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Contents

Taiwanese Literature Appropriated Intrumentally: Lī Sò·-siōng's National-policy Plays in Terms of Historical Context

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Abstract

In 1947, Lī Sò·-siōng(1915-1970), a dramatist, wrote the article, "On the Reform of Taiwanese drama" for Taiwanese Culture 2(2-4), addressing, "As a collaborative genre, Taiwanese drama should be incorporated into the purposes of the nation-state ruled by the KMT." Consequently, "the Will and Purpose of the nation-state," served as the guiding principle in Lī's dramatics and in his ideal project of reforming Taiwanese drama after the second World War. In a sense, they were also the core of the political logic of the time. "The political logic," theoretically speaking, is a category contrary to "the commercial logic" of Taiwanese culture and the self-determining "people's logic," especially referring to the government's cultural, language, and mass communication policies under the KMT rule in post-war times. These policies served as both the base and superstructure determining and reshaping Taiwanese culture. Lī's national-policy dramas exemplify such a dominant logic; namely, his dramatics could be regarded as the product of government's political logic, and by often revising and transforming original Taiwanese stories to fit national policy themes for his national-policy plays Li's Taiwanese(TG) plays are examples of TG literature appropriated intrumentally.

Keywords: national-policy plays, appropriation, intertextuality, hiong-thó· style,
          emergent culture

台語文ê工具性挪用：
呂訴上國策劇本ê生產脈絡kap定位

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摘要

呂訴上（1915-1970）戰後tī《台灣文化》2.2-2.4（1947.02-07）發表1篇文章〈台灣演劇改革論〉，強調「台灣戲劇和國家目的能融洽的協同體」。「國家的意志」kap「國家目的」tsiâⁿ-tsò呂訴上編劇、做戲、tshui-sak戰後「台灣演劇改革」運動理想ê指導原則，mā ē-sái講是核心ê政治邏輯。「政治邏輯」tī tsia kap台語文化ê商業邏輯、自主ê民間邏輯相對，簡單講，指稱戰後國民黨統治所包含ê文化政策、語言政策、廣電政策，對台語文化類型ê生產、再生產發揮消極制限、積極引導、「決定」ê政治性力頭kap意識形態基礎/頂層建築（base/superstructure）。Khẻh呂訴上戰後出版、發表ê台語「國策劇本」來講，反共產黨ê戲劇主題、文化宣傳ê功能設定，tō是lán講ê政治邏輯ê產物。Tsiah-ê國策劇本ê戲類（文類）部分屬tī歌á戲tsit-lō民間類型。Lán講歌á戲屬tī「民間」ê台語文化類型，tō是強調tsit-lō文類有i本底ê常民文化基礎kap生產條件──商業邏輯kap民間邏輯。呂訴上thẻh國策主題來「改良」，窮實是政治邏輯對商業邏輯、民間邏輯ê違犯kap再利用。換一句話來講，呂訴上ê國策劇本「誤讀」民間文類，是台語文ê工具性挪用（appropriation）。本文tō按算uì tsit-ê角度，探討呂訴上1940、50年代所寫台語劇本ê生產脈絡，koh針對tsiah-ê文本做初步ê歷史定位。

關鍵詞：國策劇本、挪用、互文性、鄉土文體、Tîm-bih文化

1. 前言

1947年2-4月，呂訴上（1915-1970）tī《台灣文化》發表1篇文〈台灣演劇改革論〉，án-ne講：「有人說：『藝術家是技術第一，人格第二』。這句話是對於藝術毫無理解的人說的極無責任的暴言。」[1] Uì tíng-ē文來kā看，呂訴上致意ê並m̄是「文如其人」ê傳統理論視角，或者探討作者tī文本創作、虛構ê過站所扮演ê角色，ah-sī探討文本kap作者身分（authorship）之間ê關係tsit-lō主體性（subjectivity）理論ê問題。伊針對ê是戲劇從業人員（親像：演歌á戲ê「戲á」）ê組織結構現狀：「現在台灣的戲劇人之中，流氓或人生的落伍者居多。換一句話講，他們是文化的匪賊，戰國時代的『野武士』。」伊認為二次戰後，lán「中國」kah nā tio̍h注重「文化的戰爭」、有想beh「提高戲劇，活用戲劇」，siōng無tio̍h-ai叫hiah-ê「三百六十五日中，不分日夜出入于劇場的流氓」、「將來不能進步的人，即行改業」，mài koh演戲；thang koh重頭kho優秀ê青年男女，「加以一年以上的精神技術的教育，再把它編成文化的宣傳中隊，依照國家的意志使之活動。」伊ê理想是「台灣戲劇和國家目的能融洽的協同體」。（2.3：6-7）

「國家目的」、「國家的意志」tsiâⁿ-tsò呂訴上編劇、做戲、tshui-sak戰後「台灣演劇改革」運動理想中ê指導原則，mā ē-sái講是核心ê政治邏輯。「政治邏輯」tī tsia kap台語文化ê商業邏輯、自主ê民間邏輯相對，簡單講，指稱戰後國民黨外來統治所包含ê文化政策、語言政策、廣電政策，對台語文化類型ê生產、再生產發揮消極制限、積極引導、「決定」ê政治性力頭kap意識形態基礎/頂層建築（base/superstructure）。Kheh呂訴上戰後出版、發表ê台語「國策劇本」來講，反共產黨（反共抗俄）ê戲劇主題、文化宣傳ê功能設定，tō是lán講ê政治邏輯ê產物。

Koh，tsiah-ê國策劇本ê戲類（文類）部分屬tī歌á戲tsit-lō民間戲劇類型。Lán講歌á戲屬「民間」ê台語文化類型，tō是看tī tsit-lō文類有i本底、自身ê常民文化基礎kap生產條件——商業邏輯kap民間邏輯。呂訴上the̍h國

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[1] 呂訴上ê〈台灣演劇改革論〉，分3期發表tī《台灣文化》2.2-4（1947.02.05-07.01）；收tī呂訴上著，《台灣電影戲劇史》（台北：銀華出版部，1961.09）。引刊物版：〈台灣演劇改革論（二）〉，《台灣文化》2.3（1947.03.01）：6；以下同，標卷數、期數kap頁數。

策主題來「改良」，窮實是政治邏輯對商業邏輯、民間邏輯ê違犯kap再利用。換一句話來講，呂訴上ê國策劇本誤讀（misread）、「改編」民間文類，是台語文ê工具性挪用（appropriation）。

本文按算ui戰後tshiâng-tsāi出現ê文化現象——台語文ê工具性挪用，探討lán手頭讀ē著ê，呂訴上1940、50年代所寫ê台語文學作品ê生產脈絡kap歷史定位；文本ê戲劇內涵、美學效果、台語文體（文字化）ê問題m̄是本文ê重點：1）國策劇本：《女匪幹》（歌á戲，10場；1951.05台灣省新聞處出版）；《鑑湖女俠》（歌á戲，6場；1953.01.11-03.01，旬刊《台糖通訊》12卷2-7期「文藝」欄連載）；《養母與親母》（獨幕話劇，收tī 1954.09正中書局出版ê《戲劇選集》）；《還我自由》（4幕話劇，1955.06幼獅出版社）。2）非國策劇本：《現代陳三五娘》（5幕話劇，1947.07銀華出版部再版 [1947.06初版]），作者稱「台灣民間風土語小說（劇）」，究真是劇本m̄是ê̍h義小說；ui tsia ē-tàng看著呂訴上御用風格以外「民間」戲人ê 1面。Lia̍h外，iáu有1本《延平王復國》（1955.12），筆者手頭無；tsit齣寫鄭成功ê歌á戲，hām其他無正式出冊ê劇本[2]，是本文暫時無法度處理ê。

2. 王育德ê見解：亂世・文化・人

呂訴上，彰化溪州人，1915年7月13出世tī「北斗郡溪州庄溪州字溪州叁貳壹番地」[3]，tō是舊溪州尾厝地頭（tsit-tsūn ê溪州街á tī南州）；1970年2月24中風，tī中視編審組任內過身。老父呂深圳（1881-1946）有10幾甲地，做生理開鴉片館kap當店，koh整「賽牡丹」戲班[4]。溪州座ê頭家蔡力、蔡德祥父á囝，tsham呂家是外家親tsiâⁿ（蔡力ê bó͘ kap呂訴上ê老母廖尺，有親tsiâⁿ關係）；m̄-tsiah講呂訴上tsit世人「戲khong」——做戲khong、mā看戲gōng，to有i家族á ê淵源kap環境。

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[2] 《延平王復國》是手稿，有釘做kui本；見邱坤良ê著作：《呂訴上》（台北：文建會，2004.12），115-16。邱坤良（2004：180）另外有列呂無出版ê劇本16種。

[3] 以下關係呂訴上身世背景，主要參考邱坤良ê《呂訴上》（2004）第一章〈溪州的少年家〉。

[4] 呂訴上ê〈台灣演劇の近情〉（1941，《國民演劇》6月號），講賽牡丹成立tī 1928年、昭和3年。（邱坤良2004：31）呂訴上（1961：238-9）講賽牡丹ê全稱是「瀛洲賽牡丹俱樂團歌仔戲班」。

　　1931年呂訴上16歲，替in老父ê賽牡丹戲班排1齣戲（編導兼男主角）——穿現代衫（時裝）ê改良戲《情海風波》，tī彰化座公演。（呂1961：176、238；邱2004：34-6）關係呂訴上所講ê「改良戲」（屬新戲、話劇ê 1類），koh歌á戲班搬改良戲ê情形，ē-sái參考呂訴上ê概述，tō thang sīn-suà牽1段á台語新劇ê khí-khiàn史。呂訴上（1961：175-6；293-4）講台灣siōng早ê改良戲出現tī 1911-12年：1911年5月初4，日本新演劇開基ê川上音二郎劇團，tī台北朝日座演1齣社會悲劇。隔tńg年，受川上劇團ê影響，日本人莊田kap朝日座ê頭家高松豐次郎等人合作，成立台語改良戲劇團。照呂訴上ê講法，tsit-ê劇團「應募來的一批台灣人演員，都是當時在台北的流氓」，ta̍k-ê m̄-tsiah講in做ê戲號做「流氓戲」（鱸鰻戲）。除了演員īng台灣人，khah「本土」ê 1點：

　　　　開始排練時，由日人高野氏（日本新演劇川上音二郎劇
　　　　團的演員）任導演，劇情採取台灣當時的實事為題材。
　　　　但所編劇本並無對白[無劇本]，只用幕表制。上演的劇
　　　　目有《可憐之壯丁》《洪禮謨（火車棟仔）》《廖添
　　　　丁》《大男尋父》《巨賊簡大獅》《周成過台灣（無情
　　　　之恨）》《孝子復仇》等，舞台裝置方面只有簡單的風
　　　　屏式的布景而已……主要演員有林火炎及陳阿達兩人男
　　　　扮女主角，黃國隆扮老生，土牛扮反角如廖添丁亦由他
　　　　扮演的。（呂訴上1961：293）[5]

　　Lán ē-sái講由日本人做戲頭（戲班頭家）ê劇團，順趁商業邏輯kap民間邏輯ê共同核心——市場條件ê商業經營動機，演員、題材、戲劇語言lóng行本土化路線。是講「本土」、「本土化」ê演戲政策，未必然tō保證戲路有ha̍h台灣主體觀點kap思考。「巨賊」簡大獅、「反角」廖添丁tsit款用

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[5]　呂訴上（1961：294）ê講法，筆者án-ne歸納：1）莊田、高松豐次郎tàu-tsiáⁿ ê台語改良戲劇團，創立無外久tō解散；該團hiah-ê台灣演員ta̍k-ê khioh sio-uá組「寶來團」，是商業戲劇路線。2）1919年，留日台灣學生張暮年、張芳洲、吳三連、黃周、張深切等人組演劇團，tī東京中華青年會館演尾崎紅葉原著ê《金色夜叉》、《盜瓜賊》，是後日á「文化戲」政治啟蒙路線ê khí-khiàn。

詞，tàu-té屬呂訴上客觀描述歷史現場ê修辭，ah-sī反映戰後呂訴上主觀ê文化政治立場實在oh講；m̄-koh，後世挪用、建構ê民族英雄論述（「治安」事件ê改編、創作），後pîng ê台灣主體觀點ē-sái講是區分民間邏輯kap商業邏輯、區分民間抵抗邏輯kap政治teh-ah邏輯tsiâ好ê切入點kap標準。

呂訴上tō kā《情海風波》kap「賽牡丹」liàh做歌á戲班搬改良戲ê例：「後來歌仔戲節目中常客串演幾天改良戲，如『賽牡丹』班每地方都有演幾天改良戲。」（呂1961：175）「民國二十年於彰化座，賽牡丹劇團公演呂訴上編導改良戲《情海風波》……呂訴上飾男主角、朱完女士飾女主角、黃金連飾反角。」（176；標點外加ê）《情海風波》1931年公演，pān-phue無劇本；siōng無，無劇本留落來是確定ê。現存kâng名ê《情海風波》劇本並無出版，是皇民化時期送審ê版本，邱坤良（2004：180）kā i歸類做「現代艷情劇」。橫直，呂訴上tī 1930、40年代編導ê戲齣偏ǹg日本新演劇（改良戲）kap中國文明戲（親像：上海民興社）所影響ê商業娛樂路線，無tō皇民劇ê派流──戰爭期ê「改良戲」、改良歌仔戲[6]。Tsit-lō演戲路線，kiau彰化鼎新社（1923/25-）、草屯炎峰青年會演劇團（1924/25/26-）以下文化戲、無產青年演劇ê政治/美學啟蒙路線無kâng。

呂訴上ê御用風格、民間戲人身分koh留學日本學戲、讀電影ê科班背景，hō伊tsiâ-tsò台語文學史kap文化史tsiâ特殊ê案例。台語作家、學者kap運動者，一來尊tshûn伊tsit-sì-lâng bú戲做戲、tsiâ戲團koh教戲ê經驗，o-ló伊對台灣戲劇、電影ê整理、研究、對相關文物ê收藏，講伊「戲痴呂訴上是台灣的驕傲」；伊ê名著《台灣電影戲劇史》「就任何層面而言……都是一部值得紀念的著作」，是「文化沙漠」開出來ê花蕊。（王育德2002/1962：247、248）二來對伊tī戰爭期kap戰後反共抗俄時期參與戲曲檢查

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6 改良戲、改良歌仔戲、皇民劇舉例：1937.07，田中三光歌仔戲團聘請呂訴上擔任導演，指導戲團演出「改良戲」（呂1961：319；邱2004：49-50）；1937.09，基隆高砂劇場直營ê歌仔戲班「擇勝社」，以台語搬全台第一齣「皇民（化）劇」《一死報國》《母性愛》（橘憲正編導）[呂1961：319；曾顯章2003：169；邱2004：50]；1937.10，黃丁士、蔡南枝kap橘憲正合作，以「台灣新劇團」ê名義tī北港、Phok-á-kha演台語皇民劇（呂訴上1961：319）；1937.11，蔡南枝組「國精劇團」演皇民劇（呂訴上1961：319-20），lóng有in工具性挪用ê部分功能。

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù

制度ê制定kap執行[7]、tshui-sak戲劇社會教育[8]、編導「國策劇本」ê御用風格並無認同，王育德講伊是「亂世文化人」；tsit-lō評價，tsiāⁿ有歷史意思。

Uì人、uì文化「人」——歷史主體（subject/agent）ê角度來講，呂訴上kám有代表性？無論戰前、戰後，呂訴上kám是台籍智識份子ê典型？邱坤良肯定伊ê戲劇經驗、研究kap收藏ê趣味liàh外，認為伊交陪、tsih-tsiap--ê tiāⁿ-tiòh是「黨政官員、文化大老」，án-ne ê經歷kap hiah-ê kâng款uì日本時代行過來ê讀冊人tsiāⁿ無sio-siāng：

> 從現存資料來看，他（呂訴上）與近代民族運動、文化運動人士，或組織文學藝術團體的文化人疏於往來，也未參與較具社會批判性的戲劇演出。戰爭期間他高舉「皇民劇」的大旗，並任職於當時的戲劇統制機構——「台灣演劇協會」，戰後他周旋黨政文化要員之間，成為台灣戲劇的代表人，配合官方的戲劇政策，站在官方立場，宣揚戲劇觀念，發表戲劇創作。（邱坤良2004：17-8）

「近代民族運動、文化運動人士」，koh hiah-ê bat參與khah有社會批判性演出ê新劇運動者（稱「民族文化人」）——其中有一部分，tō是lán講ê日本時代作家、日語前世代，Tng當in放棄ê文義文學「創作」、集體行入民

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7 呂訴上戲曲檢查法規ê制定或者執行，舉例：1）1941.01，日本政府以民間ê名義成立台灣演劇協會，所有ê劇團lóng ài入會（非會員bē-sái對外演出）；劇本、配樂lóng ài接受指導、審查，koh鼓吹「新台灣音樂」，規定台灣曲唱日語詞，稱「時局歌曲」。呂訴上擔任該會「囑託」，負責戲劇檢查kap檢舉。2）1955.03，台灣省改良地方戲劇委員會（教育廳）第一次會議，推派呂訴上、程其恒、姚蕭祥、吳炳南、周斐草擬准演查禁標準。（呂訴上1961：274；276）

8 戲劇社會教育舉例：1943.08.04，台灣演劇協會舉辦計共10工ê循環職業劇團練成會，呂訴上擔任練成主任。（邱坤良2004：174）1947.08.10-17，台灣省新文化運動委員會tī台北公會堂和平室舉辦「新文化運動戲劇講座」，由呂訴上操辦。（呂訴上1961：276；353）

俗研究ê「史誌書寫」風格[9]，kap in tíng-ē ûn ê呂訴上，suah thèh tsiah-ê民族文化人phah算mā bē支持、無hit-lō眼界ê台語文，來寫1種民族文化人mā消極面對ê反共抗俄文學，台語「國策劇本」。Án-ne，tsit-lō歷史上怪奇ê文類——台語反共抗俄文學，文學史beh án-tsuáⁿ kā定位？

　　Lán講he是hông收編ê（incorporated）文化[10]。英國文化研究ê典範根源、馬派學者Raymond Williams tī《Malúkhuhsuh主義kap文學》（Marxism and Literature, 1985）第二章〈文化理論〉ê第8節「主導、tîm-bih kap新興」（Dominant, Residual, and Emergent），提出3 ê概念來看文化史ê變遷：主導文化、tîm-bih文化kap新興文化。新興文化kap主導文化、tîm-bih文化有1 ê khah無kâng ê特色，舉台語文學做例來講：台語文學做為1種tîm-bih文化，新興ê現象m̄是huah做tō做ē得來、huah出現tō出現ê實踐（never only a matter of immediate practice）；tī新興tsìn-tsîng，tîm-bih ê台語文學一直leh走tshuē新形式或者改編舊形式；是講，新興文化nā hō͘主導文化kap主導ê體制收編，tō koh piⁿ做tîm-bih ê文化。（1985：126）Tī Raymond Williams（1985：122-25）ê意思，tîm-bih、新興tsit 2 ê文化範疇，kiau主導文化之間ê關係有3種：反對ê（the oppositional）、另類ê（the alternative）kap hông收編ê。呂訴上ê台語國策劇本，ē-sái講是台語全漢文tī tîm-bih行ǹg新興ê過站hông收編ê文化類型，欠khueh「反對」、「另類」ê質素。

3. 國策劇本：台語文ê意識形態挪用

　　呂訴上tī「亂世」——國家語言改來改去，而且由外來語言主導ê歷史khám站，寫伊ê台語劇本；tse tiāⁿ-tiòh是lán理解台語文學史、文化史án-tsuáⁿ來koh án-tsuáⁿ去ê「前脈絡」（pre-emergence）。套Williams（1985：126）ê講法，nā beh理解台語文化tī每1 ê khám站tîm-bih、新興koh未來tsiâⁿ-tsò主導ê特

9　「史誌書寫」主要指稱戰後tsē-tsē跨語世代，uì文學「創作」隱遁，行向華語記事報導、民俗研究kap寫作ê性命風格，窮實是華文體制存在ê證據。請參考筆者ê論文：〈華文體制kap台籍新詩創作世代：1945-65〉（第二章3.2），《語言、體制、象徵暴力：戰後台語文學kap華語文學關係研究》（成功大學台文系博士論文，2010.06.19），頁43-48。

10　「收編」ê英語對等詞一般是「co-option」、m̄是「incorporation」，tī tsia一體適用kāng 1 ê漢字詞。

質，koh in saⁿ-kap之間ê關係，文化社會學tióh觀察新興文化以早ê狀況kap條件，tō是lán講ê台語文學運動形成ê前脈絡。

　　1962年kha-tau ê王育德，認為台灣戲劇tī歷史上有2 ê khah「自由」ê時期：戰爭期liáh外ê日本時代mài講，koh來tō是大戰taⁿ-á結束ê tsit-ê làng縫：「蔣政權ê時代，戲劇只在戰後到二二八之前的一年半裏體驗到『文藝復興』的快活。這段時間裏，台灣各地有新劇上演，新劇大膽取材自嚴苛的社會現狀，使觀眾從心底產生共鳴。與看歌仔戲時的漫不經心相比，劇場確將演員與觀眾都溶入同樣的情緒裏。能夠與這個時期打動人心的戲劇創作相提並論的，大概只有昭和初期文化協會的啟蒙劇差可比擬。所謂的『台灣新劇發展史』，總結來說就是這兩個時期的歷史。」（2002/1962：253）

　　以上tiāⁿ-tióh是王育德ê經驗談[11]，以及伊liáh台灣主體做中心ê歷史判斷。伊ê戲劇史論，清清楚楚khéh文化劇以下ê政治啟蒙路線做標準kap觀點。1946年6月13，聖烽演劇研究會tī台北公會堂首演「散人伸手就壁，惡官伸手tō piah」[12] ê獨幕悲劇《壁》（簡國賢日語原著；宋非我編譯、導演），kap 3幕喜劇《羅漢赴會》（宋非我編導）；tsit 2齣戲，tiāⁿ-tióh是戰後台語文/藝復興（新興）ê案例。Án-ne講來，「大膽取材自嚴苛的社會現狀」ê《壁》，tsit類ê商業劇場產品kap王育德、黃昆彬以台南學生戲劇研究會ê名義所實踐出來ê非商業戲劇活動，nā sa來對照、鑑界呂訴上接suà（1947-）實踐ê台語劇本寫作kap演戲經驗，lán tàu-té tióh-ài kā i定位tī hô-mih「新興」koh án-tsuáⁿ hông收編、suah尾來tîm-bih ê戲劇文化？Beh解答tsit-ê問題，呂訴上「國策劇本」寫作、公演、出版、改編等文本生產背景，是lán ài整理分析ê歷史前脈絡。

3.1. 挪用kap互文性：《現代陳三五娘》

　　1946年8月22行政長官公署制定〈台灣省劇團管理規則〉，第3條規定：

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[11] 關係王育德戰後初期ê戲劇經驗，ē-sái伊ê文章：〈台灣光復後的話劇運動〉，收tī《王育德全集11：創作&評論集》（台北：前衛出版社，2002.07），頁189-93。

[12] 呂訴上ê《台灣電影戲劇史》有1段（1961：337-38）關係聖烽公演《壁》、《羅漢赴會》ê描述，值得參考；「散人伸手就壁，惡官伸手tō piah！」tsit句，tō是uì內底「歸納」、摘引出來ê。

「凡欲在本省組織劇團者，須由主持人向宣傳委員會申請登記，經核准發給登記證後，方准在本省境內演出，其在本規則施行前已成立之劇團，應於本規則公佈施行後二十日內補行登記。」呂訴上ê銀華新劇團（第二銀華[13]：1937.08開始籌備，1938.05-1939.10），tō tī tsit sî-tsūn補登記[14]，ē-sái講是第二銀華ê沿續。銀華補登記了後，演出ê記錄tsiáⁿ少；tse無tiāⁿ kap呂訴上tsit-tsām-á（1945-1950）leh做警察有tī-tāi。是講呂訴上tī文化場合kap戲界iáu真活動[15]；koh以「銀華出版部」ê名義出版1本台語話劇本《現代陳三五娘》（5幕19場），而且有舞台公演kap改編做廣播劇放送ê記錄。[16]

　　1947年6月，《現代陳三五娘》出版；隔1月日隨再版，冊皮註明「台灣民間風土語小說」──交代「本事」ê第3頁，標題頭前有頂題、印1 tsuā字：「台灣民間風土語小說劇（閩南語）」；「小說」，實際是劇本。呂訴上tī〈後記〉án-ne講：

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[13]　第一銀華：1931年，呂訴上創立銀華映畫社，擔任辯士。第二銀華：1938.05.15，台灣銀華新劇團（1937.08開始籌備，-1939.10）ê結團式，tī溪州呂訴上ê khiā家舉行。呂訴上án-ne講第二銀華成立ê背景：「在此時期 [1937-]，從前被日政府禁演的『新劇』（即話劇），復藉『皇民化劇團』的名義乘機抬頭，首先是呂訴上組織的『台灣銀華新劇團』……」（1961：320）第三銀華：1948.06，呂訴上創立銀華影業社，附設電影戲劇訓練班，是「第三銀華」。

[14]　請看〈甲種劇團核准登記暨登記順序一覽表〉（呂訴上1961：338-40；邱坤良2004：181-84）。

[15]　像講1947年12月14，呂訴上、張秀光（張芳洲）等人發起「台北市電影戲劇促進會」（-1949），tī第一劇場（第一酒家）舉辦成立大會：理事長呂訴上；常務理事：王詩琅、吳漫沙；理事：郭水潭、廖漢臣、簡荷生、洪名堯、賴曾、林秋興；後補理事：呂國棟、賴明弘、張淵福、朱點人；常務監事陳全永；監事：劉旺才、林志實；後補監事周井田；顧問：張慕陶、周延壽、黃啟瑞、林士賢、陳逸松、白克、張晴川、王白淵、吳錫洋。（呂訴上1961：269-70；356）

[16]　《現代陳三五娘》演出ê記錄舉例：1948.02.08，台北市電影戲劇促進會tī永樂戲院舉辦新正會員遊藝會，由銀華新劇團搬《現代陳三五娘》（呂訴上1961：359）；1948.02.10，《現代陳三五娘》改編做廣播劇，tī中國廣播電台播出（360）；1948.03.06-08，銀華新劇團tī永樂戲院舉辦群芳賽藝大會，由民聲劇團演出《現代陳三五娘》（360）；1948.04.04-06，銀華新劇團tī艋舺芳明館舉辦「萬華各大酒家演劇大會」，由銀華新劇團演出《現代陳三五娘》（360）；1950.03.11，台北市影劇工作者大公演，第4 ê節目：呂訴上編，《現代陳三五娘》（376）。

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù

> 作者在七七事變的翌年組織了，旅行劇團「銀華新劇
> 團」，巡迴全省的時候，決定在高雄市壽星戲院，第四
> 次公演，這篇輕喜劇，就是應付這急切的需要，在上演
> 的一星期前百忙中抽空澈宵寫成。劇本因為是專為備上
> 演和審查用，而非為供讀者閱讀，所以除了必要的臺詞
> 以外，如舞台說明等修飾等都很潦草……。[17]

〈後記〉koh講tsit phō劇本是「作者初期寫作，國文中的第二作品」，
欠點iáu tsiâⁿ tsē（「國文」pān-phue是日文ê對稱，m̄是華文；頭á phō劇本káⁿ
ē以「幕表制」演出ê《情海風波》，mā ài koh稽考）；礙tī作者「公務」
無閒，想beh改suah無法度改tō來出版。（1947b：63）Uì tsia thang知《現代
陳三五娘》是1930年代尾ê舊作重刊，tiāⁿ-tiȯh有保留原稿ê樣相。Nā án-ne，
《現代陳三五娘》thing好講是1930年代（1938-1939）ê台語文學；尚且ui戲齣
ê意識內涵來看，tī全島正式進入「戰時體制」（1937.08.15-），民間商業劇
團、歌á戲班hông引|tshuā行「改良戲」kap皇民化路線ê khám站（請參考註
解6、註解13），《現代陳三五娘》猶原表現「民族」色緻kap民間、商業邏
輯ê非國策風格。

Khẻh戰前ah戰後ê政治標準來講，《現代陳三五娘》有影無算「國策劇
本」。Kah nā án-ne，以「國策劇本」ê主題來ān，本文kan-na論i ê創作/改編
行為tō好：透過呂訴上改編、典引（allude）、參考傳統題材ê劇本創作，探
討挪用kap互文性（intertextuality）[18] ê關係，thang交代本文ê理論思考。

Tō是講，siáⁿ-mih是「挪用」？台語文ê「工具性挪用」，又koh指稱百
年殖民脈絡頂siáⁿ-mih款ê語言扭曲（distortion/misreading）kap體制條件。

《現代陳三五娘》有i顯性ê互文（intertexts），呂訴上ka-tī án-ne講：
「劇本取材，除取之民間傳說的口碑故事之外，還參考了《增註加批奇逢
全集》（廈門會文堂版），日本作家佐藤春夫的小說《星》，歌仔戲用
《正本陳三五娘歌詞》等書……」（〈後記〉，63）冊本koh附錄佐藤春夫

17　呂訴上，〈後記〉，《現代陳三五娘》（台北：銀華出版部，1947b.07），再版，頁
　　63。

18　關係互文性，ē-sái參考Lisa Lai-ming Wong（黃麗明）研究楊牧ê論文："On intertextuality,"
　　in Rays of the Searching Sun: The Transcultural Poetics of Yang Mu (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang,
　　2009), 75-106.

ê原文（日語）小說，tshiàng明小說kap劇本「立旨各自不同」（63）。Tī tsia，重點無tī呂訴上tàu-té「參考」guā tsē互文[19]；重點是lán beh uì文本kap文本ê關係，ah-sī文本對文本ê「影響」來解說siáⁿ是挪用ê問題。

　　Robert Magliola tī伊ê論文〈「挪用」kap/或者「模仿」ê用法〉（1991）[20]，tsit起頭tō講著影響研究ê問題：Lán憑siáⁿ-mih講tsit篇文本對hit篇有影響？尤其是跨國、跨語言互文，hit中間ê因果律（causality）是án-tsuáⁿ做tshiâⁿ--ê？Magliola借Heidegger兩相皆因（co-causal）/兩相皆果（co-effective）ê詮釋理論來tháu解頂面tsit ê問題：詮釋行為總是tī兩相皆因/皆果ê範圍內leh運作；文本中間ê相似性kap差異，tī一定ê程度lóng是人為ê，是詮釋者ê「挪用」做得來ê：「舉凡人類所有的『知』，即使努力『模仿』（imitative efforts）企圖恢復所謂的『原』意，都是經過『挪用』而來的，我稱之為『認知挪用』（epistemological appropriation）。」（1991：77）筆者kāi翻做「認識論挪用」，tō是講lán人leh認bat外在世界，leh giú互文中間ê因果關係、影響，tshiâng-tsāi是透過挪用來做tsiâⁿ「知識」（認bat）ê。Magliola進一步區分2種挪用：

> 我在「認知挪用」的架構中，繼續區分出㈠模仿（imitation）以及我稱之為㈡意識形態的挪用（ideological appropriation）。模仿是要儘可能恢復做品中的符意（signifieds），藉著符意「當初的」上下文，也就是作品當年的時空背景。這種努力多少可以成功，端賴史料的舉證。意識形態的挪用則提供了另一套符意，也就是另外發展的語碼（code）或意義的屬類（order of meaning）都有別於「當初的」那一套。有時候意識形態的挪用知道自己在做什麼，而有時候它卻天真地以為自己是模仿。（Magliola 1991：77）

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[19] 有關《現代陳三五娘》「可能」ê互文，有1篇論文值得參考：劉美芳，〈偷情與宿命的糾纏：陳三五娘研究〉，《歌仔戲四大齣之二陳三五娘：上篇》（宜蘭：縣立文化中心），頁5-67。

[20] 筆者參考ê是蔣淑貞翻譯ê華語版：Robert Magliola（馬樂伯），〈「挪用」和／或「模仿」的用法：某些難題的關鍵——希臘文、拉丁文、英文、法文、梵文〉，《中外文學》20.2（1991.07）：77-107。

　　詮釋（interpretation）tshiâng-tsāi是誤讀、挪用ê行為，m̄管詮釋主體有自覺ah無自覺（Harold Bloom認為詮釋lóng是、總是誤讀）。新歷史主義認為讀者、詮釋主體總是受in ê時代條件kap意識形態構成（ideological formations）來塑造、phah派意識位置ê（positioned）。主體ê意識形態nā tshiāng-tú-tshiāng kap文本ê意識形態有ha̍h，主體tō ē kā文本自然化（naturalize）；tō是講，主體ē kā hit-lō有受一定時間、歷史制ān ê（time-bound）、有特定文化屬性ê（culture-specific）文本再現，理解做普遍的、永久bē變ê人文經驗。Koh，詮釋主體nā kap文本、作者ê意識形態koh-iūn、衝突，án-ne主體ē挪用文本，kā i讀做有ha̍h主體ê文化先見（cultural prepossessions）ê解說kap意義。[21]

　　Tī tsit-ê脈絡，《現代陳三五娘》kap i ê互文——所有荔鏡記戲文、手抄稿、歌á等，tiān-tio̍h有in互文、挪用ê關係。是講，lán主要beh tuì tsia來探討呂訴上ê反共劇本對台語文/化ê工具性挪用：台語文、台語文化類型，tī每1 ê歷史khám站to有i本底民間、宗教，甚至純商業ê生產條件kap邏輯；無論白話字傳統、1930年代ê台灣話文運動，ah-sī後出、當代ê台語文學運動to有in一貫、共通ê運動觀點、邏輯kap策略，thang講是運動整體ê集體意向（intention）、意志kap「原意」。Uì台語文學運動觀點整體來看，lán tō kā違犯tsit-lō運動意向、「原意」kap文化類型ê民間、商業邏輯，而且有顯性黨國意識形態動機ê文化再現kap產品，定位做「台語文ê工具性挪用」。Tī tsit-ê意義頂面，商業、娛樂風格ê《現代陳三五娘》tō m̄是lán定義ê工具性挪用。

3.2. 台語文化類型ê挪用：改良歌á戲kap反共話劇

　　台語文ê工具性挪用，是戰後國民黨政府ê文化政策表現在來tō有ê策

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[21] 關係Bloom ê誤讀理論，以及新歷史主義án-tsuán看閱讀過程中ê「挪用」kap「自然化」，參考：M. H. Abrams, A Glossary of Literary Terms (Orlando: Harcourt Brace, 1993), 6th ed., 239-41, 25l.

略[22]。1951年5月，呂訴上編寫ê 10場歌á戲劇本《女匪幹》交台灣省新聞處出版，冊皮講是「反共劇」、「改良台灣歌仔戲」。反共抗俄文藝在來有ê刻板人物、情節套á，kui-ê搬入tī劇本內底；khah要緊ê，《現代陳三五娘》ê商業娛樂風格kap內涵，像講第一幕4場戲，陳家書僮福安kap黃家奴才小七kó͘-phok、激滑ê動作kap口白（親像：辯話骨），tsit-lō戲劇場面、商業元素，ē-sái講完全失喪tī《女匪幹》ê文本nih。

《女匪幹》tàu-té是án-nuá寫出來ê？劇本生產、再生產（演出）ê社會條件，是siáⁿ款ê歷史脈絡（tíng-ē文）？照《台灣電影戲劇史》來kā查，《女匪幹》出版tsìn-tsîng tō有tsit-kuá-á演出記錄：1950.12.28，國民黨中央改造委員會第四組針對歌á戲ê改良kap改良劇本《女匪幹》ê實驗演出等議題，tī台北大橋戲院召開座談會（1961：395）；1951.01.13，萬華戲班龍鳳社tī台北鐵路管理局大禮堂試演呂訴上ê《女匪幹》（397）；1951.02，反共歌á戲《女匪幹》tī松山、鶯歌ê戲院公演，koh灌唱片交電台放送。Kâng hit冬5月，《女匪幹》冊出版。Uì tsia thang知tsit齣ê寫作、演出kap出版kiau國民黨中央有深緣，是戰後文化「改造」、反共抗俄宣傳ê一部分。改造委員會ê獎狀án-ne寫：

> 查呂訴上君擅長戲劇，對臺灣歌仔戲尤深具研究。最近與翁炳榮君合作改良歌仔戲，排演《女匪幹》話劇[歌á戲]，揭發鐵幕內共匪罪惡，對於反共抗俄宣傳工作異常努力，殊堪嘉獎。除將所編劇本交由文藝獎金委員會審核、酌給獎金外，着即頒發獎狀一紙，以示鼓勵。此狀/中華民國四十年二月[23]

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[22] 1970年代是「方言」工具性挪用tsiâ hiáⁿ面ê 1 ê期間，範例tō是台語電視節目：1973年廣電業務由文化局移交新聞局掌理，新聞局成立「廣播電視事業處」，加強政令宣導kap社會教育宣傳。蘇蘅（1993：260；268）講tsit-lō傳播政策扭曲「方言」節目，「方言」tsuâⁿ-á變質tsiâⁿ-tsò「政令宣導」ah-sī「社教」ê工具，偏離族群ê日常生活。伊舉ê例有：台視《快樂農家》（1973-）；中視《今日農村》（1973-）；說服性ê方言節目：華視《蔣總統祕錄》（1974.8/19-1976.02）；3台聯播ê《政府在為你做些什麼》（1974.12/2-1975.1/3）等等。

[23] Tsit張中國國民黨中央改造委員會ê獎狀，刊tī《女匪幹》（1951.05）內底頭1頁。

　　《女匪幹》出冊1個月後，1951年6月13台語劇團tī台北省立第一女子中學大禮堂試演呂訴上編ê反共劇《還我自由》；6月下旬，tī台北市各區巡迴公演。（1961：401、502）1951.07.10，萬華龍鳳社tī新竹新華戲院試演呂訴上ê改良歌仔戲《延平王復國》。（398-9）Kâng 1951年，7月初10 kàu kah 10月初8，台語劇團《還我自由》tī全台70 ê鄉鎮無料公演。1951.07.11台灣省教育廳辦「台灣省歌仔戲劇團改進座談會」；會後暝時，觀賞《延平王復國》公演（萬華戲院）。（271、399、505）1951.08，由郭遠山主持ê「愛國劇團」，聘請賴春福tī台北市試演反共布袋戲《羅挹芬失足恨》（《女匪幹》改稱）。（399、421）後日，反共話劇《還我自由》kap改良歌á戲《延平王復國》tō khioh《女匪幹》ê傳播模式行銷官方ê場、sì-kè「公」演。一直kàu 1955年6月，《還我自由》交幼獅出版社出版；12月《延平王復國》出手稿本（無正式出版），ē-sái講足足有5-6冬，是呂訴上遵照「國策」寫愛國劇本ê寫作期，是政治邏輯主導ê 1段戲劇經驗。

　　Tsit中間，呂訴上tī《台糖通訊》旬刊12卷2-7期（1953.01.11-03.01）發表「改良台灣歌仔戲劇本」《鑑湖女俠》（6場），非反共劇，m̄-koh iáu是遵照國策寫出來ê愛國劇本；以語詞、語法來講，是呂訴上ê台語劇本文體siōng khê ê 1篇，ē-sái講是半精白á ê「鄉土文體」。1954.09，中國青年寫作協會成立週年編《戲劇選集》（正中書局），收伊ê《養母與親母》，稱「獨幕台語話劇」；sui-bóng無算ėh義「國策劇本」，m̄-koh猶原有i政策宣導ê編寫動機。Suà--luài、1955年以後，tō是呂訴上mā參與在內ê「台語片時代」ah。[24]

　　1956年12月，中華文藝獎金委員會（文獎會，1950.04-）ê機關報《文藝創作》停刊（1951.05.04-，全68期），學者應鳳凰認為反共文學ê「風潮」，mā tuè leh tshê落。（2004：161）Tse phah算是相對ê講法，m̄-koh民間邏輯kap商業邏輯開始leh iāng（新興），mā是tsit-tsūn tsiàⁿ有歷史對照性ê事實。Kâng hit年，何基明導演、陳守敬編劇、何錄明攝影、陳澄三監製、麥寮拱樂社演出、成功影業社製作ê歌á戲片《薛平貴與王寶釧》（梅英、吳碧玉主演）tī萬華大觀戲院、大稻埕中央戲院首映，ē-sái講「人山人海」，是葉

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[24] 「台語片時代」，是1本冊ê冊名：電影資料館口述電影史小組，《台語片時代（一）》（台北：國家電影資料館，1994.10.31）。

龍彥所認定ê 35 mí-lih、第一phō正宗台語片[25]。（呂訴上1961：70；葉龍彥1999：68-70；哈公1971：173）Kâng hit日《聯合報》「藝文天地」版刊台灣製片廠廠長白克（白明新，廈門人，擔任過《人民導報》主筆，1964.02.22匪諜案hông銃殺）ê評論文章〈薛平貴與王寶釧〉，án-ne講：戲nih，薛平貴kap 2位乞食兒唱流行歌〈丟丟咚〉，破害影戲ê完整性；是講伊koh-khah肯定台灣人靠ka-tī ê力量kā「民間傳奇」phah做影片ê做法，是「台灣省同志」ài行ê路。（葉龍彥1999：68-9；二二八事件紀念基金會2008：36）

呂訴上tō tī台語片khí-khiàn ê時代，重頭koh bú伊ê影戲事業：1955.12.25，台語版《黃帝子孫》（台製出品；鄧綏寧、王大川編劇）首映，呂訴上負責台語版ê翻譯（哈公1971：173；呂1961：43；邱坤良2004：176）；1956年呂訴上完成台語電影劇本《河邊春風寒》（大來影業社；無phah做片）（呂1961：71；邱2004：176）；1957.10.09，呂訴上導演，林清文原著、林越峰（丁乙？）編劇ê台語文藝片《愛情十字路》（台灣影業公司出品/台聯發行）首映，票房無luā精彩（邱2004：86-93）；1958.01.31，呂訴上tī《聯合報》發表〈台語片的我見〉；1948.06，呂訴上創立銀華影業社，附設電影戲劇訓練班，是「第三銀華」（邱2004：176）。Kàu tsia來，呂訴上tsit部分ê戲劇經驗hō商業邏輯kap民間邏輯tshuā leh行，sui-bóng黨政路線原在。

Tńg來lán tsit小節ê思考點：1950-55年，呂訴上所出版、所發表、公演ê台語國策劇本beh án-tsuáⁿ定位，尤其kā in hē tiàm台語文學史定位ê問題。Uì lán頭前整理ê、呂訴上國策劇本ê生產脈絡——寫作、公演、發表tī黨政刊物iah冊本、改編做其他戲類tiàm其他媒體（親像：廣播電台）演出等等脈絡來看，lán基本的kā tsiah-ê文本定位做台語文化類型ê挪用。Uì黨國「符碼」（code）、政治邏輯ê結構性力頭主導ê體制面來講，tsit-lō政治性工具式挪用，其實是黨國ê類/準（quasi-）資本主義對台灣戲劇實踐kap主體性意義ê滲透kap「改編」。以上，是借Williams對主導文化ê描述來講ê，uì tsia ē-tàng進一步助lán理解1950年代ê反共文學、戰鬥文藝生產場域：

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[25] 《薛》是第一phō台製ê 35 mí-lih台語片；Ah 1955年6月13 tī萬華大觀戲院首映3工tō下片ê《六才子西廂記》，是「16 mí-lih」台語歌á戲電影。Tse tsìn-tsîng，lóng是進口ê廈語片。

任何主導ê社會性秩序，i l ê tshiⁿ-tshioh koh有比較性ê特
點tō是，ài看i收編（incorporation）ê力頭，tàu-té有法度
滲透kàu kui-ê實踐kap經驗範圍ê siáⁿ-mih程度。有tsit-kuá
經驗區域，是主導性社會秩序傾向當做無看得，或者
棄sak--ê：tō是kā in phah派做私眾ê（private）、專業化做
美學ê，ah-sī kā in一般化tsiâⁿ-tsò理所當然（to generalize as
natural）。Koh再講，tng-tong社會性秩序以i本身發展ê
需求來變遷，tsiah-ê關係 [頂面所指稱ê主導文化kap其他
文化範疇ê關係] mā tuè leh改變。M̄-tsiah講，kàu kah高度
（advanced）資本主義，來tī勞動ê社會性質kap傳播、決
策ê社會性質改變，主導文化ê滲透力比以早tī前資本主
義社會koh-khah深入，ē滲入經驗、實踐kap意義在來kàu
taⁿ ê「保留區」ah「pha-hng地」[經驗、實踐、意義pún-
tsiâⁿ hông棄sak ê區域]。（Williams 1985：125-26）

　　台語文學kap其他文化類型tī語文殖民ê脈絡，是在來hō͘主導性外來
語言、文化無看eh、當做無看著ê或者看無目地ê區域，是hō͘人棄sak、畫
tī mó͘-mih界線內底（保留區）ê經驗、實踐、意義區域；só͘-pái，台語文化
類型（包含eh義文學）kap華語主導文藝ê關係，無tō tī生產場域內部tsiâⁿ-tsò
邊埕、低階文類，無tō tsiâⁿ-tsò主導場域外部「自」主m̄-koh不「足」發展ê
存在kap文化再現。台灣傳統戲劇、日本時代在地化ê新劇運動、新興台語
片，tsiah-ê劇本kap歌仔冊、白話字文學、流行歌詞等台語文獻，tī主導性社
會秩序ê kho͘-á外tsiâⁿ-tsò自主不足ê文字化反例。

　　Tī國民黨中央「改造」ê初期，呂訴上「改編」台語劇tsit-ê文化類
型，tsiâⁿ-tsò「改良歌á戲」、「優良」反共劇、廣播劇甚至布袋戲、傀儡
á戲，ē-sái看做主導文化滲透入骨ê戲劇經驗。表面kā看，ká-ná有文化新
興ê pān-sè；是講出tī工具性宣傳ê動機，窮實是hông收編ê文化。呂訴上ê
國策劇本寫作，提供台語話劇kap歌á戲（符徵/signifiers）l套新ê符指（the
signifieds），也tō是反共文學發展出來ê新符碼（code：有結構性規範ê中心
語「規」），或者另外l套新ê意義秩序（order of meaning），是歷史上台語
文意識形態挪用ê顯例。

4. 結論：呂訴上kap宋非我

　　1955年3月28，大樹鄉農會印1張宣傳單，mā是工具性挪用ê台語文本：賴萬，〈輔導大樹鄉農會復興民謠〉（7字4句，20 pha）；第6 pha án-ne寫：「地方有志着幫忙/幫忙農會不是空/粒粒辛苦為着咱/復興農會親像人」[26]。Tsit-lō khah「中性」ê台語文工具性挪用，kap呂訴上ê獨幕台語話劇《養母與親母》（1954，正中）kāng款，出tī政策宣導ê書寫動機，是主導文化ē-tàng容允、無致覺，而且對主導文化無威脅性ê文字化個案。《養母與親母》抗訴老娼阿好官（養母）剝削ē-kha-tshiú ê趁食tsa-bó阿英（親母）、抗訴伊害死阿英ê gín-á koh按算kā淑貞送去學藝旦、賣hō四舍做細姨；主題tō是beh宣傳1950年代官方解決養女（新婦á）問題ê救助系統：婦女會kap「台灣省養女保護運動委員會」。《養母與親母》軟性ê政治主題，透過台語全漢文來呈現，tō ká-ná《現代陳三五娘》ê民間娛樂風格，hō lán ē ǹg得另類、反對性台語文ê出現。

　　本文tō liảh台語文化類型本底「自主不足」ê常民基礎kap生產條件——商業邏輯kap民間邏輯，來做台語文學運動便宜性、有理論操作性ê「原意」（台語文學發展史ê集體意志、「正名邏輯」）；認定呂訴上ê台語國策劇本「改良」、「改編」傳統戲劇kap本土新劇，koh透過黨政通路來發行、宣傳，窮實是政治邏輯對商業邏輯kap民間邏輯ê違犯、誤讀，是台語文/化ê工具性挪用kap意識形態挪用。起頭先交代呂訴上ê身世kap戲劇經驗：御用風格以外「民間」戲人ê身分；sīn-suà牽台灣近代戲劇ê 4條路線、3種邏輯：台灣傳統戲曲ê民間、商業路線kap邏輯；日本新演劇（呂訴上稱「改良戲」）、中國文化戲影響ê商業娛樂路線（商業邏輯、民間邏輯）；文化戲以下、由進步份子引tshuā ê政治/美學啟蒙路線（民間邏輯、美學/政治邏輯）；官方政治邏輯、戲劇路線所決定ê皇民劇、反共劇kap其他民族英雄劇型，呂訴上ê國策劇本tō屬tī tsit類。Uì戲劇邏輯ê saⁿ-kap關係，thang交代「挪用」ê理論定義。

　　本文一方面交代「挪用」kap「互文性」ê理論關係kap定義；二方面，

26　賴萬寫，〈輔導大樹鄉農會復興民謠〉（政令宣傳單），是「Yahoo拍賣」網頁頂ê見本相；筆者giú落來ê影相，字無kài清楚。

mā整理呂訴上國策劇本ê生產脈絡：劇本ê寫作、公演、發表、戲類改編，kui系列生產、流通、再生產，khám-khám站站uá靠黨國體制ê歷史脈絡。三方面，簡單介紹英國馬派學者Raymond Williams關係文化史變遷3 ê概念：主導文化、tîm-bih文化kap新興文化；koh，tîm-bih文化、新興文化，kiau主導文化saⁿ-kap之間ê關係：反對文化、另類文化kap hông收編ê文化。Uì tsia定位呂訴上ê國策劇本，thang講是台語全漢文tī tîm-bih行ǹg新興ê過站，liâm-mi-á tō hông收編ê文化類型，欠khueh反對、另類ê質素。

Suah尾，uì戰後20年文學發展史ê全幅看呂訴上ê台語作家身分，lán參考ê對象是宋非我[27]：藍博洲 tī《宋非我》（文建會，2006.07）tsit本冊ê「尾聲」（第5章）肯定宋非我ê「台灣話文」創作kap「台灣話文」作家ê歷史地位，認為宋非我是戰後台灣文學「失語」現象ê反例。Khiā tī本文ê脈絡，呂訴上mā是反例；tshàu-khá--ê是，2人ê作品lóng算「台語文工具性挪用」ê典範文本，差講1 ê uá國民黨、1 ê「被迫」uá中國共產黨。其實，反例iáu-koh khah tsē，歌仔冊、POJ 書寫、流行歌詞lóng是。Uì tsia thang講：1）藍博洲對宋非我ê文學史評價，kap彭瑞金「勇敢跨語」ê論述[28] 之間，有mó-mih款反論述 （counter-discourse）ê關係。2）國語政策、白色恐怖kap「國民黨反台語文學」ê講法，無法度完全解說戰後ê台灣文學，bē-īng-i絕對化。3）戰後20年khah ke，ta̍k款類型ê台語書寫代表ê，是互相無tsih-tsiap、tsham主流華語文壇koh無tîng-tha̍h ê場域分割。M̄-tsiah講，運動期台文界kap華文界之間ê「衝突」，後 pîng有1項基本因端：「金龜飛過坵」，文學生產場域ê tîng-tha̍h、kau-phua̍h。

讀者回應

任何批評指教，歡迎email: marcusttsi@gmail.com，施俊州收。

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27 宋非我1960年代tī中國寫ê台語文本：藍波里（宋獻章、宋非我、宋集仁），《藍波里廣播選》（福建省南靖縣文化館印，1978.05）。

28 彭瑞金ê「勇敢跨語」論述，請看：〈蕭殺政治氣候中燃亮的台灣文學香火：戰後二十年間影響台灣文學發展的主要因素探討〉。《台灣文學探索》（台北：前衛，1995），頁98-126。

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Tâi-gí Gián-kiù

Biliteracy and Language Technology:
The Translation and Teaching of Taiwanese-Mandarin Bilingual Books

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Abstract

Biliteracy and technology are vital tools for language revitalization. This paper discusses the application of bilingual language technology in the making and teaching of bilingual books. The decline in the use of Taiwanese is a situation that calls for vigorous language revitalization efforts. Language technology is suggested as an important tool for, not only documenting the language but also for compiling materials for language textbooks and for teaching. Using "The Bilingual Book Project: Constructing a Multilingual Learning Space in the Primary School" as an example, this paper tries to show the educational implications of making and teaching bilingual books. Electronic translation of Mandarin into Taiwanese is also discussed, along with suggestions for classroom translation acitivities.

Keywords: bilingual book, language revitalization, language technology,
            translation, translation teaching

雙語讀寫佮語言科技：
台華雙語冊ê翻譯佮教學[1]

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摘要

　　雙語讀寫佮語言科技是語言復振重要ê工具。本文強調運用雙語ê語言科技，來協助修補語言破空，促進語言復振。本文提起台語流失ê狀況，強調進行語言復振ê必要。語言科技對語言復振有真大ê幫贊，除了做語言記錄以外，閣會當運用佇教材編輯佮語言教學。本文以《雙語冊計畫：建構小學ê多語言學習空間》計畫做例，說明雙語冊製作佮教學ê意義，同時探討運用現有ê語言科技資源，進行雙語冊ê助讀佮翻譯，閣提供台華課堂翻譯教學ê設計。

關鍵詞：雙語冊、語言復振、語言科技、翻譯、翻譯教學

1. 頭序

今日若將這來放，是永遠無希望，為著
前途周活動，找家私補破網。---李臨秋

台語流失是真明顯 ê 事實。有人共語言流失 ê 痛苦譬喻做喙齒疼，嘛有人講著袂輸跋落水，強欲淹死全款（張學謙2011a）。語言流失毋但造成親情溝通 ê 阻礙，閣會造成文化綴咧失落。咱會當共語言流失 ê 過程看做是漁網仔破空全款，拄開始只是裂一細縫，若無緊共破空 ê 所在補起來，漁網仔愈破愈大空，到尾仔全然失去挽救 ê 希望。會使講，挽救語言流失（reversing language shift）上要緊 ê 工課著是「揣家私補破網」。

因為語言流失嚴重，世界各地嘛展開挽救語言流失 ê 行動。其中，真普遍 ê 做法是借用現代 ê 資訊科技。袂少觀察家認為，大眾媒體佮科技攏會危害語言多樣性佮多語言現象（Annamalai 2006）。其實，新科技對弱勢語言來講，有可能是得著氣力 ê 機會，嘛有可能是變做閣較弱勢。新科技若是干焦使用強勢語言，閣無予弱勢語言適應佮發展 ê 機會抑是時間，著會造成弱勢語言閣較弱化（Annamalai 2006）。譬喻講，大眾傳播媒體予強勢語言霸佔，排除弱勢語言，Krauss（1992）著批評電視是「文化 ê 神經毒氣」。另外一方面，科技對語言多樣性嘛有正面 ê 作用，譬如講，科技會當幫贊移民者保留語言，予多語言溝通成做可能，閣會當協助第二語言教學佮記錄瀕危語言（Annamalai 2006）。

本文主張運用雙語 ê 語言科技（language technology），來協助修補語言破空，促進語言復振。各別 ê 語言著那親像一支通天塔。互相之間若無橋樑接通，著無法度交通。欲按怎起橋造路，予語言交通sù-sī，是維持世界語言多樣性真重要 ê 工課，因為雙語互通會當避免獨尊強勢語言，造成弱勢語言不斷 ê 流失。國際上，有越來越濟 ê 語言復振，運用語言科技展開語言 ê 記錄佮教學。

本文描述欲按怎透過語言科技，進行台華雙語冊 ê 翻譯佮助讀，以及運用雙語文本進行課堂上 ê 翻譯教學活動。前言了後，第2節討論語言科技對弱勢語言記錄佮教學 ê 作用；第3節簡介《雙語冊計畫：建構小學 ê 多語

言學習空間》計畫，說明雙語冊製作佮教學ê意義；第4節探討運用現有ê語言科技資源，進行雙語翻譯佮起造助讀系統，閣提供台華課堂翻譯教學ê設計；煞尾第5節是本文ê結論。

2. 語言科技與語言復振

2.1. 語言復振ê語言科技基礎

世界語言流失ê數量佮速度，攏真驚人：全世界ê語言佇21世紀尾，有90％會滅種（Krauss 1992）；差不多每10工，著會失去一種語言（Harrison 2007）。因為語言流失嚴重，世界各地嘛展開挽救語言流失ê行動。其中，真普遍ê做法是借用現代ê資訊科技。

佇語言流失ê狀況，語言ê記錄特別重要。語言記錄會當成做語言復振ê基礎。Hinton（2001: 413）指出：「當語言流失嚴重，干焦賰幾ê仔講族語ê人ê時陣，上重要ê工課，著是拚勢記錄遮ê講話者ê智識。」資訊科技予語言資料會當登錄、寄khǹg、注解、流通佮相互關聯（Saxena 2006）。語言學家慢慢仔對社區ê角度來思考田野調查結果欲按怎對在地社區有實際ê路用，Nathan & Csató（2006）主張愛共資訊科技佮語言ê田野調查在地化，建立社區導向ê資訊溝通科技，用「傳遞成果」（delivered to）ê角度，將田野調查ê結果轉化變做支持弱勢語言ê成品。這款為社區服務ê語言學對語言記錄佮保存攏有幫贊。

近年國際文獻有袂少強調運用語言科技進行弱勢語言抑是語言多樣性保存ê主張（Allwood 2006）。科技毋但幫贊語言記錄，閣會當佇保存語言多樣性方面扮演重要ê角色。Saxena（2006）著舉出科技對弱勢語言ê貢獻：（1）幫贊記錄弱勢語言文化；（2）予弱勢語言ê語言意識閣較容易播送出去；（3）協助建立社區內外ê溝通管道；（4）弱勢語言佮現代科技結合，提高語言ê聲望佮地位。

挽救語言ê急救箱仔愛有甚物語言科技？Allwood（2006）認為第一步愛ê是建立弱勢族群社區ê語言資源，基本ê資源包括（Allwood 2006）：

（1）多模式ê（multimodal）口語佮書面語資料庫；

（2）記錄，寄khǹg 佮分析資料ê工作程式；

（3）筆錄佮記音標準；

（4）建構書面語系統佮數位編碼（親像ASCII, Unicode, SAMPA）；

（5）各種類型ê注記標準；

（6）自動化語言分析ê工作程式（親像機器學習）；

（7）語言描述、解說ê方針，親像語法佮語詞。

頂面是語言科技用佇語言記錄階段需要ê家私。將語言做記錄，收藏起來是語言復興基礎階段ê工作，閣需要有實際ê語言應用，語言才會行出博物館，變做有路用ê生活語言（Allwood 2001, 2006; Saxena 2006; Kirkness 2000）。Allwood（2006）著強調講，除了語言ê情感認同，語言嘛愛有實際使用性（usability），愛有語言使用ê機會、向望佮需求，才有法度確保語言保存。伊認為語言科技對語言保存佮支持語言實際使用攏會當扮演重要ê角色。伊列出語言科技會當實際應用ê所在（Allwood 2006）：

（1）多模式佮文本介面；

（2）語音合成；

（3）創作工具（文書處理器）；

（4）多模式教學支援（Multimodal tutoring support）；

（5）網路使用支援；

（6）資料寄khng 支援；

（7）翻譯支援；

（8）一般對話工具支援；

（9）語音辨識。

一般來講，語言科技ê主要環境是書面語，毋過袂少弱勢語言主要用佇口語。對遮ê語言，Allwood（2006）認為應該設計多模式ê介面，利用錄音佮語音合成，起造多模式教學支援，發展用聲音傳送ê郵件系統，取代用文字書寫ê郵件。

以上ê討論顯示，語言科技會當幫贊弱勢語言進行語言記錄，會當促進語言多樣性ê保護佮推廣。後一節說明語言科技閣會當應用佇教材編寫佮教學頂懸。

2.2. 語言科技佮雙語讀寫教學

　　本文一開始著強調用雙語科技ê家私來復振母語。這ê主張是為著欲建立雙語讀寫（bilteracy），予強勢佮弱勢語言共存ê空間，同時發揮語言相thīn（Cummins 1979）ê功效。若是弱勢語言干焦做口語使用，書面語言完全予強勢語言獨佔，弱勢語言存活ê機會無大。為著欲予學生得著氣力（empower），咱需要發展弱勢語言ê讀寫，透過語言科技ê協助，弱勢語言讀寫教育真緊著會當展開。這節用Fabula多媒體雙語電子冊計畫（以下簡稱做「Fabula計畫」）做例，討論語言科技按怎會當運用佇語言教學，強化學習效果。

　　Fabula計畫是弱勢語言運用語言科技來進行語言推廣ê好例。Fabula計畫鼓勵佮支持會當成做語言教學ê多媒體雙語資源ê製作佮使用。這ê計畫有兩ê目的：協助弱勢語言無hông排除佇資訊時代之外；連結新科技，提升弱勢語言ê地位（Edwards, Pemberton, Knight & Monaghan 2002）。Fabula計畫是由歐盟（European Union）贊助發展ê多媒體軟體計畫。Fabula ê多媒體雙語冊，有以下ê語言配對：威爾斯語/英語，愛爾蘭語/英語, 巴斯克語/法語，卡塔蘭語（Catalan）/西班牙語以及法語/德語。Fabula計畫有以下ê基本主張：（1）雙語冊是多語言課堂中，誠有價值ê教學工具；（2）冊ê圖形設計，會當有效揣出問題ê解決方法；（3）多媒體會當予雙語冊閣較多彩多姿；（4）自製ê教材會當引發兒童ê學習動機（Edwards et al. 2002）。

　　Edwards et al.（2002）指出，因為人口少，製作弱勢語言ê電子媒體成本加真懸，所以市面上，較罕得有弱勢語言ê電子媒體，按呢實在真可惜，因為電子媒體會當吸引細漢囡仔，提升in對弱勢語言ê興趣佮能力。所以，Fabula計畫提供學習歐洲弱勢語言ê學童創造數位化ê雙語冊軟體。這項跨學科ê計畫，有無仝背景ê人參與，包括老師、囡仔、軟體工程師、資訊設計、語言學家、教育學家、人機互通、字形專家佮翻譯者。

　　Fabula會當製造多媒體ê電子冊，每一頁除了有插圖佮雙語文本，閣有一寡按鈕，提供語音功能，閣有文本連結功能，會當雙語對照。文本連結ê功能會當用來做歸納式ê意識提升（consciousness-raising）ê練習，予學生會當家己透過觀察雙語文本，比較兩種語言，發現模式。Fabula計畫雖然是以支援第二語言學習為主，毋過，因為使用雙語，嘛會當支援囡仔ê

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母語學習（Edwards et al. 2002）。Fabula計畫評估ê結果顯示（Edwards et al. 2002）：（1）電腦為主ê學習（computer-based learning）會當提升囡仔學習動機；（2）Fabula會當促進囡仔、教師佮家長ê協力合作（collaboration），幫贊囡仔發展社會佮組織能力；（3）協力合作進行計畫，予囡仔發展計畫管理ê技能，嘛促進in對資訊科技ê能力佮認捌；（4）提供為著真實觀眾、真實目來寫作ê機會，這是成功發展寫作技能ê關鍵；（5）雙語文本提供比較兩種語言ê機會，予囡仔發展後設語言覺識（metalinguistic awareness），增加對語言ê認捌；（6）創造數位雙語冊會當促進第一語言佮第二語言ê寫作技巧；（7）弱勢語言佮懸地位ê多媒體科技結合，提升弱勢語言ê地位佮功能。

Edward，Monaghan & Knight（2002）捌評估佇南威爾斯地區ê威爾斯語佮英語小學使用多媒體雙語冊ê功效，in探討語言偏好、學習策略佮多媒體科技對語言意識ê影響，結果顯示，多媒體雙語冊有正面積極ê作用，會當促進真濟方面ê學習效率。

Fabula計畫推sak成功，證明語言科技結合雙語讀寫毋但有行性，閣有真重要ê教學意義。對頂面ê評估會當看出來，科技強化ê學習會當創造學生使用弱勢語言ê機會佮環境。多媒體提供ê圖像、聲音佮雙語文本比傳統ê紙本冊，閣較會當加強教學效果。

3. 在地ê實踐：雙語冊計畫

雙語冊是指通少使用兩種語言ê冊，按照慣例，干焦使用弱勢語言ê冊，嘛算做雙語冊（Baker 1997）。語言互相袂通定定造成干焦使用一種語言ê結果，其實若是透過翻譯全款會當達成語言溝通ê目的。雙語冊若親像透過翻譯，予講無全語言ê人通好互相了解、溝通。雙語冊有真濟功能，Baker（1997：326）列舉五項：

1）雙語冊是多元文化課程ê重要部分，會當予囡仔了解其他語言ê存在，每一種語言，攏全款有伊ê價值佮功能；

2）雙語冊能當做通往強勢語言ê橋樑。先讀第一語言了解意思，才閣讀第二語言；

3）雙語冊會當能成做作家長佮兒童之間以及家庭佮學校ê重要ê溝通橋樑；

4）雙語冊會當予學童以小組抑是配對ê方式協力合作；

5）教師會當使用雙語冊，進行教學，比如講，比較兩種語言佮文字、語言使用ê同異，抑是無仝語言語詞意義ê差異。

受著Fabula計畫ê影響，阮用二年ê時間執行《雙語冊計畫：建構小學ê多語言學習空間》（以下簡稱「雙語冊計畫」）。這ê計畫是欲透過多媒體ê雙語文本，佇小學起造語言參thīn共存ê多語言學習佮使用環境。這ê計畫閣嘛有參考加拿大Thornwood小學ê「雙語展示計畫」（dual language showcase project）。Thornwood小學ê「雙語展示計畫」，佇雙語冊製作部分，採取親子合作ê模式，囡仔先用英語寫作，家長抑是社區人士才共翻譯做族群語言（Chow & Cummins 2003）。阮這ê「雙語冊計畫」增加電腦翻譯佮人工翻譯修改ê模式。本節簡介「雙語冊計畫」ê動機、理念佮做法，後一節才描述運用資訊幫贊雙語冊製造ê資源佮方法。

雙語冊會當成做學校母語教材ê補充。學校ê母語教材定定採用坊間編輯ê教材，較無法度做到在地化ê要求。另外，學校ê母語教育嘛需要佮家庭和社區作結合，才會有效果，親像Hinton（1999: 75）所指出ê：

學校若是母語學習ê場所，閣想欲達成語言復振ê目的，按呢著愛共母語帶出去教室之外，帶轉去厝裡，予伊成做社區溝通ê語言……，按呢著是講學校ê語言課程定著愛是社區活動ê一部分，袂使干焦學校家己設計、推行，無社區積極ê參與。

阮ê「雙語冊計畫」結合學校、家庭佮社區，將讀、寫地方社區，當做是學生瞭解、參與社區ê方式，予母語教育成做社區教育ê一部分。本計畫主要有三ê目的：（1）結合家庭、社區佮學校，起造多語言ê空間；（2）將家庭、社區ê「智識基金」khǹg入去課堂；（3）協同合作完成雙語繪本。雙語冊計畫有以下ê教學理論基礎（張學謙 2011b）：（1）藝術為本ê讀寫教學法：結合圖畫佮文字進行讀寫教育，圖畫是世界共同語，學生會當透過圖畫等藝術語言，讀寫四周圍ê世界；（2）多元智能：空間智能、肢體動覺智能佮語文智能；（3）母語是重要ê教育資源；（4）師生成做社區ê研究者：師生進入社區，蒐集本土語言文化資源，當做編輯教材ê

基礎；（5）學校、家庭佮社區ê母語統整。

　　本計畫用兩年ê時間，進行雙語冊ê製作工作。第一年主要是雙語冊ê編輯（收集、筆錄、翻譯、插圖）佮教學；第二年進行雙語冊助讀系統ê建立（語音助讀佮詞語注解）、教學活動設計以及雙語冊ê多媒體化。研究者佮小學合作進行雙語冊計畫。本研究採用行動研究法，教師佮學生做伙進行雙語冊ê製作。雙語冊製作是教學活動ê一部分，強調製作過程ê教育意義。為著欲共家庭佮社區ê語言文化帶入去學校，雙語冊ê內容大部分佮學生囡仔ê日常生活相關，同時嘛強調社區佮家庭ê參與。雙語冊內容主要有三ê方向：（1）以方案ê方式收集社區ê族群口語文化傳統；（2）書寫家庭和社區：以家戶調查ê方式記錄家庭、社區ê「智識基金」；（3）在地化ê文學創作，針對社區進行詩歌、散文、故事、戲劇等ê創作。

　　雙語冊應用ê範圍真闊。阮用雙語冊ê製造佮教學ê方法，佇國小進行「在地為本」ê讀寫教育：有ê佇國小教囡仔，用七字仔寫台東ê光景，有ê結合藝術佮讀寫，編寫排灣族ê小米繪本；閣有ê用排灣族故事，編做科學教育ê繪本；嘛閣有融入資訊科技，利用線頂資源來翻譯，透過雙語翻譯來學語言異同；閣有運用批判教學法，予學生自編排灣族姓名ê雙語冊，進行瞭解、解說、批判佮社會行動（張學謙 2012）。

　　雙語冊計畫主要是透過課程統整ê方式佮學校教育做連結。阮參考 Epstein et al.（1997）發展ê互動式家庭作業流程，設計教師佮家長參與ê學校作業，予學生透過家庭作業，進行家庭佮社區ê訪談，訪談整理記錄了後，進一步改寫做文章，加上插圖，製作成繪本。國小雖然有母語教育，毋過時間無濟，囡仔母語寫作ê能力較無好，所以學生先用華語寫文章，研究者才使用台語華語雙語翻譯ê程式，共翻譯做台語，另外嘛有用人工ê方式做翻譯，予學生比較電腦佮人工翻譯ê結果，做伙佮學生修改，透過對比分析ê方式，學生會當學習雙語，嘛會當體會著語言互相ê關係，了解雙語能力ê學習優點。後一節著是欲描述運用資訊科技進行翻譯助讀ê工具佮程序。

4. 資訊科技佮雙語冊ê翻譯助讀

　　翻譯會當連接無仝ê語言，予無仝ê語言通好溝通，是多語言共存ê好方法。Hooks（2001）bat鼓勵學生使用母語發言，然後共翻譯做主流語言，án-ne，學生就bē感覺講接受教育著愛佮 in thōng熟似ê語言文化疏遠（張學謙 2008）。佇遮阮顛倒頭行，先予學生用in ê第二語言華語書寫，才閣翻譯做台語，原因是學生接觸母語讀寫ê時間無濟，先用華語做基礎，透過助讀佮翻譯，培養母語讀寫能力。下面先介紹台語跨語文助讀會使翻譯ê資源，紲落來，提供一寡會當運用佇雙語冊製作佮教學ê翻譯活動。

4.1. 台語字、辭典ê助讀

　　字典、辭典是語言學習ê基本工具，若是閣有聲音ê幫贊，當然會當增加學習效果。台語ê字、辭典，過去出版過ê，包括台英、英台、台荷、荷台、台日、日台、台西（西班牙文）、台華、華台、台台等等。本文按算beh介紹線頂ê資源，包括台語線頂字典、台文華文線頂辭典佮台語摘譯台日大辭典（楊允言2003；楊允言、劉杰岳2006；楊允言、劉杰岳2007）。

（1）台語線頂字典：用甘為霖ê《廈門音新字典》做基礎，會當對漢字查台語羅馬字（發音），嘛會當對發音查漢字，羅馬字ê部分提供含糊查詢，會使無輸入聲調、無輸入入聲抑是干焦輸入韻母（方便看押韻ê情形）。這ê線頂字典嘛有提供發音功能。

（2）台文華文線頂辭典：資料來源是鄭良偉佮熱心ê朋友，有台語羅馬字、台語漢羅佮華語三ê欄位，會當互查，台語羅馬字ê部分嘛提供無需要輸入聲調抑是入聲ê含糊查詢；另外，有並列腔口差佮文白異讀，查著ê三ê欄位嘛會當分別閣連到台語文語料庫佮漢語平衡語料庫看這ê語詞ê用法；2006年增加發音ê功能。以上兩ê線頂資源ê程式開發者是楊允言，嘛利用著劉杰岳開發ê台語羅馬字字型佮陳鄭弘堯開發ê台語羅馬字轉碼程式。

（3）台語摘譯台日大辭典：資料來源是林俊育將台日大辭典ê資料對日文翻做台文，蔡哲民開發Web介面提供查詢，查詢ê結果會使用圖形、聲調符號（Unicode編碼）佮數字聲調三款形式來顯示。

4.2. 台語文電腦技術ê翻譯

　　台語真早著透過翻譯佮世界交流。楊允言（2011）有探討台語白話字翻譯文學ê特色佮貢獻，伊認為翻譯是拍開通向新世界大門ê鎖匙。鄭良偉 et al.（2006）對台語文ê翻譯類型佮成就有做簡要ê回顧。網路時代，一般人透過網路來學習、佮外界溝通ê情形愈來愈普遍，一ê語言ê資訊化程度，嘛會影響著這ê語言日後ê發展。台語文佇網路頂面，雖然猶閣算是弱勢，毋過嘛漸漸咧建立基礎。

　　代先是語詞ê翻譯，除了頂面ê線頂辭典以外，對kui篇ê文章，世界上較強勢ê語言大多數攏已經有網頁即時翻譯ê功能。台語信望愛網站有提供一ê華文台文轉換系統＜http://taigi.fhl.net＞，這ê華台轉換系統是林俊育提供資料，蔡哲民開發ê。伊ê基本原理tō是根據語詞佮詞組，利用電腦自動轉換，使用者只要共kui篇ê文章貼起去，tō會當 佇線頂即時轉換，華台轉換工具閣提供網頁翻譯，直接輸入網址，系統tō會共這ê網頁翻做漢羅台語文（圖表1）。閣有提供單機版本，掠JRE落來了後共安裝著會當使用，誠方便。

圖表1. 華台轉換工具圖例

猶未有華台轉換工具進前，若是有華台詞庫，一般ê文章嘛會當做到半自動翻譯。鄭良偉（1998: 259）提供以下ê程序：

（1） 華文文章自動分開做一ê一ê華語詞；

（2） 人工檢查、修改華語文ê分詞；

（3） 將每一ê華語詞，用電腦翻譯做台語，若有兩ê以上ê台語詞時，提供一ê以上ê可能翻譯語，平均1.5 ê詞；

（4） 人工修改台語翻譯文。

楊允言、張學謙（2007）根據最近台語資訊科技ê成果，建立台華翻譯佮助讀ê簡易模式：

（1） 利用華台轉換工具，共華文翻成台文（漢羅）；

（2） 參考台文華文線上辭典佮語詞檢索系統做人工修正；

（3） 利用漢羅轉換工具，共台文漢羅轉成台語羅馬字；

（4） 利用線頂助讀系統聽聲音；

（5） 必要時，使用聲調數字調符轉換系統利便工作進行。

若無考慮助讀系統，翻譯ê部分主要著是，使用華台轉換工具翻譯人工翻譯修改。以下咱提康軒藝術與人文領域四上第一課做例，來做示範：

例文1：

> 公園的綠地和花草樹木美化了社區環境，許多公共設施和開放空間，也為大家提供了共同休閒和活動的好地方。   例文1

華台轉換系統轉換ê結果是例文2：

> 公園的綠地kap花草樹木美化了社區環境，真chē公共設施kap開放空間，mā為大家提供了共同休閒kap活動的好地方。   例文 2

加底線ê部分是需要做人工修正ê所在：

> 公園的綠地kap花草樹木kā社區環境美化，真chē公共設施kap開放空間，mā提供大家共同休閒kap活動的好所在。   例文 3

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù

例文 3是人工修正ê結果，修改ê所在有加框線。

Soà落來利用漢羅轉羅馬字ê系統kā文本轉做羅馬字：

> Kong-hńg ê lėk-toē kap hoe-chháu chhiū-bȧk kā siā-khu khoân-kéng bí-hoà, chin chē kong-kiōng siat-si kap khai-hòng khong-kan, mā thê-kiong tāi-ke kiōng-tông hiu êng kap oȧh-tāng ê hó-só-chāi.

例文 4

加底線ê部分是應該做人工修正ê所在。例文 5是人工修正ê結果，修改ê所在加上框線。

> Kong-hńg ê lėk-toē kap hoe-chháu chhiū-bȧk kā siā-khu khoân-kéng bí-hoà, chin chē kong-kiōng siat-si kap khai-hòng khong-kan, mā thê-kiong tāi-ke kiōng-tông hiu-hân kap oȧh-tāng ê hó só-chāi.

例文 5

最後，利用台語語音合成ê家私，會當kā文字轉做聲音。

以上是運用資訊科技建立台華翻譯ê簡易模式。這ê模式利用現有ê線頂資訊系統，幫贊咱進行華台雙語翻譯佮助讀ê工課，遮ê資訊輔助系統，雖然猶閣無法度完全取代人力，需要人工ê校對，毋過會當予咱省掉袂少重複性ê工作。閣較重要ê是機器翻譯佮人工翻譯ê比較會當成做重要ê語言教學活動，後一節著欲討論透過雙語冊進行翻譯教學活動ê方法。

4.3. 翻譯教學活動參考

佇過去因為排斥母語，煞佮使用運用母語ê翻譯嘛做伙排除。21世紀ê語言教學趨勢轉向雙語教學策略。翻譯當做一項重要ê雙語教學策略，受著重視。G. Cook（2010: 155）提出翻譯當做語言學習重要工具ê理由，伊講：

> 人類ê教學佮學習是對生分到熟似，佇既有ê智識頂面，起造新智識。語言ê教學佮學習嘛全款是按呢。翻譯是連接熟似佮生分，已知佮未知ê橋樑。共這座橋燒掉抑是假仙伊無存在，干焦會妨礙，無法度協助這兩个ê連接。語言教學ê目的，著是咧連接這兩个。學習者閣

需要用伊來連接語言佮認同。In無應該因為講無仝ê語
言，就被迫放棄認同。

G. Cook（2010）ê《語言教學中ê翻譯》（translation in language teaching,
TILT）著有詳細論述翻譯對語言教育ê意義，伊這本冊有兩ê目的（Cook,
2010: 155）：

（1）凸顯排除式單語教學ê缺點，伊ê背後是商業佮政治動機，m̄是科
學ê理由，伊干焦有一寡選擇性ê證據佮薄弱ê論證，閣無尊重學
生佮教師需求；

（2）凸顯翻譯佇語言學習中扮演ê重要角色，伊會當同時發展語言
意識佮語言使用，伊毋但是有效ê教學法，嘛會當達成予人滿意
ê教育目標，閣會當滿足學生佇日益全球化佮多元文化世界ê需
求。

其他，親像Witte et al.（2009）《翻譯佇第二語言ê教佮學》這本論集全
款支持翻譯佇語言教學ê運用。Kremer & Koppe（2007: 9）列舉翻譯會當佇
外語教學扮演ê角色，包括：（1）協助學生瞭解語言用法佮使用ê關聯；
（2）鼓勵學生辨明第一佮第二語言ê異同；（3）比較第一佮第二語言以瞭
解學習困難ê所在；（4）發展會當促進學生自主佮語言意識ê語言學習策
略。

翻譯對語言教育ê關聯性已經漸漸受著研究者佮教學者ê重視，毋過猶
閣真少有共翻譯實際落實到教學ê例。翻譯領域ê文獻主要處理翻譯理論抑
是譯者訓練，誠少共重點khǹg佇語言教學（Popovic 2001）。翻譯佇語言教
學ê應用猶閣真欠缺本土母語ê文獻。以下干焦參考英語ê相關文獻，設計
一寡會當融入課堂教學ê翻譯活動。

對比分析是翻譯教學定定進行ê教學活動。對小學生無可能進行嚴格ê
語言分析，用技術性ê語言學術語，嘛可能傷過抽象，無好瞭解，所以咱ê
翻譯活動設計，主要是進行無仝文本ê比較佮討論，按呢做會當提升學生ê
語言意識，同時嘛會當幫贊語言ê學習轉移。

翻譯佇雙語冊ê製造佮教學扮演重要ê角色，嘛是課堂教學ê重點。考
慮學生台語寫作能力有限，阮ê雙語冊計畫予學生先寫華語才共翻譯做台

語。佇融入翻譯ê翻譯教學方面，Atkinson（1993）建議以下ê程序：（1）老師討論主題，予學生講關鍵詞，共學生毋捌ê語詞用母語寫落來；（2）學生分組，揣出寫佇烏枋頂面ê語詞ê第二語言對應詞；（3）全班比較結果。Popovic（2001）嘛有建議分組討論佮翻譯ê做法，程序是：（1）共文章分做三部分，三人一組，每一ê人翻譯無全部分；（2）翻譯同部分ê同學做一組，比較佮討論翻譯ê結果；討論佗一ê翻譯較好；（3）學生轉去原來ê小組，共翻譯ê文章合做一篇，討論閣做修改。翻譯了後，伊建議學生比較佮討論無全版本ê翻譯，填寫比較表，填寫問卷抑是書面意見。

　　Eadie（1999）認為若好好仔設計翻譯會當是一項有交流作用、有挑戰性閣趣味ê課堂活動。圖表2是Eadie（1999）設計ê課程計畫，以下共目標語言佮來源語言分別改做台語佮華語：

圖表2. 課程計畫（Eadie 1999）

階　段	教師教學重點	學生學習重點	階　段　目　的
準備	選擇一篇華語短篇文章；予學生有四ê欄位ê圖表佮投影機		
暖身活動	介紹主題	討論主題	激起基模
解說課程目的	介紹翻譯活動進行方式	無瞭解會當問予清楚	緩和緊張ê氣氛
共文章翻譯做台語	共學生配對，分組翻譯，工作時間大約10-15分鐘	使用字典共文章翻譯做台語，較袂曉ê學生負責抄寫翻譯	練習注意細節ê閱讀；倚靠學生母語能力進行翻譯，建立信心
共台語閣翻譯做華語	收回華語原文，禁止參考進前ê原文，說明毋是干焦一種正確ê翻譯方式	根據台語ê翻譯本，共翻譯倒轉去華語。	鼓勵學生使用in ê語言能力共台語翻譯做華語。

　　除了提供課程計畫Eadie（1999）閣有用比較圖表ê方式，予學生通好共原文佮譯文作比較。圖表3是比較表ê格式。

圖表3. 比較表（Eadie 1999）

華語原文	會當接受	猶閣袂穩	袂當接受
遊戲	chhit-thô	七逃	玩
居住	tòa	khiā-khí	居住
我比他高	我khah懸伊	我比伊khah懸	我比他高

比較表對學生進行語言對比分析真有幫贊。原文佮機器以及人工翻譯嘛會當共整理做比較表，親像圖表4。圖表4是進前翻譯康軒藝術與人文領域ê課文。列做伙方便學生進行比較。比較ê時陣，會當共結果用圖表3 ê格式呈現。

圖表4. 電腦翻譯和人工譯文

華　　　語	電　腦　翻　譯	人　工　翻　譯
公園的綠地和花草樹木美化了社區環境，許多公共設施和開放空間，也為大家提供了共同休閒和活動的好地方。	公園的綠地kap花草樹木美化了社區環境，真chē公共設施kap開放空間，mā為大家提供了共同休閒kap活動的好地方。	公園的綠地kap花草樹木 kā社區環境美化 ，真chē公共設施kap開放空間，mā提供大家 共同休閒kap活動的好 所在 。

翻譯教學活動主要牽涉著比較、討論、報告佮分享等階段。Eadie（1999）詳細ê列出翻譯活動ê階段、教學重點、學習重點佮階段重點，真值得當做參考，請看圖表5注意階段（noticing phase）：

圖表5. 注意階段（Eadie 1999）

階段	教學重點	學習重點	階段目標
比較活動	重點毋是咧揣錯誤，是咧進行比較，用例做示範，寫佇PPT抑是投影片	觀察差異、無全ê譯法無一定毋著	鼓勵學生接受毋但一種正確ê表達方式

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（前一頁koh有）

比較無全ê版本	共原本ê譯本分落去予同學比較原文佮譯文，討論佮解說無全翻譯ê可接受度	揣出原文佮譯本無全ê所在，決定欲khǹg佇表ê佗一爿	予學生注意原文佮譯文佇語詞抑是文法結構ê差異
報告	予同學選擇一ê趣味ê項目，去投影機頭前填寫表，解說理由，能力較強ê同學較慢報告	共同學解說你發現ê物件，解說會當抑是袂當接受ê原因；聽學生報告，若有需要問問題抑是評論	予學生報告討論ê結果，提供發表佮聽講ê練習，全班討論
後續活動	將投影片影印給學生	學生將進前翻譯有困難ê地方做記號	保留記錄當做後續ê參考
延伸活動	會當進行「問題診療活動」，解說較捷拄著ê錯誤	收集學生定定犯ê錯誤，佇「問題診療活動」進行討論	予學生瞭解一寡捷拄著ê錯誤佮解決ê方案

　　機器翻譯佮人工翻譯ê比較嘛會當當做課堂翻譯教學活動ê主題。Krajka（2004）佇〈母語真重要！佇課堂佮網路ê翻譯〉這篇文章，著提出進行ê方式。遮ê比較翻譯活動會當予學生瞭解機器翻譯ê用途佮限制，同時閣會當予學生瞭解台語佮華語ê共同點佮差異，閣會當鼓勵學生編輯、修改文章來提升寫作能力（Krajka 004）。

　　會當運用佇課堂教學ê翻譯活動閣有真濟。特別是為著雙語冊ê製作，地方語音佮語詞差異欲按怎處理，台語文字表示ê多元性，翻譯ê時陣針對語體ê無全，欲按怎選擇適合ê風格抑是用詞，攏是值得探討ê議題。

5. 結論

　　若講20世紀ê語言教學是反母語ê世紀，21世紀ê語言教學趨勢是支持母語佇教育ê使用。世界ê語言教育慢慢仔對過去獨尊單語ê教學轉向雙語教學策略。

　　本文徛佇支持母語復振ê立場思考欲按怎透過語言科技來復振台語。台語到今猶是不斷咧流失，阮強調運用雙語ê語言科技，來協助修補語言破空，促進語言復振。阮這2年咧進行ê《雙語冊計畫：建構小學ê多語言學習空間》，著是欲透過雙語互動ê文本，起造語言互助ê多語言學習佮使用環境。這ê計畫主要ê精神是連結抑是講統整，透過雙語冊主要欲：連結多語言；連結口語佮書面語；連結圖像佮語言：連結家庭社區佮學校；連結語言佮科技。本文描寫連結科技進行雙語冊製作佮教學ê部分，重點khǹg佇科技協助翻譯佮助讀ê部分。另外，台灣猶閣欠缺台語翻譯教學ê相關教學指引，本文參考外國ê文獻，針對台華語ê狀況設計翻譯教學活動，希望會當促進學生ê雙語能力佮提升學生ê語言意識。

　　親像Cummins（2007: 222）所講ê：「若對完全倚靠單語教學方法解放出來，咱就會得著濟濟ê語言教學機會，透過雙語教學策略，承認雙向語言轉移ê現實，閣積極促進學習轉移。」本文提供運用資訊科技進行ê雙語冊翻譯佮助讀著是一款雙語教學實踐ê方法，向望有濟濟ê教師會當採用融合雙語教學策略佮資訊科技，進行會當幫贊學生雙語發展ê教學實踐。

讀者回應

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附錄：網站資料

楊允言ê台文翻譯作品
　＜http:// 210.240.194.97/iug/Ungian/Chokphin/Chokphin.asp#kaisia＞
台語線頂字典
　＜http:// 210.240.194.97/TG/jitian/tgjt.asp＞
台文華文線頂辭典
　＜http:// 210.240.194.97/iug/Ungian/soannteng/chil/Taihoa.asp＞
台語摘譯台日大辭典查詢
　＜http://taigi.fhl.net/dict/＞
台語漢羅轉全羅工具
　＜http://taigi.fhl.net/lohan/＞

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù

華台轉換系統

　＜http://taigi.fhl.net/ht/＞

台語全羅轉漢羅工具

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Hakka Language, Culture, and Cognition: as Exemplified by 'Kûng' and 'Mà' Words in Sixian Hakka

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Abstract

According to the Sapir–Whorf Hypothesis, human thought and cognition are influenced by language; each language has its own world view and a close relationship with the social structure, history, and cultural background of a particular group. From the language of an ethnic group, we can understand the thought patterns and cultural connotations of this ethnic group.

Within the Hakka dialect of Chinese are many 'kûng' and 'mà' words; 'kûng' originally meant 'male' and 'mà' originally meant female. However, there are some words that superficially do not have male or female connotations yet contain the distinction between 'kûng' and 'mà;' for example, phi-kûng (nose), hâ-kûng (shrimp), lit-mà (bamboo hat), and tô-mà (knife). This paper will investigate 'kûng' and 'mà' words in Hakka Chinese and, via the collation and analysis of words, further study the relationships between such gender-differentiated words and Hakka culture and the gender associations of the Hakka people.

Keywords: Sixian Hakka, Hakka distinctive words, kûng, mà, gender association

客家語言、文化kap認知

——以四縣客話 ê「公」、「嫲」語詞做例

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摘要

根據Sapir-Whorf假說，人類ê思考kap認知受著語言ê影響。每一個語言有伊獨有ê world view，而且kap社會結構、歷史、文化背景有密切ê關係。Uì一個族群ê語言，咱ē-tàng了解著hitê族群ê思考模式，以及文化內涵。

Tī客話ê語詞內底，有真濟「公」kap「嫲」ê語詞，「公」原意是指男性、公ê，「嫲」是指女性、母ê，m̄-koh tī客語有一寡表面上無性別意涵ê語詞mā有「公」kap「嫲」ê區別，可比講，「鼻公」（指：鼻仔）、「蝦公」（指：蝦仔）、「笠嫲」（指：笠仔）、「刀嫲」（指：刀仔）。這篇論文beh探討客語語詞內底「公」、「嫲」ê語詞，透過語詞ê整理kap分析，進一步探討tsit種以性別做區分ê語詞kap客家文化、以及客家人性別認知ê關係。

關鍵詞：四縣客話、客語特徵詞、公、嫲、性別認知

1. 踏話頭

　　Lakoff tī Women, fire, and Dangerous Things這本冊提出，「範疇劃分」ê機制是語言使用認知機制ê證明。了解人類án-tsuáⁿ劃分範疇，對了解人類究竟án-tsuáⁿ進行思考kap從事活動是非常重要ê[1]。Lakoff koh講：「男女相對——這是全世界範疇劃分體系中一種標準ê差別。」[2] Uì Lakoff ê論點來看，世界上真濟語言kā大自然、物體號名ê時，攏有「陰」、「陽」ê分別。Uì一寡性別詞（Gender Word），m̄-nā ē-tàng了解hit ê語族ê文化內涵，mā是進一步了解hit ê語族認知模式ê方法之一。

　　台灣ê語言，包含原住民語、客語、台語kap世界上真濟語言全款有類似的特徵。可比講，Paiwan（排灣語）對傳統建築物石板屋ê「石板」講法tō有分男、女。Paiwan認為，tī石板屋外面ê石板是tsa-pō--ê，tī石板屋內面ê石板是tsa-bó--ê。台語有部分語詞mā有男、女ê分別。另外，tī客語內底，有真濟「公」（kûng）kap「嫲」（mà）ê語詞，成做客語ê語言特徵。黃雪貞（1987）、溫昌衍（2001）、邱湘雲（2006）認為，「公」kap「嫲」這兩字是「其他方言罕見，客家用語習見，也最具代表性的『客家方言特徵詞』」。[3]

　　Tī客話內底，「公」（kûng）定義做男性、公ê，「嫲」（mà）是指女性、母ê。除了「公」、「嫲」以外，mā有用「哥」、「牯」指稱男性，「婆」、「姑」用來指稱女性。客語「公」、「嫲」語詞koh分作：有性別意義ê kap無性別意義ê。有性別意義ê通常指動物ê性別，比喻講：雞公（雞公）、雞嫲（雞母），豬公（豬公）、豬嫲（豬母），貓公（貓公）、貓嫲（貓母）。除了標示動物ê性別以外，有時mā將動物ê特徵使用tī對人ê隱喻，像講「猴嫲」（猴母）通常是指真khiáu、真活動、或者是牛皮tshat骨ê tsa-bó囡仔，有親密ê語感，m̄-koh有時mā有罵人ê意思。Koh像講「老虎嫲」是指性地真pháiⁿ、真tshiah ê女性。這種動物ê語詞主要是teh評價

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[1]　參考Lakoff, George（喬治・萊科夫）著 梁玉玲譯1994《女人、火與危險事物－範疇所揭示之心智的奧秘》，頁6。台北：桂冠出版公司。

[2]　Lakoff, George（喬治・萊科夫）著 梁玉玲譯1994《女人、火與危險事物－範疇所揭示之心智的奧秘》，頁140。台北：桂冠出版公司。

[3]　邱湘雲2006〈海陸客家話帶「嫲」語詞析論〉《客家研究》創刊號。

某mih人ê特點。

　　無性別意義ê「公」kap「嫲」語詞範圍khah闊，無限定tī動物ê性別屬性，或者是對人ê隱喻。有ê指自然界ê物件，有ê指身軀器官、有ê指農業工具、有ê指昆蟲、海產。總是，這部分引起筆者真大ê好奇，到底客家人kā「無性別意義」ê物件號做「公」kap「嫲」ê原因是啥物？客家人án-tsuáⁿ將大自然ê物體「劃分範疇」？本篇論文希望透過客語內底「公」、「嫲」語詞ê分析，進一步了解客家人ê思考模式kap性別認知。

2. 研究方法kap文獻回顧

　　本篇論文主要以南部四縣腔ê客話作研究素材，將內底ê「公」、「嫲」語詞做整理kap分析。語詞ê來源有：1.行政院客家委員會ê「台灣客語詞彙資料庫系統」，2.教育部ê「臺灣客家語常用詞辭典」，3.其他客語詞典kap客家諺語專冊，以及4.筆者田調訪談蒐集ê語詞。為著了解客家人對「公」、「嫲」 語詞ê認知，筆者透過田野調查ê方式，針對70歲以上ê客家老人進行訪談。訪談ê過程主要是蒐集語詞、訪問號名ê原因、了解kám有相關ê故事kap傳說。

　　Tī相關ê研究文獻頂面，Lakoff ê論著Women, fire, and Dangerous Things（女人、火與危險事物─範疇所揭示之心智的奧秘）tī認知科學ê領域，研究人類án-tsuáⁿ kā物體ê觀念劃分範疇，而且提出人類範疇劃分體系ê分析原則，提供hōo本文啟發性ê思考。

　　針對客語「公」、「嫲」 ê文獻，中國ê學者有做過相關ê研究，主要ê成果有：1.李如龍主編（2002）《漢語方言特徵詞研究》[4]、2.溫昌衍（2001）《客家語方言特徵詞研究》[5]。Tī台灣khah完整討論客話特徵詞ê研究，應當是邱湘雲（2006）〈海陸客家話帶「嫲」語詞析論〉[6]。邱湘雲ê研究主要以海陸腔客話為主，論文ui語言學研究kap文化分析ê角度，討論海陸腔客話內底，帶「嫲」語詞ê組合、形式kap位置。除起「嫲」以外，

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[4]　李如龍主編2002《漢語方言特徵詞研究》。廈門：廈門大學出版社。

[5]　溫昌衍2001《客家語方言特徵詞研究》。博士論文：中國廣州暨南大學中華語言文學研究所。

[6]　如注3。

邱湘雲mā有sio-khuá討論「公」、「牯」、「婆」等性別詞彙。

除去研究論文以外，有關客語「公」、「嘛」語詞ê討論，mā分散tī一寡客家語言、文史方面ê冊內底。Uì語言學層面來探討ê，親像：鍾榮富（2004）《台灣客家語音導論》[7]、黃永達（2004）《台灣客家讀本》[8]、羅肇錦（2007）《台灣客家研究概論－語言文化篇》[9]。文史方面ê像講：陳運棟（1979）《客家人》、黃秋芳（1998）《台灣客家生活紀事》、張典婉（2004）《台灣客家女性》、鄧榮坤（2007）《客家話的智慧》。甚至是客語文學作品集內底，mā有「公」kap「嘛」ê討論kap運用，像講：范文芳（1998）《頭前溪个故事》、馮喜秀（2007）《細人仔，細人仔》。Uì tsia會使證明，「公」、「嘛」是客家語言、文化nih，真重要mā真普遍ê文化特徵詞。

本文tī頂面研究文獻ê基礎上，以四縣客話ê性別詞「公」、「嘛」為主，來探討客家人ê性別觀、文化內涵kap認知模式。

3.「公」、「嘛」語詞ê統計

根據統計，四縣客話內底，有關「公」、「嘛」ê語詞至少有60个以上。下面將「公」kap「嘛」ê語詞以「有性別意義」kap「無性別意義」分作兩个統計表格。其中，「有性別意義」ê表格koh分作「動物語詞」、「將動物語詞使用tī對人ê隱喻」、「名詞／形容詞加上公／嘛」三類。

圖表1. 有性別意義ê四縣客語「公」、「嘛」語詞統計表

有性別意義ê四縣客語「公」、「嘛」語詞統計表		
四縣客語	華語	備註
雞公、雞嘛	公雞、母雞	動物語詞
鴨公、鴨嘛	公鴨、母鴨	
鵝公、鵝嘛	公鵝、母鵝	

[7] 鍾榮富2004《台灣客家語音導論》。台北：五南書局出版。
[8] 黃永達2004《台灣客家讀本》。台北：行政院客委會出版。
[9] 羅肇錦2007〈語言文化篇〉《台灣客家研究概論》。台北：行政院客委會、台灣客家研究學會合作出版。

豬公、豬嫲	公豬、母豬	
牛公、牛嫲	公牛、母牛	
狗公、狗嫲	公狗、母狗	
貓公、貓嫲	公貓、母貓	
猴公、猴嫲	公猴、母猴	
鳥公、鳥嫲	公鳥、母鳥	
老虎嫲	指個性兇惡的女性	將動物語詞使用tī對人ê隱喻
猴嫲	指鬼靈精怪的女性	
鴨嫲嘴	指多嘴的人	
伯勞嫲	指多話、多嘴的人	
齷齪嫲	指環境髒亂的女性	名詞／形容詞加上公／嫲
大箍嫲	指肥胖的女性	
懶尸嫲	指懶惰的女性	
三八嫲	指不正經的女性	
癲嫲	指瘋癲的女性	
泥嫲	指很笨的女性	
嬈嫲	指不正經或多情的女性	
憨嫲	指愚蠢的女性	
Lat-tsat嫲	指不愛乾淨的女性	
Kông-kak嫲	指聒噪的女性	
高毛嫲	指言談、舉止不適當的女性	
學老嫲（福佬嫲）	指與已婚男性發生姦情的女性	
好嗷嫲	指愛哭的女性	
呱喇嫲	指多嘴或大聲嚷嚷的女性	
長舌嫲	指多話的女性	
厲害嫲	指精明能幹的女性	
蕃公	指不可理喻的男性	
蕃嫲	指不可理喻的女性	

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù

圖表2. 無性別意義ê四縣客語「公」、「嫲」語詞統計表

無性別意義ê四縣客語「公」、「嫲」語詞統計表		
四縣客語	華語	備　　註
耳公	耳朵	
鼻公	鼻子	
蝦公	蝦子	
笠嫲	斗笠	
刀嫲	刀子	指砍柴或砍竹子等用途的大型刀具。
巴掌嫲	手掌	客家諺語：「巴掌嫲盪阿去」。（一巴掌打過去）
拳頭嫲	拳頭	
舌嫲	舌頭	
鯉嫲	鯉魚	
手指公	手的大拇指	
腳指公	腳的大拇指	
碗公	大的碗	
杓嫲	水杓	
蟻公	蚯蚓	僅四縣用，海陸為「蟲蟻」。動物名，即蚯蚓。
蟻公	螞蟻	
蝨嫲	頭蝨	節肢動物門昆蟲綱。寄生於人及猿的頭部，產卵於毛髮，幼蟲、成蟲均吸食人血，且能傳播斑疹、傷寒等疾病。
鷂婆	大冠鷲	鷹科，大型的陸上猛禽
白頭公	白頭翁	海陸腔稱「白頭婆」
雷公	雷	
薑嫲	薑	
蛇哥	蛇	
鑊嫲	鍋子	

4. 「公」、「嫲」語詞ê分析

　　Uì頂面2个統計表thang知，客語 「公」、「嫲」語詞內底，「有性別意義ê」比「無性別意義ê」數量相對khah濟。「有性別意義ê」語詞內底，「動物語詞」主要是指稱動物ê公á是母，像講「雞嫲」是指母ê雞á，「雞公」是指公ê雞á。另外一類是「將動物語詞使用tī對人ê隱喻」，ùi語義ê角度來看，是用隱喻ê方式來指某一款特性、特質ê人（個性兇惡的ê女性／厚話ê人）。其中，上大部分ê語詞是「名詞／形容詞加上公／嫲」ê構造，像講：大箍嫲、高毛嫲、懶尸嫲、蕃公，表示對某人評價ê語詞，而且通常是khah負面ê語意。

　　本文主要beh探討「公」、「嫲」語詞內底「無性別意義」ê部分。客家人將「無性別意義」ê物體號做「公」或者是「嫲」ê原因是siáⁿ-mih？Ūi-siáⁿ-mih「耳仔」是公ê？舌是母ê？鼻仔是公ê？刀仔是母ê？客家人teh劃分範疇ê性別認知是siáⁿ-mih？

　　Tī田野調查ê過程中，筆者訪問屏東縣麟洛鄉ê客家老人，有關客家人kā物件號做「公」、「嫲」ê原因，一位81歲ê阿嬤[10] 講：「老古人傳下來，毋知理由……」[11]。另外一位70歲ê阿公[12] 回答：「ngâi還小問過大人，但是毋知理由，me無聽過故事thûng傳說，可能oi考證nang知[13]。」可見tō算是70、80歲ê老人，雖然細漢學客話ê時mā bat產生疑問，m̄-koh已經無法度知影原因。

　　針對這個問題，黃永達（2004）認為，「以『公』為詞尾、以『嫲』為詞尾是客語構詞法上常見的「後加語尾字」，通常沒有獨立意義，至多是限制詞根的特性，相當於一般語法的助詞部分。」另外，鍾榮富（2004）認為：「客語裡有許多是『公』與『嫲』字尾的構詞，其本意並無法推出為何用『公』，為何用『嫲』，這種詞尾只便於用詞之分類，並沒有語法上的意念可言」。根據黃永達、鍾榮富ê論點，客語語詞

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[10] 邱陳帶娣，81歲，女性，屏東縣麟洛鄉田心村人，現居住屏東市。訪問時間：2010.5.9

[11] 「古早ê人傳落來，m̄知影啥物理由。」

[12] 馮喜秀，70歲，男性，屏東縣麟洛鄉人，現居住屏東市。訪問時間：2010.6.4

[13] 「我細漢bat問過序大人，m̄-koh無知理由，mā m̄-bat聽過故事kap傳說，可能ài考證才知影ah。」

「公」、「嫲」ê使用kan-nā是語法上分類ê結果，無任何ê意義。

　　雖然田調ê結果kap部分學者ê論點攏無法度知影客家人使用「公」kap「嫲」語詞ê原因，總是，根據Sapir-Whorf假說，人類ê思考kap認知受著語言ê影響，每一个語言有伊獨有ê world view，而且kap社會結構、歷史、文化背景有密切ê關係。簡單講，語言是反映認知模式上直接ê證明，任何ê語言現象攏一定有認知ê成分存在。進一步來講，客家人ê「公」、「嫲」語詞使用kap劃分機制，一定m̄是「任意ê」，內底一定反應著客家人ê文化kap性別認知。

　　Uì頂面圖表2「無性別意義ê客語「公」、「嫲」語詞統計表」來分析，主要ē-tàng歸納出二个原則：

(1) **大小ê認知**：用「公」kap「嫲」表示khah權威、khah大ê物體特徵。

　　Uì統計ê表格來看，客語「公」kap「嫲」ê語詞通常lóng是指形體khah大，或者是具備khah權威ê特質，甚至可能會有威脅性、危險性ê物件。像講：「碗公」相對一般ê碗來講，是指khah大ê碗。「手趾公」kap「腳趾公」是指手kap腳趾頭外型上大ê部分。「蝨嫲」是指會吸血ê寄生蟲，「蟻公」hông認為是khah大隻、á是會咬人ê狗蟻，兩項攏是對人有威脅性ê昆蟲。「雷公」有大koh權威ê特性，「鷂婆」kap「蛇哥」攏是有攻擊性，會攻擊家禽kap人ê動物。

(2) **外形ê認知**：用「公」有「凸起」ê特徵，用「嫲」有「凹受」ê特徵。

　　根據符號學ê研究，凸起是男性ê象徵，凹受是女性ê象徵。Tī四縣客話內底，所有身軀外顯ê部分攏劃分做「公」，內在ê部分劃分作「嫲」。像講：耳公、鼻公／舌嫲、巴掌嫲。

　　Tī農業工具方面，mā是全款ê認知：笠嫲、杓嫲、鑊嫲ê使用面攏是凹受ê特徵。另外，「刀嫲」是指一種鐵製，刀柄是空心ê刀仔，現代社會已經真少看著。根據田調過程受訪者ê圖示kap解說，「空心ê刀柄」是刀嫲真明顯ê特徵，所以ē-tàng推測，空心ê刀柄tsiâⁿ-tsò凹受ê女性特徵認知。

　　若以客家文化ê角度來看，第二个原則「外型ê認知」mā ē-tàng看做是「用途ê認知」kap「尊卑ê認知」。傳統客家社會是重男輕女、男尊女卑ê父系社會，女性tī客家社會一方面扮演無聲、忍耐kap giám-ngē ê角色，一方面koh ài kap男性分擔全款ê勞動，負擔厝內、厝外ê重擔。這款文化背景mā

反映tī語言ê認知頂面，tī灶腳ê、khah屬勞動用途ê工具hông認為是女性，像講笠嫲、刀嫲、杓嫲、鑊嫲。另外，受著父權至上ê客家傳統價值觀ê影響，khah外在ê、khah明顯ê、khah尊貴ê歸類做男性，khah內在ê、khah看bē著、khah卑微ê歸類做女性。像講耳公、鼻公相對舌嫲、巴掌嫲。

　　黃秋芳（1998）tī《台灣客家生活紀事》中，講出傳統客家社會ê男、女角色分工mā反映tī語言使用頂面：

　　　　家用器具的命名，算是男有分、女有歸，井然有序。排放在廚房裡的馴順角色， 撐持在靜默角落裡發揮實用功能的鍋杓器械，我們多半說「杓嫲」、「刀嫲」、「鍋　嫲」；至於能夠大剌剌地端上檯面的，我們就稱做「碗公」。人體器官也是分庭相抗的。顯露在外的，質屬陽性，我們稱鼻子叫「鼻公」、耳朵叫「耳公」、鬍鬚叫「鬚牯」，手腳各有「手指公」、「腳趾公」；那些隱密在看不到的部位，則賦以女性角色般的對等尊重，如「舌嫲」、「奶姑」。即使是伸手即見的五指，掌起來的內裡，我們叫「拳頭嫲」、「巴掌嫲」，弓緊的指背又變成「五公蓋」。[14]

　　黃秋芳ê論點ē-tàng說明「公」、 「嫲」用語kap頂面所講ê「用途ê認知」、「尊卑ê認知」等客家人文化價值觀有關係。另外，張典婉（2004）tī《台灣客家女性》內底講著客家女性ê地位kap語言ê關係，koh進一步證明「公」、「嫲」用語反映出客家人ê性別認知：

　　　　在家用器具方面，靜待在廚房一角貢獻一己之力的鍋杓用具，像是客家婦女默 默支援家庭一般，所以鍋杓用具就借用女性的代名詞「杓嫲」、「刀嫲」、「鍋嫲」， 至於能擺在桌面上的就和男性一樣露臉，如「碗公」…。這樣的理論同樣可以運用做器官上，只要是看得見、顯露於外的器官都以男性指稱，例如鼻子叫

14　黃秋芳1998《台灣客家生活紀事》，頁74。台北：臺原出版社。

做「鼻公」，耳朵叫做「耳公」，不論手指頭或腳指頭都叫做「趾公」，至於看不見的部分像是客家女性一樣隱藏不外顯，卻盡責地執行一己力量則被稱為「舌嫲」，表面上看到的手背叫「五公蓋」，而藏在掌內的手心肉則被稱作「掌頭嫲」或「巴掌嫲」，由這些客家語法中可以看出客家婦女隱藏在柔順性格背後的社會地位。[15]

　　張典婉ê觀點指出客家文化kap客家語言ê密切關係。綜合來講，客語「公」kap「嫲」語詞ê無全，一方面符合人類歷史對男、女外型ê符號認知，一方面反映出客家族群ê認知模式，tsit ê認知模式包含客家文化價值觀內底，傳統父權為主、男尊女卑ê性別認知。

5. 結論

　　Tī台灣ê語言內底，客語性別詞「公」kap「嫲」hông認為是「其他方言罕見，而客家用語習見的『客家方言特徵詞』」。「公」kap「嫲」ê普遍性kap客家人ê敬神文化、尊敬天地萬物ê心理有真密切ê關係。客語作家范文芳tī伊ê文學作品《頭前溪个故事》，講著客家人kā大自然物體號名ê思考：「客家人習慣用人間个倫常關係，來替生活中个器物以及各種蟲魚鳥獸安名，像蟻公、蛇哥、烏蠅公、鯉嫲、鴦公、白哥仔、鷂婆、蝠婆、伯勞嫲、碗公、刀嫲、鑊嫲、襖婆。」[16] 雖然頂面所舉ê語詞大部分是海陸腔ê客話，有tsit kuá語詞m̄是本文討論ê四縣腔客話ê範圍。總是，透過這段引文，ē-tàng進一步證明客家人尊敬天地萬物ê文化價值觀。

　　客家人對大自然ê物體、生活中ê工具因為抱著尊敬ê心情，所以自然會將物體擬人化，予in親像人類全款ê稱呼，所以物體mā有「公」、「嫲」、「哥」、「婆」、「牯」等人類倫常關係ê稱呼。這種將大自然萬物性別化、擬人化ê特徵kap客家早期成做南方民族，具備「自然崇拜」ê信仰特徵kiám-tshái mā有關係。羅肇錦uì語言學ê觀點提出客語來自古南方

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[15]　張典婉2004《台灣客家女性》，頁38。台北：玉山社。

[16]　范文芳1998《頭前溪个故事》，頁34。新竹：新竹縣立文化中心。

民族ê特徵：「客家文化的底層，本屬南方特質，客家話「-ma」後綴不是中原帶來的構詞方式，而是原來南方畬語就有的詞彙結構。」[17] 屬南方特質ê客家語言，自然tī文化上mā透濫（thàu-lām）著南方ê信仰特徵。

Lakoff講：「男女相對──這是全世界範疇劃分體系中一種標準ê差別。」世界上真濟語言kā大自然、物體號名ê時，攏有「陰」、「陽」ê分別。客家人teh畫分範疇ê時，mā包含著性別ê認知，反應tī「公」、「嫲」語詞ê多樣性kap普遍性。根據本文ê分析，無性別意義ê客語公、嫲語詞ē-tàng歸納出兩個原則：(1)大小ê認知kap (2)外型ê認知。「大小ê認知」是「公」、「嫲」語詞共同性ê部分，「外型ê認知」符合人類符號學對男女特徵ê範疇劃分。另外，以客家文化ê角度來看，「外型ê認知」mā適用tī「用途ê認知」kap「尊卑ê認知」原則頂面。

根據Sapir-Whorf假說，人類ê認知受著語言ê影響，uì一個族群ê語言，咱ē-tàng了解著hit ê族群ê思考模式，以及文化內涵。本文以四縣客話ê「公」、「嫲」語詞作例，探討客家語言kap認知模式ê關係。Uì「公」、「嫲」性別詞（Gender Word）ê分析，咱ē-tàng看著客語呈現出背後男尊女卑、父權為主ê客家文化價值觀kap性別認知。另外，有關「哥」、「牯」á是「婆」、「姑」等客語語詞kap客家族群性別認知ê關係，因為m̄是本篇論文分析ê範圍，ǹg-bāng留tī以後ê論文koh再探討。

讀者回應

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[17] 羅肇錦2007《台灣客家研究概論─語言文化篇》，頁253-256。台北：行政院客委會、台灣客家研究學會合作出版。

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Loān-kau-chham ê chāi-tē-hòa kap bîn-chỏk sek-piảt:

Má-lâi-se-a Thài-pêng tē-khu ê chiỏh-pi kap

sîn-chú-pâi ê iōng-jī chho·-pō· thàm-thó

Pôe-tek KHNG

Kok-lịp Tong-hôa Tāi-hảk Tâi-oân Bûn-hòa Hảk-hē

Tiah-iàu

Chit phiⁿ bûn-chiuⁿ thó-lūn Má-lâi-se-a Thài-pêng tē-khu ê chiỏh-pi kap sîn-chú-pâi ê iōng-jī. Bûn-chiuⁿ jīn-ûi in téng-bīn ê iōng-jī ē-sái khòaⁿ-chhut Hok-kiàn-ōe ê loān-kau-chham chāi-tē-hòa kap bîn-chỏk sek-piảt chit nn̄g-ê hiān-siōng. Thài-pêng Hōng-soaⁿ-sī ê chiỏh-pi kap kî-tha só·-chāi Nâ-toh-kong sîn-chú-pâi iōng-ê hàn-jī, kha óa-hiòng Hok-kiàn-gí-giân lāi-bīn ê kháu-gí piáu-tảt (pẻh-ōe-im). Tùi chiỏh-pi téng-bīn ê hàn-jī chioh-iōng Eng-kok sit-bîn chèng-hú ê iōng-sû ē-sái chèng-bêng 19 sè-kí Má-lâi-se-a Hok-kiàn î-bîn tī gí-giân sú-iōng-sióng ê loān-kau-chham chāi-tē-hòa. Nâ-toh-kong sîn-chú-pâi téng-bīn sú-iōng ê hàn-jī, ē-sái tong-chò hun-piảt hit tong-sî kóng Hok-kiàn-ōe ê lâng kah kî-tha Tiong-kok î-bîn ê bîn-chỏk sek-piảt.

Koan-kiàn-sû: Hok-kiàn-ōe, Thài-pêng, pi-bûn, chiỏh-pi, sîn-chú-pâi

Hybrid Localization and Ethnic Markers: A Preliminary Inquiry into the Hokkien Written Inscription of the Stele and Deity Tablets around Taiping, Malaysia

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Abstract

This paper provides an assessment of the stele and deity tablets in Taiping, Malaysia and proposes that evidence of Hokkien hybrid localization and ethnic markers are featured in the written inscription. The characters used on the stele tablet of Hon San Si, and on the deity tablet of Na Tuk Kong, show an inclination toward colloquial expressions from the Hokkien language. The stele tablet demonstrates hybrid localization of Hokkien immigrants from 19th-century Malaya by the borrowing of expressions from the British colonial administration. The characters used in the deity tablet have been shown to be a well-illustrated example of an ethnic marker that can be used to distinguish Hokkien speakers from other immigrants from China.

Keywords: Hokkien, Taiping, epigraphy, inscription of stele, deity tablets

1. Introduction

Taiping (太平) is the second largest town in Negeri Perak (霹靂州), Malaysia. The discovery of tin in Taipien in the mid-19th century led to a large influx of immigrants from China. The Hakka-dominated association called the Go-kwan (五縣) and the Cantonese association called Si-kwan (四縣)[1] obtained tin-mining rights from the local Malay authorities. After the four Larut Wars (拉律戰爭) among the Hakka miners[2] and the opening of new mining fields near Ipoh (怡保), the ethnic composition in Taiping underwent specific changes which resulted in the Hokkiens being identified as the most dominant ethnic group from China. Since then there have been very few significant changes in terms of ethno-scape in Taiping among immigrants from China. Table 1 displays the ethnic composition of the major groups of immigrants from China, and their descendants, in Perak based on the 1931 census undertaken in the British Malaya (Vlieland 1932: 184).

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[1] Go-kwan literally means five districts, but practically refers to people from five different districts of China, namely Cheng Sia (增城), Poon Say or Pun Yu (番禺), Soon Tek (順德), Lam Hye (南海) and Tong Quan (東莞). See-kwan means four districts: Sin Neng (新寧), Sin Wee (新會), Seow Keng (肇慶) and Whee Chew (惠州). All districts are defined in Canton (Tojo 2009: 207n15).

[2] Larut is the former name for Taiping. The Larut Wars occurred in 1861, 1865, 1872 and 1873 due to the conflicts between the members of the Ghee Hin Society (義興私會黨) that owned the Cantonese Si-kwan, and the Hakka Hai San (海山) and the Hokkien Tua Pek Kong societies (大伯公會). However, the Larut Wars were also fought among the Hakka themselves. The wars in 1861 and 1865 were between the Cheng Sheng (增城) Hakka of the Hai San and the Hui Chew (惠州) Hakka of the Ghee Hin. The wars in 1872 and 1873 were between the Cheng Sheng Hakka of the Hai San and the Sin Neng (新寧) Hakka of the Ghee Hin. After the Larut Wars the town of Larut was renamed Taiping, meaning "everlasting peace" in Chinese, as a confirmation of the new state of truce.

Table 1. Ethnic Composition by Areas in Perak in 1931

Ethnic Group / Area	Hokkien	%	Tiu Chiu	%	Hakka	%	Cantonese	%	*Total Percentage of Chinese*	Total Number of Chinese
Larut & Matang	14,234	40.4	3,026	8.6	4,699	13.4	10,456	29.7	92.1	35,181
Krian	5,719	44.0	4,773	36.7	691	5.3	1,253	9.6	95.6	13,006
Kinta	12,791	7.5	6,792	4.0	62,930	36.9	76,343	44.8	93.2	170,339
Kuala Kangsar	4,560	14.4	1,126	3.6	5,999	19.0	12,080	38.3	75.3	31,554
Lower Perak	11,308	30.3	2,611	7.0	1,040	2.8	6,431	17.3	57.4	37,255
Batang Padang	3,617	11.6	659	2.1	10,960	35.3	11,930	38.4	87.4	31,052
Upper Perak	1,242	17.4	73	1.0	1,566	21.9	2,908	40.7	81.0	7,140
TOTAL	53,471		19,060		87,885		121,401			325,527

Hokkien speakers were identified as the dominant ethno-linguistic group in Larut & Matang, Krian, and Lower Perak in the early 20th century. These three designated areas share one important geographical feature – their prominent coastal regions. Taiping is located within the census area of Larut & Matang; a region where Hokkiens make up 40% of the total immigrants from China. Thus, Taiping is an ideal site to observe the cultural practices of Hokkien speakers and to inquire into how their practices have been influenced by the Cantonese and Hakka cultures that still persist today.

The stele and deity tablets are considered to be sacred objects by immigrants from China. The stele tablet was used to immortalize secular things that were thought to be important, whereas the deity tablet was used for engraving the god titles for worshipping. Therefore, the Han characters engraved on both the stele and the deity tablets were carefully selected in order to reflect the importance of the contents that they were conveying. However, it is relevant to note that in regions outside the pale of Chinese empire the usage of Han characters enjoyed more freedom due to the lack of strict censorship from the imperial literati. Thus, the variation of usage was based on the perspective of the dominant ethno-linguistic groups that constructed the stele and deity tablets, as well as the

context of local situations that they encountered. This current study focuses upon examining how Hokkien speakers utilized the Han characters on the stele and deity tablets in Taiping, and further interprets what this means to society today. Evidence of hybrid localization and ethnic markers are the two main arguments in this paper.

2. Hybrid Localization

A stele tablet in classical Chinese that suggests an influence of colloquial Hokkien language inside the Hall of Great Goodness of Buddha (大善佛堂) next to Hon San Si (鳳山寺), Taiping, deserves our attention[3]. The characters on the stele are transcribed as follows.[4]

> 全立甘愿字人，鳳山寺司理人：李邊坪、王開邦、黃則
> 諒、邱如語、柯祖仕、黃清籃等，有向公班衙討出高搭
> 下公班衙地壹[5]所，呀囒號頭第〡千三𠃌文號[6]，自英〡
> 千三文〡年[7]實点末壹號，向公班衙入部。該地計共叁
> 矢葛之左。其呀囒原係做鳳山寺並李邊坪、王開邦、黃
> 則諒、邱如語、柯祖仕、黃清籃等之名字。然此地現乃
> 我福建閩省之公所，遂立廟改號曰：閩中古廟。該地界
> 內黃清籃並諸誠心信士，有建造大善堂一院，碑此地之

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[3] The Sinologists translate Hon San Si and the neighboring Buddhist temple in Simpang Road into Chinese Mandarin as *Feng-shan suu and Ta-shan Fo-t'ang* respectively (Wolfang and Chen 1987: 1048).

[4] An earlier and informative interpretation of the stele tablet characters was done by Lee Eng Kew in 2009 under the title 公班衙・實點末 on Sin Chew Daily（星洲日報）. See issue from December 27th 2009 (http://www.sinchew.com.my/node/143597). Please also refer to *Chinese Epigraphic Materials in Malaysia* for the inscription of the stele tablet (Wolfang and Chen 1987: 1048).

[5] For the character 壹, the engraving on the stele tablet uses 土 rather than 匕 on the bottom part of the character. This character stands for the number one（壹）. This paper uses壹 to represent the original 'one' on the stele tablet due to the unavailability of the other in computer fonts.

[6] The stele tablet uses the so-called Suzhou numbers（蘇州碼）or *huama*（花碼）for numbers. The number on the stele tablet here stands for 1,859.

[7] 1,891.

呀囒，全無註立大善堂之名字，祇恐日後易人攝理，福
建閣省之閩中古廟，欲別私意，亦不得廢棄大善堂建基
之功。故我等集眾公議，訂明閩中古廟及大善堂兩座庵
院一統，千載共立，萬世不易，後輩之人，不得狷獗斯
舉。而該地內有椰欉、菓子、竹木，原来是黃清籃並諸
齋友自力耕種，今我等僉論愿將此椰欉、菓子、竹木，
盡歸於大善堂，諸齋友永遠繼承收成，以奉祀慈悲香
火，其別有僧，俗人等不得相奪。後恐無憑，仝立甘愿
字，一樣式紙，壱紙交與閩中古廟攝理人收執，壱紙交
與大善堂現攝理之人黃清籃收執，以為綿長久遠存據。
此照。
合同，福建鳳山寺圖章。知見人：郭錦忠⑤代書人：王
春池⑰李邊坪⑭王開邦㊣黃則諒⑤邱茹語◎柯祖仕〇黃清
籃⑭。
光緒拾柒年歲次辛卯年拾月拾叁日。英壱仟捌佰玖拾壱
年怒民未拾四號。仝立甘愿字人。*(Photo 1)*

Upon examination of this tablet the borrowing of linguistic terms from British Malaya or European Southeast Asian origin is quite apparent. Specifically, we can easily identify three examples of this on the stele tablet: 呀囒,矣葛 and 公班衙.

The characters 呀囒 are a variation of 呀蘭, which is an example of linguistic borrowing from the English word grant, which was commonly used by people in Malaysia and by different ethnic groups from China. They are supposed to be the characters 牙蘭, but the mouth (口) radical has been added to represent the non-Chinese origin and is pronounced as *gê-lân* in Hokkien[8] . The people who engraved the stele tablet could have simply use the characters 地契, which can be literally translated as land contract, to convey their idea but instead they chose to use a borrowed term.

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8 This paper uses the church Romanization for words in Hokkien. The system is also called Pe̍h-ōe-jī (白話字) or POJ, literally vernacular writing, which is developed by the Western missionaries working among the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia in the 19th century and refined by missionaries working in Amoy (Xiamen) and Tainan.

The characters 矣葛, pronounced as *ā-kat* in Hokkien, originates from either the English term acre or its Malaysian borrowing *ekar*. Due to the differences in measurement systems used in Europe and East Asia, it is obvious that Hokkien speakers adopted the linguistic term for convenience.[9]

The characters 公班衙, pronounced as *kong-pan-gê* in Hokkien, originates from the Dutch word *Compagnie*. Hokkien immigrants in Dutch Batavia, today's Jakarta after the independence of Indonesia, simply used the characters 公班衙 to represent the Dutch colonial government since the ruling high authority was also referred to as the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*). To some Hokkien speakers, the characters 公班衙 gradually became a way to describe the concept of a European ruling government in Southeast Asia[10]. It is apparent that the Hokkien speakers in Taiping borrowed the usage of this term from their earlier Hokkien counterparts in Indonesia.

The characters on the stele tablet also shown three different systems for numbers used for enumeration and calendars; Suzhou numbers, simple character numbers and complex character numbers.

The Suzhou number system (e.g., 〡〢〣乂𠃊) was developed in China before the introduction of Arabic numbers. This system was mostly used as shorthand in number-intensive areas of commerce such as accounting and bookkeeping. Simple character numbers (e.g., 一二三四五) were for everyday writing and were quite popular among the commoners. Complex character numbers (e.g., 壹貳參肆伍) were used in formal situations or sacred contexts

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[9] A similar case in Dutch Formosa involves the Dutch land unit *morgen*. This word was later appropriated by Hokkien immigrants in Taiwan into the character 甲 to represent the word *morgen*; note that this did not change the actual land size that the unit *morgen* conveys. However, it remains unclear exactly what characters Hokkien speakers used during the era of Dutch Formosa, but it does seem reasonable that an earlier expression of linguistic borrowing from the Dutch *morgen* might have existed before it changed into the popular character 甲.

[10] Using the characters 公班衙 to represent the Dutch authorities in Indonesia is also widely accepted by other ethno-linguistic communities from China. For instance, the Hakka immigrants in the 19th century of West Kalimantan also employed the characters 公班衙 in their official documents such as 蘭芳公司歷代年冊. See de Groot (1885: 39-54).

such as the imperial calendar, which is basically the same as the lunar calendar used today. Formal commercial and financial practices also employed complex character numbers because simple character numbers are geometrically simple and were more likely to be subject to forgeries. Table 2 shows how these three different systems were used for enumeration and calendars on the stele tablet.

Table 2. The use of number systems on the stele tablet

	Suzhou numbers	Simple character numbers	Complex character numbers
Enumeration		一院	壹所；壹紙；弍紙
Registration No.	丨千三8文號		
Imperial Calendar			拾柒年、拾月、拾叁日
British Calendar	丨千三文丨年		壹號
		（拾）四號	壹仟捌佰玖拾壹年

For enumeration, the stele tablet in Hon San Si shows that simple and complex characters are used interchangeably when referring to numbers of buildings (院、所) or paper contracts (紙). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the character 兩 rather than 二 or 貳 is issued to represent the number 2 when referring to the number of buildings, i.e., 兩座庵院. The character 兩 is pronounced as *nňg* in Hokkien whereas 二 or 貳 tend to be pronounced as *jī*. *Nňg* is a popular colloquial sound called *peḣ-ōe-im* (白話音), whereas *jī* is mostly used in written scripts by the literati and is called *thảk-chheh-im* (讀冊音). This provides evidence that those who contributed to the content of the stele tablet apparently prefer colloquial means of calculating the quantity of buildings.

In regards to the British-designed land registration system and calendar, the stele tablet uses the Suzhou numbers. Typically numbers associated with the British system are shorthand Suzhou numbers, with the exception of when the British calendar is juxtaposed with the imperial calendar in which case complex characters are used. However, it is important to note that the complex characters used in the British calendar are incomplete. Unlike its imperial counterpart, which follows the traditional format used in China, the British calendar only uses

complex characters to describe years, i.e., 壹仟捌佰玖拾壹年. The numbers used for days are a combination of both complex and simple characters, i.e., 拾四號. Upon careful examination of the stele tablet it can be observed that the British calendar makes use of a combination of Suzhou numbers, dual codes by using the Suzhou numbers for year, i.e., 〡千〓夂〡年, and complex character for day, i.e., 壹號. The use of complex characters for the British calendar in addition to the use of Suzhou numbers and the simple character 四 for day seems to be a "typo". Therefore, it appears evident that the numerical means in which the British calendar expressed on the stele tablet is actually quite colloquial in nature, in contrast to the formal format found on imperial tablets. Two specific pieces of evidences will now be outlined to support this observation.

First, the British calendar uses the character 號 to represent day, unlike the imperial system using the character 日. The former is an informal and colloquial way of expressing calendar day. Second, linguistic borrowing is demonstrated in terms of months on the British calendar, whereby September is engraved as 實点末 and November as 怒民末[11] . These months are pronounced *sit-tiám-boa̍t* and *nō-bîn-boa̍t* in Hokkien respectively. This clearly reveals evidence of colloquial tone in relation to the British calendar on the stele tablet. For example, the characters 英〡千〓夂〡年實点末壹號, which are representative of the colloquial mixture of different number systems, and are pronounced *Eng*

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[11] We can observe a similar case among Hokkien speakers in the Dutch Indies in terms of borrowing European terms for concepts that already have respective terms in characters. For instance, Batavian Hokkien speakers use characters such as 高羅亭 (*ko-lô-têng*), 歷難高羅亭 (*le̍k-lân-ko-lô-têng*), 馬腰 (*má-iau*), 甲必丹 (*kah-pit-tan*), 雷珍蘭 (*lûi-tiⁿ-lân*), 達氏 (*ta̍t-sī*), 實九鬱 or 實狗鬱 (*sit-káu-ut*) and 朱葛礁 or 諸葛礁 (*chu-kat-ta*) to refer to the official positions of *kolonel, luitenant-kolonel, majoor, kapitein, luitenant, soldaat, schout* and *secretaris* respectively. According to the manuscripts left by Gustaaf Schlegel, B. A. J. van Wettum and A. A. de Jongh in the East Asian Library of Leiden University, we can clearly observe the usage of 協鎮 (*hia̍p-tìn*)／協台 (*hia̍p-tâi*) for *kolonel*, 參將 (*chham-chiòng*)／參府 (*chham-hú*) for luitenant-kolonel, 游擊 (*iû-kek*), 都司 (*to·-si*) or 守備 (*siú-pī*) for *majoor*, 千總 (*chheng-chóng*) for *kapitein*, 百總 (*pé-chóng*)／把總 (*péh-chóng*) for *luitenant*, 兵丁 (*peng-teng*) for *soldaat*, 馬快 (*bé-khoài*) for *schout* and 書辦 (*si-pān*) for *secretaris*, by Hokkien-speaking people from the Tsiang-tsiu (漳州) area of Qing empire.

chit-chheng pat-kiú-it-nî sit-tiám-boát it-hō in Hokkien, stand for September 1st 1891 according to the British calendar on the stele tablet.[12]

The use of characters on the stele tablet is actually a hybridization of many different languages system, and as such are a linguistic reflection of the local situation that Hokkien immigrants encountered in British Malaya. What the Hokkien immigrants expressed on the stele tablet through their use of multiple types of characters can be classified as hybrid localization, and also demonstrates a tendency towards colloquial rather than literary expression.

Ong stresses the hybrid nature of immigrants' language usage by coining the Penang Teochewese the term 州府話 (Ong 2002). Hybridization of language is no doubt a common trend in language usage by communities made up of a diverse group of immigrants, but this unique use of language may also have another purpose. If we take a close look at how different ethnic groups from China use characters on the deity tablet, we can also observe how this hybridization of language is used to convey an ethnic boundary between Hokkien speakers and other immigrants from China.

3. Ethnic Markers

In addition to serving as a sacred object for worship, the deity tablet also bears the name or title of a god which can be used as a distinguishable ethnic marker among the immigrants from China. Our field site in Taiping was once

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[12] A stele tablet entitled 欽命管理僧錄司印務覺 in Kek Lok Si (極樂寺) or Ayer Itam Temple of Penang, the only temple in Malaysia which is glorified by an imperial sanction, granted in 1904 by Emperor Guangxu (光緒), offers a contrasting view of our Hokkien stele tablet interpretation. The stele tablet in Kek Lok Si states the imperial calendar, without the British equivalent, as 光緒三十年九月初一. See Wong (1963 plate27). The years in the aforementioned 蘭芳公司歷代年冊 are chronicled as 和一千八百五十六年即唐丙辰年 or 唐前丁酉年是和一千七百七十五年, in which the character 和 stands for the Netherlands, 英 for the British on the Hokkien stele, and 唐 for Tangshan (唐山), a vernacular expression of a hometown in China. See de Groot (1885: 39-54). It is apparent that simplified characters are preferred for chronicles in addition to using the Chinese Sexagenary Cycle or the so-called Heavenly Stem and the Earthy Branches (天干地支) for the imperial tablets.

occupied by many different ethnic groups from China. This occupancy of various ethnic immigrants and the subsequent interaction among these groups had led to the blurring of ethnic boundaries in terms of cultural practices. This makes Malaysian-based cultural practices somewhat unique in comparison to the more locally distinct cultural practices in China, where most ethnic groups are geographically separated from each other. For instance, Hokkien immigrants in Taiping adopt the widely accepted Hakka/Cantonese practice of displaying a deity tablet by stating 五方五土龍神、唐番地主財神 in most public shrines or temples, since the latter individual was the founder of the Taiping settlement. In light of similar practice it is also critical to recognize that there are also many differences in linguistic expressions used in daily practices that have persisted for long duration. We can clearly observe the ethnic boundaries among immigrants and their descendants through their distinctive linguistic expressions.

One apparent example related to the folk religion surrounding Datuk Keramat: the deity of this shrine can be translated into Chinese as Na Tuk Kong. Datuk Keramat or Na Tuk Kong is a popular local guardian spirit in Malaysia. The Malay word Datuk means 'grandfather' and is used as a sign of honor. Similarly, the Chinese word Kong is also used to convey a sense of honor. Some Malaysian Chinese[13] believe that Na Tuk Kong is similar to the god of Earth or Tek Choo Kong (地主公).

Nowadays in Malaysia Na Tuk Kong is usually written in newspapers or inscribed on deity tablets using the characters 拿督公. For instance, the use of these characters can be observed on the deity tablets in the Tokong Wong Loa Sin See or Wong Loa Sin See Temple (黃老仙師古廟)[14] in Kopisan Baru (新咖

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[13] This paper uses the term Malaysian Chinese to represent Chinese immigrants and their descendants in Malaysia since the usage is popularly accepted in Malaysia. Therefore, the term Malaysian Chinese does not mean the meaning a Chinese person with Malaysian ethnic background in the same way that the term Asian Americans implies an American individual with Asian background in the United States.

[14] 黃老仙師古廟 is the official title inscribed on the horizontal board on the top of the temple entrance whereas the painted characters in black on the outside white front wall are 黃老祖師爺廟.

啡山), Perak (霹靂), where Hakka people dominate (*Photo 2*). The inscription is based on the Cantonese pronunciation *naa⁴-duk¹*.[15] A variation of the written expression 拿督公 is undertaken by adding the mouth radical (口) to the first two characters and thus producing [嗱][口督] rather than [拿][督] on the deity tablet. The deity tablet in the Then Sze Koon (天師宮) or Centipede Temple on the Centipede Hill (蜈蚣山) in Ulu Temiang (烏魯沈香), Seremban (芙蓉), Negeri Sembilan (森美蘭州) demonstrates this variation (*Photo 3*). The addition of the mouth radical to a certain Han character, while referring to a substantial object or figure, is generally done to express a non-Chinese sentiment, and can sometimes have a derogatory implication based on the traditional Chinese ethnocentric value of normality. In addition to the two aforementioned written expressions, we can expect to find more variations of expressions in Malaysia than in China because there is no institutionalized state mechanism responsible for the standardization of usage of Han characters. These variations in expressions, however, do follow some general guidelines based on the pronunciation of Han characters by a certain ethno-linguistic group. Therefore, different ethno-linguistic groups would use their distinctive written expressions according to their own pronunciation of the characters.

To Hokkien speakers, 拿督公 or its aforementioned disparaging variation is pronounced *ná-tok-kong*, which is quite similar to that of its Cantonese counterpart. However, in the Taiping area we can also observe two other variations of Na Tuk Kong, 哪啅公 and 藍卓公.

In Kota Tampan (哥打淡板／古打淡板) in Perak, a shrine dedicated to Na Tuk Kong, which has a motif similar to that of the Japanese national flag next to the deity tablet, displays the characters 哪啅. These characters are pronounced *ná-toh-kong* in Hokkien, which does not differ greatly from the pronunciation of 拿督. One possible reason for Hokkien speakers to use the characters 哪啅

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15 This paper uses the Jyutping romanization system for Cantonese. The full name of Jyutping is *Jyut jyu ping jam* (粵語拼音), which was developed by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong Cantonese Romanization Scheme (LSHK) in 1993.

rather than 拿督 could be to avoid linguistic confusion, since the character 拿 can also be pronounced as *thèh* in Hokkien, which means *to take*. Most of the Hokkien speakers would probably be more familiar with *thèh* rather than *ná* since the former is a popular colloquial sound called *pèh-ōe-im* (白話音) whereas the latter is used mostly in written scripts by the literati and called *thàk-chheh-im* (讀冊音). Although the alternative pronunciation of the character 哪 is *lô*, as in that of the popular deity *lô-chhia* (哪吒), it seems that the character 哪 would cause less linguistic confusion than the character 拿 would since the Hokkien-speaking people in Taiping chose to use it. Nevertheless, the characters 哪啅 are pronounced *naa⁴-coek⁴* in Cantonese, which is quite different from that of Na Tuk, and therefore makes less sense to Cantonese-speaking peoples.[16]

We can observe another case in Kamunting (新港門／甘文丁), Taiping. A temple dedicated to Pek Kong (伯公), Hock Tiek Soo Tua Pek Kong Temple (太平新港門伯公嶺福德祠福德正神古廟) [17], displays the characters 哪啅 on both the entrance and wall behind the personified statue of gods. However, the tablet on the wall immediately behind the statue of gods uses the characters 藍啅, in contrast to that of 哪啅 next to it (*Photos 4 & 5*). This brings us to another case, 藍卓.

In Teluk Kertang (二關) in Matang (峇東／馬登) near Taiping City, there is a temple dedicated to the legendary figure Panglima Ah Chong (蘇亞松), called the Soo Nâ-toh-kong temple (蘇藍卓公廟). Both the temple and the deity tablet display the characters 藍卓 to represent Na Tuk (*Photos 6 & 7*). The characters 藍卓 are pronounced *nâ-toh* in Hokkien but its Cantonese counterpart is pronounced *laam⁴-coek⁴*. As such, it would be even more arduous for Cantonese speakers to

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16 Although both Chinese Mandarin and Hokkien would use the character 拿 to mean *to take*, Cantonese simply use the character 攞 as a substitute for 拿 to mean *to take*. The character 攞 is pronounced *lo²* in Cantonese. By doing so, Cantonese speakers avoid the confusion generated by one character with two pronunciations as its Hokkien counterpart suffers in the case of *thèh* and *ná* for 拿.

17 太平新港門伯公嶺福德祠福德正神古廟 is the official title of the temple in Han characters whereas the Romanized spellings is transcribed into characters as 福德祠大伯公廟. It is located at Lot 386, Jalan Kamunting Lama, 34000 Taiping, Perak.

identify *laam⁴-coek⁴* as Na Tuk.

In short, to Hokkien speakers, the pronunciation of 拿督, 哪啅, and 藍卓 are quite similar. Plosive finals (velar *tok* vs. glottal *toh*) are the only linguistic markers that could be used to differentiate between the first one (拿督) and the last two (哪啅 and 藍卓), whereas 藍卓 bears one more linguistic marker, the intonation (high falling *ná* vs. low rising *nâ*), in contrast to 拿督. Although the pronunciation of the characters 拿督 and 哪啅 are quite similar, the Hokkien speakers would likely not confuse the latter with the commonly used uttering 拿 as *thèh*. In other words, using the characters 哪啅 would gain more popularity among Hokkien speakers than that of 拿督 because of the potential confusion regarding the character 拿. As for the characters 藍卓, this shows strong evidence of the Hokkien linguistic expression of Na Tuk because its Cantonese pronunciation is quite different from that of Na Tuk.

4. Summary and Discussion

Unlike Taiwan, which was an island frontier under imperial jurisdiction and also the destination of Hokkien immigrants in the 19th century, British Malaya was relatively free from characters usage censorship by the imperial literati and gentry class. As a result of this, Hokkien immigrants in British Malaya could develop a relatively stronger tendency toward un-orthodox traditions in regard to characters use. This explains why the characters on the stele tablet in Hon San Si demonstrate an inclination toward colloquial expressions, and how its expressions reflect the nature of hybrid localization of Hokkien immigrants in 19th-century British Malaya. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind that the colloquial tendency is highly associated with things of non-Chinese origin, i.e., the British. In other words, colloquial expressions were found to be more useful and flexible when describing foreign items and concepts, and also for developing new forms of expression, whereas Chinese-based literature and concepts did not use colloquial expressions in and were highly (self-)restricted and based in

orthodoxy.

As for the deity tablet of Na Tuk Kong, the unique use of characters such as 哪啅 and 藍卓 rather than the popular usage of 拿督 reveals a preference for colloquial expression among Hokkien speakers. In addition, this variation can be interpreted as a critical ethnic marker for Hokkien speakers to distinguish themselves from other immigrants from China. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the idea of an "ethnic marker" might not has been one of the intentions of Hokkien speakers when they chose these specific characters.

Being defined as sacred things, the stele and deity tablets are supposed to relate to formality and orthodoxy. The use of characters in the Hokkien cases we have described seems to provide an alternative perspective. Is there some unique quality that the Hokkien culture possesses, in comparison to that of Cantonese and Hakka culture, that has driven this difference in perspective? One possible explanation that can be considered is the value placed on characters in the Hakka culture. The Hakka have developed cultural practices related to the worshipping of characters, such as pavilions for characters-honoring (敬字亭) or pavilions of sacred traces (聖蹟亭), and treat the characters as sacred and supreme objects. In contrast, our Hokkien counterparts pay relatively little or no attention to this notion of character worship. Can this background offer insights into what we have observed on the stele and deity tablets in Taiping?

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Appendix
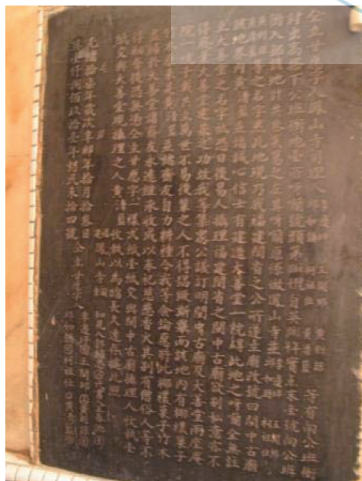
Photo 1. The Hokkien stele tablet inside the Hall of Great Goodness of Buddha in Hon San Si, Taiping

Photo 2. 拿督公 in the Tokong Wong Loa Sin See or Wong Loa Sin See Temple of Kopisan Baru

Photo 3. The deity tablet in Then Sze Koon, Ulu Temiang, Seremban

Photo 4. Hock Tiek Soo Tua Pek Kong Temple, Kamunting, Taiping (I)

Photo 5. Hock Tiek Soo Tua Pek Kong Temple, Kamunting, Taiping (II)

Photo 6. Soo Nâ-toh-kong Temple, Teluk Kertang, Matang (I)

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù

Photo 7. Soo Nâ-toh-kong Temple, Teluk Kertang, Matang (II)
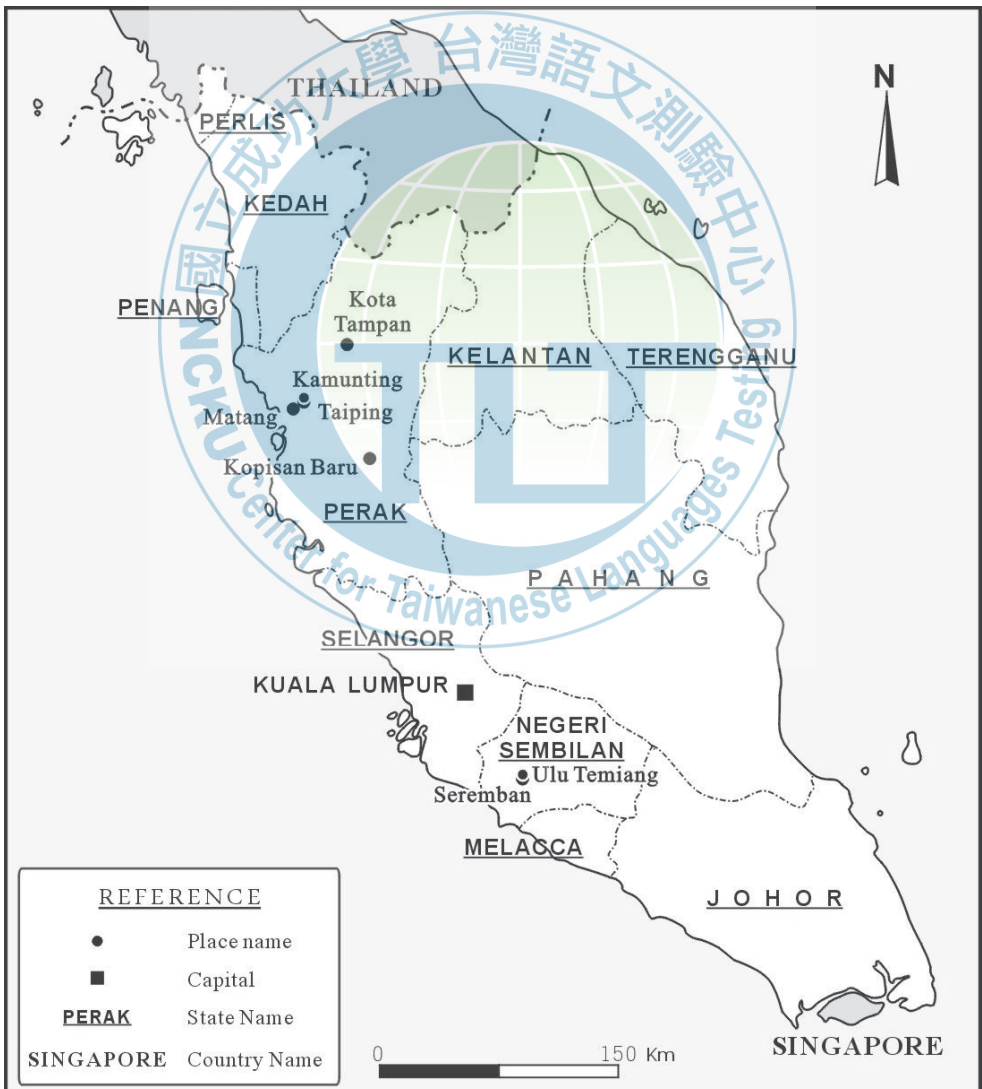
Map of Malaysia

台語ê兩个模態構式

劉承賢

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摘要

　　Tsit篇論文詳細調查台語ê兩个模態構式：「會得V」kap「會V得」，雖然tsit兩个構式ê成分相仝，m̄-ku in佇句法佮語意ê層面並無相siâng。Tsit兩个構式若攏用做義務模態ê時，就會當容允句裡有非特指ê主語，tsit个部分佮蔡維天（2010）對華語模態佮主語ê觀察一致，兩種語言ê相關現象嘛攏會用得透過擴充映射假說（Extended Mapping Hypothesis；蔡維天 2001, 2009）來做解說。較特殊ê是佇句法ê部分，「會V得」ê位置是佇輕動詞詞組內底，伊做義務模態使用ê時，著透過踮邏輯型式（LF）ê徙動來達成。Tsit个現象，若hē踮結構簡化假說（Structural Simplification Hypothesis；Roberts and Roussou 1999）來思考，通看做是詞彙採取顯性徙動來得著新ê語意進前，一个較早ê過渡型態。

關鍵詞：模態、義務模態、能願模態、結構簡化假說、台語

On Two Root Modal Constructions
in Taiwanese

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Abstract

This paper examines in detail the two modal constructions *ē-tit V* and *ē V-tit*. Although the two expressions are composed of identical elements, they are different syntactically and semantically. When used as deontic modals, they can license non-specific subject and the licensing capacity is accounted based on the Extended Mapping Hypothesis (Tsai 2001, 2009). Theoretically, the *v*P-internal location of *ē V-tit* demonstrates an early stage of grammaticalization. According to the Structural Simplification Hypothesis (Roberts and Roussou 1999), the LF movement of deontic *ē V-tit* exhibits that, before a lexical item adopts overt movement to assume a new construal, it may have already become semantically amphibious by interpreting on its position at LF.

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that many modals are multi-functional. (Tsai 2010; Portner 2009; Kai von Fintel 2006; Palmer 1986 among others.) The multi-functionality of English modals *must* and *have to* is demonstrated as follows.

(1) a. Mary must have a good reason for being late. (Epistemic; Portner 2009:135 (165b))

b. The rich must give money to the poor. (Deontic; Portner 2009:135 (166a))

(2) a. It has to be raining. [after observing people coming inside with wet umbrellas; epistemic modality] (Kai von Fintel 2006:2 (7))

b. Visitors have to leave by six pm. [hospital regulations; deontic] (Kai von Fintel 2006:2 (8))

The multi-functionality is also true in modals in Sinitic languages. The following sentences illustrate the usages of Mandarin *huì*.

(3) a. Xiǎodī   huì   Fǎyǔ. (Mandarin; ability; Tsai 2010:209 (2a))
Xiaodi   HUI   French
'Xiaodi can speak French.'
小D會法語。

b. Xiǎodī   shàng   xīcāntīng   shí   huìshuō   Fǎyǔ.
(Mandarin; generalization[1]; Tsai 2010:209(2c))
Xiaodi   go-up   western-restaurant   time   HUI speak   French
'Xiaodi speaks French when he goes to a western restaurant.'
小D上西餐廳時會說法語。

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[1] Labeling by following Lin's (2012) categorization. I will come back to the grouping of modals.

The same observation is obtained in Taiwanese. See the examples below for the modal *ē*.

(4) a. Guá   e-poo   ē   khì   khui-huē. (Taiwanese; tense)
     pron. (1.sg)   afternoon   E   go   attend-meeting
     'I will attend a meeting in the afternoon.'
     我下晡會去開會。

    b. Tsuí-sūn khì se-tshan-thiann ê   sî   ē   kóng Huat-gí.
      (Taiwanese; generalization)
      Tsuisun   go   western-restaurant LK   time   E   speak   French
      'Tsuisun speaks French when he goes to a western restaurant.'
      水順去西餐廳的時會講法語。

    c. Bîn-á-tsài   ē   loh-hōo.   (Taiwanese; epistemic)
      tomorrow   E   fall-rain
      'It will rain tomorrow.'
      明仔載會落雨。

This modal can also be employed to express ability reading when occurring in a compound word like ē-hiáu. Complare (5a) and (5b).

(5) a. Tsuí-sūn ē-hiáu   sái   tshia. (Taiwanese)
     Tsuisun   E-HIAU   drive   car
     'Tsuisun can drive a car.'
     水順會曉駛車。

    b. Tsuí-sūn   ē   sái   tshia.
      Tsuisun   E   drive   car
      'Tsuisun will drive a car.'
      水順會駛車。

Compare the two sentences above. Only the first one has the ability reading. This contrast indicates that compounding plays a crucial role in the available reading(s) and that the ingredients of an expressions matter. The expressions composed of *ē* and *tit* below exemplify further.

(6) a. Tsuí-sūn ē-tit   pit-giȧp   ah.   (Taiwanese)
        Tsuisun   E-TIT   graduate   PRT
        'Tsuisun can graduate now.'
        水順會得畢業矣。

     b. Tsuí-sūn   ē   pit-giȧp-tit   ah.
        Tsuisuun   E   graduate-TIT   PRT
        'It is possible for Tsuisun to graduate now.'
        水順會畢業得矣。

The sentences above only differ in the linear order of the verb *pit-giȧp* and *tit*. And their differences in readings, in this context, are hardly distinguishable. In this paper, I will show that they behave very differently in syntax and they are not totally parallel semantically.

Before doing so, let's look into *ē* and *tit* in details.

2. *Ē* [2]

It is widely accepted that the modal *ē* was descended from *xie* (解) (Chen and Li 1983, Norman 1989, Wang 1990, Mei 1999, Yang 1999, Yang 2001, Mei 2002). The modal has derived to have several co-existent usages in Modern Southern Min.

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[2] Since what we are concerned here is the expressions composed of *ē* and *tit*, we will not talk about other compounds composed of *ē* and other elements (e.g., *ē-tàng, ē-sái, ē-īng-tit* etc.)

In the literature, the classification of modals varies among researchers. For example, in Cheng's categorization, the contingency modality concerns 'the speaker's judgment of the possibility or logical necessity or the occurrence of an event'. (1997:318) Based on its definition, this category is in fact a combination of epistemic modals and part of deontic modals. In Teng's analysis, the usages of *ē* include capacity-*ē* and possibility-*ē*. And Li (1979) claims that *ē* is an epistemic modal auxiliary expressing possibility or capacity meanings. Due to the discrepancies of their terminologies and definitions, it is difficult to integrate their taxonomies. In the following discussion, the usages of this modal are classified into three main categories: dynamic, deontic, and epistemic.

Firstly, this modal can be used to express ability reading. (Refer to Teng 1980, Hsu 1994, and Yang 2001)

(7)   a. I   uē   Ing-bûn. (Quanzhou Southern Min; from Wang 1990)[3]
        s/he   E   English
        'S/he can speak English.'
        伊會英文。

      b. Hun   iā   ē, tsiú   iā   ē.(Taiwanese; Yang 2001:286 (73))
        cigarette   also E   wine   also E
        'He not only smokes but also drinks.'
        薰也會，酒也會。

      c. I   sì   huè   tio̍h ē   siá   jī.
        (Taiwanese; Yang 2001:289 (88))
        s/he four year-old PRT   E   write character
        'S/he learned to write when s/he was four.'
        伊四歲就會寫字。

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3   *Uē* is the cognate of *ē*.

d. I　　tsin　ē　　lim.　　　(Taiwanese; from Teng 1980)[4]

　 s/he　very　able　drink.

　 'He can (really) drink.'

　 伊真會啉。

When used without a following verb, the ability reading of Taiwanese $\bar{e}$, unlike its counterpart in Quanzhou Southern Min, is not available, as we can see by comparing (5a) to (5c-d). (Ref. Cheng 1997) (5b) demonstrates the only possible pattern of ability $\bar{e}$ standing alone. In (5b), the objects are topicalized and the verbs occur after $\bar{e}$ are ellipsed.

Secondly, the modal can also convey deontic readings. (Refer to Li 1979, Teng 1980, Cheng 1997, Hsu 1994, and Yang 2001 among others.)

(8)　a. Tsuí-sūn khì se-tshan-thiann　　ê　　sî　　ē　kóng　Huat-gí.

　　　 (Taiwanese; repeating (4b))

　　　 Tsuisun　go　western-restaurant　LK　time　E　speak　French

　　　 'Tsuisun speaks French when he goes to a western restaurant.'

　　　 水順去西餐廳的時會講法語。

　　b. I　　tsái-khì　lóng　ē　khì tshài-tshī-á　bé　　tshài. (Taiwanese)

　　　 S/he　morning　all　E　go　market　　buy　groceries

　　　 S/he goes to buy groceries in the market in the mornings.

　　c. Tsuí　ē　im-sí　　　lâng.　(Taiwanese; Yang 2001:289 (89))

　　　 water　E　drown-dead　person

　　　 'People drown in water.'

　　　 水會淹死人。

4　In Teng's term: capacity-$\bar{e}$.

d. Thang-á-kháu　hong　　tshue ē-tiȯh　　khah　liâng.

(Taiwanese; Yang 2001:290(95))

window-outlet wind　　blow　E-TIOH　more　cool

'It is cooler to be by the window where fresh air comes in.'

窗仔口風吹會著較涼。

Thirdly, it is also possible to have *ē* as an epistemic modal. (Refer to Li 1979, Cheng 1997, Yang 2001 among others.)

(9) a. Sé　　liáu　　tsuá　ē　phuà　　khì.

(Taiwanese;Yang2001:289(90))

wash　finish　paper　E　worn-out　ASP

'Washing the paper will cause it to be worn out.'

洗了紙會破去。

b. Bîn-á-tsài　ē　　lȯh-hōo.　　(Taiwanese; Repeating (4c))

tomorrow　E　　fall-rain

'It will rain tomorrow.'

明仔載會落雨。

c. Kóng　ē　thiann.　　(Taiwanese; Yang 2001:290(96))

say　　E　listen

'Someone (not specified) follows advices.'

講會聽。

Apart from the above, *ē* can also occur in verbal complements (Ref. Yang 2001:290). As illustrated previously, *ē* combines with elements like *tit* and so on to constitute compound modal words.

(10) Tsò　ē-tit　　lâi.　　(Taiwanese; Yang 2001:290 (94))

do　　E-TIT　come

'Someone (not specified) can do it.'

做會得來。

Among these usages, it is noteworthy that the ability usage of *ē* has become limited, as mentioned previously. For most of Taiwanese speakers, the sentence in (7a) is not acceptable. For them, in order to give ability reading, compound *ē-hiáu* has to be employed instead of bare *ē*. Although Sinitic languages tend to preserve the original usages of the early stages in the grammaticalization process (refer to Tsai 2010 and the Structural Simplification Hypothesis in Roberts and Roussou 1999), Taiwanese *ē* alone has lost its ability reading. This is a discrepancy in comparison to *hui* in Mandarin, which has a different etymological origin as a latecomer. The bleaching of ability reading of *ē*, therefore, is speculated to be resulted from its longer participation in grammaticalization.

3. *Tit*

In this section, the usage and distribution of tit and its historical development will be exhibited respectively. In a nutshell, unlike its counterparts in Mandarin and Hakka, Taiwanese tit cannot be used as an independent modal element.

3.1. The usage/distribution of tit

In his comprehensive survey of *tit*, Lien (1997) suggests that *tit* joins in the following expressions.

(11) Lien (1997:168-9)

	expression	example	note
1	ē+V+tit 會+V+得	ē tsiảh-tit 會食得	
2	V+ē+tit+C1-C2 V+會+得+C1-C2	tsiảh ē-tit lỏh khì 食會得落去 peh ē-tit khí lih peh會得起去	
3	ē+V+tit+V 會+V+得+V	ē-sái-tit bé 會使得買 ē-kham-tit sé 會堪得洗 ē-īng-tit bong 會用得摸	The combinations of ē, tit and a verbal elements, including hiáu (曉), īng (用), sái (使), and kham (堪), are reanalyzed as trisyllabic auxiliaries. (1997:178)
4	ē+tit+V 會+得+V	ē-tit khì 會得去	
5	[bē-V-tit]+adj [袂-V-得]+adj	bē-kóng-tit sim-sik 袂講得心適	
6	V+ū+[huat-tit] V+有+[法-得]	kuānn ū-huat-tit 捾有法得	
7	V+[ē-tit-tàng]+C V+[會-得-當]+C	sǹg ē-tit-tàng liáu 算會得當了	potential complement marker (1997:169)

Apart from what Lien has pointed out, *tit* is also found in the following phrases.

(12)

	expression	example
8	[ē-tit-thang]+V [會-得-通]+V	Muí-jı̍t su-liām lí tsı̍t lâng, bē-tit-thang sann kìnn. (Bāng Lí Tsá Kui) 每日思念你一人，袂得通相見-〈望你早歸〉
9	[ē-thang-tit]+V [會-通-得]+V	Pàng-ká ē-thang-tit tńg tshù. 放假會通得轉厝
10	[ū-thang-tit]+V [有-通-得]+V	ū-thang-tit tsiа̍h hó-liāu ê. 有通得食好料ê ū-thang-tit khùn tsı̍t-tshínn. 有通得睏一醒
11	[ū-tit-thang]+V [有-得-通]+V	Nā ū-tit-thang khì hōo sian-sinn khuànn sī siōng-hó. 若有得通去予先生看是上好

Based on Lien's observations, *tit* has the following characteristics:

First, unlike its Mandarin cognate *de*, Taiwanese *tit* has not been grammaticalized as a complement marker, since it does not take a complement. (Lien 1997) This is shown in the following examples.

(13) Tā   zhōngwǔ   chī-de   hěn   bǎo.   (Mandarin)
     s/he   noon   eat-DE   very   full
     'S/he ate a lot and was very full.'
     他中午吃得很飽。

(14) * I   tiong-tàu   tsiа̍h-tit   tsin   pá.   (Taiwanese)
     s/he   noon   eat-TIT   very   full
     *伊中晝食得真飽。

Moreover, according to Lien, unlike Mandarin de, which has evolved into different constructions, *tit* only corresponds to one Mandarin pattern: *V-de*. And it is not even a faithful rendition. Compare the sentences below.

(15) Zheì-ge dōngxī chī-bù-dé.   (Mandarin)
     this-CL   thing   eat-not-DE
     'This is not edible.'
     這個東西吃不得。

(16) a. *Tsit-ê mı̍h-kiānn tsia̍h-m̄-tit.   (Taiwanese)
        this-CL thing   eat-not-TIT
        (Intended) 'This is not edible.'
        *這个物件食毋得。
     b. Tsit-ê mı̍h-kiānn bē   tsia̍h-tit.
        this-CL thing   Neg-E   eat-TIT
        'This is not edible.'
        這个物件袂食得。

The usages of *tit* are composed of two syntactic strata: a Mandarin-like pattern and the indigenous Min-unique pattern. (Lien 1997:173) The hybridization of *tit* and the auxilliary *ē* together denote the possibility reading. And *tit* still retains its resultative sense. (Lien 1997:171-2) As a result, the post-verbal *tit* can never occur without the presence of the preceding *ē* in Taiwanese.

3.2. Historical development

As mentioned previously, in contrast with its counterpart *de* in Mandarin, *tit* has not been grammaticalized as a complement marker. Lien suggests that *tit* entered Southern Min as a part of a hybrid expression in which *tit* cooperates with *ē* (see type 1 in (17)) and *tit* still retains its resultative sense. In a later
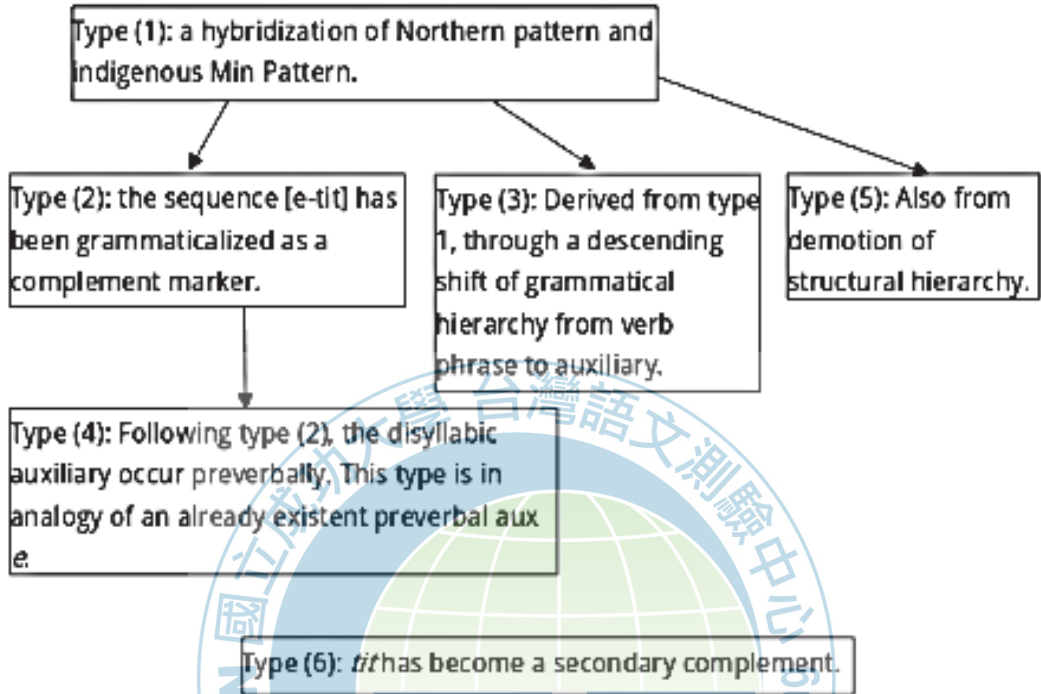
stage, the sequence *ē-tit* has been grammaticalized as a complement marker (type 2 in (17)). Also from type 1, *ē-V-tit* further shifts from the verb category to an auxiliary and type 3 emerged. (The possible Vs in this construction are confined to only several.) After *ē* and *tit* form a cohesive frozen unit in type 2, its preverbal occurrence as a disyllabic auxiliary became possible (type 4 in (17)). Type 6 is parallel to type 3 and it merely differs in that the verb phrase is used as an adverbial intensifier. In type 7 *tit* has become a secondary complement. (1997:172-3)

(17) Lien 1997:173 Table 6

Positive	Negative	
Type 1. Circumfix	$\bar{e}$+V+tit$_{comp}$	be+V+tit$_{comp}$
Type 2. C-marker	V+[$\bar{e}$-(tit)]$_{cm}$+C$_1$-(C$_2$)	V+[b$\bar{e}$-(tit)]$_{cm}$+C$_1$-(C$_2$)
Type 3. Auxiliary	[$\bar{e}$-V-(tit)]$_{aux}$+V	[b$\bar{e}$-V-(tit)]$_{aux}$+V
Type 4. Auxiliary	[$\bar{e}$-tit]$_{aux}$+V	[b$\bar{e}$-tit]$_{aux}$+V
Type 5. Auxiliary	[$\bar{e}$]$_{aux}$+V	[b$\bar{e}$]$_{aux}$+V
Type 6. Adverb		[b$\bar{e}$-V-tit]^{adv}+adj
Type 7. Complement	V+[[$\bar{u}$]$_v$-[huat]$_n$]$_{c1}$+[tit]$_{c2}$	V+[[bô]$_v$-[huat]$_n$]$_{c1}$+[tit]$_{c2}$

The historical development of *tit* proposed by Lien is illustrated below.

(18)

Type (1): a hybridization of Northern pattern and indigenous Min Pattern.

Type (2): the sequence [e-tit] has been grammaticalized as a complement marker.

Type (3): Derived from type 1, through a descending shift of grammatical hierarchy from verb phrase to auxiliary.

Type (5): Also from demotion of structural hierarchy.

Type (4): Following type (2), the disyllabic auxiliary occur preverbally. This type is in analogy of an already existent preverbal aux *e*.

Type (6): *tit* has become a secondary complement.

If Lien's proposal is on the right track, we can further suggest that type 7 and 8 (see (12)) are derived from type 4 by being further grammaticalized and type 9 (see (12)) came from the grammaticalization of type 1.[5]

A quick note: apart from its usages as affixes, *tit* is in fact also employed as a verb by itself to denote 'to get' or 'to obtain'. By way of example: *tit lâng thiànn* 'obtaining the status of being loved dearly', and *tit-tióh* 'to obtain; to get'.[6] This usage is irrelevant in our discussion.

Based on Lien (1997), the characteristics of *tit* are summarized as follows.

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5 An unanswered question is what the relationship between the two sets is ({type 10, type 11} and {type 8, type 9}). In the former, no preverbal *ē* is present.

6 I will not go into the tangential issues such as the time the verb usage of tit entering Southern Min and the evolving relationship between the verbal usage and affixation.

-It is always post-verbal.

-It cannot occur without the presence of *ē*.[7]

-*Tit* entered the language as a resultative marker and has been derived into some expressions from further integration with *ē* and other elements to compose a single item (Lien 1997:173).

-In the circumfix made of *ē-...-tit*, *ē* has enjoyed a more resilient life than *tit*, which has undergone a measure of degeneration ranging from weakening in form to elision (Lien 1997:174).

The subordinate status of *tit* in affixation, compared to its cognates in Mandarin and Hakka, prevents it from being used as a modal by itself (see (19b)). It has to be licensed by the presence of *ē*. (ref. (16))

(19) a. Guá   tsiảh   ē   lỏh   khì.   (Taiwanese)
       Pron(1sg) eat   E   down   ASP
       'I can eat all of this.'
       我食會落去。
    b.*Guá   tsiảh   tit   lỏh   khì.
       Pro(1sg) eat   TIT   down   ASP
       (Intended) 'I can eat all of this.'
       *我食得落去。

However, more than one possible word order is available among *ē*, *tit* and the verb. For instance:[8]

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7   Ū (有) is also a potential candidate.

8   There is an additional possibility: '*V ē-tit* Complement'. (Ref. Su 2011) Since the complement is always verbal, the construction may involve analyses with respect to the so-called serial verb constructions. In order not to digress too far, I will not discuss this construction in this paper.

(20) a. Tsia-ê   n̂g-tāu   ē   tsiạ̍h-tit.   *Ē V-tit*

           Here-LK Soybean E   eat-TIT

           'These soybeans are allowed to be eaten.' or

           'These soybeans are edible.'

           遮的黃豆會食得。

      b. Tsuí-sūn kin-á-jịt ē-tit   khì siōng-pan   ah.   *Ē-tit V*

           Tsuisun   today   E-TIT   go   work   PRT

           'Tsui-sun can go to work today.'

           水順今仔日會得去上班矣。

In the succeeding sections, we will examine the two constructions in (20) closely.

4. The Syntax of *Ē V-tit* and *ē-tit V*

In this section, I will demonstrate that the two constructions in question are structurally different and distinct syntactic analyses will be assigned to them respectively based on empirical evidence.

It is observed that both *ē V-tit* and *ē-tit V* can accommodate nonspecific subject.

(21) a. Gōo-ê   lâng   ē   tsē-tit   tsit-tâi tshia ah. (Taiwanese)

       five-CL person E   sit-TIT this-CL car   PRT

       'It is acceptable by the rule/economically... for five persons to ride this car.'

       五个人會坐得這台車啊。

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b. Gōo-ê   lâng   ē-tit   tsē   tsit-tâi   tshia.

five-CL   person   E-TIT   sit   this-CL   car

'It is allowed/acceptable for five persons to ride this car.'

五个人會得坐這台車。

(21a) is an appropriate reply in circumstances like van renting. One possible situation is that there is a requirement of minimum/maximum passengers and a group of five passengers meets the requirement to rent the van. Another possibility is that with five persons to share the cost the amount for each to pay becomes affordable. On the other, (21b) can also be used to indicate that it is acceptable for five people to ride the car or to suggest a specific car for five people as a group. (Their semantic discrepancies will be looked into later.)

All the available readings of the sentences above are deontic. According to Tsai (2010), only deontic but neither epistemic nor dynamic modals licenses nonspecific subjects. The privilege of deontic modals is demonstrated by the following examples. (Tsai 2010:216 (49))

(22) a. *Sì-ge   rén   dào-le   Táiběi   mǎi   tuántǐpiào. (Mandarin)

four-CL   person   arrive-ASP   Taipei   buy   group-ticket

(Intended) 'There are four people arriving in Taipei that bought group-tickets.'

*四個人到了台北買團體票。

b. Sì-ge   rén   bìxū/kěyǐ/yīnggāiD dào Tǎiběi mǎi tuántǐpiào. (Deontic)

four-CL person have-to/can/should go Taipei buy group-ticket

'With four people in a group, they/you have to/can/should go to Taipei to buy group-tickets.'

四個人 必須 / 可以 / 應該 到台北買團體票。

c. *Sì-ge   rén   yídìng/kěnéng/yīnggāiE   dào-le   Táiběi

   mǎi   tuántǐpiào.   (Epistemic)

   four-CL person   definitely/possibly/presumably go-ASP Taipei

   buy   group-ticket

   (Intended) 'Those four people definitely/possibly/presumably

   arrived in Taipei to buy group-tickets.'

   *四個人 一定 / 可能 / 應該 到了台北買團體票。

d. *Sì-ge   rén   gǎn/kěn   dào Táiběi mǎi tuántǐpiào.

   (Dynamic)

   four-CL person   dare/be willing go   Taipei buy   group-ticket

   'There are four people who dare/are willing to go to Taipei to buy

   group-tickets.'

   *四個人 敢 / 肯 到台北買團體票。

The ungrammaticality of (22a) is due to Subject Specificity in Sinitic languages. Among the modals, only deontic modals can fix it (see (22b)), and on the contrary epistemic and dynamic modals do not help. Based on Tsai, we learn that both *ē-tit V* and *ē V-tit* are deontic modal constructions.

In the subsequent subsections, I will illustrate that these two deontic constructions behave quite differently in syntax. After that, analyses will be provided to explicate these differences.

4.1. The disparities

The disparities between *ē V-tit* and *ē-tit V* are shown below.

First of all, the inner subject position is only available inside *ē-tit V* but not *ē V-tit*. Compare (23) to (24).

(23) a. Ē-tit   gōo-ê   lâng   kng   tsit-tíng   kiō.
         (Taiwanese)
         E-TIT five-CL person carry-on-shoulder one-CL   sedan chair
         'It is acceptable for five people to carry a sedan chair on their
         shoulders.'
         會得五个人扛一頂轎。

     b. Ē-tit   sann-tâi   tshia   pâi   tsò   tsit   pâi.
         E-TIT three-CL car   line-up do   one   row
         'It is acceptable for three cars to be arranged in one row.'
         會得三台車排做一排。

     c. Ē-tit   nñg-tsiah   tsûn   tsò-hué   tshut-phâng.
         E-TIT two-CL   ship   together set-out
         'It is acceptable for two ships to set out together.'
         會得兩隻船做伙出航。

(24) a. *Ē gōo-ê   lâng   kng-tit   tsit-tíng   kiō.
         (Taiwanese)
         E five-CL person carry-on-shoulder-TIT one-CL   sedan chair
         *會五个人扛得一頂轎。

     b. *Ē sann-tâi tshia pâi-tit   tsò   tsit   pâi.
         E three-CL car   line-up-TIT do   one   row
         *會三台車排得做一排。

     c. *Ē nñg-tsiah tsûn   tsò-hué   tshut-phâng-tit.
         E two-CL   ship   together set-out-TIT
         *會兩隻船做伙出航得。

The possible subject positions of the two constructions in question are
summarized below. (S=subject)

(25) a. ē-tit S V   *ē-tit V*
     b. S ē-tit V

(26) a. *ē S V-tit   *ē V-tit*

   b. S ē V-tit

It is evident that both the outer and inner subject positions are available in the *ē-tit V* construction. However, no inner subject position exists in the *ē V-tit* construction.

Secondly, the accessible slots for insertion in these two constructions are not parallel. Examples:

(27) a. Kiám-tsa   bô būn-tê,   tann   ti-bah   ē   an-sim-á

   tsiảh-tit   loh.   (Taiwanese)

   Examination no problem now pork   E   without-worry

   eat-TIT   PRT

   'The pork has passed the examination. Now we can eat without worries.'

   檢查無問題，今豬肉會安心仔食得囉。

   b. *Kiám-tsa   bô būn-tê,   tann   ti-bah   ē   tsiảh   an-sim-á

   tit   loh.

   Examination no problem now pork   E   eat   without-worry

   TIT PRT

   (Intended) 'The pork has passed the examination. Now we can eat without worries.'

   *檢查無問題，今豬肉會食安心仔得囉。

(28) a. Kiám-tsa   bô būn-tê,   tann   ti-bah   ē-tit   an-sim-á

   tsiảh   loh.

   Examination no problem now   pork   E-TIT without-worry

   eat   PRT

   'The pork has passed the examination. Now we can eat without worries.'

   檢查無問題，今豬肉會得安心仔食囉。

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù

b. *Kiám-tsa   bô būn-tê, tann ti-bah   ē   an-sim-á

tit   tsiảh   loh.

Examination no problem now pork   E   without-worry

TIT   eat   PRT

   (Intended) 'The pork has passed the examination. Now we can eat

without   worries.'

*檢查無問題，今豬肉會安心仔得食囉。

The sentences above demonstrate that the only possible slot for insertion is between *ē* and V in *ē V-tit* and between *tit* and V in *ē-tit V* construction. To summarize:

(29) a. ē_____V-tit
    b. ē-tit _____V

Based on these discrepancies, the two constructions in question are supposed to be distinct in syntax. I will propose the analyses in 4.2.

4.2. The analysis

In light of the contrast with respect to availability of subject position inside and the slots for insertion, it is proposed that *ē-tit* in *ē-tit V* is out of *v*P and *ē* in *ē V-tit* is in the *v*P domain. Moreover, *V-tit* in *ē V-tit* and *ē-tit* in *ē-tit V* are two single syntactic elements, supposed to be two complex heads. By claiming so, we can identify the additional subject position in *ē-tit V* construction as the inner subject position at [Spec, *v*P]. Due to the different syntactic structure that the *ē V-tit* construction is endowed with, the inner subject position is then absent.

Recall that tit entered this language as a resultative marker (Lien 1997:173). Based on Lien's observations, we suggest that *tit* is essentially not a modal by
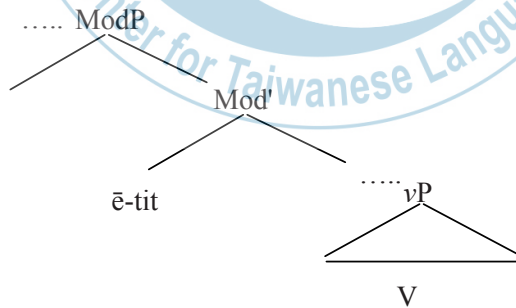
itself as its cognates in Mandarin and Hakka. *Tit* cannot stand alone as a modal word and it at best occurs as part of a modal element. Note that this is exactly the case in these two constructions in which *tit* only plays a subordinate role under *ē*.

The syntactic structures of the two constructions are illustrated as follows.

(30) Ē V-tit
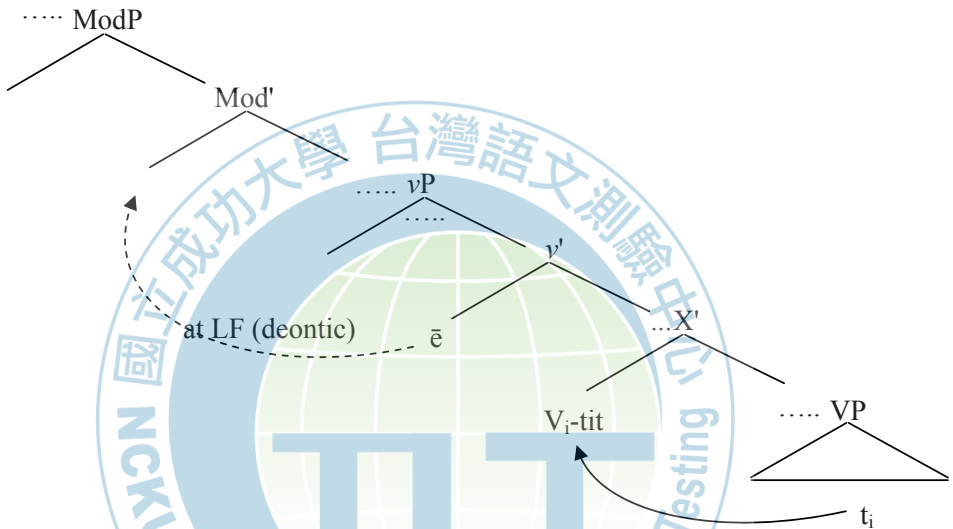
(31) Ē-tit V[9]

[9]   There are two possible analyses for *ē-tit* in *ē-tit V*. The first one is to say that *tit* is merged as a modal head and *ē* moves to it to form a complex head. The second is to say that *ē* and *tit* are fused together as a lexical item in the lexicon and merged under ModP. I will leave this question open since it plays no crucial role here. The same goes when it comes to other compounds composed of *ē*. E.g., *ē-tàng, ē-sái, ē-thang...*

Following the Cartographic Approach (Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999), the deontic modal reading of *ē V-tit* construction is explicated by the movement of *ē* from v^0 to Mod^0 at LF. The covert movement not only account for the modal extension but also the capacity of non-specific subject licensing of this construction.

In Tsai (2010), it is proposed that bare numeral NPs in subject position (i.e. nonspecific subjects) have to be licensed. Non-specific subjects are either licensed by being bound by an existential operator (see (32)) or by staying under the scope of the syntactic predicate that serves as the existential closure (Refer to the Extended Mapping Hypothesis in Tsai 2001 and 2009; cf. Diesing 1992; see (33)).

(32) Yǒu   sān-ge   bùbīng   chī-wán-le   jiǔ-fèn   kǒuliǎng.
      (Mandarin; Tsai2010:217 (50a) and (51))
      have   three-CL   soldier   eat-finish-ASP   nine-CL   ration
      'There are three soldiers who ate up nine packs of rations.'
   有三個步兵吃完了九份口糧。
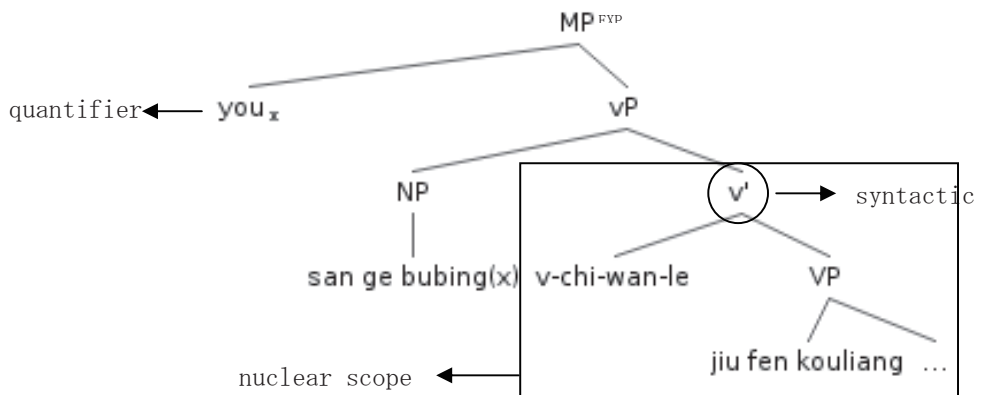
(33)　Sān-ge　　bùbīng　　chī-de-wán　　jiǔ-fèn　　kǒuliǎng.

(Mandarin;　Tsai2010:217-8 (50c) and (53))

three-CL　soldier　　eat-DE-finish　nine-CL　ration

'It is possible for three soldiers to eat up nine packs of ration.'

三個步兵吃得完九份口糧。
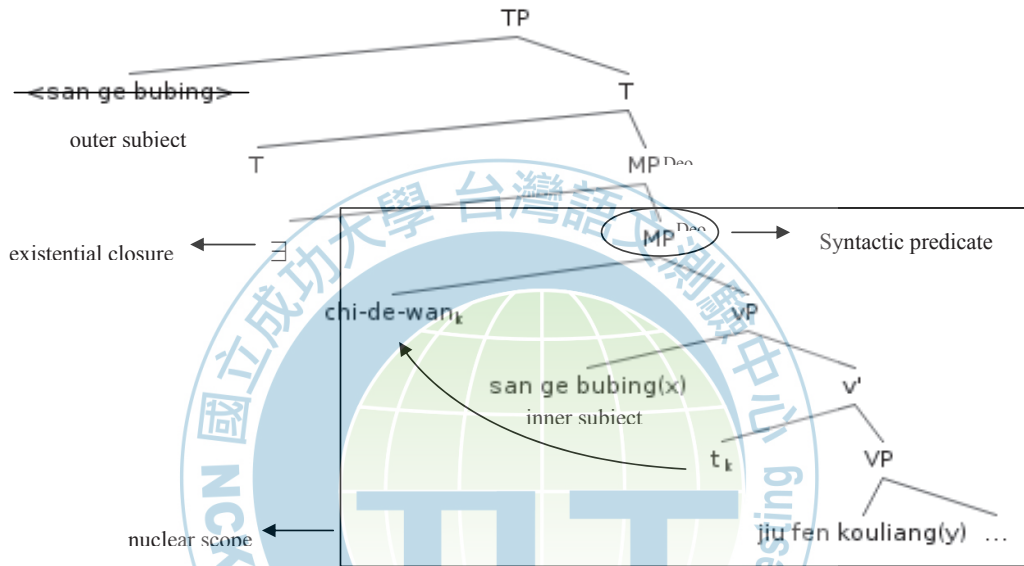
Once the nonspecific subject is not well licensed, the sentence is ruled out. See the sentence below.

(34)　* Sān-ge　　bùbīng　　chī-wán-le　　jiǔ-fèn　　kǒuliǎng.

(Mandarin;　Tsai 2010:217(50b) and (52))

three-CL　soldier　　eat-finish-ASP　nine-CL　ration

(Intended) 'There are three soldiers who ate up nine packs of ration.'

三個步兵吃完了九份口糧。
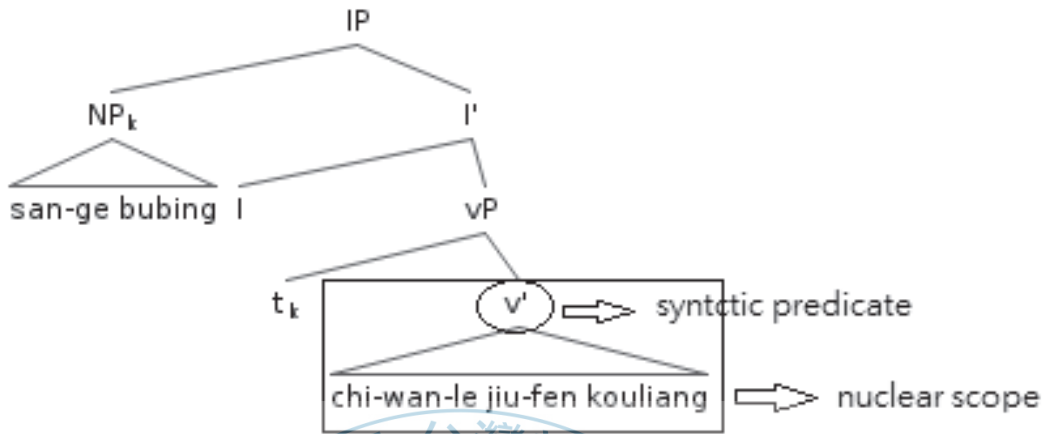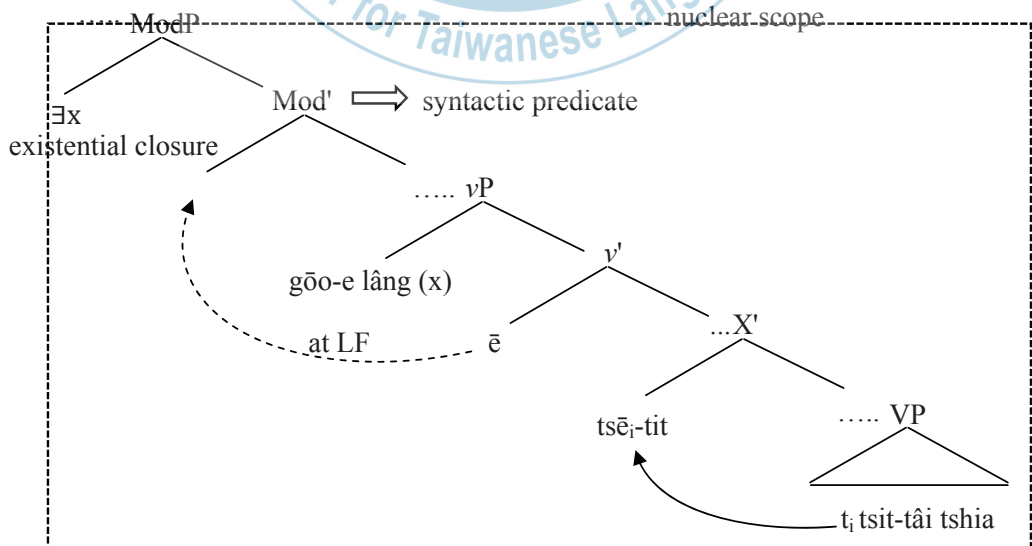
By the same token, the non-specific subject licensing of *ē-tit V* and (deontic) *ē V-tit* can also be accounted for, as exemplified below (repeating (21)).

(35) a. Gōo-ê lâng   ē   tsē-tit   tsit-tâi   tshia   ah . (Taiwanese)
five-CL person E   sit-TIT   this-CL   car   PRT
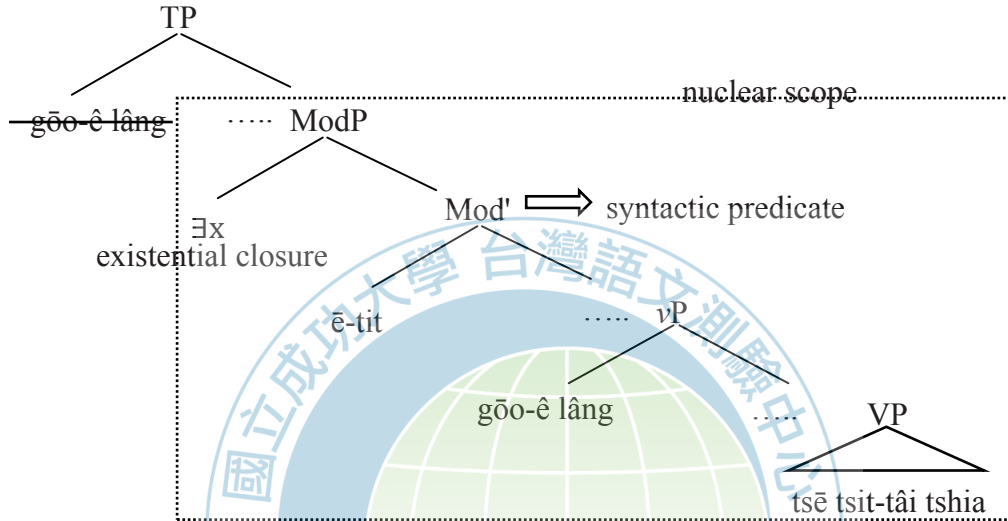'It is acceptable by the rule/economically... for five persons to ride this car.'
五个人會坐得這台車啊。

b. Gōo-ê   lâng   ē-tit   tsē   tsit-tâi   tshia.[10]

five-CL   person   E-TIT   sit   this-CL   car

'It is allowed/acceptable for five persons to ride this car.'

五个人會得坐這台車。

Before we wind up this section, I would like to point out one of the semantic differences between the two constructions. As we will see below, the difference is accounted for by the structures suggested previously. Unlike *ē-tit V* construction, it is possible for *ē V-tit* to work as a dynamic modal. See (36).

(36) a. Tsuí-sūn   ē   kóng-tit   Ing-gí   oo.   (Taiwanese)

Tsuisun   E   speak-TIT   English   PRT

'Tsuisun can speak English.' or

'It is possible/acceptable for Tsuisun to speak English.'

水順會講得英語喔。

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10 Since it is possible for the unspecific subject *gōo-ê lâng* to either precede *ē-tit* or follow it, one may ask how the semantic disparity of the sentences derived from the two possible subject positions can be accounted for if the subject is always interpreted in the lower position (see (35b)). Perhaps we can say that the outer subject is reconstructed with the feature obtained up there or that in Copy Theory the feature given to one copy at a specific position is obtained by all copies simultaneously. Currently I have no final answer to this.

b. Nn̄g-ê   lâng   ē   kóng-tit   Ing-gí   ah.

   two-CL   person   E   speak-TIT   English   PRT

   'It is possible for two people to speak in English.'

   兩个人會講得英語啊。

(36a) is polysemous. It can either denote the individual's (Tsuisun) disposition or the possibility of an event. On the contrary, (36b) can only express deontic modality, the possibility of an event; for instance, in an English conversation club, the conversation practice becomes possible when at least two participants make up a group. No dynamic (dispositional) reading is available in (36b), for no movement of *ē* that expands the nuclear scope happens in this kind of cases and the licensing of the non-specific subject fails.

Compare (36) with (37).

(37) a. Tsuí-sūn   ē-tit   kóng   Ing-gí   oo.   (Taiwanese)

     Tsuisun   E-TIT   speak   English   PRT

     'It is possible/acceptable/allowed for Tsuisun to speak English.'

     水順會得講英語喔。

b. Nn̄g-ê   lâng   ē-tit   kóng   Ing-gí   ah.

     two-CL   person   E-TIT   speak   English   PRT

     'It is possible/acceptable/allowed for two people to speak in English.'

     兩个人會得講英語啊。

No dynamic (dispositional) reading can be obtained in sentences of (37).[11] This is not surprising since the modal element *ē-tit* is external-merged under a

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[11] Possibility (deontic) reading can be employed in place of dispositional (dynamic) reading in some circumstances. For example, with the presupposition that John learned French, we can either say 'John can speak French' (ability) or 'it is possible for John to speak French' (possibility) and pragmatically there are only subtle differences between the two utterances. This is also observed among Taiwanese speakers. Some of my informants use the deontic modal ē-tàng in sentences to pragmatically express dynamic readings.

deontic projection. Based on the syntactic structures proposed previously, the semantic differences between these two constructions can be well explicated.

In addition to the difference with respect to the availability of dynamic modality, the two constructions in question, in fact, are not totally parallel in deontic modality readings. With these discrepancies as a point of departure, in the succeeding section, we will try to dissect the semantic inferences of them in detail in order to better understand them.

5. Semantics of *Ē-tit* V and *Ē V-tit*

To elucidate the semantics of the two specific constructions, I will give a brief of the root modals (deontic and dynamic modals) in 5.1, followed by a semantic comparison of the two constructions in 5.2.

5.1. A brief review of root modals[12]

Based on the test devised in Tsai (2010), we have learned that the two constructions in question belong to deontic modality. Additionally, I also showed in the last subsection that *ē V-tit* can be used to express dispositional reading, a subcategory of dynamic modality in the literature. If we want to understand the semantics of the two constructions, firstly we must get the hang of root modals (including deontic and dynamic modals).

Nonetheless, in the literature, we cannot find a consensus on the definitions and categorizations of modality. Before we come up with operational definitions

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[12] The notion of 'root modality' is a common term found in the Anglo-American tradition, which as a whole is opposed to epistemic modality. (Nuyts, Byloo, and Diepeveen. 2005) Some researchers (e.g., Palmer 2001) do not distinguish between the two categories of deontic and dynamic modals. Palmer (2001) denotes the summary category as 'event modality', which is opposed to the category of 'propositional modality' covering epistemic modality and evidentiality.

for pinpointing the two constructions in question, we have to go through some existing proposals.

Regarding the categorization of modality, Portner (2009) suggests three primary categories of sentential modality: epistemic, priority, and dynamic. Among these, the priority modals include the deontic, bouletic, and teleogical (goal-oriented) modals. In other words, the term 'priority modal' is equal to 'deontic modal' found in most studies, which is the name for one of the three general modal categories (e.g., Tsai 2010).

Portner suggests that the idea behind the term "priority" is that such things as rules, desires, and goals all serve to identify some possibilities as better than, or as having higher priority than, others. Priority modals have a circumstantial modal base[13] and fairly easy-to-perceive ordering sources which provide the priority ranking. (2009:135) Below are some examples of priority modals.

(38) Priority (Portner 2009:135 (166))
      (a) The rich must give money to the poor. (deontic)
      (b) You should try this chocolate. (bouletic)[14]
      (c) You could add some more salt to the soup. (teleological)

According to Portner, the deontic modals can be further subcategorized into necessity and possibility. Deontic necessity is about obligation, and deontic possibility is relevant to permission. Both of them have a circumstantial modal base because one may have to abstract away from one's knowledge that the right thing will not be done and there is an ordering source based on a body of law or principles.

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[13] Circumstantial modality is involved when what is possible or necessary is dictated by circumstances.

[14] The term 'bouletic' is equal to 'boulomaic'.

Bouletic modality is based on desires and bouletic sentences can be paraphrased as 'it is hoped/desired/feared/regretted that...'. Nuyts (2005a, b) claims that 'boulomaic attitude' (bouletic attitude) indicates the degree of '(dis)likability' of the state of affairs, as expressed in utterances such as 'I hate to go', 'I love it that you are here', and 'how nice that you are here', etc. In other words, it is about what is possible or necessary given a person's desires. Portner suggests that it has a circumstantial modal base and an ordering source based on a relevant person's desires. In short, bouletic modality indicates the degree of '(dis)likability' of the state of affairs.

It is noteworthy that bouletic modals are suggested by Portner (2009) as priority modals (commonly known as deontic modals) but in Perkins (1983) they are depicted as dynamic.

Teleological modality is relevant to goals. It can be paraphrased as: 'given the choices and their features, to get the goals, you…' In other words, it concerns what means are possible or necessary for achieving a particular goal.

For ease of exposition, we will still use the term deontic to denote the priority modality in Portner (2009).[15]

According to Portner (2009:135-6), dynamic modals also involve circumstantial modal bases, and fall into two primary sub-groups: volitional and

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[15] Definitions of deontic modality vary in the literature. To mention some of them: it concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents (Kiefer 1994, Lyons 1977); it is concerned with obligation and permission (Trask 1997); relating to duties in terms of social or institutional laws (Kärkkäinen 1987); deontic modality involves the issuing of directives and is associated with notions such as permission or obligation (Lew 1997); deontic modality concerns what is possible, necessary, permissible, or obligatory, given a body of law or a set of moral principles or the like (von Fintel 2006).

[16] Quantificational modals include an indefinite noun pharse as the subject that receives quantificational force from elsewhere in the sentence. (Portner 2009:136) In order not to digress, I leave this kind of modals behind.

quantificational.[16] Below are the sub-groups of volitional modals, which are pertinent to our investigation.

(39) Dynamic (Portner 2009:135 (167a))

    (a) Volitional

        (i) John can swim. (ability)

        (ii) You can see the ocean from here. (opportunity)

        (iii) Mary will laugh if you tell her that. (dispositional)

Portner claims that dispositional modals are involved when possibility depends on the agent's disposition. For example, when we say 'Jane cannot sing today', there are several possible interpretations available. The utterance may simply mean that 'it is not possible for Jane to sing today' without further explanation. However, when Jane is refrained from singing by some kind of rules, the same utterance may indicate ''Jane is not allowed to sing today', a deontic reading. Lastly, if the reason(s) why Jane does not sing is from or in herself (For instance, the sentence is paraphrased as 'Jane doesn't feel like to sing today.'), then what is entailed should be dispositional modality. Another example is 'John must sneeze'. According to Portner, its modality is also dispositional because the sentence implies that John's dispositions are such that he will sneeze.

Dynamic modality (also ref. Palmer 1979, 1983, 2001 and Perkins 1983 a.o.), sometimes is called differently as facultative modality (Goossens 1985) or inherent modalty (Hengeveld 1988). It is traditionally characterized as an ascription of a capacity to the subject-participant of the clause (the subject is able to perform the action expressed by the main verb in the clause).

There are some more terms that can be found in the literature. And commissive modality is one of them. This modality connotes the speaker's expressed commitment, as a promise or threat, to bring about the proposition expressed by the utterance. (Palmer 1986:115-6) A sentence like 'you shall be

rewarded' concerns commissive modality (Schmied 2006). Commissive modality exemplifies the chaos of modal categorization. Some researchers, like Palmer (2001) and Schmied (2006), include it in deontic modality, whereas most other authors do not concur with them. (Nuyts 2006:9)

The same problem is encountered when it comes to circumstantial modality (Krazer 1981, 1991). This modality indicates that something is possible or necessary given that a certain state is involved. It may be mixed up with dispositional modality, which is about the agent's dispositions that also make certain state. Some researchers take this as a synonym of dynamic modals (e.g., von Fintel 2006), under a similar definition that subsumes what are possible or necessary, given a particular set of circumstances and, therefore, sometimes the terminology is confusing. And there is even another relevant term called 'situational dynamic modality', which involves possibilities or necessities, not of the agent participant in the state of affairs, but inherent in the situation or state of affairs as a whole (Nuyts, Byloo and Diepeveen 2005). Nevertheless, the term circumstantial modality is employed by some researchers to indicate what is termed dispositional modality by others. (e.g., von Fintel and Gillies 2011)[17]

Apart from the problems of nomenclature, researchers do not even have consensus on the members of modality. For example, 'boulomaic attitude' is not even among what are traditionally listed under the modal meanings, or the meanings expressed by the modal auxiliaries (Nuyts, Byloo and Diepeveen 2005).

Briefly speaking, the semantics of root modals teems with all kinds of terminological and categorial problems such as what we have cited above. Before we turn to this again, let's examine the differences of the two specific constructions in semantics.

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[17] The example sentence of circumstantial modality in von Fintel and Gillies (2011): 'Excuse me. Given the current state of my nose, I have to sneeze.'

5.2. The semantic discrepancies between the two constructions

There are at least two points of disparity found between *ē-tit V* and *ē V-tit*. Firstly, recall that only *ē V-tit* can be employed in dispositional modality. The contrast can be observed in the pair of sentences below.

(40) a. Tsuí-sūn hiah bô sè-jī ê lâng, i bē tsò-**tit** tsit-ê khang-khuè lah.

Tsuisun such not careful LK person he not-**E** do-**TIT** this-CL job PRT

'Tsuisun is too careless to do this job.'

水順遐無細膩的人，伊袂做得這個工課啦。

b. #Tsuí-sūn hiah bô sè-jī ê lâng, i bē-tit tsò tsit-ê khang-khuè lah.

Tsuisun such not careful LK person he not-E-TIT do this-CL job PRT

#水順遐無細膩的人，伊袂得做這个工課啦。

Secondly, only *ē-tit V* can be used in positive suggestion. For example:

(41) a. Thinn-khì tsiah-nī hó, lán ē-tit khì guā-kháu kiânn-kiânn leh.

weather so good pron(1pl.inc) E-TIT go outdoor walk-walk PRT

'It's a nice day. We can have a promenade outdoors.'

天氣遮爾好，咱會得去外口行行咧。

b. #Thinn-khì tsiah-nī hó, lán ē khì-tit guā-kháu kiânn-kiânn leh.

weather so good pron(1pl.inc) E go-TIT outdoor walk-walk PRT

#天氣遮爾好，咱會去得外口行行咧。

Imagine a circumstance in which the addresser gives a suggestion to do something; only (41a) is felicitous and (41b) sounds pretty odd.

With respect to its categorization, it seems not appropriate to say that positive suggestions belong to necessity. Based on the prevalent sub-categorization of deontic modals as necessity and possibility and further dissection of necessity into strong necessity (obligation) and weak necessity (permission) (Portner 2009; Nuyts, Byloo and Diepeveen 2005, among others), we can also further divide possibility into strong possibility and weak possibility. And positive suggestions are supposed to be in the subgroup of strong possibility.

The available readings of the two constructions are summarized below.[18]

(42)

category	subgroup	ē-tit V	ē V-tit	note
epistemic				
deontic	Strong necessity (obligation)			Inc. bouletic, teleological, commissive etc.
	Weak necessity (permission)			
	Strong possibility (positive suggestion)	V		
	Weak possibility	V	V	
dynamic	dispositional		V	
	Ability/volition...			

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[18] I do not have evidence to suggest independent syntactic position for each of the subgroups of the three main modal categories at this stage.

5.3. A syntax-centric proposal

In face of the problems with respect to the definitions and categorization of modals, I propose that some detailed subcategorization is non-significant in syntax and the categorization of modality should be based on the empirical evidence of discrepancies in licensing non-specific subject instead of arguing for the refined semantic definitions.

Firstly, as we can see in the preceding subsection, both deontic and dynamic modals are further divided into subgroups by some researchers. Deontic modality is claimed to include bouletic, teleological, and commissive etc. And dynamic modality is suggested of containing ability, opportunity, and dispositional and so on (depending on the proposal of each researcher). If we consider the way the distinctions are made, it is obvious that they are merely semantics-oriented.

By way of example, among the elements of deontic modality, researchers maintain that some are desire-driven (bouletic), some are goal-motivated (teleological), and some are norm/rule-propelled (and even more). Although the semantic divergence is real, without sufficient empirical evidence, we should not base on this to propose a series of syntactic positions.[19] Empirically, we do have a syntactic mapping of hierarchical relationship of obligation, permission, and possibility (Cinque 1999; Tsai 2010, among others). But further subctegorization, with no relevant syntactic observation, ought not to be made hastily in syntax.

As for the disputation about affiliation of some modals in the literature, it is suggested to categorize them not based on refining their semantic definitions but on the scope of their modality.[20]

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[19] Note that in the cross-linguistic survey of Cinque (1999) no such kind of detailed syntactic parallelism is suggested.

[20] There are some generalizations proposed for modal categorization. For example, Biber et al. (1999: 485) points out two typical structural correlates of deontic modals: (i) the subject is human, (ii) the main verb is dynamic (describing an activity that can be controlled).

Based on Tsai's (2001, 2009) Extended Mapping Hypothesis, the privilege of deontic modals in licensing non-specific subjects is explained by the discrepancy of the syntactic positions of modals. If this is on the right track, we can recognize the deontic modals and single them out by their licensing power empirically.[21] And the rest, which distribute either higher than TP (epistemic modals) or in vP (dynamic modals), can then be easily distinguished by their differences pertinent to scope.

The scopes of epistemic modality is over the whole proposition for epistemic modality involving an assessment of the likelihood of a state of affairs (Nuyts, Byloo, and Diepeveen 2005), and dynamic modality, which typically involves an indication of abilities/possibilities or needs/necessities of the agent participant in the state of affairs (Nuyts, Byloo, and Diepeveen 2005; Palmer 1979), has its scope over the external argument of the predicate.

By demarcating the distribution of modal elements according to their licensing power and their syntactic scope, we are able to be exempted from disputing the properties of each modal and properties of its arguments when doing syntax.

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[21] It is noteworthy that sense of ungrammaticality may arise from insufficient information of context. As von Fintel (2006) points out, modality is a category of linguistic meaning having to do with the expression of possibility and necessity and a modalized sentence locates an underlying or prejacent proposition in the space of possibilities. In other words, modal expressions express quantification over possible worlds (Krazter 1981, 1991). Without the proper context (the possible worlds), a modal expression cannot stand alone. By way of example:

i) Sān-ge   rén   yīnggāi qù Táiběi mǎi tuántǐpiào. (Mandarin)
Three-CL person should go Taipei buy group-ticket

If the sentence above simply comes out of the blue, most people may consider it infelicitous. However, the judgment may be merely due to ignorance of possible worlds. For this sentence, one of the possible worlds (contexts) could be that the group-tickets for three people are only sold (available) in Taipei.

6. A Short Note of Theoretical Consequences

Before I conclude this paper, I would like to point out two points bearing on the theoretical issues.

Remember that *ē V-tit* construction is particular in that it is *v*P-inside but able to express deontic readings (see section 4.2). This characteristic demonstrates a transitional stage under the Structural Simplification Hypothesis (Roberts and Roussou 1999). According to this hypothesis, grammaticalization is a process of reanalyzing content words to become function words. Due to the lack of evidence in parameter-setting during their linguistic acquisition, speakers of later generations tend to reanalyze the marked (movement of the specific lexical item to a functional projection) to be the unmarked (merge of the specific lexical item directly under a functional projection).

The *v*P-internal position of deontic *ē V-tit* indicates that the movement does not occur overtly. The LF movement of *ē* in this construction reveals a possibility that hierarchically lower modal may be used as a higher one by movement at LF. This is a presumably early stage of grammaticalization, which is even earlier than the stage in which a lexical item shifts its reading by overt movement, followed by the later stage of Structural Simplification.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I illustrate that the two constructions in question, composed of identical ingredients, are different in syntax and semantics. Based on Tsai's (2001, 2009) Extended Mapping Hypothesis, the capacity of non-specific subject licensing of these two modal constructions, when both used as deontic modals, are explicated. Moreover, the *v*P-internal location of *ē V-tit* demonstrates an early stage of grammaticalization. If the analysis is correct, the LF movement of *ē* in *ē V-tit* provides us evidence to argue that, before a lexical item adopts overt movement to assume a new construal, it may already become semantically amphibious by interpreting on its position at LF.

Acknowledgments

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《台語文學史暨書目彙編》簡評
Book Review: History and References of Literature in Taiwanese

蔣為文

國立成功大學台灣語文測驗中心及台灣文學系

Wi-vun CHIUNG

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　　《台語文學史暨書目彙編》是由台中教育大學台語系ê方耀乾教授以中文編著，高雄ê台灣文薈tī 2012年6月出版。Chit本冊ê寸尺是15x21cm，lóng總316頁，訂價400NT，ISBN 978-986-88435-0-9（平裝）。

　　《台語文學史暨書目彙編》ē-sái算是作者前一本冊《台語文學的起源與發展： 臺語文學史簡冊》（2005年，國立台灣文學館出版）ê擴充。《台語文學史暨書目彙編》lóng總分做10章：第一章緒論，第二章口傳文學時期，第三章荷西時期，第四章鄭氏時期，第五章清領時期，第六章日治時期，第七章中華民國時期（1945~1999），第八章中華民國時期（2000~），第九章戰後台語文學作家，第十章結論。附錄收錄〈台語現代文學創作集書目〉、〈台北帝國大學東洋文學會編台灣歌謠書目〉、〈國立台灣文學館所藏黃德時先生捐贈歌仔冊書目〉kap〈台灣大學圖書館楊雲萍文庫所藏歌仔冊書目〉。

　　久長以來，台灣文學史ê研究lóng無法度跳脫後殖民ê現象，lóng以漢字kap中國語做主流。正港用台灣語文（原住民族語、客語或者台語）書寫ê文學作品soah hông當做無lō-ēng ê mih-á。Ka-chài，iáu有幾位有良心kap正義感ê研究者願意用行動來突破chit个困境。方耀乾教授是國內外少數khiā tī台灣主體性、用台灣語文做主體來研究台灣文學史ê學者之一。Chit本台語文學史專冊ê出版，ē-sái講是台灣文學史研究邁向正常化ê重要一步！Chit本冊用

淺白koh無失學術性ê語言來紹介台語文學ê發展歷史，應該ē-sái hō͘ tú入門ê研究生kap社會大眾真清楚來認bat台語文學。

　　Chit本冊ê主要欠點是篇幅siuⁿ少。雖罔chit本冊有316頁，m̄-koh若扣掉文獻，kan-taⁿ chhun 222頁ê論述空間。若是單純beh kā大眾紹介台語文學史，án-ne ê頁數是chiâⁿ有夠。M̄-koh，若beh完整記錄kap論述台語文學ê發展，是有khah欠。可比講，第九章戰後台語文學作家kan-taⁿ紹介14位，是有khah少。實際上，戰後有出過專冊ê台語作家比chit个數字ke幾落倍。不過，萬事起頭難。Tī現階段，án-ne已經是真好ê成績。相信以台灣文學史為研究重點ê方耀乾教授tī真緊ê未來會有新作出現！

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