intermarriage occurs. Intermarriages further erode the boundary of these groups.

Furthermore, the new generations who are born in Malaysia do not identify themselves much with the place of origins of their ancestors like their forefathers did.

# 9. Non-essentialist views on ethnicity, identity and language

There are some parents who hold a non-essentialist view on languages. They think it is not a problem if these languages die out. Language and identity are just labels and social constructs. Blood lineage and language need not be linked together. One man mentioned that some Chinese babies adopted by Malay parents would never speak Chinese again and they would be culturally Malay forever. 'Ethnicity is just a label, it is imposed.'

Another respondent said 'when I went to the States to study, I met a girl (of Chinese descent) from Barbados, so (she spoke) Spanish. And (then) we met somebody from Brazil who speaks Portuguese. So, Chinese people spread all over the world. They don't speak Chinese (anymore). I am more pragmatic in that sense. You learn a language for a reason. Just because you are Chinese and my stamp (label) is also Chinese, you expect me to speak Chinese, (but) I haven't come to that point yet lah.'

# 10. The readiness of the community to revitalize their native languages

'Prior ideological clarification' means an answer to the question: 'Do we really want to preserve the language or culture?' While it is generally politically and emotionally correct to proclaim resoundingly, 'Yes!', the underlying and

lingering fears, anxieties, and insecurities over traditional language and culture suggest that the answer may really be, 'No.' [...] Those who vote 'Yes' expect someone else to 'save' it for others, with no personal effort, commitment, or involvement of the voter. (Dauenhauer 1998:63)

There has been increasing awareness that many non-Mandarin Chinese languages are on the decline. There are calls to revitalise these languages from a minority of the community members but there is a lack of a concerted movement in revitalising these languages. On the contrary, many people are passing the buck of transmitting languages to younger generations. For example, when community members find that some researchers are working on their languages, they often exclaim 'The future of these languages depends on you!' This shows that the community wants their languages to survive, but expects others to do the job.

# 10.1. Parents' responses

Some parents do not speak the native language to their children because they believe their children will eventually pick up the language after entering schools. An interviewee who is a new mother said 'They will be alright after entering schools. Because I heard many of my friends saying that their children speak Mandarin at home, but after they go to schools and mingle with other children who speak Hokkien, they will start speaking it too.'

The conversation below is yet another example of people trying to shift their responsibility for their children's language education on others; in this case on a babysitter.

Respondent: Actually when my daughter was 1 year old, since she was born till the age of one, I told the babysitter, 'you should speak Hokkien to her. I really encourage you to do that', I said. 'If you have the chance, don't speak Mandarin to her.'

She is the only source my daughter can learn Hokkien from. It's a day-to-day interaction, isn't it? If she won't do that, then there is no more chance to learn the language.

Researcher: Why don't you take the initiative to speak

Hokkien to her?

Respondent: The problem is I want to speak to her in

Mandarin first.

Researcher: Why?

Respondent: I don't know but I just want to speak to her in

Mandarin.

Researcher: What do you mean by 'I just want to speak

Mandarin to them'?

Reseacher: I am speaking Mandarin to them. So, I never

thought of speaking Hokkien to them.

Researcher: Are you thinking about it now?

Respondent: I can consider it but so far I haven't decided

when I will do so

# 10.2. Schools' responses

During a focus group discussion, all school teachers and the headmaster agreed that it is a loss to the cultures if their languages die off. But when asked if there is any possibility to teach native languages at schools the headmaster answered, 'Our timetable now is pretty limited. There are so many subjects like Mandarin and etc. If you wanted to add native languages as subjects, this would have to be approved by the education ministry.'

When asked if they agree that native languages should be taught in schools, the teachers responded in the following manner.

Teacher A: 'It doesn't make sense. We don't even know (the

languages), how can we teach them?'

Teacher B: 'I don't think it is possible.'

Teacher C: The associations like Hokkien Associations and Hainanese Associations should organise the classes. It should be done outside, not in the schools

A headmistress also insisted that passing on native languages should be the responsibility of parents, not the schools. She also said the clan associations, especially their youth wings, should be the ones to champion this issue. It is impossible for the school to teach native languages. The school can only teach proper (正規) Mandarin.

When asked about how the schools could contribute in reversing language shift, manyteachers said native languages could only be taught during extra classes as extra-curricular activities, but not during school time for the reason that Mandarin, English and Malay should be given top priorities.

### 10.3. Clan associations' responses

Some associations have started to organise language classes, singing classes and carnivals to promote their languages in recent years, such as The Selangor and Wilayah Persekutuan Hainan Association, Selangor and Kuala Lumpur Teochew Association, Hokkien Association Klang.

The smaller clans seem to have more awareness about the impending loss. A committee member of Hing Hua association said 'The minor ones will (die). For example, my Hing Hua language is losing the battle, but Hokkien, or Minnan will probably not die. Don't you see there is Hua Hee Dai (a Hokkien TV channel)?' When asked if the clan association has done anything to reverse the trend, the personal assistant of this committee member said she believed it to be the responsibility of parents to pass the language on. They assume that even if the language is lost in Malaysia, it is well preserved<sup>9</sup> in China.

The so called 'Chinese Malaysian Native Voices Documentation Project' (馬來西亞華人鄉音採集計劃) was launched on 7th of November 2008 to record colloquialisms, proverbs, idioms, poems and traditional performing arts of various linguistic groups. The project is pioneered by a DJ from a national Chinese language radio station, Ai FM, with the support of various clan associations. The recordings are being aired on the radio every Thursday evening in the DJ's radio programme 'The Archaeology of Native Voices' (鄉音考古).

# 10.4. Media is seen as the savior of native languages

The advent of a Hokkien TV channel Hua Hee Dai (歡喜台) on national satellite TV in 2007 has given hope to many that it can attract young audiences and pass the language on through the TV channels. Many expect it will create the same effect like what Hong Kong Cantonese drama did in 1980's and 1990's.

'Like my son, there was no one in the family that spoke Cantonese to him. There weren't any Cantonese relatives too. He just picked up the language by himself by watching Cantonese movies. You see there is a Hokkien channel on Astro, Hua Hee Dai. In places where Cantonese predominates, if the people there love to watch the shows, they will eventually pick up the language as well.' a man in his 60s said.

A teacher in her 40s said I think Hua Hee Dai, the one on Astro, will create more effects with movies and dramas.

# 11. Discussion

Fishman (2000) quantifies the loss of endangered languages in functional terms. It is important to 'understand, limit and rectify the societal loss of functionality in the weaker language' (J. Fishman 2000:2). Therefore, the study and practice of 'reversing language shift' (RLS) is not only descriptive but also

The viability of non-Mandarin Chinese languages in China should not be assumed. They could be seriously endangered by vernacularized varieties of Mandarin because language policy in China has been only emphasizing on the promotion of Mandarin in the second half of 20th century. (Saillard 2004)

prescriptive in functional terms'.

Some people in the community have just started to realise their languages are fading away. However, the conversations and interviews mentioned in this paper show that their awareness on language endangerment is low. The fact that some people are questioning the purpose of learning their native tongues shows that the community lacks prior ideology clarification which is crucial to any cultural and language revitalisation.

It is clear that if no far-reaching actions are taken to prescribe these languages with functions, their prospects will be bleak. After the interviews, some parents have expressed their regret for not consciously passing on their languages to their children, claiming that the language shift they caused was not conscious. Some parents confessed that they could have spoken their native language to their children if they had been aware of the decline. In view of the fast disappearance of the languages in family domains, it is clear that drastic action has to be taken to reinstate the languages back in homes. The benefits of multilingualism have to be promoted to young married couples immediately. This could possibly slow down the loss of intimacy function at home.

Myhill (1999:34) pointed out that there are two contrasting language ideologies, one identifying language according to individual identity and another one associating language with territory. Appropriate use of these ideologies can help preserving endangered languages.

The Chinese community in Malaysia is a patrilineal society in which ancestry is traced along the male lines. People usually classify their linguistic group according to the male side. At a time when new generations do not identify themselves much with their ancestry and intermarriages of different linguistic groups are common, it is time to promote a language ideology which associates language with territory to replace the traditional one which associates language with individual identity. This can help preventing further erosion to the languages by Mandarin or English when new families formed by couples of different linguistic groups are looking for a common language to be used at home.

It is also up to the schools to bear the responsibility of providing formal education in these languages. It has been mentioned that many languages have flourished in certain areas of the country and this could possibly be a good basis for giving support to these languages in the areas where they predominate. Schools in places where a particular native language predominates should provide education in native languages. Fair treatment and development of these non-Mandarin Chinese languages could prevent inter-linguistic group conflicts resulting from the rise of one particular language like the case of Cantonese in 1980's and 1990's.

It has been mentioned in section 4 that the Chinese community in Malaysia is very much connected to the greater East Asian cultural sphere. The rise of Cantonese in the 1980's was undoubtedly related to the development of the Cantonese entertainment industry in Hong Kong. The Malaysian version of the Speak Mandarin Campaign is but a duplication of the same policy in Singapore.

There are sporadic revitalisation movements in other parts of the world. Similar linkages can be fostered among revivalists of these speech communities. Due to the constraint of resources and relatively small speech communities in Malaysia, collaboration with greater speech communities, for example with communities in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore is crucial for the efforts in standardising written language, developing pedagogical materials for schools and gaining official recognition of these languages.

The rise of a language such as that of Cantonese at the end of 20th century, due to the success of the Hong Kong entertainment industry, is unlikely to be seen in the case of Hokkien and other Chinese languages since Mandarin and English entertainment is widely available on satellite television and on the internet. Non-Mandarin Chinese languages are unlikely to enjoy the luxury of monopolising the entertainment channels like the Cantonese entertainment did in 1980's and 1990's.

This does not mean that electronic media will not create any effect in retaining the languages. The introduction of Hokkien television channel could still possibly give the language a leg up. The improvement of circulation of Taiwanese and locally made entertainment products will, in one way or another, benefit both the producers and speech community as the producers will be able to reach wider audience and thus improve their revenue and the quality of their programmes. Speech communities other than Hokkien and Cantonese should explore the possibilities of cooperating with their counterparts in China in developing their own electronic media and media products.

The 'Chinese Malaysian Native Voices Documentation Project' launched in 2008 shows that there are efforts to preserve cultural heritage. It successfully created the awareness among people that there is something worth preserving in their languages and cultures, other than Mandarin. However, the project lacks the element that promotes intergenerational transmission of native tongues. There has been no intention to incorporate the outcome of the documentation project into school curricula, which could possibly be feasible as the Chinese Malaysian communities have schools which are under their control.<sup>10</sup>

# 12. Conclusion

The political movement and language policies in China, which are in favour of Mandarin, as well as the lack of the development of writing systems for non-Mandarin Chinese languages in China are the historical foundations for the decline of non-Mandarin Chinese languages in Malaysia.

It should be borne in mind that, Chinese communities in other parts of the world like China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore retain their cultural and ideological influence on the Chinese community in Malaysia, yet the relatively

Chinese Malaysian community has the control over the medium of instruction in their schools as well as the curriculum of Chinese language lessons. Curricula of other subjects are within the ambit of Ministry of Education.

small speech communities in Malaysia lack the resources and expertise to elevate the status and function of these languages. To revitalise these languages, international cooperation especially with regional governments in China or Taiwan is crucial to ensure success.

This research has discovered a handful of attitudes, beliefs, ideologies and viewpoints held by the Chinese Malaysians in Penang and Kuala Lumpur, which put non-Mandarin Chinese languages in a disadvantageous position. Although the majority of the interviewees see the demise of native languages as a loss to heritage, they lack the motivation to preserve them. This indicates that there is still a need for ideological clarification before the commencement of revitalisation programmes. The change of attitude, beliefs and ideology is indispensible in ensuring the survival of their native tongues.

The limitation of this study is that the research is only done in the two largest Malaysian cities of Penang and Kuala Lumpur. Further research can be done in other parts of the country especially in southern region of the peninsular of Malaysia as well as East Malaysia.

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# 《台語白話字文學選集》簡評

Book Review: Tâi-gí Peh-oē-jī Bûn-hak Soán-chip

張玉萍 台灣師範大學台文所 Giok-pheng TIUNN

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《台語白話字文學選集》是國立台灣文學館委託國立成功大學辦理「《台灣府城教會報》台語文學資料分類出版計畫」所出版ê文學選集。這ê選集由成功大學台灣語文測驗中心蔣為文副教授帶領團隊負責規劃、執行,經過2年ê時間,tī 2011年11月正式kap讀者見面。

這ê選集是ùi早期豐富ê白話字史料內底,thai選kap文學、語文、歷史、文化等主題相關ê文獻來重新編輯。內容分做《文化論述kap啟蒙》、《台譯文學》、《詩・歌》、《散文》kap《小說・劇本》5冊,以「全羅」和「漢羅」對照ê方式來呈現,方便讀者選讀。其中,《文化論述kap啟蒙》是由蔣為文主編,選文內容表現出白話字tī 19世紀尾20世紀初對台灣全民教育、文化啟蒙ê重要影響。《台譯文學》是楊允言主編,主要選錄tùi世界各所在翻譯過來ê故事,或者是kap宗教有關係ê宣教故事,顯示出彼當時台灣人透過白話字來讀翻譯文學,進一步接觸新世界ê情形。Ah nā《詩・歌》(何信翰主編)、《散文》(張學謙主編)kap《小說・劇本》(林裕凱主編)這3本tō是以文類做主體揀選出精華ê部分,hō讀者、研究者親身去體會、欣賞白話字文學ê特色kap美學。

台灣過去因為殖民政權ê打壓,以及實施大中國ê獨裁政治、文化體制kap國語政策,造成本土語言、文化受到嚴重ê迫害,影響台灣本土語言ê發展。Koh加上「漢字才是字」ê漢字中心迷思,致使白話字tī

主流ê社會當中,chiân做「隱形ê書寫」,m-nā hō人刁故意漠視,koh存在錯誤ê認bat,甚而hō人掠做是「無中生有」ê新發明,攏顯示出社會大眾對白話字ê無了解。因為按呢,這部會使講是匯集早期白話字作品精華ê文學選集,hō·白話字書寫呈現出真具體ê面貌,是社會大眾認bat白話字真好ê門窗。

另外一方面,針對台灣新文學發展的起點,學界一般認為是tī 1920年代,受著中國五四運動或者是日本現代文學 ê影響才發展起來 ê。M-koh咱ùi這套文學選集看起來,事實上,台灣tī 1920年代進前早 tō發展出台語白話ê書面語文學,甚至tī 這个時陣tō kap世界文學有交 chhap。因為按呢,這套文學選集ê出版mā是一个重大ê宣示,iáh tō 是展 現出台灣白話字、白話文書寫chiân-chò台灣新文學開基祖ê重要意義。

這部文學選集ê出版是累積濟濟研究者ê心血所換來ê重要成果,是非常重要ê文化khang-khoè。Ng-bāng透過這部文學選集ê出版會當hō社會大眾進一步了解白話字,mā hō koh-khah濟台灣文學ê研究者願意重新來思考台灣白話字、白話文書寫tī台灣文學史頂面ê意義,了後還hō伊應該有ê歷史位置。

**Taiwanese** 

# 讀者回應

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