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Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

**Tâi-qi̍t Gián-kiù**  
**台語研究**

Vol.5, No.2, September 2013



Tâi-lâm, TAIWAN

Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

# Tâi-gí *Gián-kiù* 台語研究

Vol.5, No.2, September 2013

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國立成功大學台灣語文測驗中心 &  
Airiti Press Inc. &  
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## 訂閱 Subscription

國內機關團體一年兩期：NT2,000

國內個人一年兩期：NT1,000

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電子版本 Electronic journal

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# Taiwanese Tri-syllabic Synonym-coordinated Adverbs

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## Abstract

Chinese languages usually compound new words by coordinating synonyms, most of which are bi-syllabic words. However, this study found numbers of tri-syllabic synonym-coordinated adverbs in Taiwanese. This could be a special word formation. In addition, these coordinated adverbs are very different from similar elements in other Chinese dialects in terms of phonology or morphology. In the study, we analyzed data from the Japanese era and found that most of the three-syllable coordinated adverbs are actually first formed by compounding two-syllable adverbs. There are two required conditions for making these three-syllable new adverbs possible. First, the two syllables must be synonyms. Second, these two syllables must share one morpheme. There is one more constraint that determines the compounding selection – usage frequency. When there are more than one possibilities for compounding, the higher the frequency is, the more possible that the word will be selected.

It is worth observing that this type of word formation is becoming prevalent in the Taiwanese language.

Keywords: Taiwanese adverbs, tri-syllabic adverbs, synonym coordination, word frequency

# 台語三音節同義並列式副詞

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## 摘要

漢語時常透過同義詞並列ê方式合成一个新ê複合詞，m̄-kú，是以雙音節詞為主。本研究卻發現，台語內底存在bē少三音節同義並列式副詞，thang講是台語詞彙頂頭一个真大ê特色。而且，tsia-ê三音節同義並列式副詞tī構詞頂面，無論是按韻律ê角度抑是詞法結構ê角度來看，lóng kap漢語有真大ê精差。本研究透過日治時期語料ê分析發現，tsia-ê三音節副詞大多數是對兩個雙音節副詞透過並列ê方式所複合形成ê。有兩個必要條件促成這新ê三音節複合副詞ê產生：第一，兩個有同義關係ê雙音節副詞ê連用、第二，兩個有共同詞素ê雙音節副詞ê連用。有一个制約機制影響複合ê選項，就是詞頻。當配對ê關係是複數關係ê時，通常，詞頻khah kuân hit兩個同義詞會得著複合ê機會。

Koh，這新ê構詞型態tī台語內底有繼續teh生焂ê趨勢，真值得觀察。

關鍵詞：台語副詞、三音節副詞、同義並列、詞頻

## 1. 研究動機

漢語內底有一个語詞生成ê機制就是透過同義詞<sup>1</sup> ê並列，親像「學習」、「疾病」等等，tsia-ê同義詞複合做一個新語詞ê手段是透過並列ê方式，提供in並列ê環境卻是tī句內底ê「連用」或者是「同現」現象。因為時常連用抑是同現所以創造並列構詞ê條件，「季夏之月，鷹乃學習」，「學」kap「習」連用就有「學習」這個同義並列式複合詞ê產生；「疾甚曰病」，「疾」kap「病」ê同現造就「疾病」ê形成。Tī台語ê副詞內底咱 mā ē-tàng觀察著全款ê情形，比如，「iū-koh（又閣）」是「iū（又）」kap「koh（閣）」連用所產生ê同義並列式複合副詞；「koh-tsài（閣再）」是「koh（閣）」kap「tsài（再）」連用所形成ê同義並列式複合副詞。

兩個同義副詞ê連用ē-tàng產生語氣加強ê作用，所以連用兩個以上ê同義副詞tī台語ê表達內底有真普遍tik ê語用事實。同時，tue著漢語詞彙雙音節化ê趨勢，台語副詞ê連用mā對兩個單音節詞ê連用進到以兩個雙音節詞連用為主流。比如，

1) 我 {真正} {有影} 無kā你騙。

Án-ni表達會比「我真正無kā你騙」抑是「我有影無kā你騙」khah有語氣加強ê作用。

2) 我 {馬上} {連鞭} 替你處理。

「馬上」kap「連鞭」連用tī句法頂面形成一種「強烈式句法」，會比「我馬上替你處理」抑是「我連鞭替你處理」khah ē-tàng表達出緊急ê語氣。

卻是，兩個單音節同義副詞並列所形成ê複合詞自然是一個雙音節複合副詞，m̄-kú，兩個雙音節同義副詞並列卻真少有機會成做一個四音節複合副詞。有一个重要ê因素是因為，漢語ê詞彙主要是以雙音節詞kap三音節詞為主，超過四音節詞以上ê詞真少。<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 本文使用「同義詞」這個講法是為beh遷就「同義並列式複合詞」這個術語，事實上，兩個意義完全全款ê「等義詞」真罕有，嚴格來講，一般所指稱ê「同義詞」大部分是「近義詞」。相關ê討論會使參考竺家寧（1999：333）。

<sup>2</sup> 竺家寧（1999：153）指出「漢語中超過四個音節的詞很少見，只有一些音譯詞或專有名詞而已。」

照án-ni看起來，兩個雙音節副詞連用beh形成複合詞ê機會就相對真少。M̄-kú，筆者卻觀察著，tī台語內底有一寡定定tī句內底連用ê兩個雙音節同義副詞，in互相之間有一个共同詞素（同時mā是共同音節），tī連用了後會形成一個三音節ê複合副詞，比如，「iū-koh（又閣）」kap「koh-tsài（閣再）」ê連用就造成「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」這個三音節同義並列式副詞；「lōo-bué（路尾）」kap「bué-tshiú（尾手）」ê連用就形成「lōo-bué-tshiú（路尾手）」這個三音節同義並列式副詞。這款並列構詞ê形式thang講真特殊，kap漢語有真大ê精差，這點會使對韻律kap結構兩方面來論證。

### 1.1. 三音節詞ê韻律構詞形式

一般若按韻律ê形式來分析，就將漢語三音節詞ê構詞形式分析做下面三個形式：1)雙音節+單音節ê「2+1」式、2)單音節+雙音節ê「1+2」式、3)三不可分式單純詞。邱湘雲（2006）提出台語kap客語內底iáu有第四種形式：4)單音節+單音節+單音節ê「1+1+1」式，比如，「鹹酸甜」、「鼻面喙」等，tse是一種漢語所無ê形式。若運用頂面四種韻律構詞ê分析方式，以台語三音節副詞「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」做例來看，可能ê韻律構詞形式就有下面三種：

- a. 「1+2」式：「iū（又）」+「koh-tsài（閣再）」=「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」
- b. 「2+1」式：「iū-koh（又閣）」+「tsài（再）」=「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」
- c. 「1+1+1」式：「iū（又）」+「koh（閣）」+「tsài（再）」=「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」

Án-ni ê分析m̄是完全無合理，m̄-kú，筆者卻發現頂面這款分析方式並無法度描寫koh-khah濟ê台語三音節同義並列式副詞ê形成機制，下面舉兩個例來看。

- (1) 「thiau-ì-kòo（刁意故）」

根據《台日大辭典》（以下簡稱《台日》）ê收詞，kap「thiau-ì-kòo（刁意故）」有相關詞素ê同義詞有下面三個：



- a. 「thiau<sup>3</sup> (刁)」 (《台日》下p239)
- b. 「thiau-i (刁意)」 (《台日》下p241)
- c. 「kòo-i (故意)」 (《台日》上p469)

若照頂面ê分析方式，單音節詞「thiau (刁)」+雙音節「kòo-i (故意)」就形成「thiau-kòo-i (刁故意)」這個三音節詞，台語確實有「thiau-kòo-i (刁故意)」 (《台日》下p243) 這個詞，m̄-kú，咱所beh討論ê「thiau-i-kòo (刁意故)」 (《台日》下p241) 這個詞ê韻律構詞形式beh按怎解說？下面全款利用頂面ê構詞分析式來分析看覓：

- a. 「1+2」式：「thiau」+\*「i-kòo」
- b. 「2+1」式：「thiau-i」+\*「kòo」
- c. 「1+1+1」式：「thiau」+\*「i」+\*「kòo」

頂面這三種韻律構詞形式lóng無法度形成「thiau-i-kòo (特意故)」這個三音節副詞，筆者認為伊ê構成應該是照下面這個方式：

合理韻律構詞形式：

「thiau-i」+「kòo-i」>>刪除後詞重複音節「i」=「thiau-i-kòo」

也就是講，合理ê並列構造應該是「2+2」ê形式。因為tī tsia「2+2=3」是一個無合理ê數式，筆者ka改寫做「AB+CB=ABC」ê形式，是透過兩個雙音節同義詞並列ê構詞形式。

(2) 「án-tsuánn-iünn (按怎樣)」

根據《台日》ê收詞，kap「án-tsuánn-iünn (按怎樣)」 (《台日》上p20) 有相關詞素ê同義詞有下面兩個：

- a. 「án-tsuánn (按怎)」 (《台日》上p20)
- b. 「tsuánn-iünn (怎樣)」 (《台日》下p580)

這個例真明顯ê是，並無存在單音節詞，所以「1+2」、「2+1」、「1+1+1」ê形式lóng無可能成立。筆者認為伊ê構成應該是照著下面ê方式：

合理韻律構詞式：

「án-tsuánn」+「tsuánn-iünn」>>刪除重複音節「tsuánn」=「án-tsuánn-iünn」

也就是講，這個例合理ê韻律構詞應該是「AB+BC=ABC」ê形式，全款

<sup>3</sup> 這個音同時猶有收「tiau」、「tiäu」、「thiäu」，為著方便比較tsia kan-na 列「thiau」這個音。

是透過兩個雙音節副詞並列ê構詞形式。

對頂面兩個有同義並列結構ê台語三音節副詞ê詞例來看，一般針對漢語三音節詞ê構詞分析確實存在無法度完整描寫ê部分，筆者提出in有koh-khah大ê可能性是由兩個有共同詞素（音節）ê同義副詞ê連用，刪除重複ê詞素（音節）了後所形成ê假設。本文會討論koh-khah濟ê語料來印證這個推論。

## 1.2. 三音節詞ê詞法結構形式

另外，按詞法結構ê角度來講，因為ti韻律形式上，漢語三音節詞大多數是「2+1」式抑是「1+2」式，連帶致使伊ê結構mā以「二一結構」kap「一二結構」為主。下面引用筌家寧（1999：153-154）ê幾個例kap伊所做ê構詞分析：

- a) 「二一結構」：「乾燥劑」、「推銷員」、「販賣機」、「安全帽」等。
- b) 「一二結構」：「微生物」、「單音節」、「腦充血」、「佛跳牆」等。

Tsia-ê三音節詞lóng需要分做兩層去做結構分析，比如，「推銷員」第一層ai分析做{推銷{員}}，是偏正結構，第二層tsiah分析{{推}{銷}}是並列結構。Koh比如「腦充血」，第一層ê結構是{腦{充血}}，是主謂結構，第二層ê{{充}{血}}是偏正結構。M-kú，台語ê三音節同義並列式副詞因為是「2+2」ê形式，koh互相之間有一個共同詞素存在，所以若beh進行結構分析應當ai復原原底hit兩個雙音節副詞tsiah有法度進行分析，並無適合使用頂面ê「二一結構」抑是「一二結構」做分析。比如，「lōo-bué-tshiú（路尾手）」這個三音節副詞，咱按表面這三個音節並無法度分析出伊有同義並列ê結構，必須著復原伊複合進前hit兩個雙音節副詞「lōo-bué（路尾）」kap「bué-tshiú（尾手）」tsiah看會著伊真正ê構詞形式。

綜合頂面ê分析結果，真顯明，台語三音節同義並列式副詞kap漢語ê三音節詞ti構詞頂面，無管是韻律形式抑是結構形式lóng有真大ê差異性，換句話講，三音節同義並列式副詞是台語詞彙真大ê特色，筆者認為真值

得專文探討。

## 2. 文獻回顧

卞成林（1998）提供一個現代漢語內底三音節詞按照詞性計算ê相關ê數據：

詞性	名詞	動詞	形容詞	副詞	量詞	嘆詞
數量	3142	529	73	14	4	1
比例	83.4%	14.05%	1.93%	0.45%	0.11%	0.03%

對這個統計數據咱會得thang了解，漢語ê三音詞內底副詞ê數量真正少。相對，關係三音節副詞ê相關探討就真少。M-kú筆者卻tī早期ê台語語料內底發現bē少ê三音節副詞，數量káng 200個（參見附錄1），若提這個數量來kap《現代漢語虛詞辭典》（2007）內底所收漢語ê三音節副詞60個來做比較，就thang知台語ê三音節副詞真發達<sup>4</sup>。邱湘雲（2006）bat分別統計客語kap台語辭典內底ê三音詞（無分詞性），發現客語內底ê三音詞約占三成，台語內底ê三音詞約占兩成，數量lóng比華語加真濟，suà落來伊指出「但不可忽略的是許多華語雙音詞在客、閩語裡，都以三音詞來呈現」（邱湘雲 2006：249）。雖罔邱所列出來ê副詞ê數量真少，m-kú，就邱ê研究成果所強調ê「三音詞豐富是客語kap台語詞彙一大特色」這點來看，koh加上台語內底事實上存在數量濟濟ê三音節副詞，就thang真清楚了解，三音節副詞tī台語內底有kap華語真異質性ê存在意義。

雖罔三音節副詞ê相關研究有khah欠缺，這個研究猶原ē-tàng按兩個角度做切入回顧相關ê先行研究，一個是關係同義並列構詞ê研究，koh一個是三音節詞ê構詞研究，對這兩個領域內底過濾出kap台語三音節同義並列式副詞有關ê參考資料。

<sup>4</sup> 這194個三音節副詞內底確實有一寡詞kan-nā是語音形式頂頭ê差異niā-niā，比如「án-tsuánn-iünn」kap「án-tsáinn-iünn」，m-kú扣除sia-ê語音差異ê部分，台語ê三音節副詞數量猶是比華語加真濟。

## 2.1. 同義並列構詞相關研究

並列構詞是漢語詞彙雙音節化<sup>5</sup>主要途徑，其中，「同義並列」<sup>6</sup>構詞方式更加是漢語複合詞<sup>7</sup>起源<sup>5</sup>，有濟濟研究資料討論「同義並列式複合詞」，董秀芳（2002）、劉承慧（2003）、丁喜霞（2006）等有討論著同義並列式複合詞<sup>8</sup>形成、詞素之間<sup>9</sup>意義關係；陳愛文、于民（1979）、李思明（1997）、林香薇（1990）、（2000）等有討論著同義並列式複合詞<sup>10</sup>詞素排列；鄭縈、游孟庭（2010）按語言接觸<sup>11</sup>觀點探討同義並列式複合詞<sup>12</sup>來源，綜合來看，研究<sup>13</sup>面相真闊，研究成果<sup>14</sup>真豐富，<sup>15</sup>m-kú，對本研究來講，<sup>16</sup>tsia-ê研究成果有兩個欠缺<sup>17</sup>面，頭一個是，<sup>18</sup>tsia-ê研究<sup>19</sup>lóng以雙音節詞為主，真少三音節詞<sup>20</sup>探討；第二點是，<sup>21</sup>tsia-ê研究真少針對副詞做研究。其中，鄭縈、游孟庭（2010）有同時討論著這兩個層面，下面主要針對這篇研究做回顧。

鄭縈、游孟庭（2010）探討既有文獻對漢語並列式複合詞形成<sup>22</sup>研究了後，提出一個新<sup>23</sup>思考方向「同義的並列式複合詞的來源是否可能受到語言接觸的影響？」作者透過華、台、客語內底表示重複義<sup>24</sup>時間副詞<sup>25</sup>比較，探討並列式複合詞形成<sup>26</sup>機制，對單音節詞「iū（又）」、「koh（閣）/go（過）」、「tsài（再）」討論到雙音節詞「iū-koh（又閣）」/「iu-go（又過）」、「koh-tsài（閣再）」/「zai-go（再過）」一直到三音節詞「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」/「iu-zai-go（又再過）」<sup>27</sup>形成。

作者認為，<sup>28</sup>tī雙音節詞形成<sup>29</sup>層次來講，<sup>30</sup>m管台語抑是客語<sup>31</sup>lóng是照「借詞+本土詞」<sup>32</sup>詞素排列，kan-nā台語<sup>33</sup>ê「koh-tsài（閣再）」例外。

作者主張台語<sup>34</sup>ê「koh（閣）」、客語<sup>35</sup>ê「go（過）」kap共通語<sup>36</sup>ê「iū（又）」、「tsài（再）」之間有本土詞kap借詞<sup>37</sup>關係，in tī台語kap客語內底分別形成雙音節詞「iū-koh（又閣）」、「koh-tsài（閣再）」kap「iu-go（又過）」、「zai-go（再過）」。<sup>38</sup>詞素<sup>39</sup>排列除了台語<sup>40</sup>ê「koh-tsài（閣再）」是「本土詞+借詞」以外，其他<sup>41</sup>lóng是「借詞+本土詞」，án-ni <sup>42</sup>詞素排列符合吸收外來語<sup>43</sup>tsiap用<sup>44</sup>形式也就是「音譯+意譯」<sup>45</sup>形式。這個論點筆者簡單<sup>46</sup>kā整理做下面<sup>47</sup>形式：

<sup>5</sup> 劉承慧（2003）透過先秦實詞複合化<sup>48</sup>研究指出，漢語展開複合化是對同義近義並列複合詞開始<sup>49</sup>。

借詞層 + 本土詞層 = 融合詞層 詞素排列

共通語 台語「閣」 「又閣」、「閣再」 「借+本」、「本+借」

「又」、「再」 客語「過」 「又過」、「再過」 「借+本」、「借+本」

作者認為台語無按照規則產生「再閣」這個雙音節詞，是因為台語內底ê「才（tsiah）」mā有「再」ê意思，而且mā時常kap「閣」連用形成「才閣」ê句式，所以共通語ê「再」移借入去台語了後就無法度使用「再閣」ê形式，只好改做「閣再」。看起來不止合理ê推論卻因為對台語語詞了解ê不足，造成真大ê研究偏差。因為事實上，台語有「再閣」這個詞。有bē少早期ê台語辭典lóng有收這個詞。下面舉幾個例：

1) 《台日大辭典》（頁583）有收「再更<sup>6</sup>（tsài-koh）」，意思是「再次」，例句是「Tsài-koh thák tsit nî.（再更讀一年。）」。

2) 《增補廈英大辭典》（頁574）有收「tsài-koh」。

另外，台語ê歌仔冊內底mā有出現這個詞。

3) 「看君去甲卜入霧，何時再閣見丈夫」（《周成過台灣》1956）

4) 「到尾毋知啥人性，下本再閣說分明」（《最新百果歌》1932）<sup>7</sup>

歌仔冊用漢字表音ê形式雖罔講會因為各人寫各人ê漢字，所以全一字tī無全歌仔冊會發生表示無全語音ê情形，m̄-kú，頂面這兩本tī in本身ê文本內底，分別lóng同時使用「再閣」kap「閣再」，

5) 「假甲兮啼甲兮哭，火燒閣再着賊偷」（《周成過台灣》1956）

6) 「和尚閣再祭法寶，風古个葉直直鵝」（《最新百果歌》1932）

全一本歌仔冊內底全一字是表示全一个語音，所以ē-tàng排除in用ê「再閣」是「才閣」ê可能性，印證台語確實有「再閣」ê講法。而且這兩個語詞是有共時關係ê。

「再閣」這個詞凡勢tī現代台語內底已經失落，但是絕對bē-tàng講台語無這個詞。作者錯誤界定台語無這個詞，相對就造成規篇論文研究方向ê

6 《台日》是使用「更」這個漢字標示教育部ê推薦漢字「閣」。另外，《台日》是采用日語假名做為記音符號，筆者kā改寫做「台灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案」（「台羅拼音」）。

7 資料來源是台灣文學館ê「台灣民間說唱文學歌仔冊資料庫」<<http://koachheh.nmtl.gov.tw/bang-cham/thau-iah.php>>。內底ê文本用字ē-tàng選擇原來文本ê用字，所以bē發生用字頂頭ê疑問。

偏差。

## 2.2. 三音節詞ê構詞研究

多數關係三音節詞構詞ê研究lóng無區別詞類，研究方法一般注重構詞ê方式kap發展ê趨勢。親像楊愛姣（2000）、（2005），討論近代漢語三音詞ê發展原因、三音詞ê構詞方式以及三音詞ê語法特徵等內容。楊愛姣、張蕾（2003）探討近代漢語三音詞ê結構方式、邱湘雲（2007）、（2006）同時針對華、台、客三語內底ê三音節詞做比較，所討論ê三音詞全款無限定tī某一个詞類，伊將華、閩、客共同ê三音節詞按韻律ê角度，歸納出4種組合形式：1)雙音節+單音節ê「2+1」式、2)單音節+雙音節ê「1+2」式、3)單音節+單音節+單音節ê「1+1+1」式、4)三不可分式單純詞。頂面咱已經講過，tsia-ê構詞形式lóng無法度全面說明台語三音節同義並列副詞ê構詞型態。

邱湘雲（2006）卻有強調三音節詞tī台語、客語內底有kap漢語真異質性ê存在意義。伊認為，除了袁家樺（1989）等先行研究所指出ê「客語kap閩南語有khah濟ê單音詞，是詞彙頂頭真大ê特色」以外，梁玉璋（1990）研究福州閩南語所發現ê「福州（閩語）三音節詞數量相當濟，kap單音節詞差不多，是福州方言ê特色」mā是一個值得注意ê現象。照邱ê分析，有真濟tī華語內底用雙音節詞表達ê語詞，tī客語抑是台語內底真濟情形會使用單音節詞抑是三音節詞來表達，比如，華語「馬上」，台語會使講做「現」；華語「故意」台語就講做「刁故意」。另外，邱mā指出台語kap客語lóng存在真濟三音節地名，是一個真大ê特色。邱ê研究清楚指出，除了單音節詞比華語khah濟是台語kap客語真大ê特色以外，三音節詞比華語khah發達mā是台語、客語真特殊ê所在。本研究則進一步發現，除了三音節詞是台語ê特色以外，三音節詞內底ê同義並列式副詞更加有真特別ê性質。

鄭縈、游孟庭（2010）有直接討論著一個台語三音節副詞「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」ê形成。這個研究指出：「就閩客方言中的『又閣再』、『又再過』的例子來看，這兩個三音詞都是雙音詞直接並列複合而來，即『又閣+閣再』、『又過+再過』複合的結果。」（鄭、游 2010：12）筆者真贊同這個構詞ê推論，可惜作者並無進一步做出相關ê說明。

另外，因為作者錯誤界定台語無「tsài-koh（再閣）」這個詞，所以針對「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」ê構詞分析就成做「又閣+閣再」這個組合，m̄-kú，台語事實上有「tsài-koh（再閣）」這個詞，若án-ni，單純就組合ê關係來看，「又閣再」就無tú-tú是「又閣+閣再」所複合ê，mā有可能是「又閣+再閣」所複合ê。

合理並列式1：AB+BC=ABC

「iū-koh」+「koh-tsài」>>刪除重複語素「koh」=「iū-koh-tsài」

合理並列式2：AB+CB=ABC

「iū-koh」+「tsài-koh」>>刪除重複語素「koh」=「iū-koh-tsài」、  
\*「iū-tsài-koh」

真清楚，「iū-koh（又閣）」kap「tsài-koh（再閣）」並列mā有機會複合做「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」。另外一方面，「iū-koh（又閣）」kap「tsài-koh（再閣）」m̄-nā有機會複合做「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」，mā有產生「iū-tsài-koh（又再閣）」ê可能性，m̄-kú，台語卻kan-nā有「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」無「iū-tsài-koh（又再閣）」這個三音節詞。Tī tsia咱ē-tàng思考兩個問題，頭一個是，「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」到底是「iū-koh（又閣）」kap「koh-tsài（閣再）」所複合ê，抑是「iū-koh（又閣）」kap「tsài-koh（再閣）」所複合ê？第二個問題是，為啥物複合ê結果kan-nā形成「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」，無形成「iū-tsài-koh（又再閣）」？本研究會進一步探討兩個同義雙音節副詞複合做一個三音節副詞ê時，有啥物款ê複合條件以及tī複合選項頂面有啥物款ê制約。

### 3. 台語ê三音節副詞kap三音節同義並列式副詞

因為當代台語有詞彙嚴重失落ê情形，beh探討台語ê三音節副詞若無溯及koh-khah早期ê語料，一方面，看bē著三音節副詞完整ê面貌，另外一方面，真oh--tit tshuē出三音節副詞複合進前hit兩個原生雙音節副詞，所以，本文使用日治時期語料文本來tshiau-tshuē台語內底ê三音節副詞。主要ê語料文本是《台日大辭典》（1931），mā同時參考一寡日治時期ê台語文本，包括教材類有《台灣語之研究》（1929）、《台灣語法》（1934）、《台語

大成》(1916)，文學類有《十項管見》(1925)以及報導類《台灣府城教會報》(1885-1945)等等。

筆者對tsia-ê日治時期台語文本內底摘出194个台語三音節副詞(參見附錄1)，下面透過tsia-ê語料分析台語三音節副詞ê構詞形式，從中了解台語三音節同義並列式副詞ê特色。

### 3.1. 台語三音節副詞

筆者將台語三音節副詞ê構詞形式整理做下面四種類型：

#### 1. 插入詞綴

有真濟台語三音節副詞是以雙音節副詞做基礎插入詞綴(affix)，形成一個派生詞。會使koh幼分做插入前綴(prefix)、中綴(infix) kap插入後綴(suffix)三種。

雙音節副詞	插入前綴	插入中綴	插入後綴	三音節副詞
「hut-jiân(忽然)」		「kî(其)」		「hut-kî-jiân(忽其然)」
「kiù-jiân(究然)」		「kî(其)」		「kiù-kî-jiân(究其然)」
「kiù-sit(究實)」		「kî(其)」		「kiù-kî-sit(究其實)」
「iok-liók(約略)」		「kî(其)」		「iok-kî-liók(約其略)」
「iok-liōng(約量)」		「kî(其)」		「iok-kî-liōng(約其量)」
「liōng-iok(量約)」		「kî(其)」		「liōng-kî-iok(量其約)」
「hiān-hiān(現現)」		「tú(拄)」		「hiān-tú-hiān(現拄現)」
「tshàu-khám(湊坎)」		「tú(拄)」		「tshàu-tú-khám(湊拄坎)」
「bān-tsiáh(慢即)」			「sī(是)」	「bān-tsiáh-sī(慢即是)」
「ûn-á(緩仔)」			「sī(是)」	「ûn-á-sī(緩仔是)」
「khuann-á(寬仔)」			「sī(是)」	「khuann-á-sī(寬仔是)」
「hô-khóo(何苦)」		「tik(得)」 「mih(乜)」		「hô-tik-khóo(何得苦)」 「hô-mih-khóo(何乜苦)」
「khin-khin(輕輕)」			「á(仔)」	「khin-khin-á(輕輕仔)」
「ûn-ûn(勻勻)」			「á(仔)」	「ûn-ûn-á(勻勻仔)」
「bī-pit(未必)」			「jiân(然)」	「bī-pit-jiân(未必然)」
「tē-it(第一)」	「pah(拍)」			「pah-tē-it(拍第一)」

(後一頁koh有)



(頂一頁koh有)

「put-kò(不過)」		「jī(而)」		「put-jī-kò(不而過)」
「tsò-hué(做夥)」		「tsit(一)」		「tsò-tsit-hué(做一夥)」
「kháp-tiòh(磕著)」		「tsit(一)」		「kháp-tsit-tiòh(磕一著)」
「hiám-hiám(險險)」		「tsit(一)」		「hiám-tsit-hiám(險一險)」

## 2. 短語壓縮

比如，「tsīng tsá kàu tann (從早到今)」>>「tsīng-kàu-tann (從到今)」、「bô in bô tuann (無因無端)」>>「bô-in-tuann (無因端)」、「ā ū tsit-ê (也有一個)」>>「ā-tsit-ê (也一個)」等。

## 3. 重複

透過雙音節詞兩個詞素其中任何一個詞素重複形成三音節詞。比如，「kuánn-kín (趕緊)」>>「kuánn-kín-kín (趕緊緊)」、「liam-pinn (連鞭)」>>「liam-pinn-pinn (連鞭鞭)」、「tú-tsia (拄才)」>>「tú-tú-tsia (拄拄才)」、「tú-hó (抵好)」>>「tú-tú-hó (拄拄好)」等。

## 4. 複合

利用句法關係，也就是並列、主調、偏正等關係形成三音節副詞。比如，「bô (無)」+「i-tīng (一定)」=「bô-it-tīng (無一定)」、「m̄ (毋)」+「tú-hó (拄好)」=「m̄-tú-hó (毋拄好)」、「hē (下)」+「sènn-miā (性命)」=「hē-sènn-miā (下性命)」等。其中，tī並列構詞ê部分，台語iáu出現一種特殊ê構詞形式，是「一二結構」，比如，「án-tsuánn (按怎)」+「tsuánn-iünn (怎樣)」刪除重複詞素「tsuánn」>>「án-tsuánn-iünn (按怎樣)」等。筆者對日治時期語料內底，發現32個有這種結構形式ê三音節副詞(參見附錄2)。這種構詞形式也就是本文所beh討論ê主題，三音節同義並列式副詞。

### 3.2. 三音節同義並列式副詞

筆者既然主張台語三音節同義並列式副詞是對兩個同義雙音節副詞所複合出來ê，下面beh透過實際ê語料分析來印證這個主張。

本研究透過日治時期ê語料，摘出32個可能由兩個有共同詞素koh有同義關係ê雙音節副詞所複合形成ê三音節副詞。下面對韻律形式kap結構形式來觀察tsia-ê三音節同義並列式副詞。

1. 韻律形式

按韻律e形式e-tàng歸納做下面四種複合形式：

(1) 「AB+BC=ABC」式

雙音節副詞1 (+同義 +共同語素)		雙音節副詞2 (+同義 +共同語素)		三音節 複合副詞	其他複合途徑
詞素A	詞素B	詞素A	詞素C		
ah	bué	bué	tshiú	ah-bué-tshiú	無
án	tsuánn	tsuánn	iūnn	án-tsuánn-iūnn	無
àu	bué	bué	tshiú	àu-bué-tshiú	無
háp	ing	ing	kai	háp-ing-kai	無
háp	kai	kai	jiân	háp-kai-jiân	無
íá/iáu	koh	koh	khah	íá/iáu-koh-khah	「íá/iáu-khah」 + 「koh-khah」
iū	koh	koh	tsài	iū-koh-tsài	「iū-koh」 + 「tsài-koh」
kàu	bué	bué	sing	kàu-bué-sing	無
kàu	bué	bué	tshiú	kàu-bué-tshiú	無
kìnn	tsin	tsin	tiunn	kìnn-tsin-tiunn	無
kìng	ka	ka	puē	kìng-ka-puē	無
kìng	koh	koh	khah	kìng-koh-khah	「kìng-khah」 + 「koh-khah」
lōo	bué	bué	sin	lōo-bué-sin	無
lōo	bué	bué	tshiú	lōo-bué-tshiú	無
phian	phian	phian	á	phian-phian-á	無
thâu	khí	khí	sing	thâu-khí-sing	1. 「thâu-sing」 + 「khí-sing」 2. 「thâu-khí」 + 「thâu-sing」
tian	tò	tò	thâu	tian-tò-thâu	無
tsiah	koh	koh	tsài	tsiah-koh-tsài	「tsiah-koh」 + 「tsài-koh」
uát	jú	jú	khah	uát-jú-khah	無

(2) 「AB+AC=ABC」式

雙音節副詞1 (+同義+共同語素)		雙音節副詞2 (+同義+共同語素)		三音節 複合副詞	其他複合途徑
詞素A	詞素B	詞素A	詞素C		
juā	á	juā	nih	juā-á-nih	無
poh	kánn	poh	sī	poh-kánn-sī	無
poh	tiānn	poh	sī	poh-tiānn-sī	無
thâu	khí	thâu	sing	thâu-khí-sing	1. 「thâu-sing」+ 「khí-sing」 2. 「thâu-khí」+ 「khí-sing」
tsáinn	á	tsáinn	iūnn	tsáinn-á-iūnn	無
tú	á	tú	tsiah	tú-á-tsiah	無
tú	tú	tú	hó	tú-tú-hó	無

(3) 「AB+CB=ABC/ACB」式

雙音節副詞1		雙音節副詞2		三音節 複合副詞	其他複合途徑
詞素A	詞素B	詞素C	詞素B		
íá/iáu	khah	koh	khah	íá/iáu-koh-khah (ACB)	「íá/iáu-koh」+ 「koh-khah」
iū	khah	koh	khah	iū-koh-khah (ACB)	無
iū	koh	tsài	koh	iū-koh-tsài (ABC)	「iū-koh」+ 「koh-tsài」
kài	it	tē	it	kài-tē-it (ACB)	無
jú	khah	koh	khah	jú-koh-khah (ACB)	無
kàu	bué	lōo	bué	kàu-lōo-bué (ACB)	無
kìng	khah	koh	khah	kìng+koh-khah (ACB)	「kìng-koh」+ 「koh-khah」

(後一頁 koh 有)

(頂一頁koh有)

thâu	á	tú	á	thâu-tú-á (ACB)	無
thâu	sing	khí	sing	thâu-khí-sing (ACB)	「thâu-khí」+ 「khí-sing」
thiau	ì	kòo	ì	thiau-ì-kòo (ABC) thiau-kòo-ì (ACB)	
tsiah	koh	tsài	koh	tsiah-koh-tsài (ABC)	「tsiah-koh」+ 「koh-tsài」

頂面三種複合形式內底，「AB+BC」以及「AB+AC」tī複合ê過程中，經過刪除重複音節了後lóng只有一種三音節詞ê形式，就是「ABC」ê形式。M̄-kú，「AB+CB」ê情形就可能有兩種形式ê三音節詞產生，分別是「ABC」kap「ACB」ê形式。對資料來看，「ACB」ê形式佔絕大多數，「ABC」ê形式咱kan-nā看著「thiau-ì」kap「kòo-ì」所複合ê「thiau-ì-kòo」。另外有兩個詞「tsiah-koh-tsài」kap「iū-koh-tsài」因為猶有另外一種可能複合途徑，所以無一定就是「AB+CB=ABC」ê形式。也就是講，確定是「AB+CB=ABC」形式ê詞kan-nā「thiau-ì-kòo」這個詞niā-niā，因為án-ni ê構詞比例懸殊真大，咱thang kā看做是「有標性」(marked)ê形式。綜合來看，台語三音節並列式副詞ê韻律構詞形式比例是「AB+BC=ABC」>「AB+CB=ACB」>「AB+AC=ABC」>「AB+CB=ABC」，其中，「AB+CB=ABC」是「有標性」排列組合關係。

## 2. 結構形式

因為台語存在這款「2+2=3」ê韻律形式，mā突顯這款三音節副詞ê詞法結構特色。因為tse是雙數ê詞素ê複合關係，予台語三音節副詞tī表層結構出現「並列結構」ê可能性。一般漢語三音節詞因為以「二一結構」kap「一二結構」為主，奇數ê詞素組合致使tī表層結構oh-tit出現「並列結構」，換句話講，漢語內底真少三音節並列式複合詞。所以，本文beh討論ê三音節同義並列式副詞tī台語ê詞彙部門有真特色ê所在。

頂面咱主張，tsia-ê三音節副詞是對兩個雙音節副詞所複合出來ê，相

對，in ê 詞法結構全款需要就「二二結構」去進行分析，無法度照一般漢語 ê 「二一結構」抑是「一二結構」做分析。舉例來講，「ah-bué-tshiú（押尾手）」無法度分析做 {ah { bué-tshiú } } 抑是 { { ah-bué } tshiú }，必須著同時結合語音形式進行「二二結構」ê 分析：

{ { ah-bué } { bué-tshiú } } (並列) >> { { ah-bué bué-tshiú } } (語音省略) >> { ah-bué-tshiú } (並列)

因為kan-nā是語音ê省略，所以無改變伊底層並列構詞ê結構，三音節詞tī表層結構全款維持並列結構，卻是，若無tshuē出複合進前hit兩個雙音節副詞，kan-ta對表面音韻形式並無法度分析出伊有並列結構。

#### 4. 三音節同義並列式副詞形成ê機制

鄭縈、游孟庭（2010）討論台、客語ê三音節副詞「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」、「iū-zai-go（又再過）」ê形成，指出“發音人認為這種三音節連用是為了強調”，劉建華（2007）mā提出，華語「又再」抑是「再又」ê連用基本上kap「又」、「再」ê意義是全款ê，m̄-kú卻有加強重複意義ê機能。可見，講話ê人同時使用幾個同義副詞tī句法頂頭會形成一款「強烈式句法」ê結構表達方式，連帶產生加強修飾ê作用。這個語用頂面ê需求就造成兩個同義副詞有khab濟ê連用機會，進一步帶來複合詞形成ê事實，頂面咱所討論ê三音節同義並列式副詞就是tī án-ni ê語用需求下所形成ê。但是，m̄是每一個同義雙音節副詞連用lóng有機會產生三音節同義並列式副詞，親像「liām-pinn（連鞭）」kap「má-siōng（馬上）」就無複合做一個複合詞。兩個雙音節副詞之間有兩個必要條件促成in複合做一個三音節副詞：第一，有同義關係、第二，有共同詞素（音節）。有同義關係符合講話者透過重複使用達到「加強」ê語氣表達需求，製造連用ê語用機會，形成複合詞產生ê條件；有共同詞素則有將音節素縮短，符合四音節詞m̄是漢語詞彙主流ê詞彙特質。

確認台語ê三音節同義並列式副詞是兩個有共同詞素ê雙音節同義副詞，透過並列ê方式所複合出來以後，咱回頭來討論「iū-koh-tsài（又閣再）」到底是「iū-koh（又閣）」kap「koh-tsài（閣再）」所複合ê，抑是「iū-koh（又閣）」kap「tsài-koh（再閣）」所複合ê？也就是講，當配對ê

組合  $\bar{m}$  是一對一  $\hat{e}$  關係，是複數配對  $\hat{e}$  情形  $\hat{e}$  時，到底啥物機制決定佢兩個  $\bar{e}$ -tàng 複合做三音節副詞？筆者認為詞頻可能發揮制約功能。

頂面咱已經按韻律排列  $\hat{e}$  組合關係了解  $\text{tsia}$ - $\hat{e}$  雙音節同義副詞  $\hat{e}$  排列組合關係，是以「 $AB+BC=ABC$ 」為最優勢，iah「 $AB+CB=ABC$ 」是  $\text{khah}$ 「有標性」 $\hat{e}$  排列組合關係。先就這點來檢視「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{koh}$ - $\text{tsài}$ （又閣再）」 $\hat{e}$  複合來源。

「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{koh}$ （又閣）」+「 $\text{koh}$ - $\text{tsài}$ （閣再）」=「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{koh}$ - $\text{tsài}$ （又閣再）」是「 $AB+BC=ABC$ 」 $\hat{e}$  複合方式，是比例上  $\text{kuân}$   $\hat{e}$  複合形式，相對  $\text{tik}$ ，若是「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{koh}$ （又閣）」kap「 $\text{tsài}$ - $\text{koh}$ （再閣）」 $\hat{e}$  結合就是「 $AB+BC=ABC$ 」 $\hat{e}$  形式，也就是台語內底罕有  $\hat{e}$ 「有標性」形式，對  $\text{tsia}$  咱  $\text{thang}$  論斷，「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{koh}$ - $\text{tsài}$ （又閣再）」是「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{koh}$ （又閣）」kap「 $\text{koh}$ - $\text{tsài}$ （閣再）」所複合  $\hat{e}$ 。卻是，猶有另外一個問題，「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{koh}$ （又閣）」kap「 $\text{tsài}$ - $\text{koh}$ （再閣）」是按怎無複合出「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{tsài}$ - $\text{koh}$ （又再閣）」這個三音節副詞。

若單純就複合條件來講，「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{koh}$ （又閣）」kap「 $\text{tsài}$ - $\text{koh}$ （再閣）」有同義關係  $\bar{m}$  有共同詞素，符合形成三音節同義並列副詞  $\hat{e}$  必要條件， $\text{koh}$  進一步就排列組合關係來看，「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{koh}$ （又閣）」+「 $\text{tsài}$ - $\text{koh}$ （再閣）」=「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{tsài}$ - $\text{koh}$ （又再閣）」是「 $AB+CB=ACB$ 」 $\hat{e}$  形式，並  $\bar{m}$  是「有標性」 $\hat{e}$  形式，是比例第二  $\text{kuân}$   $\hat{e}$  複合形式，若  $\text{án-ni}$  為啥物無形成「 $i\bar{u}$ - $\text{tsài}$ - $\text{koh}$ （又再閣）」這個三音節副詞？筆者認為詞頻是重要  $\hat{e}$  選項制約因素。當講話者想  $\text{beh}$  連用兩個同義副詞來加強程度  $\hat{e}$  時，因為口語有瞬間表達  $\hat{e}$  特性，所以合理來講，伊所同時想著  $\hat{e}$   $\text{hit}$  兩個同義副詞  $\text{lóng}$  會是真常用  $\hat{e}$  詞，也就是講， $\text{khah}$  無可能會出現高詞頻詞 kap 低詞頻詞  $\hat{e}$  配對組合。

日治時期語料內底出現 32 個三音節同義並列式副詞，其中有 5 個詞有複數  $\hat{e}$  複合途徑，下面咱就這 5 個詞來一一檢視詞頻  $\text{kám}$  是複數選項  $\hat{e}$  制約因素。

本研究使用「教育部台灣閩南語字詞頻統計」做為詞頻調查  $\hat{e}$  根據， $\bar{m}$ - $\text{kú}$ ，這個資料庫因為斷詞  $\hat{e}$  問題，致使真濟雙音節詞  $\text{lóng}$  出現無詞頻數據  $\hat{e}$  情形，比如「 $\text{tsiah}$ - $\text{koh}$ （才閣）」這個詞因為是拆做「 $\text{tsiah}$ （才）」kap「 $\text{koh}$ （閣）」所以  $\text{tī}$ 「 $\text{tsiah}$ - $\text{koh}$ （才閣）」就完全無數據呈現， $\bar{m}$ - $\text{kú}$ ，若利用語詞檢索就發現，「 $\text{tsiah}$ （才）」kap「 $\text{koh}$ （閣）」連用  $\text{tī}$  文本內底出

現218筆，這欸連用就是本文所討論ê雙音節副詞。所以，筆者就無直接使用資料庫ê詞頻數據，是tshiau-tshue語詞，過濾例句內底單音節詞ê連用現象，才計算hit个雙音節副詞出現ê筆數，做為詞頻頻次ê判斷。

1) 「iá/iáu-koh-khah (尚閣較)」

雙音節副詞1 (+同義 +共同詞素)	詞頻頻次	雙音節副詞2 (+同義 +共同詞素)	詞頻頻次	高詞頻優先 複合結果
iá/iáu-koh	0	koh-khah	471	「iá/iáu-khah」+ 「koh-khah」= 「iá/iáu-koh-khah」
iá/iáu-khah	29			

《台日》ê「iá-koh」kap「iáu-koh」全欸lóng是「更加」ê意思，m̄-kú，現代台語內底m̄管是「iá-koh」抑是「iáu-koh」差不多lóng無這個詞義用法，in有新ê詞義「仍然、還」。這個詞義tī《台日》是使用「iá-kú」kap「iáu-kú」，現代台語可能kā in濫做夥去ah。筆者tī資料庫內底tshue著ê「iá-koh」雖然有1筆，「iáu-koh」雖罔有21筆，內底卻無「更加」ê用法，所以詞頻lóng應該是「0」。就詞頻ê角度來看，「iá/iáu-koh-khah」應當是「iá/iáu-khah」kap「koh-khah」所複合出來ê。

2) 「king-koh-khah (更閣較)」

雙音節副詞1 (+同義 +共同詞素)	詞頻頻次	雙音節副詞2 (+同義 +共同詞素)	詞頻頻次	高詞頻優先 複合結果
king-khah	1	koh-khah	471	?
king-koh	0			

這個資料庫ê語料是跨戰前kap戰後ê，因為日治時代文本資料偏少，所以若是近代台語khah無teh使用ê語詞就真有可能出現「0」ê數據，這點是資料庫本身ê缺憾，因為，咱無法度有一个純粹是日治時期語料ê語料庫thang利用，雖罔加減影響判斷，總是，筆者所分析ê每一組同義詞lóng是使用全一个資料庫，也就是講，詞頻真kuân hit个詞mā有計算著日治時期ê文本，所以比較ê點算是一致ê。Tī這個語例內底，「king-khah」kap「king-koh」

是現代台語內底已經失落ê語詞，所以出現án-ni ê數據，數量m̄-nā少，互相之間koh無絕對優勢ê區別，致使無法度輕可就這個數據來做出結論。

另外，這個例雖罔mā有可能kā分析做「king（更）」+「koh-khah（閣較）」，m̄-kú，事實上台語ê「king（更）」罕有獨用ê情形，《台日》所收ê例句是「King khah hó.（更較好）」是kap「khah（較）」連用ê形式，筆者同時tshiau-tshuê日治時期其他文本kap真濟白話字文本<sup>8</sup> koh有歌仔冊文本<sup>9</sup>，lóng罕teh看著「king（更）」直接修飾形容詞抑是動詞ê例，也就是講台語罕teh使用「king hó（更好）」、「king kui（更貴）」這款ê講法，所以這個例雖罔有單音節詞ē-tàng配對，m̄-kú，卻因為是一個罕teh單獨使用ê單音節詞，「1+2」、「2+1」、「1+1+1」ê形式oh--tit成立。這個三音節詞筆者認為猶有進一步稽考ê空間。

3) 「thâu-khí-sing（頭起先）」

雙音節副詞1 (+同義 +共同詞素)	詞頻頻次	雙音節副詞2 (+同義 +共同詞素)	詞頻頻次	高詞頻優先 複合結果
thâu-sing	12	khí-sing	17	「thâu-sing」+
thâu-khí	0			「khí-sing」=
thâu-khí	0	thâu-sing	12	「thâu-khí-sing」

按詞頻ê配對關係來看，「thâu-khí-sing」應該是「thâu-sing」kap「khí-sing」所複合形成ê。

4) 「tsiah-koh-tsài（才閣再）」

雙音節副詞1 (+同義 +共同詞素)	詞頻頻次	雙音節副詞2 (+同義 +共同詞素)	詞頻頻次	高詞頻優先 複合結果
tsiah-koh	213	koh-tsài	512	「tsiah-koh」+
		tsài-koh	18	「koh-tsài」=
				「tsiah-koh-tsài」

8 主要資料是「台灣白話字文獻館」< <http://www.tcll.ntnu.edu.tw/pojbh/script/index.htm> >

9 主要資料是「台灣民間說唱文學歌仔冊資料庫」< <http://koaachheh.nmtl.gov.tw/bang-cham/thau-iah.php> >。



Tī這個例詞頻有真大ê說服力，「tsiah-koh-tsài」是「tsiah-koh」kap「koh-tsài」所複合ê可能性相當ê kuân。

5) 「iū-koh-tsài (又閣再)」

雙音節副詞1 (+同義 +共同詞素)	詞頻頻次	雙音節副詞2 (+同義 +共同詞素)	詞頻頻次	高詞頻優先 複合結果
iū-koh	420	koh-tsài	512	「iū-koh」+ 「koh-tsài」= 「iū-koh-tsài」
		tsài-koh	18	

透過詞頻ê數據咱全款ē-tàng真肯定講，「iū-koh-tsài」是「iū-koh」kap「koh-tsài」所複合出來ê。

頂面五个三音節詞ê詞例，扣除「king-koh-khah(更閣較)」因為詞頻數據無夠額thang做出明確ê判斷，將其他四个詞按照高詞頻配對所產生ê組合thè來kap韻律排列組合ê順位做一個比較。

三音節副詞	詞頻組合優先順位	韻律排列組合優先順位	一致性
íá/iáu-koh-khah	「íá/iáu-khah」+「koh-khah」	「íá/iáu-koh」+「koh-khah」	無
thâu-khí-sing	「thâu-sing」+「khí-sing」	「thâu-khí」+「khí-sing」	無
tsiah-koh-tsài	「tsiah-koh」+「koh-tsài」	「tsiah-koh」+「koh-tsài」	有
iū-koh-tsài	「iū-koh」+「koh-tsài」	「iū-koh」+「koh-tsài」	有

初步看起來，詞頻組合優先順位kap韻律排列組合優先順位出現無一致(mismatch)ê關係。M̄-kú，進一步斟酌就發現，高詞頻之間ê配對關係所形成ê韻律排列組合順序，m̄是第一順位ê「AB+BC=ABC」式就是第二順位ê「AB+CB=ACB」式，也就是講，詞頻mā連帶影響韻律排列組合ê關係：

三音節副詞	詞頻組合優先順位	韻律排列組合優先順位
íá/iáu-koh-khah	「íá/iáu-khah」+「koh-khah」	「AB+CB=ACB」(順位二)
thâu-khí-sing	「thâu-sing」+「khí-sing」	「AB+CB=ACB」(順位二)
tsiah-koh-tsài	「tsiah-koh」+「koh-tsài」	「AB+BC=ABC」(順位一)
iū-koh-tsài	「iū-koh」+「koh-tsài」	「AB+BC=ABC」(順位一)

換句話講，高詞頻之間ê複合關係就造成台語三音節同義並列式副詞ê韻律排列組合關係，是以「AB+BC=ABC」以及「AB+CB=ACB」為主ê表層韻律現象。所以，「iá/iáu-koh-khah」ê複合來源應當以高詞頻配對為優先，是「iá/iáu-khah」kap「koh-khah」所複合出來ê，「thâu-khí-sing」mā應當是「thâu-sing」kap「khí-sing」所複合ê。另外一方面，因為詞頻發揮複合選項ê制約功能，也就會得thang進一步解說，為啥物「iū-koh（又閣）」無kap「tsài-koh（再閣）」複合出「iū-tsài-koh（又再閣）」這個三音節詞。因為「tsài-koh（再閣）」ê詞頻比「koh-tsài（閣再）」低真濟，當然無機會kap「iū-koh（又閣）」連用，進一步複合出三音節副詞。

對頂面ê分析咱清楚觀察著，兩個雙音節副詞透過連用複合做一個三音節副詞必須ài有兩個必要條件：第一個條件是，這兩個雙音節副詞ài有同義關係，第二個條件是，這兩個雙音節副詞之間ài有共同詞素。但是，當這個配對組合m̄是一對一ê關係，是複數配對ê情形ê時，詞頻發揮選項ê制約功能，結果會由詞頻khah kuân hit兩個雙音節同義副詞進行三音節詞ê複合。

## 5. 結語

台語內底存在比漢語加幾若倍ê三音節副詞，其中，三音節同義並列式副詞更加kap漢語有真異質性ê構詞型態，in tī韻律形式頂頭m̄是漢語一般普遍ê「1+2」抑是「2+1」ê形式，是「AB+BC」、「AB+CB」以及「AB+AC」這三種由兩個雙音節同義副詞所複合ê形式；tī結構頂面，mā m̄是一般漢語三音節詞ê「二一結構」抑是「一二結構」，是「二二結構」，表層關係更加形成漢語三音節詞內底罕見ê「並列結構」，顯示台語三音節同義並列式副詞是台語詞彙真大ê特色。

同時，筆者發現，tī台語三音節副詞漸漸失落ê同時，新ê三音節同義並列式副詞tī現代台語內底有繼續leh生淡ê趨勢（參見附錄3），可見這個特殊ê詞彙複合方式tī台語內底有持續生成ê能力，值得繼續觀察。

## 感謝

這篇論文tī形式kap內容頂頭lóng得著兩位匿名審查先生濟濟ê建議kap指正，tī tsia向兩位先生致上最深ê感謝。

## 讀者回應

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附錄1：日治時期台語文本內底ê台語三音節副詞

語詞	義項(華語)	出處	語詞	義項(華語)	出處
ā-tsit-ê	豈	《台日》上卷 p5	ah-bé-tshiú	較後	《台日》 上卷 p7
àu-bé-tshiú	較後	《台日》上卷 p7	àn-tsáinn-iünn	1.如何 2.何以	《台日》 上卷 p19
àn-tsuánn-iünn	1.如何 2.何以	《台日》上卷 p20	àm-tsuè-tsīnn	暗中	《台日》 上卷 p26
àm-put-tsīnn	暗中	《台日》上卷 p27	bān-á-sī	且慢	《台日》 下卷 p551
bān-tsiáh-sī	且慢	《台日》下卷 p553	bān-tshiánn-sī	且慢	《台日》 下卷 p553
bī-pit-jiān	未必	《台日》下卷 p646	bû-ì-kan	偶然	《台日》 下卷 p719
bû-ì-tiong	偶然	《台日》下卷 p719	bû-pit-tiòh	務必	《台日》 下卷 p722
bē-kuè--tit	怪不得	《台日》下卷 p762	bē-kham-tit	不堪	《台日》 下卷 p848
bē-kóng-tit	超乎語言 所能形容 的非常	《台日》下卷 p848	bē-bián-tit	怪不得	《台日》 下卷 p850
bô-ì-kan	偶然	《台日》下卷 p853	bô-ì-sik	意識地	《台日》 下卷 p853
bô-ì-tiong	偶然	《台日》下卷 p854	bô-it-tīng	說不定	《台日》 下卷 p854
bô-in-tuann	無緣無故	《台日》下卷 p854	bô-kó-tiānnn	說不定	《台日》 下卷 p854

(後一頁koh有)

(頂一頁koh有)

bô-kah-guā	不甚	《台灣語之研究》p767	bô-kah-hiah	不甚	《台灣語之研究》p766
bô-sím-mih	不甚	《台日》下卷 p856	bô-tiānn-tiòh	說不定	《台日》下卷 p858
bô-thinn-lí	極度、非常	《台日》下卷 p858	bô-tiunn-tí	不小心	《台日》下卷 p858
bô-sè-jī	不小心	《台日》下卷 p858	bô-tik-khak	說不定	《台日》下卷 p858
bô-tīng-kui	說不定	《台灣語之研究》p706	beh-gī-lūn	認真地	《台灣語之研究》p892
bô-lōo-lái	不得要領	《台日》下卷 p861	gōng-gōng-á	傻傻地	《台灣語法》p189
háp-ing-kai	當然	《台日》下卷 p531	háp-kai-jiân	當然	《台日》下卷 p531
hiám-hiám-á	差點、險些	《台灣語之研究》p991	hiám-tsit-hiám	差點、險些	《台日》下卷 p612
hiān-tú-hiān	清楚地	《台日》下卷 p629	hiông-hù-hù	倉惶	《台灣語法》p189
hut-jiân-kan	忽然	《台日》下卷 p707	hut-kí-jiân	忽然	《台灣語之研究》p779
hun-kim-á	略為	《台日》下卷 p710	hē-sinn-miā	拚命	《台日》下卷 p753
hē-tsin-tiunn	果真	《台日》下卷 p753	hó-kai-tsài	幸好	《台日》下卷 p822
hō-tik-khóo	何苦	《台日》下卷 p826	hō-mih-khóo	何苦	《台日》下卷 p828
hó-lé-á	小心翼翼	《台日》下卷 p828	juā/luā-á-nih	多麼	《台日》上卷 p830
íá-koh-khah	更加	《台日》上卷 p39	íá-koh-khah	更加	《台日》上卷 p42
iok-kí-liók	約略	《台日》上卷 p80	iok-kí-liōng	約略	《台日》上卷 p80
iū-koh-tsài	再	《台灣語之研究》p671	iu-koh-khah	更加	《台灣府城教會報》〈論科學〉(1915)
jú-koh-khah	更加	《台灣語之研究》p669	ka-tsit-puē	加倍	《台日》上卷 p164

(後一頁koh有)

(頂一頁koh有)

khah-ke-mā	不可能	《台日》上卷 p168	ngóo-jiân-kan	偶然	《台灣語之 研究》780
khah-koh-á	待會兒	《台日》上卷 p169	kah-tsiah-kú	至今	《台日》 上卷 p172
kài-tē-it	最、 極至	《台日》上卷 p189	kàu-bé/bué/bór-sing	到頭來、 最後	《台日》 上卷 p204
kàu-bé-tshiú	到頭來、 最後	《台日》上卷 p204	kàu-lōo-bé	到頭來、 最後	《台日》 上卷 p206
kan-kan-á	偏偏	《台日》上卷 p211	kháp-tsit-tiòh	動不動	《台日》 上卷 p218
ke-tîng-puē	加倍	《台日》上卷 p417	khi-tó-phah	反倒	《台日》 上卷 p273
kiù-kí-sit	實際	《台日》上卷 p279	kiù-kí-jiân	畢竟、 終究	《台日》 上卷 p279
kik-put-kik	結局、 結果	《台日》上卷 p288	king-koh-khah	1.更加 2.愈來愈	《台日》 上卷 p301
king-ka-puē	更加	《台灣語之 研究》p670	khioh-khi-kha	馬上	《台日》 上卷 p312
khin-khin-á	輕輕地	《台日》上卷 p319	kín-tshuah-bān	遲早	《台日》 上卷 p320
kinn-tsin-tiunn	一旦	《台日》上卷 p271	khuann-khuann-á	徐徐地	《台日》 上卷 p432
khuann-á-sī	徐徐地	《台日》上卷 p430	kuánn-kin-kin	匆忙	《台日》 上卷 p432
kóo/kó-hē-sī	果然	《台日》上卷 p479	kóo/kó-pit-jiân	果然	《台日》 上卷 p479
ngóo-tú-jiân	偶然	《台日》上卷 p526	liáu-liáu-á	徐徐地	《台日》 下卷 p962
liám-tong-sī	臨時、 一時之間	《台日》下卷 p966	liam-pinn-sī	臨時、 一時之間	《台日》 下卷 p966
liám-pinn-sī	臨時、 一時之間	《台日》下卷 p966	liám-pinn-pinn	臨時、 一時之間	《台日》 下卷 p966
liam-mi-sī	臨時、 一時之間	《台日》下卷 p966	liám-mi-sī	臨時、 一時之間	《台日》 下卷 p966
liāng/liōng-kí-iok	大約	《台日》下卷 p967	lian-pinn-sī	臨時、 一時之間	《台日》 下卷 p984

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(頂一頁koh有)

liân-pinn-sī	臨時、 一時之間	《台日》下卷 p984	lian-mi-sī	臨時、 一時之間	《台日》 下卷 p985
liân-mi-sī	臨時、 一時之間	《台日》下卷 p985	liók-siók-á	隨意	《台日》 下卷 p994
liòh-liòh-á	略為	《台日》下卷 p999	lōo-bé-sin	到頭、 最後	《台日》 下卷 p1023
lōo-bé-tshiú	到頭、 最後	《台日》下卷 p1023	m̄-kam-guān	不甘心	《台日》 下卷 p915
m̄-tú-hó	1.不巧 2.不幸	《台日》下卷 p918	m̄-tsai-kioh	不意、 不料	《台灣語之 研究》p830
phah-àm-boo	摸黑	《台日》下卷 p560	phah-tē-it	最、 第一	《台日》 下卷 p569
phah-bô-gī	不意、 不料	《台日》下卷 p573	phah-buán-táu	最、 第一	《台日》 下卷 p573
phah-buán-tíng	最、 第一	《台日》下卷 p573	piànn-sènn-miā	拚命	《台日》 下卷 p659
piànn-sin-sí	拚命	《台日》下卷 p659	phian-phian-á	偏偏	《台日》 下卷 p685
put-i-kan	無意間	《台日》下卷 p734	put-i-tiong	無意間	《台日》 下卷 p734
put-kî-sí	隨時	《台日》下卷 p735	put-kuán-sí	隨時	《台日》 下卷 p736
put-ji-kò	只不過、 頂多	《台日》下卷 p734	pún-siāng/siōng-sí	原本、 本來	《台日》 下卷 p744
puànn-siann-puànn	二話不說	《台日》下卷 p872	pōo/pō-kí-jiàn	突然	《台日》 下卷 p889
phóo-kî-liòk	大致	《台日》下卷 p889	phóo-phóo-á	1.大致 2.略為	《台日》 下卷 p893
phóo-liòk-á	1.大致 2.略為	《台日》下卷 p894	poh-kánn-sī	說不定	《台日》 下卷 p896
poh-tiánn-sī	說不定	《台日》下卷 p898	phó-phó-á	1.大致 2.略為	《台日》 下卷 p900
phó-liòk-á	1.大致 2.略為	《台日》下卷 p900	pōng-tút-kan	突然	《台日》 下卷 p906
sam-put-tsing	不按時	《台日》上卷 p563	siūnn-buē-tshut	不料	《台日》 上卷 p676

(後一頁koh有)



(頂一頁koh有)

siōng-thâu-á	最初	《台日》上卷 p701	sió-khuá-á	略為	《台日》 上卷 p701
sū-put-ti	殊不知	《台日》上卷 p766	sūn-sūn-á	1.平順地 2.安靜地	《台日》 上卷 p770
thâu-khí-sing/ suinn	起先	《台日》下卷 p28	thâu-sing-á	起先	《台日》 下卷 p31
táuh-táuh-á	徐徐地	《台日》下卷 p32	thàu-tiong-tàu	趕著中午時 間	《台日》 下卷 p34
tām-tām-á	專注地	《台日》下卷 p52	tāng-put-tāng	動不動	《台日》 下卷 p64
tsiáu-tsiáu-á	一致	《台日》下卷 p94	tshiáu-tshiáu-á	稍稍	《台日》 下卷 p94
tsiām-tsiām-á	漸漸	《台日》下卷 p102	tsiah-koh-tsài	再	《台灣府城 教會報》〈新 約頭序〉 (1916)
tsiū-án-ni	就此	《台日》下卷 p135	tām-pòh-á	略為	《台語大 成》p66
tshian-tui-tshian	果然	《台日》下卷 p164	tshian-put-hīng	1.萬一 2.不巧	《台日》 下卷 p165
tsīng-kàu-tann	至今 從來	《台日》下卷 p161	tsiong-án-ni	照這樣	《台日》 下卷 p189
tsit-āu-sin	過後	《台日》下卷 p204	tsit-tiám-á	稍微	《台日》 下卷 p213
tsīng-tsīng-á	靜靜地	《台灣語之 研究》p1128	tshinn-pōng-pōng	倉徨	《台灣語 法》p789
thiau-i-kòo	蓄意	《台日》下卷 p241	tiau-kòo-i	蓄意	《台日》 下卷 p243
tiâu-kòo-i	蓄意	《台日》下卷 p243	thiau-kòo-i	蓄意	《台日》 下卷 p243
thiâu-kòo-i	蓄意	《台日》下卷 p243	thian-thian-á	偏偏	《台日》 下卷 p287
tian-tò-thâu	相反	《台日》下卷 p288	tīng-liáu-tīng	重複又重複	《台日》 下卷 p301
tín-tāng-tiòh	動不動	《台灣語之 研究》p726	tsám-jiân-á	嶄然	《台語大 成》p66

(後一頁koh有)

(頂一頁koh有)

tít-tú-tít	1.立刻 2.直接	《台日》下卷 p315	tsū-án-ni	照這樣	《台日》 下卷 p337
tshùn-tshùn-á	緩緩地	《台日》下卷 p362	tú-tú-tsiah	才剛	《台日》 下卷 p384
tû-hui-tiòh	必須得	《台日》下卷 p385	tông-tút-kan	突然	《台日》 下卷 p485
tōng-put-tōng	動不動	《台日》下卷 p486	tsáinn-á-iūnn	1.何以 2.如何	《台日》 上卷 p580
tshàu-tú-khám	湊巧	《台日》上卷 p601	tsáp-jī-hun	十分地	《台日》 上卷 p618
tsò-i-tì	認真、努力	《台日》上卷 p844	tsò-tsít-ē	一舉	《台日》 上卷 p848
tsò-tsít-sī	1.一舉 2.突然間	《台日》上卷 p844	tsò-bī-sī	寧可、索性	《台日》 上卷 p852
tshó-kí-liók	略為	《台日》上卷 p859	ū-kan-á	有時候	《台日》 上卷 p108
ū-sí-á	有時候	《台日》上卷 p109	ū-tang-á	有時候	《台日》 上卷 p110
ū-tang-sī	有時候	《台日》上卷 p110	ûn-á-sī	徐徐地	《台日》 上卷 p116
ûn-ûn-á	徐徐地	《台日》上卷 p116	uát-tńg-sin	馬上，用於 往來動作	《台日》 上卷 p147
uát-lin-tńg	馬上，用於 往來動作	《台日》上卷 p147	uān-uān-á	徐徐地	《台日》 上卷 p149
uē-kham-tit	經得起	《台日》上卷 p153	uat-jú-khah	更加	《十項管 見》 p150

注1 《台日大辭典》並無標記詞類，本表主要以hit个語詞tī例句內底ê用法去界定是m是有副詞性用法，無排除兼類詞。

注2 《台日大辭典》、《台語大成》、《台灣語法》、《台灣語之研究》是採用日語假名做為記音符號，《十項管見》、《台灣府城教會報》是使用白話字，筆者一律kā改寫做「台灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案」(台羅拼音)。

## 附錄2：戰前台語三音節同義並列式副詞kap可能複合來源

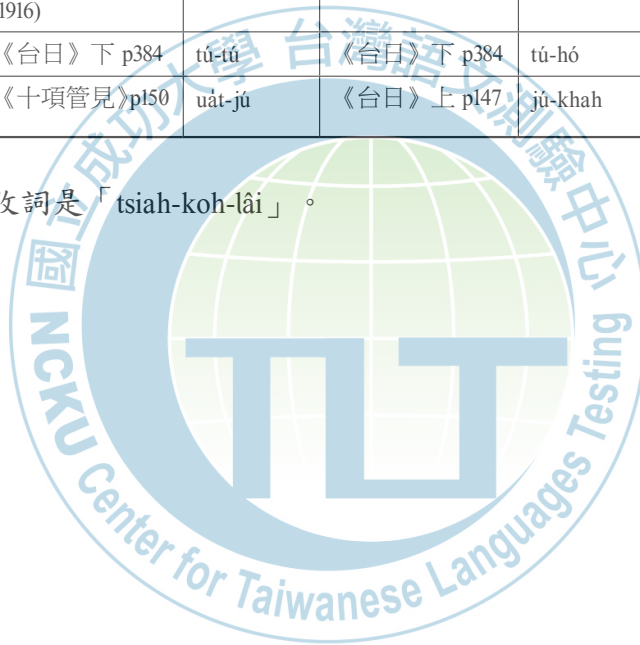
三音節同義 並列式副詞	出處	雙音節 同義副詞 1	出處	雙音節 同義副詞 2	出處
ah-bué-tshiú	《台日》上 p7	ah-bué	《台日》上 p7	bué-tshiú	《台日》下 p764
án-tsuánn-iünn	《台日》上 p19	án-tsuánn	《台日》上 p20	tsuánn-iünn	《台日》上 p832
àu-bué-tshiú	《台日》上 p16	àu-bué	《台日》上 p16	bué-tshiú	《台日》下 p764
iá-koh-khah	《台日》上 p39	1.iá-khah 2.iá-koh	1.《台日》上 p38 2.《台日》上 p39	koh-khah	《台日》上 p484
iáu-koh-khah	《台日》上 p42	iáu-khah	《台日》上 p38	koh-khah	《台日》上 p484
iü-koh-khah	《台灣府城教會 報》〈論科學〉(1915)	iü-khah	《台日》上 p59	koh-khah	《台日》上 p484
iü-koh-tsài	《台灣語之研 究》p671	iü-koh	《台日》上 p61	1.koh-tsài 2.tsài-koh	1.《台日》上 p486 2.《台日》下 p583
jú-koh-khah	《台灣語之研 究》p669	jú-khah	《台日》上 p780	koh-khah	《台日》上 p484
juā-á-nih	《台日》上 p830	juā-á	《台日》上 p830	juā-nih	《台日》上 p830
háp-ing-kai	《台日》下 p531	háp-ing	《台日》下 p531	ing-kai	《台日》上 p76
háp-kai-jiân	《台日》下 p531	háp-kai	《台日》下 p531	kai-jiân	《台日》上 p187
kàu-bué-sing	《台日》上 p204	kàu-bué	《台日》上 p204	bué-sin	《台日》下 p763
kàu-bué-tshiú	《台日》上 p204	kàu-bué	《台日》上 p204	bué-tshiú	《台日》下 p764
kàu-lōo-bué	《台日》上 p206	kàu-bué	《台日》上 p204	lōo-bué	《台日》下 p1023
kài-tē-it	《台日》上 p189	kài-it	《台日》上 p184	tē-it	《台日》下 p404
kinn-tsin-tiunn	《台日》上 p271	kinn-tsin	《台日》上 p271	tsin-tiunn	《台日》下 p225
king-koh-khah	《台日》上 p301	1.king-khah 2.king-koh	1.《台日》上 p300 2.《台日》上 p300	koh-khah	《台日》上 p484
king-ka-puē	《台灣語之研 究》p670	king-ka	《台日》上 p300	ka-puē	《台日》上 p179
lōo-bué-sin	《台日》下 p1023	lōo-bué	《台日》下 p1023	bué-sin	《台日》下 p763
lōo-bué-tshiú	《台日》下 p1023	lōo-bué	《台日》下 p1023	bué-tshiú	《台日》下 p763
phian-phian-á	《台日》下 p685	phian-phian	《台日》下 p685	phian-á	《台日》下 p682
poh-kánn--sī	《台日》下 p896	poh-kánn	《台日》下 p896	poh-sī	《台日》下 p896
poh-tiánn-sī	《台日》下 p898	poh-tiánn	《台日》下 p898	poh-sī	《台日》下 p896
thâu-tú-á	《台日》下 p35	thâu-á	《台日》下 p25	tú-á	《台日》下 p382
thâu-khí-sing	《台日》下 p28	1.thâu-sing 2.thâu-khí	1.《台日》下 p31 2.《台日》下 p28	khí-sing	《台日》上 p268

(後一頁koh有)

(頂一頁koh有)

tian-tò-thâu	《台日》下 p288	tian-tò	《台日》下 p31	tó-thâu	《台日》下 p468
tiau/tiâu/thiau/ thiâu-kòo-ì	《台日》下 p243	tiau/thiau/ tiâu/thiâu-ì	《台日》下 p239、p241	kòo-ì	《台日》下 p241
tiau/tiâu/thiau/ thiâu-ì-kòo	《台日》下 p241	tiau/thiau/ tiâu/thiâu-ì	《台日》下 p239、p241	kòo-ì	《台日》下 p241
tsáinn-á-iünn	《台日》上 p580	tsáinn-á	《台日》上 p580	tsáinn-iünn	《台日》上 p580
tsiah-koh-tsài	《台灣府城教會 報》〈新約頭序〉 (1916)	tsiah-koh*	《台日》下 p75	1.koh-tsài 2.tsài-koh	1.《台日》上 p486 2.《台日》上 p583
tú-tú-hó	《台日》下 p384	tú-tú	《台日》下 p384	tú-hó	《台日》下 p385
uát-jú-khah	《十項管見》p150	uát-jú	《台日》上 p147	jü-khah	《台日》上 p780

\*《台日》收詞是「tsiah-koh-lái」。



## 附錄3：戰後新興台語三音節同義並列副詞kap可能複合來源

同義詞 1	出處	同義詞 2	出處	三音節並列式 複合詞	出處
ā-sái	《台日》 上 p5	ā-tiòh	《台日》 上 p3	ā-sái-tiòh (何須)	筆者個人以及厝內底 ê 人有 teh 使用。 「 <b>Ā-sái-tiòh</b> m̄ng.」
bô-siánn	《台日》 上 p855	bô-juā	《台日》 上 p857	bô-siánn-juā (不甚)	「毋過有臭火焦味， <b>無啥佻</b> 好食。」 < <a href="http://tsiahtshun.info/tag/tauhu/">http://tsiahtshun.info/tag/tauhu/</a> >
jú-khah	《台日》 上 p780	koh-khah	《台日》 上 p484	jú-koh-khah (更加)	「十冬後，煞愈闊較毋捌代誌」 < <a href="http://blog.roodo.com/cit_lui_hoe/archives/3728617.html">http://blog.roodo.com/cit_lui_hoe/archives/3728617.html</a> >
siāng-bô	《台灣 語之研 究》p848	kài-bô	《台灣通 信研究 會》1909	siāng-kài-bô (起碼，至低限度)	「上介 <b>無查埔</b> 人愛代先行動」 < <a href="http://weekly-pctpress.org/2010/3049/3049_21.pdf">http://weekly-pctpress.org/2010/3049/3049_21.pdf</a> >
siōng/ siāng-hó	《台日》 上 p703	kài-hó	《台日》 上 p699	siōng/ siāng-kài-hó (最好)	《台灣話大辭典》p1590
sio-suà	《台日》 上 p708	liân-suà	《台灣語 典》p130	sio-liân-suà (相繼)	《台灣閩南語常用辭典》 (教育部線頂辭典)
sūn-tshiú	《台日》 上 p770	suà-tshiú	《台日》 上 p808	sūn-suà-tshiú (順手、順便)	「台文華文線頂辭典」
ták-sí	《台日》 下 p40	put-sí	《台日》 下 p736	ták-put-sí (時常、經常)	《食老才知 ê 代誌》之 26 〈碧潭的碧〉 「 <b>逐不時</b> 日尾駛 uì 彼片去」
ûn-á	《台日》 上 p116	liâu-á	《台日》 下 p960	ûn-liâu-á (徐徐地、緩緩地)	《TJ 白話字小辭典》p587

注 戰後三音節同義並列副詞ê出處無完全以辭典為主，因為台語詞彙長期來欠缺規範kap規劃，辭典無一定有收tsia-ê詞，文章抑是網路資料lóng有真闊ê文類ē-tàng幫助咱了解khah新、khah實際ê使用狀況。當然，筆者個人ê使用習慣mā算在內。



# The Usage Situation and Influencing Factors for Young People's Choice of Colloquial or Literary Pronunciations in Taiwanese

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## Abstract

There are colloquial and literary pronunciations in Taiwanese. Used in different contexts, with the long-termed frequency of contact and some effects from the media, social policy and education, the usage of colloquial and literary pronunciations in modern Taiwanese has undergone various changes from the past. In the past few years, there have been some studies on colloquial and literary pronunciations in academia. However, one finds opposite conclusions from their surveys. Some scholars, for example, think that literary pronunciations are retained more than colloquial pronunciations, but some have a very contrary view. This study aims to use a word list which could be read by both colloquial pronunciations and literary pronunciations to investigate the usage of colloquial and literary pronunciations in Taiwanese in young people. Furthermore, the records compared with “word frequency” data created by the Ministry of Education. The results show that the word frequency has played an important role in the choice of colloquial or literary pronunciation by the young people.

Keywords: colloquial pronunciations, literary pronunciations, language contact, word frequency

收件日期2013.03.06/修訂日期2013.08.08/接受日期2013.08.12

# 少年人對台語文白選讀 ê使用情形kap影響因素

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## 摘要

台語有文讀音kap白話音，文白兩個讀音用tī無全款ê所在，經過一段時間ê融合演變，koh受著傳播媒體、社會政策、教育ê影響，tsit-má台語文白異讀ê情形已經kap過去無全矣。這幾年來台語相關研究嘛有缺少台語文白讀ê討論，毋過探討文白層保留情形ê文章煞有完全倒反ê結果出現，有人講文讀保留khah濟，有人認為白話音保留khah濟。本文針對這兩種無全ê看法設計文白兩種讀音攏會使讀ê字表來進行田野調查，比較tsit-má台灣少年人文白保留情形kap選讀原因，koh會將調查著ê發音來kap《教育部台灣閩南語字詞頻統計》內底ê數據做比較，分析「字頻」對少年人文白選讀ê影響。結果發現少年人猶是有保留文白讀音，毋過選讀ê條件除了受華語影響之外，「字頻」嘛是一个真重要ê原因。

關鍵詞：白讀音、文讀音、語言接觸、詞頻



## 1. 研究動機kap目的

台語<sup>1</sup>主要是對福建來ê，福建地區ê移民紮來ê閩南語經過歷史演變，變做一種無仝所在ê移民、無仝ê文化影響下ê多層次方言。這款ê閩南語來到台灣了後，就kap來源地福建有無仝款ê發展，有家己ê演變方向，變做現代咱所使用ê台語。經過一段時間ê競爭、融合，koh受著社會、政治、教育ê影響，tī這款語言環境內底，台語ê系統毋但kap福建閩南語無仝，時代無仝嘛會當看著真大ê變化。筆者主要就是beh探討台語是毋是猶koh有文白異讀ê分別？是以啥物款ê型式存在？

早期閩南方言文讀音是做讀冊用，白話音是生活上teh用，一般來講袂同時使用。台灣ê閩南語有兩個khah大ê勢力：「漳州腔」kap「泉州腔」，兩種腔口互相接觸影響之下，變做tsit-má tī台灣漳泉融合抑是講不漳不泉ê「漳泉濫」<sup>2</sup>。這兩種腔口嘛有保存閩南方言ê文白讀音。Tsit-má雖然khah無teh用文讀音來「讀冊」，毋過目前咱知影有ê音、詞猶是有ê慣勢用文讀音來讀、有ê用白話音來讀，這就是咱所講ê文白分工、文白異讀。

這幾年ê論文有出現一寡對台灣語音演變ê研究，其中tī華語kap台語之間互相影響這方面有袂少文章有講過，無論是語音、句法……等等各方面攏看會著影響ê痕跡。語音方面，有學者主張華語影響台語，文讀音khah接近華語，致使真濟原本是白話音ê詞到tsit-má煞變做讀文讀音，嘛有人認為文讀音是現代khah少用著ê音，所以少年人大部分攏袂曉講文讀音，造成本底是文讀音ê詞會念做白話音。兩種結論拄好倒反，到底是文讀保留khah濟抑是白話音保留khah濟，兩種講法攏有道理，因為tī文白選讀這方面，華語目前確實影響台語真深，所以筆者認為會造成這種倒反ê結果有可能是因為選擇ê字表無仝。

舉例來講，探討文白選讀ê文章有李淑鳳（2010）對老ê kap少年兩種年歲ê人做文白異讀ê調查，伊ê調查結果顯示毋管是現代ê字典抑是少年人ê口語表達，文讀音漸漸取代白話音，原因是台語kap華語接觸，台語ê文讀音khah像華語，少年人講華語khah慣勢，變做真濟白話音攏hōo文讀音取代

<sup>1</sup> 本文所指的台語攏是指tsit-má台灣teh使用ê閩南語。

<sup>2</sup> 漳泉濫：讀音[tsiang-tsuân-lām]，是漳州腔和泉州腔相thàu-lām ê意思。

矣。毋過筆者認為這篇文章選擇ê字親像「臨時」讀做「liâm-sî」已經是真罕得看ê用法，tsit-má ê字典所收ê音嘛是文讀音「lîm」，咱kan-na會當講經過百外年ê演變，文白選擇發生變化。其他語詞親像「改」ké（白）→kái（文）、「轉變」tng（白）→tsuán（文）、「同心」tâng（白）→tông（文）、「災禍」ē（白）→hō（文）……等等tsia-ê詞現代攏是文讀音khah濟人teh用，字典嘛是收文讀音無毋著，毋過是毋是白讀音就按呢來消失？筆者認為像李淑鳳文章內底用ê詞：「迎接」，tī《廈門音新字典》<sup>3</sup>內底所收ê音是白讀「ngiâ」、《台灣閩南語常用詞辭典》<sup>4</sup>是收文讀ê「gîng」，雖然講有真濟白話音攏hōo文讀音取代，毋過「迎」這字若是用tī「迎媽祖」這ê詞，一般民間嘛是會讀做白話音ê「ngiâ」，所以筆者認為白話音並無完全消失，是用tī無全ê詞。

全款討論文白異讀ê文章koh有黃玉梅（2001）主張老人保留khah濟文讀音，少年人khah愛用白話音，譬如像：「西裝」ê「tsong」少年人會讀做「tsng」，「空氣」ê「khong」會讀做白話音「khang」，「公開」（kong-khai）會讀做「kong-khui」，這寡情形會當看出少年人定定會將文讀音ê詞讀做白話音，但是其實若是用李淑鳳（2010）ê字表來做調查，結果就會是文讀音保留khah濟。致使兩篇文章ê主張tú-á-hó倒反。

筆者提出一个假設，tsit-má使用台語ê少年人huân-sè無文白ê觀念，只是選擇上tsiap聽著ê音、詞頻khah懸ê音來讀，所以beh探討ê問題是（1）透過字表，調查少年人文白讀音選讀ê情形。少年人ê台語是文讀音保留khah濟抑是白話音保留khah濟？（2）造成這種選讀ê原因除了受華語影響以外，是毋是嘛有受著詞頻ê影響？

## 2. 文獻回顧

漢語方言系統內底自古就有文白兩個系統，依照兩種讀音ê來源、功能大概會當按呢分類：

<sup>3</sup> 甘為霖（Campbell, William）（1931）。

<sup>4</sup> 《台灣閩南語常用詞辭典》是教育部編制ê網路資源：〈[http://twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict\\_new/index.html](http://twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict_new/index.html)〉

圖表1. 文白讀音形成ê比較

	地域	形成	系統
白讀	本土方言	一層一層累積	變動
文讀	外來移民（中原古漢語）	政治、文化優勢tshuā入來	穩定

楊秀芳（1991）表示文讀kap白讀兩個系統因為來源、使用環境無全，造成演變方向kap速度無全，族群puann-suá造成語言之間互相競爭、取代、融合，tī無全時代勢力嘛有強有弱。何大安（1988）以共時和歷時ê變化來形容文白兩讀ê關聯，伊表示文白異讀是一個經過共時競爭了後層次累積ê結果，這ê競爭tsit-má猶koh teh進行，也就是除了有歷時ê變化之外，嘛有共時ê競爭，所以現代ê台語嘛是有文白兩讀ê競爭。

駱嘉鵬（2005）有講著少年人ê台語文白讀，定定會用毋著去，khab tiānn看ê是將文讀音讀做白話音，譬如：「萬無一失」<sup>5</sup> ê「無」字讀做白讀音ê「bô」，「偉大」<sup>6</sup> 讀做「tuā」，tsia-ê情形的確真tsiap出現，作者主張講這是受著華語影響。

李淑鳳（2010）ê研究包括兩個重點（1）以<居>字類來看優勢音變是怎樣、（2）台語文白選讀ê情形。洪惟仁（2002）ê研究表示，汐止區ê〈居〉字類<sup>7</sup>有分成「汝」、「煮」兩類，並且認為這是文白分工ê結果，白話音是讀做漳州腔ê「i」、文讀音是泉州腔ê「u」，毋過兩類音一直無法度「等化」（leveled），李淑鳳認為可能猶koh有外部因素，也就是受華語接觸ê影響。實驗調查ê結果是介音部分華語讀「一」，台語讀「i」；華語讀「ㄨ」「ㄐ」，台語讀「u」，真明顯是受著華語ê影響。第二個問題認為一寡文讀音接近華語，所以變做口語表達優先ê選擇，對無全年代ê字典會當看著這ê變化，譬如《廈門音新字典》（1913）內底ê詞「守節」讀作「tsiú-tsiat」，到《台灣閩南語常用詞辭典》（2008）讀音改做文讀ê「siú-tsiat」，華語接觸已經影響著台語ê文白分工。作者koh再設計字表來調查老ê kap少年ê對文白分立ê語言習慣，老ê真明顯會當看著猶有文白異

<sup>5</sup> 「萬無一失」應該讀做bān-bū-it-sit，「無」是文讀音ê bú。

<sup>6</sup> 「偉大」應該讀做uí-tāi（文讀）。

<sup>7</sup> 依照漳州音韻字典《十五音》中ê分類方式，<居>字類包括韻母[i]、[u]ê字。

讀ê習慣，少年ê文白分立ê比例大大減少，白話音減真濟，所以這篇論文ê主張是華語對台語有真強勢ê影響，繼落來用兩本差beh一百年ê字典內底收錄ê語詞來做對照、koh用字表去調查老ê kap少年人ê文白選讀習慣來證明。

黃玉梅（2001）探討ê全款是現代台語文白異讀ê問題，文章內底分做三個實驗，調查台語文白讀音保留ê情形：（1）社會語言學：以性別、年齡來觀察文白選讀（2）分析：影響語音層次競爭ê因素。（3）錯讀：探討讀母著ê原因。以字表調查ê結果是年齡層kap文白選讀有真大ê關係，老一輩ê人保留khah濟文讀音，少年人講白話音khah濟。另外tī「錯讀」ê部分，伊認為有一寡讀母著ê音是因為受試者會對華語全音ê字內底選一個khah熟似ê音，譬如講若毋知「呈」ê台語beh按怎讀，咱可能會tī華語ê全音字內底選一個像「成」這種khah tsiáp聽著ê字來唸，變做攏讀做「sîng」，對tsia就會使看著華語對台語ê影響。

Kap詞頻相關ê研究有許慧如（2011）以自然語料來觀察字頻kap語音變化ê關係：以台南台語[ə]元音做例，文章內底以台南人對談ê自然語料來觀察[ə]、[ɔ] ê變化情形。南部ê主要元音是「對稱六元音」<sup>8</sup>，也就是a、i、u、e、o[ə]、oo khah優勢，毋過tī口語表達ê時煞發現[ə]元音有時陣會讀做[ɔ]，將tsia-ê自然語料分析ê結果發現[ə]、[ɔ]並存kap年歲無明顯ê關係，但是kap字頻有明顯相關，出現頻率愈懸ê字愈有[ə]、[ɔ]並存ê現象，這叫做自由變化（free variation）<sup>9</sup>，尤其是字頻khah懸ê字。Bybee（2002）捌講過頻率愈懸ê詞就愈會出現元音弱化抑是語音消失（deletion）<sup>10</sup> ê現象。這篇文章觀察著[ə]、[ɔ]是語音ê自由變化，可能kap無全元音系統ê方言接觸、華台語接觸有關係。對這篇文章咱會當知影社會因素抑是語言實際使用情況親像字頻……等等因素攏有可能會影響方言變化。

根據tsia-ê文獻，方言ê文白讀音是經過時間進展，無全語言層互相接觸、sio-tháh來產生ê，這種語言層嘛會因為民族puann-suá、抑是各種ê社會

<sup>8</sup> 南部台語的元音系統是對稱六元音khah優勢，北部是對稱五元音a、i、u、e、oo khah優勢，差tī南部加一個o的音，毋過最近嘛是有相thàu-lām ê情形。

<sup>9</sup> free variation：英語原詞，華語翻譯做自由變化。

<sup>10</sup> deletion：英語原詞，華語翻譯做語音消失。

因素來發生變化，所以一直到現此時ê台語，透過文獻、字典會當看著文白兩種讀音thàu-lām、消長ê現象。筆者想beh以tsia-ê討論文白讀ê文獻做基礎，設計字表，分析現代少年人台語兩種語言層保留ê情形，而且koh beh證明「字頻」嘛是影響文白選讀ê重要因素之一。

### 3. 研究方法

對頂一章會當看著，有人主張tsit-má ê台語是文讀音保留khah濟、有人主張白話音保留khah濟，這兩種講法攏有提出實驗來證明，但是因為選ê字無全，所得著ê結果tú-hó倒反，筆者beh來證明現代少年人使用台語其實袂考慮彼个詞應該是愛讀文讀音抑是白話音，只不過是照平常時仔上tsiá p使用抑是上tsiá p聽著ê音來讀，所以kap字ê頻率有真大ê關係。Beh證明這種講法，筆者以田野調查ê方式，設計字表請發音人讀出來，而且會進行錄音kap分析，調查ê方式以下說明：

#### (1) 字表設計原則

字表內底以語詞為主，而且選出來ê詞其中一字是文白兩種讀音攏會當讀ê詞，親像「月台」這個詞，依照《教育部閩南語常用詞辭典》，「guéh-tâi」、「guát-tâi」攏是正確ê發音，「guéh」是白讀、「guát」是文讀，字表就是以這種語詞為主，藉此來觀察發音人ê選讀情形，詳細ê字表請看附錄2。

#### (2) 發音人設定

參考過去ê文獻會當知影，受著資訊、傳播、教育ê影響，台語語音thàu-lām ê情形是少年人khah明顯，一寡kap文白選讀相關ê文章親像李淑鳳（2010）、黃玉梅（2001）、車惠純（2012）攏有講著老一輩ê發音khah穩定，少年人tī文白讀方面是有khah大ê變動，所以筆者決定揣少年ê發音人，年歲tī 20-30歲中間、會曉講台語ê少年人。地區方面，洪惟仁（1992）將台灣南部看做是台灣閩南語混合腔ê地區，使用台語ê人口khah濟，而且腔口khah相全、比較khah無方言差，所以筆者收集ê語料是30个tuà tī高雄地區ê少年人，以字表調查、紀錄、分析tsia-ê文白兩種音攏會使讀ê語詞，in

是會按怎選擇，是毋是kap字頻有關係。

## 4. 討論kap結果

### (1) 詞彙ê文白讀頻率

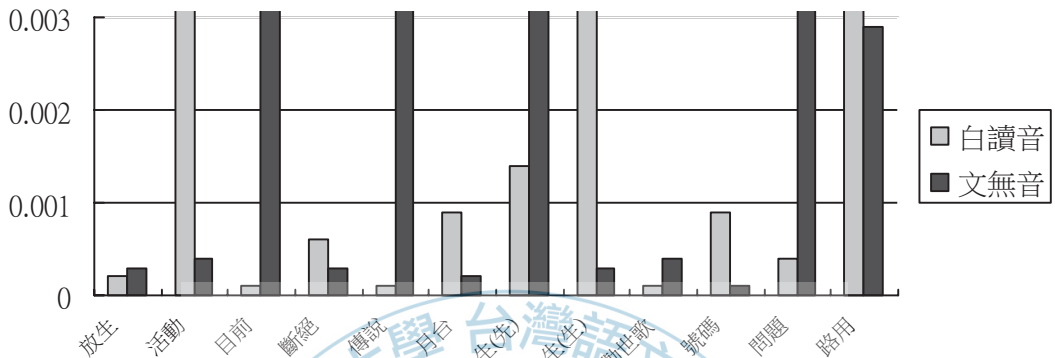
字表參考《教育部閩南語常用詞辭典》kap《教育部台灣閩南語字詞頻統計》選出文白兩種讀音攏會使ê詞攏總11个，根據《教育部台灣閩南語字詞頻統計》ê數據列出文白兩種讀音ê詞頻，請看圖表2：

圖表2. 文白讀音kap詞頻

詞彙	白讀音 kap 頻率		文讀音 kap 頻率	
放生	pàng	0.0002%	hòng	0.0003%
	senn/sinn	0.0001%	sing	0.0004%
活動	tāng	0.0189%	tōng	0.0004%
目前	tsing	0.0010%	tsiân	0.0054%
斷絕	tñg	0.0006%	tuān	0.0003%
傳說	sueh	0.0001%	suat	0.0058%
月台	guh	0.0009%	guát	0.0002%
先生	先 sing	0.0014%	sian	0.0514%
	生 sinn/senn	0.0524%	sing	0.0003%
勸世歌	khng	0.0001%	khuàn	0.0004%
號碼	bé	0.0009%	má	0.0001%
問題	mñg	0.0004%	būn	0.0251%
路用	īng	0.0146%	iōng	0.0029%

\*格仔內有色ê表示是頻率kiah懸ê讀音

圖表3. 文白兩種讀音頻率懸低ê比較圖



對圖表2會當看著語詞ê文白兩種讀音kap頻率、圖表3 ê圖是表示文白兩種讀音ê使用頻率有懸有低。對頻率來看，tsia-ê詞文白兩種讀音ê發音攏正確，kan-na有頻率懸低ê差別，而且字表內底頻率khah懸ê有文讀嘛有白讀，以此來觀察少年人ê發音是會偏向文讀音抑白話音，抑是是會受詞頻ê影響來選擇發音。

(2) 發音ê紀錄與分析

筆者收集30个tuà tī高雄ê少年族群ê發音，紀錄in對這11个詞ê發音，整理ê部分請看圖表4：

圖表4. 少年人ê發音紀錄

詞彙	白讀與數量		文讀與數量		其他
放生	pàng	25	hòng	5	
	senn/sinn	18	sing	12	
活動	tāng	27	tōng	3	
目前	tsîng	27	tsiân	2	tsín-má
斷絕	tīng	17	tuān	13	

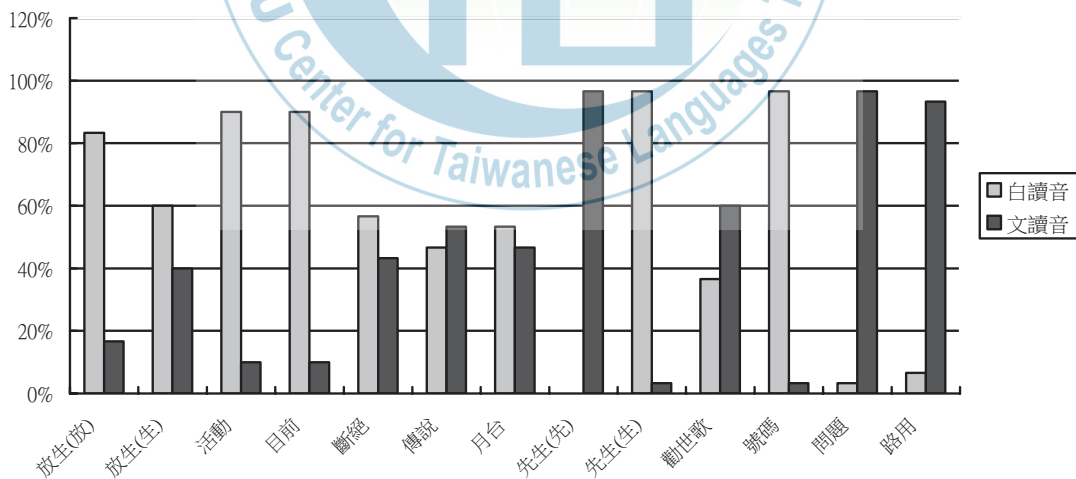
(後一頁koh有)

(頂一頁koh有)

傳說	sueh	14	suat	16	
月台	guéh	16	guát	14	
先生	先 sing	0	sian	29	sinn
	生 sinn/senn	29	sing	1	
勸世歌	khng	11	khuàn	18	khún
號碼	bé	29	má	1	
問題	mng	1	būn	29	
路用	īng	2	iōng	28	

\*格子內有色é表示是頻率khah懸é讀音

圖表5. 少年人文白兩種讀音懸低é比較圖





圖表6. 詞頻khah懸ê數據（文讀抑白讀）kap  
少年人實際khah懸ê發音相對照

	放生	活動	目前	斷絕	傳說	月台	先生	勸世歌	號碼	問題	路用
詞頻 khah 懸 ê 是文抑白	文 / 文	白	文	白	文	白	文 / 白	文	白	文	白
實際發音 khah 懸 ê 是文抑白	白 / 白	白	白	白	文	白	文 / 白	文	白	文	文
兩者敢有符合		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

對圖表4、圖表5 kap圖表6 ê對照會使看出11個詞當中，詞頻懸低kap錄音ê語料文白選讀有符合ê攏總8個，包括「活動、斷絕、傳說、先生、勸世歌、號碼、問題」，佔72%，也就是講發音人ê選讀kap語詞文白讀ê頻率有真大ê關係，會當證實筆者ê假設，少年人teh講ê時陣可能袂特別去注意應該愛讀文讀音抑是白話音，顛倒是會讀家己khah tiānn聽著ê音，基本上文讀kap白讀音攏有tī咧，字表ê詞內底嘛kan-na「先生」ê「先」無人讀sing，毋過若是將「先」這字khng tī其他ê詞內底，親像「先行」、「先走」這種詞，發音人嘛是讀做文讀ê「sing」，文讀音並無消失，是愛看彼字用tī佗一種詞。

另外三個kap詞頻懸低無符合ê詞「放生、目前、路用」，「放生」是文讀音「hòng-sing」khah懸，實際調查是白話ê「pàng」khah濟人講。咱koh以「單字」ê字頻來看（圖表7）發現「放」ê文讀「hòng」頻率是0.0009%、白話音ê「pàng」有0.0807%，讀做白話音ê「pàng」頻率khah懸，所以「放生」這ê詞真濟少年人讀做「pàng」嘛是kap頻率有關係，「生」讀做白話音ê「senn/sinn」嘛是全款ê原因，對「單字」來看，「senn/sinn」比「sing」ê頻率懸足濟，所以少年人會代先想著這個音。「目前」這個詞ê「前」這字tī《教育部台灣閩南語字詞頻統計》內底文讀ê「tsiân」頻率khah懸白讀「tsing」，毋過實際調查ê發音結果，大多數ê少年人讀做白話音「tsing」，kap「放生」ê情形全款，若是以「單字」ê字頻來看，「前」ê文讀「tsiân」是0.0017%，白話音「tsing」有0.0413%，頻率嘛是差真濟，所以會當理解少年人選白讀ê「tsing」，是kap頻率有關係。

圖表7. 「放」、「生」、「前」、「用」單字ê頻率

單字	白讀 kap 字頻		文讀 kap 字頻	
放生	pàng	0.0807%	hòng	0.0009%
	senn/sinn	0.0898%	sing	0.0070%
前	tsíng	0.0413%	tsiân	0.0017%
用	īng	0.1289%	iōng	0.0993%

\*格仔內有色ê表示頻率khah懸ê讀音

「路用」這個詞tī《教育部台灣閩南語字詞頻統計》內底是白話音「īng」比文讀音「iōng」ê頻率khah懸，毋過筆者調查ê結果是文讀「iōng」khah懸白話音「īng」，出現差別，若以「單字」ê字頻（圖表7）來看，白讀音「īng」為0.1289%，文讀「iōng」為0.0993%，白讀音khah懸一寡仔，整體來講頻率攏真懸而且足uá，所以咱用另一個影響因素來看，「用」ê華語讀做「ㄩㄥˊ」真接近台語ê文讀音「iōng」，所以少年人讀文讀音「iōng」khah濟，看會出來這字ê文白選讀是受著華語ê影響。

筆者所選ê字表是文白兩種讀音攏會使用ê詞，對發音人ê發音數據內底會當整理出少年人文白讀音ê保留情形，有一寡詞讀文讀音khah濟、有一寡詞白話音khah濟，所以台語嘛是猶koh有保留文白讀音，只是有ê文白選讀已經kap khah早無全矣。筆者一開始ê假設，字頻敢是影響文白選讀ê因素之一？對收集著ê發音kap字頻統計表會當看著少年人對文白兩種讀音ê選讀除了受著華語影響之外，選讀ê判斷kap字詞出現ê頻率嘛有真大ê關係，少年人大部分會選擇頻率khah懸ê音，所以會當支持筆者ê假設，詞頻嘛是影響文白選讀ê因素之一。

## 5. 結論

閩南語自古就有文白分讀，演變到tsit-má是文白thàu-lām ê情形khah濟，大多數ê台灣人其實有華語kap台語兩種語言能力，毋過因為教育、傳播媒

體、政策ê影響，愈來愈少少年人願意使用台語、學習母語，對台語變kah足生份，文白選讀方面嘛tuè咧改變。一寡文章對台語文白異讀ê現象做研究調查，出現兩種無全ê結果，一个是文讀音保留khah濟、另一个是白話音保留khah濟，大部分攏認為是受著華語影響。筆者以現代文白兩種讀音攏會使讀ê台語語詞做字表，調查少年人是按怎選擇文白讀音，翻頭來看代起先ê兩個問題：（1）透過字表，調查少年人文白讀音選讀ê情形。是毋是有法度判斷少年人ê台語是文讀音保留khah濟抑是白話音保留khah濟？一个語言ê字、詞真濟，本文kan-na有其中一小部分ê詞，所以看出來ê結果是發現少年人khah無文白讀音ê觀念，有ê音讀文讀有ê音讀白話，兩種讀音是攏猶koh tī咧，毋過無法度斷言講文白兩種讀音佻一種保留khah濟，因為文白讀用tī毋全款ê語詞，咱kan-na會當講少年人ê文白選讀已經kap khah早無全，文白讀音保留tī無全ê詞，這是一種現象，嘛會當koh再思考是毋是有koh khah好ê研究方法會當全面調查。（2）造成這種選讀ê原因除了受華語影響以外，是毋是嘛有受著詞頻ê影響？筆者以《教育部台灣閩南語字詞頻統計》ê數據kap發音人實際發音ê數據做比較，發現相符合ê比例真懸，發音人會照家已平常時仔khah tsiáp聽著ê音，也就是彼个音出現頻率ê懸低來決定beh讀佻一个音，對tsia會當知影除了受華語影響之外，字頻ê懸低嘛是真重要ê因素之一。

Tsit-má電視、網路傳播速度真緊，語音接觸變化ê情形隨時攏teh發生。雖然台語kap華語比較起來是khah弱勢，毋過紀錄當代台語語音ê演變iû-guân是真有意義ê khang-khuè。這篇文章只是真粗淺teh探討台語文白讀音ê演變情形，向望對台語ê研究有一sut仔貢獻。

## 讀者回應

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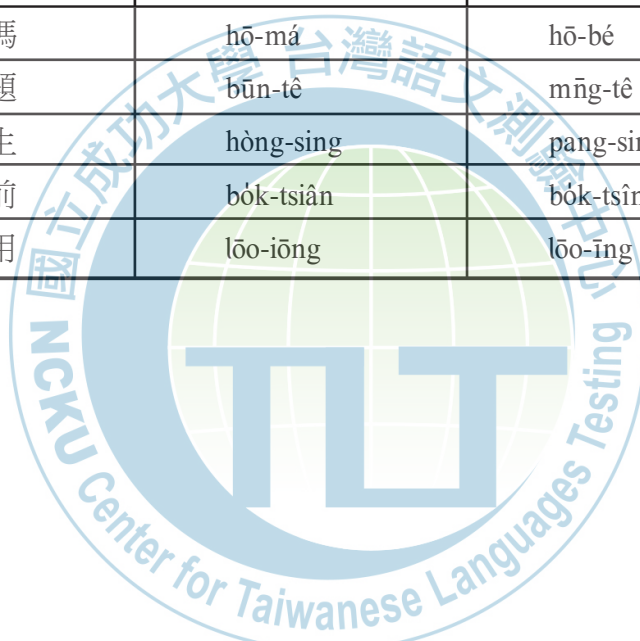
## 附錄1：發音人基本資料

名姓	性別	年歲	職業	成長地
蘇	男	22	學生	鹽埕
林	女	25	學生	岡山
吳	女	22	學生	楠梓
洪	女	23	學生	小港
陳	女	22	學生	三民
劉	女	22	學生	林園
呂	女	23	學生	前鎮
林	女	30	法警	岡山
林	女	28	航空地勤	岡山
王	女	27	學生	前鎮
姚	女	26	教師	苓雅
鍾	女	25	教師	美濃
許	女	27	店員	三民
侯	男	20	學生	鳳山
洪	男	26	店員	三民
彭	女	20	學生	鳳山
鄭	女	20	學生	橋仔頭
葉	女	23	學生	鼓山
黃	男	29	職員	三民
林	女	26	教師	岡山
吳	女	26	教師	岡山
蔡	男	23	職員	鳳山
邱	女	23	教師	岡山
林	女	26	教師	岡山
蔡	男	23	職員	岡山
黃	男	27	機車行	左營
黃	女	25	學生	三民
吳	男	30	工程師	大社
莊	女	27	教師	三民
黃	女	22	學生	左營

附錄2：字表

文白兩種讀音

漢字	文讀	白讀
活動	uáh-tōng	uáh-tāng
斷絕	tuān-tsuát	tñg-tsuát
傳說	thuân-suat	thuân-sueh
先生	sian-sing	sian-sinn/senn
勸世歌	khuàn-sè-kua	khng-sè-kua
號碼	hō-má	hō-bé
問題	būn-tê	mñg-tê
放生	hòng-sing	pang-sinn/senn
目前	bók-tsiân	bók-tsīng
路用	lō-iōng	lō-īng



# Lám身ê台灣母語： 伊ê過去、現狀kap未來向望

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台灣母語受壓迫ê經驗lóng是和殖民經驗kap做伙ê，包括日本時代kap中國國民黨仔台灣實施戒嚴ê時期。對母語不利ê政治經濟結構長期存在，所致母語ê使用ùi公領域kiu退到私領域。1987年台灣解除戒嚴以後，各族群母語復興運動，牽涉台灣人án-tsuá<sup>n</sup>來重新建立家己ê文化kap自我認同，是誠重要ê社會運動之一。經過二十冬，佇誠濟人拍拚之下，母語復興已經有袂少正面ê成果，m̄-koh，tsia--ê 成果真有限，而且ē-sái輾轉使用母語ê人suah愈來愈少。Tsit篇文章內底，代先beh講母語kap外來語ê定義，繼來看傷害母語ê語言政策kap法律。進一步，ē用一個語言生態模型來解說母語kap外來語ê關係。這個模型設定：母語kap外來語仔社會環境內底有相成ê功能地位，mā競爭全款ê社會資源，伊明白指出為啥物母語復興ē tsiah困難。根據這個模型，文章內底ē介紹成功ê新形態母語社會運動。文章ê上尾pha建議一寡未來母語運動ê策略kap行動。

關鍵詞：母語、語言生態、社會運動、語言政策

收件日期2013.04.30/修訂日期2013.07.30/接受日期2013.08.09

# Vulnerable Mother Tongues in Taiwan: the Past, Present and Future Prospects

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## Abstract

The oppression of mother tongues in Taiwan had always been accompanied by her colonial experiences since the Japanese era, and extended over the last fifty years of the 20th century, when Kuomintang imposed martial law in Taiwan. During this lengthy period, political and economic structures detrimental to mother tongues were constructed and the use of mother tongues in Taiwan was pushed from public areas to private domains. The revitalization of the mother tongues of different ethnic groups was one of the most important social movements after 1987 and is related to how the Taiwanese people reconstructed their cultural boundaries and self-identities. Many people tried hard to revive mother tongues, and they accomplished some positive outcomes in the past 20 years. However, the achievements have been very limited and people who can speak mother tongues fluently are still declining in number. In this article, definitions of mother tongues and alien languages are given. Important historical events and language policies that are prejudicial to the use of mother tongues are reviewed. Furthermore, an ecological model is introduced to clarify the relationships between mother tongues and alien languages. This model assumes that both kinds of languages have the same niche and vie for the same resource in the social environment, and also intelligibly reveal the difficulties of mother tongue revitalization. Based on this model, some examples of new social movements are given. Future strategies and actions are recommended in the final section of the article.

Keywords: Mother tongue, linguistic ecology, social movement, language policy



## 1. Introduction

In the preface of *A Collection of Taiwanese Idiomatic Expressions* (成語集) (published in 1928), it was noted that, “As social situations changed so fast, young boys and girls now prefer learning European and Japanese languages to learning Taiwanese. As a result, traditional Taiwanese idioms are forgotten and even abandoned. Newcomers, mostly young people, are unable to use idioms correctly or do not know the meaning of those idioms.”<sup>1</sup> This can be seen to present a fairly accurate account of the linguistic situation in Taiwan at that time. This can also be seen to suggest that as early as the time of Japanese rule in the 1920s, some people already sensed that Taiwan’s native languages were in crisis.

Mother tongues in Taiwan are Austronesian dialects, Hakka dialects and Amoy dialects. Among these native languages, the Amoy dialects, spoken by the largest ethnic group in Taiwan – descendants of settlers originally from Fujian, a province of China, are now considered Taiwanese (Chiung 2006). In contrast to mother tongues are the alien languages, which were introduced by both the Japanese and the Kuomintang (KMT) governments, and were not used traditionally by people living in Taiwan.

Following the defeat of Chiang Kai-Shek’s Chinese National Party (a.k.a. KMT) in the Chinese Civil War, the KMT fled to Taiwan and began imposing a national language policy in Taiwan based on Mandarin Chinese from 1945 onwards (Lee, 2004). This has led to a dramatic decline of all mother tongues spoken in Taiwan. Mandarin Chinese, which was the chief alien language in Taiwan, became dominant while the native languages of Taiwan were severely marginalized and even oppressed. By the 1960s, it became difficult to reverse the

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<sup>1</sup> The author of *A Collection of Idiomatic Expressions of Taiwanese* (成語集) is Mr. Lâm Siông-hûn. British clergyman Liâm Tek-liát inadvertently found the manuscripts. The manuscript was printed in Sin-Lâu Chhêh-Pâng and published in Showa three years later. The book is now collected in the NTU Library Yang Yun Ping library. The entire book was written in church romaji (pêh-ōe-jī, POJ) and recorded Taiwanese classical and vernacular idioms and proverbs.

crisis faced by Taiwan's mother tongues.

In an educational seminar in 2003, Ms. Ye Julan (葉菊蘭), Former Chairwoman of Council for Hakka Affairs, made an allegorical comparison of the crisis faced by Taiwan's mother tongues to varying degrees of illness: "Holo language (the Amoy dialect) is now admitted to the hospital, the Hakka language is in the emergency room and aboriginal languages (Austronesian dialects) are now in intensive care." Her statement concisely pointed out the seriousness of the decline of various mother tongues in Taiwan – a grave situation that has been a primary concern for educators and many others who are vigilant and resolved to resist this crisis. However, little could be done before Taiwan finally lifted the Martial Law in 1987. Since the lifting of Martial Law, the mother tongue movement in Taiwan has seen a great surge, with the inclusion of mother tongue education in the national curriculum from 2001 onwards widely seen as one of the most important recent milestones. However, it appears that despite the increasing efforts in saving mother tongues in Taiwan, the acquisition, learning, use and the circulation of the mother tongues still continues to shrink. Why is our mother tongue education not effective? Are mother tongue movements on the right track? What are the factors that contribute to the crisis faced by Taiwan's mother tongue heritage today? These questions are well beyond the scope of this essay, but I will try to point out some challenges and future directions.

## 2. The definition of the mother tongue

A mother tongue, which is usually the first language one acquires, is not necessarily obtained from the mother. According to United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the mother tongue is "a home language that one learns first and knows best" (UNESCO, 2005). However, this definition may sometimes cause confusion. For example, one who was born and brought up in a family of intermarriage may acquire different languages from both parents, thus the home language can be either the father's or the mother's

language. Further, if one who has to live in a foreign country or work in an alien area, he or she must learn new languages for life. Under such circumstances, the best known language could be different from the home language; therefore it could be problematic to say that the mother tongue is the person's best known language. It is easy to find more examples of complicated situations in which the boundaries between one's mother tongue and the best known language could become blurred. It is not surprising to say that most people acquire their mother tongue through everyday interactions with other people; and many people may consider either their most fluent language, their home language or even the most useful language to be their mother tongues. Besides, the connotation of the term "mother tongue" may vary under different economic and political contexts, and on occasions politicians may deliberately interpret the meaning of the mother tongue in ways that serve their agendas (Pokorn, 2005).

Given the challenges with the above definition, I would suggest that it is better to define mother tongue in cultural, instead of linguistic terms. A culture is a system of the presentation of heritably symbolic patterns. Concepts in a culture system are represented as signs and symbols, which are used by people to communicate with each other and to develop their knowledge and ethos (Geertz, 1973:89). Undoubtedly, language is the most powerful of all cultural-symbolic systems. People living in a specific place (sometimes migrating to another) use linguistic symbols to communicate with and to educate their children in order to hand down skills and knowledge related to their lives and environments from generation to generation (Tulasiewicz and Adams, 2005). Besides, language is the basis of cultural identity; use of language is often considered to be essential to the preservation of one's cultural heritage. For example, the Hakka people in Taiwan name their language as "Hak-ka fa" and call the Amoy-speaking people "Hō-ló ngìn" and their language "Hō-ló fa". To call the Amoy dialect "Taiwanese" would sometimes upset Hakka people and cause public disputes (Tsai, 2008).

Therefore, in this essay, the concept of "mother tongue" would be defined

in terms of the specific cultural tradition or affiliation linked to the language group. The mother tongue of people brought up in intermarried families would be defined by personal choice of ethnic or cultural identities. Although Mandarin Chinese is considered the national language for a long time,<sup>2</sup> it was not traditionally used by any ethnic group in Taiwan. Therefore, Mandarin Chinese is considered an alien language in Taiwan. Furthermore, there has never been any legislations that grants Mandarin Chinese the status of the country's national language. To use an alien language as the national language is fundamentally a result of political, ideological and cultural hegemony established by the KMT government. I will discuss this point in more detail later.

### 3. A brief history of oppressed mother tongues in Taiwan

#### 3.1. Under Japanese rule

Austronesians were the first people to live in Taiwan. It is now widely accepted that Taiwan was the fountainhead of Austronesian dispersal (Diamond, 2000). What we consider to be the indigenous people of Taiwan are the Austronesians. No more than 400 years ago, the Han people, whose ancestral homes were in the provinces Guangdong and Fujian, China, escaped hardship at home and settled in Taiwan in the early waves of immigration. The descendants of the Han settlers now constitute the largest number of people in Taiwan. Historically, Austronesian and Han people have often competed for natural resources but cooperated on various occasions. Their mother tongues were not systematically oppressed before the Japanese Rule, which began in 1895. Ever since the Japanese colonial rule, all the native languages of Taiwan have been subjected to the same sort of marginalization and persecution. The tension

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<sup>2</sup> To use Mandarin Chinese as the national language is based on the project of the vernacular (白話文計劃) designed by Hushi (胡適). The ultimate goal of the project is to eliminate dialects in China and to use the general Mandarin, which has been established in Ming and Qing dynasties, as a prevailing language (Huang, 2003).

between mother tongues and alien languages should therefore be examined in the same historical context.

The Japanese Colonial Rule in Taiwan can be divided into three periods. The first was from 1895 to 1919. During this period, the policies of the Japanese colonial government were primarily concerned with suppressing the anti-colonial rebellion, due to frequent and sometimes violent instances of armed and organized resistance of Taiwanese people. To avoid further antagonizing the Taiwanese people and causing further violent resistance, Japanese government set out policy objectives that aimed to gain a better understanding of their new colonial territory. In order to achieve these objectives, the Japanese government adopted a laissez-faire education and language policy, establishing many workshops (講習所) of Han and Austronesian dialects in many locations. A Department of Native Languages (土語科) was even established in the Taiwanese Governor Language School (Hsu, 2006). These institutions were given a special responsibility, which is to train translators and interpreters to help Japanese people learn native languages and cultures of Taiwan (Hsu, 2006). In addition, the Taiwan Governor established a total of 14 national language learning schools (國語傳習所), which set the foundation for modern education in Taiwan. The (Japanese national) Taiwan Governor encouraged the Taiwanese people to enroll in these institutions in an attempt to train the Taiwanese to behave more like the Japanese (Yu, 2011).

The promulgation of the Education Act in 1919 contributed directly to an unprecedented change in the environment of Taiwan's mother tongues. Under the terms of the new Education Act, the teaching and the establishment of private Taiwanese schools (私塾) were prohibited. In addition, Chinese language and literature<sup>3</sup>, which had been a compulsory subject, became an elective subject in public schools (公學校), which only offered elementary education to Taiwanese

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3 In the early 20th century in Taiwan, "Chinese" did not mean "Mandarin Chinese". At that time, teachers taught in Amoy dialects in classrooms and what they taught was more like what is called Sinology today.

pupils. The laissez-faire language policies in the previous period were abolished in favor of mandatory ones. The Japanese colonial government started to require that all Taiwanese people should give up their mother tongues and learn the Japanese language (Lin, 2006; Tseng, 2002). The 1930s was marked by the rise of right-wing forces in the Japanese Empire, which eventually led to the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese war in 1937. To consolidate the Japanese identity in Taiwan, the Taiwan Governor began to implement a series of reforms known as the Kominka Movement (皇民化運動), which aimed to turn the Taiwanese into loyal Japanese subjects. As a result, the elective subject of Chinese language and literature was banned in public schools; public Taiwanese conversations were also prohibited and students who spoke Taiwanese at school would receive punishment (Lee, 2004). All publications and newspapers published in Chinese were also banned. On the other hand, positive incentives were offered to encourage the Taiwanese who learned and used Japanese and adopted Japanese names (Lee, 2004; Lin, 2006).

It is particularly noteworthy that school attendance rate had increased since the implementation of the Education Act in 1919, resulting in a significant increase in the number of Taiwanese people who understood and spoke Japanese, and hence increased the use and circulation of Japanese in the Taiwanese society. Changes in language and education policies also made an impact on the educational system in Taiwan. To be more specific, under the Japanese colonial rule, the education system was given the responsibility to develop students' specialized skills; the pursuit of academic excellence was not encouraged. For anyone wishing to pursue higher education, overseas study was the only way and studying in Japan was the most convenient and popular route. Statistics show that before 1920, the number of Taiwanese students who had studied in Japan was less than 500. In 1921 alone, a total of 699 Taiwanese students studied in Japan. Before 1937, a total of 2,169 Taiwanese students had studied in Japan. The number was slowly but continuously rose (Pien, 2009). Consequently, the Japanese language became an essential tool for pursuing knowledge, whereas the

mother tongues of the Taiwanese became relatively useless.

### 3.2. After World War II

Following the defeat of Japan in WWII, the Chinese Nationalist Party took over Taiwan, and soon afterwards imposed yet another alien language on the island, i.e. Mandarin Chinese.

The KMT government shared many strategies with the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan in terms of their domination over the Taiwanese. In the early years of the KMT rule, the Chinese Nationalist government did not restrict the use of Taiwanese mother tongues; in fact, it even encouraged the new Chinese settlers – those who came to Taiwan with the KMT troops between 1944 to 1950 – to learn Taiwanese.<sup>4</sup> Many Taiwanese tutorials were published in those years. For example, *A Self-Taught, Crash Course in Taiwanese* (無師自通台語速成) was published in 1949; *A Self-Study Manual of Both Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese* (國語台語兩用自學手冊) was published in 1950; *The Symbol System of Taiwanese Dialects* (台語方音符號) was published by the official institution National Languages Committee of Taiwan Province in 1952, and *The Phonetic Alphabets of Taiwanese Conversation* (注音台語會話) was published by the Department of Defense and Political Propaganda in 1958. The publication of these books suggest that, firstly, the KMT government and the new Chinese settlers who arrived in Taiwan after the 1940s had little command of Taiwanese; secondly, the lingua franca of Taiwan at the time was Taiwanese, but not Hakka or Austronesian dialects.

Whereas the Japanese colonial government had established the National Language Learning Schools, the KMT government established the National Languages Committee of Taiwan Province in 1946. The first entry of National Language Promotion Program (國語運動綱領) was “to recover Taiwanese and to promote the learning of Mandarin Chinese by comparing languages”, which

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<sup>4</sup> Amoy dialects are considered as Taiwanese here and after.

appeared well-intentioned. However, the KMT government squeezed the living space of Taiwan's mother tongues in a gradual process. From 1951 to 1963, the Taiwan Provincial Department of Education (台灣省教育廳) promulgated several bills that aimed to make schools and universities 100% Mandarin-speaking (Hsu, 2009). The most damaging of all was to inflict punishment on pupils who spoke mother tongues at school. This has effectively demonized the use of mother tongues; as a result, increasing numbers of Taiwanese came to refuse to learn their mother tongues, even abandoned their own mother tongues. The policy remained in force for decades. Even young people born in the 1980s were still subjected to such punishment because of their use of mother tongues at school (Tiu<sup>n</sup>, 2008).

When Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV, 台灣電視公司) was founded 1962, it was allowed to set the ratio of broadcasting language (Mandarin Chinese vs. Taiwanese) independently. However, in 1963, the Executive Yuan (行政院) promulgated the "Management rules of broadcast, radio, and television" and "The guidelines for broadcasting and radio programs," in a bid to restrict the use of mother tongues in television or radio broadcasting in favor of Mandarin Chinese. Moreover, the airtime of Taiwanese-speaking programs was restricted to less than 50% of the entire broadcasting time; in 1972, it was further restricted to no more than one hour a day after the Ministry of Education promulgated yet a new bill (Hsu, 2009; Tiu<sup>n</sup>, 2008). All these rules were laid out and carried out to serve one purpose, which is to ensure that Mandarin Chinese was the sole language of the mass media. This has successfully restricted the circulation and use of mother tongues in both the mass media and other public spheres.

The brief historical review depicted above shows that mother tongues in Taiwan were systematically oppressed by governments that implemented policies that turned alien languages into dominant ones. Comparative studies on language policies of the Japanese colonial government and the KMT government show that the latter has resorted to more brutal measures in its marginalization and oppression of Taiwan's mother tongues. According to Dr. Lo Chao-chin (羅肇



錦), the consequence of the implementation of Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan was that people under 20 years of age have almost completely forgotten their mother tongues; people in their twenties could not speak their mother tongues correctly, and those in their thirties are unable to give a formal speech in their mother tongues but those in their fifties or above are unable to speak Mandarin Chinese (Lo, 1990). It can be concluded that after 50 years of KMT rule, the mother tongues of every ethnic group in Taiwan has become endangered.

#### 4. Linguistic ecology

Recent studies showed that bio-diversity and cultural diversity are consistent with each other. Highly developed areas are usually both ecologically and linguistically homogenous. In contrast, bio-diversity hotspots are usually areas with varied languages (Gorenflo et al., 2012). One of the models used to explain the association of linguistic and biological diversity is the expansion model, which considers regional expansion, such as the expansion of the European population, grain, diseases and languages, to play an important role in making the surrounding areas more like the expanding center, leading to the similarity of both the ecology and languages (Gorenflo et al., 2012). This model can be seen to be applicable to the cultural-linguistic situations in Taiwan, since the Japanese colonial government and the KMT government have both attempted to make Taiwan more Japan-like and China-like, respectively. As a consequence, the ecological and linguistic environments of Taiwan have become homogeneous and monotonous. It is necessary that we delve into the mechanisms to understand how this happened.

Changes in the modes of production are usually followed by changes of both ecological and social environments. In the cases that more drastic or efficient modes of production are applied in the expansion of a specific civilization – which usually means a group of people bound by a common culture and speaking a common language, surrounding ethnic groups would tend to be under structural

pressure in their struggles for survival. One of the most notable of such examples was the changes that occurred in Taiwan during the Dutch colonial period in the seventeenth century. More specifically, the Dutch colonial government introduced the Han hunters to southern Taiwan and these hunters applied more efficient ways to change the mode of production of deer skin. In consequence, the economy of the indigenous people, Siraya, was destroyed.<sup>5</sup> A document produced by a British man, Robert Swinhoe, in 1863 indicates that the people of Siraya spoke Chaozhou Chinese...their language had already been dead and there was only one person who could speak their own mother tongue (Lin, 2003). New modes of production were systematically applied and the original modes of production of the Siraya were replaced gradually. The Siraya were gradually pushed to the bottom of the society and social resources needed for the survival of their mother tongue were decreasing, eventually leading to the extinction of the Siraya language.

The same thing happened when the Japanese introduced industrial modes of production to Taiwan, and when the KMT government introduced the capitalist modes of production. Historically, not only the Siraya people, but all Taiwanese people had been put under pressure as a result of such changes in the modes of production. Once the economy is threatened by changes in modes of production, resistance would be inevitable. Most cases of armed resistances during the first stage of Japanese colonial period fell into this category (Ang, 1984). Nonetheless, most people give up their original life styles in search for more resources for livelihood. Learning alien languages is an easy way to join the group of invaders or oppressors, whereas maintaining the use of mother tongues

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<sup>5</sup> Han hunters were introduced into Taiwan by the Dutch and they set traps and used lassos to efficiently captured deer. Venison and deer skin was important nutritional and economic source of the Siraya people. However, the new deer-hunting technologies introduced by the Han hunters caused the rapid decline in the number of deer and the Siraya were thrown into poverty. The Siraya people even needed relief from VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, Dutch East India Company) (Andrade, 2007).

is usually considered a sign of resistance.

Bilingual speakers may benefit from the use of both mother tongues and alien languages, if the social environment has niches for the use of mother tongues. However, when governments systematically give people more incentives to use alien languages and prohibit the use of mother tongues in most social domains, mother tongues would lose their niches quickly. In most cases, alien governments would link higher social statuses, better life styles or greater power to the use of alien languages. This would cause many bilingual speakers to gradually give up their mother tongues and stop passing down the mother tongues to the younger generations in the family. During the final decade of the Japanese colonial rule, the Japanese colonial government accelerated the process of eliminating niches for Taiwan's mother tongues. The KMT government sped it up even further, making the alien language i.e. Mandarin Chinese an essential tool for occupational attainment or academic achievements (Su and Yu, 2004). For example, research showed that children of new Chinese settlers who arrived in Taiwan after 1945 tend to perform better at school than children of other ethnic groups (Chen, 2005). Besides, people who speak Mandarin Chinese fluently usually have better career opportunities (Chen and Wen, 2010).

A social environment can be understood as an ecological environment, and languages are species that live in the environment. Species in nature compete with each other for resources needed for their survival. However, species usually have their own specific niches; they do not compete with each other for completely overlapped resources. Balance is usually maintained by fluctuations of the population of species. When something unnatural – such as invasion of alien species – happens, there might not be enough resources for all species, and the overlap of niches is expanded. As a result, the original balance is broken and weaker species (usually the native ones) are endangered.

Various languages tend to compete with each other for the same social resources – more specifically, resources of education, of the mass media and of public support. Without these three types of social resources, a language

cannot be learned, circulated or maintained. The lack of one of these resources may result in the loss of competitiveness and the living space of a language. Languages that are well supported by all the three resources can be further transformed into economic capital, power capital or knowledge capital (Bourdieu, 1991), which can be used to acquire further resources to support a language, to produce more social capital and to reproduce a specific social class. As a form of social capital, language is crucial for upward social mobility. When an alien government introduces an alien language to a society, the government usually changes the mode of production, controls the education system and mass media, and resources for mother tongues quickly diminish.

Social environments are macro habitats<sup>6</sup> of mother tongues that are sensitive to changes in both the political and economic milieu. On the other hand, there are also micro habitats - families - which are considered the most important habitats, and the last bastion in the passing of mother tongues. These small environments tend to be more sensitive to economic factors and less sensitive to political ones. It should be emphasized, however, that the political and economic factors are often interrelated. When it is politically or socially profitable to use alien languages in macro habitats, a person who uses his or her own mother tongues would find it difficult to obtain social resources and to accumulate social capital. Micro habitats tend to be sensitive to such pressure, and parents would be indirectly forced to invest more resources in teaching their children alien languages, and reduce the time and effort to make conversations with them in mother tongues. As a result, the mother tongue would gradually lose its micro habitats. As a matter of fact, Mandarin Chinese is now the most spoken language for many families in Taiwan.

In brief, one of the main reasons behind the crisis faced by Taiwan's mother tongue heritage is that the alien population, which since 1945 have been

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<sup>6</sup> A habitat is a place, where a species or population relies on it for life (Stiling, 1992). A living language must be used by people in specific places, which are considered habitats of the language. Once its habitats are occupied or destroyed, the language is going to die.

the primary holder of political power, have systematically promoted the alien language and marginalized or even suppressed the mother tongues of Taiwan by various means, including distributing social resources in an unbalanced way. In Taiwan, the socioeconomic status of the native populations tends to be lower than the alien population – a situation in which vested interests have intentionally tried to maintain. Under the circumstances, even though mother tongue education was introduced into the formal education system after 2001, it has not been much of a help in terms of rescuing Taiwan's mother tongue heritage.<sup>7</sup>

## 5. Revival of mother tongues in Taiwan: future prospects

Habitats of mother tongues are not destroyed; they are just occupied by alien languages. In theory, the easiest way to restore a nation's native languages (or mother tongues) is to remove alien languages; in reality, however, this is almost impossible. An alternative method for restoring mother tongues is to redistribute social resources among all languages. This can be carried out in a number of steps. The first is to deconstruct the present hegemony of Mandarin Chinese, i.e. competing for the power to interpret the culture, especially the connotation of mother tongues, and to acknowledge the unique characteristics and values of mother tongues.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggested that peoples embedded in different cultural contexts tend to develop culturally specific modes of thinking, which are established on the basis of specific languages. This can be seen to suggest that apart from being a tool for communication, language also plays an important role in the shaping of culture. Generally speaking, languages are essential tools for shaping culture and passing on that culture to younger generations and they give feedback to each other mutually. It is now clear that mother tongues are

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<sup>7</sup> Before 1995, it was not uncommon to hear Hakka conversations on trains, in cinemas and in many other public domains. Although Hakka language teaching was already included in the formal education system, after 2006, it was rare to hear Hakka conversations in public domains.

indispensable for every ethnic group in Taiwan to maintain their cultural heritage and collective identities. Further, to restore mother tongues in Taiwan, it is important to create multi-cultural environments in the society, because a vibrant society is always positively correlated with a multi-cultural ecology. Mother tongues are valuable treasures of individual ethnic groups and the whole society.

The KMT government never considered itself a colonial government. It is an alien, colonial government nevertheless, as the way in which the KMT government implements and executes laws and policies was rather similar to that of the Japanese colonial government. This suggests that Taiwan has been subjected to colonial rule for more than a century to date. During the course of the century-long colonial rule, the Taiwanese people have lost the confidence in their own culture – a situation which has not improved much even after 1996, when the first native-born president was elected. Nevertheless, it should be noted that democratization and localization of political leadership have indeed opened doors for new opportunities as far as the revival of Taiwan's mother tongue. For example, many Austronesian people regained their cultural confidence, which in turn drives them to fight for the right to educate the younger generations in their mother tongues. To challenge and deconstruct the political, cultural and ideological hegemony of Mandarin Chinese is a crucial step towards regaining cultural confidence of the Taiwanese. Mother tongues would not be able to compete with the dominant Mandarin Chinese if users of certain mother tongues do not have pride and confidence in their own culture and language.

It is also important to take practical actions to recapture the social habitats for the mother tongues. More specifically, people must fight for the legal status of their mother tongues to safeguard the right of unimpeded use of mother tongues in the public spheres such as the court, land offices, district offices, etc. Outdated government policies such as those mentioned earlier should be abolished. Besides, people should also become actively involved in being agents for change in the context of everyday life. For example, people should try to

speak their own mother tongues in and outside of the family. It is important that mother tongues are frequently heard in the public space, because it would be difficult for the nation to acknowledge the existence of languages other than Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan, unless the presence of mother tongues is clearly felt. It is worth noting that one of the best locations for one to practice mother tongues is at the restaurant, as the restaurant staff would normally be required to meet the customers' requests, including linguistic needs. In the case that a waiter can only speak Mandarin Chinese, for the waiter to be able to communicate with the customer, he would need an interpreter onsite, or may even have to learn the mother tongues of other ethnic groups. With such practical applications, the Mandarin Chinese hegemony, in which I must speak Mandarin Chinese to order my meal, is then exactly deconstructed.

Another effective way of deconstructing the hegemony of Mandarin Chinese is through the public presentation of positive role models such as celebrities or successful entrepreneurs whose mother tongue is Taiwanese. Mother tongues can be considered useful social capital if they are used in proper ways. For example, Suming, Taiwanese pop singer of the Amis tribe of the Austronesian group, writes songs and sings in his own mother tongue, Amis, which is supported by thousands of fans.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, some of the most popular songs of Mayday, a leading Taiwanese pop band, are also sung in Taiwanese (Ī, 2012). Use of mother tongues by celebrities in the public space is an effective way to exhibit the cultural power of a certain ethnic group, and to demonstrate that people who speak mother tongues can indeed achieve great success in their chosen careers.

Increased presence of mother tongues in public can also stimulate enthusiasm of the public, especially youngsters, to learn the native languages. Seediq Bale (2011), an epic film that gives an account of the Seediq resistance of the Japanese colonial rule in the 1930s, employed the Seediq language almost throughout the entire film. The box office earnings of the film was over

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8 Personal web site of Suming: <<http://johnsuming.com/>>

seven hundred million Taiwan dollars. Most importantly, the film has brought the Austronesian dialects to public attention, and successfully evoked public enthusiasm in learning the Seediq culture and language. The success of this film has demonstrated that increased presence can indeed help to enhance public awareness of the mother tongues, and in so doing put the languages back in its habitats.

The overall social environment is the macro habitat for all languages. If the habitat is occupied by alien languages, the micro habitats for mother tongues would be fragmented, isolated and eventually endangered. I should emphasize here once again the importance of using mother tongues to fight the hegemony of the alien language in public. Mother tongue education in schools is important but it should not be over-emphasized. We should make much more effort in increasing the use of mother tongues in public domains.

## 6. Conclusion

Taiwan has been subjected to colonial rule since 1895. As a result of colonial language and educational policies implemented by the Japanese and Chinese Nationalist governments, the mother tongue of every ethnic group in Taiwan has suffered systematic suppression by alien languages, to the extent that the heritage of Taiwan's mother tongues is seriously endangered. In this essay, I have argued that one of the most significant factors contributing to this crisis is the change in the political-economic structure and modes of production brought by the alien governments in particular. In the capitalist mode of production, only the national languages – Japanese during the Japanese Rule and Mandarin Chinese during the KMT rule – were considered a desirable form of social capital. The alien languages occupy the macro habitats and drain all social resources. Therefore, to restore our heritage of mother tongues, it is not sufficient to resort to school education alone. It is even more important that people regain self-confidence in their ethnic cultures and languages, and go on to challenge and deconstruct



the hegemony of the alien languages in public in order to make mother tongues a more effective form of social capital. The ultimate goal of mother tongue restoration is to protect and pass on the culture of the various ethnic groups, and to turn Taiwan into a truly multicultural society.

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# The Contribution of the “Amoy Romanized Bible” to the Taiwan Society and Language

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## Abstract

The Amoy Romanized Bible (Péh-ōe-jī Sèng-keng), now still used in the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, was translated by the Rev. Thomas Barclay. The New Testament was published in 1916, and the Old Testament, in 1933. Generally speaking, people tend to shift to the dominant language and lose their mother tongue. However, the Amoy Romanized Bible enhanced people’s self-confidence and identity of their mother tongue. And the church helped the people acquire literacy through the teaching of Taiwanese Romanization (péh-ōe-jī). Since the Amoy Romanized Bible kept the vocabulary of an earlier period, it has the function of language maintenance and also became the best corpus of language change. Bible translation made the reader understand Christianity and Jewish culture through their native language, contributing to cultural contrast.

Keywords: the Amoy Romanized Bible, Rev. Thomas Barclay,  
language maintenance, literacy, culture contrast

# 《聖經》「巴克禮譯本」 對台灣社會kap語言ê貢獻

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## 摘要

現在長老教會中iáu teh使用ê白話字《聖經》，是巴克禮牧師對照原文所修譯ê，新約部分tī 1916年出版，舊約部分tī 1933年出版。一般來講，社會上ê語言使用tiā<sup>n</sup>-tiā<sup>n</sup> ē 傾向執政者所認定ê國家語言，結果是漸漸放棄家己ê母語，改換做優勢語（language shift）。M̄-koh因為《聖經》chit本宗教經典ê翻譯，提昇民眾對家己母語ê自信kap認同，加上教會白話字教學ê推sak，hō信徒具備母語讀寫ê能力。「巴克禮譯本」中一寡年代khah早期ê詞彙iáu存在tī今仔日教會人士ê日常用語，甚至文學作品當中，發揮語言保存ê功用，mā成做語言變化上好ê研究語料。「巴克禮譯本」所堅持ê形式對應翻譯原則，也hō讀者ē-tàng透過母語來認bat基督教義kap猶太文化，對文化對比有貢獻。

關鍵詞：白話字聖經、巴克禮牧師、語言保存、母語讀寫能力、文化對比

## 1. 前言

基督教<sup>1</sup>進入台灣，上早是tī荷蘭統治ê時期<sup>2</sup>，但是荷蘭人傳教ê對象並m̄是遷徙來台灣khia起ê中國人，乃是台灣ê原住民平埔族群，主要是以西拉雅族（Siraya）為主。當荷蘭人退出台灣，chit个時期所建立ê傳教工作因為無得著持續ê培養照顧soah來消失去，但是宣教士所教導ê羅馬拼音系統，因為培養原住民有讀寫家己母語ê能力，顛倒留落真濟寶貴ê文獻<sup>3</sup>。鄭成功kap滿清統治ê時代，基督教tī台灣ê傳布一度中斷，一直到19世紀中葉，西方教會興起海外宣教運動ê熱潮，基督教又koh重新踏入台灣chit tè土地。1865年，英國長老教會（Presbyterian Church of England）頭一任派駐台灣ê宣教師馬雅各醫生（Dr. James Laidlaw Maxwell, 1836-1921）kap伊ê助理tùi廈門渡海來台，選定台灣府城（台南）設立醫療佈道所，自按呢開啟長老教會tī台灣宣教ê歷史。一百四十外年來，台灣長老教會透過醫療、傳道、教育、社會服務等方式來見證信仰，已經發展成做上有本土特質ê教派，全時也保存豐富ê歷史傳統kap文化資產。

本文beh深入探討ê，是tī 1933年所出版ê《聖經》「巴克禮譯本」，chit个譯本是英國宣教師巴克禮牧師（Rev. Thomas Barclay, 1849-1935）<sup>4</sup>參考過去ê譯本，對照原文所修譯ê，對台灣社會，尤其是語言方面有真大ê影響。本文tī第1節前言了後，第2節先介紹「巴克禮譯本」ê翻譯背景，然後第3節、第4節講論「巴克禮譯本」ê語言特色kap文化對譯ê部分，最後綜合說明「巴克禮譯本」對台灣ê貢獻。

<sup>1</sup> 本文所講ê基督教是指「基督新教」，kap舊教天主教有分別。

<sup>2</sup> 頭一位荷蘭駐台牧師是干治士（Georgius Candidius），來台日期是1627年5月4日（賴永祥1990）。了後，陸續來台ê宣道士攏總有32位（Campbell 1903/2003）。

<sup>3</sup> 上出名ê就是由日本學者村上直次郎tī 1933年所收集出版ê一批「新港文書（Sinkan Manuscripts）」，內容大部分是土地租借、買賣kap借貸方面ê契約文書，一般稱做「番仔契」。

<sup>4</sup> 巴克禮牧師自1875年來台灣，到1935年tī台灣過身，六十年ê中間伊開設台南神學院（1876，原名「大學」）、推sak白話字、創立印刷冊房、創辦教會報（1885）、重譯聖經（新約1916、舊約1933）、增補廈英大辭典（1923）等，thang講是影響台灣社會上大ê傳教士。

## 2. 《聖經》「巴克禮譯本」翻譯歷史簡介

從1850年代，派駐tī中國廈門<sup>5</sup> ê傳教士就開始利用羅馬拼音「白話字」<sup>6</sup> 翻譯《聖經》，根據《英國聖經公會圖書館藏聖經刊本歷史目錄》<sup>7</sup> 所收錄ê資料，用廈門話翻譯ê第一卷《聖經》書卷是1852年ê「約翰福音」，soà接陸續有1853年ê「路得記」，1863年ê「馬可福音傳」，1867年ê「使徒行傳」，1868年ê「路加福音書」、「彼得前後書」、「啟示錄」，1870年ê「約翰書（信）」，1871年ê「加拉太書」、「以弗所書」、「腓立比書」、「歌羅西書」，1872年ê「馬太福音書」……等。後來馬雅各醫生利用時間從事翻譯，將chia-ê散本集合、補齊<sup>8</sup>，1873年tī英國Glasgow監印出版《Lán ê Kiù-chú Iâ-so Ki-tok ê sin-iok（咱ê救主耶穌基督ê新約）》，1884年出版《Kū Iok ê Seng Keng（舊約ê聖經）》，che是早期台灣所使用ê《聖經》（賴永祥1990）。

1884年中法戰爭，台灣、廈門兩地ê宣教師接受領事館ê忠告暫時徙去廈門避難，tī hia in參詳決議beh重新翻譯《聖經》<sup>9</sup>。1885年為著修改進前所出版ê「新約」，英國長老教會、美國歸正教會、倫敦宣道會kap加拿大長老教會共同組織一个改譯委員會，委員會將廈門話譯本詳細校閱，並前後出刊單冊ê暫行修訂版，如1885年ê「帖撒羅尼迦書」、1886年ê「哥林多前書」、「加拉太書」、1887年ê「使徒行傳」、「腓立比書」、1888年ê「哥

<sup>5</sup> 廈門位在中國東南，tī 17世紀初就已經是重要ê商業港，mā是閩南人旅居南洋ê出入口。1842年「中英南京條約」簽訂，廈門成做五口通商ê港口之一，西方傳教士開始tī chia建立閩南地區ê宣教基地。

<sup>6</sup> 「白話字」是指書寫白話口語ê羅馬拼音文字。利用簡單ê音素符號來記錄口語，比複雜ê漢字ke真好學、有效率，早期是傳教士學習當地語言ê工具，後來變成教育信徒閱讀ê工具。

<sup>7</sup> *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scriptures in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, compiled by T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule. London: Bible House, 1903-1911. 2 vols. in 4 轉引自賴永祥（1990:69）。

<sup>8</sup> 《聖經》實際上m̄-nā是一本冊，乃是一phō包括六十六卷著作ê大合集。按照時代ê前後分做「舊約」kap「新約」。「舊約」有三十九卷，按照內容性質ê-tàng分做律法書、先知書kap文學著作三大類；「新約」有二十七卷，包括福音書、歷史、書信、啟示四大類。

<sup>9</sup> 因為馬雅各ê譯本是tī有限ê資源下參考英文譯本翻譯ê，kap聖經ê原文有淡薄仔出入。



林多後書」、「歌羅西書」、「雅各書」、「彼得書」、「猶大書」、1889年ê「馬太福音書」……等（賴永祥1990：74）。1890年中國新教傳道會組織委員會計畫出版「和合本」（Union Version）<sup>10</sup>，改譯委員會為著beh tùi「文理和合譯本」中得著對照，hō重要ê宗教用語一致，所以tī 1893年停止修訂ê工作（Broomhall 1977[1934]）。1913年，宣教師koh tī廈門召開會議，決定聘任專人負責翻譯工課，巴克禮牧師被推選承擔chit个翻譯事工。伊tùi 1913年起前往廈門，聘請兩位中國牧師林溫仁、黃馬輝，以及一名傳道師盧錄爹做顧問，參考希臘原文改譯「新約」。完成了後，tī 1915年由巴克禮牧師親身前往日本橫濱監印，tī 1916年5月發行第一版。Chit个版本受著真大ê歡迎，根據《台灣基督長老教會百年史》（1965:131）ê記載，「新約」出版以後ê十五年中間，tī台灣、福建以及南洋攏總賣出六萬外本。所以當聖經公會決定beh重翻「舊約」ê時，猶原邀請巴克禮牧師來擔任翻譯，tùi án-ne伊tī 1927年koh一擺前往廈門，參考希伯來原文kap中文「和合本」改譯「舊約」，tī 1930年完成初稿。但是因為1932年日本轟炸上海，發生「一二八事變」，tī商務印書館所印ê「舊約」攏燒了了，佳哉巴克禮牧師手頭猶保存一部分ê原稿，chiah無前功盡棄。印刷ê進度一直拖到1933年chiah出版完整ê《SIN-KŪ-IOK Ê SÈNG-KENG（新舊約ê聖經）》（Band 1972[1936]; Broomhall 1977[1934]; 潘稀祺2003）。

<sup>10</sup> 1807年頭一位新教傳教士馬禮遜（Robert Morrison, 1782-1834）去到中國廣州，基督教ê傳佈kap譯經ê工作就隨tī中國展開。早期ê中文譯本大部分是各宣教差會各自翻譯，一直到1890年ê宣教大會，決議大家共同合作來出版標準ê中文譯本，稱做「和合本」（Union Version）。初期成立三組譯委會，分別負責翻譯深文理（文言文）、淺文理（淺近ê文言文）kap官話（白話文）。當「淺文理和合譯本」ê新約部分完成了後（1900年完稿，1904年出版），中國社會ê書面語系統已經趨向淺白，所以譯委會決議將兩種文理譯本合併，tī 1919年出版「文理譯本全書」。另外ê「官話和合本」新約是tī 1906年完成出版，1919年完成舊約並出版全書。「官話和合本」出版了後ê銷售量遠遠超過其他譯本，1939年經過修訂了後，改名「國語和合本」，簡稱「和合本」。「和合本」了後雖然iáu有其他中文譯本陸續出版，但是到ta<sup>n</sup> iáu未有比「和合本」流通koh-khah闊ê中文譯本（許牧世 1983；莊柔玉 2000；蔡錦圖 2000）。

Chit个譯本出版了後，成做影響台灣教徒上深ê台語版本<sup>11</sup>。M̄-koh因為白話字ê使用bat受著政府三十外年ê禁止（黃宣範 1995，陳美如 1998，張裕宏 2001），致到白話字tī教會中mā漸漸失傳。後來岡山ê林恩魁長老kap嘉義ê李英長老分別根據「巴克禮譯本」將白話字改寫做漢字，聖經公會得著兩位信徒所改寫ê寶貴資料<sup>12</sup>，徵求台語文學者kap牧者ê意見，整合規範台語漢字了後，tī 1996年出版「台語漢字本」（Taiwanese Han Character Edition）。所以一直到現在，長老教會台語禮拜主要teh使用ê《聖經》iáu是「巴克禮譯本」。<sup>13</sup>

### 3. 「巴克禮譯本」ê語言特色

#### 3.1. 文字型式

「巴克禮譯本」所使用ê文字型式是羅馬拼音「白話字」。

克服語言ê障礙，hō基督ê福音廣傳是基督徒所措ê宣教大使命，所以宣教士凡若到一个所在，就學習當地ê語言文字，tī iáu未有文字iáh是書寫文字無普及ê所在，就用羅馬拼音來記錄語音，chit个舉動éng-éng為hit个語言留落上起初ê文獻資料。早期傳教士到中國宣教，用羅馬拼音擬定各地ê口頭語言，tī 19世紀末kap 20世紀初，中國上少出版有18種方言ê羅馬拼音《聖經》譯本，數量達到243種版本（游汝杰 2002）。因為羅馬拼音文字大部分通行tī教會圈內，所以koh稱做「教會羅馬字」，其中通行上早、影響上大

<sup>11</sup> 本來tī「巴克禮譯本」以後，因為語言ê變遷kap宣教ê需要，有新翻譯《聖經》ê計畫。代先由天主教學者高積煥先生kap陳邦鎮先生翻譯新約「四福音書」，完成了後交hō聖經公會邀請基督教ê聖經學者進行校譯，tī 1967年出版台灣話羅馬字版ê《四福音書》。後來koh根據chit个版本增譯做全本《SIN-IOK（新約）新約》，tī 1972年年底完成。因為beh紀念耶穌基督救贖世間人所流ê寶血，所以使用紅色ê冊皮，一般人習慣稱伊做「紅皮聖經」。1975年當印刷完成beh出版ê時，soah因為政治ê因素全部受禁止、沒收，理由是：1) 用羅馬字書寫，kap當時中共書寫ê系統相像。2) 冊皮是紅色塑膠皮，kap《毛語錄》雷同。3) 使用方言，分裂國語推行運動（徐淑貞 2007）。真濟台灣人m̄-bat看過chit个譯本，甚至m̄知影有chit个譯本存在，所以「巴克禮譯本」成做早前教會唯一看ê著ê台語譯本。

<sup>12</sup> 後來以林恩魁長老的原稿進行討論修訂。

<sup>13</sup> 目前台灣聖經公會teh進行「現代台語譯本」ê翻譯，已經tī 2007年出版新約。M̄-koh教會界ê接受度無koân，使用mā無普遍。

ê就是根據廈門話所制定ê「閩南白話字」。根據統計，ê曉使用廈門白話字ê民眾至少有10萬人（黃典誠1953；黃典誠、李樂毅1988）。台灣因為kap廈門ê地理位置相倚、語言koh相通，長老教會來台灣宣教就延續廈門ê經驗，用「白話字」做傳教ê媒介。<sup>14</sup>

巴克禮牧師認為17世紀荷蘭人tī台灣ê宣教成績bē bái，但是因為無將《聖經》翻做本地語言，真理無法度傳承，所以荷蘭政權一下離開，基督教信仰真緊就失去<sup>15</sup>。伊確信tī台灣ê傳教有三件代誌真重要：第一、若beh建立健全、有活力ê教會，每一位信徒無分男女老幼攏ài家己研讀《聖經》。第二、若用漢字無可能達成chit個目標。第三、只有使用羅馬拼音「白話字」chiah ē-tàng達成chit個目標（Band 1972[1936]）。因為有chit款ê信念，所以巴克禮牧師熱心推sak白話字教育，tī 1885年創辦《台灣府城教會報》（Tâi-oân-hú-siâ<sup>n</sup> Kàu-hōe-pò）做輔助學習ê刊物，kā印刷ê冊房號名做「聚珍堂」（Chū-tin-tông）<sup>16</sup>，出版、銷售白話字書籍。上重要ê是完成白話字《聖經》ê翻譯，將上帝ê話語轉換做好學、好了解ê生活語言kap文字，hō信徒ē-tàng透過家己閱讀《聖經》來敬拜上帝，認bat真理。

### 3.2. 語音

咱tùi「巴克禮譯本」ê英文名“Amoy Romanized Bible”（廈門音羅馬字聖經）ē-tàng真清楚看出伊是一本廈門話ê譯本，所採用ê語音是由漳州、泉州兩地腔口透濫ê「偏泉腔」廈門音。

因為beh推sak拼音文字，所以tiōh ài 揀一个地區ê語音做標準音。廈門自19世紀中葉成做通商口岸以後，漸漸發展做中國閩南地區政治、經濟、文化ê中心，廈門話mā成做閩南地區ê優勢方言，hō人當做是閩南話ê代表<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> 早期tī廈門印製ê出版品，除了《聖經》、聖詩以外，iáu有一寡聖經故事、四書譯註、小學用ê修身、歷史、地理、生理、數學等課本，出版物總數在120萬冊以上。（黃典誠、李樂毅 1988）

<sup>15</sup> 1661年，荷蘭宣教師倪但理牧師（Daniel Gravius, 1616-1681）翻譯ê部分「新約」tī阿姆斯特丹出版，是荷蘭文kap西拉雅文對照，包括「馬太福音」kap「約翰福音」。因為隔年鄭成功趕逐荷蘭人離台，所以本冊未bat tī台灣使用（林昌華 2009）。

<sup>16</sup> 「聚珍堂」後來成做「台灣教會公報社」，並附設冊局，就是今仔日ê「新樓書房」。

<sup>17</sup> 《普通話閩南方言辭典》（1981）kap「現代漢語方言大詞典」ê分卷《廈門方言辭典》（1993）攏是以廈門話做閩南方言ê代表。

(周長楫1996; 張振興1997; 周長楫、歐陽憶耘1998), 台灣tī日本時代mā有kā廈門話看做是台灣話標準語ê傾向(王育德1957; 鄭良偉1987a, 1987b)。Hit當時ê《聖經》翻譯自然會受著chit款觀念ê影響, 沿續用廈門音來翻譯。廈門話kap台灣話攏是漳州、泉州透濫ê腔口, 廈門話泉州音成分khah濟、漳州音成分khah少ê特性kap台北腔非常接近, 所以受著台灣人ê接納。

### 3.3. 語詞

梁淑慧(2004、2008)整理出「巴克禮譯本」ê詞彙有以下ê特色, 包括:

(1) 保留真濟早期台灣話、廈門話ê共同語詞, 譬如: 「暗靜àm-chī<sup>18</sup>」(暗中、私下)、「喉叫âu-kiò」(大聲叫)、「此霎chit tiáp」(現在、此刻)、「仇讎kiù-siú」(冤仇)、「昂愕gông-ngiah」(驚一下soah m̄知beh按怎)、「枯焦ko-tâ」(枯萎、蔘去)、「擘腹peh-pak」(煩惱、艱苦心)、「窘逐khùn-tiòk」(迫害、追趕)、「著磨tiòh-bôa」(勞苦、辛苦)、「著觸tiòh-tak」(失敗、跋倒)……等。

(2) 表達「強烈」ê程度副詞豐富, 除了一般khah捷使用ê「真」、「非常」以外, koh有: 「盡在chīn-chāi」、「大tōa」、「極kék」、「極其kék-kí」、「到極kàu-kèk」、「不止put-chí」……等。<sup>18</sup>

(3) 用疊詞來強化語義, 譬如: 「濟濟chōe-chōe」(真濟)、「嚴嚴giâm-giâm」(非常嚴厲)、「切切chhiat-chhiat」(懇切、迫切)、「沓沓tauh-tauh」(一再)、「獨獨tók-tók」(只有)……等。<sup>19</sup>

(4) 有一寡語詞ê語義tī現代已經改變。譬如: 以「流傳liú-thoân」表示「傳統」、以「總是chóng-sī」表示「但是」、以「形狀hêng-chōng」表示「形象」……等。

(5) 詞類ê改變, 譬如: 將「榮光」、「利益」、「奇怪」、「清氣」攏當做及物動詞來使用。<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> 用法如: 盡在驚、盡在歡喜; 大受氣、大歡喜; 極貴氣、極嚴; 極其好、極其悲哀; 艱苦到極、歡喜到極; 不止受氣、不止暗。

<sup>19</sup> 用法如: 濟濟人、濟濟牛; 嚴嚴ê責備、嚴嚴警戒伊; 切切求、切切欣慕; 沓沓去、沓沓跋落水; 獨獨一支拐仔、獨獨我bat伊。

<sup>20</sup> 用法如: 榮光in、利益別人、奇怪伊ê教示、清氣杯盤ê外面。

(6) 使用疑問詞「mah」。譬如：「所beh來ê是你mah？抑是阮著向望別人ah？」（馬太福音11:3）、「Chit个kiám m̄是木匠ê困mah？」（馬太福音13:55）、「我所beh lim ê杯，恁ē lim mah？」（馬太福音20:22）。

雖然時代teh變遷，「巴克禮譯本」所使用ê語彙猶原被傳承、記憶，存在tī現代教會人士ê日常用語中。

### 3.4. 語法

鄭良偉（1987a）kap梁淑慧（2004）指出「巴克禮譯本」ê語法有一寡所在受著文言文kap英文ê影響，所以ē出現下面ê句型：

(1) 將處所詞組（prepositional phrase of location）hē tī動詞ê後面。如：「三日後揣著伊tī殿裡。」（路加福音2:46）、「…kap亞伯拉罕、以撒、雅各坐桌tī天國。」（馬太福音8:11）

(2) 文脈中已經出現ê先行詞（antecedent），ē用代名詞ê形式koh出現tī及物動詞（transitive verb）ê後面。如：「伊ê學生摘麥穗，用手揉伊來食。」（路加福音6:2）、「我會毀壞上帝ê殿，三日就起伊。」（馬太福音26:61）

(3) 動賓結構ê後面直接接補語，無用「述、賓、述、補」的結構iá h是將賓語提前。如：「In照主ê律法行逐項代誌明白。」（路加福音2:39）、「智識ê人起伊ê厝tī石磐頂。」（馬太福音7:24）

## 4. 「巴克禮譯本」中ê文化對譯

翻譯《聖經》ê工作非常困難複雜，上主要ê因素在tī《聖經》是出tùi一个咱真生份koh年代久遠ê文化，又koh是傳達上帝ê話語。所以必須兼顧猶太人當時ê文化背景kap特殊ê敘述方式（譬如：象徵、比喻、寓言等），hō讀者透過譯本來了解原文對當時讀者ê意義，koh希望ē-tàng進一步影響讀者，hō in受感動來過有信仰ê生活，chit款ê工課是超過翻譯（translation）所做ê。Stacey（1977/1984）就形容chit个複雜ê工作是一種「文化ê轉譯」（transculturization）；駱維仁（2001）認為《聖經》翻譯是「文化詮釋（cultural interpretation）ê第一步」。所以，譯本所根據ê翻譯理論就ē影響譯本所呈現ê風格。Tī「巴克禮譯本」時代，翻譯ê理論採用「形式對應（formal correspondence）」ê原則，強調忠於原文，盡量做到譯文kap原文

tī內容、風格、節奏、句法攏相像，以重現原文做目標。所以「巴克禮譯本」保留猶太文化中ê專有名詞kap特殊ê講法，將in介紹hō本地ê讀者。譬如：

圖表1. 猶太文化中ê專有名詞舉例

# 巴克禮譯本	註釋 <sup>21</sup>
1. 祭司頭 (chè-si-thâu)	上大ê一位祭司，主要任務是獻贖罪祭kap主持公會。
2. 經學士 (keng-hák-sū)	主要ê任務是研究、講解kap教導聖經。
3. 公會 (kong-hōe)	猶太人ê最高法院，thang講是當時殖民地ê最高自治機關。
4. 百總 (pé-chóng)	領導一百人以下ê軍官。
5. 衫仔裾ê鬚 (sa <sup>n</sup> -á-ku ê chhiu)	指猶太查甫人穿ê長袍ê底ê鬚，chit款長袍攏總有四條鬚，兩條tī頭前，兩條tī後壁，是藍色kap白色ê線織ê。用來提醒人「遵行上帝一切ê命令」。
6. 丁稅 (teng-sè)	猶太人ê聖殿稅。每一個二十歲以上ê猶太男丁攏必須付chit个稅。

圖表2. 猶太文化中ê特殊講法舉例

經文	巴克禮譯本	說明
馬太福音 7:6	莫得用聖ê物hō狗，iah莫得用恁ê真珠hiat tī豬ê頭前，驚了in用腳踏伊，越輪轉 (òat-lin-tng) 來咬恁。	chit句是猶太人ê諺語。原文是以「交錯對仗」ê形態來表達，句中有兩個名詞、兩個動詞，順序是「狗、豬、踏、咬」。「巴克禮譯本」照原文翻譯，ē hō人誤解做：狗無做啥，豬koh踏koh咬。但事實上作者所beh表達ê應該是：狗咬人；豬踏珍珠。
馬太福音 22:44	將你chiah ê對敵hē tī你ê腳下	征服者往往將腳踏tī被征服者ê領頸。
馬太福音 23:30	無kap in有份tī流先知人ê血	猶太人ê「血」代表「性命」。

(後一頁koh有)

<sup>21</sup> 註釋部分參考「信望愛信仰與聖經資源中心」網站<<http://bible.fhl.net/>>所提供之資料kap《袖珍聖經辭典》(1974)。

(頂一頁koh有)

馬太福音 28:1	七日ê頭一日	七工構成一禮拜是猶太人ê曆法，以禮拜日做一禮拜ê頭一工。
使徒行傳 18:6	恁ê血歸tī恁，無我ê關係。	猶太人ê「血」代表「生命」。
哥林多後書 11:24	我hō猶太人拍五擺，每擺四十下減一下。	猶太人執行鞭刑ê時，tī規定ê40下中只ē-tàng拍39下，免得無細膩拍超過40下來違反舊約律法。

Tī無仝ê文化中，甲語言中ê某一種物件真oh tī乙語言中揣著完全對應ê講法，有時ai透過本土語言中類似iah是相近ê表達來翻譯，chiah ē-tàng幫助譯入語ê讀者理解。咱看著「巴克禮譯本」使用當時社會ê詞彙來幫贊讀者理解猶太文化。

圖表3. 巴克禮譯本ê「本土化」詞彙

# 巴克禮譯本	原文直譯說明
1. 目赤(bák-chhiah)	原文意思是「目瞞惡」或「目瞞pháí」(eye evil)，tī chia是「嫉妒」ê意思。
2. 冕旒(bián-liú)	冠冕
3. 米糧	食物、營養品
4. 一錢銀	1 denarion，是一個工人一日ê工資。
5. 一分銀	羅馬銅幣，相當於銀幣denarius ê十六分之一。
6. 差役(chhe-iáh)、衙役(gê-iáh)	助手、僕人、隨扈、侍衛
7. 守更樓(chiú-ki <sup>n</sup> lâu)	有一定koân度ê堅固結構，用來抵擋敵軍ê攻擊iah是hō看守者ē-tàng看著各方向。
8. 餉關(hiòng-koan)	收稅ê所在
9. 先生	教師
10. 褡褳(tah-liân)	旅客kap牧羊人用來裝日常用品ê皮袋仔。
11. 大人(tâi-jîn)	大人物
12. 抽餉者(thiu-hiòng ê)	專門為羅馬帝國徵收稅金(如關稅、路費) ê猶太人，時常用詭詐來欺騙人ê錢，囡tiàm家ê錢袋仔。

## 5. 「巴克禮譯本」對台灣社會kap語言ê貢獻

鄭良偉（1987a）認為台語書面語資料對台灣話有影響力ê並無濟，因為一般人除了唱台語流行歌以外，無啥teh使用台語書面語；但是《聖經》kap聖詩對基督教徒ê影響卻是相當可觀，chit兩份書面資料對教徒語言有穩定ê作用。尤其《聖經》絕大部分是散文，無像聖詩內底ê語句受韻律ê限制，khah接近自然ê語言，所以《聖經》ê影響力ke真大。

阮認為「巴克禮譯本」對台灣至少有以下ê貢獻：

### 第一、提昇台灣人對家己母語ê自信kap認同。

歐洲14世紀ê文藝復興運動（Renaissance）帶來人文主義，各地作家開始使用家己ê口語創作，mā帶來對《聖經》原文研究、翻譯ê興趣。包括德文（1466）<sup>22</sup>、義大利文（1471）、荷蘭文（1477）、法文（1487）、葡萄牙文（1496）、英文（1526）<sup>23</sup>……等（黃錫木 2004）。Tī世界翻譯史中，《聖經》ê翻譯tia<sup>n</sup>-tia<sup>n</sup>攏是帶動母語覺醒ê主要力量，尤其16世紀宗教改革提倡「唯獨《聖經》」、「信徒皆祭司」ê信念，強調「個人」kap「上帝」之間必須ài有直接ê關係，m̄-nā是靠牧師來傳達教義，信徒必須ài家己勤讀《聖經》，領受其中ê道理。《聖經》ê翻譯自án-ne親像海湧一波koh一波陸續展開，透過閱讀母語《聖經》，hō歐洲各民族建立對家己母語ê自信，族語《聖經》mā變成各地標準語成形ê過程中主要ê發展力量。

Khah早台灣受中國漢文主義ê影響下，讀冊人攏認為只有讀漢文古冊chiah是得著智識ê來源。「巴克禮譯本」用一般人ê日常母語翻譯具備普世價值觀ê基督教經冊，開拓一條用母語閱讀世界經典ê路，mā tī無形中建立使用母語ê自信，提昇對母語ê認同。

<sup>22</sup> 德文版《聖經》上早是1466年tī史特拉斯堡（Strasbourg）出版，到1522年9月馬丁路德（Martin Luther, 1483-1546）根據希臘原文翻譯ê新約出版進前，已經有18種ê德文《聖經》。後來馬丁路德kap其他學者合作，根據希伯來文翻譯舊約，tī 1534年完成。新舊約兩phō做伙組成出名ê「路德聖經」。

<sup>23</sup> 第一本ê英文《新約聖經》一直到1526年chiah由丁道爾（William Tyndale, 1494-1536）tùi原文翻譯，因為英國當時iáu受天主教羅馬教皇ê管轄，所以丁道爾hông判做是異端，tī 1536年被送上絞刑架，而且屍體被燒掉。丁道爾被稱做「英文聖經之父」。



## 第二、用白話字書寫，教育信徒具備母語讀寫ê能力。

Tī《聖經》翻譯進前，台灣社會一般所ê-tàng看著ê台語書面語主要有4類，一是漢學仔內底學ê古漢文；二是民間流通ê歌仔冊；三是日本政府學校所教ê教科書；四是教會內ê教會報kap出版品。古漢文用台語文言音來讀中國經冊，傳播中國儒家思想；歌仔冊七字一句，用押韻長篇來講故事，是民間講唱ê文本；日本教科書用假名（カタカナ）標台語音來學日語。以上3種攏kap生活語言有精差，kan-na教會ê出版品用白話字來書寫日常台語。Kap漢字漢文ê困難複雜比起來，「白話字」具備口語化ê特性，簡單好學，確實tī學習效率kap生活應用頂面攏超越傳統漢字ê讀寫訓練<sup>24</sup>，為hia-ê khiā tī社會基層ê信徒hā<sup>25</sup>過漢字學習ê障礙，起造一座學習智識ê橋梁。白話字ê使用kap推行mā成做台灣長老教會發展歷史中ê重要特徵之一，達到啟蒙智識kap傳達價值觀ê功能。

「巴克禮譯本」翻譯了後，成做信徒ê精神米糧，無論是禮拜日ê崇拜活動iah是平時ê自我靈修，攏必須閱讀《聖經》，遵照《聖經》所教示ê內容做生活準則。為著beh看有《聖經》，信徒懇勤學習白話字，無論男女老幼攏具備母語讀寫ê能力<sup>25</sup>。對台語文來講，伊是頭一本用淺白ê文字所寫ê經典，伊ê內容有歷史、有法律、有詩歌、有傳記、有哲學論文、有諺語箴言、有批信、有散文……，thang講是台語文寫作ê範本。

## 第三、「巴克禮譯本」是研究語言變化上好ê材料。

《聖經》翻譯一向抱持ê原則是「Hō上帝ê話語，以當代的ê語言，宣揚上帝『此時』『此地』ê福音」<sup>26</sup>。所以tī語言表達上，應該是上ê-tàng反映出hit個時代ê語言實況chiah tiòh。一般來講，語言中ê語詞屬於開放性ê系統，時常ê因為時間久長來起變化，mā ē跟tòe當地ê社會文化來變動。台灣屬於海洋國家，有伊文化ê開放性kap包容性，島上有多元民族ê接觸，加

<sup>24</sup> 據許長安、李青梅（1992）〈還在民間使用的閩南白話字〉指出：「我們所調查的人，沒有一個不說白話字好學好用。好學，短則一星期，長則一個月，就能掌握；再經過三、五個月至半年，就能熟練閱讀《聖經》了。」

<sup>25</sup> 白話字tī中國閩南地區m̄-nā tī教會內流行，民間mā有大量ê使用人口。學者指出伊ê極盛時期，每3張批就有1張是用白話字寫ê，批囊地址寫白話字，郵差mā送ê到（游汝杰2002：18）。

<sup>26</sup> 引自《台語漢字版聖經》序言。

上經歷日本政府kap國民政府ê「國語」政策，更加ē催逼語言變化ê速度，一寡使用頻率khah少ê詞彙自然ē tùi口語中消失。M̄-koh因為有書面語《聖經》ê翻譯、保存kap流傳，教會成員彼此接觸密切，教會圈所使用ê語彙就被代代傳承、記憶。雖然時代teh變遷，一寡年代khah早期ê詞彙猶原存在tī今仔日教會人士ê日常用語、甚至文學作品中（黃佳惠2000；李勤岸2003；楊允言2003；梁淑慧2004），發揮語言保存ê功用，mā提供語言學者研究語言變遷上好ê語料。<sup>27</sup>

#### 第四、「巴克禮譯本」對文化對比有貢獻。

「巴克禮譯本」所堅持ê形式對應翻譯原則，hō讀者ē-tàng透過母語來認bat基督教義kap猶太文化，對文化對比有貢獻。

世界上無一本冊親像《聖經》，tī成冊了後經過hiah-nih久長ê時間猶原繼續teh進行翻譯<sup>28</sup>，mā無任何一本文學作品bat hō人翻譯做chiah-nih濟種ê語言，到2012年為止，全世界有《聖經》ê語言族群是2798個，大約有49億人口有第一語言ê《聖經》<sup>29</sup>。對翻譯文學來講，《聖經》是目前唯一揣ē著有全一个文本、無全時代、無全語言ê翻譯作品。伊是一部宗教經典，譯寫ê過程一定是非常謹慎，每一個詞、每一句攏考慮原文kap譯入語tī語言kap文化上ê異同，呈現上蓋適當ê表達，所以咱ē-tàng tùi無全語言文化ê譯本，甚至無全翻譯原則ê譯本來做比較。「巴克禮譯本」有伊tī世界翻譯史中ê地位，伊是閩南語《聖經》ê代表譯本，mā是現在為止tī台灣上有影響力ê台語譯本，雖然將來有可能被取代，但是伊留tī每一個信徒心中ê寶貴記持ē永遠受著紀念。

<sup>27</sup> 李勤岸（2003）、梁淑慧（2004、2008）、楊允言等（2004）以及楊允言（2011）攏是以「巴克禮譯本」做語言變遷ê研究語料。

<sup>28</sup> 透過考古ê發現kap《聖經》「經文鑑別學」ê發展，ē-tàng推算舊約正典（Canon）大約是tī公元前三、四世紀就開始流傳（彭國璋2001a）。新約正典大約是公元二世紀左右就已經tī教會使用（彭國璋2001b）。

<sup>29</sup> 根據「威克理夫國際聯會（Wycliffe Global Alliance）」公布tī網站ê「聖經普及程度統計2012」〈<http://www.wycliffe.net/resources/scriptureaccessstatistics/tabid/99/Default.aspx>〉

## 讀者回應

任何批評指教，歡迎email: siokhuiniu@gmail.com，梁淑慧收。

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# 宣教師chah來ê文字：越南kap台灣比較

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## 摘要

越南kap台灣lóng差不多tī 17世紀ê時透過西方宣教師kā羅馬字傳入國內。Tī越南，宣教師設計ê羅馬字經過sió-khóa修改liáu，路尾tī 1945年取代喃字kap漢字，chiā<sup>n</sup>做越南ê正式文字。M-koh，台灣白話字soah iáu毋是真普遍ê使用。M̄-nā án-ne，khah慢來ê漢字soah乞食趕廟公，chiā<sup>n</sup>做台灣目前主要ê書寫文字。本文以語言學kap社會語言學ê角度來分析越南kap台灣ê羅馬字發展。本文指出，羅馬字是毋是ē-sái取代漢字，是社會政治問題，毋是語言學siōng文字設計ê問題。建立家己ê支持族語ê本土政權是台灣羅馬字運動siōng重要ê khang-khòe，其次是組織草根團體喚醒台灣人用族語書寫ê意識。台灣kap中國之間ê政治衝突lú chē，是羅馬字運動ê好時機。

關鍵詞：羅馬字化、國語字、白話字、越南、台灣

# Missionary Scripts in Vietnam and Taiwan

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## Abstract

Both Vietnam and Taiwan were introduced to the Romanized writing systems in the 17th century by Western missionaries. In Vietnam, the Romanized chữ Quốc ngữ system eventually replaced the traditional chữ Nôm and Han characters and became the official national orthography in 1945. However, its counterpart in Taiwan, the Peh-ōe-jī, (Romanized Taiwanese) still has not yet become widespread. Moreover, the later imported Han writing system is used much more widely and has obtained the dominant status in contemporary Taiwan's society. This paper examines the missionary scripts in Vietnam and Taiwan from the perspectives of linguistics and sociolinguistics. The authors finds that what have prevented the Han characters from being replaced by Romanization are socio-political factors, rather than linguistics factors.

Keywords: Romanization, chu Quoc ngu, Peh-oe-ji, Vietnam, Taiwan



## 1. Introduction

In 1492, Christopher Columbus discovered the New World, and a few years later in 1498 the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama opened the sea route between Europe and India by way of The Cape of Good Hope. The end of the fifteenth century was the beginning of the great voyages, and the era of ‘great discoveries’ from the European point of view. In Asia, following the great discoveries were Western missionary activities, international trades between Asia and Europe, and later Western colonialism.

Accompanying the missionary activities was the design of Romanized systems for local languages. Both Vietnam and Taiwan were introduced to the Romanized writing systems by Western missionaries in the seventeenth century. In Vietnam, the Romanized chữ Quốc ngữ system eventually replaced the traditional chữ Nôm and Han characters and became the official national orthography in 1945. However, Romanized scripts in Taiwan is still a long way from achieving an official status under the Chinese ROC occupation.

Although Taiwan is currently a Hanji (Han characters)-dominated society, Romanization once was the unique and first writing system used by the non-literati in Taiwan. Romanization in Taiwan prior to 1945 can be divided into two eras. The first era of Romanization is *Sinkang* writing, and the second Romanization is *Péh-ōe-jī* writing. Sinkang scripts were Romanized system for writing the vernacular of the indigenous *Siraya* tribes during Dutch occupation (1624-1661) of Taiwan in the seventeenth century. Nowadays, the language of Siraya has become nearly extinct and only a very limited number of researchers could read the manuscripts written in Sinkang. Thereafter, the classical Han writing was adopted as an official language, and *Koa-á-chheh* (歌仔冊) was treated as the popular writing for the public during the *Koxinga* (鄭1661-1683) and the *Qing* (清1683-1895) occupations. In the nineteenth century, another

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<sup>1</sup> For details about Péh-ōe-jī, see Chiung 2003 and Cheng 1977.

Romanized system *Pêh-ōe-jī*<sup>1</sup> (白話字) was devised by missionaries to write Taiwanese and Hakka. Today, there are still a few among the elder generations, especially women, who read only *Pêh-ōe-jī*. After Taiwan became a part of Japan (1895-1945), Japanese writing became the official written language in Taiwan. After World War II, Mandarin Written Chinese (MWC) became the orthodox system of writing under Chiang Kai-shek's occupation of Taiwan.

Why was Vietnam successfully transferred from Han and Nom characters to Roman scripts? In contrast, why has not Romanized Taiwanese *Pêh-ōe-jī* achieved national status yet? This paper examines these issues through the missionary scripts, i.e. Vietnamese chữ Quốc Ngữ and Taiwanese *Pêh-ōe-jī* in terms of linguistics and sociolinguistics.

## 2. Sociolinguistic Backgrounds of Vietnam and Taiwan

### 2.1. The Vietnamese language

Vietnam is a country of diverse ethnicities, including such language groups as Austro-Asiatic (94% of total population), Daic (3.7%), Miao-Yao (1.1%), Austronesian (0.8%) and Tibeto-Burman. It is reported that there are 54 official ethnic groups, 106 living languages, and 1 extinct language (Lewis 2009:537; Dang 2000: 1; Tổng Cục Thống Kê 2010). Among the ethnic groups, Việt (越) or Kinh (京) is the majority, and it accounts for 85.7% of Vietnam's total population, which was reported to be 85.8 million in Vietnam's 2009 census (Tổng Cục Thống Kê 2010). The mother tongue of the ethnic Viet is called the Vietnamese language. The Vietnamese language is known to its native speakers as Tiếng Việt, and formerly known as Annamese or Annamite. Vietnamese is currently the official language of Vietnam.

Vietnamese is an isolating language, that is, one in which the words are invariable, and syntactic relationships are shown by word order, just as in the cases of Taiwanese and Chinese. Traditionally, Vietnamese was regarded

as monosyllabic because most Vietnamese words consist of single syllables. However, recent statistical studies have shown that there is a clear tendency toward poly-syllabic in modern Vietnamese (Nguyễn 1997:35). In addition, Vietnamese is a tonal language. In modern Vietnamese, it consists of six tones, in which different tones distinguish different lexical meanings of words. Tone sandhi in Vietnamese is neither as substantial nor as rich as in Taiwanese.

Various foreign influences have been brought to the development of the Vietnamese language because of the contacts in the past between the Vietnamese and other peoples. Among them, the Chinese is probably the strongest and the most lasting one (Nguyễn 1971:153). Vietnam had been under the direct domination of China during the period from 111 B.C. to 938 A.D. Although the Vietnamese established their own independent monarchy in 939 A.D., Vietnamese had to recognize the suzerainty of the Chinese Empire until the late nineteenth century (SarDesai 1992:19). In other words, China's influence on Vietnam was never extinguished even though Vietnam had achieved monarchical status. Culturally and linguistically, the substantial influences of the Chinese on the Vietnamese are the adoptions of Han characters, Confucianism, Buddhism, and the civil service examination system. Consequently, the Chinese classics such as the Four Books (四書), and the Five Jing (五經) became the textbooks and orthodoxy for Vietnamese scholars and officials. Because of the great linguistic influence on Vietnamese, Vietnamese used to be regarded as a member of Sino-Tibetan language family, to which the Chinese language belongs. However, the latest research has revealed that Vietnamese should belong to Austroasiatic family (Ruhlen 1987: 149-156).

Han characters and Han writing were first employed in the writing system of Vietnam when Vietnam was under China's direct domination. Later on a domestic script chữ Nôm (字喃), which has similar structure as Han characters, is documented in the tenth century (DeFrancis 1977:21). Chữ Nôm, or Nom scripts, means southern writing or southern orthography in contrast to chữ Hán,

Han writing or Han characters. Chữ Nôm in the early period was used as an auxiliary tool of classical Han to record personal or geographical names and local specialties (Nguyễn 1999:2). Literary works in chữ Nôm achieved popularity from the 16th to the 18th century, and reached their peak at the end of the 18th century (DeFrancis 1977:44; Chiung 2007a:104).

The Romanized writing system was introduced to Vietnam by missionaries in the seventeenth century, and it eventually became the official writing system, chữ Quốc Ngữ, in 1945 when Ho Chi Minh declared the birth of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Since then, Romanized chữ Quốc Ngữ has reached national status, and is taught through the national education system. It was reported that the literacy rate in Vietnam is somewhere between 78% and 88% (Lewis 2009:537). Nowadays, most Vietnamese people read and write in Romanized Vietnamese. Only a few professionals in Han Nom studies still have knowledge of Han characters and chữ Nôm.

## 2.2. The Taiwanese language

Taiwan is a multilingual and multiethnic society with a total of 23 million in population in 2013. Generally speaking, there are currently four primary ethnic groups: indigenous (1.7%), Hakka (12%), *Lán-lâng*<sup>2</sup> (73.3%), and the more recent Mainlanders (13%) (Huang 1993:21). The mother tongue of the *Lán-lâng* people is called *Tâi-gí* (台語), the Taiwanese language in Taiwan. It is also occasionally called *Hô-ló-oē*, *Lán-lâng-oē* or *Bân-lâm-oē* (Southern Min). Although Taiwanese was originally brought from Southern Hokkien of China to Taiwan, it is not exactly the same as Southern Min today. For example, there are a lot of Japanese loanwords in Taiwanese, but not in Southern Min. The Taiwanese language is also an isolating tone language as is the Vietnamese language. In Taiwanese, there are currently seven tones with rich tone sandhi phenomenon. Generally speaking, every syllable except the last one has to become sandhi tone in a sequence of syllables. The Taiwanese language may be written in three ways:

<sup>2</sup> Huang adopted the term Southern Min instead of *Lán-lâng*.

1) Romanized Pêh-ōe-jī only, 2) Han characters only, and 3) mixed style with Han characters and Pêh-ōe-jī.

Hakka and Tai-gi are the so-called sinicized Han people. In fact, many of them are descendants of intermarriage between sinitic immigrants and local Formosan Austronesians during the Koxinga and Chinese Qing periods (Brown 2004:149). Mainlanders were the soldiers, dependents, and refugees who moved to Taiwan from China around the 1940s with the Chiang Kai-shek's political regime ROC. Mandarin Chinese is the lingua franca among the Mainlanders. Although Hakka, Tai-gi, and Mainlanders were all immigrants originally from China, they have different national identities. Research conducted by Ông (1993) and Corcuff (2004) have revealed that most of the Tai-gi and Hakka people identify themselves as Taiwanese. However, more than half of the Mainlanders still identified themselves as Chinese (Chiung 2007a:110).

At the end of World War II, *Chiang Kai-shek*, the leader of the Chinese Nationalist (KMT) took over Taiwan and northern Vietnam on behalf of the Allied Powers under General Order No.1 of September 2, 1945. At the same time, Chiang was fighting against the Chinese Communist Party in Mainland China. In 1949, Chiang's troops were completely defeated and then pursued by the Chinese Communists. At that time, Taiwan's national status was supposed to be dealt with by a peace treaty among the nations at war. However, because of Nationalists' defeat in China, Chiang decided to occupy Taiwan as a base and from there he would fight back to reclaim the Chinese Mainland. Consequently, Chiang's political regime Republic of China (R.O.C) was renewed in Taiwan and has remained there since 1949.

Monolingual Mandarin Chinese policy was adopted during ROC occupation of Taiwan. The Taiwanese populace was forced to learn Mandarin Chinese and to identify themselves as Chinese through the indoctrination of the national education system. Consequently, research has revealed that a language shift toward Mandarin is in progress. Nowadays, because the written Taiwanese is not well taught through the national education system, most Taiwanese speakers have

learned to write in MWC instead of Written Taiwanese (WT). In other words, the written language of Taiwanese people is distinct from their daily colloquial speech; people speak in Taiwanese, but write in MWC.

### 3. Vietnamese chữ Quốc Ngữ

#### 3.1. From missionary scripts to national scripts

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, and French missionaries gradually came to preach in Vietnam. To get their ideas across to the local people, it was recognized by missionaries that knowledge of the spoken Vietnamese was essential. Romanized writing was thus devised to assist missionaries to acquire the Vietnamese language. It is apparent that the Vietnamese Romanization resulted from collective efforts, with the influences of diverse backgrounds of missionaries (Thompson 1987:54-55). Among the variants of Vietnamese Romanization, Alexandre de Rhodes is usually referred to as the person who provided the first systematic work of Vietnamese Romanization (DeFrancis 1977:54). In 1624, the French Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes arrived in central Vietnam. He used Roman scripts as a writing system to describe the Vietnamese language and then he published the first Vietnamese-Portuguese-Latin dictionary, *Dictionarium Annamiticum, Lusitanum et Latinum*, and a Vietnamese catechism *Cathechismus* in 1651. De Rhodes' Romanized system with some later changes became the foundation of present Quốc Ngữ, the national writing system of Vietnam (Đỗ 1972; DeFrancis 1977:48-66; Thompson 1987:52-77).

From the perspective of literacy, Roman script was much easier to acquire than Han character or chữ Nôm (Chiung 2003). However, Vietnamese Romanization did not become widespread until the early twentieth century. There are two primary reasons. First, the use of Romanized Vietnamese was primarily limited to the Catholic community prior to the twentieth century. DeFrancis (1977:64) has pointed out that most missionaries “looked upon it [Romanization]

chiefly as a tool in working with the Vietnamese language and were not greatly concerned with urging its use in other areas.” Moreover, even if people outside the Catholic community wanted to learn the Romanization, they were afraid of being treated as Catholic or collaborators with foreign missionaries since there were conflicts between local people and foreign missionaries. Consequently, there was no wide usage outside the Catholic community (DeFrancis 1977:61). Second, it was the reflection of people’s psychological preference of the Han character since Han character has reached the orthodox status since the Ly dynasty. This phenomenon of preference is especially true for the traditional scholars and officials. For example, it was reported that Confucian schools, which are the essential access to the acquisition of Han writing and Chinese classics, continued to exist and attract students until as late as the first decade or two of the twentieth century (DeFrancis 1977:124).

Since French colonization was involved in the colonial history of Vietnam, what role have the French (1861-1945) played in the orthographic transition of the Vietnamese language? First of all, the French had weakened or even replaced the role played by the Chinese in Vietnam. In the nineteenth century, China was losing her dominance in Asia since the Opium war in 1842. In addition, Japan’s successful Westernization, shown in such wars as her victories over China in 1895 and over Tsarist Russia in 1904-1905, had impressed the Vietnamese. The appearance of the French power in Indochina<sup>3</sup> enforced the Vietnamese people to experience the new political power from Western society, and further, to reconsider their relationship with the traditional feudal China. Second, French’s antagonism toward Chinese had strengthened the promotion of the Romanized system. Their hostile attitudes toward Chinese was summed up in a letter of 15 January 1866 by a French administrator, Paulin Vial, who held the position of *Directeur du Cabinet du Gouverneur de la Cochinchine* “From the first days it was recognized that the Chinese language was a barrier between us and the natives...; it is the

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<sup>3</sup> Indochina includes present Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

only one which can bring close to us the Annamites of the colony by inculcating in them the principles of European civilization and isolating them from the hostile influence of our neighbors” (quoted in DeFrancis 1977:77). Thus, the actions taken by the French colonialists included termination of the traditional civil service examination, and promotion of the Romanized Vietnamese, which was regarded as a closer connection to French since both French and Romanized Vietnamese were using Roman scripts. Nevertheless, the eventual goal of the colonialists was to replace Vietnamese with French after the Vietnamese acquired the Romanized system (DeFrancis 1977:131).

Although the French colonialists and collaborationists had promoted Romanized Vietnamese for decades by the twentieth century, it received only a slow growth (DeFrancis 1977:69). In contrast, Romanized system reached a rapid growth under the promotion of the Vietnamese nationalists when they launched their modern nationalist movement in the early twentieth century (DeFrancis 1977:159). Romanized *Quốc Ngữ* or the National Language was promoted by nationalists in the example of *Đông Kinh Nghĩa Thục* (Marr 1971:156-184; Chương 1982; Chiung 2008). In 1907 Vietnamese nationalists established Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc (東京義塾), Tokin Free School, a private school to teach students Western ideas, science, and to train students to be capable promoters of Vietnamese nationalist movement. One of the significant features of Tokin Free School was the promotion of *Quốc Ngữ*. As Marr (1971:167) stated, the teachers at Tokin Free School showed “a new willingness to employ *quoc-ngu* when introducing outside ideas or techniques, and they urged each student to use the Romanized script subsequently as a device for passing on modern knowledge to hundreds of their less literate countrymen.”

Although *Quốc Ngữ* had spread out rapidly in the early part of the twentieth century, it does not mean that *Quốc Ngữ* had replaced Chinese or French. Spoken Vietnamese and *Quốc Ngữ* were still subordinate to French and Chinese until the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in 1945. The contemptuous attitudes towards the Vietnamese language could be well shown by



a Vietnamese politician, Ho Duy Kien, who referred to the Vietnamese language as a “patois” similar to those found in Gascogne, Brittany, Normandy, or Provence, during an otherwise routine Cochinchina Colonial Council discussion on primary education in 1931. Furthermore, Ho even concluded that it is going to take Vietnamese more than five hundred years to improve their “patois” to the level of French and Chinese (Marr 1981:136).

The number of people who acquired reading and writing skills in Quốc Ngữ after the achievement of independence was reported by Le Thanh Khoi (quoted in DeFrancis 1977:240) to have risen from 20 percent in 1945 to 70 percent in 1953.

How did Vietnam successfully replace Han characters and chữ Nôm with Romanized Quốc Ngữ? Hannas (1997:88-92) stated twelve factors, and concluded that “the compelling factor behind this success is that Vietnam never had a top-down, coordinated, state-backed movement to effect the reform” (1997:84). Although it is true that bottom-up grass root movement played an important role in Vietnam’s orthographic transition, I would attribute the consequence to two crucial factors: 1) external factor of political interaction between Vietnam and China in the international situation of the first half of the twentieth century, and 2) internal factor of social demand for literacy. These two crucial points can apply to the case of Taiwanese Romanization, and explain why Romanized system has not achieved popular and official status in Taiwan.

The external factor involves the complexity of international situation in the 1940s, as Hodgkin (1981:288) stated that the Vietnamese was “faced with a varying combination of partly competing, partly collaborating imperialisms, French, Japanese, British and American, with Kuomintang China.” At that time, Vietnam was considered an important base to attack southern China<sup>4</sup> when Japan’s invasion of China became more apparent and aggressive since the

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<sup>4</sup> In the view point of Japan, domination of Vietnam and its northern trade-route was essential for effective control of southern China since the Tonkin Railway from Haiphong to Yunnan was vital source of supplies for Kuomintang China (Hodgkin:288).

1930s (Hodgkin 1981:288). The Japanese military eventually entered Vietnam and shared the control of Vietnam with the French in the early 1940s. From the perspective of China, suppression against Japan's military activities in Vietnam was desired. However, in the viewpoint of the French, they were afraid that China would take over Vietnam again if Chinese troops entered Vietnam on the excuse of suppression against Japanese forces (Jiang 1971:181). For the Vietnamese people, how to maintain their national identity and achieve national independence from the imperialisms were considered priority by their leaders such as Ho Chi Minh. Ho's Chinese strategy was to keep Chinese forces away from Vietnam, and minimize the possibility of Chinese comeback in Indochina.

At the end of World War II, Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers issued General Order No.1. It instructed Japanese forces to surrender to designated Allied commanders: "The senior Japanese commanders and all ground, sea, air and auxiliary forces within China (excluding Manchuria), Formosa and French Indo-China north of 16° north latitude shall surrender to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek..." With this order, Chiang sent armies to Vietnam and Taiwan. About two hundred thousand men were then sent to northern Vietnam (Đinh 2010; Bộ Giáo Dục và Đào Tạo). During the Chinese occupation, Vietnam faced several crises: 1) Robbery and criminal acts by the undisciplined armies increased dramatically, 2) about two million Vietnamese starved to death because of Chiang's pillage, 3) Chiang's political interference with Vietnam's domestic affairs (Đinh 2010; Chiung 2011b:165-167).

In response to the Chinese occupation, Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh played a trick on the French. He pretended that Vietnam would join the French Union. In return, all Chinese armies should be withdrawn from Vietnam. Under the political pressure of the French, Chiang's armies retreated in summer 1946. Contrary to Vietnam, Taiwan was not as lucky in expelling the Chinese military. This is also the critical point why Mandarin Chinese was adopted as an official language and the Taiwanese language excluded. Politically speaking, Ho Chi

Minh refused Chinese army from entering Vietnam (Jiang 1971:107) as well as instigated anti-Chinese movement (Jiang 1971:228-240). Culturally, Romanized Vietnamese was considered a distinctive feature of cultural boundary between Vietnam and China. These considerations propelled Ho in favor of Romanization rather than Han characters used in China.

The internal factor of social demand for literacy is understandable. Since Ho Chi Minh claimed that 95 percent of Vietnam's total populations were illiterates, it was important to equip the people with primary education, which was considered essential to modernization in order to fight against imperialisms. Thus, the efficient and easily learned Romanization was the best choice for literacy in contrast to the complexity of Han characters. In addition, it is more possible for illiterates to accept a new writing system than for literates to shift their literacy to a different orthography. For example, in the case of English, Stubbs (1980:72) points out that "conservatism and the inertia of habits and tradition" played an important role in explaining why English spelling reform has not been successful. Since the majority of Vietnamese were illiterates, and only a few elites were skilled in Han writing or French during the promotion of Quốc Ngữ, it was clear that Romanized Vietnamese would be favored by the majority, and thus win the literacy campaign.

### 3.2. A Linguistics Account of chữ Quốc Ngữ

Compared to Taiwanese, Vietnamese vowels are much more complicated and difficult. According to Doan (1999), Vietnamese vowels may be categorized into nine simple vowels, four short vowels, and three diphthongs, as listed in table Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 1. Vietnamese simple vowels in IPA.

		front	central	back (-rd)	back (+rd)
upper	high	i		u	u
	upper mid	e		ɤ	o
lower	lower mid	ɛ			ɔ
	low			a	

Table 2. Vietnamese short vowels in IPA

		front	central	back (-rd)	back (+rd)
upper	high				
	upper mid			ɤ	
lower	lower mid	ɛ̃			ɔ̃
	low			ã	

Table 3. Vietnamese diphthongs in IPA

		front	central	back (-rd)	back (+rd)
upper		i_e		u_ɤ	u_o
lower					

There are 19 consonants in the Hanoi dialect of Vietnamese (Đoàn 1999). These consonants were listed in Table 4 in IPA format. These consonants were represented slightly different in Vietnamese orthography. In addition to the 19 consonants, other dialects may contain retroflex consonants /tʂ/, /zʂ/, and /ʂ/ (Nguyễn 1997:20).

Table 4. Vietnamese consonants in IPA

		bi-labial	labial-dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
		-asp/+asp					
voiceless	stop	p		t / t <sup>h</sup>	c	k	
voiced	stop	b		d			
voiceless	fricative		f	s		x	h
voiced	fricative		v	z		ɣ	
voiced	lateral			l			
voiced	nasal	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	

Mon-Khmer languages have usually been remarked upon for the linguistic category of register, which includes most prominently voice quality as a contrastive feature. Although Vietnamese is not a classic register language, voice quality as well as pitch phenomena are both important in the tone system of Vietnamese (Edmondson 1997:1) There are six tones in modern northern Vietnamese, i.e. ngang, huyền, hỏi, ngã, sắc, and nặng. They are composed of contours of pitch combined with certain other features of voice production (Thompson 1987:20). Different scholars may have different descriptions of these tones. The Vietnamese tones in contrast to Taiwanese are given in table 5 as follows (Chiung 2003:127-131; Chiung 2006:44):

Table 5. Vietnamese tones in comparison with Taiwanese.

Tones	ngang	huyền	hỏi	ngã	sắc		nặng	
Tone marks	n/a	`	?	~	´		▪	
Numerical tone values	33	21	313	435	35	5	3	3
Tone values in IPA	—	∨	√	√	∧	·	·	·
Notes						With finals /p t c ch/		With finals /p t c ch/
Similar tone in Taiwanese	1	3	5	n/a	9	8	3or4	4

The symbols for representing Vietnamese vowels and consonants in chữ Quốc Ngữ are summarized in Table 6 and Table 7.

Table 6. Symbols for Vietnamese vowels in the spelling of chữ Quốc Ngữ.

CQN	POJ*	IPA	conditions	examples
a	a	/ǎ/	Followed by y, u	tay ‘hand’
	a	/a/	Elsewhere	ta ‘we’
ă	a	/ǎ/		ăn ‘eat’
â	o	/ɤ/		thấy ‘see’
i	i	/i/		khi ‘while’
y			Usually for Han Viet words	đồng ý ‘agree’
u	u	/u/		cũ ‘old’
ư	n/a	/u/		từ ‘word’
ê	e	/e/		ghế ‘chair’
e	e	/ɛ/		em ‘you’
ô	ơ	/o/		cô ‘aunt’
o	ơ	/ɔ/		cơ ‘to bend’
ơ	o	/ɤ/		thơ ‘poem’
iê	ie	[i_e]	Elsewhere	tiên ‘fairy’
yê	ie		Preceded by /ʔ/ or /w/	yêu ‘love’ truyện ‘story’
ia	io	[i_ɔ]	Without glide /w/ and coda	bia ‘beer’
ya	io		Preceded by glide /w/ and without coda	khuya ‘midnight’
uô	uơ	/u_ɔ/	Elsewhere	chuông ‘bell’
ua	uo		Without coda	vua ‘king’
ươ	n/a	/u_ɤ/	Elsewhere	được ‘able’
ura	n/a		Without coda	mưa ‘rain’

\*Similar alphabets in Romanized Taiwanese Pêh-ōe-jī.

Table 7. Symbols for Vietnamese consonants in the spelling of chữ Quốc Ngữ

CQN	POJ*	IPA	conditions	examples
đ	l	/d/		đi ‘go’
t	t	/t/		tôi ‘I’
th	th	/tʰ/		thu ‘autumn’
ch	ch	/c/		cho ‘give’
tr	n/a	/tʃ/	dialect	trồng ‘to plant’
b	b	/b/		ba ‘three’
p	p	/p/		pin ‘battery’
ph	n/a	/f/		pháp ‘French’
d	j	/z/		da ‘skin’
gi	j		Usually Han Viet words	<i>gia</i> ‘home’
g	j		Followed by i	gì ‘what’
	g	/ɣ/	Elsewhere	gà ‘chicken’
gh	g		Followed by i, e, ê	ghi ‘record’
k	k	/k/	Followed by i, y, e, ê,	kê ‘chicken’
q			Followed by glide /w/	quả ‘fruit’
c			Elsewhere	cá ‘fish’
kh	h	/x/		khó ‘difficult’
h	h	/h/		hỏi ‘ask’
v	n/a	/v/		về ‘go back’
r	n/a	/ʒ/	dialect	ra ‘go out’
l	l	/l/		là ‘is’
x	s	/s/		xa ‘far’
s	n/a	/ʃ/	dialect	so ‘compare’
m	m	/m/		mẹ ‘mother’
n	n	/n/		nam ‘south’
nh	ng	/ɲ/		nhớ ‘miss’
ngh	ng	/ŋ/	Followed by i, e, ê	nghi ‘rest’
			Elsewhere	ngọc ‘jade’

\*Similar alphabets in Romanized Taiwanese Pêh-ōe-jī.

## 4. Taiwanese Pêh-ōe-jī

### 4.1. From missionary scripts to Taiwanese scripts

More and more missionaries came to preach in China in the seventeenth

century, even though there were several restrictions on foreign missionaries under the Qing empire. The restrictions on foreign missionaries were continued until the Treaty of Tientsin was signed between the Qing Empire and foreign countries in 1858. Taiwan, at that time, was under the occupation of Qing empire, therefore, foreign missionaries were allowed after that treaty. Consequently, the first mission after the Dutch settled in Tainan by missionary James L. Maxwell and his assistants in 1865 (Hsu 1995:6-8; Lai 1990:277-280).<sup>5</sup>

Pêh-ōe-jī, a Romanized scheme to write Taiwanese, was introduced to Taiwan by Western missionaries in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Pêh-ōe-jī means the scripts of vernacular speech, in contrast to the complicated Han characters of wenyen (classical Han writing). It had important effects in three significant aspects: 1) cultural enlightenment, 2) education for all people and 3) literary creation in colloquial Taiwanese (Chiung 2005; Chiung 2011a).

Those applications and publications of Pêh-ōe-jī since the nineteenth century can be summarized in the following six categories: 1) textbooks, 2) dictionaries, 3) translation of the Bible, catechisms, and religious tracts, 4) newspapers, 5) private note-taking or letter writing letters, and 6) other publications, such as physiology, math, and novels (Chiung 2005).

Missionaries' linguistic efforts on the Romanization are reflected in various Romanized dictionaries. Water H. Medhurst's (1796-1857) *A Dictionary of the Hok-keen Dialect of the Chinese Language* published in 1837 is considered the first existing Romanized dictionary of Southern Min compiled by western missionary (Âng 1993: 197-259). The role of Medhurst's dictionary to Southern Min is somewhat similar to Alexandre de Rhodes's dictionary to Vietnamese. Carstairs Douglas' (1830-1877) *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* of 1873 is regarded as the dictionary of influence

<sup>5</sup> For the information on early development of Romanization in Amoy China, please refer to Pitcher (1912).

<sup>6</sup> It was reported that the earliest development of Pêh-ōe-jī was contributed by the Spanish missionaries of Mania in the early 17th century (Klötter 2002 & 2004).



on the orthography of Pêh-ōe-jī. After Douglas' dictionary, most Romanized dictionaries and publications followed his orthography without or with just minor changes (Âng 1993:1-9). William Campbell's (1841-1921) dictionary *Ē-mîg Im Sin Jī-tián* (*A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken Throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa* 1913), the first Pêh-ōe-jī dictionary published in Taiwan, is the most widely used Romanized dictionary in Taiwan (Lai 1990; Âng 1996). This dictionary is reprinted and renamed as *Kam Uî-lîm Tâi-gú Jī-tián* or William Campbell's Taiwanese Dictionary since 2009.

The first New Testament Bible in Romanized Amoy, *Lán ê Kiù-chú Iâ-so Ki-tok ê Sin-iok* was published in 1873, and the first Old Testament Bible *Kū-iok ê Sèng Keng* in 1884. The popular use of Poe-oe-jī in Taiwan was promoted by the missionary Reverend Thomas Barclay (1849-1935) while he published the monthly newspaper *Tâi-oân-hú-siâ<sup>n</sup> Kàu-hōe-pò* (Taiwan Prefectural City Church News) in July 1885. This newspaper was published in Pêh-ōe-jī until 1969. Thereafter, it was shifted to Mandarin Chinese under the political pressure from ROC. In addition to publications related to Christianity, there were some other publications written in Pêh-ōe-jī, such as *Pit Soân ê Chho Hák* (Fundamental Mathematics) by *Gê Uî-lîm* in 1897, *Lâi Gōa Kho Khàn-hō-hák* (The Principles and Practice of Nursing) by George Gushue-Taylor (Tè Jîn-siū) in 1917, the novel *Chhut Sí-Sòan* (The Line between Life and Death) by *Tē<sup>n</sup> Khe-phoân* in 1926, and the collection of commentaries *Cháp-hāng Koán-kiàn* (Opinions on Ten Issues) by *Chhòa Pōe-hóe* in 1925.

Usually, the religious believers apply Pêh-ōe-jī writing to their daily life after they acquire the skill of Romanization. For example, they may use Pêh-ōe-jī as a skill of note taking or writing letters to their children or friends in addition to reading the Bible. Pêh-ōe-jī was widely used among the church people in Taiwan prior to 1970s. Among its users, women were the majority. Most of these women did not command any other form of literacy except Pêh-ōe-jī. Even today, there are still a few among the older generations, especially women, who read only Pêh-ōe-jī.

Why did Pêh-ōe-jī declined severely in the 1970s? It is the consequence of the ROC colonialism. Because of the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek's defeat in China, Chiang decided to occupy Taiwan as a base from which to fight back and reclaim the Mainland. Consequently, Chiang's political regime Republic of China (R.O.C) resurrected in Taiwan and has remained since 1949. The ROC government adopted the Monolingual Mandarin Chinese policy forcing the people to learn Mandarin Chinese and to identify themselves as Chinese by using the national education system as a propagandistic tool. In consequence, language use shift toward Mandarin.

Although Pêh-ōe-jī was originally devised for religious purposes, it is no longer limited to religious applications after the contemporary *Tâi-bûn* movement was raised in the late 1980s. Pêh-ōe-jī has been adopted by many *Tai-bun* promoters as one of the Romanized writing systems to write Taiwanese. For example, famous *Tai-bun* periodicals such as *Tâi-oân-jī*, *Tâi-bûn Thong-sìn* and *Tâi-bûn Bông Pò* adopted Pêh-ōe-jī as the Romanization for writing Taiwanese.

In short, the Pêh-ōe-jī was the ground of Romanization of modern Taiwanese colloquial writing. Even though there were several different schemes of Romanization for writing Taiwanese, many of them were derived from Pêh-ōe-jī.<sup>7</sup> Pêh-ōe-jī and its derivatives are the most widely used Romanization until today.

Although Romanization is much more efficient<sup>8</sup> than Han characters, Romanizations are currently not widely accepted by people in Taiwan.<sup>9</sup> Writing in Roman script is regarded as the low language in digraphia.<sup>10</sup> There are several reasons for this phenomenon:

<sup>7</sup> For more information about different Romanized schemes, see Iû<sup>p</sup> 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Regarding the efficiency issues, refers to DeFrancis 1996, 1990; Chiung 2003.

<sup>9</sup> For more details about the public's attitudes toward Han characters and Romanization, see Chiung 2001.

<sup>10</sup> Digraphia, which parallels to Ferguson's (1959) idea of diglossia, has been defined by Dale (1980:5) as "the use of two (or more) writing systems for representing a single language," or by DeFrancis (1984:59) as "the use of two or more different systems of writing the same language." For discussion on the digraphia in Taiwan, refer to Tiun 1998; Chiung 2001.

First, people's preference for Han characters is caused by their internalized socialization. Because Han characters have been adopted as the official orthography for two thousand years, being able to master Han characters well is the mark of a scholar in the Han cultural areas. Writing in scripts other than Han characters may be regarded as childish writing (Chiung 2005:284). Thus, when *Tai-oan-hu-sia*<sup>n</sup> *Kau-hoe-po*, the first Taiwanese newspaper in Romanization, was published in 1885, the editor and publisher Rev. Thomas Barclay exhorted readers of the newspaper not to “look down at Peh-oe-ji; do not regard it as childish writing” (Barclay 1885).

Second, misunderstanding of the nature and function of Han characters has enforced people's preference for Han characters. Many people believe that Han characters are ideally suited for all members of the Han language family, which includes Hakka and Taiwanese. They believe that Taiwanese cannot be expressed well without Han characters because Han characters are logographs and each character expresses a distinctive semantic function. In addition, many people believe Lián Hêng's (1987) claim that “there are no Taiwanese words which do not have corresponding characters.” However, DeFrancis (1996:40) has pointed out that Han characters are “primarily sound-based and only secondarily semantically oriented.” In DeFrancis' opinion, it is a myth to regard Han characters as logographic (DeFrancis 1990). He even concludes that “the inefficiency of the system stems precisely from its clumsy method of sound representation and the added complication of an even more clumsy system of semantic determinatives” (DeFrancis 1996:40). If Han characters are logographs, the process involved in reading them should be different from phonological or phonetic writings. However, research conducted by Tzeng et al. has pointed out that “the phonological effect in the reading of the Chinese characters is real and its nature seems to be similar to that generated in an alphabetic script” (Tzeng et al. 1992:128). Their research reveals that the reading process of Han characters is similar to that for phonetic writing. In short, there is no sufficient evidence to support the view that the Han characters are logographs.

The third reason that Romanization is not widespread in Taiwan is due to political factors. Symbolically, writing in Han characters was regarded as a symbol of Chinese culture by Taiwan's ruling Chinese KMT regime. Writing in scripts other than Han characters was forbidden because it was perceived as a challenge to Chinese culture and Chinese nationalism. For example, the Romanized New Testament "*Sin Iok*" was once confiscated by government agents in 1975 because writing in Roman script was regarded as a challenge to the orthodox status of Han characters.

#### 4.2. A Linguistics Account of Peh-ōe-jī

The inventory of Taiwanese vowels and consonants are listed in Table 9 and Table 8 (Cheng and Cheng 1971). In general, there are seventeen consonants (excluding zero consonant and glottal stop /ʔ/), six simple vowels, and seven tones, though they may vary from variety to variety. Among the consonants, the phoneme /l/ is in fact pronounced as a voiced [d] or a flap sound in most circumstances. Nevertheless, we follow the traditional description of listing /l/ as a phoneme.

Table 8. Taiwanese vowels in IPA.

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

Table 9. Taiwanese consonants in IPA.

	bi-labial	alveolar	velar
	-asp/+asp	-asp/+asp	-asp/+asp
voiceless stop	p/p <sup>h</sup>	t / t <sup>h</sup>	k/k <sup>h</sup>
voiced stop	b		g
voiceless C. fricative			h
voiceless G. fricative		s	
voiceless affricate		ts/ts <sup>h</sup>	
voiced affricate		dz	
voiced lateral		l	
voiced nasal	m	n	ŋ

The spelling rules of Pêh-ōe-jī are easier than the Vietnamese Chữ Quốc Ngữ. In general, there is a one-to-one relationship between orthographic symbols and phonemes as shown in Table 10 and Table 11. After phonemes are represented, tone marks are imposed to the nuclei of syllables and a hyphen ‘-’ is added between syllables, such as ò-kóe-khiau (芋粿曲Taiwanese cake). Because Taiwanese is a tone language with rich tone sandhi, there can be several ways to represent tones. In the design of Pêh-ōe-jī, the base tone or underlying tone of each syllable is chosen and represented by its tone mark. For example, ‘Taiwanese cake’ must be represented by its underlying form ò-kóe-khiau rather than surface form ò-koe-khiau (this is the form in actual pronunciation).

Table 10. Symbols for Taiwanese vowels in the spelling of Pêh-ōe-jī.

POJ	CQN	IPA	Conditions	examples
a	a	/a/		ta ‘dry’
i	i	/i/		ti ‘pig’
u	u	/u/		tú ‘meet’
e	ê	/e/		tê ‘tea’
ȯ	ô	/o/		ȯ ‘black’
o	ō	/ə/	Elsewhere	to ‘knife’ koh ‘more’
	ô	/o/	With any coda except <b>h</b>	tong ‘East’ kok ‘state’

Table 11. Symbols for Taiwanese consonants in the spelling of Pêh-ōe-jī.

POJ	CQN	IPA	Conditions	examples
b	b	/b/		bûn ‘literary’
p	p	/p/		pí ‘compare’
ph	n/a	/p <sup>h</sup> /		phoe ‘letter’
l	đ	[d]	Elsewhere	lí ‘you’
	l	[l]	Followed by <b>a</b>	lái ‘come’
t	t	/t/		tê ‘tea’
th	th	/t <sup>h</sup> /		thâi ‘kill’
g	gh	/g/		gí ‘language’
k	k, c, q	/k/		ka ‘plus’
kh	kh	/k <sup>h</sup> /		kha ‘foot’
h	h	[h]		hí ‘happy’
	n/a	[ʔ]		ah ‘duck’
s	x	/s/		si ‘four’
ch	ch	/ts/		chi ‘of’
chh	n/a	/ts <sup>h</sup> /		chha ‘bad’
j	d	/dz/		jít ‘sun’
m	m	[m]		mī ‘noodles’
	n/a	[m̩]	Syllabic	m̩ ‘no’
n	n	/n/		ni ‘milk’
ng	ng	[ŋ]		âng ‘red’
	n/a	[ŋ̩]	syllabic	ng̩ ‘yellow’

Table 12. Taiwanese tones in comparison with Vietnamese and Chinese

Categories	君 [kun] gentle	滾 [kun] boil	棍 [kun] stick	骨 [kut] bone	裙 [kun] skirt	-	近 [kun] near	滑 [kut] glide
Numerical categories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Tone marks in Pêh-ōe-jī	unmarked		`	unmarked	^		-	'
Pêh-ōe-jī samples	kun	kún	kùn	kut	kûn		kûn	kút
IPA tone values	┘	┘	┘	┘	┘		┘	┘
Equivalent CQN	ngang	high huyền	huyền	nặng	hỏi		low ngang	short sắc
Equivalent tones in <b>Taipei</b> Mandarin	1	4	3	n/a	2		low 1	n/a
Equivalent tones in <b>Beijing</b> Mandarin	1	4	low 4	n/a	3		low 1	n/a

## 5. Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated how Vietnamese and Taiwanese are represented by Romanized writing systems, i.e. Chữ Quốc Ngữ and Pêh-ōe-jī respectively. Generally speaking, the missionaries' knowledge of Vietnamese and Taiwanese was proficient enough so the designs of chữ Quốc Ngữ and Pêh-ōe-jī are pretty accurate and efficient compared to the complicated Han writing system.

In Taiwan and China, many people doubt the capacity of Romanization for the Han character-based languages. However, the cases of Vietnamese chữ Quốc Ngữ and Taiwanese Pêh-ōe-jī have shown that it is possible for the Han character-based languages to be written in Romanization. What have prevented the Han characters from being replaced by Romanization are socio-political factors rather than linguistic factors. To improve the Romanization movement,

the most important things for the Taiwanese promoters might be: first, to establish their own Taiwanese political regime in strong support of national writing in Taiwanese, and second, to awake Taiwanese people a sense of writing in Taiwanese and in Roman scripts. More political conflicts between Taiwan and China may contribute to Taiwanese people's awareness of and willingness for Romanized Taiwanese.

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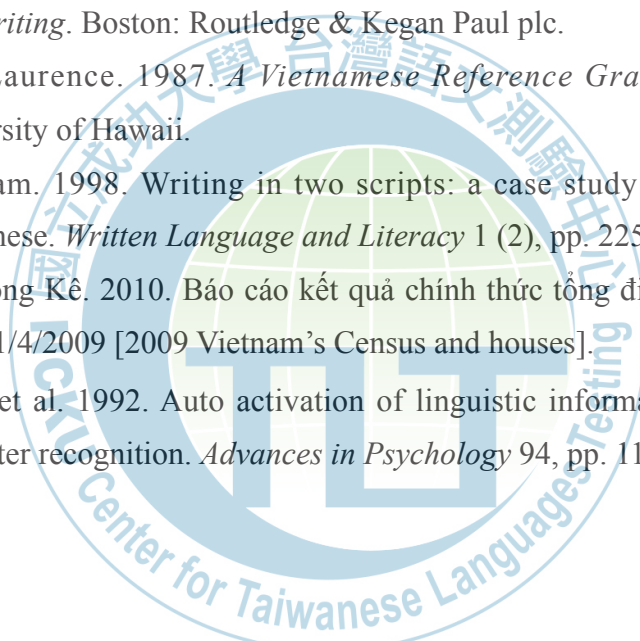


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# Work Report:

## Rev. William Campbell Introduced the Romanized Taiwanese Braille System

Chùn-iòk LÍM

### 工作報告：

### 甘為霖牧師引進白話字ê盲人點字

林俊育

台語信望愛網站、客語信望愛網站、思羅安信望愛（台語點字）網站

#### 1. 踏話頭

自然會曉ê母語kan-ta<sup>n</sup>指講kah聽，讀kah寫就需要學，若無學mā全款是母語ê文盲。盲人kah咱一般人全款，tiòh學盲人點字ê讀kah寫，chiah有法度接受教育，kah一般人平平tī社會khia起。

1988年，我tī台北市雙連教會受選做服務委員會主委，tòh開始盲人事工。1991年底，有機會到僑居波士頓ê賴永祥教授府上作客，伊送我伊著作ê《教會史話》（第一輯）。我一掀開，tú好是第211頁ê「盲人事工ê發軔」（教會史話#073，台灣教會公報社第1953期，1989年8月6日刊出）。Hit時我當teh為雙連教會盲人事工，無閒kah霧sà-sà，chit-ê巧合hō我有一種「ná會hiah tú好」ê感覺，用教會語言來講，就是「上主ê弓|chhōa」。

「盲人事工ê發軔」chit篇短短600字ê文章，記述台灣盲人教育ê開拓者——甘為霖牧師（Rev. William Campbell，英國長老教會宣教師，1841-1921），tī伊寫ê「台灣佈教之成功」內面，有詳細記錄伊從事盲人事工ê機緣kah刊印淨凸版kah點字版盲人福音讀本ê經過。

Chit段有關台灣長老教會盲人事工ê記事，hō我真大ê鼓勵kah弓|chhōa。2002年，我tī李勤岸教授ê帶領之下，踏入台語文運動。彼時，我tī台語網<taigu@google-groups.com>發表講，我beh研發台語點字來hō盲人平平ê-tàng參與台語文運動。鄭良偉教授kā我講「chán！」hō我行chit條路無孤單。加上

台語信望愛蔡哲民教授ê網路技術，思羅安信望愛（台語點字）網站就án-ne架設起來，chit-má每工平均約有50人點閱。

## 2. 《教會史話》ê盲人事工記述

清國統治台灣kah日本領台hit當時ê台灣盲人，m̄是做乞食就是算命仙。甘為霖牧師深深了解盲人ê苦境，伊認為教育ē-tàng改善盲人ê處境，就決心致力盲人教育ê事工。

目矚無方便ê盲人需要學點字，chiah ē-tàng受教育kah讀聖經。甘為霖牧師大約tī 1885年準備好勢白話字ê凸字印刷，m̄-koh笨chhiàng koh重，盲人mā真phái<sup>8</sup>勢摸讀，成本koh高。後來就改用hit當時世界漸漸開始普遍採用ê布雷爾點字系統（Braille System）來印製聖經kah靈修讀物，費用折半koh方便盲人摸讀。

Tùi宣教ê觀點來講，有盲人點字冊tòh ē-tàng開啟盲人接近福音來得救；對盲人ê福祉來講，消除文盲，知識之門就大開。

甘為霖牧師tī 1889年開始展開創設盲校ê事工，伊tī府城（台南）洪公祠設立「訓瞽堂」ê盲校，這是台灣盲人特殊教育ê先驅，mā開啟台灣基督長老教會ê盲人事工。

Tī大清帝國ê盲人學校有，1874年莫萊（William H. Murray，原為蘇格蘭聖經公會所派）tī江京創辦可能算是siōng早，koh來是1888年李修善（David Hill）tī漢口設訓盲書院，洪公祠算排第三。

1895年日本領台，盲校因為局勢動亂暫停一段時期，結局決定1897年3月底所租洪公祠ê租期到就停辦。甘為霖牧師iáu-koh繼續遊說日本政府，成立官辦盲校tī現今台南啟聰學校現址，án-ne講起來，洪公祠ê訓瞽堂盲校tòh是台南啟聰學校ê siōng前身。

一般目矚無看ê人lóng叫做盲人，台語白話叫做chhe<sup>8</sup>-mê。早期漢學á時代iáu未有西洋教育體制ê學校，大清帝國ê頭兩間盲人學校叫做「訓盲書院」，甘為霖牧師tī台南設立ê盲校ná會叫做「訓瞽堂」？《甘字典》ê「瞽」解說：「目矚有目皮無瞳子（目矚仁／眼球）」。



台灣hit當時ê私刑時行「挖目矚」，教會史話#073「盲人信徒溫旺遭

殺」有寫：「溫旺……早年因細故kah吳志高之黨徒衝突，就án-ne有一暗tī路上遭遇襲擊，雙眼被挖去。」可能是甘為霖牧師看tiòh台灣有hiah-chē「無目睷仁」ê盲人，所以號名做「訓瞽堂」。

早期有培養真chē優秀ê盲生去日本留學，lóng真有成就。奉獻台南市永福教會ê廖旺先生，mā是讀了「訓瞽堂」tòh去日本留學。續落來，我所知最近有培養出幾位優秀ê盲人牧師，如台南神學院畢業ê邱瑞淵牧師、石賢哲牧師（現今牧會台中市美村教會已經30外年久），koh有台灣神學院畢業ê林其福牧師等，lóng受tiòh台語點字ê致蔭。

### 3. 台語點字簡介

布雷爾點字系統是法國盲人路易·布雷爾（Louis Braille, 1809-1852）研發成功，用六點做一「方」（=）來排列組合定義做各種語言文字、音樂、數學、幾何、物理、化學等，千變萬化，kah明眼字全款lóng需要一一學習。

台語白話字點字以英語點字做基礎，音素字母kah聲調做「方」，像講：「台灣人出頭天」ê台語點字是 ，「願你平安」是 。

點字ê書寫kah明眼字全款，有點字筆（鑿紙凸點來摸）、點字機（phah紙凸點來摸）kah盲用電腦（點字觸摸顯示器）。

淡江中學盲生資源教室kah無障礙科技發展協會開發ê「點字觸摸顯示器」（盲用電腦）有「金點一號」（40方）、金點二號（45方，G-Mouse轉接線）、超點一號（45方，G-Mouse轉接線kah超點二號（45方，G-Mouse, COM）四種，驅動程式就會照每「方」ê實點凸起來，盲人用食指頭摸每「方」ê實點來辨識，就ē-tàng來摸讀。

台語信望愛有開發「白話字轉點字」ê工具 <<http://sloan.fhl.net/tran/>>，大家ē-tàng使用chit-ê工具kah盲朋友用台語點字通e-mail，盲朋友會講你ná會hiah利害會曉台語點字。其實現代電腦科技，hō明盲ē-tàng容易溝通，大開盲人ê「眼」界。有beh kah盲朋友e-mail來往ê人，請tī你ê電腦安裝simbraille字型（<<http://sloan.fhl.net/>> 免費下載），chiah會顯示咱明眼人看有ê視覺點字樣式。

台語點字ê思羅安信望愛（<<http://sloan.fhl.net>>），已經上網《巴克禮聖經》、《紅皮聖經》、聖詩（1964年版）、聖詩（2009年版）kah《荒漠甘泉》。聖經有點字mā有聲，聖詩有點字歌詞kah伴奏。

#### 4. 台語點字研發經過

母語hō咱對所khia起ê土地有感情，咱來關心盲朋友ê母語讀寫，這需要台語點字系統ê建立。

台語點字系統是1885年甘為霖牧師（Rev. William Campbell）引進ê廈門音白話字點字系統，配合台灣長老教會早期重視白話字ê推廣，chit-ê點字系統mā利益chē-chē盲人ê教育kah信仰追求。

國民黨政府流亡來台了後，以殖民者ê作法來推行錯誤ê國語政策，迫害台灣母語。公立盲校無teh教台語點字，私立台中惠明盲校kah私立慕光盲人重建中心早期有teh教，m̄-koh chit十幾年來，in kah神學院放棄教白話字全款，mā漸漸放棄教台語點字。台語點字漸漸行入死亡ê路，現此時可能kan-ta雙連教會ê盲朋友teh使用。禮拜用盲用週報ê聖經kah聖詩使用台語點字，西羅亞（盲人）合唱團台語歌詞lóng用台語點字。

2001年，我開始踏入台語chit條路，就下決心boeh將台語點字救活。因為台語拼音系統一直到2006年9月29日chiah整合好勢，我就請華語點字金點／超點開發主導人洪錫銘老師，來進行台語點字ê電腦化，koh請台語點字ê精英石賢哲、龔素珠、許梅芳、楊錦鍾等，來研討白話字點字kah台羅拼音方案ê定義。Siōng重要ê是信望愛網站ê蔡哲民教授全心投入，將我整理好勢ê台羅kah點字對照表，tī台語信望愛下腳，設台羅點字轉換工具（<<http://sloan.fhl.net/tran/>>），同時mā架設思羅安信望愛（<<http://sloan.fhl.net>>）hō盲朋友試讀。咱台語信望愛有開發真chē台語工具，用華語轉台語工具ē-tàng kā華語文章轉做漢羅台語，koh用漢羅轉全羅工具kā它轉做全羅台語，koh用教羅轉台羅工具kā它轉做台羅，án-ne就ē-tàng轉做台語點字。Chit-ê思羅安信望愛網站，今後ē-tàng提供盲朋友無限ê台語讀物，這需要大家來tàu相kāng phah拚。

類似金點、超點ê華語盲用電腦ê明盲雙向（華語點字→華語→華語點



字)，「台羅→台語點字→台羅」e軟體若開發好勢，盲朋友ê台語作品mā ē-tàng上網hō盲朋友kah明眼人來讀，這tòh是聖經所講ê「上主hō失明ê koh看見」，願一切榮耀歸hō創造主！

圖表1. 台語點字系統對照表

白話字	台羅拼音	台語點字	白話字	台羅拼音	台語點字
a	a	·	i	i	··
u	u	u	e	e	e
o	o	··	o'	oo	···
ai	ai	···	au	au	····
an	an	···	am	am	···
ia	ia	···	io	io	···
iu	iu	··	in	in	···
im	im	···	oa	ua	w
oe	ue	···	ui	ui	···
un	un	··	om	om	··
ng	ng	···	ang	ang	···
iau	iau	···	ian	ian	···
iam	iam	····	eng	ing	···
oai	uai	···	oan	uan	···
ong	ong	···	a <sup>n</sup>	ann	··
i <sup>n</sup>	inn	···	e <sup>n</sup>	enn	···
o <sup>n</sup>	oonn	···	ai <sup>n</sup>	ainn	···
ia <sup>n</sup>	iann	···	iu <sup>n</sup>	iunn	···
ui <sup>n</sup>	uinn	···	oa <sup>n</sup>	uann	···

(後一頁koh有)

(頂一頁koh有)

ia <sup>n</sup> h	iannh	⋮⋮⋮	o <sup>n</sup> h	oonnh	⋮⋮⋮
oai <sup>n</sup>	uainn	⋮⋮	iang	iang	⋮
iah8	iah8	⋮⋮	iap8	iap8	⋮⋮
iat8	iat8	⋮⋮	iak8	iak8	⋮⋮
ioh8	ioh8	⋮⋮	iok8	iok8	⋮⋮
oah8	uah8	⋮⋮	oat8	uat8	⋮⋮
oeh8	ueh8	⋮⋮	uih8	uih8	⋮⋮
auh8	auh8	⋮⋮	ouh8	ooh8	⋮⋮
iong	iong	⋮⋮	ah8	ah8	⋮⋮
ih8	ih8	⋮⋮	uh8	uh8	⋮⋮
eh8	eh8	⋮⋮	oh8	oh8	⋮⋮
ap8	ap8	⋮⋮	ip8	ip8	⋮⋮
at8	at8	⋮⋮	it8	it8	⋮⋮
ak8	ak8	⋮⋮	ek8	ik8	⋮⋮
ok8	ok8	⋮⋮	ut8	ut8	⋮⋮
ah	ah	⋮⋮	ih	ih	⋮⋮
uh	uh	⋮⋮	eh	eh	⋮⋮
oh	oh	⋮⋮	iah	iah	⋮⋮
ioh	ioh	⋮⋮	oah	uah	⋮⋮
oeh	ueh	⋮⋮	uih	uih	⋮⋮
ouh	ooh	⋮⋮	ap	ap	⋮⋮
ip	ip	⋮⋮	iap	iap	⋮⋮

(後一頁koh有)

(頂一頁koh有)

at	at	∴.	it	it	∴.
oat	uat	∴.	ut	ut	∴.
iat	iat	∴.	ak	ak	∴.
ek	ik	∴.	ok	ok	∴.
iak	iak	∴.	iok	iok	∴.
p	p	∴	ph	ph	∴
m	m	∴	b	b	∴
t	t	∴	th	th	∴
n	n	∴	l	l	∴
k	k	∴	kh	kh	∴
ch	ts	∴	chh	tsh	∴
g	g	∴	h	h	∴
s	s	∴	j	j	∴.
第2聲	第2聲	∴	第3聲	第3聲	∴
第4聲	第4聲	∴	第5聲	第5聲	∴
第6聲	第6聲	∴	第7聲	第7聲	∴
第8聲	第8聲	∴	,	,	∴
.	.	∴	:	:	∴
;	;	∴	!	!	∴

## 5. 期待

盲人等殘障人士一般lóng hō社會人士歧視，成做社會ê邊緣人。文明ê定義就是關懷弱勢團體ê深度，jú關心弱勢團體ê社會就是jú文明。人類對弱勢團體ê關懷ùi同情救濟進步到了解並提供無障礙ê大環境，hō in活kah有尊嚴

koh有信心。

疼就是tī別人ê需要上，看tiòh家己ê責任。有一個諺語án-ne講：「送伊魚，不如教伊掠魚。」電腦科技ê發展hō殘障ê人士得tiòh真大ê幫助，咱mā加真容易幫助in「掠魚」ê技能。

咱tiòh來關心盲朋友ê母語讀寫，in ê心靈無受看會tiòh ê「花花世界」污染，in ē-tàng寫出純潔koh súi ê文學作品，hō台語文學開花結好果子。

## 讀者回應

任何批評指教，歡迎email: limchuniok@gmail.com，林俊育收。

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## Book Review:

### *The History of Taiwanese Novels and the Comments of Texts*

Sin-han HO

Department of Taiwanese Literature, Chung Shan Medical University

## 冊評：《台語小說史及作品總評》

何信翰

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2012年是台語文學史大量產出ê一年。佇2011年以前，台灣無任何一本khah完整ê台語文學史/小說史/詩歌史，毋過佇這年內底，就有3本文學史出版，分別是方耀乾ê《台語文學史暨書目彙編》（2012.06）、施俊州ê《臺語文學導論》（2012.12），以及林央敏ê《台語小說史及作品總評》（2012.12）。一時予台語文學史ê研究鬧熱滾滾。其中，相對其他2本文學史來講，林央敏ê《小說史》是真特別ê一本。

林央敏是戰後真出名ê台語文學創作者，無論是佇小說iah是詩、歌ê創作方面，攏有真好ê質kap量，會當講是台語文學ê“長青樹”。

除了創作以外，林央敏先生閣有寫真濟論述性ê文章、專冊，對推廣社會大眾對台語文學ê認bat kap認同有相當ê貢獻，這本《小說史》就是伊上新ê一部論述性作品。佇這本專冊內底，林央敏先生將台語小說ê發展分做「萌芽期」、「復育成長期」、「成熟期」3个階段，分別對chia ê階段，以及小說開始發展以前ê hia ê台語「口傳故事」做紹介，分別討論伊認為ê各階段重要作品kap作家。

成做台灣歷史上第一本專門討論台語小說ê專冊，這本《小說史》自然有伊ê分量kap地位。加上內底ê一寡評述確實精彩，尤其是針對胡長松、崔根源作品ê部分，攏表現出作者身為老練ê作家佇文字運用方面ê優勢，予一般讀者佇讀這本《小說史》ê時，完全袂出現理解上ê障礙。而且相對方耀乾kap施俊州ê「文學史」，這本《小說史》kan-na針對1種文類，

自然會當佇評論ê時陣比頭前2本文學史紹介閣khah濟小說作品。

成做一位戰後上早開始有意識創作台語文學作品ê作家之一，林央敏長期關心台語文學ê發展，伊對台語文學一向ê堅持，佇這本冊lìn全款表露無疑。伊歷來一直強調ê母語文學優勢kap台灣人用台語創作ê權力，全款是這本《小說史》值得詳細閱讀ê部分之一。

另外一个《小說史》內面值得提出來講ê所在，是林央敏佇寫到女性小說家王貞文kap清文ê時，毋是單純「以女性文學的角度來看」，將女性作家kap男性作家分開，用「博愛座」ê方式來對待chia ê女性作家，顛倒是將in 2人ê作品「等同所有小說來看」（p.220），無因為性別對in 2位有任何ê優待，充分反映出女性kap男性平等ê觀念。這也是這本《小說史》ê“亮點”所在。

相對方耀乾kap施俊州是學院派出身ê文學評論者，對文學理論有深厚ê基礎，林央敏是作家出身，雖罔佇這本《小說史》內面會當明顯看出伊對西洋文學、中國文學，以及台灣文學閱讀ê闊度，總是作家有作家ê慣勢，尤其是親像林央敏這款有分量ê文學家，佇轉換角色變成評論者ê時，定定會有“轉袂過”ê情形。具體表現佇這本《小說史》內面ê所在之一，就是tng當作者leh評論各小說家ê作品ê時陣，定定會用小學老師改作文ê時所用ê「甲」、「乙」、「丙」，隨家己ê好惡將hia ê成名台語作家ê作品分級，閣以家己ê觀點“建議”chia ê作家應該按怎改，作品chiah會khah好適。這種隱隱流露ê“我在眾人之上”ê優越感敢有適合？Hông評論做乙級/丙級ê hia ê作品，是毋是真正hiah-nī-á「結構鬆散，乃至崩垮」（p. 243），甚至「像初學者那樣沒寫好和寫得不像小說」（p. 129），當然就會造成讀者心內ê疑問kap對這本冊ê質疑。

另外一个這本《小說史》內面會當討論ê所在，就是作者將「用來寫作ê文字系統」kap「作品ê文學性/小說家ê寫作功力」這2種無關係ê物件硬是聯結做伙，武斷講chia ê用羅馬字創作ê人就是「比較缺乏文學才賦」、「不怎麼了解文學藝術」、「疏於文字的學習與講究」、「很少觀摩好的文學作品」、「志不在文學創作」、「僅是文學的初習者」（pp. 271-272）等等。這種主觀性強烈或者是欠缺科學證據ê論述是毋是正確，敢會予歸本冊ê公信力降低，應該答案攏是肯定ê。敢講若是有一日，差不多所有ê作品

佇《小說史》內面攏hông評定作「甲級」ê作家若是改用羅馬字創作，伊就會雄雄變作「缺乏文學才賦」、「不怎麼了解文學藝術」啊？

整體來講，若是kap差不多時間出版ê其他2本類似ê作品比起來，這本《小說史》ê學術性kap客觀性明顯khah少，毋過因為是華語書寫，閣是出名ê出版社（印刻）所出版，通路加真濟，所以比頭前2本加真有宣傳kap推廣ê效果。

讀者回應：

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## Book Review:

# *Rethinking Transnational Chinese Cinemas: The Amoy-Dialect Film Industry in Cold War Asia*

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*Rethinking Transnational Chinese Cinemas: The  
Amoy-Dialect Film Industry in Cold War Asia* sī

是  
Jeremy E. Taylor (戴杰銘) tī Eng-kok Sheffield  
佇 英國

Tâi-hák Tang-a gián-kiù hák-ī<sup>n</sup> lâi-bîn chò  
大學 東亞 研究 學院 內面 做

Tiong-kok gián-kiù kang-su ê sî-chūn, Routledge  
中國 研究 講師 的 時陣，

chhut-pán-siā tī 2011 nî 6 goéh chhut-pán ê. 2012  
出版社 佇 年 月 出版 的，

nî 9 goéh, Taylor sóa-khì Eng-kok Nottingham Tâi-hák tong-tâi  
年 月， 徙去 英國 大學 當代

Tiong-kok gián-kiù hák-ī<sup>n</sup> tam-jīm tong-tâi Tiong-kok gián-kiù  
中國 研究 學院 擔任 當代 中國 研究

hù-kàu-siū. *Rethinking Transnational Chinese Cinemas* chit-pún-chheh,  
副教授。 這本冊，

thó-lūn 1950 nī-tāi tī Hiong-káng chè-chō, chú-iàu siau-tùi Ma-ni-la  
 討論 年代 佇 香港 製造， 主要 銷對 馬尼拉  
 Tng-lâng-khu, Tâi-oân ē-káng, kah Sin-ka-pho hì-tī ē Ē-mng-gí iáⁿ-hì.  
 唐人區， 台灣 下港， 恰 新加坡 戲院的 廈門語 影戲。  
 Hiong-káng Ē-mng-gí iáⁿ-hì ê lèk-sú pōe-kéng, sī 1949 nī Sin  
 香港 廈門語 影戲 的 歷史 背景， 是 年 新  
 Tiong-kok kiàn-kok sêng-kong, chit-kóa Ē-mng chiah iáⁿ-hì thâu-lō ē  
 中國 建國 成功， 一寡 廈門 食 影戲 頭路的  
 lāng chāu-khì Hiong-káng, chō-sêng chit-ê Sió Hok-kiàn ê siā-kūn. Tī  
 人 走去 香港， 造成 一個 小福建 的 社群。 佇  
 Hui-lút-pin, kóng lán-lāng-ōe ē Hok-kiàn î-bîn āu-tāi tú-hó tng-tiòh  
 菲律賓， 講 咱人話 的 福建 移民 後代 抵好 撞著  
 tong-tē tng-leh bîn-chòk-chú-gī sī-kiáⁿ, hō-in koat-tēng kā pō-hūn  
 當地 當咧 民族主義 時行， 予 決定 部分  
 chu-kim sóa-khì gōa-tē tâu-chu. Ka-siōng hit-tong-sī lán-lāng-ōe ē  
 資金 徙去 外地 投資。 加上 彼當時 咱人話 的  
 t̄ai-chiòng gō-lók chhī-tiūⁿ ū chhī, soah-lāi chō-sêng tī Hiong-káng ē  
 大眾 娛樂 市場 有市， 煞來 造成 佇 香港 的  
 Ē-mng-gí iáⁿ-hì sán-giáp. M-koh chit-sī ē Ē-mng-gí iáⁿ-hì, chè-chō  
 廈門語 影戲 產業。 毋過 這時的 廈門語 影戲， 製造  
 sêng-pún kē, phín-chit mā bô-hó.  
 成本 低， 品質 嘛 無好。

Chit-khai-sí, in-ūi tâu-chu Ē-mng-gí iáⁿ-hì ê chu-kim bô chin-chē,  
 一開始， 因為 投資 廈門語 影戲的 資金 無 真濟，  
 tī 1950 nī-tāi chhó-ki ē phiⁿ lóng-iōng kô-chá ē hì-khek chò kiòk-pún.  
 佇 年代 初期的 片 攏用 古早 的 戲曲 做 劇本。  
 An-ne chò, tū-liáu khó-lū tiòh sêng-pún, m̄-koán beh siau-khì tó-chit-ê  
 按呢 做， 除了 考慮 著 成本， 毋管 欲 銷去 佗一個  
 chhī-tiūⁿ, lóng-ē-sái phiah-khui tong-tē ē cheng-tī iah-sī tō-tek sím-cha.  
 市場， 攏會使 避開 當地的 政治 抑是 道德 審查。  
 M-koh, i-ê éng-hióng sī chō-sêng phín-chit kē ē pheh-āu-táu iáⁿ-hì  
 毋過， 伊的 影響 是 造成 品質 低的 帕後斗 影戲  
 sán-giáp. Tán-kàu koan-chiòng khòaⁿ chit-chiòng chip-kó-pán ē  
 產業。 等到 觀眾 看 這種 執古板的  
 kiòk-chêng khòaⁿ-kah siān, Sin-ka-pho kah Ma-lai-se-a ē chu-kim  
 劇情 看甲 倦， 新加坡 恰 馬來西亞 的 資金  
 jip-lāi tâu-chu, Ē-mng-gí iáⁿ-hì chiah kái-piàn hì-būn, kái-poaⁿ tong-tāi  
 入內 投資， 廈門語 影戲 才 改變 戲文， 改搬 當代

pōe-kéng ê kiók-chêng, thiam-kóa khah hiâu ê cha-bó kak-sek,  
背景 的 劇情， 添寡 較 燒 的 查某 角色，  
chham-kah hiân-tāi liú-hêng koa.

參佸 現代 流行 歌。

Hit-tong-sī siók-tī léng-chiàn sī-kī, siū-tiòh Bí-kok chi-chhī  
彼當時 屬佇 冷戰 時期， 受著 美國 支持  
chiàm-niá Tâi-oân ê Tiong-kok Kok-bîn-tóng cheng-koân, pún-té  
佔領 台灣 的 中國 國民黨 政權， 本底  
sī-beh î-chai Tiong-kok-gí ap-chè Tâi-gí; m̄-koh chhī-khai-sí, ū-tiòh  
是欲 移栽 中國語 壓制 台語； 毋過 一開始， 為著  
beh tui-hù Tiong-kok ê kiōng-sán-tóng, soah kah Hiong-káng ê  
欲 對付 中國 的 共產黨， 煞 佸 香港 的  
Ē-m̄ng-gí iá<sup>n</sup>-hì sán-giap chah-khùi, tán-kàu 1960 nî-tāi Kok-bîn-tóng  
廈門語 影戲 產業 扎氣， 等到 年代 國民黨  
cheng-koân kái-piàn cheng-chhek, ka-siōng Hui-lùt-pin peso  
政權 改變 政策， 加上 菲律賓  
chī<sup>n</sup>-pòh-khì, tong-tē ê tâu-chu pang-pô<sup>n</sup>, kah Sin-ka-pho Lí Keng-iāu  
錢薄去， 當地的 投資 崩盤， 佸 新加坡 李光耀  
(Lee Kuan Yew) cheng-hú ê Hôa-gú cheng-chhek, chióng-chióng  
政府 的 華語 政策， 種種  
goân-in soah hō Hiong-káng Ē-m̄ng-gí iá<sup>n</sup>-hì sán-giap tauh-tauh-á  
原因 煞 予 香港 廈門語 影戲 產業 查查仔  
siau-sit.  
消失。

Jeremy E. Taylor ê lūn-tiám sī hit-tang-chūn ê Ē-m̄ng-gí iá<sup>n</sup>-hì  
的 論點 是 彼當陣 的 廈門語 影戲  
í-keng sng-sī khòa-kok (transnational) ê hiân-siōng; m̄-koh, i-ê pún-chit  
已經 算是 跨國 的 現象； 毋過， 伊的 本質  
kah chit-má hák-sút-kài tng-leh iá<sup>n</sup> ê khòa-kok hiân-siōng thó-lūn  
佸 這馬 學術界 當咧 颺 的 跨國 現象 討論  
siōng-tōa ê chha-piát, sī Ē-m̄ng-gí iá<sup>n</sup>-hì pēng m̄-sī sè-kài phō-phian  
上大 的 差別， 是 廈門語 影戲 並 毋是 世界 普遍。  
(cosmopolitan). Ka-siōng Ē-m̄ng-gí iá<sup>n</sup>-hì kah sô-ū ê kok-ka  
加上 廈門語 影戲 佸 所有的 國家  
lóng-chóng bô koan-hē, tī chit-ê lú-lai-lú-iōng kok-ka tī-leh kai-tēng  
攏總 無 關係， 佇 這個 愈來愈用 國家 佇咧 界定  
it-chhè bûn-hòa khài-liām ê sī-tāi, chin-kín tiòh tī sè-kan khi hō-lâng  
一切 文化 概念 的 時代， 真緊 著 佇 世間 去 予人

pàng-bē-kì. Chok-chiá koh chìn-chit-pō thêh Tamil kah Yiddish jí-giân 放袂記。作者閣進一步提佢語言 ê iá<sup>n</sup>-hì lē chò pí-kàu, soat-bêng kah hiân-tâi kok-ka chú-thé bûn-hòa 的影戲例做比較，說明佢現代國家主體文化 bô-koan-hē ê bûn-hòa sán-giap, in-ê lóh-tiū<sup>n</sup> tióh-sī bōe-su hō-lâng 無關係的文化產業，落場著是袂輸予人 sak-khì kī<sup>n</sup>-á-pi<sup>n</sup> kâng-khoán, sí-oáh bô-lâng beh chhap. 揀去墘仔邊全款，死活無人欲插。

Ò-chiu Monash Tâi-hák ê Jacob Bruce (Ka-phok 家博) kàu-siū, tī 澳洲大學的教授，佇 2012 nî 1 goáh tē 67 kī ê *The China Journal* kī-khan ū chit-phi<sup>n</sup> 年 月 第 期 的 期刊 有 一篇 chheh-phêng; tú-liáu o-ló chok-chiá tùi Ē-mûg-gí iá<sup>n</sup>-hì gián-kiù ê 冊評；除了呵佬作者對廈門語影戲研究的 kòng-hián í-gōa, mā-ū thê-kióng chit-kóa chheh-lâi siá m-tiòh ê sió 貢獻以外，嘛有提供一寡冊內寫毋著的小 sô-chāi. Bruce koh choan-kang kú chit-kóa jí-sū téng-bîn ê lē, 所在。閣專工舉一寡語詞頂面的例， tiám-chhut bô-èng-kai ká Hok-kiàn-gí tòng-chò sī hong-giân, èng-kai 點出無應該福建語當做是方言，應該 ká i tòng-chò tòk-llp ê gú-giân.

伊當做獨立的語言。

Chéng-thé kóng-lâi, in-ūi kok-lâi siāu-kài Tâi-gí iá<sup>n</sup>-hì ê chheh 整體講來，因為國內介紹台語影戲的冊 bē-chió, thó-lūn chit-ê gī-tê ê lāng mā lú-lâi-lú-chē, só-í tùi sék-sāi 袂少，討論這個議題的人嘛愈來愈濟，所以對熟似 Tâi-gí tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> ê thók-chiá, *Rethinking Transnational Chinese Cinemas* 台語電影的讀者，

chit-pún chheh ê ì-gī, sī chiong hit-tong-sī ê Tâi-gí tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> khng-tī 這本冊的意義，是將彼當時的台語電影園佇 kóng lán-lâng-ōe ê sè-kài lâi su-khó; chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> Tâi-oân-lâng khah 講咱人話的世界來思考；親像台灣人較 sék-sāi ê, pún-miâ kiò Kán Siù-tiū (簡秀綢) ê Sió Iām-chhiu (小艷秋), 熟似的，本名叫的

pún-lâng sī Thō-hng lāng, pún-té tī Jit-goéh-hng sin-kiók-thoân (日月本人是桃園人，本底佇

園新劇團), Tâi-gí tiān-ia<sup>n</sup> phah-kòe *Hong-lú cháp-peh-nî* (瘋女十八 台語電影拍過

年), bóe-á khì Hiong-káng phah Hā-gú-phì<sup>n</sup>. Jeremy E. Taylor tī  
尾仔 去 香港 拍 廈語片。  
chheh-lāi ū siāu-kài-tiòh i, mā-ū hù chit-tiu<sup>n</sup> tong-sī Sió Iām-chhiu tī  
冊內 有 紹介著 伊, 嘛有附 一張 當時 小豔秋 仔  
Hiong-káng phah Hā-gú-phì<sup>n</sup> ê siòng-phì<sup>n</sup>. Koh chhin-chhiū<sup>n</sup> poa<sup>n</sup>  
香港 拍 廈語片 的 相片。 閣 親像 搬  
Hôa-gí-phì<sup>n</sup> *Niū San-pek ú Chiok Eng-tâi* (梁山伯與祝英台)  
華語片  
chhut-miâ ê Lêng Pho (凌波), pún-miâ kiò-chò Ng Jū-kun (黃裕君),  
出名 的 本名 叫做  
Soa<sup>n</sup>-thâu chhut-sì, sè-hàn-sī hō-lâng bē khì Ē-mâng chò ióng-lú, 1949  
汕頭 出世, 細漢時 予人 賣去 廈門 做 養女,  
nī tòe ióng-bú cháu-khì Hiong-káng, chit-khai-sí sī iōng Sió-koan (小  
年 養母 走去 香港, 一開始 是用  
娟) chò gē-miâ, poa<sup>n</sup> Ē-mâng-gí iá<sup>n</sup>-hì. Bat tī Tâi-oân poa<sup>n</sup>-kòe ê  
做 藝名, 搬 廈門語 影戲。 捌仔 台灣 搬過 的  
*Hoan-pô-lâng* (番婆弄), hì-lāi tiòh-ū tong-sī kiò-chò Sió-koan ê Ng  
戲內 著有 當時 叫做 小娟 的 黃  
Jū-kun hām Sin-ka-pho chhut-sin ê Chong Set Png (莊雪芳) hâp-chok  
裕君 和 新加坡 出身 的 合作  
ián-chhut. Sió-koan koh tī hì-lāi iōng lán-lâng-ōe hoan-chhiū<sup>n</sup> Bí-kok  
演出。 小娟 閣仔戲內 用 咱人話 翻唱 美國  
koa-chhe<sup>n</sup> Patti Page ê *changing partner*.  
歌星 的

Jeremy E. Taylor chit-pún-chheh sui-bóng sī tī-leh thó-lūn tiān-ia<sup>n</sup>  
這本冊 雖罔 是仔咧 討論 電影  
sán-giap, m̄-koh i thó-lūn ê kak-tō kah hong-hoat, tui lán thó-lūn Tâi-gí  
產業, 毋過 伊 討論 的角度 恰 方法, 對咱 討論 台語  
iáh-sī lán-lâng-ōe, ū tiōng-iàu ê khé-sī.  
抑是 咱人話, 有 重要 的 啟示。

## 讀者回應

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# 冊評：《台灣語入門》

蔣為文

國立成功大學台灣語文測驗中心&越南研究中心

## **Book Review:** *Taiwanese for Beginners*

Wi-vun Taiffalo CHIUNG

Center for Taiwanese Languages Testing, National Cheng Kung University

Taiwanese for Beginners was published by the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS, 東京外国語大學), Japan in 2012. The authors were TAN Le-kun (陳麗君), CHHOA Seng-ui (蔡承維), LIM Hong-eng (林虹瑛), and MIO Yuko (三尾裕子). The editor-in-chief was MIO Yuko. This book was originally prepared for the “Intensive Language Course 2012: Taiwanese” offered at ILCAA. It was officially published in July 30, 2012 with ISBN 978-4-86337-118-9, containing a total of 294 pages. Along with this book, an additional Glossary for ILCAA Taiwanese Course was also published simultaneously with ISBN 978-4-86337-119-4, containing 36 pages.

Basically, Taiwanese for Beginners was designed as a textbook for the Japanese beginner learners of Taiwanese. It consists of three major parts: 1) Introduction to the sound system in Taiwanese, 2) main texts with 36 lessons, and 3) three appendices. This book is expected to be taught in 125 hours or one year’s language course in college. The introduction was written in Japanese. The main texts are offered in Taiwanese with Japanese translations and explanations. Taiwanese texts were prepared with Ruby Text Mode (RTM) in both Han characters (listed in the second line) and Tai-lo Romanized scheme (listed in the first line), which was officially proclaimed and adopted in 2006 by the Ministry

of Education-ROC in Taiwan.

RTM is very helpful to Han characters-users, such as Japanese speakers, to learn Taiwanese through their existing knowledge of Han characters. However, learners should be aware that not all Han characters provided in the texts are considered “correct” or “appropriate” or “common” by all Taiwanese writers. For example, 𪗇 (khiàng, literally means “gumptious”) was provided in lesson 19. In fact, this character is neither commonly used nor considered as “appropriate” or “correct” by the general public and experts on Taiwanese, even though this character was collected in the MOE Dictionary of Frequently Used Southern Min (MDFUSM, 教育部臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典).

Why? There are several reasons: First, MDFUSM was basically the result of the collective effort of the editorial committee, which was dominated by Han character-preferring scholars, who rarely write in their proposed Han characters in any practical way. In fact, there are still controversies over the proposed characters among the scholars. The general public definitely are not willing to follow a controversial scheme. Second, about 10% to 15 % of Taiwanese words do not have corresponding Han characters. In other words, there are etymons in languages other than Han. For example, there were many Japanese loanwords coined during Taiwan’s Japanese period, such as o-to-bái “motorbike,” khí-mo “mood” and khōng “to grout.” Thirdly, there is no unanimous agreement about the standardization of written Taiwanese in Han characters since Taiwanese language education had been forbidden for many decades by the Republic of China in Taiwan. It was not taught at all until the year 2000. Since then, a period of 40 minutes per week for learning Taiwanese language(s) is allowed for elementary schools. But, no required courses in Taiwanese are offered through high school and colleges. How then can students master written Taiwanese in the very limited time of learning like this?

The forerunners of Taiwanese teaching in Japan after World War II are Ong Iok-tek (王育德), Murakami Yoshihide (村上嘉英), and Higuchi Yasushi (樋口靖). Their textbooks for learning Taiwanese have made great contributions to the



promotion of Taiwanese in Japan. Thereafter, a most up-to-date and remarkable Taiwanese textbook for Japanese speakers has been published. That is the Taiwanese for Beginners, which deserves recommendations!

## Correspondence

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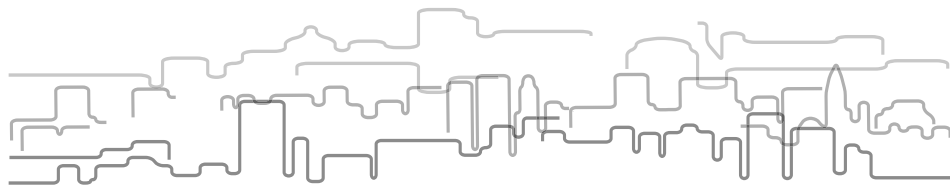
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