

Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

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Phonological Comparison of Vietnamese and Taiwanese Sounds in Han Characters Loanwords

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Abstract

Vietnamese, due to strong Han cultural influences and long-term language contact with Han Language (Han Yu), has adopted a lot of Han vocabulary words. In addition, Taiwanese (Tai-gi) belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language system and has kept much of the pronunciations close to Proto-Han. Furthermore, Taiwanese and Vietnamese are isolating languages, influenced by Han, and inherited Han loanwords. A lot of words in Taiwanese and Vietnamese have similar pronunciations and meanings.

This study is based on single morphemes of Taiwanese and Vietnamese, calculating the Han Character loanwords in each language, classifying them into two parts: the initial and the rhyme, then compare the differences in each part. The research results, gotten by statistics and analysis of Han Character loanwords, can generalize phonological rules between Taiwanese and Vietnamese. Those parallel and regular pronunciations provide new methods for language learning, from which Taiwanese people could learn Vietnamese with more effectiveness and interest.

Keywords: Taiwanese, Vietnamese, Han Characters loanwords, Sino-Vietnamese

漢字借詞內底台語音kap越語音ê比較

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摘要

越南chham漢文化、漢語接觸ê時間真久長，所以ū真chē漢字hông引用做越南語詞系統內底ê漢字借詞。台語sī漢語系統ê分支，內底保留真chē恰中古漢語音khah 接近ê語言層次。台語kap越南語lóng屬單音節ê孤立語，mā lóng受tiòh漢語ê影響，ù詞彙系統ê角度來看，lóng有繼接漢語借詞ê情況，ū bōe chió字詞ê音義是非常接近甚至全款ê。這個研究以越南語音kap台語音ê音節結構做基礎，統計越南語詞中間，漢字借詞內底ê越南語音kap台語音，而且kā in分做聲母（initial）kap韻母（rhyme）兩ê部分來互相對應比較kap分析。本研究透過統計分析來比較漢字借詞內底台語kap越南語ê發音，歸納出其中的音韻規則，運用tī字詞發音相倚ê比較，ē-tàng做為一個根據，幫贊台灣人tī學越南語ê時陣，加強學習越南語ê興趣kap效率。

關鍵詞：台語、越南語、漢字借詞、漢越音

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1. 話頭

每一種語言形成 kap 發展 ê 過程當中，加減 lóng ē 向定定接觸 ê 語言借用詞語，來表達語言自身無法度表達 ê 物件。越南語 ê 語詞系統 ū bē 少外來語，親像：泰語、芒族語（*tiếng Mường*）、漢語、法語、英語、Lō-se-a 語等等（Nguyễn Thiện Giáp 1998）。越南經過被中國統治 chiâⁿ 千冬 ê 歷史（公元前 111 年到公元 939 年），久長 kap 漢文化、漢語接觸，因按呢，有真 chē 漢字 hōng 引入做越南語詞系統內底 ê 漢字借詞。Chit kóa tui 中國傳入來 ê 漢字借詞，仔越南語內底有一種特別 ê 讀音，m̄-koh 猶原保留古漢語 ê 發音，而且使用越南語羅馬字拼音書寫，號做「漢越詞」，孤一 ê 漢字 ê 越語音號做「漢越音」。漢越詞 tī 越南語詞當中約略占百分之六十，主要是地名、政治、文學、宗教、科學、醫學 kap 科技頂 kōan ê 詞彙。漢越音是 tui 唐代漢語語音系統來--ê，tī 越南語語音規則 ê 影響之下，漸漸脫離漢語 ê 發音方式，成做越南人特別 ê 讀音方式（Nguyễn Tài Cẩn 2001），這款讀音方式雖然獨立，但是 m̄-nā 系統化 koh 真接近漢語 ê 發音，親像「quốc」/kuok/（國）、「gia」/za/（家）、「son」/ sɔn /（山）、「thuỷ」/twi/（水）。

台語成做漢語系統 ê 分支，內底保留 khah chē 接近中古漢語音 ê 語言層次。台語 kap 越南語 lóng sī 「單音節」語言，lóng 受 tiōh 漢語 ê 影響，tī 詞彙系統頂 kōan，kap 台語亦 lóng ū 繼接漢語借詞 ê 情況，所以兩 pêng tī 真 chē 字詞 ê 音義頂 kōan，lóng 真接近、甚至相全--ê。蔣為文（2006）tī 研究「按怎 tui 台語學越南語」已經透過越南語羅馬字 kap 台語白話字，提出兩款語言之間 ê 發音比較，而且發現 tī 母音（vowels）、聲母（consonants）、聲調（tones）有真 chē 全款 ê 所在。這個研究透過統計分析 kap 比較漢字借詞內底台語 kap 越南語 ê 發音，歸納出其中 ê 音韻規則，運用 tī 字詞發音相倚 ê 比較，ē-tàng 成做一個根據，來幫贊台灣人 tī 學越南語 ê 時陣，加強學習越南語 ê 效率。

本研究以《現代漢越詞典》（*Từ điển Hán – Việt hiện đại*）（Nguyễn Kim Thản 1996）kap 《邵帚漢越字典》（*Hán – Việt tự điển Thiệu Chửu*）（Thiệu Chửu, Nguyễn Hữu Kha 2003）為主，來蒐集、調查漢字、漢越音 ê 部分，另外，koh 使用線頂《甘字典查詢》來統計調查台語音，將 in 分做聲

母 (initial) kap 韻母 (rhyme) 兩ê部分來對應比較分析。文字頂kôan以越南語羅馬字 (國語字) kap 台語白話字 (Peh-ōe-jī、POJ) 為主要展現ê文字, 而且用國際音標 (IPA) 表示。比較漢字詞tī越南語kap漢語中間, 讀音ê目的來走揣台灣人hām越南人tī使用漢字借詞頂kôan siōng基本ê規律, 包括聲母系統、押韻kap聲調。本研究希望增加台灣語言學習者學習越南語ê效率kap興趣, 而且因為文化源頭相siàng, ē-tàng 進一步理解文字意義, 達成學習效果。

2. 漢字借詞kap漢字讀音之起源

漢字本正sī漢人tī 3000 gōa冬前創造出來--ê。Tòe tiòh漢人 tòa ê範圍kap文化影響lú來lú大, 漸漸炭kàu到其他所在, 包括朝鮮、日本kap東南亞, 越南mā sī其中之一。漢字ê讀音iā隨時間演變, tī這kóa地區慢慢--á改變, mā因為各地區引進漢字ê時間無相siàng, 讀音ê演變方向mā有cheng-chha, chit-kóa借用漢字ê地區, mā發展出家己特殊ê讀音系統。譬如講, 中國chit-má以普通話成做正式ê讀音系統, 朝鮮半島ê「漢字音」, 中國江淮地區ê「吳音」, 日本ê「漢音」, koh ū台語ê讀音系統。Tī越南, 這套系統號做「漢越音」。(Nguyễn Tài Cẩn 2001)

「漢越音」ē-tàng看做是越南特殊ê一套漢字讀音系統, 越南人利用這套系統來讀用漢字寫ê文字資料。對漢越音ê讀音方法, mā有無仝ê見解, 其中, 王力 (1948) ê觀點, 得tiòh真chē研究者ê認同。Tī chia, ē-tàng kā「漢越音」細分做三个基本ê部分, 包括古漢越音系統 (âm cổ Hán Việt)、越化漢越音系統 (âm Hán Việt Việt Hóa) kap 漢越音系統 (âm Hán Việt) (王力1948; Cao Xuân Hạo 2001; Nguyễn Tài Cẩn 2001)。有一kóa漢字語詞tī古漢越音系統kap漢越音系統當中lóng ē-tàng chhōe tiòh, 譬如講:

「房」	↙ ↘	古漢越音: buòng /buoŋ/	↙ ↘	「味」	↙ ↘	古漢越音: mùì /muj/
		漢越音: phòng /f ɔŋ/				漢越音: vj /wj/

某 chit kóa 漢字詞 ē-tàng tī 漢越音系統 kap 越化漢越音系統內底 chhōe-tiòh, 譬如講:

第二類 sī 越南人為 tiòh 其他因素，向漢語借來 ê 字詞，iah m̄-koh 無 chham 漢越讀音系統 ū 直接 ê 關係，譬如講：mùi /muj/（味）、buòng /buoŋ/（房）……無 tiòh sī tī 漢越音系統確立進前借用，親像 gương /ɣuawŋ/（鏡）、gần /ɣ̃n/（近）……sī tùi 唐朝時期來 ê。根據 Cao Xuân Hạo（2001）表示，這 sī 一般民眾使用 ê 語詞，hō 在地人成做字根使用，號做純越詞。

第三類 sī ùi 漢越音系統借用 ê 語詞，ē-tàng 叫做 sī 單一漢字 ê 漢越音，親像：tuyết /twiet/（雪）、học /hok/（學）、quốc（國）/kuok/、gia /za/（家）……。

Cao Xuân Hạo（2001）認為這 sī 行政文書 leh 使用 ê 字詞，sī 為 tiòh 好使用、好描述學術語言 ê 關係，chiah ùi 漢語借用過來--ê。這類字詞 ê 獨立性不如純越詞，kan-taⁿ 出現 tī 兩 ê 字以上 ê 詞內底，親像：

quốc /kuok/（國）：quốc gia /kuok za/（國家）、quốc pháp /kuok fap/（國法）、quốc kì /kuok ki/（國旗）。

gia /za/（家）：gia đình /za diŋ/（家庭）、gia tộc（家族）/za tok/、gia phong /za fɔŋ/（家風）。

台語 ê 源頭 sī 漢語系，台語內底保留 khah chē 接近中古漢語音 ê 語言層次。台語 kap 越南語 lóng 屬「單音節」語言，lóng 受漢語影響，tī 字詞系統頂 kôan，hām 台語 lóng ū 繼接漢語借詞 ê 情形，這兩項 tī 真 chē 字詞頂 kôan，音義 sī khah 接近甚至全款--ê，譬如：「目錄」ê 越南語 sī 「mục lục」/muk luk/，cham 台語「bòk-lòk」/bok lok/發音 sio-siàng、「研究」ê 越南語 sī 「mục lục」/muk luk/，cham 台語 ê 「gián-kiù」/gian kiu/發音 sio-siàng、「指揮」ê 越南語是「chỉ huy」/ci hwi/，chham 台語 ê 「chí-hui」/chi hui/發音 sio-siàng。所以講，tiòh 算漢字讀音 tī 各地 ū cheng-chha，猶原 ū 一 kóa 基本 ê 親近性。比較各地無仝 ê 漢字讀音系統，tùi 教育、學習當地語言 ū 幫助 kap 啟發。

3. 越語 kap 台語 ê 語音系統

3.1. 越南語語音系統

越南語 ū 單音節這項語言特徵，一 ê 音節 tiòh sī 一 ê 詞素（morpheme），一 ê 語詞由一 ê 至兩 ê 以上 ê 音節來構成，譬如講：sách / ɣac /（書）；vui vẻ

/ vwi ve/ (開心)。Đoàn Thiện Thuật (2009) 將越南語音節分做五ê部分，包括聲母 (initial)、介音 (glide)、核心 (nucleus)、尾音 (coda)、聲調 (tone)，其中介音、核心、尾音組成做韻母 (rhyme) (圖表1)。

圖表1. 越南語音節結構

聲調 (tone)				
聲 母 (initial)	韻母 (rhyme)			
	介 音 (glide)	核 心 (nucleus)	尾 音 (coda)	

*資料來源：參考Đoàn Thiện Thuật (2009)、蔣為文 (2006, 2015)

3.1.1. 聲調 (tone)

越南語語音系統ū六ê聲調，代表五ê變音符號，包括：橫聲「thanh ngang」、玄聲「thanh huyền」、跌聲「thanh ngã」、問聲「thanh hỏi」、銳聲「thanh sắc」、重聲「thanh nặng」。Đoàn Thiện Thuật (2009) k̄越南語六ê聲調ê調值詳細描寫落來 (圖表2)。

圖表2. 越南語ê聲調

調類	ngang 橫聲	huyền 玄聲	sắc 銳聲	hỏi 問聲	ngã 跌聲	nặng 重聲
越南字符號	無	˘	ˆ	ˉ	˜	˙
數字的調值	33	21	35	313	435	31
調 值	┌	√	∧	∨	√	·

*資料來源：參考Đoàn Thiện Thuật (2009)；蔣為文 (2006：162)

橫聲「thanh ngang」ê調值sī siōng平--ê，屬於高音域。玄聲「thanh huyền」屬於kē音域，調值sī平--ê，了後降落來。跌聲「thanh ngã」開始sī高音域，先降落來以後hiông-hiông改換方向爬起lih，結束tī高音域。問聲「thanh hỏi」屬kē音域，調值無平，開始ê kōan度kap玄聲「thanh huyền」ê起頭全款，然後降落來了koh爬起lih，結束tī開始ê kōan度。銳聲「thanh sắc」屬高音域，出發tī橫聲「thanh ngang」ê kōan度，然後直直爬去lih

siōng kôan聲。重聲「 thanh nặng 」屬kē音域，出發tī玄聲「 thanh huyền 」ê高度，然後直直降到siōng kē ê所在。

3.1.2. 聲母 (initial)

越南語語音系統ū 22 ê子音 (consonants) 擔任音節內底ê聲母 (initial)。根據Đoàn Thiện Thuật (2009)、蔣為文 (2015) ê越南語聲母分析，越南語聲母系統ē-tàng綜合整理做下面ê表格。

圖表3. 越南語ê聲母 (國際音標與文字符號)

順序	國際音標	文字符號	秩序	國際音標	文字符號
1	/b/	b	14	/z/	r
2	/m/	m	15	/c/	ch
3	/f/	ph	16	/j/	nh
4	/v/	v			k
5	/tʰ/	th	17	/k/	q
6	/t/	t			c
7	/d/	đ	18	/ŋ/	ngh
8	/n/	n			ng
9	/s/	x	19	/x/	kh
10		d	20	/y/	gh
	/z/	gi			g
11	/l/	l	21	/h/	h
12	/tʂ/	tr	22	/ʔ/	無符號
13	/ʂ/	s			

* 資料來源：參考Đoàn Thiện Thuật (2009)

根據發音方式kap發音位置，Đoàn Thiện Thuật (2009) kã以上22 ê聲母分做塞音kap擦音兩組，每一組koh根據發音位置分做雙唇音、舌頭音、舌面音、舌根音、喉音 (詳細請看圖表4)。

圖表4. 越南語聲母ê發音位置

發音位置 發音方式		雙唇音		舌頭音			舌面音	舌根音	喉塞	
		雙唇	唇齒	齒岸	齒槽	硬顎				
塞音 Stop	送氣Aspirate			tʰ						
	塞音 Unaspirate	清塞音 Voiceless			t		tɕ	c	k	ʔ
		濁塞音 Voiced	b			d				
	鼻音 Sonant (nasal)	m			n		ɲ	ŋ		
擦音 Fricative	清擦音 Voiceless		f	s		ɕ		x	h	
	濁擦音 Voiced		v	z		ʒ		ɣ		
	濁邊音 Sonant (lateral)				l					

* 資料來源：參考Đoàn Thiện Thuật (2009:16)。

3.1.3. 韻母 (rhyme)

根據Đoàn Thiện Thuật (1999) ê越南語語音分析，韻母由介音 (glide)、核心 (nucleus)、尾音 (coda) 三ê部分組成。其中核心部分sī由母音來擔任，ū十三ê單母音kap三ê雙母音，其中單母音ū九ê長母音，四ê短母音 (詳細請看圖表5)。

圖表5. 越南語ê母音 (國際音標與文字符號)

特 點	國際音標	文字符號
單母音	/i/	i
		y
	/e/	ê
	/ɛ/	e
	/o/	ô
	/u/	u
	/ɔ/	o
	/u̯/	u
	/ɤ/	σ
	/a/	a

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(頂一頁閣有)

短母音	/ ỹ/	â
	/ ۆ/	o
	/ ẽ/	a
	/ ǎ/	ă
雙母音	/ie/	a
		iê
		yê
		i
	/uo/	ya
		uô
		oa
		uơ
/uɤ/	ura	

* 資料來源：參考Đoàn Thiện Thuật (2009)

例如：

ăn cơm /ăn kɔm/ (吃飯)、xem phim /sem fim/ (看電影) 由單母音做核心；

uống bia /uonɣ bie / (喝啤酒)、buổi trưa /buoi tɕuɔj / (中午) 由雙母音做核心。

母音sī越南語音節中siōng重要ê部分，ū一kóa音節ē-tàng無聲母iáh-sī尾音，m̄-koh bōe-tàng無核心ê部分。

韻母當中母音頭前ū tang時ē出現一ê部分sī介音 (glide)。越南語語音系統只有一ê介音 (glide)，國際音標sī/w/，文字符號sī「o」kap「u」兩ê字母。tī三ê母音/i/、/e/、/ẽ/頭前hék-chiá sī tī「k」後壁ê時陣，介音/w/寫做「u」，tī三ê母音/ɛ/、/a/、/ǎ/頭前ê時陣，介音/w/寫作「o」。

譬如：tuy /twi/ (雖然)、quên /kwen/ (忘記)、tuần /twɤn/ (週)。

khỏe /xwɛ/ (健康)、hoa /hwa/ (花)、xoăn /swǎn/ (捲)。

韻母中央，母音後壁ū時陣ē出現一ê號做尾音部分。越南語ū六ê子音ē-tàng擔任音節siōng尾ê位置，包括/m/ 文字符號sīm，/n/文字符號sīn，/ŋ/文字符號sī nh (當位tī /i/、/e/、/ẽ/後壁) hék-chiá sī ng (當位於其它母音的後

方)，/p/文字符號sī p，/t/文字符號sī t，/k/文字符號sī ch（當位tī /i/、/e/、/ɛ/後方）hék-chiá sī c（當位於其它母音的後方）。

譬如：cam /kam/（橘子）、bán /ban/（賣）
 xanh /sɛŋ/（青色）、sáng /saŋ/（早上）
 hộp /hop/（盒子）、mắt /măt/（眼睛）
 lịch /lek/（日曆）、học /hɔk/（學習）

另外koh ū兩ê半母音尾音（semi-vowels）sī /w/kap /j/。半母音尾音/w/tī母音/a, ɤ, e, i, u, ie, uɣ/ ê後壁ê時陣音標符號寫做「u」，tī母音/a, ɛ/ ê後壁ê時陣音標符號寫做「o」。

例如：sau /saw/（後面）、đâu /dɔw/（哪裡）
 vào /vaw/（進去）、mèo /mɛw/（貓咪）

半母音尾音/j/tī母音/a, ɔ, o, ɤ, u, u, uo, uɣ/ 後壁ê時，音標符號寫做「i」，tī短母音/ɤ, ă(a)/ 後壁ê時，音標符號寫做「y」。

例如：tai /taj/（耳朵）、chơi /cɤj/（玩）
 tây /tɤj/（西）、máy /măj/（機械）

綜合來講，越南語ê韻母由三ê部分組成，包含11 ê單母音kap 3 ê雙母音來擔任韻母ê核心部分、2 ê介音tī核心頭前、6 ê子音kap 2 ê半母音擔任尾音部分（Đoàn Thiện Thuật 1999; Mai Ngọc Chừ; Vũ Đức Nghiệu & Hoàng Trọng Phiến 1997; Nguyễn Thiện Giáp 1998）。介音、核心kap尾音拼合關係請看圖表6。

圖表6. 介音、核心kap尾音拼合ê韻母

介音	尾音 核心	u	o	i	y	n	m	nh	ng	p	t	c	ch
		/w/	/w/	/j/	/j/	/n/	/m/	/ɲ/	/ŋ/	/p/	/t/	/k/	/k/
o/w/	a/a/	au	ao	ai	ay	an	am	anh	ang	ap	at	ac	ach
		oa	oao	oai	oay	oan	oam	oanh	oang	oap	oat	oac	oach
o/w/	ă/ă/					ăn	ăm		ăng	ăp	ăt	ăc	
						oăn	oăm		oăng		oăt	oăc	
u/w/	â/â/	âu			ây	ân	âm		âng	âp	ât	âc	
					uây	uân			uâng		uât		

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o/w/	e/ɛ/			eo			en	em		eng	ep	et	ec	
		oe		oeo			oen					oet		
u/w/	ê/e/		êu				ên	êm	ênh		êp	êt		êch
		uê												
u/w/	i, y/i/		iü				in	im	inh		ip	it		ich
		uy					uyn		uynh		uyp	uyt		uych
	o/ɔ/				oi		on	om		ong	op	ot	oc	
	σ/ɣ/				oi		on	om			op	ot		
	ô/o/				ôi		ôn	ôm		ông	ôp	ôt	ôc	
	u/u/				ui		un	um		ung	up	ut	uc	
	ư/uu/		uu		ui		un	um		ung	ut	uc		
	iê/iê/		iêu				iên	iêm		iêng	iêp	iêt	iêc	
		uya					uyên	uyêt						
	ươ/ươ/		ươu		uoi		uon	uom		uong	uop	uot	uoc	
	uô/uô/				uôi		uôn	uôm		uông	uôt	uôc		

本研究將漢語借詞ê台語音kap越南語音ê統計結果，將越南語ê聲母kap韻母提來做基本，kap台語音做對應比較。

3.2. 台語發音系統

台語mā sī單音節ê語言，台語音節結構包括五ê音位成分：聲母、介音、核心、尾音、聲調。韻頭、核心、尾音又合稱韻母。

圖表7. 台語音節結構

聲調			
聲母	韻母		
	介音	核心	尾音

*資料來源：參考蔣為文（2006）

台語有7 ê聲調號做第一聲、第二聲、第三聲、第四聲、第五聲、第七聲、第八聲。原第六聲kap第二聲hék-chiá sī第七聲結合，所以lóng總ū 7 ê聲調（李勤岸2005；教育部國語推行委員會2007；蔣為文2006）。

圖表8. 台語ê聲調

順序	第一聲	第二聲	第三聲	第四聲	第五聲	第七聲	第八聲
調類	a	á	à	ap/at/ak/ah	â	ā	áp/át/ák/áh
例如	kun 君	kún 滾	kùn 棍	kut 骨	kûn 裙	kūn 近	kút 滑
五音偕的調值	44	53	31	3	12	22	8
IPA 的調值	˥	˨˨˨	˨˨˨˨	˨˨˨˨˨	˥˩	˥˥˥	˨˨˨˨˨˨

*資料來源：李勤岸（2005）；蔣為文（2015）；教育部（2007）。

台語白話字除了ū 17 ê子音，其中ū十ê子音kan-tan擔任聲母ê位置，ū真chē音kap越南語ê子音發音相siàng（蔣為文2005），親像/b/、/t/、/g/、/m/、/ŋ/等。

圖表9. 台語白話字子音表

順序	國際音標	文字符號	音節中之位子
1	/b/	b	聲母
2	/p/	p	
3	/pʰ/	ph	聲母
4	/l/	l	
5	/t/	t	
6	/tʰ/	th	聲母
7	/g/	g	聲母
8	/k/	k	
9	/kʰ/	kh	聲母
10	/h/	h	
11	/s/	s	聲母

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12	/ ts /	ch	聲母
13	/ t ^h /	chh	聲母
14	/ dz /	j	聲母
15	/ m /	m	
16	/ n /	n	
17	/ ŋ /	ng	

* 資料來源：蔣為文 (2015)

台語語音系統ū六ê單母音、十ê複合母音、兩ê鼻母音（如圖表10）。除了單母音、複合母音、鼻母音，koh有一部分sī鼻音化ê母音，親像「aⁿ、aiⁿ、eⁿ、iⁿ、iaⁿ、iauⁿ、iuⁿ、oⁿ、oaⁿ、oaiⁿ」。台語ê母音kap越南語全款ū音節內底lóng ū重要ê角色。

圖表10. 台語白話字ê母音

核 心	國際音標	台語白話字	
單母音 (Vowel)	/a/	a	
	/i/	i	
	/u/	u	
	/e/	e	
	/o/	o	
		o	
	/ə/	o	
	複合母音 (Compound Vowels)	/ai/	ai
		/au/	au
		/ia/	ia
/iu/		iu	
/iə/		io	
/oa/		oa	
/oe/		oe	
/ui/		ui	
/iau/		iau	
/oai/		oai	
鼻母音 (Nasal Vowels)	/m̩/	m	
	/ŋ̩/	ng	

台語語音系統ū 7 ê尾音，分做兩部分，第一部分sī鼻音（hék-chiá sī陽聲韻）包括/m/、/n/、/ŋ/，第二部分sī入聲韻包括/p/、/t/、/k/、/?/。台語ê韻母由核心、尾音kap聲調結合組成（如圖表11）。

圖表11. 台語白話字韻母列表

核心	陰聲韻		陽聲韻			入聲韻				
			/m/	/n/	/ŋ/	/p/	/t/	/k/	?/	
/a/	a	a ⁿ	am	an	ang	ap	at	ak	ah	ah ⁿ
/ai/	ai	ai ⁿ							aih	aih ⁿ
/au/	au								auh	
/e/	e	e ⁿ			eng			ek	eh	eh ⁿ
/i/	i	i ⁿ	im	in		ip	it		ih	ih ⁿ
/ia/	ia	ia ⁿ	iam	ian	iang	iap	iat	iak	iah	iah ⁿ
/iau/	iau	iau ⁿ							iauh	
/iə/	iə								ioh	
/iɔ/					iong			iok		
/iu/	iu	iu ⁿ							iuh	iuh ⁿ
/ə/	o								oh	
/ɔ/	o	o ⁿ	om		ong	op		ok	o ^h	oh ⁿ
/oa/	oa	oa ⁿ		oan			oat		oah	
/oai/	oai	oai ⁿ								
/oe/	oe								oeh	
/u/	u			un			ut		uh	
/ui/	ui									
/m̩/		m				—				mh
/ŋ̩/		ng				—				ngh

Ùi 發音系統 ê 特徵來看，越南語 kap 台語 ê 音節結構 ũ bōe 少相 siàng ê 所在，音節中 ê 母音 lóng 擔任 siōng 重要 ê 角色，而且 lóng 由子音來做聲母，韻母部分 mā 包含介音、核心、尾音 kap 聲調。本研究後一 ê 部分 sī 以頂 kōan 所分析 ê 越南語 kap 台語 ê 發音系統作根據，進行統計漢字借詞 ê 台語音 kap 越南語音，並以聲母 kap 韻母兩 ê 部份來進行對應比較。

4. 資料蒐集 kap 分析

4.1. 資料蒐集

漢字 kap 漢越音 ê 部分，本研究以《現代漢越詞典》(Từ điển Hán – Việt hiện đại) (Nguyễn Kim Thản, 1996) kap 《邵帚漢越字典》(Hán – Việt tự điển Thiệu Chửu) (Thiệu Chửu, Nguyễn Hữu Kha, 2003) 為主要進行蒐集 hām 查詢漢字、漢越音 ê 主體。

《現代漢越詞典》(Từ điển Hán – Việt hiện đại) tī 1996 年出版，由河內社科院 ê 語言學家 kap 漢學家所研究、編輯，主編 sī 阮金坦 (Nguyễn Kim Thản)，越南語言學研究院第一任院長。字典內底使用繁體字，內容主要 sī 為使用者提供 chham 漢字、漢越音、漢語詞彙、短語、成語 ũ 關係 ê 意義解釋。字典內底 ùi 1444 頁到 1535 頁特別列出漢字、越語音 kap 現代漢語拼音，目的 sī beh hō 使用者 khah 容易查詢 (圖 1)。本研究主要 ùi 這部分蒐集單一漢字借詞 kap 越語音，越語讀音以越南語羅馬字 ê 文字符號呈現。

《邵帚漢越字典》(Hán – Việt tự điển Thiệu Chửu) (Thiệu Chửu, Nguyễn

khang	衍	kàn	531
	康	kàng	531
	糠	kāng	531
	糠	kāng	531
khàng	糠	kāng	531
khàng	九	kàng	531
	坑	kāng	533
	坑	kāng	532
	坑	kāng	532
	坑	kāng	532
khanh	坑	kāng	532
	坑	kāng	542
	坑	kāng	541
	坑	kāng	541
	坑	kāng	542
khánh	坑	qing	780
	坑	qing	783
	坑	qing	783
khao	坑	qing	783
	坑	kào	534
	坑	kào	533

圖 1 《現代漢越詞典》

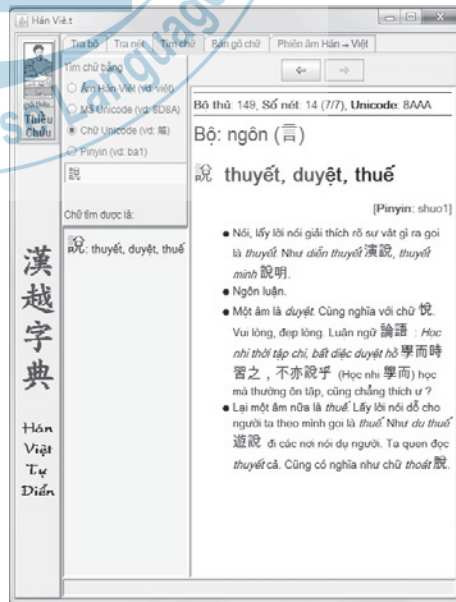


圖 2 《邵帚漢越字典》

Hữu Kha, 2003) 由儒學家阮有柯 (Nguyễn Hữu Kha, 1902-1954)、法名邵帚 (Thiệu Chửu) 所編製，第一次 tī 1942 年 ê 河內出版，第二次 sī 2000 年由胡志明市出版社出版，2003 年開始出版電子軟體 kap 線頂字典。字典內底提供查詢 ê 工具 ù 漢越音、漢字、漢語拼音。字典 ê 優勢 tī-leh nā-sī 輸入一 ê 漢字 tiòh ē-tàng 找出所有 bô 全 ê 漢越音，hék-chiá sī ùi 一 ê 漢越音 ē-tàng 找出所有同音 ê 漢字 (圖 2)。本研究使用《邵帚漢越字典》來 koh 一擺查詢《現代漢越詞典》所蒐集 ê 漢字借詞 kap 漢越音，並提來做比較 kap 選擇。漢字 kap 漢越音 ê 資料選擇原則：

第一，選擇已經 lām-chham tī 日常生活 ê 越南語，而且成做一 ê ē-tàng 獨立使用單位 ê 語詞，讀音越化 khah 深，大家 mā lóng 知、lóng bat。例如：tuyét/twiet/ (雪)，ngọc /nɔk/ (玉)，cao /kaw/ (高)，học /hɔk/ (學)，……

第二，選通用性 kôan 而且 ù 詞素潛能 ê 字詞，ē-tàng 用 in 來創造真 chē 越南語詞，譬如：

gia /za/ : (家) gia đình /za đin/ (家庭)，gia tộc /za tɔk / (家族)，gia sản /za ʃan/ (家產)，gia phong /za fɔŋ/ (家風)，quốc gia /kuok za/ (國家)。

hải: hải đăng /haj đɔŋ/ (海燈)，hải phận /haj fɛn/ (海份)，hải quan /haj kwan/ (海關)，hải lưu /haj luw/ (海流) ……

第三，某一 kóa 詞素潛能 bô kôan, sò tī 名內底常常出現 ê 字，譬如：Gia /za/ (嘉)，Quế /kwe/ (桂) Hồng /hoŋ/ (鴻) ……

Koh 再講，若使用其他 bô tī 頂 kôan 項目講 tiòh ê 字詞，這 ê 研究 ē 對照各本漢越字典來設定選擇基礎，nā 查詢了後發現讀音 lóng 統一，tiòh ē-tàng 提升信度，並將 in khng 入去後壁 ê 表格內底。

5966	漢字	漢越音	台語音
5967	會	hội	hōe
5968	會	hội	kòe
5969	會	hội	hē
5970	會	cói	hōe
5971	會	cói	kòe
5972	會	cói	hē

圖 3 Excel ê 資料輸入方式

繼落來，根據統計出來 ê 漢字借詞 kap 漢越音，本研究使用線頂《甘字典查詢》來統計查詢台語音，了後以台語羅馬字文字符號呈現。《甘字典查詢》內容得到台灣教會公報社授權中央研究院語言學研究所「閩客語典藏」計畫使用，ùì 中央研究院語言學研究所「閩客語典藏」計畫 kap 台語信望愛 ê 合作成果，資訊技術由台語信望愛網站提供。本研究使用《甘字典查詢》內底 ê 漢字－台語羅馬字查詢功能，輸入漢字了後 ē-tàng 查詢所有台語讀音。

本研究以 Excel 工作表來輸入資料，含三 ê 欄位，第一 sī 漢字，第二 sī 漢越音，第三 sī 台語音。為 tióh 方便後壁 ê 比較工作，每一 ê 漢字 nā ū 兩 ê 漢越音 hék-chiá 兩 ê 台語音以上，每一 ê 漢越音 kap 每一 ê 台語音 ē 列 tī 全一 chōa。譬如：

「會」 → 漢越音：hôi /hoj/，côi /koi/
 → 台語音：hōe /hoe/，kòe/koe/，hē/he/

Tī Excel 工作表，ē 輸入做 6 chōa，其中每一 chōa lóng ū 漢越音 kap 台語音 ê 比較，具體呈現親像圖 3。

4.2. 資料分析

Ùì 以上所分析 ê 資料搜尋 kap 輸入方法，本研究統計出 lóng 總 ū 5882 ê 漢字借詞，tī Excel 工作表輸入每一 ê 漢字 ê 漢越音 kap 台語音 ê 對應了後，lóng 總有 12023 chōa，也 tióh sī 12023 音 ê 對比。

本研究 ê 統計方式以 Excel 為主要工具，使用 Excel 工作表 ê 功能 kap 計算公式成做統計方法。以下將統計結果包括漢字借詞 ê 漢越音 kap 台語音 ê 聲母 chām 韻母兩 ê 部分具體呈現。

4.2.1. 漢字借詞之越南語音

4.2.1.1. 聲母

根據以上統計說明，本研究以漢字借詞 ê 漢越音 kap 台語音比較 ê 數量 sī 12023，其中越南語音 22 ê 聲母 ê 出現情況如圖表 12。

圖表 12. 漢越音 ê 聲母出現頻率

順序	國際音標	文字符號	頻率
1	/b/	b	813
2	/m/	m	460
3	/f/	ph	407
4	/v/	v	254
5	/tʰ/	th	508
6	/t/	t	870
7	/d/	đ	1267
8	/n/	n	161
9	/s/	x	258
10	/z/	d	620
		gi	375
11	/l/	l	480
12	/tʂ/	tr	461
13	/ʂ/	s	609
14	/z/	r	0
15	/c/	ch	421
16	/ɲ/	nh	212
17	/k/	k	134
		q	200
		c	709
18	/ŋ/	ng	267
		ng	
19	/x/	kh	313
20	/ɣ/	gh	0
		g	
21	/h/	h	1327
22	/ʔ/	無符號	898
共			12023

Ùi 圖表 13 ê 統計數字來看，漢越音中間出現 siōng chē ê 聲母 sī /b/、/t/、/d/、/k/、/h/。無符號 ê 聲母出現頻率 khah chē，但是因為無具體 ê 符號，所以 tī 對應比較 ê 時，che 主要使用 tī 韻母對應比較 hit 部分。

4.2.1.2. 韻母

越南語音 ê 介音、核心、尾音做伙結合組成真 chē bô 全 ê 韻母，iah m̄-koh m̄ sī 每一 ê 韻母 lóng 出現 tī 漢越音詞素。漢越音 ê 韻母 lóng 總 ù 72 ê 韻母，具體請看圖表 13。

圖表 13. 漢越音中 ê 韻母

介音	尾音 核心	u	o	i	y	n	m	nh	ng	p	t	c	ch
		/w/	/w/	/j/	/j/	/n/	/m/	/ŋ/	/ŋ/	/p/	/t/	/k/	/k/
o/w/	a /a/	au	ao	ai	ay	an	am	anh	ang	ap	at	ac	ach
		oa	oao	oai	oay	oan	oam	oanh	oang	oap	oat	oac	oach
o/w/	ă /ă/					ăn	ăm		âng	áp	ăt	ăc	
						oăn	oăm		oâng		oăt	oăc	
u /w/	â /ă/	âu		ây	ân	âm		âng	áp	ât	âc		
				uây	uân			uâng		uât			
o/w/	e /ɛ/		eo		en	em		eng	ep	et	ec		
		oe	oeo		oen					oet			
u /w/	ê /e/	êu			ên	êm	ênh		êp	êt		êch	
		uê											
u /w/	i, y /i/		iu			in	im	inh		ip	it		ich
		uy				uyn		uynh		uyp	uyt		uych
	o /ɔ/			oi		on	om		ong	op	ot	oc	
	σ /ɤ/			oi		on	om			op	ot		
	ô /o/			ôi		ôn	ôm		ông	ôp	ôt	ôc	
	u /u/			ui		un	um		ung	up	ut	uc	
	ư /u/	ưu		ưi		ưn	ưm		ưng		ưt	ưc	
	iê /ie/	iêu				iên	iêm		iêng	iêp	iêt	iêc	
		uya				uyên	uyêt						
	ươ /uo/	ươu		ươi		ươn	ươm		ương	ươp	ươt	ươc	
	uô /uɔ/			uôi		uôn	uôm		uông		uôt	uôc	

其中出現 siōng chē 擺 ē sī 韻母 a /a/(709 擺)、韻母 i /i/ (628 擺)、韻母 ao /aw/ (625 擺)、韻母 an /an/ (472 擺)、韻母 ai /aj/ (440 擺)。

4.2.2. 漢字借詞 ê 台語音

4.2.2.1. 聲母

台語語音系統 ū 17 ê 聲母，tī 漢字借詞內底 ê 發音所出現 ê 狀況如圖表 14。

圖表 14. 漢字借詞裡 ê 台語音聲母出現頻率

順序	國際音標	文字符號	頻 率
1	/ h /	h	1541
2	/ t /	t	1349
3	/ k /	k	1334
4	/ s /	s	943
5	/ ts /	ch	914
6	/ p /	p	710
7	/ l /	l	637
8	/ ts ^h /	chh	633
9	/ k ^h /	kh	547
10	/ t ^h /	th	506
11	/ b /	b	498
12	/ p ^h /	ph	298
13	/ g /	g	233
14	/ dz /	j	185
15	/ n /	n	167
16	/ m /	m	112
17	/ ŋ /	ng	81
18		無文字符號	1335
共			12023

Ûi 圖表 14 ê 統計數字來看，台語音內底出現 siōng chē ê 聲母 sī /h/、/t/、/k/、/s/、/ch/，其中三 ê 聲母 /h/、/k/、/t/ mā sī 漢越音內底 siōng chiáp 出現 ê 聲母。

4.2.2.2. 韻母

台語音ê韻母lóng總ū 80 ê (表10)，其中ū 69 ê韻母tī本研究所蒐集ê 5882 ê漢字台語音內底出現，siōng chiáp出現ê韻母sī i / i / (709擺)、eng / en / (681擺)、o / o / (671擺)、ong / oŋ / (584擺)、u / u / (542擺)、o / o / (450擺)、un / un / (428擺)。

綜合來講，以上sī漢字借詞內底台語音kap越南語音ê統計數據，包括聲母kap韻母具體出現頻率。統計數據明顯表現出漢越音kap台語音音節結構內底，ū tó chit kóa siōng chiáp出現ê聲母kap韻母。Ûi以上統計數據，本研究進一步深入分析漢越音kap台語音ê對應比較。

5. 漢字借詞台語音 kap 越南語音對應比較

Ûi 以上綜合統計結果，本節將 5882 ê 漢字借詞 hām 12023 台語音、越南語音進行分類，而以兩種語言 ê 聲母 kap 韻母，分做兩 ê 主要部分進行具體對應比較。

5.1. 漢字借詞台語音 kap 越南語音 ê 聲母對應比較

Tī 12023 ê 漢越音當中，越南語音 22 ê 聲母 kap 台語音 17 ê 聲母出現頻率無全。本研究根據漢字借詞 ê 越南語讀音 kap 台語讀音，以越南語羅馬字 kap 台語白話字 ê 文字符號、國際拼音呈現，進行分類而且 chhōe 出每一 ê 越南語音聲母 tùi-èng ê tó 一 ê 台語音 ê 聲母。

Tī leh 進行分類 kap 對應 ê 時，因為每一 ê 越南語聲母 ē 對照出 bô 全 ê 台語聲母，本研究根據統計頻率 kóng 出頻率 5%以上 ê 聲母。統計分類 kap 對應比較結果，按照越南語聲母表當中 siōng chiáp 出現 ê 台語聲母排順序，本研究發現漢字借詞內底越南語讀音 kap 台語讀音中間，siōng 相近 ê 聲母如圖表 15。

圖表 15. 漢字借詞台語音 kap 越南語音聲母對應比較

順序	越南語聲母			台語聲母			
	國際音標	文字符號	頻率	國際音標	文字符號	頻率	百分比
1	/b/	b	813	/p/	p	567	69.74%
				/p ^h /	ph	151	18.57%
				/h/	h	50	6.15%
2	/m/	m	460	/b/	b	321	69.78%
				/m/	m	94	20.43%
3	/f/	ph	407	/h/	h	212	52.09%
				/h/	ph	104	25.55%
				/p/	p	66	16.22%
4	/v/	v	254	/b/	b	92	36.22%
				/h/	h	26	10.24%
					無符號	114	38.36%
5	/t ^h /	th	508	/s/	s	160	31.50%
				/t ^h /	th	117	23.03%
				/t ^s /	chh	112	22.05%
				/t/	t	41	8.07%
6	/t/	t	870	/s/	s	363	41.72%
				/t ^s /	ch	292	33.56%
7	/d/	đ	1267	/t/	t	914	72.14%
				/t ^h /	th	193	15.23%
8	/n/	n	161	/l/	l	81	50.31%
				/n/	n	19	11.80%
9	/s/	x	258	/t ^s /	chh	124	48.06%
				/s/	s	27	10.47%
				/k ^h /	kh	25	9.69%
				/t/	t	22	8.53%

(後一頁閣有)

(頂一頁閣有)

10	/z/	d	620	/t/	t	37	5.97%
				/dz/	j	35	5.65%
				/s/	s	33	5.32%
					無符號	391	63.06%
		gi	375	/k/	k	232	61.87%
				/h/	h	62	16.53%
11	/l/	l	480	/l/	l	416	86.67%
				/n/	n	23	5.79%
12	/tʃ/	tr	461	/t/	t	214	46.42%
				/ts/	ch	138	29.94%
				/tʰ/	th	47	10.20%
13	/s/	s	609	/s/	s	248	40.72%
				/tʃʰ/	chh	201	33.00%
				/tʰ/	th	65	10.67%
14	/z/	r	0				
15	/c/	ch	421	/ts/	ch	297	70.55%
				/t/	t	51	12.11%
16	/ɲ/	nh	212	/dz/	j	101	47.64%
				/g/	g	28	13.21%
				/ŋ/	l	27	12.74%
17	/k/	k	134	/k/	k	102	76.12%
				/kʰ/	kh	11	8.21%
				/h/	h	10	7.46%
		q	200	/k/	k	135	67.50%
				/kʰ/	kh	40	20.00%
				/h/	h	11	5.50%
		c	709	/k/	k	526	74.19%
				/kʰ/	kh	94	13.26%
				/h/	h	42	5.92%

(後一頁閣有)

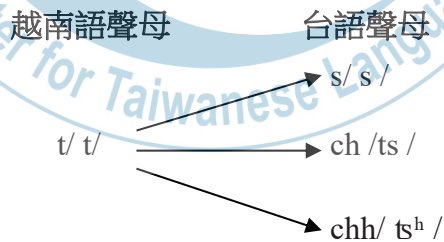
(頂一頁閣有)

18	/ŋ/	ng	267	/g/	g	157	58.80%
		ng		/ŋ/	ng	50	18.73%
19	/x/	kh	313	/k ^h /	kh	213	68.05%
				/k/	k	52	16.61%
20	/ɣ/	gh	0				
		g					
21	/h/	h	1327	/h/	h	931	70.16%
				/k/	k	107	8.06%
				/k ^h /	kh	66	4.97%
22	/ʔ/	無符號	898				

以上統計數據表示漢字借詞內底越南語讀音 kap 台語讀音 tī 聲母部分 ē-tàng 看出一 kóa 規則。

譬如 1：聲母 t/ t̄

Tī 12023 ê 漢越音中， /t/ 出現 tī 音節 ê 聲母位置 lóng 總 870 擺。統計搜尋結果發現，全一 ê 漢字，ū t /t/ 做聲母 ê 漢越音，ē 出現無全 ê 台語音聲母，其中出現頻率 siōng chē ê sī 聲母 s/ s / (363 擺)、第二 sī 聲母 ch / ts / (292 擺)、第三 sī 聲母 chh/ ts^h / (103 次)。這 ê 結果表示越南語讀音 sī 聲母/ t/ t̄ / ê 漢字借詞，ē 對照台語音聲母/ s / 、 / ch / 與 / ts^h / 。



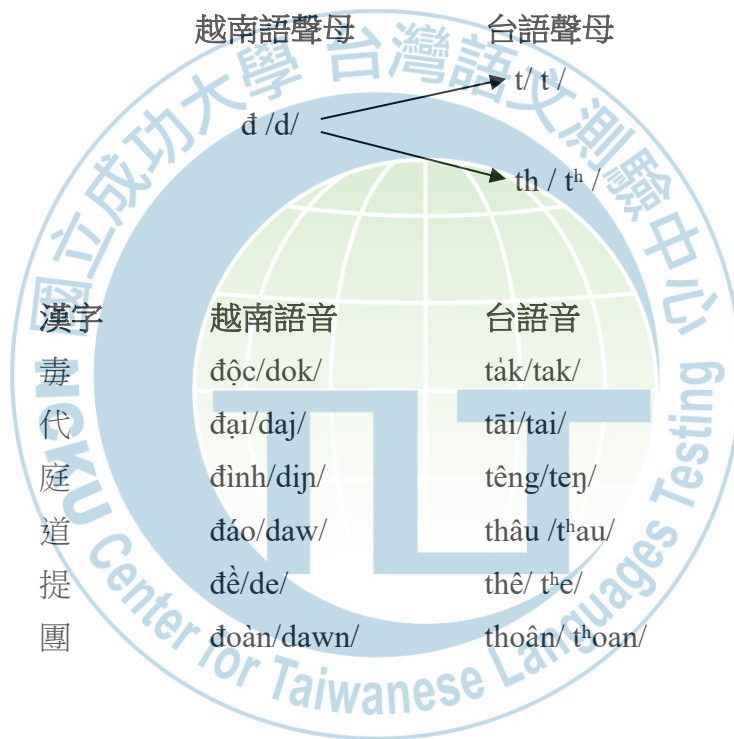
舉例：

漢字	越南語音	台語音
私	tur /tw/	su/su/
訴	tó /to/	sò/sɔ/
將	tương/tuɣŋ /	chiong/chioŋ/
進	tân/tɣn/	chin/chin/
牆	tường/tuɣŋ/	chhiông/chioŋ/
緝	tập /tɣp/	chip/chip/

譬如 2：聲母 đ /d/

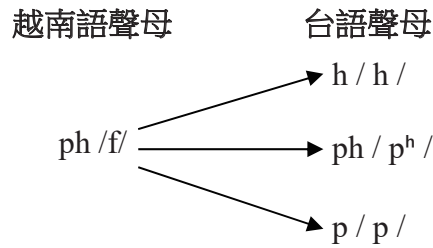
Ti 12023 ê 漢越音中間， /d/ 出現 tī 音節內底聲母 ê 位置 lóng 總 1267 擺， sī 出現 siōng chē ê 越南語聲母。統計搜尋結果發現，全一 ê 漢字而且 ū đ /d/做聲母 ê 漢越音 ê 時，等於出現無全 ê 台語音聲母，其中出現頻率 siōng chē ê sī 聲母 t/ t (914 擺)、第二 sī 聲母 th / t^h /(193 擺)。這 ê 結果表示越南語讀音聲母 đ /d/ ê 漢字借詞對應台語音聲母 t/ t / kap th / t^h /。

譬如:



譬如 3：聲母 ph /f/

Ti 12023 ê 漢越音中間， /f/ 出現 tī 音節 ê 聲母位置 lóng 總 407 擺。統計搜尋結果發現，全一 ê 漢字而且 ū /f/做聲母 ê 漢越音 ê 時，相當出現無全 ê 台語音聲母，其中出現頻率 siōng chē ê sī 聲母/ h /(212 擺)，接繼落來 sī 聲母/ p^h /(104 擺)、聲母/p/(66 擺)。這 ê 結果表示越南語讀音 sī 聲母/ m / ê 漢字借詞，等於 sī 台語音聲母/ h /、/ p^h /、/p/。



漢字	越南語音	台語音
煩	phiên /fiɛn/	hoân/hoan/
發	phát /fat/	hoat/hoat/
票	phiêu /fiəu/	phiâu/fiau/
派	phái /faj/	phài/fai/
方	phương /fuɔŋ/	png/pŋ/
分	phân /fɛn/	pun/pun/

5.2. 漢字借詞台語音 kap 越南語音 ê 韻母對應比較

因為漢字借詞越南語音中間 ũ 72 ê 韻母，iah m-koh 因為每一 ê 聲母出現 ê 頻率無全，chit-ê 部分根據每一 ê 韻母出現 ê 頻率，kā 72 ê 韻母分做三組來 kap 台語韻母進行對應比較。第一組 sī 漢越音由單母音擔任韻母，第二組 sī 漢越音由單母音加尾音 ê 韻母（二重母音），第三組 sī 漢越音由雙母音加尾音 ê 韻母 koh ũ 漢越音由介音加母音 kap 尾音 ê 韻母（三重母音）。因為 tī 對音比較 ê 時，一 ê 漢越音 ê 韻母可能出現無全 ê 台語韻母，本研究 tī 統計計算 ê 時，以百分比做標準，超過 5% 以上 tiòh ē-tàng 列入去 ũ 相當對應 ê 韻母。第一組 ê 統計結果如圖表 16。

圖表 16. 漢越音由單母音當韻母 kap 台語韻母比較

順序	越南語聲母			台語聲母			
	國際音標	文字符號	頻率	國際音標	文字符號	頻率	百分比
1	/a/	a	690	/a/	a	190	27.54%
				/ə/	o	130	18.84%
				/ia/	ia	75	10.87%
				/e/	e	71	10.29%
				/ɔ/	o	59	8.55%
				/ua/	oa	44	6.38%
2	/e/	ê	400	/e/	e	207	53.21%
				/i/	i	56	14.40%
				/ue/	oe	30	7.71%
				/ui/	ui	24	6.17%
				/ai/	ai	22	5.66%
3	/i/	i	582	/i/	i	361	65.28%
				/ui/	ui	45	8.14%
				/ai/	ai	35	6.33%
4	/o/	ô	391	/ɔ/	o	276	70.95%
				/u/	u	21	5.40%
5	/u/	u	384	/u/	u	218	56.77%
				/iu/	iu	75	19.53%
				/ɔ/	o	32	8.33%

以上統計結果表示漢越音 ê 韻母當中，漢越音內底 ê 單母音 kap 台語內底 ê 單母音 sī sio-siàng--ê, m̄-nā 讀音全款而且 tī 音節擔任 ê 位置 mā 相全。

譬如：

越語聲母	台語聲母	漢字	漢越音	台語音
/a/	/a/	沙	sa /s̺a/	sa/sa/
/e/	/e/	妻	thê/ t ^h e/	chhe/ t ^h he/
/i/	i	知	tri/ t̺i/	ti/ti/
/o/	/ɔ/	孤	cô/ko/	ko/kɔ/
/u/	/u/	夫	phu/fu/	hu/hu/

第二組 sī 漢越音由單母音加尾音 ê 韻母，lóng 總 ū 32 ê，kap 台語韻母比較如圖表 17。Kéng 選原則 mā sī 超過 5% 以上 tiòh ē-tàng 列入去 ū 相當對應 ê 韻母。

圖表 17. 漢越音由單母音加尾音 ê 韻母 kap 台語韻母比較

順序	越南語聲母			台語聲母			
	國際音標	文字符號	頻率	國際音標	文字符號	頻率	百分比
1	/aw/	ao	625	/ə/	o	226	36.16%
				/au/	au	168	26.88%
				/iau/	iau	38	6.08%
				/a/	a	35	5.60%
				/ɔ/	o	34	5.44%
2	/aj/	ai	440	/ai/	ai	245	55.68%
				/e/	e	29	6.59%
				/o/	i	28	6.36%
				/ue/	oe	22	5.00%
3	/an/	an	472	/an/	an	68	52.33%
				/ua/	oa ⁿ	49	14.41%
				/uan/	oan	42	10.38%
4	/am/	am	292	/am/	am	198	67.81%
				/iam/	iam	24	8.22%

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5	/aŋ/	anh	218	/eŋ/	eng	127	58.26%	
					i ⁿ	15	6.88%	
6	/aŋ/	ang	396	/ɔŋ/	ong	224	56.57%	
					/aŋ/	ang	52	13.13%
					/ŋ/	ng	35	8.84%
7	/ap/	ap	134	/ap/	ap	61	45.52%	
					/iap/	iap	21	15.67%
					/ah/	ah	19	14.18%
8	/at/	at	115	/at/	at	39	33.91%	
					/uah/	oah	14	12.17%
					/uat/	oat	13	11.30%
9	/ak/	ac	217	/ɔk/	ok	79	36.41%	
					/ak/	ak	45	20.74%
10	/ak/	ach	145	/ek/	ek	68	46.90%	
					/eh/	eh	18	12.41%
					/ɔk/	ok	13	8.97%
11	/ãŋ/	ãng	117	/eŋ/	eng	90	76.92%	
					/in/	in	8	6.84%
12	/ãk/	ãc	64	/ek/	ek	33	51.56%	
					/ɔk/	ok	8	12.50%
13	/ǃw/	âu	340	/ɔ/	o ⁱ	155	45.59%	
					/au/	au	67	19.71%
					/iu/	iu	38	11.18%
					/u/	u	31	9.12%
14	/ǃn/	ân	397	/in/	in	184	46.35%	
					/un/	un	133	33.50%
15	/ǃm/	âm	168	/im/	im	120	71.43%	
					/iam/	iam	21	12.50%
16	/ǃp/	âp	55	/ip/	ip	39	70.91%	
					/iap/	iap	7	12.73%

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17	/ɤt/	ât	122	/it/	it	39	31.97%
				/ek/	ek	27	22.13%
				/iat/	iat	17	13.93%
18	/ijŋ /	inh	307	/eŋ/	eng	215	69.35%
				/ai ⁿ /	ia ⁿ	33	10.65%
19	/ik/	ich	158	/ek/	ek	91	57.59%
				/iah/	iah	13	8.23%
20	/ɔŋ/	ong	79	/ɔŋ /	ong	32	40.51%
				/iɔŋ /	iong	19	24.05%
21	/ɤj/	oi	39	/ai/	ái	22	10.26
22	/oj/	ôi	233	/ue/	oe	90	39.82%
				/ui/	ui	57	25.22%
				/e/	e	23	10.18%
23	/on/	ôn	162	/un/	un	118	72.84%
				/ui/	ui	13	8.02%
24	/oŋ/	ông	230	/ɔŋ /	ong	145	63.04%
				/aŋ /	ang	58	25.22%
25	/ot/	ôt	49	/ut/	ut	39	79.59%
26	/ok/	ôc	110	/ɔk/	ok	52	47.27%
				/ak/	ak	26	23.64%
27	/uŋ/	ung	234	/iɔŋ /	iong	126	53.16%
				/ɔŋ /	ong	41	17.30%
				/eŋ/	eng	28	11.81%
28	/uk/	uc	161	/iɔk/	iok	82	50.62%
				/ɔk/	ok	19	11.73%
				/ek/	ek	16	9.88%
29	/uw/	uu	136	/ek/	iu	83	60.58%
				/ɔ/	o'	12	8.76%
				/au/	au	11	8.03%
30	/uŋ/	ung	48	/eŋ/	eng	32	66.67%
				/in/	in	9	18.75%
31	/uk/	uc	60	/ek/	ek	30	48.39%
				/ɔk/	ok	8	12.90%
				/it/	it	7	11.29%

以上統計結果表示漢越音 ê 韻母中間，漢越音內底 ê 單母音 kap 尾音 結合成做韻母 kap 台語音進行比較 ê 時，明顯出現相 siàng ê 韻母，表示 ùi 漢字借過來 ê 漢越音 kap 台語音 ū 相對應 ê 讀音規則。譬如：

越語聲母	台語聲母	漢字	漢越音	台語音
ai/aj/	ai/ai/	揩	giai/zaj/	khai/ k ^h ai/
an/an/	an/an/	彈	đàn/dan/	tān/tan/
anh/aŋ/	eng/eŋ/	慶	khánh/xap/	khèng/ k ^h eng/
ung/uŋ/	iong/iɔŋ/	中	trung/ tɕuŋ/	tiòng/tioŋ /
uru/uw/	iu/iu/	休	huu/huw/	hiu/hiu/
ông/oŋ/	ong/oŋ/	功	công/koŋ/	kong/koŋ/

第三組 sī 漢越音由雙母音加尾音 hék-chiá sī 介音、母音、尾音 ê 韻母，lóng 總 14 ê，kap 台語韻母比較對應如表 18。kéng 選原則 mā sī 超過 5%以上 tiòh ē-tàng 列入去 ū 相當對應 ê 韻母。

圖表 18. 漢越音由雙母音加尾音 hék-chiá sī 介音、母音、尾音韻母 kap 台語韻母比較

順序	越南語聲母			台語聲母			
	國際音標	文字符號	頻率	國際音標	文字符號	頻率	百分比
1	/waj/	oai	36	/ui/	ui	10	27.78%
				/ue/	oe	8	22.22%
				/uai/	oai	6	16.67%
2	/wan/	oan, uan	214	/uan/	oan	138	64.49%
3	/waj/	oanh	24	/eŋ/	eng	17	70.83%
4	/waŋ/	oang	67	/oŋ/	ong	46	68.66%
5	/wat/	oat, uat	40	/uat/	oat	17	42.50%
				/ut/	ut	4	10.00%
6	/wǎt/	uât	38	/ut/	ut	30	78.95%
7	/iew/	iêu	306	/iau/	iau	197	68.40%
				/iə/	io	35	12.15%

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8	/i _u en/	iên	356	/ian/	ian	212	59.55%
				/uan/	oan	33	9.27%
				/eŋ/	eng	22	6.18%
9	/i _u em/	iêm	153	/iam/	iam	105	68.63%
				/am/	am	17	11.11%
10	/i _u ep/	iêp	93	/iap/	iap	56	60.22%
11	/i _u et/	iêt	92	/iat/	iat	56	60.22%
				/uat/	oàt	8	8.60%
12	/u _o ŋ/	uông	348	/i _o ŋ/	iong	162	46.55%
				/iu ⁿ /	i ⁿ u ⁿ	50	14.37%
				/oŋ/	ong	48	13.79%
13	/u _o k/	uoc	60	/i _o k/	iok	30	50.00%
				/ioh/	ioh	6	10.00%
14	/u _o ŋ/	uông	21	/oŋ/	ong	15	71.43%

以上統計結果表示，漢越音 ê 韻母當中，漢越音 ê 三重母音，包括雙母音加尾音 *hek-chiá sī* 介音、母音加尾音 ê 韻母，kap 台語音進行比較 ê 時，明顯出現相 *siang ê* 韻母，表示，*ùi* 漢字借過來 ê 漢越音 kap 台語音 *ū* 相當 ê 讀音規則。

譬如：

越語聲母	台語聲母	漢字	漢越音	台語音
oai/waj/	ui/ui/	懷	hoài/hwai/	kûi/kui/
oan, oan/wan/	oan/oan/	灣	loan/lwan/	oan/wan/
iêu/i _u ew/	iau/iau/	調	điêu/di _u ew /	tiâu/tiau/
iên/i _u en/	ian/ian/	研	nghiên/ŋien/	gián//
iêm/i _u em/	iam/iam/	兼	kiêm/kiem/	kiam/ kiam /
iêp/i _u ep /	iap/iap/	協	hiệp/hiep/	hiáp/hiap/
ương/ u _o ŋ /	iong/i _o ŋ/	章	chương/cu _o ŋ/	chiong/chioŋ/
uoc/ u _o k /	iok/i _o k/	腳	cước/ku _o k/	kiok/ki _o k/

除了以上三組韻母 ê 比較以外，koh ū 一部分韻母，包括 21 ê 韻母，每一 ê 韻母 tī 蒐集統計、hām 台語韻母比較 ê 時，lóng 出現真 chē 無全 ê 韻母，hék-chiá sī 出現相當對應 ê 台語韻母，但是因為出現頻率 kan-taⁿ 10 ê 音左右，khah 歹做這 ê 韻母 kap 台語韻母的相當對應。這 ê 部分 ē tī 日後繼續研究發展 ê 時說明。

綜合來講，本研究資料蒐集、統計、分析 ê 過程結果表示，漢字借詞 ê 越語音 kap 台語音 sī 真 sio siâng--ê。講 tiòh 聲母 kap 韻母系統對應比較了後 ē-tàng 明顯看出，越語 ê 每一 ê 音 lóng ū 相對應 ê 台語音。本研究整理出來 ê 漢字借詞越語音 kap 台語音 ê 聲母、韻母對應，也 tiòh sī 越南語 kap 台語 ê 音韻規則。Ūi 以上研究，ē-tàng 進一步深入了解、研究 hām 比較台語 kap 越南語語詞系統音義 sio siâng ê 現象。

6. 結論

本研究希望透過以上統計 kap 分析結果，來幫助台灣人 kap 越南人 tī 學習越南語 hék-chiá sī 台語時，ē-tàng 透過越語 kap 台語 ê 音韻規則，克服發音障礙問題，理解越南語讀音 ê 特色 kap 每一 ê 聲母 hék-chiá sī 韻母 ê 拼音方法。

講 tiòh 研究限制，其中之一 sī 因為無台語越南語字典，所以統計 kap 比較分析過程 ài 經過無全 ê 步驟來做對照，研究速度 kap 效率 lóng 受 tiòh 影響。第二，研究範圍有限，主要蒐集、分類、分析 kap 提出台語 hām 越南語 ê 音韻規則，而且猶未將這項規則描寫、解釋清楚。第三，統計結果表示，koh ū 一部分屬 tī 特殊讀音，無照規則，這部分 mā 需要描寫 kap 解釋。

本研究 sī 初步統計 kap 分析漢字借詞 ê 越語音，hām 台語音 ê 音韻規則。未來希望 ē-tàng 進一步發展，將漢字借詞 ê 越語音 kap 台語音 ê 音韻規則做 kok khah 具體 ê 描述、解釋，mā 解釋特殊讀音 ê 現象。以外，漢字借詞 ê 越語音 kap 台語音 m̄-nā tī 音韻上 ū 對應規則，tī 意義上 mā ū 需要討論 ê 所在。希望未來透過漢字借詞 ê 語音、意義比較分析研究，ē-tàng 幫助學習者避免學習過程中間 tng tiòh ê 語音 kap 字詞意思 ê 失誤，來增加台灣語言學習者學習越南語 ê 效率 kap 興趣。

讀者回應

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Language Ego and the Learning of Taiwanese: A Case Study of a Vietnamese Immigrant

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Abstract

This case study explored the acquisition of Taiwanese (Southern Min dialect) by a female marriage immigrant from Vietnam and her development in language ego. The study was carried out in the Taiwanese context where the native Taiwanese citizens had witnessed the influx of a significant number of marriage immigrants. To this end, the hypothetical notions of language ego were adopted.

Research data were gained through in-depth interviews with the participant. The outcomes of data analysis indicate that the participant was eager to learn Taiwanese so that she could interact with her Taiwanese-in-laws and others and to understand different cultures. The tremendous support she received from her Taiwanese family and non-government organizations (NGOs) enabled her to establish a personal social network which benefited her language learning. She also maintained a sense of self-empowerment in a foreign land. It is concluded that language ego is vital to the learning of foreign languages by an individual. The support from one's family members and personal social network functions to secure the person's language ego and self-motivational system.

Keywords: case study, language ego, Taiwanese, family member, social network

語言自我kap台語¹學習： 越南籍新移民ê個案研究

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摘要

Tsit ê個案研究是uì語言自我ê觀點來探討越南新移民ê台語語言學習。Tsit ê研究是因為國內有tsiänn tsē婚姻關係ê新移民，用語言自我ê理論做觀察ê基礎。研究資料來源主要是透過深度訪談kap參與者觀察。資料分析結果發現研究參與者真ng望學會曉台語，thang好kap台灣厝--nih ê人溝通，mā了解異質文化。台灣家庭kap非營利組織ê支持，hōo i thing好建立健全ê社交網路，對語言ê學習真有幫贊。研究參與者mā提起，tī台灣有受重視來增加自信kap力量ê感覺。語言自我是個人學習外語ê關鍵因素。家庭成員kap個人ê社會網路，會使tsiänn做語言自我kap促進動機ê自我系統。

關鍵詞：個案研究、語言自我、台語、家庭成員、社會網路

1 採用「台語」tsit ê語詞是參與者使用ê，也就是英語所謂ê Taiwanese，教育部kā號做「閩南語」。

1. 話頭

根據內政部最近ê統計，台灣國境內ê新移民人口已經teh-beh 100萬人，其中包括佔真多數ê外籍牽手kap人數tsiánn tsē ê外籍勞工（內政部2016）。Tsiáh-ê外籍人士ê存在對台灣社會各個層面lóng產生bē少衝擊，tī語言層面mā kāng款。Uì社會語言學ê角度來看，各種族群kap母語背景ê新移民ê加入，會改變台灣社會既有ê語言景觀（linguistic landscape），mā增加語言ê多樣性kap分歧性。新移民人士本身因為婚姻、就業、教育等等現實考量，無法度避免ài去面對「多層語言學習」（multiple language acquisition）ê課題。Tī tsit款前提下，tsiáh-ê人án-tsuánn固守ka-tī ê母語，就是講in認知發展過程中ê根基語言（foundation language），án-tsuánn運用來加強中文tsit項官方語言，thang tsiánn做人際溝通ê功能性語言（functional language），tse是真重要ê議題。Tsiáh-ê問題過去有bē少研究者kā注意（Tsen 2010；蔣為文2006）。除去tsiáh-ê，tī hiah-ê透過婚姻得tiòh tī台灣居留權kap歸化權ê外籍牽手內底，有bē少女性，in ang婿厝--nih所屬ê語言社群其實是以地方語言（local languages）或稱方言（dialects，像台語、客語等等）tsiánn做主要ê共通語（lingua franca）。外籍人士除去中文tsit ê主流語言，無法度避免koh tiòh面對方言學習ê任務iah是義務。面對tsit款勢面，當事人投入iah是走閃台語學習ê動機kap動力是siánn-mih？台語認同對台語學習者有siánn款影響？學習過程--nih，in ê自我角色kám會有siánn改變？Tsiáh-ê問題意義真深刻，值得koh-khah tsē人來詳細研究。到tann為止，國內對新移民台語學習ê研究iù-guân無tsē，koh tiòh加強。

本研究ê目的是beh探討新移民ê台語學習過程hām in語言自我ê變化狀況。Guán會決定uì「語言自我」（language ego）ê角度落手，來探討新移民tī第二語言ê角色扮演問題，就是講tsiánn做第二語言ê學習者kap使用者，kap in事前預想hām實際ê第二語言社群kám有符合，án-tsuánn進行自我調適，thang避免ka-tī kap身軀邊環境bē tú好。第二，guán mā觀察in第一語言hām第二語言新kap舊並存ê實況，koh針對個別語言án-tsuánn進行確保、塑造kap重新塑造ê過程。Siōng落尾guán分析當事人ê第二語言動機ê自我系統，thang確認in「理想自我」kap「真正自我」分別是siánn，kám有出現無kāng。藉tsit

項研究，guán會tàng發覺台灣社會內底新移民tī參與（2-2）方言學習ê時ê特殊過程，in tú--tiòh ê語言認同感ê變化狀況，koh有角色扮演ê趨勢kap迴避ê傾向。因為探討新移民學習台語ê研究tsiànn少，本研究就koh-khah有學術性kap實用性ê價值，tsit ê重要性值得肯定。

2. 文獻探討

本節討論語言自我ê意義kap面向，包含：語言自我ê意義、第二語言動機ê自我系統kap自我角色ê設定。

2.1. 「語言自我」ê意義

「語言自我」（language ego）ê概念是美國學者Alexander Z. Guiora tī i ê研究--nih代先介紹，用來解說l ê人使用ê語言kap tse語言牽涉ê認同感ê發展狀況（Guiora 1967；1979；Guiora et al. 1972）。Guiora專長tī第二語言學習ê人格變數ê相關研究，i根據Sigmund Freud單一自我（single ego）ê理論來提出tsit項假說，thang彰顯語言加tī個人hām人格ê作用。Guiora認為，「語言自我」mā會使講做是「語言上ê ka-tī」（language-self），所牽涉ê主要議題，是l ê人tī使用語言ê過程--nih發展--出來ê 1種身分iah是認同感。Guiora koh強調，gín-á kap大人ê第二語言自我真無kāng款。Tī青春期的tsin前，gín-á ê自我lóng是tī動態，持續發展koh真有韌性。Tī tsit ê階段--nih若無不當ê干擾因素，án-ne新語言ê學習會真簡單，bē對既有ê語言自我造tsiànn實質ê威脅iah是壓制ê作用，學習者進行調適mā相對khah簡單。青春期的後，個體同時發生身體、情緒kap認知上ê變化，造tsiànn某種防備機制ê產生。另外，個人ê語言自我變kah khah有防衛性kap防備性，緊緊uá附tī母語ê保障內底，thang保護脆弱ê自我。Tsit-tang-tsūn，語言自我變做自我認同感重要ê 1部分。Tsit款現象會使解說大人teh學習第二語言ê時是án-tsuánn tshiàng-tsāi tú tiòh困難。

若暫且mài論年歲，第一語言認同感ê可滲透性（permeability）會決定l ê人kám會tàng接納新語言，順利發展出新ê語言自我（Guiora et al. 1972）。Guiora 等主張，語言自我ê發展kap一般自我ê發展互相平行；tī早期階段，語言自我ê界線是tī 1種流動ê狀態，可塑性khah kuân，第二語言技能ê學習相對

khah簡單，了後tō無kâng--a。Koh續--落，學習1種第二語言就是à選定1種新ê身分iah是認同感，學習者ê發音技能就tsiànn做新認同感kap語言自我界線可滲透程度siōng敏感ê指標。Guiora強調，ui各方面來評斷，發音確實是第二語言自我中siōng重要ê面向，siōng òh穿透，suah mā siōng bē流失。

Guiora ê觀點其實kap tsin前Merleau-Ponty (1964: 109) ê見解互相呼應，kan-tann是Merleau-Ponty無明確提起「語言自我」tsit ê語詞。Merleau-Ponty用gín-á對時式語法 (tense grammar) ê學習做例，評論講：「語言學習本身是1種驗明身分ê現象；學習講某1種語言就是學習扮演kui系列ê角色、體現kui系列ê行為iah是語言知識」。其他學者像Hoffman (1990)、Lvoich (1997) mā講--tiòh，個人teh學習kap使用另外1種語言ê時，就ná像是進入1 ê完全無kâng ê世界，生活變kah豐富koh充實，自身人格mā產生改變。了後，Kanno & Norton (2003) kā Guiora ê見解hām Anderson (1991) 講--tiòh ê「想像ê語言社群」(imagined speech community) ê觀點相結合。In主張，第二語言學習者kap使用者會設想 (envision) ka-tī所面對ê第二語言社群，對個人本身投入tī目標語言ê心力ê tsē iah少，koh有相接續ê行動、學習心路歷程 (learning trajectory) 等等，tsit種聯想lóng有真深ê影響力。Mensch (2006) mā認為，多語人士對世界ê覺知lóng是uì in tī某種特定語言自我頂kuàn抱持ê觀點，或者是講，uì講話者tī hit款語言--nih ê處境。

另外，Brown (2007) tī i ê著作內底想beh具體詮釋個人ê自我認同感 (one's self-identity) tsit ê概念，hām i kap目標語言之間無法度分割ê關聯。Brown指出，對任何單語人士來講，語言自我包括母語kap自我發展之間ê互動。1 ê人ê自我發展kap i使用ê語言有真bā ê關係，因為tī溝通ê過程，mā就是teh發出資訊koh hōo資訊彈--tng-來ê過程，當事者ê認同感tsiah有法度得tiòh確保、塑造kap重新塑造。Brown補充講，得tiòh 1 ê新語言自我m-tānn對少年人是tsiànn大ê工程，對hiah-ê已經tī ka-tī ê認同感--nih發展出舒適感、安全感，koh對新語言認同感抱持壓制作用ê成年人mā kāng款是án-ne。當事者beh跳過到1 ê新ê第二種認同感絕對m是簡單ê tãi-tsi，tiòh-ài聚集必要ê力量，克服ka-tī對新語言自我ê壓制作用，tsiah有可能成功。

另外1方面，非洲學者Latecka (2009) 批評Guiora ê論點無法度解說複雜

ê語言自我現象，因為kan-tann靠單一自我ê概念，lán無法度說明個人ui單一ê語言認同感iah是語言人格朝向另外1種語言認同感iah是語言人格「suá tìn動」（shifting）、「流動」（gliding）ê現象。Latecka提出1 ê koh-khah有彈性ê「多重語言自我狀態」（multiple language ego states）模式。多重語言自我狀態是獨立存在--ê，m̄-koh in mā是個人ê 1部分，koh會使互相滲透；in hōo個人ê基本人格thing好保持穩定，m̄-koh mā允准tī自我狀態之間轉移。

2.2. 第二語言動機ê自我系統

Ui另外1 ê角度來看，語言自我概念是ui心理學所謂ê「歸因理論」（attribution theory）來--ê。Tsit項理論認為個人ê任何行為lóng會tàng kā原因歸結tī 1種內在力量，像內在鞭策（internal push）iah是內在動力（internal drive）（Weiner 1974）。本質上，第一iah第二語言ê學習lóng必然會牽涉tiòh認知因素，因為語言基本上是大腦處理ê產物，kap其他行為無太大ê差別，lóng tiòh藉認知系統來運作kap操作。M̄-koh重要--ê是人類tsiann做萬物之靈，tsiok tsē行為lóng會受tiòh所謂情意層面（affective domain）ê影響，語言行為就是其中1項，就算語言技能khah kuân ê學習者iah使用者mā無法度走閃--過。

Tī各類情意因素內底，語言學習動機ê影響力是siōng受注意--ê。為tiòh án-ne，英國學者Dörnyei（2005）提出所謂ê「第二語言動機ê自我系統」（L2 Motivational Self System）tsit ê理論架構，來區別2種自我ê差別，就是個人ê理想自我（one's ideal self）kap個人ê真正自我（one's actual self）。照Dörnyei ê論點，語言學習動機是kā tsit 2種自我之間ê差別去除了後得--tiòh ê結果。值得觀察--ê是，語言學習者án-tsuánn進行自我引導，tī這種作為上有siánn款ê獨特性，koh有tsit 2種會使互相替換ê自我之間，互相競爭、互相彌補ê程度是án-tsuánn。

對Dörnyei ê相關論點，Hungary學者Csizér kap i ê同事全力支持。Kormos & Csizér（2008）、Csizér & Kormos（2009）bat針對Hungary ê中學、大學kap成年語言學習者3 ê群體進行調查，thang確定語言動機自我系統ê重要影響力。In發現，理想ê第二語言自我（ideal L2 self）kap學習經驗kāng款，對動機良好ê學習行為有tsiann大ê影響力。Csizér & Lukács（2010）進一步解說講，所謂理想ê第二語言自我，是講個人tī第二語言特定面向ê完善自我，也

就是學習者ng望ka-tī tsiánn做成功ê第二語言人士ê狀態。另外1方面，語言學習者mā有所謂ê「應該扮演ê第二語言自我」（ooght-to L2 self），tse是i應該具備ê屬性iah特性，是為--tioh beh閃避語言學習上可能出現負面後果ê時ê強烈ê自我狀態。是Csizér and Lukács調查Budapest ê中學生，觀察in tī同時學習英語kap德語tsit 2種外國語言ê時，顯示--出-來ê 2種自我狀態，探討語言學習經驗kám有影響。In ê參與者lóng總有235人，包括109 ê tsa-poo kap 126 ê tsa-bóo，平均年歲是16.7歲。資料分析結果顯示，學生有明顯、突出ê理想英語自我，學習tsit種語言ê時，經驗mā khah正面。Csizér & Lukács總結講，無論學習ê第二語言是siánn，最原初khah偏愛ê語言是siánn，理想ê第二語言自我是學習行為內底siōng重要ê成分，是語言學習ê重要吸引物（attractors）。換1句話講，理想ê自我造tsiánn動機良好ê語言行為，動機良好ê語言行為會tàng hōo目標語言技能直直進步，tse是tsiok明確ê事實。

2.3. 第二語言自我kap角色設定

Tī第二語言學習ê過程--nih，接續語言自我ê變遷--ê是個人第二語言角色設定（L2 persona）ê替換，tse ná像是無法度避免ê tai-tsi。關係tsit點，美國語言學家Zukowski（1997）ê論點tsiánn hōo人深思。Zukowski bat講過i ka-tī學習外語ê經驗，認定he是1種phah開ka-tī，發展出其他各種人格ê過程。I teh讀Wisconsin大學期間，德語技能提升ê同時，i ê「德語人格」（German personality）mā tuè leh進展。出業了後，i去Turkey某1間女子學院教冊，因為i tsiánn愛Turkey語，tsuann-á án-ne發展出另外1 ê Turkey語ê角色設定（Turkish persona）。Zukowski tng美國了後，用心tī第二語言教育，tiánn-tiánn有機會訪談無káng語言、文化背景ê人，進1步了解in第二語言自我角色變換ê狀況。Zukowski歸結講，第二語言學習者tioh-ài培養文化ê人格iah是認同感，因為tse會使產生tsiánn tsē幫贊，促進真tsē溝通能力ê培養。另外，個人學習語言ê環境kap同時發展ê角色設定關係tsiánn密切，語言學習情境tioh-ài對學習者培養適合ê語言自我有幫贊，tsiah算是充分發揮i ê功能。

Seilhamer（2013）bat調查英語學習者án-tsuánn進行第二語言ê角色設定，koh有tsit種做法kap in心目中設想ê全球語言社群（imagined global community）、目標語言ê學習動機、信心水準等等kám有關聯。Seilhamer

根據ka-tī調查tsiann tsē ê亞洲人ê經驗歸結出，學習者ê語言自我扮演重要ê角色，會使決定當事人kám會出現用英語做第二語言ê角色設定。無論學習者認可ê語言社群是美式英語、英式英語iah是其他英語人士ê團體，mā無論in認可ê語言互動風格是siann，ka-tī ê英語學習動機是siann，學習者siōng原初ê第一語言ê認同感若是bē-tàng滲透--ê (impermeable)，in就無法度順利接納新ê第二語言ê角色設定。Seilhamer強調講，lán tiòh-ài鼓勵當事者自願kā第一語言ê認同感保持tī開放狀態，thang好有可滲透性，tsiah thing好培養出正向ê第二語言ê角色設定。提供英語學習者有機會來真正使用第二語言，當然mā是促成tsit款角色設定ê必要條件。因此，台灣新移民學習台語ê時，若會使自我決定in學台語ê目的koh有台語tī in生活中扮演ê角色，對in台語ê認同、學習動機、信心水準等等lóng會有tsiann正面ê作用，達到學習台語tsiann好ê效果。

針對tsit ê議題，南非學者Latecka (2013) bat ui存在現象學觀點來分析，i ê論點真特別。Latecka認定語言學習是透過新ê語言認同感ê塑造來達成。語言學習若beh發生作用，學習者本身tiòh-ài產生久長性ê認同感ê改變tsiah會tàng。I建議kā「語言上ê自我狀態」(linguistic ego state)當做審定認同感kám有改變ê標準。Koh-khah要緊--ê是，認同感ê改變m-tānn包括機械式ê語言應用，mā包括已經學習ê語言知識ê存留。Latecka ê看法kap Medina (2003) 主張ê學習者認同感 (learner identity) ê觀點有真sio-kâng ê所在。

3. 資料蒐集kap分析

Tsit ê個案研究主要是透過深度訪談kap觀察l ê會曉台語聽、講、讀、寫能力ê越南籍新移民，來探討i學台語ê動機、學習過程hām學習效果，mā beh進1步來了解i ê語言認同kap自我定位等等方面。

Tsit ê研究ê參與者是tuà tī台灣ê新移民馮--氏 (化名)，i透過婚姻來到台灣。馮--氏是tsiok特殊ê個案，i tī越南出世大漢，語言學習能力真強，會曉台語聽、講、讀、寫ê能力，水準甚至超過一般台灣人。Tsit ê研究ê重點hē tī探討馮--氏台語學習ê動機、學習過程hām學習效果，koh beh進1步來了解i ê語言認同kap自我定位等等方面。

3.1. 研究參與者ê背景

馮--氏32歲，tī越南完成大學教育了後tsiah來到台灣，來台到tann 12冬，是學生，mā做過越南語言文化教育ê khang-khuè，bat學--過ê語言有6種，包括越南語、英語、法語、俄語、華語、台語。參與者bat tī越南學習華語2月日，用漢語拼音做基礎，結婚了後tsiah學習台語，ui教會羅馬拼音入門。I kap in ang、序細koh有ta-kuann tuà做伙，tuà tī以台語做主要溝通語言ê社區，tī厝--nih kap ta-kuann hām in ang lóng講台語；因為有tsit-kuá台語語詞bē曉講，講越南語gín-á koh聽無，kap gín-á講話koo-put-tsióng會出現華語、台語kap越南語lām leh使用ê情形。

3.2. 資料收集

Tsit ê研究ê資料包括以下來源：

(1)深度訪談：tsit ê研究採用ê研究工具主要是半結構問題ê深度訪談，ng望藉tsit款方式對馮--氏學習台語ê心路歷程、策略hām效果等等方面有kiah深入了解。2014年3月20，研究者kap馮--氏koh有in ang進行面對面訪談ê時，討論tiòh i學習台語ê經驗kap初期tī台灣因為語言問題tú--tiòh ê困難。經過資料分析了後，研究者tī 2014年9月20 kap 2015年正月17、20 koh透過電話追蹤訪談，同時mā錄音，針對kiah重要ê資訊重複確認。以下kā半結構訪談問題列--出來：

- 1) 你對ka-tī母語ê認同是án-tsuánn ?
- 2) 來到台灣了後，學台語ê時，對ka-tī原本母語ê認同kám有改變？若無，原因是siánn？若有，koh是為tiòh siánn？
- 3) 你認為台語kap越南語有toh tsit-kuá sio-kâng kap無kâng？
- 4) 你認為台語kám是真正有功能性ê語言？是án-tsuánn？請舉例說明。
- 5) 你ê個性屬外向iah內向？Kap人tsih接ê原則是siánn？
- 6) 你個人認為ka-tīê個性kap學習語言kám有相關性？若有，是toh tsit-kuá？
- 7) 你kám真kah意學習外語？學習方法是siánn？無kāng外語kám有差別？若有，請舉例說明。
- 8) 你個人學習台語kám有siánn期待？Kám有想beh突破siánn-mih狀況？

(2)參與觀察：研究者2011年tī台語相關ê研討會--nih熟sāi馮--氏了後就保持聯絡，tsiah會thang長期觀察馮--氏ang-á-bóo ê互動、親子互動等等行為表現，mā參與i tī台灣生活經驗ê相關演講。

(3)有關參與者ê相關資訊，包括馮--氏ê Facebook、網路頂ê相關影片koh有i演講iah是發表ê文章等等。

3.3. 資料分析

Tsit ê研究ê資料分析siōng主要是以深度訪談內容為主。研究者kā訪談內容1字1字phah--出--來，koh融合觀察kap相關資料，根據主題分類呈現。代先，研究者kā所有文字資料根據文獻提出ê相關概念先初步分類，tsiah koh kā詮釋說明文字中ê相關性，若有無合logic ê所在，就kā重新調整，用概念tsiānn做主題呈現，最後提出分析報告。

(4)三角檢視 (triangulation)：tsit ê研究有多元資料，除去參與觀察，研究者kap馮--氏in ang hām gin-á ê非正式對話，koh有馮--氏ê facebook iah是新聞等等，lóng thang tsiānn做檢視ê資料，thang好了解研究者對資料ê詮釋kám妥當。另外，研究者mā執行參與者檢視 (member tseck)，若參與者對特定ê資料詮釋無同意，就由i提出，研究者tsiah koh主動kap i討論，得tiōh雙方共識了後，tsiah接受做研究報告ê內容。

4. 研究結果

4.1. 語言認同感ê可滲透性

參與者認為語言是kap人溝通ê工具，自細漢就發現ka-tī真kah意學新ê語言。M̄-koh因為本身個性屬「慢熱型」，初見面ê時tiānn-tiānn因為內向suah無siānn會曉kap人溝通，m̄-koh若有機會建立一定ê熟sāi程度了後，i就會tàng真自在表達i ê想法。Koh加上i真愛學習，透過學無kāng語言，koh大量讀各種無kāng語言ê冊，thang了解世界。馮--氏mā認為學習外語ê目的kap態度是：

會曉聽、會曉講，mā會tàng直接kap人溝通學習，交換無kâng ê資訊。Mài限定ka-tī beh學習siánn款語言，是看tshiàng-suh，也就是講有siánn-mih機會就學siánn-mih語言，koh-khah bē限定ka-tī有siánn-mih能力kap學習án-tsuánn ê內容。（20140320訪）

I koh補充講，大學時主修外國語言，pah開i學習外語ê一扇門窗，mā koh-khah hōo ka-tī肯定學習外語是真歡喜ê經驗。Tī學習台語方面，因為本身khiā家ê社區人士強調台語ê語言認同感，也就是會曉講台語，khah會tàng kap厝邊隔壁溝通建立感情，in ang kap ta-kuann mā lóng用台語kap i溝通，i真清楚了解台語對tī台灣生活ê重要性。Koh-khah要緊--ê是，台語能力會tàng hōo i有才調獨立面對tī台灣生活，mā學習真tsē知識，體驗tióh koh-khah tsē人生ê問題。學習台語kap學習其他外語lóng kāng款，lóng有正面ê功能。

Tī情感上，台語除去是溝通工具，其實mā代表i ñg望thing好透過台語kap厝邊iah是厝--nih ê人建立良好ê關係。也就是講，語言學習ê動機是想beh達到理想ê自我。除去ka-tī ê趣味kap語言天份，i會tàng強調學習台語ê重要性，koh融合tī台語社區內底，koh進1步kā ka-tī hē tī台灣ê環境--nih，kap ka-tī原本國家ê狀況sio比較，設想ka-tī是台語社群ê成員之一。I tsit款行為情向kap Guiora hām Anderson（1991）主張ê「聯想ê語言社群」ê觀點互相呼應。

此外，馮--氏tī任何會使講台語ê機會，lóng會用台語溝通，像講tī台越研討會ê台灣參與者lóng是會講台語--ê，馮--氏會優先選擇用台語kap台灣人溝通。開「越南小吃店」ê時，馮--氏mā真kah意用台語kap人客解說越南飲食文化hām越南菜ê特色。有1 ê國小校長kap校長夫人就真佩服i ê台語用語hām liú-liáh程度，校長講：

Tsit ê越南媽媽講ê台語，phīng lán台灣人khah讚，根本聽bē出siánn-mih口音，若講tióh lán ê後一代，無幾ê人有法度講kah phīng i khah好。Huān-sè未來lán beh推展台語，顛倒tióh靠tsiah-ê uì外國嫁--來ê媽媽--loh！有tām-póh-á悲哀，mā感覺可惜，上無tsiah-ê新移民媽媽koh有對台灣語言文化ê貢獻！（20150520觀）

Hit-tong時馮--氏真謙卑表示講，台灣ê知識份子kap教育界mā有注意tióh新移民媽媽對台語ê貢獻kap phah-piànn學習ê精神，一定會提升新移民對台語ê認同感，thang好tī台灣有美好ê生活經驗。

4.2. 台語自我kap台語學習

馮--氏tī外語學習方面siōng主要ê目的就是溝通，i期待ka-tī會tàng達到像本族語者（native speaker）hit款liú-liáh ê程度，m̄免透過語碼轉換（code switting）ê過程。馮--氏學習台語ê動機就是真單純為tióh beh kap厝--nih ê人koh有厝邊隔壁溝通，m̄免透過翻譯，iah是tī頭腦內底需要有轉碼ê過程，就thang真自然表達出ka-tī ê想法kap情感。I bat講--過：「M是講，學習外語siōng kuân ê境界就是眠夢會用hit ê語言講話，koh有就是講kah kap講hit款語言大漢ê人kāng款liú-liáh？」（20150120訪）。

I mā感受tióh ka-tī雖bóng外表看--來kap台灣人kāng款，m̄-koh tàk-ê聽出i ê口音了後，就會認為i m̄是土生土長ê台灣人。邊--á ê人發覺i是越南人了後，總--是會真意外，i真享受tsit款經驗：

我tī台灣，台灣人若聽tióh我講台語，in就會講：「Uah！你ê台語nah會講kah tsiah-nī好？你nah hiah-nī厲害！竟然台語講kah tsiah-nī好。」我聽了mā真歡喜！Án-ne我感覺真驕傲，有tsit-kuá台灣人lóng無tiānn-tiòh會曉，無形當中mā感覺ka-tī ná像有kuá厲害（笑kah有tām-pòh-á歹勢）。（20150120訪）

身軀邊ê人kā o-ló會hōo i真奇妙ê榮光。另外，馮--氏自我要求真kuân，同時真知影tī台灣生活學習台灣語言真有必要，i有強烈ê動機。除去有學習語言ê天分，i koh-khah會自我要求，呼應Weiner提出ê歸因理論。M̄-koh i mā真清楚ka-tī無法度掌握台語ê變調，準講i講ê台語已經hōo台灣tsiānn意外--a，iáu是無達到kap台灣人kāng款liú-liáh ê程度，tse tú-tú符合Dörnyei（2005）所講ê「第二語言動機ê自我系統」。也就是講，馮--氏tī台語學習方面有理想ê自

我，ng望ka-tī ê台語會使kap台灣人講kah kāng款liú-liáh雅氣。M-koh就真正ê自我層面來講，i mā理解ka-tī ê台語，因為變調kap台語詞彙tsiah-ê問題，iû-guân無法度真正像台灣人講台語。理想ê自我hām真正ê自我會互相交換競爭kap互補。

4.3. 語言學習動機kap語言自我狀態ê競合

馮--氏特別注意tióh語言就是生活kap學習ê工具，好ê語言能力對經濟收入有幫贊。I學習台語ê真正目的除去kap ta-ke takuann koh有社區互動以外，主要是為tióh thang好融入台灣社會。另外，kap台語使用者互動了後，i發現ka-tī ê生活世界變闊--a，mā深深體會tióh語言kap民族認同、國家認同之間ê關係。I有注意--tióh，ka-tī si-khoo-lián-tng ê社會強調台灣ê主體性，bē-su會曉講台語ê人就khah會hōo人標示做「台灣人」，ui越南人ê觀點來看，對tsit款現象無siánn會理解。I講，tī越南社會真罕得討論語言kap國家民族認同ê議題。I ka-tī是新移民，對台灣歷史、社會文化背景m是真了解，bē介入政治議題，特別是統獨議題ê討論。I講：

其實我tī台灣就是靠語言thàn-tsiáh（笑），因為我教語言thàn錢，而且因為學生無kāng，我教越南話ê時，有時á就會kap台語比較，教學ê語言ài看對象，有時á用台語說明，大部分時間lóng用國語。（20150120訪）

馮--氏認為ka-tī學習台語ê動機kap成就，tī平常生活kap教學上lóng受tióh正向ê肯定。Koh加上i自細漢就認為學習外國語言是真輕鬆ê t'ai-tsi，有成就感koh thang tióh獎，hōo厝--nih榮光。I mā體會tióh語言有溝通kap建立人際關係ê好--處，koh-khah加強i學習外語ê動機，hōo i thng好肯定自我，kā台語tsiánn做生涯規畫ê重要工具之一。馮--氏ê經驗符合Latecka提出ê「多重語言自我狀態」（multiple language ego states）ê觀點，準是無kāng ê語言認同感獨立存在，mā會使互相滲透。I ka-tī因為語言認同感ê可滲透性khah好，tī無kāng狀態lóng會tàng保持穩定ê人格，mā hōo ka-tī ê語言學習會使產生快樂kap真好ê效果。

馮--氏發現，一般台灣人其實kap越南人kāng款，lóng真善良koh樸實，kut力phah拚，對ka-tī ê khang-khuè真負責，用心照顧家庭，奉待序大，珍惜ka-tī有ê mih-kiānn。台灣人對越南籍新移民ê負面印象，認為是台灣媒體造tsiānn ê印象，像講in kan-tann是來thàn錢，照顧後頭厝，無顧台灣家庭，iah是引來tsit-kuá病，tsiah--ê i真bē-tàng接受。M̄-koh i tsiānn做台灣媳婦，決定tuà tī台灣了後，已經kah意sit tè土地ê人，i ê人生哲學就是：

Mài一直想tiòh過去，特別是無好ê tãi-tsi。人生就是ài ñg前行，kám m̄是án-ne？一直想tiòh過去，留tī過去，對ka-tī kap身軀邊ê人lóng bē khah好。過去--ê已經過--去-a，我bē koh想其他，siōng要緊ê人生就是ài ñg頭前看，把握現此時。（20140920訪）。

馮--氏想beh了解台灣人ê性格，m̄-tānn án-ne，i koh分析台灣人kap越南人性格無kāng ê所在。I發覺台灣社會對越南籍新移民tshiāng-tsāi是負面--ê，i suah會tàng客觀理解tsiah--ê現象，kā原因歸結tī媒體ê不當報導hām一般人欠缺正確ê認知。I認為，總--ê來講，台灣人iáu是tsiok善良--ê；ka-tī kah若決定tī台灣生活，就應該欣賞台灣正向ê tãi-tsi，hōo ka-tī保持越南人kap台灣人良好ê品德。就馮--氏ê案例來看，就算i kan-tann欣賞台灣人部分ê性格，m̄-koh因為i tuà tī台灣，koh會tàng區別越南kap台灣社會koh有文化互相ê好bái處，ka-tī tī角色設定上會koh-khah成熟，tse對目標語言（台語）ê學習其實真有幫贊。馮--氏ê狀況無必然完全符合Zukowski提出ê，第二語言學習者tiòh-ài培養文化上ê人格iah認同感，m̄-koh因為i有心beh tī台灣長久生活--落-去，tshiānn養序細，融入目標語言社會ê動機tsiānn強烈，ka-tī本身koh真kah意學各種語言，tsiah--ê lóng是i學台語ê主要動力。

Koh-khah要緊--ê是，i hông邀請去大學分享tī台灣ê生活經驗ê時，會特別提起台語kap越南語發音kap語詞真sio-uá，教越南語課程mā會特別提醒學生，用台語來學習越南語koh方便koh心適。研究者觀察i教越南語課ê時發現，i比較台語kap越南語ê發音ê時，學生對越南語ê發音就會真緊掠tiòh mē-kak，mā感覺真心適，學習效果tsiānn好。以下ê例子就是馮--氏教學越南語bat做--過ê台語hām越南語語音比較，研究者整理做án-ne：

圖表1. 台語kap越南語類似音kap同義

	台語 (教育部羅馬字)	越南語	備註
1	Suāinn-á	Xoài	芒果
2	Kám-un	Cảm ơn	感恩

圖表2. 台語kap越南語類似音m̄-koh無kāng義

1	Am-kng (醬缸)	Ăn cơm (吃飯)	發音相似，意思不同
2	Gōng (愚笨)	Ngon (好吃)	發音相似，意思不同

láu會記得當場所有會曉講台語ê大學生kap社區人士，bē-su hiông-hiông sa有tsáng頭kāng款，想bē到越南語ê發音kap台語hiah-nī-á uá近，雖bóng有tsit-kuá意思無kāng，m̄-koh對學習正經幫助真大，有學生表示：

若無，越南語言ê發音有tang-sî-á對lán來講正經無好òh，因為tī國語、台語iah是客家話lóng無tsiah-ê發音，再加上有6 ê聲調，實在是tsiann大ê挑戰，m̄-koh老師對越南語、國語kap台語lóng真熟，hām英文mā加--入--來，i koh會曉tsit-kuá日語，雖bóng看--起--來lām做夥，m̄-koh對guán tsiah-ê有英語、日語、法語、德語、台語kap國語背景ê學生，幫助正經tsiann大，tsit款老師真罕見。所以老師ê學生愈來愈tsē！（20161020觀）

Tō像馮--氏講--ê，語言mā是提升經濟ê工具！因為i會曉台灣ê語言，m̄tsiah有法度kā無kāng語言théh來做比較，對學生學越南語真有幫贊，tse mā是為ka-tī開創經濟ê門窗。

5. 結論kap建議

5.1. 結論

Tsit ê研究探討1 ê越南籍新移民tī台灣學習台語ê過程，koh有i語言自我ê變化狀況。研究者根據資料分析ê結果得tiòh以下ê結論：

(1) 語言認同感ê可滲透性

參與者生--來就kah意學習語言，無論是外語iah是本國各族群語言，因為加1種語言就加1種有效ê工具，無論就業、升學iah是人際關係lóng有tsiann大ê幫贊，mā phah開ka-tī kap世界ê交流。同時，參與者決定beh tī台灣tuà--落來，對環境ê調適採取正向ê思考，tú tiòh困難mā會想辦法解決，順利ê時就提醒ka-tī ài koh-khah進步，tsiah會得thang融入tī台語語言社群，mā享受tiòh學習kap使用台語ê快樂。Ui tsia看--來，有可滲透性ê台語學習者，對自我調適kap語言學習ê效果真有幫贊。

(2) 台語學習ê動機kap角色設定

Ui訪談資料來評斷，馮--氏ná像iáu-buē達到理想ê第二語言自我ê狀態，因為i認為ka-tī ê台語liú-liáh程度有時á iáu會受tiòh限制，無法度像一般台灣人kāng款，hiah-nī自然、免加思考就kā話講出喙，mā無法度像in kāng款，掌握變調ê要領。I承認ka-tī iáu-buē達到「用台語眠夢」ê境界，也就是講iáu-buē達到本族語者（native speaker）hiah精確ê水準。就準i面對tsiah-ê限制，m̄-koh tse是i真正ê第二語言自我。I真清楚ka-tī台語學習ê狀態，mā bē驚使用台語kap台灣人溝通。Koh-khah重要--ê是，i肯定台語能力ê進展對ka-tī ê人際關係、家庭關係hām語言教學lóng tsiann有幫助，i第二語言ê角色設定大部分來講是無問題--ê。

5.2. 討論

(1) 學習台語ê動機kap理想ê語言自我

Tsit ê研究發現，語言學習kap學習者ê學習動機koh有情境ê需求有直接ê關聯。就ná像參與者本人講--ê，想beh tī台灣建立美滿ê家庭，tiòh-ài kap親人hām厝邊溝通，台語是tsiok必要ê工具。Tsit款體悟無形中提升參與者ê學

習動機，án-ne來語言學習ê動機kap當事人ê個人意願koh有角色定位lóng有關係。另外，參與者認定台語mā算是gín-á ê文化資本，孩子除去講越南語，mā tiòh-ài會曉講台語，tsiah有法度kap ka-tī ê a公a媽溝通。客觀來講，馮--氏有外向、開放ê人格特質，願意kap別人溝通、交換資訊，m̄是kā ka-tī鎖tī ka-tī ê世界內底。雖bóng i特別講tiòh ka-tī ê個性內向，m̄-koh i心內真清楚，任何人到l ê新ê環境--nih，tiānn-tiòh ài學習在地語言，thang kap ka-tī ê家庭成員koh有社區人士溝通，mā án-ne來了解所khia起ê大環境，包括台灣社會ê種種狀況。學習台語ê過程中，i感覺台灣社會真親切，無形中mā累積bē少認同感。I特別kah意台語節目，透過tsiah-ê節目來學習台語koh走tshue自我成長機會。總--ê來講，馮--氏ka-tī想beh進步ê人格特質hōo i kā第二語言自我提升到koh-khah理想ê狀態。

(2)學習歷程kap效果

馮--氏除去透過教會學基本ê羅馬字，mā透過人際溝通ê方式來鞏固語言學習ê效果。Tsiah-ê經驗hōo i體認--tiòh，語言學習tiòh透過各種方式，像網路、電視節目、唱歌節目等等，thang好鼓勵ka-tī加kap其他人溝通。雖bóng某tsit-kuá台語ê變調規真oh掌握，語詞無好了解，m̄-koh i提醒ka-tī ài加記--起來，thang好khah緊變熟，tī需要ê時tsūn會tàng好好á運用，自然就會khah緊學會曉。

研究者mā注意--tiòh，對新移民來講，多語主義（multilingualism）其實是1種有利ê狀態。個體若了解學習任何新語言其實lóng是為ka-tī phah開另外1扇門窗，會使加kā運用，hōo tse tsiānn做生活工具來得tiòh koh-khah tsē生活技能，koh thang規劃ka-tī ê人生發展，án-ne來當事人就會khah願意去追求理想ê自我。個體對自我ê要求提高ê時，i kāng款mā khah會tàng達到理想自我ê條件，tī心理上對ka-tī角色ê設定就會khah有tshun-kiu，產生正向ê學習效果kap自我認同。

5.3. 建議

針對本研究ê相關發現，作者提出以下建議：

(1)台語ê國際化

真tsê學者lóng bat提起，若會tàng採用羅馬拼音ê方式，就會tàng增加國際人士學習ê方便性（湯廷池1999；陳威志2008；張學謙2014；蔣為文2005）。黃炳煌（2012）kap蔣為文（2006；2009）更加認為，tsit種做法對台語tī國際上ê發展有tsiann大ê幫贊。就現實情況來評估，台語國際化ê主要訴求對象就是越南語人士，因為越南目前已經是東南亞國協ê主要國家，經濟發展愈來愈穩定，吸引bē少台商去設廠iah是做生理。台灣境內mā有大約16萬左右ê越南籍新移民，hām 10幾萬ê越南外籍勞工。Tsiah-ê人士tng越南了後，就會變做台灣外交資訊ê傳達者。就像訪談內底提起--ê，台灣人對學習台語ê越南人tiòh-ài提供正向ê鼓勵kap肯定，án-ne來tsiah會得tiòh愈好ê效果。

目前內政部移民署kap教育部合作ê戶籍計畫已經ka 5種東南亞語言列做母語，現階段實施ê「火炬計畫」mā鼓勵真tsê學校來推廣東南亞語言，特別是學習越南語ê學生siōng tsē。Lán若會tàng透過「火炬計劃」tī國校á落實越南語教學，就thing好koh-khah有效擴大「新台灣之子」ê眼界。後日á tsiah-ê少年世代thang好tsiann做異質文化ê傳播者，同時mā是台語kap台灣文化ê種籽。

(2) 未來研究建議

Tsit ê研究探討越南籍新移民學習台語kap第二語言自我ê狀況，tsiah-ê會使提供學術上kap實用上ê具體貢獻。M-koh tsit ê研究屬個案研究，參與者kan-tann 1 ê人，研究人員主要是透過長期ê參與者觀察kap深度訪談來收集質性資料。Tī tsit種情況下，研究結果ê概括性（generalizability）相對受tiòh限制，無法度kap一般量性研究ê結果相比phīng。特別是，tsit ê研究ê參與者其實是1 ê真特殊ê個案，i有樂觀進取ê人格特質，抱tiòh崇高ê語言學習動機，對環境適應傾向tī採取正向思考，會使講是有高度語言自我ê可滲透性。因為án-ne，i ê狀況lán kám利用來推斷其他新移民iah是越南籍新移民ê狀況，tse iáu真值得參詳。Guán建議其他研究者執行koh-khah tsē個案訪談thang好做比較，iah是採用問卷來khah闊面進行量化調查，thang好khah深入了解新移民人士tī語言自我上ê真實面貌。

讀者回應

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On the Writing Strategies in Chên Kui-hói's Hakka Poetry Anthology, “Ngièn-hiông Ya-háp”

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to study the writing strategies of Chên Kui-hói in his Hakka Poetry Anthology, “Ngièn-hiông Ya-háp”, by using linguistic and textual analysis, in order to probe Chên's intention in exploring his cultural identity through his poems. To facilitate the reading in the Hakka language both for the Hakka people and non-Hakka readers, Chên Kui-hói used several writing strategies as follows:

1. Using Chinese characters with which he's not familiar, to write in Hakka. This makes most of the sentence structures of his poems resemble Mandarin Chinese grammatically. The Hakka words he used in these poems are relatively common and fixed, which are consequently limited and scanty.
2. Choosing topics mostly concerning the images of his hometown from his memories of his adolescence, while ignoring present-day subjects. He depicted, imperturbably but affectionately and deeply, his native land by assembling the symbolic figures of the common people and events.
3. Mainly writing in a plain descriptive style. Although conspicuous symbolism and Hakka images are not absent in his works. “Ya-háp” (the Hakka name of Coco Magnolia) not only symbolizes Hakka women, but also of the general Taiwanese women. The poet, himself, is a stranger in his own native land, which could be understood as a common characteristic of Taiwanese men in general. He's perceived his three-in-one maternal identity, consisting of Hakka women, Píⁿ-po-chòk maternal grandmothers and Taiwanese mothers. The poet who originally sought the consciousness of the native land ended up relocating and rooting his identity and identification profoundly in the whole land of Taiwan.

Keywords: vernacular poem, writing strategies, identity, Hakka, home land

《原鄉·夜合》ê母語詩寫作策略

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摘要

Ti本論文，gún對曾貴海teh 2000年出版ê客語詩集《原鄉·夜合》，採用 chit kóa簡單ê語言學觀念方法kap文本分析法lái對詩集進行寫作策略分析，識讀詩篇nih詩人走chhōe身分認同ê意圖。

Gún發現詩人為tiòh beh hō 本族kap非本族讀者ē-tàng閱讀，採取：1. I ka-kī khah無把握 ê客語漢字書寫。I所構思ê詩句，ti語法方面大部分kap華語相通。語詞方面，i選用khah bē變換koh chiáp用ē tiòh ê客語語詞。當然數量無thang足 chē。2. I選用ê題材大部分lóng是ó靠i少年時對原鄉ê記tí，當代ê khah少。利用鄉人nih象徵性ê小人物kap事件kā i原鄉ê形貌tàu出來，冷靜iū-koh深情。3. 書寫風格接近記事式直接描述。當然，i也有採用明顯ê象徵kap客家意象，曾貴海所寫ê夜合m̄-nā是客家女性ê形象kap象徵，lán認為也是普遍台灣本土女性ê形象，而且詩人本身是故鄉ê異鄉人卻是thang對比ê台灣男性普遍ê形象。客家女性、平埔外媽，台灣母親chiâⁿ做i三合一ê母系血緣kap土地ê認同。詩人原鄉意識ê追求，結果身分kap認同卻是遷徙，深深釘根tī台灣土地。

關鍵詞：母語詩、寫作策略、身分認同、客語、原鄉

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1. 面前話

文學是語言熟練再製，是熟練，也是再製，也是熟練了後ê再製品，有ê口傳，有ê文字化。而且文學創作siōng直接ê語言應當是母語，tī台灣soah piⁿ做極艱難ê tāi-chì。Lán thang看--tiòh一直kàu 21世紀，tī台灣kō 母語寫書，iáu是新聞事件¹，在在顯明語言教育偏khàm ê問題。因為台灣tī現代國家體制掌控ē kha，人民總體生活lóng受國家機器引導、管制，致使台灣人母語教育欠缺，卻必須學習統治者ê國語²、使用國語piⁿ做人人必要ê變質過程。差不多經過chit代ê制式國語教育，tiòh ē出現熟練ê國語作家，chit種現象ē-sái參考主流ê台灣文學史內容。Lán了解了後，讀tiòh《原鄉·夜合》（曾貴海2000）序內底所講ê「出人意表」、「客語詩的荒原」、「一種覺醒與一種野心」ê文字所表現ê稀罕kap看衰bái tiòh bōe感覺怪奇。

看待lán ka-kī ê台灣文學，lán需要《真失禮文學觀》ê視角³，對台灣ê母語文學lú需要，因為lán ê母語文學當leh經歷過去ê台灣文學（中文書寫ê）tī台灣ê中國文學ê處境，而且所遭受àn按目前主流台灣文學界來ê惡款待無比對中文文學界來ê較輕。In接受張愛玲chit款純然中國ê文學做台灣文學，也接受日治時代日本人來台所寫ê作品，卻是無看tiòh，iah是看bōe起在地ê母語作品，講tī千幾頁ê台灣文學史，i nā認真看待母語文學極加2頁niâ。Koh有1款惡質批判tiòh是「有台語、無文學」⁴，i ê文學是siaⁿ? Kám ē-sái先否定1 ê族群ê生存，chiah來講in無存在ê必要kap價值？

「沒有客家意識寫不出具有客家靈魂的詩篇，沒有家鄉土地之愛不能創作出有血肉感情的作品。」⁵ che鍾鐵民寫tī 2000版ê序，lán同意i chit款看法。所致，lán òngkō reversal engineering ê讀法，讀出曾貴海ê客家kap i母語詩nih ê身分認同。究真，lán對客家來講，是外人，語言、文化、生活lóng是

¹ 自由時報2007-07-24〈阿嬤不識字 羅馬拼音讀聖經〉。<<http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/local/paper/143171>>

² 國語，除了國小課本，台灣tī日本統治時代是「日語」，國民黨政府ê時是「北京話」。台灣人入國校lóng tiòh hông逼leh學，m̄肯學，學無好，lóng ē遭受體制內外ê處罰。

³ 請參閱施俊州（2014）ê文章。Koh ài 讀臺江臺語文學季刊18《真失禮文學觀》白話字小說ê編輯部幾句話〈白話字ê時代〉台南市ê無形文化資產。

⁴ Lán頭pái聽錢鴻鈞教授講，尾--á koh thiaⁿ l kóa文友，koh有台語詩人林宗源講起。

⁵ 鍾鐵民2000〈我看原鄉夜合〉。

客觀者，是他者。總--是，lán lóng tī台灣khia起，kám免互相了解，互相包容，進1步互相欣賞leh？Che是lán chit篇文章ê chit項心願。

客家，客家話，客語，客話，Hakka chit-ê英語名，tī 1869 nî tiòh有出版1本冊《Hakka Colloquial》，作者是1847 Hongkong出世ê英國人漢學家James Dyer Ball⁶。是講，現此時一般人lóng kō 1933年羅香林ê著作做明確ê客家族群定位。

就lán ka-kī ê客家經驗內面是，讀國校五年á ê時，chiah 熟sai tiòh--ê同學，原來新莊海山里hit跡mā有客人族群。了後，lán tiòh加減學kóa客話ê pháiⁿ聽話。當然無深究客人、客話siaⁿ-mih意思，siaⁿ-mih mngⁿ件，人講án-ni tiòh是án-ni。高中期間，lóng tōa台北，同學內底khah hiáⁿ目ê lóng是外省ê khah chōe，tiòh無聽siaⁿ-mih人講in是客人ah。一直kàu大學，chiah勉強有1, 2 ê-á ē講i是客人，toh位來ê。

Lán意思是講，客人kap客話消失ê現象，tī gún chit沿tiòh真嚴重ah。Lán beh講ê是無的確tiòh愛是有客人在場，chiah有客人意識，tiòh是lán台灣人應該ài意識tiòh台灣第二大族群，m̄-koh liân我chit ê有客人朋友ê人to無。Phah-sng是lán ê欠點，m̄-koh客人朋友ka-kī隱身，確實真chām-gâm嚴重。

Lán自小學入學開始，tī學校nih所學ê主流大胚lóng是中國ê，文化、歷史、地理、經濟、政治、傳承，kàu taⁿ，高中課綱iáu-koh是án-ni！也lán台灣本土ka-kī ê族群語言全部lóng無合法ê地位kap用途，文化、情感、價值觀也lóng是學校要求批判糾正ê對象。Lán冊讀lú好，soah lú kap ka-kī ê族群kap土地拆離，讀lú chōe拆lú離，客人子弟mā是án-ni，母語也án-ni漸漸放sak bē記得去。

90年代，本土客人有in ka-kī追求地位ê運動，新客家人論出現，che tiòh對照客人潛意識nih ê純正中原人自居ê思想來理解。Siōng chiáp聽in講ê就是，正統中原人，天穿日、女媧、伯公信仰kap khah個人ê硬頸精神等等。M̄-koh，che kám無真奇怪？既然自認中原正統，ná無族名，ná會叫做「客

⁶ Mantaro J. Hashimoto [橋本萬太郎] The Hakka Dialect: A Linguistic Study of Its Phonology, Syntax and Lexicon. Cambridge at the University Press, 1973; ē-sái對照1828年《廣東省土話字彙》A Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect - Chinese Words and Phrases R. Morrison, D.D. Part III published by: East India Company's Press.

人」？Chit-ê問題lán kan-ta ē-sái hē tī心肝頭。Koh有tiòh是「寧賣祖宗田、莫忘祖宗言」。意思是客人tiòh-ài講客話？Chit款心思是kap社會nih，有人講人台灣人ná-ē bōe曉講台灣話káng款ê心態。Che也是lán第二ê疑問。

客家話，到底當時chiah有chit ê名稱？Án-chóaⁿ來--ê？前有講tiòh，1869 James Dyer Ball有編本《Hakka Colloquial》，標示真明。是講祖公ê話，kám ē號做客家話？Siáng ē ka-kī講ka-kī是客？Iah是外人講ê？Lán看客家大作家鍾肇政，i ê回憶，i mā講ka-kī liáh-chún ka-kī講ê tiòh是台灣話⁷，hit-chūn是對照日本人來講。Koh i寫kàu《怒濤》，內底用5種語言也無講是客語。1925出世tī台灣ê客家人，kàu 1993年冊出版iáu無講ka-kī是客家人？也ē-sái講tī台灣ê客家人無讀tiòh羅ê著作，iah是無beh接受chit款ê身分，identity認同、認定？Taⁿ，tī台灣ê政府lih，客家早就chiáⁿ做官方名稱ah。

Kap che相干ê是台灣講台語ê人hông講是閩南人，閩南語，教育部ê辭典竟然kā台語、台灣話、台灣人chiah-ê辭直接抹消，m̄知siáⁿ-mih道理。

客人用客語寫詩，竟然變做大新聞，在在顯示台灣島hàm kah有chhun ê社會環境，也多數作家讀者lóng採取自由市場原則來看待母語文學，心態nih卻是排斥koh beh壓制ê khah強，chiah ē án-ni生。連客語族ê文史學者也bōe少án-ni，尤其已經tī制度nih有穩固ê地位ê頭人。Che tiòh是lán對「莫忘祖宗言」ê起giâu疑ê因端。

Chìn-chêng移民出原鄉kàu世界各地，比論講東南亞ê福建人，lán所知，福建人in ē講in是福建人，講福建話，iah是廈門話，彰、泉，lóng無人講閩南話，閩南人，當然jú bōe講ka-kī是中國人，kan-ta講ka-kī是「唐人」iah是「lán人」，對應西洋人ê「紅毛」。Sio-siāng，廣東人⁸也是án-ni，chit-má soah講是客人，客人m̄-nā廣東人，廣東人也m̄-nā客人。Lán知影，東南亞hiah-ê in koh ka-kī ēng「Lán人例」⁹對應西方ê「紅毛例」。翻頭看lán台灣，日本人初來，做ê戶口調查也是án-ni，登記做「廣」、「福」，lóng無「客」iah是「閩」。

⁷ M̄-kú，tī鍾肇政kap鍾理和在in ê 1957書信lih，講tiòh-ê是閩南語。（參閱鍾肇政、鍾理和著、錢鴻鈞編1988）

⁸ 鍾肇政（1995）《怒濤》nih，tiòh寫ê「廣東話」，tiòh是lán chit-má所講ê客話。

⁹ Lán是聽lê馬來西亞cha-bó gin-á講ê，就是lán ê陰曆，農曆，紅毛例就是公元。

Lán 2000年ê時，iáu m̄知有曾貴海《原鄉·夜合》che完全客語ê作品，直kàu羅馬字對照版出現，lán chiah thèh tiòh chit本冊。Lán看tiòh「原鄉」，的確ê聯想tiòh鍾理和ê《原鄉人》，kap電影。Lán看ê出來，chit n̄ng ê原鄉lóng是外來高壓統治下所引起ê，對祖先源頭、對自身所屬國家民族ê giâu疑kap追求，tiòh是身分認同，in cheng差40 tang政權kap文化ê變化。是講，lán ná無愛ka-kī做主人？講主人話？尤其做社會ê良心ê文學家，殖民語言現實siōng是主流，有利ê語言工具，khah chōe人看有？壓迫在地族群ê語言教育，殖民者ê語言beh án-chóaⁿ講ê入心？Kō 殖民語言，講ka-kī族群ê歷史，bōe輸thèh鹽so thiàⁿ-khang kám m̄是？所以，母語書寫本身tiòh是反抗殖民，tiòh是反中心唯一價值觀ê鬥爭。

Ē-sái講《原鄉·夜合》是khah去威權、去中心主義、邊緣多元地方ê原鄉，也是khah後現代主義式的。本文，就àn i ê理路，koh應用chit-kóa語言學知識來分析kap欣賞《原鄉·夜合》內底ê詩，lán n̄望án-ni做bōe破壞tiòh原作所beh傳達ê真、善、美。雖bóng lán m̄是客語人，詩人委屈ka-kī，koh有鍾鐵民tàu-saⁿ-kāng選字修辭，讀tiòh khah輕力，是講也因為án-ni，詩文客語性tiòh khah sng失去，che chit點實在無彩。

本文想beh利用語言ê l kóa性質，來分析、確認《原鄉·夜合》ê客語成份kap i作者所注心呈現ê在地客家文化。Koh另外採取文本內容分析ê步數，kâng款來看作者心心念念ê鄉土生活kap人物¹⁰，i想beh建構siáⁿ款ê客家。

2. 文本內容

2.1. 略讀《原鄉·夜合》

《原鄉·夜合》2000初版收〈故鄉个老庄頭〉kàu〈看海〉33篇詩篇，有加l kóa客語註解，看作者寫ê〈後記〉，thang知影 i tui客語用漢字ê困擾，che當然bōe-sái講是i ê客語困擾。詩集分做2 ê部分，一、夜合，àn第一篇kàu第23篇〈平埔福佬客家人〉，二、世間門，àn第24篇〈田舍臨暗〉kàu〈看海〉。2006年新版張復聚〈產婆踏話頭〉有講曾醫師「是母語運動ê支持者kap實踐者。客語詩集《原鄉·夜合》原作是完全用客語思考、m̄完全用客

¹⁰ 讀者ê-tàng聯想Joyce ê *Ulysses*。

語書寫。」Chit版有客語羅馬字對照是張復聚chhiâu-chhék ê成果，世間門後壁koh加4篇。

Lán無想beh kō 主流leh用ê修辭技巧來讀，m̄是lán m̄知，iā m̄是lán無愛，lán認為kā hiah-ê言語（discourse）方式號名分類，bōe輸行彎路去，不如先簡單採取直接讀、直接接觸詩，因為言語總無脫離logic順序，就算言語ê發kàⁿ再製koh再製，lán也是認為「詩人不撒謊」直心對話（dialogue）為上。Lán先無beh牽藤挽榎，kā作者寫作ê時空背景交纏tī lán ê閱讀nih。先hō 作者往生，kan-ta讀作品來看，也粗步照字面安排來讀。

Lán主要來看第一部分〈夜合〉，本文按照冊ê編排kā篇名列tī ē kha，了後，隨篇注寫有chit kóa，時間、空間地名引起lán ê注目，特別liáh出來，koh kā lán讀ê大要chiap tī後壁：

1. 〈故鄉个老庄頭〉：三山國王、下六根、300百年，1990。雖bóng kan-ta回溯300冬niâ，lán ē-sái kā心肝放khah大leh，kā i看做是chit-ê下六根世界ê創世神話。特別寫tiòh kap隔壁庄sio戰開始，標示客家族群kap環境互動ê關係，ē-sái看做詩人所建構按集庄kàu近年衰微ê記錄kap未來ê迷茫方向，族群釘根kap演變ê歷史。¹¹
2. 〈去高雄賣板仔个阿嫂〉：枋寮、佳冬、高雄早市。身邊人物，客家青年女性生活模範ê點寫，liap造客家cha-bó人ê形貌。詩句／沒禮拜沒年節／每日暗晡收擔後／kā客家cha-bó人刻苦ê khiⁿ家生活寫出來。
3. 〈背穀走相趨仔細妹仔〉：1950、su-fut。客家cha-bó人微觀之一，細描客家cha-bó人ê活力。客家價值觀，男女sio piàⁿ，比看做sit能力。
4. 〈阿桂姐〉：40年後。描寫客家高女讀書人ê形象。細描女性美人，外形súi、kha筋明顯，白皮膚，有目睷（星仔花）、笑神（曇花）動作描述，表示稀罕珍貴ê情感表現。可惜卻完全無講起阿桂姐 ê 言語聲音，也是thiau工。重點tī kâng款teh做粗重、lah-sap ē沐手ê kang-khòe。
5. 〈台灣菊蘭--詩送葉菊蘭〉：1989台灣客家大事記（2000.4.20寫）。紀念鄭南榕再寫葉菊蘭，詩人。

¹¹ 「祖先流浪的終點，就是子孫流浪的起點。」（曾貴海著、邱淑華譯2006）

6. 〈夜合--獻分妻同客家婦女〉：(1998.5.10母親節)用夜合象徵客家 cha-bó 人，強調無見光ê生活，對照福佬人，描寫客家 cha-bó 人，隱隱有 khah 傳統ê cha-pō 人眼光，ng-bāng 以家庭，cha-pō 人做中心。
7. 〈清早个圳溝澗〉：坵崗、山歌。客家 cha-bó 人溪邊洗衫、消息事事項項流通、分張。春夏 kàu kôaⁿ-sih-sih chng kut ê 冬天，tòng-chòe 正常，照常唱歌洗衫。
8. 〈割禾仔〉：雖是日常生活，m-koh 割稻á 算是生活重大事件。所以，割稻á 無分 cha-pō，cha-bó lóng tiòh 出動。／兩隻腳釘著地泥／鐵枝樣个黑色圓身彎上彎下／……／穀袋裝入一季个辛苦／……／欣賞心愛个田地／笑容浮起滿意个表情／
9. 〈隔壁阿妹嫁分 ngài〉：gín-á 時ê thit-thò 齣頭，辦公火á，kā in nng-ê sak 做堆做“公婆”創治，gín-á 看樣學大人 tãt, che 也是文化傳承。講客家人 bōe 烏白講話承諾ê 樸實ê 性格，就算 hōng 創治也ê khòa 意。詩 nih，ngài 無 siáⁿ-mih 表現，呈現客家 cha-bó gín-á 單純 koh 在人舞弄、chhui 排ê 根底文化傳統，kap 〈阿桂姐〉 sio-siāng，頭尾詩節，大人 khui 口。
10. 〈熱天當晝〉：六根庄、南方日頭、伯公廟。gín-á 時生活ê 齣頭，溪 lih sng 水，偷挽芳瓜，liáh 烏龍á sio 觸。兼寫溪、田 kap 庄尾伯公廟á 附近環境 tiòh 是 in 生活長成ê 空間，教 in kàu 大漢ê 環境先生，也是大人安心悠哉歇暍ê 環境，明明 beh 講 in 六根庄 hit 跡是 in 安居ê 好所在。
11. 〈阿妹看人搞烏龍仔〉：伯公樹。gín-á 孽 kap 客人ê humour，gín-á tiòh 是大人ê 範。觸烏龍á，kā 阿妹 chhoah 頭毛，阿妹 koh m 走，哭 koh 罵，bē 輸無路 thang 走ê 客家 cha-bó 人。跳 kah 嫁人，報冤仇 lák in ê 頭毛，顛倒 hō in 誼。客家 cha-bó 嫁娶、收成重大ê 事件。
12. 〈秋夜放田水〉：南大武山、山神、老公太。生活文化傳承，土地關係。黑色，詩人真恰意ê 客人色，〈阿桂姐〉沐屎尿ê 黑褲、〈割禾é〉鐵枝樣ê 黑色ê 圓身、〈熱天當晝〉黑金ê gín-á 圓身。／帶我來到這黑暗世界ê 中心／……／阿叔手指左邊ê 大黑影／月光下天頂上坐著南大武山／……／這兜老公太ê 後代／……黑 tī 詩人詩句 nih 也是客家生活文化ê 傳承。

13. 〈發香先生〉：竹林屋、老伙房、50年。佳冬出醫生。老醫師照顧鄉人50年。消失去ê故鄉傳統，人ê價值觀、人生觀。／照顧鄉人五十年／……／對後生看到老／沒起大樓沒討小妻ê沒買汽車／開了，叭一枝煙／佇廟前同老人家行相棋／講人tī庄nih ê安適，作者本人也是醫生，在詩人本身，i看tiòh chit款人生、價值觀消失去ah。
14. 〈肖應〉：佳冬、六根庄、頭庄尾。精神病 kap 庄頭ê變化。／毋知伊好麼介／沒妻沒兒沒頭沒路／身上沒帶半文錢／人生到底好麼介／就算i ê健康狀態無好，lán熟路慣勢ê家鄉也ē-tàng hō 人安心，hoah好ê所在，顛倒正常人m̄知？家鄉／變款又變樣／了，人失去慣勢ê河壩、田坵、海岸巷路ê生活空間，chiah-ê感情ê物理i-óa心靈寄託ê景象，正常鄉人tiòh kap精神患者平khong神去。最後chit節寫肖應也是寫詩人ka-kī！／毋識同庄肚人講過話／每日恬恬看著故鄉／暗了，正尋新開ê路歸去／
15. 〈冬夜个面帕版--記白色年代〉：1950台灣，同學榮華6，7歲白色恐怖ê遭遇。／窮苦年代／大家圍起來分屋家燒暖／時勢bái，惡，鄉人、家人tiòh ài合作、互相支援。白色恐怖逼近，草地也kàng款，gín-á也kàng款，增差gín-á m̄知驚。／台灣个白色恐怖年代／盡多讀書人分人獵殺／惡質ê政府行放作為kā人kap土地割離，kā人kap人ê關係割斷！／我毋識看過伊阿姆个笑容／我个同學榮華牯也避入都市／……／從來沒尋人聊／
16. 〈假使美濃會起水庫〉：美濃、鍾理和、笠山。土地人ê關係。放火燒天。／街上沒人講客話／親切个鄉音／只有對老夥房傳出來／……／客家人會變成人客／食飽後就要恬恬離開／……／講這就係客家人命運个原罪／……／鍾理和會還魂／……／笠山悲歌／……／留下來个客家人／只好準備放火燒天／che lóng是tùi賣田賣地來引起ê，ah賣田地ê原因卻是美濃起水庫，致kàu族人拆分散、變種、消失，詩人半暝惡夢驚kah精神，聽河壩噉泣ê悲聲。
17. 〈蕭家屋前竹頭樹〉1999年：蕭家古屋、來台三代、蕭光明、六根、三山國王廟、黑旗大將軍、步月樓、馬關條約、台灣。蕭家kàu蕭光明百tang，大起榮華，樓á真排只風光一時，koh kàu詩人也百tang，坊

piⁿ草am chhōe bô排只步月樓直到1999年11月6日新政府出錢整修。／原鄉載來建屋材／……／含怨離家歸原鄉／chit n̄ng ê『原鄉』是蕭家出身ê廣東。先民來台發展，tiòh kā chia tòng-chòe家，che是自然而然ê心思，『原鄉』也ē tòe人遷sóa，而sóa位釘根。是講，tú-tiòh時代大環境變動，心肝m̄願也bōe-sái，哀怨hông逼走。

18. 〈下六根步月樓保衛戰〉：打鐵庄黃家先祖峭公、1895年4月底、台灣、日本人、台灣人、二百年、李鴻章、黃虎旗、三貂角、台北城、唐景崧、丘逢甲、中國、劉永福、黑旗軍、6月始政式、近衛師團、乃木希典、日俄戰爭、東北軍、義勇軍；六堆抗日聯軍、蕭光明副大統領、下埔頭、上埔頭、新埤、萬巒、林邊、東港人、強蕭轉去梅縣、斬頭、布袋戲。

Chit篇是1895年庄民抗日ê敘事詩。就算三山國王山神叫客家庄民tiòh歸順新來ê日本政府，硬頸ê鄉人也是m̄肯所起事。Lán ka-kī ê英雄tī toh? Ka-kī ê歷史tī toh? Kám m̄是teh lán ê土地頂發生ê一切？

19. 〈平埔客家阿婆〉：平埔族、夏威夷、紐西蘭、玻利尼西亞、400年以前台灣。平埔阿婆有相片thang看，也無記憶歷史ê族群。Che tiòh是鍾理和作品〈假黎婆〉所寫ê hit款血緣tiòh驚，也是對世間人hiah-nih微細ê真相ê恐懼。Kā外來文明講做是瘟疫，致使平埔無聲無soeh消失蹤影，連in生存過ê歷史都無去，如今詩人恐驚客家族群ê kâng款變做無歷史記憶ê人，詩人反諷che是族群tī歷史lih ê負擔，ē hong phiaⁿ hiⁿ-sak。有記憶chiah chiāⁿ做人，存在活teh ê人，族群也kâng款，所致詩句kā lán講i ê驚覺ài lán tiòh警覺致意。

20. 〈溝背庄个外阿婆〉：外阿婆、溝背庄。細漢ê時去外阿婆兜，tòa hia ê生活經驗，外阿婆兜tī別庄，／大家講盡靚个客話，／詩人kap hit ê所在ê地理、生態環境互動，kap親人度日ê描寫，呈現i記憶lih盡靚ê客家庄。

21. 〈客家話〉：日本人、台語、客話、北京話。日本人統治50年對照中國人統治50年。／日本人統治台灣五十年／大家還會講台語／有兜老人家講起日本話／口氣優雅甚至帶感情／……／中國人管五十年／講客話要罰錢掛狗牌／……致使，阿公kap孫話語bōe通，因為／

客家母語變做北京話／ka-kī ê語言斷去、人倫tiòh斷khì。／係麼人／滅絕客話、客家人倫？真淺白。

22. 〈六堆客家人〉：黑水溝、屏東、客話、三山國王山神、高屏溪、東港溪、林邊溪、三百零年、客家人、客家話、六堆。移民族群血汗流落，tī chia落地生根生炭，kap土地落láu做伙。講土地已經聽有客話，認ē出客家人。Che有ka-kī血緣源流ê認知kap極重要ê屬地身分思考。

23. 〈平埔福佬客家人〉：客家人、竹田、溝背、河洛人、平埔族、四百年、福佬。表明血統、血源kap身分族群認同一再困擾ê台灣人，尤其台灣客家人。Na是專求血緣，血統tiòh ē一直困擾。出路是認同台灣chit塊土地，改用屬地思想立身，〈下六根步月樓保衛戰〉tiòh是先民所教示ê原則，人tiòh kap土地結連，bōe-tàng切割。

2.2. 綜合內容

Án-ni粗讀，lán讀出詩人對原鄉ê人、事、物ê慕儀 kap 懷念。Chit ê原鄉已經超越鍾理和〈原鄉人〉ê原鄉概念ah。Chit ê原鄉是族群家族生存、奮鬥ê所在，是chia ê人，chia ê歷史事跡，是詩人身邊ê人物環境。Che是i肉體kap精神成立所óa靠ê原鄉。Rilke決心beh做chit-ê作家詩人ê時，soah離開家鄉、切斷kap家人ê關聯，che是完全無kāng ê路，ē-sái講是tó-péng。曾貴海對故鄉土地、鄉人ê thiàⁿ chiah hō 醫生變做作家詩人。

〈夜合〉特別講tiòh 福佬人無愛，是講當時客人kám tiòh愛？Iah是kan-ta文人為賦新詞leh愛？原生tī支那華南地區，庭栽真普遍，日--時開花，暗時lú開，koh芳，所以有夜香木蘭ê稱呼。Chit首詩，題beh送hō「妻同客家婦女」，描寫客家cha-bó 人ê hit款認份勞動khīⁿ家、對外保守持重koh對內熱情盡心ê本性，m̄-koh角度隱隱有khah傳統ê cha-pō 人眼光，ng-bāng cha-bó 人以家庭，以cha-pō人做中心ê社會價值觀。M̄-koh，窮實tī台灣ê環境，無論toh 1 ê族群，cha-bó人差不多lóng án-ni，siōng少gún hia mā lóng án-ni，看〈割禾仔〉kāng款播田、so田、割稻á、揸粟á、煮飯、洗衫lóng ài，地位也sio-siāng。Koh-khah chōe有交換cha-bó kiáⁿ--ê，chiah差ē落心。講--起來，中下階層ê人度活也tiòh是án-ni，人人tiòh做，有做chiah有thang chiáh，che也變做lán台灣人共

同ê信仰。

夜合，lán看詩人kā夜合thèh來做冊ê標頭，也ē-sái看做詩人對女（母）系ê平埔認同，che也是i chit身肉體ê原鄉，哀嘆ê是i（lán）對平埔了解無chōe，tiòh強beh消失去ah。Chit ê女性也就是台灣母親ê形象，án-ni koh回轉土地kap人ê生存依存關係。

無chit款土地情份ê認知kap信仰，tiòh ē koh變做另chit pái流浪，甚至ē像平埔族群káng款消失tī歷史lih。詩集描畫1950有幾ā篇，che是詩人一生也是台灣siōng重大變化ê時刻，中國人來管，政策上直接間接害lán失語言，斷lán人倫，根本也是chit款kan-ta重視錢，無重視生活ê土地空間kap人際關係ê結果。詩人大聲喉叫鄉人tiòh警醒tiòh警醒ah。Tiòh實實在在khia tī依存ê土地，也ài愛護土地，kap土地共存，族群chiah ē永續長存。M-thang koh幻想漢人ê血緣原鄉，來台灣早tiòh lām tiòh台灣在地人ê血kap塗肉ah，看你知iah tī m̄知nià。

因為對土地客家家鄉、族群血緣koh有勞動ê肯定，詩人對黑色ê描寫，真愛採取正面欣賞ê語氣，當然tī〈阿桂姐〉lih，皮膚白也是水，總--是i隨koh寫tiòh黑褲，án-ni lán讀tiòh黑褲也變做客家文化符碼ê chit項。Chit款微微意圖bōe輸詩人潛意識lih，leh對抗白色恐怖sòa落來ê主流價值美學觀leh。

Ah nā幼讀，lán ē-sái讀tiòh詩人對鄉人母語失落kap鄉土變遷ê哀愁。其中chit項是母語失落ê現象chām-gâm嚴重。現實lán ē-sái看tiòh所謂外顯ê客家文化符碼，先kā母語客話liáh外，消失ê速度kap範圍，因為社會受tiòh外來文明ê病毒瘟疫，確實比起語言失落koh-khah緊快。所以，詩人只好對i一生ê記憶lih chhiau-chhōe，重新tī詩ê世界起--起來，類似J. Joyce寫《Ulysses》ê意圖之一，透過詩集《原鄉·夜合》ē-tàng kā客家六根庄恢復，雖bóng bōe完全也有粗胚形貌，也hō人真安慰，siōng無詩人已經tī心內起立精神ê原鄉ah。

母語失落，先àn固有ê名詞hông替換去，iah是tòe-leh消失去。另chit方面，因為語言失去活動場所，tiòh失去活力，對新文明新事物無創造新詞ê動能，tiòh koh tòe bōe tiòh現代生活，加深國人看soe-bái ê狀態，che tī全台灣本土語言lóng有。Koh進chit步，動詞tòe名詞ê變化hō國語替換、取代，chit部分因為有kóa是khah深層ê、khah抽象ê，所以，khah失落得慢--sió-khóa，chhin-chhiūⁿ “kiung子”，形容詞，也是án-ni。Ah nā語法是失研究，失堅固，

漸漸恍惚去，soah kō 華語語法來用，án-ni nā語音走choah去，tiòh完全變種去ah。Che是kā詩人驚醒ê惡夢，kap美濃起水庫kâng款，族群文化根頭ē hông khau起來ê惡夢，ē hō 客家族群tī歷史記憶lih消失ê惡夢。

Koh再講，lán台灣雖然已經有真chōe作家用母語kap台羅文書寫來作詩、小說kap散文ah，m̄-koh，to lóng無引起太大ê回應kap社會改變。台語歌謠ê創作kap表演tiòh真無kâng。電影戲齣、電視節目éng-éng lóng是siōng搶市、一等好賣ê，也tiaⁿ-tiaⁿ引起社會相當大ê共鳴，可惜官方語言政策自頭到尾採取高傲ê壓制、扭曲事實。Kâng款，客家歌謠也比客家文學ê普及性kap影響ke khah大。有jú來jú chōe客家作家開始用ka-kī ê母語來創作，chit款趨勢kap試手，tng-teh台灣本土作家lih發kàⁿ。

母語書寫，對大中國主義中心價值，tiòh是siōng明白ê反抗，也是曾貴海反殖民kap後殖民體制ê實踐。台灣文學先行者kài chōe lóng反對母語書寫，理由真簡單，驚別人讀無。Chit種心理真普遍，事實是in nā ka-kī寫ê母語文in ka-kī也ē讀無。In ka-kī驚讀無，soah反對別人寫，對母語傳承m̄-nā無采koh有大害。現代社會，無客語作品，beh按怎傳承客話？所致，有人講客話已經送入加護病房ah。Che chin嚴重，m̄ chiah有長老講，「莫忘祖宗言」ah，祖宗語言失落，人倫tiòh無去ah，族群tiòh消失去。Che道理淺淺，詩集出版kàu taⁿ卻是困難chhui-sak。

詩集內容，大概細kàu個人經驗gín-á thit-thô，kàu族群對抗大時代lóng有，有ê記述家鄉地理，人物形象、族人活動，主要lán讀ē出是kō 敘事ê語言策略進行。每chit首詩lóng是chit段原鄉故事，原鄉ê人物tī原鄉ê背景演出。詩人kā i厚厚ê熱情，舖貼tī冷靜理性樸實ê詩句lih。對花真正愛ê人chiah ē-tàng欣賞花，ài tù家鄉有sio-siàng ê thiàⁿ愛ê人，chiah看ē出，kō chiah樸實ê詩句記錄描寫hiah-ê微細ê經歷，是gōa重ê情感teh thèⁿ！

Lán認為，chit款寫法，對母語寫作真有幫贊，頭一項，ē-tàng khah kín恢復眾人kō 母語講故事ê語感kap動力，第二、tah近日常生活層面，實實在在ê體會，人人ē-tàng同理同感，bōe陷tī漂浮ê個人哀秋傷春，第三、彌補主流文化論述nih，缺欠ê在地敘事觀點，che對傳承，koh建立多元文化價值極為重要。敘事詩也一向是民間人傳說、民間文學ê主要路數，che也是強beh

失落去ê傳統。

3. Lán想beh採取ê語言學理路

Lán知影，觀察某1 ê語言，像台語、客語、英語、日語che，ē-tàng簡單kā i區分做2 ê層次：第一屬tī khah客觀ê部分ē-sái kā寫做gín-á iah是外人beh來學ê教科書iah是字辭典ê，就是khah傳統語言學leh探討ê語音、語詞kap語法，第二khah接近語言使用ê時空現象，kap使用者，對象kap情景有干涉ê部分，就是語意kap語用ê部分，che ta" chiah tī學界研究無gōa久，beh做教材也hō人感覺siu"生份siu"複雜。不jī過，lán認為chit 2部分是研究者眼光kap目標，也就是視覺無kàng所產生，研究ê對象sio-siāng是語言，甚至是後設語言，也都lóng是hō láng koh-khah了解lán人ê活動kap心思。Tī chia lán選擇khah直觀khah古典ê第一部分來做本文分析ê依憑，原因真簡單，lán m̄是客語ê原生使用者，tiòh是「他者」也無能力做第二部分hit款理解iah是分析。

當然，lán知影語言ê語音部分，包括聲調變音khah ē-tàng窮盡，語詞就真困難講字辭典總包。語法siōng特別，既是siōng核心，siōng bōe變化，koh siōng少ê部分，m̄-koh，有語法規範，必然tiòh ē有例外。

語音是lán對語言ê頭1 ê感官經驗，也是人siōng ē-tàng談論ê語言學，m̄-koh，語音好bái，精確，súi，lóng是古典以來ê偏見。Lán台灣人學外語卻開真chōe時間 tī hin，koh帶khau-sé，phí-siù"，結局就是hō lán chōe-chōe人見tiòh真正ê語言原生使用者m̄敢開chhùi。Lán chia phah-sng無beh kō 語音來讀曾貴海ê詩。

Lán做1 ê比喻，ē-sái kā語言當做1 ê 1 ê bō-kâng ê人，語音ē-sái講是hit ê語言ê皮膚、頭毛，ah語詞是i ê血肉，語法是i ê筋骨。筋骨ê形nā chāi，血肉liám起lih tiòh有人形ah，koh kah配特有ê皮膚頭毛，1 ê獨一存在ê人tiòh出現ah。總--是，lán nā看人染頭髮，ē雄雄bōe慣勢niâ，lán iáu ē-tàng chai-ia" i是siá"人。Koh進1步，nā i ê血色變，肉變，lán tiòh有jú大ê可能kā當做別人ah，ah nā筋骨走精，斷kha斷手，lán tiòh ē kā 當做m̄是人iā-kú-ká" !

語音有語音發聲學，聲韻學，聲韻音節結構等等kap物理聲波有關係ê部分；語詞是lán人kap生活環境互動直接ê產物，是siōng有創造性ê部分，有

字典學、構詞學，ē真有語族特色¹²，語詞創法定定顯示hit-ê語族ê群體世界觀，像中國有“掙扎”，台語chhōe無對應詞，koh像Zulu ê ubuntu。客語詞彙koh保留真chōe「公」kap「母」等等ê詞；語法是精神法則，ē sái看做是表現語族處理tâi-chhi ê logic順序思惟結構，而語詞常常是語法發揮ê所在。

一般人tiāⁿ ē用語音去辨識l ê語言。像過去真出名ê台語諧星脫線，i tiòh有才調kō·英語ê聲調kā台語念--出來¹³，對l ê聽過或者是略á學過英語koh無真láu ê人tiòh產生chin大ê parody喜劇效果，甚至對客家話也有法度做類似ê操作。Koh像陳芳明bat講，kā中文漢字印滿ê報紙sa--來，只要用台語語音kā i念--出來，he tiòh是台語文，che是無考慮台語語詞kap語法層次ê想法。

語詞是lán人類對自身生活ê描述所成ê產物，有生活圈族群傳承粒積，也有當代新遭遇所引發ê創發，nā hit-ê語言無koh再創發新詞，kan-ta移植別ê語言ê詞入來，án-ni chit ê語言tiòh漸漸失味去i ê未來tiòh真堪憂。

語詞lán大概ê-tàng分做2大類，實體詞kap語法詞。實體詞是lán khah簡單掌握ê，大概á kap英語ê名詞、動詞kap形容詞類beh-óa beh-óa。其中名詞tòe生活文化變動而變動siōng chiáp koh siōng chōe，動詞ê tòe名詞所以第二，形容詞有ê kai固定所致khah bē變。語法詞是leh講lán leh講話ê時，為tiòh表達koh-khah抽象觀念ê語意所特別選出來ê某kóa語詞，比論講：「代名詞」：lí、góa、i、lín、goán、in；「指示代名詞」：che、he、chit、hit；「疑問詞」：toh、siáⁿ-mih、siáⁿ；「單位詞」：粒、尾等等。

Lán認為動詞kap語法詞詞彙siōng ē-sái表現語言之間ê bō-kâng，也是語言語法表現ê所在，bōe-tàng hông替換取代，使用nā不當tiòh ē致使hit-ê語族ê人聽無，無論i語音gōa精確súi氣，tiòh chhan-chhiūⁿ lán台灣電視台近三十年來ê台語新聞 hit款台語。所以，lán講語法是語言ê筋骨，m̄-nā血肉毛皮需要i keng起該有ê形象，koh jú重要語法正確chiah ē hō hit-ê語言thang暢行bōe失誤走精。顛倒頭看，語音不時mā隨人隨地leh變異，sió-khóa-á增差根本bōe影響語言溝通，比論講，「青」tī北部唸chhiⁿ tī南部唸chheⁿ，「j」聲母 tī嘉義kàu

¹² 英語 iáh-á有分moth kap butterfly，kap 中國話kâng，lán 卻是kap法語 sio-siāng無分。Koh l ê 例，德語內底4支kha ê動物ê kha無分前後，英語有分。Che tiòh是語族特色。

¹³ 陳明仁編2005〈脫線遊茶山〉，《臺灣文藝》第3年第2號，頁64。Tú-hó，內底也有客語、福州話。

高雄ê唸做g, 台北唸l等等。

Án-ni, lán順趁chit ê理路, 來看讀《原鄉·夜合》, lán beh kā chit本客語詩集ê客語chhōe出來。Phah算有人ē講i是客語詩集, 當然kui本lóng是客語, che lán同意。是講án-chóaⁿ chiah thang kā客語特色表現出來? Lán就採取前所講ê, 忽略語音, 看語詞, 尤其語法詞彙, iah是客語語法ê部分。

3.1. 失靈ê語音kap kap「他者」相通ê語法

Lán知影, 客語tī台灣siōng無分做五種腔口, 所致beh liáh語音、聲調chit款皮膚頭毛ê物做分別客家特色khah無妥當, siōng容易變動, 也siōng容易hông誤認。無kâng腔ê客語, 就算kâng語詞也可能ē因為語音、聲調無kâng, ē互相聽無, koh-khah免講有ê語詞完全bô-kâng。所以, 講翻頭, siáⁿ-mih款人是客家人? 除了客語, 生活方式、物品、年節, 客家人koh保留gōa chōe leh?

Koh再講, 2000年詩集用漢字出版, chhōe無漢字ê免講, 漢字讀客語, 是lán台灣人普遍ê迷思, 台語人mā án-ni, 講有漢學á先來leh教tiōh是正確。講án-ni, lán tiōh知, 台語人讀漢字, 讀做台語, 客語人讀做客語, 日本人讀做日語, 無確定方式ê文字kap語言對應。退一步講, tiōh算ē-sái讀客語, 漢字本身也無腔口記號, 訓用、代用beh án-chóaⁿ leh? 雖有鍾鐵民tàu修改用字, che的確落入文字主觀, 就算客家人beh來讀也無百面有才調kā客話讀--出來, 而且koh有為tiōh beh hông讀khah有意義soah委屈、妥協所選用ê字, che beh讀客語jú ē走cheng。是講, 作者講che是純然客語作品, lán贊成絕對無反對, 因為i ka-kī的確lóng有法度kō客語讀--出來。總--是, tī漢字面lán無thang看chhut客語語音。所致, lán跳過語音分析, 因為語音tī chia失靈。

Koh有, lán讀《原鄉·夜合》ê內容, 因為敘事風格, 直述式chōe khah看bōe出客語語法ê所在, 極加有幾位疑問句型。Lán chia先列。

- (1) 「係毋係還會來放田水」出現tī〈秋夜放田水〉, 「會不會一夜之間沒了」出現tī〈下六根步月樓保衛戰〉, chit n̄ng句疑問句, 完全kap華語問句sio-siàng, kap台語句型khah bô-kâng。
- (2) 〈肖應〉有「毋知伊好麼介」、「人生到底好麼介」chit n̄ng句。Chit款疑問句, kap台語、華語lóng sio-siàng。

(3) 〈假使美濃會起水庫〉內底「毋識麼介煙草禾仔」用疑問表達感嘆，〈客家話〉「到底為麼介」也是按呢。「到底要怎般（ngióng-ê）正好」tī〈下六根步月樓保衛戰〉，「係麼人」出tī〈平埔客家阿婆〉〈客家話〉，「係麼介人」〈平埔福佬客家台灣人〉iā lóng是án-ni。

Lán án-ni看，ē-sái講lóng無真特別ê客語問句句法tī《原鄉·夜合》nih，看i ê序iah是i ê演講，lán ē-tàng了解體諒作者為tiòh beh hō khah chōe人讀有，teh取語詞，書寫語法ê時，tiòh盡量選擇kap華語、台語khah相通ê方式kap部分。Chit ê策略也kā作品ê「可讀性」keng koân--起來，尤其對lán chit款「他者」。

Lán kā各篇內文，lán認為ê客語詞iah--出來，而且lán bô beh用一般講客家文化符碼iah是身體、食物、chhēng插、厝宅、交通chit款概念來看chiah-ê詞。Lán beh用ê是具體kàu抽象ê層次分別，具體ê比論講，kō手比tiòh ē-sái hō別人知影ê mngh件，像講：屎窟、腳頭、頭腦，ah nā像單位詞kap動作詞，一般講動詞，tiòh比he khah抽象，形容詞kap語法詞koh jú抽象。

Lán認為語言內底jú抽象ê概念詞kap語法，jú ē-tàng呈現i ê特異性，也jú ē-sái表現i ê存有（being）。當然具體詞nih，因為語言ê獨斷性（arbitrary）也有特異性，像tú-á講ê屎窟kap腳頭，不過，che beh thèh來分析客家特性tiòh需要koh深研hit ê語言ê構詞kap思想logic。Phah算lán iáu無法度，m̄-koh chit kóa特殊ê詞，嘛在在顯示書寫ê人ê客家本質，che也是一種客語存有ê明顯證據，che nā消失，chit種存有tiòh真oh顯明。

3.1. 心色ê客語具體詞

具體詞，lán以“他者”眼光看，確實心色，chit項差不多kap其他語言ê詞ē-sái一一對應，人nā kā lán教，lán tiòh ē知影ê，khah無疑義，是講ē有地方差，kap腔口kâng款。

Lán以早tiòh知影客語詞內底，分公母ê詞比台語加khah chōe，當然比華語koh khah chōe。M̄-koh，chit本詩集nih，真少，lán kan-ta有讀tiòh「牛姆」「笠嬭」「雞嬭」「月公」「白頭公版」5 ê，「牛姆」kap「雞嬭」ê詞法koh kap台語sio-siāng。「姆」kap「嬭」是beh表示kâng ê詞bô kâng ê漢字。

Kap khiā家有相關ê「屋家」、「屋下」、「田舍」、「老伙房」、「間肚」、「河壩」6 ê。Kap田有關係ê「田坵」、「禾仔」、「地泥」、「青仔」、「稈棚」、「田漚」、「穀串」7 ê。牽涉人ê身分「自家」、「老公」、「妻仔chia-é」、「公婆」、「後生仔」、「後生頭」、「細人仔」、「細孺」、「細妹仔」、「榮華牯」、「福佬ho-ló」、「爺娘yà-ôi」12 ê。Leh講動物ê「土狗仔」、「火燄虫」、「青絲仔」、「蛭仔」、「烏龍仔」、「草蟋仔」、「羊尾仔」7 ê；植物ê「星仔花」、「鬻竹」、「竹頭樹」2 ê。食物ê「面帕粿」、「年粿」2 ê，身軀ê「口瀾」、「目汁」、「目珠」、「身上sûn-hong」、「圓身」、「頭腦」、「下巴頰」、「頭腦毛」8 ê。工具有「衫褲sâm-fu」、「掙來火」、「腳頭」3 ê。餘他ê具體詞有ê kap台語sio-kāng，像「日頭」、「電火」，有ê kap華語kāng，lán tiòh無列。

另外1ê「話事」也kài抽象，真特別，kap台語「五四三」kāng款心色。

Lán認為，作者選 chit-kóa詞，雖然是自身ê少年記tí項物，m̄-ku真有智慧，因為chia-é詞，kha bōe因為社會變動時代推移來改變iah是消失，iáu kha ē-tàng傳承客語。

有1ê「漚」看--起來是唇延伸出去ê用法，是標示附近空間。

3.2. 時間詞

時間詞，雖然lán ē有知覺，而且感覺理所當然，m̄-ku比較具體詞kha sa無，tiòh借具體ê項物來輔助標示。頭項是觀察天象ê變化來ê，號名也是相關，像「天光」、「天烏」，無tiòh借用空間詞來抽象描述時間。詩集有出現「天光」，m̄-koh是天ê光鬚á，kha sêng華語詞，m̄是講天光ê時。

Lán注意tiòh客語時間詞「時節」有用tiòh 14 ê siōng特別，台語華語話語nih應當lóng無客語chit款用法。「年檻」、「朝晨」、「日時頭」、「臨暗」、「當晝」、「頭擺」、「這下」che 6 ê詞詞型特殊ê客語語詞，ah nā「暗晡」、「暗晡頭」、「熱天」、「寒天」、「年節」chit 5 ê tiòh kap台語sio-kāng。

Lán也有看tiòh「打早」iah是「大早」，kap華語kha óa，「清早」tiòh華語台語也sio-siāng有leh用。「有一擺」、「這擺」kap台語kāng。

詩人lóng無用tiòh「以前」、「過去」，i ê回顧，lóng是直接跳去hit ê時空，人、事照時間演變，寫實手路明明，án-ni詩ê史ê可信度大量提升，也che也是lán台灣文學ê主要手路，lán台灣人ê寫實存在就是一種對殖民體制ê反抗。因為殖民體制一直就是beh消滅lán台灣人ê真實存在。

3.3. 動詞kap形容詞

動詞kap具體名詞lóng有武斷性，也是族語ê辨識真明顯ê標記，所致後文thang看tiòh真普通ê動作詞漢字tiòh chhōe無ah，漢字ê語言記號功能失效。

Siōng特殊ê算「拱kiung」chit ê詞，台語講「生gín-á」，tī客家人，「生」是精牲所用ê動詞，人特別ka-kī用chit ê詞。「恹mién」、「孩khài」、「攔then」、「搽mák」、「攘khan」、「躡khiam」。Chit 7字電腦lóng chhōe bōe tiòh，表示華語無，台語也無，koh「攔」chit字中間ê「月」ài thài sak。Ah「噓nak」、「發夢」、「跣thèn」、「趨」、「跋pat」、「搞」、「打抹」、「睡目」、「睡當晝」、「蹬tém」、「聊」chit 10 ê是客語ka-kī特有ê動詞。

Ah nā客語「想」kiah chhōe是台語「beh」ê意思，另外「飲lím」、「鼻」、「歸」、「識süt」、「打嘴鼓」、「割虎lìn」、「叭pak」、「沒mò」、「挫chhók」chit 9 ê tiòh kap台語相通，華語無相通ê。其他動詞，tiòh kan-ta chhun 語音thang知影是siáⁿ-mih語言。

形容詞lán kan-taⁿ看tiòh chit 4 ê，「靚」、「暗微濛」、「暗唆唆」、「黑金vû-kím」。靚是súi，chhun-ê kap台語lóng sio-siāng。窮實lán無khioh出來的也是，也就是感覺hiah-ê形容詞，是三語通融，無特別屬客語。也另chit ê看法是，chit本詩集，形容詞用kài少，m̄知kám是特意án-ni做ê iah m̄是。Che lán認為也是敘事ê chit 項本質也是優點，hō 讀者kiah樸實chát-chiⁿ ê感覺。¹⁴

3.4. 語法詞

先看代名詞「我ngài」，「我等ngài-tên」，「汝ng」，「伊kì」，「伊等kì tên」che是siōng明顯ê族群標記之一，甚至變成他稱ê族群名「ngài-ngài」。

「這yá」、「那nai」指事代名詞。

¹⁴ 讀者ē-sái chham-khó海明威ê《The Old Man and The Sea》。

Koh來「个ke」tī詩集nih出現siōng chōe，是形容詞化 kap所有格化ê用途，白話文化ê產物，類似台語ê「ê」kap華語ê「的」。

「厝後」「緣厝」「背」「肚」lán認為che lóng是空間延伸抽象詞，本底真具體，抽象化延伸了用來做空間ê描述詞。

單位詞，也lóng是語法詞，客語「个ke」siōng chōe，用「只chak」講庄、營，「隻chak」講kha，「儕sà」、「隻chak」講人，總--是，che khah確定khah bōe變化。

「正chang」，客語用法kap意義像台語ê「chiah」，華語ê「才」、「剛才」；「同thùng」意思是with、kap、hām；「分pùn」用做「hō」華語「被」、「給」；「兜tèu」，「有兜」，「這兜」標示複數。

「共下」做夥、tàu-tīn ê意思。

數字補詞，百「過」人，五十「零」，lóng表示超過，kap台語「thóng」kàng款。

「佇thê」，用tī piáu-sī地方所在ê介詞。

動詞V，語句nih有「V+ tén」表示V動作進行式，「V+tó」表示V動作程度，「V+tet」或是「V+é」表示V動作完成iah-sī結束。

「毋識」是m̄-bat，表示過去經驗。

「m̄」加tī動作V頭前是動作否定詞。

「咻咻」疊詞表加強動詞iah形容詞lóng ē-sái。

「盡chhin」類似台語副詞，真、足加強形容詞程度。

「緊kín」加tī動詞頭前，「緊V1緊V2」像台語「ná V1 ná V2」，iah是「liam-mi V1 liam-mi V2」ê意思。

「麼má」疑問詞。

「幾kí」，幾多，「沒幾久mò-yit-kiú」，chia「幾」表示無確定chōe-chió ê意思，也會使用做疑問像「幾多錢？」m̄-koh詩集nih無用tiòh chit種疑問句。

3.5. 語用

Lán發現，siōng有族語特性ê社交語言（social language）面前話，像台語ê「chiáh飽bōe？」「來坐oh！」chit款ê。客語也應當有「chang lòi liau」，

「án-chū-se」、「sūn-mùng」tī曾貴海chit本詩集nih卻是無採用tiòh，也是可惜。總講詩集所用ê客語kap台語，華語相通ê割引真koân，太koân ah，所致顯出ê客語特性割引|tiòh降低ah。

4. 討論

Lán án-ni讀《原鄉·夜合》純客語詩集，án-ni分析，大概ē-sái講，chit本詩集，所講ê原鄉tiòh是詩人生長ê家鄉，遠離移民先祖ê原鄉。詩人心肝頭ê客家生活形態、文化、感情依歸lóng tī chit塊土地。Chia ê地號名、地形，一直出現，記tī nih鄉人ê活動也直直浮現。樸實無華ê敘事風格，bōe輸hip相機，kā chit tah台灣客家人ê生活、性命hip--起來。受國語殖民ê現代生活形態kā鄉人傳統優美ê文化割離去，鄉人也四散去，盡靚ê客家話 beh toh聽？

雖講題hō 客家婦人人，khah chōe成分iah是自我身分追尋kap認同，土地認同hō 詩人親近鄉人、親族，也hō 詩人警覺tiòh ka-kī血緣ê問題。出世生活tī客庄，m̄-koh有福佬人ê阿公，平埔ê阿婆，最終tiòh接受自家三方ê血緣，而認同tī台灣chit塊chiáⁿ做台灣人，完整ê人。

詩人憂愁ê是族人文化hông消滅ê危機，大聲喉叫，用鄉言鄉語喉叫，鄉人 kám ē聽，kám beh聽？是講，詩集用漢字工具，soah ē-tàng傳達意思，無法度傳鄉音。Che是美中不足。

詩集nih所褒揚ê夜合，客家cha-bó¹人形象，lán認為tī台灣人社群nih ê女性kài普遍，kap台灣母土sio-siāng，本底結纏真親真厚ê民風，如今因為社會變遷，soah hō lán ka-kī輕看，m̄-ku 就算是án-ni，天烏ê時，心驚hiáⁿ ê sī，i iah是lán siōng安慰ê所在，溫暖平安，詩人beh kā chit款ê情緒chit款感情呼喚--tng來，ng望鄉人m̄-thang bōe 記得，m̄-thang 放sak。Che的確tiòh是，也chiah是詩集所講ê〈平埔福佬客家台灣人〉。Lán tiòh是án-ni讀，án-ni認識曾貴海ê身分認同，i 有深厚ê台灣土地ê認同，koh有bōe-tàng割捨ê福佬平埔血緣認同，土地kap血統ê原鄉lóng teh chia。

Chit本詩集是真，是真實ê心kap心願呈現，因為真，所以lán thang感受tiòh 內底ê善，也thang知影súi tī toh。

5. 結論

Tī本論文，gún ùi曾貴海teh 2000年出版ê客語詩集《原鄉·夜合》做為根底出發，採用chit kóa簡單ê語言學方法kap文本分析法lài對詩集進行解析，一方面探討曾貴海ê詩藝，另一方面藉由詩文nih所呈現ê內容識讀詩人ê意志、企圖kap情感世界。

Gún ê心得是，chit pún客語詩集ê客語量約á存在tī真突出ê chit-kóa客語詞彙，客語語音因為使用漢字soah模糊、衰減去，ah nā客語語法tiòh chin薄。因為án-ni-si¹，曾貴海ê詩lán ē-tàng看tiòh詩人為著讀者所書寫ê客語詩做ê委屈妥協，減liàm客語ê特殊性，hō lán感覺真無彩。Nā ē-tàng khah chōe客語語法kap語音傳承應當khah好。

另外一方面，詩集ê詩文內容講--來，曾貴海ê詩，多數thèng-hó講詩人本身一生所遭遇ê事件，nā串連貫通jú好，ē-sái講是記事兼敘事詩。Gún認為che是chit-ê可取ê寫作策略，kō 一幕一幕人生ê戲劇kā伊ê情感kap意念大要呈現，che也khah ē-tàng hō讀者了解詩kap詩人ê意圖。詩人ê熱情，放大i冷靜觀察ê事項，小人物、小事件變做鄉土、鄉民清明ê圖像kap血肉，也thang àn che此重新建構i ê血跡地原鄉。Chit本詩集也ē-tàng thèh來做佳冬真好ê鄉土兼客語教材。

詩人是lán台灣人知識份子普遍ê形象，ē-sái講是血性ê故鄉異鄉人，明明對故鄉感情深厚，卻是無jōa chōe了解，四、五十年ê追求chiah漸漸確認平常時身軀邊ê小人物、小事件tiòh是ka-kī siōng親siōng實在ê鄉民生活。Lán得tiòh詩人ê身分認同，原鄉意識是án-ni，i褒揚客家女性ê形象，也是全台灣女性ê形象，也是台灣土地母親ê形象，che三合一ê認知jú來jú明，jú來jú chāt-chi²。I ê原鄉也因為án-ni，真清楚切斷先祖遷徙chìn前ê幻想，換做釘根台灣ê佳冬，血緣kap族群原鄉lóng是，i是平埔福佬客家台灣人。

讀者回應

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Pin-siáⁿ Hok-kiàn-ōe Sû-lūi ê Chhun-kiu-sèng, Lèk-sú, Hām Bûn-jī Su-siá ê Khé-hoat

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Tiah-iâu

“Pin-siáⁿ Hok-kiàn-ōe” iah-sī Pin-siáⁿ Lán-lâng-ōe, sī chí tī Má-lâi poàn-tó pak-pêng, chiū-sī hun-pò tī Pin-siáⁿ, Kedah kap lâm-pêng ê Perak, Thài-pêng tē-khu Má-lâi-se-a Hôa-jîn ê thong-iōng gí. Pin-siáⁿ Hok-kiàn-ōe ê Gí-hoat kiat-kò, sû-lūi hām gí-im-hák hong-bīn kap Kuala Lumpur í-lâm ê Hok-kiàn-ōe ū bêng-hián ê chha-ī, i kap Sin-ka-pho, Tâi-oân, Hôa-lâm tē-khu nih siong-koan ê gí-giân mā sio-siàng ū cheng-chha. Pin-siáⁿ Hok-kiàn-ōe sī án-chóaⁿ hoat-tián chò 1 ê chiah ték-piát ê gí-giân phín-chéng, ū ē-bīn 4 chióng in-sò ê kiat-háp, chiàu chêng-āu ê sūn-sū sī: chór-sian phín-chéng ê gí-giân hē-thóng tãi-seng hōng chah lâi chit-ê tē-khu; chit-ê gí-giân kap Má-lâi-lâng ê bit-chhiat chiap-chhiok; kû-pī bô-kâng gí-giân pōe-kéng ê Tiong-kok Hôa-jîn ká i tòng-chò thong-iōng ê gí-giân; í-kip Má-lâi-se-a kàu-iok thé-hē nih ū teh sú-iōng ê gí-giân. Pún-bûn khó-chhat chia-ê in-sò tī sok-chō Pin-siáⁿ gí-giân só pân-ián ê kak-sek, í-kip chia-ê in-sò án-chóaⁿ tì-kàu i ū-ê gí-giân ték-teng bô-hoat-tō ēng thoân-thóng ê Tâi-oân lô-má-jī thé-hē hián-sī, hék-chiá ēng Hàn-jī lâi tãi-piáu i ê im-chat. Beh thê-chhut ê bûn-tê sī, nā lán hân-chè lán ê siá-chok hē-thóng, thang sek-èng Pêh-ōe-jī á-sī Tâi-lô á-sī (ték-piát sī) Hàn-jī ê siá-chok hē-thóng, án-ne, kám ē kiàn-lip 1 chióng bô-hoat-tō hoán-èng lán lêng teh kóng ê sit-chè chêng-hóng ê jīn-úi gí-giân phiau-chún?

Koan-kiàn-sû: Pin-siáⁿ, Hok-kiàn, Lán-lâng, Má-lâi-se-a

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The Eclectic Nature of Penang Hokkien Vocabulary, Its Historical Background and Implications for Character Writing

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Abstract

“Penang Hokkien” refers to the lingua franca of the Malaysian ethnic Chinese of the northern Malay Peninsula, namely those of Penang, Kedah, and as far south as Taiping in Perak. Penang Hokkien differs markedly in its grammatical structure, vocabulary and phonology from the Hokkien spoken in areas south of Kuala Lumpur, and even more so from the related languages spoken in Singapore, Taiwan, and southern China. The development of Penang Hokkien as a distinct variety is due to a combination of the following four factors, in chronological order: the phonological system of the ancestral variety first brought to the region; its intense contact with Malay; its adoption as a lingua franca by ethnic Chinese speakers of different linguistic backgrounds, and the languages employed in the Malaysian education system. This paper looks at the role of each of these factors in shaping the language spoken in Penang today, and how these have resulted in the importation of phonological features that cannot be represented either in conventional Taiwanese Romanization systems, or syllabically by Chinese characters. The question is, if we limit our writing system to suit what can be written in POJ or Tailo (and especially) the Chinese character set, does it set up an artificial standard of language that is not reflective of people’s actual speech?

Keywords: Penang, Hokkien, Lan-lang, Malaysia

1. Introduction

The term “Penang Hokkien” is the common name of the lingua franca of Malaysian ethnic Chinese of the north-western Malay Peninsula, namely those of Penang, Kedah, and as far south as Kuala Kangsar in Perak; similar varieties are also spoken in the towns of Kota Baru and Kuala Terengganu on the eastern coast of the peninsula¹. The Chinese of Medan in northern Sumatra speak an offshoot of the Penang dialect that developed in the late nineteenth century². As the earliest large Chinese settlement in the northern half of West Malaysia, it became the source of a distinct dialect carried by the Chinese inhabitants of the north-west of the peninsula, who were descended from those who migrated from Penang on the coast into the interior. These closely related varieties, mentioned above, are instantly recognisable to speakers from other parts of Malaysia, as they differ markedly in their grammatical structure, vocabulary and phonology from other types of Hokkien spoken in regions south of Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, and even more so from related languages spoken in Taiwan, and southern China. This is due not only to the many loan words from the languages with which Penang Hokkien has come in contact (chiefly Malay, Cantonese, and English), but also to syntactic influences from these languages. These differences can impede mutual intelligibility between Penang Hokkien and other varieties, and in particular those spoken outside of Malaysia and Indonesia where Hokkien speakers have limited knowledge of the Malay or Indonesian vocabulary. Mutual intelligibility with Taiwanese, for example often depends on the subject matter of the conversation and the educational background of the

¹ Divergent varieties of Hokkien are spoken in the states of Kelantan and Terengganu by Peranakan Chinese. These have been influenced very strongly by the local varieties of Malay and Thai, adopting the word order and vocabulary of these languages to the point that they are no longer mutually intelligible with the Hokkien referred to in this paper.

² The dialect of Medan described in Gao Ran 高然, ‘Yinni Sumandala beibu de minnnan fangyan’ 印尼蘇門答臘北部的閩南方言 in *Dongnanya Huaren Yuyan Yanjiu* 東南亞華人語言研究 ed. Li Rulong. Beijing yuyan wenhua daxue chubanshe, 2000, pp. 165-194, is almost identical that spoken in Penang, with a few differences in vocabulary.

Malaysian speakers³. Within the Penang state itself it is possible to distinguish different sub-varieties of Hokkien, even within social groups and families in the relatively small area of George Town. These smaller variations within the dialect are due to both the linguistic backgrounds of ethnic Chinese speakers and the various different languages in which their speakers have been educated (English, Malay, Mandarin). So far studies made of the dialect include two bilingual dictionaries⁴, analysis of Malay-derived vocabulary⁵, and the tonal system⁶, but few investigations have been made into why the language has developed in this way. This paper looks at the mixed vocabulary of Penang Hokkien in light of its history, arguing that the development of Penang Hokkien in its present form is due to a combination of the following four historical factors: the ancestral variety first brought to the Nanyang; the intense contact of this variety with Malay by partial language shift to Malay; the subsequent adoption of this mixed variety as a lingua franca by ethnic Chinese of different linguistic backgrounds and the influence languages employed in the modern Malaysian education system. Below is an examination of how each of these four factors have influenced the vocabulary of Penang Hokkien, and finally a discussion of their implications for

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- 3 From my own observations, it tends to be the case that those who have received education in Mandarin can understand Taiwanese the best.
 - 4 Luc de Gijzel, *English-Penang Hokkien Pocket Dictionary*, Penang: Areca books 2013; Tan Siew Imm, *Penang Hokkien-English Dictionary*, Kuala Lumpur: Sunway Education group 2016.
 - 5 Namely, Teoh Boon Seong, and Lee Liang Lye. "A Study of Penang Peranakan Hokkien" *Journal of Modern Languages*. vol. 15, 1, pp. 169-181; Lim Beng Soon and Teoh Boon Seong "Malay Lexicalised Items in penang Peranakan Hokkien" in *SEALS VIII: papers from the 8th meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society (1998)*. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics, 2007, pp. 149-165.
 - 6 Chuang Ching-ting, Chang Yueh-chin, & Hsieh Feng-fan, "Complete and not-so-complete tonal neutralization in Penang Hokkien" in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Phonetics of the Languages in China*, 2013, pp. 54-57.

the written representation of Penang Hokkien.⁷

2. The Sam Toh phonological base

The ancestral base dialect on which the phonology of Penang Hokkien is based was something very close to the present-day dialect of Chiang-chiu 漳州 in Fujian. The only major difference between Penang and Chiang-chiu is the regular substitution of final *-u* in place of *-i*, in common words such as *hû* 魚 (fish), *lú* 汝 (you), *tu* 豬 (pig), and *tū* 箸 (chopsticks), in place of *hî*, *lí*, and *tí*. However this feature is attested to have been widespread in the Chiang-chiu district in the nineteenth century⁸, and was normal in the Chiang-chiu style Hokkien in the Hokkien Romanised catechism composed in Manila in the early sixteenth century⁹, so the *-i* forms in present-day Chiang-chiu seem to be a more recent development. Significantly, the forms with *-u* are still current in the Sam Toh (Sam To·三都) district of Haicheng, the ancestral homeland of the majority of the early Chinese settler families of Penang -- the “Big Five” surnames that dominated the economic and public life in Penang until the first decades of the twentieth century¹⁰. Penang Hokkien has also been conservative in retaining the rounded [o] vowel sound in words such as *hó* 好, and *bô* 無, which in Taiwan approaches an unrounded [ɤ]. Aside from the changes discussed below, the phonological system

⁷ I am also grateful for the help of my Penang Hokkien-speaking friends and colleagues for their help in collecting information for this paper, but thanks must go in particular to Sim Lee and Ooi Kee How for their detailed answers to my many questions on pronunciation and usage over many years, and also to Mr. Kim Gooi for giving me a long list of examples of Malay vocabulary.

⁸ See Carstairs Douglas, Chinese-English dictionary of the vernacular or spoken language of Amoy. London: Trübner and Co, 1873. On pp. 155, 323, 529, 531, Douglas marks out pronunciations of these words with a capital T as being typical of the Tong’an accent of Hokkien and some villages on Amoy Island.

⁹ Piet van der Loon, “The Manila Incunabula and Early Hokkien Studies” Part II, *Asia Major* 13, 1967 pp. 95-186.

¹⁰ For details of these connections between this district and the early Chinese settlement of Penang, see Russell Jones, “The Chiangchew Hokkiens, the True Pioneers in the Nanyang”, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. 82, 2, 2009, pp. 39-66.

of the ancestral variety first brought to Penang has been preserved almost in its entirety.

Developments in the phonological system peculiar to Penang Hokkien include the common diphthongization of the nasalised [ĩ] final of the Chiang-chiu accent to [ĩũ] in words such as *siōⁿ* 想, *niō* 讓, and *iōⁿ* 羊, giving forms that can be written in POJ as *siāuⁿ*, *niāu*, and *iāuⁿ*. Although extremely common, this change is not universal amongst all speakers, and it seems to be more typical of Penang Island usage rather than the usage of Taiping and mainland varieties, as well as being typical of the younger rather than the older speakers. The simplification of the tonal system has been well documented elsewhere¹¹, and is likely to be related to the large number of non-native speakers who adopted it as their lingua franca. The most noticeable features of the Penang Hokkien tonal system are the pitch of the *shang* 上 tone, which tends towards high-rising [445] rather than high-falling [51] of Taiwanese, and the merging of the two *qu* 去 tones (formerly distinguished as *yinqu* [21] and *yangqu* [22]) in citation form to a single tone [21], although these two tones still sandhi differently when occurring in a non-final position in a word. The tone sandhi system has also been simplified so that the two ping tones both sandhi to a *qu* 去 tone [21], the *yangqu* remains the same at [21] pitch. The *yinqu* tone and the *shang* tone both sandhi to *yinping* [33] and the two checked *ru* tones (*yinru* [3] and *yangru* [4]) sandhi to each other, even *yinru* tones that end in glottal stops. This means that words such as *Khe·h-ōa* 客話 (Hakka) and *bah-chàng* 肉粽 (sticky rice dumpling) are realized as [k^hɛʔ⁴-ua²¹] and [baʔ⁴¹-tsaŋ²¹] or even [k^hɛk⁴-ua²¹] and [bak⁴¹-tsaŋ²¹] rather than [k^he⁵¹-ʔue²²] and [ba⁵¹-tsaŋ²¹] as they are in Taiwanese. Aside from these regular changes throughout the tonal system there are also tonal shifts apparent in the pronunciations of certain words with the *yangping* tone, such as *ōa* 畫 and *sūn* 順 which become *ôa* and *sûn* that possibly originated in Cantonese, but these shall

¹¹ For details of the tonal system, see Chuang Ching-ting, Chang Yueh-chin, & Hsieh Feng-fan, “Complete and not-so-complete tonal neutralization in Penang Hokkien” in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Phonetics of the Languages in China*, 2013 pp. 54-57.

await further research.

Table 1. Comparison of Penang pronunciations with other varieties of Hokkien

	Penang	Taipei	Singapore/Amoy/ Klang Valley	Choan-chiu
門 gate	mûi [mũĩ]	mňg [mŋ]	mňg [mŋ]	mňg [mŋ]
火 fire	hóe [hue]	húe [hue]	hé [he]	[hə]
買 buy	bé [be]	búe [bue]	búe [bue]	búe [bue]
病 sick	pē· ⁿ [pẽ]	pĩ ⁿ [pĩ]	pĩ ⁿ [pĩ]	pĩ ⁿ [pĩ]
日 day	jít [dzit]	lít [lit]	lít [lit]	lít [lit]
魚 fish	hû [hu]	hî [hi]	hî [hi]	[hʉ]
想 think	siō· ⁿ , siāu ⁿ [siõ] [siãũ]	siū ⁿ [siũ]	siū ⁿ [siũ]	siū ⁿ [siũ]
話 speech	ōa [ʔua]	ūe [ʔue]	ūe [ʔue]	ūe [ʔue]
家 home	ke· [kɛ]	ke [ke]	ke [ke]	[kə]

3. Intense contact with Malay

The base dialect underwent significant changes as it came in close contact with other languages. Wang Gungwu has described Chinese migration to Southeast Asia in terms of five periods, the second (1567-1800), third (1800-1860), and fourth (1860-1931) periods of which are directly related to the formation of

the Penang Hokkien¹². The descendants of Wang's second and third phases of Chinese migration to the Straits Settlements (Singapore, Malacca, and Penang) soon formed a creolised culture referred to variously as Peranakan, Baba, or Straits-born Chinese. The migrants of the second and third period were mainly traders, and due to the low numbers of ethnic Chinese women in the settlements before the 1850s, they often married local Malay-speaking women¹³. Their families formed the upper social stratum of Chinese in the Straits Settlements, and throughout the nineteenth century were the most influential class of Chinese, politically and economically. The intermarriage between Chinese and Malay-speaking locals altered the linguistic habits of Baba families so that they often spoke in a form of Malay that was heavily creolised with Hokkien. There is scant written record of the daily linguistic habits of the Babas before the 1870s, but Jonas Daniel Vaughan, an English lawyer and Public official, long-time resident in the Straits Settlements, described them as the following:

“The majority of the *Babas* however have abandoned the study of the Chinese language, and confine their attention to English. Few of the rising generation are taught Chinese and doubtless in a decade or two English will supersede the Chinese language altogether. With reference to the spoken language, the *Babas* especially those of Malacca, so interlard their conversation with Malay words and sentences, that it is difficult sometimes to say whether they are speaking Chinese or Malay. The result is very ludicrous. The writer, who knows a little of the Hokkien dialect has often enjoyed a hearty laugh whilst listening to a set of Hokkien *Babas* conversing with each other in what they call Chinese. Many

¹² Wang Gungwu, “Introduction” in *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996, p. xxii.

¹³ William Girdlestone Shellabear “Baba Malay” *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, no. 65, 1913, p. 52; Tan Chee-Beng. “Baba Malay Dialect”, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 53: 1, 1983, pp. 150-165.

Babas abandon the Chinese language altogether and converse only in Malay.”¹⁴

In Malacca and Singapore the Babas did end up abandoning Hokkien for their own variety of Malay with a Hokkien substrate (known as Baba Malay), and then subsequently abandoned this language for English in the twentieth century. In 1913 William Shellabear refers to it as “the business language of Singapore, Penang, and the Federated Malay States”¹⁵ and “the mother-tongue of the majority of the Chinese women and children in the Straits Settlements,” and “the language of the homes of the Straits-born Chinese -- the most highly educated and most influential section of the Chinese community in the British possessions.”¹⁶ Further evidence of the Penang Babas’ proficiency in Baba Malay is attested by the popularity of the Baba Malay writings of Chan Boon Kim 曾锦文 (1851-1920), an English-educated Chinese from George Town who also knew Chinese and translated novels into Baba Malay from Chinese originals, two of the most notable translations being his *Sam Kok* (Luo Guanzhong’s *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* published from 1892-1896) and *Kow Chey Thian* (Wu Chengen’s *The Journey to the West* published from 1911-1913).¹⁷ Chan Boon Kim represented a class of Penang Chinese who spoke Baba Malay as their everyday language, and several of his Chinese readers in Penang wrote letters to him in that language commending his translations, one of them named Lim Tiouw Chuan from Taiping recommending his *Sam Kok* as a work “that should be in every Chinese home”¹⁸. In Penang it is unlikely that the Babas lost their ability to speak at least some form of Hokkien altogether, as the trade connections with

¹⁴ Vaughan, J. D., *The Manners and Customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements*. Singapore, Mission Press, 1879, p. 86.

¹⁵ Shellabear “Baba Malay”, p. 51.

¹⁶ *ibid.* p. 52.

¹⁷ Batu Gantong, *Chrita dahulu-kala namanya Sam Kok atau tiga negeri ber-prang Siok, Gwi, sama Gor di jaman Han Teow*, (25 vols.), Kim Sek Chye Press, 1892; Chan Boon Kim, *Chrita Da-hulu-kala pasal Kow Chey Thian man-gawal-kan Tong Tye Chu pergi di negeri She Thian c’hu keng*, (8 vols.) Fang Heng Printing Press: Singapore, 1911-1913.

¹⁸ Batu Gantong, *Sam Kok* vol. 5, pp. iii-iv.

the nearby ports such as Medan in Sumatra, and Phuket in southern Thailand, where Hokkien was the main language of trade, would have encouraged the Straits-born merchants to retain some facility in the language¹⁹. It is likely that the upper class of Baba Chinese retained knowledge of Hokkien for everyday purposes, as they would have needed it in order to effectively communicate with the new wave of Chinese migrants who began to arrive in Malay from the mid nineteenth century onwards. The linguistic usage of Chinese in the 1860's who did not belong to this upper class is recorded in an appendix to the report on the Penang Riots of 1867 in which a transcribed list of fifty-five Hokkien words used in secret society argot is explained with Hokkien and English translations, the earliest example of written vernacular Penang Hokkien in existence²⁰. The list contains words such as *tubak* ("pork") *heou* ("joss stick") and *moi* ("rice porridge"), which show that characteristics of the present dialect, typical of the present-day Chiang-chiu dialect (with the exception of the *-u* rhyme in *tu* "pig") were already established by this time. The Hokkien words and pronunciations in Chan Boon Kim's Baba Malay translations are also pronounced according to this sound system²¹. The Peranakans' preference for using Baba Malay amongst themselves had a profound effect on their abilities in spoken Hokkien resulting in a high level of lexical loss for many words not related specifically to Chinese cultural practices that they encountered every day. Evidence for the loss of lexical fields related to politics, culture, and academic subjects in Hokkien amongst the

¹⁹ G. William Skinner, "Creolised Chinese Societies in Southeast Asia" in *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996, pp. 58-59. Skinner supposes that the Penang Babas spoke Hokkien rather than Baba Malay because of the close trading connections to Medan and Phuket, but the writings of Chan Boon Kim and his readers, and the fact that Medan did not develop a large Hokkien-speaking population until the 1860's (much of it via Penang), suggest that that they re-acquired proficiency in Hokkien as a trading language after this time.

²⁰ Penang Riots Enquiry, *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Commissioners under the Penang Riots Enquiry Act of 1867* vol iii, 1867, pp. 73-4.

²¹ For example *nooi s'eh* 卵生 (Batu Gantong *Sam Kok* vol. 6 p. v.); *ooi k'io* 黃薑 (ibid. vol. 7, p. xii.); *le hu* 鯉魚 (ibid. vol. 8, p. v.).

Peranakan Chinese by the late nineteenth century can be gleaned from Chan Boon Kim's treatment of such terms in his Baba Malay writings. Although Chan included many of these Hokkien words in his writings he felt the need to gloss or explain them in Malay for the benefit of his readership. The lexical loss of the past is also reflected in the Peranakan Hokkien speech of the present day in which only basic or culture-specific words are known in Hokkien, and English or Malay vocabulary is commonly used to fill in the gaps. However, the results of intense contact with Malay are not limited to the Peranakan variety; they are evident in the prevalence of Malay-derived vocabulary in all varieties of Penang Hokkien. This can be divided into the following three broad categories:

(1) *Borrowing of essential syntactic and structural vocabulary.* These words have become internalised in the usage of all Penang speakers, to the point that the original Hokkien words are unknown and unused, and the sentence structure is altered:

ta-pih – but, from Malay *tapi*, *tetapi* TW *m̄-ko*, Hokkien *tān-sī*

ba-lu – only just, from Malay *baru*, *baharu* TW *tú-á*, *chiah*

sū-kah – to like, from Malay *suka* TW *kah-ì*

mā-ná – where, from Malay *mana* TW *tó-ūi* (used only in expressions of strong denial, such as “Mā-ná ū?” meaning “How can that be possible?”)

tō·-lông – please, from Malay *tolong* TW *chhiá^a*

pún – also, too, from Malay *pun* TW *mā, iā, lóng*

pù-lah – instead, from Malay *pula*, a final particle with no Taiwanese equivalent

(2) *Borrowing of basic lexical items.* For many very basic vocabulary items, Malay loans have replaced the native Hokkien terms. In the speech of the Peranakans, the native Hokkien for these words is not known, or if known, is not employed in everyday speech. This category is particularly large, but I

have only offered a few examples of very common words, as more exhaustive lists are available elsewhere.²²

a-kái – idea (Arabic *aql* via Malay *akal*) TW chú-ì

ba-tóh – to cough (Malay *batuk*), TW sàu

bá-tû – stone TW chiòh-thâu

bí-jî – a seed (Sanskrit *bīja* via Malay *biji*) TW chí

bîn-a-tāng – an animal, usually a quadruped (Malay *binatang*) TW tōng-bút;
Hokkien khîm-siù

hā-láp – reliable (Malay *harap*) TW khò-khò

jià-lí – finger/toe (Malay *jari*) TW chéng-thâu-á, chhiú-cháiⁿ

jiám-bân – a toilet (Malay *jamban*) TW piān-só

kō-tiah – armpit (Malay *ketiak*) TW koh-ē-khang

sa-la – to be legally at fault, to be incorrect or wrong (Malay *salah*) TW m-tiòh

sá-yang – to love, to cherish “love” (Malay *sayang*) TW ài (ài is retained in the sense of “want”)

tē-láp – to lie on one’s belly, to lie prone (Malay *tiarap* “to lie prone”)

te-te·h – nipple (Malay *tetek*) TW ni-thâu, Hokkien leng-thâu

(3) *Borrowing of specific cultural or situational vocabulary*: these words differ from the second category in the respect that they are not used to replace pre-existing vocabulary, but refer instead to things or concepts that did not exist in nineteenth-century China, such as plants, foods, and wildlife, and things that

²² No comprehensive list of Malay loans in Penang Hokkien has yet been published, but Teoh Boon Seong, Lim Beng Soon and Lee Liang Lye, “A Study of Penang Peranakan Hokkien” *Journal of Modern Languages* vol. 51:1, 2015 pp. 170-181 records 400 words; Lim Beng Soon and Teoh Boon Seong 2007. “Malay Lexicalised Items in Penang Peranakan Hokkien” in: Alves, M. et al. eds. *SEALSVIII: Papers from the 8th Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 1998, pp. 149-165 records 334 words; Raymond Kwok, *Malay Echoes from the Past: Penang Hokkien Baba Language* Penang: self-published 2006, pp. 58-93 record 489 words and expressions; Cheah Cheng Seang 謝清祥 2010. *Peng Sneah Hock Kean Wua (Man Nam Wua) 檳城福建話(閩南話)* Penang: Penang Hokkien Association, 2010, pp. 119-29 records 246 words and expressions.

the Chinese were exposed to through British colonial government, such as the police and legal system. Some of these have established written forms in Chinese characters used in advertisements and in Chinese newspapers:

a-púŋ 亞榜 – an apom, a kind of pancake filled with sliced bananas (Malay *apom*)

a-tap 亞答 – atap, a palm, the leaves of which were traditionally used for the roofs of Malay houses (Malay *atap*)

ba-te·h 峇迪 – batik (Malay *batik*)

bān-san 萬山 – a market, (Malay *bangsal*, a large roofed marketplace or shed) TW *chhài-chhi-á* 菜市仔

bít-chā-lâ 噍渣嘮 – a trial or court case (Sanskrit *vicāra* “to speak” via Malay *bicara*) TW *àn-kiâⁿ* 案件

lá-láng – cogon grass or blady grass; a long grass which grows on cleared land

lui 鐺 – money (Malay *duit*, originally from Dutch *duit* a copper coin) this word referred to the solid European types of coin, in contrast to the copper cash with a square hole used in China TW *chíⁿ* 錢

lūn-pan-lan 班蘭葉 – the leaves of the pandanus or screw pine (Malay *daun pandan*) see *pan-lan*

má-tâ 嗎咁 – police (Malay *mata-mata* an old term for policeman, literally meaning “eyes”) TW *kéng-chhat* 警察

pan-tang ○○ – to have a taboo about doing something, to have a religious or superstitious avoidance of something (Malay *pandang*)

sá-té 沙爹 – satay (Malay *satay*) meat grilled on bamboo skewers

sam-bai 參峇 – chilli paste (Malay *sembal* via Penang Malay *sembai*)

se-la-ní 色蘭呢 – a Eurasian (Arabic *Naṣrāni* “a Christian” via Malay *serani*)

siā-kap 石甲 or 石鯪 – giant sea perch, barramundi, or Asian seabass (Malay *siakap*)

so·tan 蘇丹 – a Sultan (Arabic *sulṭan* via Malay)

tok-ké· ○○ – the tokay gecko (Malay *tokek*)

The highly Malay-influenced variety of Hokkien spoken at present by the Straits-born Chinese of the older generation has been singled out for particular study as an entirely separate variety from that spoken by the descendants of the Sinkhek²³. However, I argue that there is no longer any clear division to be made between the two, and that we can speak instead of a common Penang Hokkien with internal variations, with varieties described as Peranakan and *Sinkhek* lying along a continuum, with Peranakan speech at one end, varieties closer to types of Hokkien spoken in China at the other, and a great many family varieties and idiolects falling somewhere in between. The main difference between the two ends of this continuum lies in the amount of Malay vocabulary in the second category, as the core grammatical vocabulary in the first category and the specific cultural vocabulary of the third category have entered the everyday speech of all speakers of Hokkien in Penang, even that of those who are descendants of later arrivals from China in the first half of the twentieth century²⁴. Much of the vocabulary in the second category is more or less universally known to Penang Hokkien speakers through of their knowledge of Malay, but what distinguishes Peranakan usage is the exclusive use of Malay loans, whereas speakers of a Sinkhek background tend to use native Hokkien terms instead. For the Peranakan speakers the second category of Malay loans is extremely large, and perhaps open-ended, whereas for Sinkhek speakers it is more limited.

The depth of Malay influence on Penang Hokkien is not restricted to lexical borrowing of vocabulary, but has also deeply affected the idiomatic usage, syntax and morphology of the language, particularly the Peranakan varieties. Expressions such as *chiáh-hong* 食風 “to take a break, to go travelling, to go out for a walk to take in the air”, a calque from Malay *makan angin*, the sentence final position of the particle 閣 koh in imitation of Malay *lagi* (I á-bōe lâi koh 伊

²³ Lim Beng Soon, Penang Peranakan Hokkien: A Sociological Reflection of a Hybrid Tongue, in: *Penang Peranakan Chinese and Chinese Muslims: An Historical and Cultural Journey*, Abdul-Aziz Sohaimi ed. Penang: Persatuan Karyawan Pulau, 2010, pp. 141-53.

²⁴ Peranakan speech contains a few more particles not generally used by other speakers, such as *pa-sai* “because” (from Malay *pasal*), which replaces the native Hokkien *in-üi*.

猶未來閣 meaning “He hasn’t arrived yet”) structures such as *kopi-o* 嗱呷烏 and *kopi-peng* 嗱呷冰 “iced coffee” with transposed descriptors are universally known and used by all speakers, whereas structures using prepositions in the Malay style, such as *lāi-bīn-chhù* 內面厝 “in the house” from Malay *dalam rumah*, or putting the indirect object with the particle *kā* after the verb in the manner of Bazaar Malay (e.g. *Lú tióh-boeh chham-siông kā thâu-ke seng* 汝著欲參詳共頭家先) ‘You need to discuss it with the boss first’ are considered slightly unnatural by non-Peranakan speakers.

From historical records quoted above we know that Baba Malay was commonly spoken by the Straits-born Chinese by the 1870’s, and that it was widely used as a language of the home in the first decades of the twentieth century; yet those who descend from Straits-born families today generally speak Malay-influenced Peranakan Hokkien and English rather than Baba Malay²⁵. The depth of Malay influence in Penang Hokkien, the prevalence of loan words and lexical mirroring of Malay structures in the speech of the Peranakans are good evidence for a language shift in the past (I estimate it to last from around 1880 to the 1920’s) from a strongly Hokkien-influenced variety of Malay (Baba Malay), to a strongly Baba-Malay influenced variety of Hokkien (Peranakan Hokkien). The cause of the shift from Baba Malay back to Hokkien was probably caused of the increase in the population of Chinese who came in the second migratory wave from Southern China beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.

4. Adoption as Chinese lingua franca

The *Sinkhek* or “new guest” Chinese of Wang Gungwu’s third wave of migration began to arrive in the mid-nineteenth century, as first as indentured labourers, then by the 1930’s as independent migrants seeking to work of their own accord. The *Sinkhek* came from various districts along the Southeast coast

²⁵ One informant in George Town told me that the Hokkien spoken there in his youth in the 1950’s was heavily influenced by Malay vocabulary to the point that thirty percent of its daily vocabulary was derived from Malay.

of China, but the majority belonged to three distinct groups: the Hokkiens from Southern Fujian (the Chiang-chiu, Choan-chiu and Amoy districts), The Teochews from Swatow, and the Cantonese from the area around Guangzhou, as well as smaller but significant numbers of Hainanese, Hakkas, and those from central and northern Fujian. Since the languages of these groups were not mutually intelligible, the Sinkhek Chinese eventually adopted the local form of Hokkien already spoken by the Peranakan Chinese (with its characteristic Chiang-chiu base and strong Malay influence) as their lingua franca. This variety was imitated and diffused amongst the descendants of the Sinkhek Chinese and was soon carried by migration from Penang into the mainland to Kedah and northern Perak where it is still spoken today. The adoption of Peranakan Hokkien by the wider Chinese population is reflected in the usage by the majority of present-day speakers of Hokkien in Penang, who speak in the characteristic Sam Toh accent and use Malay syntactic vocabulary regardless of their original backgrounds²⁶. The Hokkien spoken by the non-Peranakan Chinese resembles Peranakan Hokkien in its basic structure and phonology, but the lexical loss to Malay has been somewhat reversed as the Sinkhek Hokkien migrants contributed a new layer of Hokkien vocabulary to replace many of the terms that had been lost. Penang Hokkien seems to be at its base, a watered-down variety of Peranakan Hokkien, which is itself a relexified version of Baba Malay, which was in turn based on a relexified version of Hokkien²⁷. Once employed by the other major groups such as the Cantonese and Teochews, lingua franca Hokkien began to absorb vocabulary and grammar from these languages as well.

The census statistics of the Penang Chinese from the late nineteenth century onwards provide the demographic background as to why Hokkien was adopted as the lingua franca in Penang.

²⁶ Sinkhek varieties spoken by those born in China, the last of whom would have arrived in the early 1950's, are, I have been informed, no longer widely spoken.

²⁷ See, Thurgood, Elzbieta A, *A Description of Nineteenth Century Baba Malay: A Malay Variety influenced by Language Shift* PhD Thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1998 especially pp. 3-7; 245-250.

Table 2. Populations and Percentages of Penang Chinese 1881-1947²⁸

	1881 census	1891 census	1901 census	1911 census	1947 census
Straits-born	10,477	16,981	23,569		
(% of total)	(15.4%)	(19.3%)	(23.9%)	54,528	107,052
Hokkien	16,568	24,246	29,072	(48.8%)	(43.3%)
(% of total)	(24.4%)	(27.6%)	(29.5%)		
Teochew	18,793	19,218	15,985	16,482	48,901
(% of total)	(27.7%)	(21.9%)	(16.2%)	(14.75%)	(19.8%)
Cantonese	12,102	17,409	18,355	22,575	55,251
(% of total)	(17.8%)	(19.8%)	(18.6%)	(20.2%)	(22%)
Others*	9,880	10,066	11,443	18,153	36,162
(% of total)	(14.6%)	(11.4%)	(11.6%)	(16.2%)	(14.6%)
Total	67,820	87,920	98,424	111,738	247,366

* “others” mainly refers to Hakka Chinese

By 1881 the Sinkhek Chinese already outnumbered the Straits-born or Peranakan Chinese in Penang, who made up only 15.4% of the total Chinese population. They were outnumbered by the Cantonese (17.8%), the Sinkhek Hokkiens (24%) and the Teochews (27.7%)²⁹. Ten years later, the proportion of Sinkhek Hokkiens had climbed to 27.5% of the total, the Cantonese to 19.8%, whereas the proportion of Teochews had dropped off somewhat to 21.9%, the

²⁸ 1881 statistics adapted from E.M. Mereweather, 1892 *Report on the Census of the Straits Settlements taken on the 5th of April 1891*, Singapore: Government Printing Office, pp. 94; 1891-1947 statistics adapted from: Straits Settlements Blue Book 1891 & 1901, p. 62-63; Report on the census of the Straits Settlements of the year 1921, p.78-84, p.162, collected in Tan Kim Hong 陳劍虹 and Wong Sin Kiong 黃賢強, eds. 2005 *Binlangyu huaren yanjiu* 檳榔嶼華人研究. Singapore: Hanjiang Xueyuan Huaren Wenhua Guan and National University of Singapore. Department of Chinese studies, p. 273.

²⁹ E.M. Mereweather, *Report on the Census of the Straits Settlements taken on the 5th of April 1891*, Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1892, p. 94.

proportion of Straits-born Chinese had gone up to 21.5%³⁰. The new influx of Chinese migrants directly from China would have had little knowledge of Malay, and this would probably have tipped the balance in favour of Hokkien, by making it necessary for the Peranakan Chinese to use more Hokkien in their daily lives with monolingual Hokkien speakers, effectively re-Sinifying themselves linguistically through necessity. It is significant that the Straits-born and the Hokkiens were no longer distinguished in the census taken after 1911, and this may be a reflection of the increasing difficulty of distinguishing long-resident Sinkhek Hokkiens from the Peranakans as the two groups came to resemble each other linguistically (the Peranakans switching to Hokkien) and culturally (the Sinkhek intermarrying with the Peranakans), meaning that there were people who were not easily classified as one group or the other.

The statistics from the late nineteenth century give an indication as to why Hokkien ended up gaining the upper hand in Penang as the lingua franca of the Chinese. The Straits-born Chinese had a Hokkien heritage and many were still able to converse in some variety of Hokkien, even though this was heavily influenced by Malay. With the growing populations of Sinkhek Hokkien speakers, and Teochews, who speak a very closely related language, made up around 67% of the Chinese population in 1881, in 1891 the combination of these three groups made up potentially 64.9%, depending on the definition of “Straits-born”, significantly outnumbered those who spoke more divergent languages such as Cantonese by a substantial margin, in 1901 they made up 69.6%, 63.6% in 1911, and 63.1% of the population in 1947. Cantonese speakers climbed slowly from 17.8% in 1881, to 22% in 1947. Other groups such as Hakka speakers were concentrated in certain areas such as Balik Pulau on the western side of the Penang Island.

Not only did the simple majority of the speakers of the three closely related varieties (Peranakan Hokkien, Sinkhek Hokkien and Teochew) ensure

³⁰ Ibid. p. 95.

the dominance of Hokkien, the established social position of the Straits-born Chinese in Penang during those decades was a factor in what kind of Hokkien eventually came to dominate in Penang as the common language. Within the context of Penang, new migrants of a lower social class would be more likely to imitate the speech of their social superiors than the other way around, and since the new migrants did not come in a single wave of migration, it is likely that as time went by, newcomers picked up the speech of the Babas and Nyonyas in its pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary choice as they arrived as a means of common communication, with the final result that the Malay grammatical function words and vocabulary noted above were eventually adopted by all Hokkien speakers for communication outside their own Sinkhek sub-communities, and eventually to some extent (if they spoke Hokkien at home) within their families as well. In occupations that have traditionally been carried out by families of Cantonese or Teochews, the terms for various tools and processes are often known only in these languages, rather than in Hokkien, as the technicalities of the trade are not usually discussed with outsiders³¹. Certain trades have traditionally been monopolised by specific linguistic groups, and this has meant that the technical vocabulary for certain trades is lacking in Hokkien, for example rattan weaving is carried out by Teochews, as is traditional puppetry and opera. Cantonese are often goldsmiths and seal carvers, and many practitioners of Chinese medicine are also Cantonese. Cantonese and Teochew were often kept alive in the home, in certain trades, and in certain areas, whereas Hokkien was used for business and social interactions with those outside, but through daily interactions and their own adoption of Hokkien outside their dialect group, features of their languages have found their way into Penang Hokkien.

³¹ Rattan weaving, for example, was carried out by Teochew families, as was the making of paper houses and flowers for funerals, and when I asked people who had grown up in these trades how to say the names of certain words in Hokkien, they were unable to tell me.

4.1. Influence of Sinkhek Hokkien

Although the Haicheng or Chiang-chiu style of pronunciation and Malay-influenced Hokkien of the Peranakans was eventually adopted by most Chinese in Penang, the influence of other varieties of Hokkien (namely the Amoy and Choan-chiu varieties) is evident in the pronunciation of certain words, particularly in those that belong to what is called the literary or reading pronunciation stratum. Words of this category betray their origins in the speech of later waves of migration from Fujian through their reflection of Choan-chiu or Amoy pronunciations. These are words *sū-sióng* 思想 “ideology, way of thinking”, *chham-siōng* 參詳 “to discuss”, *chūn-liōng* 盡量 “as much as possible”, and *chū-liân* 自然 “naturally”. The majority of Penang Hokkien speakers pronounce these according to sound system of Amoy/Choan-chiu literary readings, rather than the Sam Toh sound system of Chiang-chiu that formed the base of Peranakan Hokkien, as the table below shows:

Table 3. Amoy/Choan-chiu pronunciations in Penang Hokkien

Word	Amoy/Choan-chiu	Chiang-chiu	Penang
參詳 “to discuss”	[ts ^h am siŋ]	[ts ^h am siaŋ]	[ts ^h am siŋ]
思想 “ideology”	[su siŋ]	[su siaŋ]	[su siŋ]
盡量 “as much as possible”	[tsun-liŋ]	[tsin-lian]	[tsun-liŋ]
自然 “naturally”	[tsu lien]	[tsu dzien]	[tsu lien]

The adoption of the Amoy/Choan-chiu literary pronunciations for these words rather than those of Chiang-chiu is evidence of Sinkhek influence in the re-Sinification of Hokkien vocabulary in Penang. Since the Babas had partially abandoned Hokkien for Malay and preferred English education over Chinese, Hokkien words not related to everyday life or typical of more complex sentences or literary constructions had passed out of their vocabulary, and were subsequently reintroduced into Penang Hokkien through the speech of the Chinese-educated Sinkhek, for whom they were still current. Some obsolete Sinkhek pronunciations were recorded by Lo Man Yuk in 1900 in his survey of Chinese street names in George Town, such as Tiuⁿ for the surname 張 (formerly Tioⁿ, now often Tiauⁿ, the name is preserved in the spelling Teoh), and siⁿ 姓 (surname) in place of seⁿ.³²

4.2. The Teochew influence

Another significant component of the Sinkhek population, the Teochew people, also had a strong influence on Penang Hokkien vocabulary, particularly on that which is spoken on the mainland in Province Wellesley, where they constituted just over half of the total Chinese population in 1891³³. As speakers of a closely related language, the Teochew speakers are able to communicate with Hokkien speakers fairly easily after a few vocabulary differences have been mastered, and the large number of speakers of Teochew who arrived from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards resulted in passing down many words distinctive to their dialect into Penang Hokkien. The dialects of Kedah and Province Wellesley, where the Teochew population was proportionally higher tend to have more of these words. Teochew loans into Penang Hokkien can be divided into two groups as follows:

³² Lo Man Yuk, 1900 "Chinese Names of Streets in Penang" *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Singapore, pp. 196-247.

³³ E.M. Mereweather, *Census of the Straits Settlements*, p. 97.

(1) Direct borrowings of vocabulary not found in Hokkien:

khíoh 腳 – a measure word for people, replaces native Hokkien ê 个 in some situations

mé· 猛 – rapid or fast, replaces kín 緊, and khoài 快 in some situations

chha-m̄-to 差忒多 – more or less in place of chha-put-to 差不多, although this may be also be due to Cantonese influence

bô-tùi-phìⁿ 無對片 to be not quite right, a bit fishy, to be a bit odd or a bit out of the ordinary

ngam 啍 – to suit or be right for (Hokkien háh 合, the [33] tone in these borrowings indicates a Teochew, rather than a Cantonese provenance, where the tone would remain higher at [55] pitch

tòa/tò 滯 – used in place of both tī 佇 and tùi 對
khiau poor, alongside Penang Hokkien *bô lui* 無鑼 and replacing *kêng* 窮 which is still known to a few Sinkhek speakers

tu-bó-suiⁿ 豬母霜 – for baby octopus, from the Teochew name of a dish (Babas tend to use sotong)

(2) Pronunciations of words found in Hokkien where the Teochew pronunciation is followed in place of the original Hokkien:

ā-sī 阿是 – if, in place of Hokkien *nā-sī* 若是, used by a significant number of speakers, perhaps less common than *nā-sī*.

eng-gōe 因爲 – because, because of, exhibits the tendency of Teochew to turn final -n into -ng

khóng-pò· 恐怖 – to be frightening, usually pronounced *khiong-pò·* in other varieties of Hokkien, **su-sòk** in place of *su-siòk* 私塾 (a private academy), **khí-hông** in place of *khí-hiông* 起兇 (to get angry), and **kiàn-tok** 建築 in place of *kiàn-tiok* (a building)

māu-hiám 冒險 – adventure, is used in place of *bō-hiám* “adventure”

nâm 南 – south, this may also be due to Mandarin or Cantonese influence,

lâng is also pronounced *nâng* by some speakers as it is in Teochew **náng** or **láng** 咱 – we, us, the first person inclusive pronoun, TW *lán* 咱 **su-iàu** 需要 – to be necessary, in Teochew the *yinping* tone stays a level [44] in its sandhied form, resulting in the pronunciation **sú-iàu**. The words **keng-giām** 經驗, and **chun-kèng** 尊敬 also display this feature, resulting in the forms **kéng-giām** and **chún-kèng** respectively.

wá 我 – I, me, in place of *góa*, this usage is almost universal

4.3. Influence of Cantonese

The Cantonese made up only 15-20% of the population of Penang in the late nineteenth century, but were dominant in certain trades, and were the majority of the population in certain parts of George Town, particularly in areas around Chulia Street and Campbell Street in George Town. Chulia Street is home to the main Cantonese district associations, such as the Phun Yue Association (番禺會館), Cantonese Districts Association (廣州府會館), and Nam Hoi Association (南海會館). As the Cantonese immigrants adopted Hokkien for communication with other groups, features of their speech were carried over into the lingua franca:

(1) Borrowing of grammatical particles

mě· 咩 – question particle indicating slight disbelief, replaces the initial particle *kám* 敢 used in China and Taiwan

wō· 喎 – final particle indicating disapproval or dissatisfaction of someone's actions

(2) Direct borrowing of lexical items, usually specific cultural vocabulary for food or customs

á-má-chê· 阿媽姐 – young girls (mainly in their late teens) who came from Guangxi Province to Malaya in the early part of the twentieth century, to be nannies in wealthier Chinese households

cháp-fān 雜飯 – street food or takeaway food purchased here and there,

food purchased in this way is sometimes referred to as “rubbish” (Cantonese *chaap faan*)

chhà-siu 叉燒 – barbequed pork (Cantonese *ch’a siu*)

chhà-siu--pau 炒燒包 – Chinese steamed bun filled with barbequed pork (Cantonese *ch’a siu pau*)

chiōng-sam 長衫 – a cheong-sam, the traditional close-fitting Chinese dress with a Mandarin collar (Cantonese *cheung saam*)

hām-sáp 鹹澀 – iv. to be lascivious or lewd (Cantonese *haam-sap*)

hō--fán 河粉 – a flat, broad type of rice noodle (Cantonese *ho-fan*)

im--chim 淹尖 – to be fussy, in the sense of always splitting hairs; pedantic (Cantonese *yim tsim*)

kài-lân 芥蘭 – kailan, or Chinese broccoli, a thick-stemmed vegetable, eaten primarily for the crunchiness of the stem (Cantonese *kaai-laan*)

káu--tīm 搞掂 – to sort something out, to get something done, often used for situations where an underhand solution is required, (Cantonese *kaau-tim*)

khěng 傾 – to chat, to discuss or negotiate (first syllable of Cantonese *k’eng-kai*)

ki-thiu 枝抽 – a mile, a fusion of the Hokkien measure word Hokkien *ki* and an old Cantonese word *t’iu-sek* “milestone” 條石: nō· ki-thiu 兩枝抽 two miles

lâm-mô·-lôu 喃嚨佬 – a Taoist priest (Cantonese *naam-mo-lo*) the native Hokkien term *sai-kong* is also used

láp-ap 臘鴨 – a wax-duck, eaten during the Chinese Lunar New Year festivities (Cantonese *laap-ap*)

láp-chhiōng 臘腸 – a Chinese-style sausage (Cantonese *laap ch’eung*)

liōng-fân 涼粉 – grass jelly, the name of a dessert (Cantonese *leung-fan*), the Cantonese loan is preferred in Penang, whereas peninsular varieties of Hokkien prefer the native Hokkien *chháu-kóe*

lūn-chùn 論盡 – to be clumsy (Cantonese *lun-cheun*)

má-thài 馬蹄 – a water chestnut, a water caltrop (Cantonese *ma-t'ai*) also see the (more rarely used) native Hokkien *bé-chî*

phah-tho 撲拖 – to go on a date, to be dating (Cantonese): *kā lāng phah-tho*
共儂撲桃 to be dating

phong 碰 – to add two of one's mahjong tiles to one played by another player to form a run of three tiles of the same sort, also called out when this is done (Cantonese *p'ong*)

pok-kái 仆街 – to run out of money, to be broke, to go bankrupt, usually said of an individual (Cantonese *p'uk kaai* meaning “to fall down dead on the street”)

sék-pán 石斑 – a rock cod or grouper (Cantonese *sek-paan*)

tâ--páu 打包 “to get a take-out or takeaway” (Cantonese *sek-paan*)

tâi--sê 抵死 “it serves you right”

tâi-ī-lông 大耳窿 – a loan shark (Cantonese), also *a-lông*

tāu 竇 – to be stuck up, to be superior, (Cantonese *ko-tau*)

thâi--sôe 睇水 – to keep a lookout whilst criminal activities are going on, so that the perpetrators can make a quick getaway before being discovered (Cantonese *t'ai-sui*); see also *khoàⁿ-chúi* below

wân-than 雲吞 *wantan*

(3) Hokkien words and expressions directly calqued from Cantonese expressions

chhà-jiû-hû 炒鯪魚 – to get the sack, to be fired (Cantonese *ch'au yau yue*)

chut-chi 卒之 – finally (Cantonese *tsoet-chi*)

hó-siaⁿ 好聲 – Carefully (Cantonese *ho-seng*)

jī-gō·kiáⁿ 二五仔 – traitor or snitch, (Cantonese *yi-ng-tsai* 二五仔)

khoàⁿ-chúi 看水 – to be on the lookout for police whilst clandestine activities are going on (Cantonese *t'ai-sui*)

pāi-ke 敗家 – to be profligate, to waste the family fortune (Cantonese *paai-ka*), also pronounced in the original Cantonese as *pāi-kă* (Hokkien *phò-a-ke*)

peh-siâⁿ 八成 – most probably, most likely, literally “eighty percent”

(Cantonese *paat-seng*)

siá-jī-lâu 寫字樓 – office (Cantonese *se-ji-lau*), see also the English loan o-pit
tē-thâu-chôa 地頭蛇 – someone who knows an area particularly well; a locally influential bigwig or gangster (Cantonese *tei-t'au-se*)

(4) Pronunciations of certain words seem to have been influenced by exposure to Cantonese

chhéng-kháu 成交 – a real estate broker, an estate agent (possibly from Cantonese *sing-kaau* with an alteration of the initial consonant) TW *sêng-kau*

chhû-hui 除非 – unless, (TW *tû-hui*)

chhû-liáu 除了 – apart from, aside from, with the exception of, TW *tû-liáu*

kín-chiong 緊張 – to be nervous (TW *kín-tiuⁿ*) the first syllable is Hokkien and the second an approximation of Cantonese *cheung*

kiān-hong 健康 – to be healthy (TW *kiān-khong*), the second syllable is influenced by Cantonese *kin-hung*

kī-sī 幾時 – when (Chiang-chiu *tī-sī* 底時, TW *tang-sī* 當時), the form *tī-sī* is very commonly used, the initial consonant seems to derive from the influence of Cantonese *kei-si* 幾時

ták-piát 特別 – to be special, especially; TW *ték-piát* the original pronunciation is also used by some speakers

Phonological features of Cantonese that have been borrowed into Penang Hokkien are the initial consonant [f] sound, the semi-vowel [w], an extra tone from Cantonese *yinping* with the contour [55] in words such as *khěng* and *mě* that is distinct from the native Hokkien *yinping* with the contour [33], and therefore requires a different tone mark as POJ does not have a mark for this extra tone. The tone patterns of certain compound words are borrowed unchanged, such as *kâu--tīm*, *tâi--sê*, and *hô--fân* where the tones of the first syllable retain a rising tone. If these were Hokkien compound words, the first syllables in the *yangping* tone [24] would all sandhi to [21]. Cantonese loans are

modified, however, as the vowel sound [ø] is not borrowed, it becomes either [io] or [u]. Sentence patterns such as kòe 過 for comparative constructions “I khah koân kòe wá” (伊較懸過我) in place of “I pí wá khah koân” (伊比我較懸) for “He is taller than me” and sentence final seng 先 or thâu-seng 頭先, as in “Hō· i kóng-liáu seng” (與伊講了先), “let him finish speaking first” though this construction may be influenced by Malay constructions with seng as a translation of Malay dulu.

5. Influence of languages of education and media

As languages of education and print, English (since the second half of the nineteenth century) and Mandarin (since the 1920's) have had significant effects on the structure and vocabulary of Penang Hokkien. Until the 1990's, English education was generally preferred by the Peranakan Chinese, and Mandarin education by the Sinkhek. The results of English education and English media saturation meant that technical vocabulary to do with subjects studied at school tended to be known only in English, as well as the names of many things related to technology and modern life:

(1) Some very common verbs that have replaced native constructions entirely:

start [sta:t] I *start* kóng ê-sî “when he started talking”

try [traɪ] Wá m̄-bat *try* kòe “I have never tried it”

check [tseʔ] Wá ē *check* kā lú “I will check with you”

(2) English loans that have entered the language to the point that they are compounded idiomatically with native morphemes, and the native Hokkien words is no longer known by many speakers. A substantial number of them have assimilated to Hokkien pronunciation to the point that they could potentially be written in POJ, but many retain vowel sounds that are foreign to Hokkien. These include words such as:

- ***architect** [a:ki-t^hɛk] TW kiàn-tiòk-su 建築師³⁴
- ***auntie** [an-ti] TW a-i 阿姨
- bag** [bɛ:k] or [bɛ:t] TW tē-á 袋仔 (includes a wallet, called a *lui-bag*)
- bar-girl** [ba:gɜ:] TW chhài-tiám-cha-bó· 菜店查某
- bike** [baɪ?] (motorcycle) TW ki-chhia 機車, ó·-tó·-bái
- brake** [blɛ?] TW tòng-á 擋仔, brei-ki
- bully** [bu-li] TW khi-hū 欺負
- cake** [ke?] TW ke-nāng-ko 雞卵糕
- ***calculator** [kau kiu le tɜ:] TW kè-sng-ki 計算機
- card** [kat] TW miá-phiⁿ, bêng-phiⁿ 名片, khà-phiⁿ 卡片
- check** [tʃɛ?] TW chi-phiò 支票, kiám-cha 檢查, tiau-cha 調查
- chocolate** [tsu-ka-lek] TW chio-ko-lei-to
- company** [kɔŋ paŋ gɛ] 公班衙 (used in the sense of government) cheng-hú 政府
- corner** [kɔ nɜ:] in corner-hóe an indicator light kí-sī-teng 指示燈
- engine** [ɛn dzin] TW hoat-tōng-ki 發動機, én-jín
- form** [fɔ:m] TW hêng 形
- gastank** [ges tɛŋ?] TW iû-tháng 油桶
- gum** [gam] TW ka-chúí 膠水
- licence** [le sɛŋ] TW kà-sú chip-chiàu 駕駛執照
- Makita [ma ki ta] (an angle grinder) TW kak-bôa-ki
- mudguard**, [ma kat] TW thô·-phè-á 塗帕仔
- office** [o pit] TW pān-kong-chhù 辦公處, sū-bū-só· 事務所
- pattern** [pɛ-tɜ:n] (a pattern, but also the characteristics of a person) TW khoán-sek 款式, phín-sèng 品性
- pocket** [po ket] TW tē-á 袋仔
- pump** [paŋ] 泵 TW hong-koàn 風灌
- rubber** [la bɜ:] (in the sense of eraser) TW chhiū-ni chhit-á 樹奶拭仔

³⁴ An asterisk indicates that both the English terms are known and used.

- sideboard** [sai bot] (a dressing table) TW se-chng-tâi 梳妝檯
summons [sam ban] a fine, a parking ticket TW hoát-kim 罰金
sorry [so li] TW sit-lé 失禮
taxi [tek si] 德士 TW kè-thêng-chhia 計程車
tie [tai] TW niá-tòa 領帶
tyre [tai j3:] TW lûn-thai 輪胎
uncle [aŋ-k3:] TW a-peh 阿伯
***work** [w3k] (only in the sense of to work properly) TW kiâⁿ 行

- (3) Entire English phrases at the beginning of sentences (the native expression is in brackets) In some situations Hokkien are replaced by English prepositions in adverbials of time especially *after* [ap-t3:] (...āu; kòe liáu...) and *before* [bī-fō:] (chá...; ...chêng). Hokkien equivalents are also known and understood, but the English often predominates in rapid conversation:

- I mean** [ai mŋ] PH (Wá ê ì-sū sī kóng...);
I think [ai tŋ] PH (Wá siāuⁿ kóng...);
at that time [ɛt dɛt taiŋ] PH (há-lê-sí...);
after that [ap-t3-dɛt] PH (hā-liáu...);
because [bi kot] PH eng-ōe...);
let's say [leʔ-se:] PH nā-sī kóng),
even though [i-bən-dou] (... pún hó; sui-lián)

In addition to the above loan words, there are also examples of the semantic range of Hokkien words coming to mirror those of their English counterparts, for example *Âng-mô* 紅毛 referring not only an English person, but also the English language, where other varieties of Hokkien would demand the suffix *oā* 話 to indicate that a language was being referred to, resulting in sentences such as “I ē-hiáu kóng ang-mô.” (伊會曉講紅毛) for “He can speak English”. The word *Tng-lâng* 唐儂 “ethnic Chinese” also underwent an extension of meaning to mirror the usage of “Chinese” in English, for example “Wá Tng-lâng khó bô-hó” (我唐儂考無好) for “I didn’t do well in my Chinese exam”. In a similar way to

the shift towards Malay described in the 1870's, the number of English phrases used in a Hokkien conversation, especially to begin sentences is especially noticeable in ordinary conversation of those aged under 40.

Mandarin influence on vocabulary and has entered the language through the Chinese education system, and exposure to Chinese media, both of which have had a pervasive influence since the late 1980s. Mandarin loans are mainly limited to the speech of those who have attended Chinese language schooling and therefore only universally known and used amongst younger speakers, as many Penang Chinese did not receive education in Mandarin before the 1990s.

(4) Words calqued from Mandarin by analogy with Hokkien:

tian-náu 電腦 computer, from Mandarin *diànnǎo*

tì-sòā 佇線 online, from PRC Mandarin *zàixiǎn*

bók-ték 目的 aim, from Mandarin *mùdì*

pue-ki 飛機 aeroplane, from Mandarin *fēijī*

A feature of these words-by-analogy is that they often differ from those of other varieties of Hokkien in the choice of character readings. In Chan Boon Kim's works, Chinese characters and romanisation are often provided as cultural notes to the Baba Malay speaking readership, and many of these are in the reading or literary pronunciation of Chinese characters such as *jiok* 肉 and *thou* 頭, which seems to indicate that these pronunciations were known to Chinese-literate Hokkiens. However, when Mandarin replaced Hokkien and other reading pronunciations in the teaching of Chinese characters in the 1920's, the literary readings of Chinese characters were lost to Chinese-educated Hokkien speakers³⁵. The connection of Hokkien to the written Chinese character is often not clear even to those who are Mandarin-educated, but for those who are familiar with

³⁵ Buddhist sutras printed by the Penang Buddhist Association continued to be printed with English-based Romanisation until the 1990s, but are not widely known.

Chinese characters, usually only the colloquial reading of the character is known, meaning that many speakers who feel the wish to attempt a Hokkien rendering of a word that they know from written Mandarin (or from spoken Cantonese) will construct it by analogy with Mandarin by employing the colloquial readings of its composite characters in Hokkien, rather than the literary readings used by other varieties such as Taiwanese. This has produced forms such as pue-ki 飛機 and lāng-chhiaⁿ 人情 for “aeroplane” and “human feeling” rather than the hui-ki and jîn-chheng typical of other varieties, such as Taiwanese.

Ability to create words through knowledge of Mandarin has also introduced an element of Sinocentric pride to the language, where Malay and English loans are looked down upon as evidence of mixed or rojak (fruit salad) Hokkien and many speakers try to concoct what they believe to be a purer form of Hokkien by constructing words by analogy from Mandarin instead, even if such words were never part of the Penang Hokkien vocabulary to start with. Loanwords created by analogy with Mandarin are often difficult to recognize because they blend in well with pre-existing Sinitic vocabulary and are considered to be “authentic” Hokkien vocabulary, even though they may have replaced words that already existed in Penang Hokkien, for instance, words such as Tng-Soaⁿ 唐山 “China” and poe-chûn-po· 飛船埔 “airport” are often replaced by Tiong-kok 中國 and pue-ki-tiâuⁿ 飛機場 that correspond to Mandarin and Cantonese usage.

(5) Direct borrowings in which the Mandarin pronunciation is maintained, or at least approximated. Some of these that originally had Hokkien pronunciations are known to many people only through their Mandarin realisations. Note that the pronunciation of features such as the close front rounded vowel [y] that does not exist in Hokkien, is approximated by its unrounded counterpart [i]:

- Lāu-chū** 老子 (Lao Tzu) from *Lǎozǐ* in place of Ló-chú
Siá--m̄ 廈門 (Amoy) from *Xiàmén* in place of Ē·-m̄i
Hôa--î 華語 (Mandarin) from *Huáyǔ* in place of Hôa-gú
Kuāng-si 廣西 (Guangxi) from *Guǎngxī* in place of Kíng-sai
Phî-tán 皮蛋 (thousand-year egg) from *pídàn*
Chhng-î 成語 (four character expression) from *chéngyǔ*

Direct borrowings of Mandarin pronunciation related to names of Dynasties and famous people in Chinese history are first introduced through the Mandarin education system, and are reinforced through the use of these names in English. Knowledge of the original Hokkien ways to say these names has passed out of general knowledge, if it ever was known in the first place. In addition to these are a great number of direct Mandarin loans for technical terms and words related to education, testing, homework, and so on. Many schools enforce a policy of not allowing any language other than Mandarin to be spoken on the school grounds, and this has led to a rapid drop in the ability of younger Penang Chinese to engage in a conversation in Hokkien on anything other than the most basic of topics.

5.1. Phonological innovations deriving from language contact

Contact with the various languages outlined above has introduced features into the language through the borrowing of vocabulary that do not exist in other varieties of Hokkien, such as:

- (1) From Cantonese, Teochew, and Malay, the semi-vowels [j] and [w] at the onset of syllables such as *sayang*, *wayang*, *kawin*, *wantan*, *wa*.
- (2) new vowel and consonant combinations such as the combination of the close-mid back rounded vowel [o] before [ŋ], such as *kampong*, *tolong*, and [ou] from Cantonese loans such as *lâm-mô-lóu*. This adds the problem of distinguishing the open [ɔŋ] (as used in native Hokkien words such as *ông* 王) from the [oŋ] found in these loans. For writing these

sounds in Penang Hokkien, POJ would require extra sound combinations, such as *ou* and *ung*.

- (3) extra vowel sounds, such as the mid central unrounded vowel [ə] found in loans such as [kə tiaʔ] “armpit” and [kə li] “creepy” (both from Malay), and the open-mid central unrounded vowel in [an-kɜ:] “uncle”, [wɜk] “work” and [la-bɜ:] “rubber” from English.
- (4) extra consonants (from Malay), and [f], as in [kʰi fɔ:m] “to improve one’s form” the initial consonant [d] is found in Peranakan Hokkien (but less obvious in the speech of the Sinkheh) in words such as *adoi*, *daun pandan*, *datuk kong*³⁶, and complex initials in loans like start and try.
- (5) An additional high level tone [55] in Cantonese loans, such as that in *kheng* (to chat) and the final particle *me* plus compound words that do not obey Hokkien tone sandhi rules, such as *tai se* [24-24] where the tone in the first syllable is not sandhied to 21, as it would be in a native Hokkien word.

Some additional features of Penang Hokkien pronunciation are most likely connected to its adoption by speakers of other languages and its recent history of disconnection from Chinese characters. These pronunciation add no new phonological features to the language, but do make certain POJ or Tailo spellings difficult for some native speakers.

- (1) The inability to distinguish the final unreleased [k] (POJ -k) from a final glottal stop [ʔ] (POJ -h) in certain situations. This feature tends to be restricted to the speech of those of non-Hokkien ancestry. Hakkas, Hainanese, Cantonese, in particular have this problem as the final glottal stop does not exist in their native languages. The difficulty of distinguishing these is almost impossible when the difference in vowel quality doesn’t make it obvious, so even if many speakers can distinguish

³⁶ In the language of many Sinkhek, 3 and 4 tend to be approximated by [o] and [ɪ] or [ɪ] respectively

[ok] 學 and [ɔk] 惡, they have more trouble with [ak] 鴨 and [ak] 沃.

- (2) An initial unaspirated [p] in Hokkien morphemes with yangping tones, such as pêng 朋/平 and pâng 房 that has a corresponding aspirated (or fricative) form in Hakka, Cantonese, or Mandarin, often picks up this aspiration in Hokkien, presumably in imitation of the forms in these languages. This results in forms such as [p^hiŋ-ʔiu] 朋友 in place of [piŋ-ʔiu], [p^hiŋ- siɔŋ] 平常 in place of [piŋ-siɔŋ], and [p^haŋ-kiŋ] 房間 in place of [paŋ- kiŋ].
- (3) Elision and assimilation occur especially in the speech of those who are not exposed to any kind of written Chinese. Exposure to written Chinese, in which a written symbol is connected to a certain written character, reinforces the sound of the syllable the character stands for wherever it appears in a word, for example, knowing that the first syllable of [t^hau- kɛ] “boss, towkay” is written with the character 頭 meaning “head” will reinforce the pronunciation of the syllable as [t^hau] in [tau-mɔ] 頭毛 “hair”, whereas in the speech of those who know no written Chinese, [t^hau-mɔ] often becomes [t^ha-mɔ], and the speaker ceases to be aware of the etymology of the word as a compound, and processes [t^ha] as a different morpheme. A similar process can be observed in [tsia lat], which developed from [tsiaʔ lat] 食力 and [lau tsua] from [lau-tsuaʔ] 鬧熱, and [am-mɔ] from [aŋ-mɔ] 紅毛.

5.2. Implications for a writing system

A long history of language contact with multiple languages has created a variety of Hokkien in Penang that is widely divergent from those spoken elsewhere. Extensive borrowing of vocabulary has introduced an array of phonological features unknown in other varieties of Hokkien, and at the same time has introduced a range of problems for those who wish to write it in a systematic way, either with characters or Romanization. For character writing,

Malay and English loanwords in particular are difficult to represent with the Chinese characters used for Taiwanese as they contain syllables and sound combinations that do not exist in that language. Some Malay loans, such as *pún* are simple to represent in characters as characters like 本 or 哖 can accurately represent the syllable, even down to the tone, but loanwords with vowel sounds and consonant clusters unknown in Taiwanese such as *ketiak* and *start* are problematic as no characters exist in the Taiwanese or Hokkien character containing these sounds. Loans from other Sinitic languages such as Cantonese and Mandarin usually have a written form in characters, but to use these results in the addition of alternative pronunciations to a Chinese character often already overburdened as the single representation for various literary and vernacular readings. The character 長 for example, already has six possible readings in Penang Hokkien: *tńg* and *tiáuⁿ* (vernacular readings), *tiāng* and *tiáng* (Chiang-chiu literary readings), as well as *tióng* and *tîong* (Choan-chiu literary readings), and the addition of the Cantonese loan *chhiōng-saam* 長衫 (a *cheongsam*) adds yet another reading *chhiōng*. This loan also creates ambiguity in meaning, as a *cheongsam* and a *tńg-saⁿ* (a long sleeved-ankle length tunic made of printed cotton batik) are written identically in characters as 長衫.

A Romanized writing system would significantly reduce the ambiguity of character writing, but even systems like POJ are slightly problematic because they have trouble accommodating the extra vowels, tones, and the simplification of the tone sandhi system in Penang Hokkien. One example of the problems of using POJ is that the vowel sound [ɜ] used in English loans such as “uncle” “pattern” “bar girl” corresponds closely to the sound of “o” in POJ when read out with a Taiwanese accent, whereas this same “o” in POJ is read as [o] in Penang Hokkien. If POJ or Tailo are to be used unmodified, the two vowel sounds cannot be distinguished in writing. In order to address these problems, the Penang Hokkien Association has promulgated a modification of Tailo which includes representations of many of these extra vowels, but focuses on using this as a notation system for characters rather than promoting it as a replacement script in

itself.

It may be the case that as the majority of younger Hokkien speakers in Malaysia become literate in Mandarin through the education system and more exposed to other varieties of Hokkien (such as Taiwanese) through the media, there will be a shift back to more Sinitic vocabulary in the higher register of Penang Hokkien as people back-translate or borrow from Hokkien in preference to using Malay or English words, for example replacing “start” with *khai-sí* 開始 and *tapi* with *tān-sī* 但是. Exposure to native Sinitic vocabulary through written Mandarin and access to Taiwanese-language entertainment through the internet and satellite TV seems to encourage a purist attitude amongst some proficient speakers of the language, and a perception that Penang Hokkien is somehow inferior because of its Malay loanwords. Over the long term, such attitudes could re-Sinify the language to the point that it is easier to represent in character writing, but they also have the potential to reduce the distinctive character of Penang Hokkien as a creolised variety.

6. Conclusion

It is important to recognise that these loanwords and the complexities they bring with them are not a recent and superficial addition to the spoken language. They have been an integral part of the spoken language of Penang since its formation as a distinct variety, and attempting to exclude them from written representation by imposing a purely character-based script will severely limit the ability to record systematically and accurately how people actually speak Penang Hokkien in their everyday lives. Modification of the spoken language to suit what can be written in Taiwanese or Mandarin is a denial of the history of creolisation that created Penang Hokkien, and delegitimizes it as a distinctive variety. Chinese characters have a cultural prestige but they also severely limit what can be written to mainly Sinitic vocabulary, acting as a barrier to further borrowings from non-Sinitic languages, and resubordinating the language to Taiwanese and Mandarin usages. If writing in Chinese characters is felt to be

absolutely necessary, a mixed script solution along the lines of Robert L Cheng may be in order. If Romanization is preferred perhaps the Vietnamese have the best solution, whereby the loan words from other languages that do not conform to the phonological rules of the language are simply left in their original script or written in an approximation of their pronunciation. For the moment, however standardization of writing is not an issue on the mind of the majority of fluent Penang Hokkien speakers, who instead use idiosyncratic English or Malay-based spelling when they have to write in Hokkien, or simply use technological work-arounds such as voice messaging apps to avoid the issue of writing altogether.

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Article Review:
“In Search of Linguistic Identities in Taiwan:
an Empirical Study”¹

Chheh-phêng:
“Cháu-chhōe Tâi-oân ê jí-giân jīn-tông:
chit-ê sit-chèng giân-kiù”

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“Cháu-chhōe Tâi-oân ê jí-giân jīn-tông: chit-ê sit-chèng giân-kiù” (In Search of Linguistic Identities in Taiwan: an Empirical Study) sī Tō Hong-su 杜方思 (Jean-François Dupré) phok-sū 2013 nî khan-teng tī *To-goân jí-giân kap to-goân bûn-hòa hoat-tián kî-khan* (Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development) tē 34 kî tē 5 hō ê lūn-bûn. Tō Hong-su tī Eng-kok McGill tâi-hák pít-giáp, chú-siu Tang-a giân-kiù, hù-siu pí-kàu chèng-tī; Edinburgh tâi-hák siā-hōe kap chèng-tī giân-kiù (bîn-chòk-chú-gī giân-kiù) sèk-sū; Hiong-káng tâi-hák Chèng-tī kap kong-kiōng hêng-chèng phok-sū. Tō phok-sū bók-chêng sī Ka-ná-tâi Ottawa tâi-hák chèng-tī giân-kiù hák ê

¹ Jean-François Dupré, “In Search of Linguistic Identities in Taiwan: an Empirical Study,” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34.5 (2013), pp. 431-444.

phok-sū-āu gián-kiù. “Cháu-chhōe Tâi-oân ê jí-giân jîn-tông” chit-phiⁿ lūn-bûn sī i tī 2012-2013 nī tī Tâi-oân Tiong-iong-gián-kiù-īⁿ Siā-hōe gián-kiù-só chò phok-sū hóng-bûn hák-oân hoat-piáu ê lūn-bûn.

“Cháu-chhōe Tâi-oân ê jí-giân jîn-tông” chit-phiⁿ lūn-bûn, iōng Tiong-iong gián-kiù-īⁿ Tâi-oân siā-hōe piàn-chhian tiau-cha chu-liāu-khò, tī 2003 nī tiau-cha kiát-kó lâi-té koan-hē tiòh kok-ka jîn-tông pō-hūn ê chu-liāu, thó-lūn Tâi-oân-lâng ê jí-giân jîn-tông kap thāi-tō. Lūn-bûn siūⁿ-beh hōe-tap 3 ê bûn-tê: Tâi-oân-lâng ê jí-giân jîn-tông thāi-tō sī siáⁿ-khoán? Tâi-gí tī kok-ka kap chòk-kûn jîn-tông chit 2 ê gī-tê ê kak-sek sī siáⁿ-khoán? Sú-iōng Tâi-gí kap bô-iōng Tâi-gí ê lêng, tui cheng-tī jîn-tông kám-ū bô-kâng ê só-chāi? 2003 nī ê tiau-cha chu-liāu sui-bóng sī beh 15 tang cheng ê chu-liāu, m̄-koh hit-tang-chūn sī Bîn-chú-chìn-pō-tóng tē-it-kái tī tiong-iong chip-cheng, Tâi-oân siā-hōe tui jí-giân ê thó-lūn chin jiát, ē-tàng tui chia khòaⁿ-chhut hit-tong-sī siā-hōe it-poaⁿ-lâng tui Tâi-gí ê thāi-tō kap siūⁿ-hoat.

Chiam-tui chit 10 kúi-tang chó-iū hák-sút-kài gián-kiù ê kiōng-sek, ū Tân Siok-kiau 陳淑嬌 (2010) thê-chhut Tiong-hôa bîn-kok jí-giân cheng-chhek tui it-poaⁿ-lâng jí-giân sú-iōng ê éng-hióng, í-keng hō chhū-lāi iōng-gí pīⁿ-chiáⁿ Tiong-kok-gí sī chú-liú; Mandy Scott kap Tiuⁿ Hák-khiam 張學謙 (2007) thê-chhut tui siàu-liân-lâng lâi kóng, Tiong-kok hôa-gí ê sú-iōng í-keng bô-hun sī-m̄-sī chiàn-āu í-bîn ê āu-tāi, sú-iōng chiàn-āu chiah tui Tiong-kok thoân-lâi ê Hôa-gí kap sī-m̄-sī jîn-tông Tiong-kok, tui siàu-liân-ke kóng-lâi pēng-bô tit-chiap koan-hē. Tiòh-sng chiàn-āu chiah tui Tiong-kok thoân-lâi ê Hôa-gí m̄-sī in ê bú-gú, mā í-keng pīⁿ-chiáⁿ in ê tē-it iōng-gí. Nā-sī chiam-tui jí-giân kap kok-ka jîn-tông pō-hūn, Siau A-khîn 蕭阿勤 (1997, 2000) jîn-ùi jí-giân kap chòk-kûn jîn-tông tui hiân-tāi Tâi-oân bîn-chòk chú-gī hoat-tián ū tiōng-iàu ê kak-sek; Hō An-koan 賀安娟 (Ann Heylen, 2005) chìn-chit-pō thê-chhut Tâi-gí sī Jit-pún sít-bîn kap Tiong-hôa bîn-kok kài-giâm sī-kí thê-kiong Tâi-oân-lâng tui-kiú lēng-gōa chit-ê hām thóng-tī-chiá bô-kâng ê kok-ka jîn-tông tiōng-iàu mui-kai. Gūi Bí-iâu 魏美瑤 (2003, 2008) hun-sek cheng-tī jîn-bút ê iōng-gí, jîn-ùi hâu-soán-jîn ē chiam-tui bô-kâng ê kok-ka jîn-tông sò-kiú, ū ì-sek lâi sú-iōng Tâi-gí iáh-sī Tiong-kok Hôa-gí; Kò Iú-iú 顧友友 (Yoann Goudin, 2009) chiam-tui chóng-thóng hâu-soán-jîn hun-sek, chìn-chit-pō thê-chhut m̄-koán sī Tiong-kok kok-bîn-tóng iáh-sī Bîn-chú chìn-pō-tóng, tui Tâi-gí iáh-

sī Hôa-gí ê sú-iōng sio-kāng: Tâi-gí chú-iàu sī iōng tī chêng-tī chū-hōe tiūⁿ-bīn iōng-lâi chêng-tī chiù-chōa, Hôa-gí sī bīn-tùi sin-bùn mùi-thé ê iōng-gí; Sin Tâi-tek 申大德 (Todd L. Sandel) hām Niú Khêng-hūi 梁瓊惠 ê thoân-tūi (2006) thê-chhut tī to-chhī tē-khu Tâi-gí sú-iōng kap Tâi-oân jīn-tông pēng-bô siong-koan. Tō phok-sū ê “Cháu-chhōe Tâi-oân ê gí-giân jīn-tông” sī khiā-tī chia--ê giân-kiù sêng-kó téng-bīn, chìn-chít-pō thê-chhut i ê koan-chhat.

Ūi-tiòh beh hun-sek chòk-kùn jīn-tông kap gí-giân ê koan-hē, lūn-bùn iōng 3 ê chí-phiau: (A1) chhù-lâi it-poaⁿ iōng-gí, (A2) chò pē-bú ê òng-bāng kiáⁿ-jī sī-sè ê gí-giân, kap (A3) tùi hák-hāu kàu-hák ê chí-chhī thêng-tō. Chiam-tùi gí-giân kap kok-ka jīn-tông ê hun-sek, lūn-bùn iōng 2 ê chí-phiau: (B1) kóng siáⁿ-mih gí-giân, Hôa-gí iáh-sī Tâi-gí, khah-ē tãi-piáu sī Tâi-oân-lâng; (B2) beh soán siáⁿ-mih gí-giân, Hôa-gí iáh-sī Tâi-gí, chò Tâi-oân ê koaⁿ-hong gí-giân. Chiam-tùi chhù-lâi iōng-gí kap chêng-tī piáu-hiân pō-hūn, lūn-bùn thó-lūn: (C1) kok-ka jīn-tông (jīn-tông tùi-siōng sī Tâi-oân-lâng, Tiong-kok-lâng, iáh-sī 2 ê lóng-sī), (C2) kok-ka chiân-tō (kah-ì ê Tâi-oân chêng-tī tē-ūi sī hoat-lí siōng ê tók-líp, ūi-chhī hiân-chōng [sit-chè tók-líp m̄-koh hoat-lí siōng bô-sng], iáh-sī hām Tiong-kok thóng-it), (C3) chêng-tóng chi-chhī tùi-siōng (“phian-lèk” iáh-sī “phian-nâ” ê chêng-tóng) chit 3 ê gī-tê.

Lūn-bùn giân-kiù chiam-tùi Tâi-gí pō-hūn ê hoat-hiân: (A1) Tâi-gí lāng (lūn-bùn lâi-té iōng “Hok-kiân-lāng - Fukienese”), kan-ta ū 61.4% tī chhù-lâi ē-iōng Tâi-gí, kī-tha tōa-to-sò m̄-sī iōng Hôa-gí tiòh-sī thàu-lām Hôa-gí, (A2) nā-sī kóng--tiòh òng-bāng ka-kī gín-á kap ka-kī kóng siáⁿ-mih gí-giân, Tâi-gí lāng kan-ta ū 59.7% soán Tâi-gí, 3 siáⁿ ê Tâi-gí-lāng āu-tāi keng-jiân soán Hôa-gí. Nā-sī pí-kàu Tâi-gí lāng ū 14.6% ê chhù-lâi iōng-gí sī Hôa-gí, án-ne tiòh-sī piáu-sī koh-ū chhiau-kòe 1 pōe í-siōng ê lāng òng-bāng ka-kī ê gín-á m̄-thang hām ka-kī kóng Tâi-gí, ài kóng Hôa-gí. Chit-ê kiát-kó, m̄-nā tãi-piáu pí-khí Tâi-oân kī-tha gí-giân jīn-kháu, Tâi-gí lāng tùi ka-kī ê gí-giân thoân-sêng siōng-bô tiōng-sī, mā piáu-sī in kī-sit iáu-sī chú-tōng kā ka-kī āu-tāi sak-chò Hôa-gí jīn-kháu. (A3) Hák-hāu kám-ū su-iàu kà Tâi-oân pún-thó gí-giân? Tâi-gí lāng ū 84.4% kóng ài. Nā-sī chiàn-āu Tiong-kok í-bīn kap in āu-tāi kan-ta ū 52.2% kóng ū-su-iàu. Siāng chek-kék ê sī Lâm-tó-gí-chòk kap Kheh-ka, lóng chhiau-kòe 84.4%.

Tē-jī pō-hūn chiam-tùi gí-giân kap kok-ka jīn-tông ê gī-tê, lūn-bùn hun-sek kiát-

kó sī tong-sī Tâi-oân it-poaⁿ-lâng jîn-ûi sī-m̄-sī Tâi-oân-lâng hām chū-ngó jîn-tông siōng-ū koan-hē, chiàm 92.3%, kî-tha hun-piát sī: chun-tiōng Tâi-oân ê chè-tō kap hoat-lút (91.6%), sī Tâi-oân ê kok-bîn (80%), it-seng tōa-pō-hūn tōa-tī Tâi-oân (73.5%), ē-hiáu kóng “Kok-gí” (59.5%), ē-hiáu kóng Tâi-gí (53.2%), chók-sian sī Tâi-oân-lâng (51.3%), tī Tâi-oân chhut-si (33.9%), ē-hiáu kóng Kheh-gí (25.2%) téng-téng. Tùi chit-ê tiau-cha kiat-kó ê phó-phiàn kái-sek sī: tong-sī Tâi-oân it-poaⁿ-lâng jîn-ûi sī-m̄-sī Tâi-oân-lâng, kiōng-tiâu ê sī kong-bîn chè-tō chham-ú kap jîn-tông, m̄-sī chók-sian, chhut-si, gí-giân, bûn-hòa chit-hong-bîn ê chí-phiau.

Thóng-kè sò-jī kap Tâi-gí siōng-koan ê pō-hūn, sī (B1) kóng siáⁿ-mih gí-giân khah-ē tãi-piáu sī Tâi-oân-lâng: Hôa-gí (59.5%) kèng-jiân koan kòe Tâi-gí (53.2%). Hun-sek lâi-bîn ê chók-kûn pōe-kéng, kiōng-tiâu Tâi-oân-lâng ài ē-hiáu kóng Hôa-gí: Lâm-tó-gí-chók siōng koan, ū 90.3%, Tâi-gí lâng siōng kē, kan-na 55.2%, chiàn-āu Tiong-kok í-bîn kap in āu-tãi chiàm 63.4%. Nā-sī kiōng-tiâu Tâi-oân-lâng ài ē-hiáu kóng Tâi-gí: Tâi-gí lâng siōng chi-chhî, m̄-koh mā-sī kan-ta 58.4%, pí kiōng-tiâu Tâi-oân-lâng ài ē-hiáu kóng Hôa-gí ê pí-lē (55.2%) koan bô-gōa-chē. Chiàn-āu Tiong-kok í-bîn kap in āu-tãi siōng-bô chi-chhî Tâi-oân-lâng ài ē-hiáu kóng Tâi-gí, m̄-koh ke-kiám mā-ū 39% lâi tau-ō-ian. Thóng-kè sò-jī lâi-té ê mê-kak sī Tâi-oân-lâng ài ē-hiáu kóng Kheh-gí (25.2%), pí Kheh-lâng sit-chè siōng ê jîn-kháu pí-lē 15% koh-khah koan. Tō phok-sū ê kái-sek sī che-sī tãi-piáu hit-tang-chūn Tâi-oân it-poaⁿ bîn-chiòng chi-chhî siá-hōe-siōng ài ū to-goân gí-giân ê sim-thài.

Nā-sī m̄ng--tiòh (B2) beh soán siáⁿ-mih gí-giân chò Tâi-oân ê koaⁿ-hong gí-giân: Tiong-kok Hôa-gí (60.4%) tōa-tōa iáⁿ-kòe Tâi-gí (23.5%). Hun-sek lâi-té ê chók-kûn in-sò: Tâi-gí lâng ū 52.1% mā tòe-leh chi-chhî Hôa-gí, tian-tó kan-na chhun 32.4% túg--lâi chi-chhî Tâi-gí. Lēng-gōa koh-ū 11.8% soán-tèk koaⁿ-hong gí-giân mài kan-na tēng chit-ê. Siōng-tùi pí-kàu chi-hā, Chiàn-āu Tiong-kok í-bîn kap in āu-tãi siōng chi-chhî Tiong-kok-ōe chò koaⁿ-hong gí-giân, chiàm beh 9 siáⁿ ê jîn-kháu. Che tãi-piáu Tâi-oân it-poaⁿ tãi-chiòng tùi gí-giân ê thài-tō sī chiap-siū Tiong-hôa bîn-kok chō-sēng ê hiān-chōng, kè-siok chiap-siū Tiong-kok-ōe. Chok-chiá ê kái-sek sī hit-tang-chūn Tâi-oân it-poaⁿ siá-hōe tãi-chiòng í-keng kā pún-thó gí-giân tòng-chò sī su-té-hā sú-iōng ê chók-kûn chu-sán, m̄-sī tãi-bîn siōng ê kong-kiōng iōng-gí.

Hun-sek chu-liāu mā kóng-chhut Tâi-gí lāng tui gí-giân ê thâi-tō siāng sio-tâh-thut, chit-hong-bīn kóng hâk-hāu kàu-iòk ài ū bú-gú kàu-hâk, lēng-gōa chit-hong-bīn tian-tó mā-sī siāng-bô chi-chhî ka-kī kiáⁿ-jī sī-sè kóng Tâi-gí, óh Tâi-gí.

Chiam-tùi chhù-lāi iōng-gí kap kok-ka jīn-tông, kok-ka chiân-tô, cheng-tóng chi-chhî tui-siōng ê hun-sek, lūn-būn kan-ta keng chō-sian sī kóng Tâi-gí ê jīn-kháu lâi thó-lūn. Hun-sek kiat-kó sī: (C1) Tī chhù-lāi kóng-ōe iōng Tiong-kok Hôa-gí, ē óa tui ka-kī sī Tiong-kok ê kok-ka jīn-tông; chhù-lāi nā-sī kóng Tâi-gí, tiòh ē khah óa Tâi-oân ê kok-ka jīn-tông. (C2) Kok-ka chiân-tô pō-hūn, nā-sī iōng ùi-chhî hiān-chōng (sit-chè tòk-lip m̄-koh hoat-lí siōng bô-sūng) chò pí-kàu, chhù-lāi ōe sī Tâi-gí, tui hām Tiong-kok thóng-it siāng bô chi-chhî. (C3) Ê tī chhù-lāi kóng Tâi-gí, tui cheng-tóng chi-chhî pēng-bô chám-jīn ê koan-hē, tian-tó sī sèng-piát iáh-sī kàu-iòk pōe-keng khah-ū koan-hē. Kán-tan kóng, Sú-iōng Tâi-gí tui Tâi-oân kok-ka jīn-tông, kok-ka chiân-tô ū chiáⁿ-bīn ê éng-hióng, m̄-koh tui cheng-tóng chi-chhî bô siuⁿ tōa chha-piát.

“Cháu-chhōe Tâi-oân ê gí-giân jīn-tông” chit-phiⁿ lūn-būn siāng-tōa ê kóng-hián, sī tiám-chhut Tâi-gí sú-iōng tī Tâi-oân kok-ka jīn-tông lâi-té ê koan-kián tē-ūi, mā phò-tū it-poaⁿ chú-liú m̄i-thé iáh-sī siā-hōe tãi-chiòng só-siūⁿ, siūⁿ-kóng Tâi-gí sú-iōng kap cheng-tóng chi-chhî ū siōng-koan, kī-sit pēng-bô koan-liân. Í-sù sī: kóng Tâi-gí ê lāng bô-it-tēng chi-chhî siā-hōe chú-liú só jīn-ūi ê phian-lèk pún-thó cheng-tóng, m̄-koh kóng Tâi-gí ê lāng ki-pún-siōng khah-ē chi-chhî Tâi-oân kok-ka jīn-tông, hoán-tui Tiong-kok pēng-thun Tâi-oân. Lūn-būn lēng-gōa ê kóng-hián sī tiám-chhut Tâi-gí lāng tui ka-kī gí-giân ê jīn-tông kap sit-chè sú-iōng chin-ū bûn-tê. Sī chō-sēng Tâi-gí chiām-chiām liú-sit ê goân-in chi-it.

M̄-koh, chiam-tui chin-chē Tâi-oân-lāng ūi-siáⁿ-mih bô chi-chhî Tâi-gí chò koaⁿ-hong gí-giân, iáh-sī Tâi-oân-lāng sin-hūn jīn-tông ê tiōng-iàu chí-phiau, lūn-būn chhái-iōng ê kái-sek siuⁿ-kòe chú-liú: kan-ta kóng che-sī hoán-èng-chhut hit-tang-chūn it-poaⁿ siā-hōe tãi-chiòng ê to-goân bûn-hòa sim-thài, só-í ū chhiau-kòe jīn-kháu pí-lē ê lāng chi-chhî Kheh-gí; iáh-sī Tâi-gí lāng ê sit-iōng sim-thài, hō Hôa-gí ê chi-chhî pí-lē chhiau-kòe Tâi-gí. Lūn-būn pēng-bô tiám-chhut tī 50 gōa-ní ê Tiong-hôa-bîn-kok bûn-hòa thé-chè ē-kha, hit-tong-sī it-poaⁿ tãi-chiòng tui Tâi-gí í-keng ū giām-tiōng ê siā-hōe gí-giân koân-kē (diglossia) ì-sek hēng-thài. Tâi-gí í-keng khi hông tòng-chò sī kē-lō, chhō-siòk

ê iōng-gí, sīm-chì pí Kheh-gí ê siā-hōe tē-ūi koh-khah báí. Tâi-gí lāng sui-bóng kóng sī chiām siōng-chē ê choát-tùi to-sò, m̄-koh in ê “chók-gí oáh-lát” (ethnolinguistic vitality), tī cheng-tī, bûn-hòa, thé-chè chi-chhî téng-téng lóng-sī jiók-sè, kan-ta sī jîn-kháu siōng-chē. Chit-ê ūi-it ê iu-sè tian-tó koh khi hō Tiong-hôa-bîn-kok cheng-hú thêh-lâi ut-áu, bû-lōa chò sī ap-pek chiá. Ūi-it ê chit-tiám iu-sè soah piàn chò goân-chōe. Siū-tiòh chit-ê kiát-kò sèng ê éng-hióng, Tâi-oân-lāng soah hoat-tián chhut bô tiōng-sī Tâi-gí ê sim-thài, soah ká gí-giân tòng-chò bûn-tê (language-as-problem), lâi chhui-sak siau-kèk ê to-goân gí-giân bûn-hòa cheng-chhek, m̄-sī ká Tâi-gí khòaⁿ-chò sī koân-lī (language-as-right) iah-sī chu-goân (language-as-resource).² Tī chit-ê Tiong-hôa-bîn-kok ê kiát-kò sèng bûn-tê kap hiân-chú-sī Tâi-oân-lāng ê sim-thài iah-sī chok-ūi chí-kan, lán ài ū chìn-chit-pō ê phoe-phòⁿ su-khó.

Tù-liáu téng-bīn só-kóng í-gōa, lūn-bûn ê hun-sek bô-kàu súi-khùi ê só-chāi, mā-ū sī ín-iōng ê chu-liáu-khò siat-téng bûn-tê. Chhan-chhiūⁿ sī Tâi-oân-lāng iah-sī Tiong-kok-lāng chit-ê soán-tèk, tiòh bô kò-lū tiòh lēng-gōa chit-ê sng-sī bōng-bū ê tē 3 soán-tèk: **Hôa-jîn**. Tâi-oân-lāng it-poaⁿ bô-ài hō lāng tòng-chò Tiong-kok-lāng ê chhu-sè sī lú-lâi-lú bēng-hián, m̄-koh tui hō lāng tòng-chò Hôa-jîn pēng-bô it-téng ē pài-thek. Tèk-piát sī Tâi-oân kài-giām liáu-āu, chú-liū mui-thé kap hák-sút-kài lâi-té tui kài-giām sī-kí lāu-lólh-lâi ê thoân-thóng bûn-kho chò-hóe kiōng-tiāu Tâi-oân-lāng sī Hôa-jîn, ka-siōng Bîn-chú chìn-pō-tóng tē-it-ê chò Tiong-hôa-bîn-kok chóng-thóng ê Tân Chú-i-piⁿ kong-khai chheng-hō ka-kí sī Hôa-jîn í-āu, Tâi-oân-lāng chiām-chiām chiap-siū ka-kí sī Hôa-jîn chit-ê khai-liām, mā chìn-chit-pō chū-ngó téng-gī, ká Tiong-kok-lāng téng-gī chò cheng-tī sin-hūn, Hôa-jîn téng-gī chò bûn-hòa sin-hūn. M̄-koh, m̄-koán sī Tiong-kok-lāng iah-sī Hôa-jîn, kī-sit tui-gōa kóng--lâi lóng-sī Chinese chit-ê khai-liām. Kóng Tâi-gí ê lāng án-nóa khòaⁿ Hôa-jîn chit-ê bōng-bū iū-koh hoe-hoe ê sin-hūn, kī-sit sī lán ài koan-sim ê gī-tê. In-ūi Hôa-jîn ê sin-hūn jîn-tōng khan-kháp tiòh it-poaⁿ-lāng tui Tiong-hôa bîn-kok kok-gí ê thāi-tō, tèk-piát sī Tâi-oân-lāng khai-sí chiām-chiām ká “kok-gí”

² Tui hák-sút-kài án-nóa thó-lūn siā-hōe it-poaⁿ tãi-chiōng gí-giân thāi-tō kap cheng-hú gí-giân cheng-chhek chí-kan ê koan-liân ū hêng-chhū ê thak-chiá, ē-sái chìn-chit-pō chham-khó Tiuⁿ Hák-khiam kàu-siū lūn-bûn lâi-té ê siāu-kài. 張學謙，〈台灣語言政策變遷分析：語言人權的觀點〉。《台東大學人文學報》，4.1（2013）：45-82。

tòng-chò Hôa-gí khòaⁿ-thāi. M̄-koh, lán ài chù-ì ê sī Hôa-gí kap Hôa-jîn chit 2 ê miâ-sū sī tī Tang-lâm-a ê lék-sú pōe-kéng hoat-tián chhut--lái ê. Tū-liáu Sin-ka-pho í-gōa, tī hia pēng-bô chit-ê kok-ka iáh-sī cheng-hú leh chhui-sak Hôa-gí, sīm-chì sī iōng siau-biát, boah-σ goân-pún chāi-tē kiōng-tōng-gí ê hong-sek lái chhui-sak Hôa-gí. Tī Tang-lâm-a Hôa-gí sī siong-tùi jiòk-sè ê gí-giân, kap Tiong-hôa-bîn-kok kok-gí tī Tâi-oân hióng-siū tiòh ê koân-lī kap choát-tùi iu-sè ê tē-ūi sī bē pí ê. Tâi-oân-lâng hiông-hiông ká Tiong-hôa-bîn-kok kok-gí tòng-chò Hôa-gí tui-thāi, chit-khai-sí tiòh hoân-tiòh ká Tiong-hôa-bîn-kok kok-gí tī bûn-hòa hū-hō téng-bîn tū-chōe-hòa ê chhò-ngō, sīm-chì chō-sêng tī sít-chè gí-giân cheng-chhek chē-tēng iáh-sī sú-iōng sī, sim-lí siōng tiòh tui Tiong-hôa-bîn-kok kok-gí sim lōh-nng ê hâu-kó. Só-í kóng, sêng-jîn Hôa-jîn sin-hūn sī-m̄-sī ē ka-kiōng Tâi-oân-lâng tui Hôa-gí ê chiap-siū theng-tō, tát-tit lán su-khó kap kéng-kak.

Nā-sī chiam-tùi lūn-bûn ê gián-kiù hoat-hiān, chhin-chhiūⁿ Tâi-gí lāng ná-ē pí Kheh-lāng iáh-sī Lâm-tó-gí-chòk pōe-kut, bē tiōng-sī ka-kī sian-chó gí-giân ê āu-tāi thoân-sêng, siūⁿ beh m̄ng goân-thâu sī siáⁿ? Tō phok-sū tī i 2017 nī chhut-pán ê sin-chheh ū thê-kiōng chit-pò-hūn sng-sī siòk-tī kiát-kò sèng ê kái-sek.³ Ū chhù-bī ê thák-chiá ē-tàng chìn-chit-pō khi tui-kiù.

Kám-siā

Kám-siā kok-lip Tâi-tang tãi-hák Tiuⁿ Hák-khiam kàu-siū chiam-tùi chho-kó thê-kiōng ê pó-kùi ì-kiàn.

Thók-chiá hô-èng

Jīm-hô phoe phêng chí-kàu, hoan-gêng email: kang@mail.ndhu.edu.tw, Khng Pôe-tek siu.

3 Jean-François Dupré, Culture Politics and Linguistic Recognition in Taiwan: Ethnicity, National Identity, and the Party System (London: Routledge, 2017). ISBN 978-1138643178



Book Review: THE ODYSSEY OF TAIWANESE SCRIPTS

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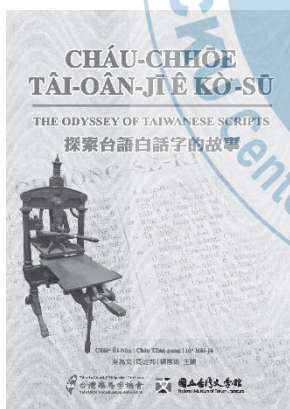
台灣人ê文化強心劑：
《Cháu-chhōe Tâi-oân jī ê kò-sū》

林裕凱

真理大學通識教育中心

Jū-khái LĪM

Center for General Education, Aletheia University



Chit-kú ê台灣人pháng普遍ê認為國字iah是繁(正)體中文字tiòh是台灣通行ê文字, che kám是台灣字? Lán beh án-chóa"認定台灣字leh? 讀者汝心內kám有清楚ê答案kap i ê樣相? Lán chia講1 ê簡單ê要緊事項, chit ê文字kám ē-tàng kā lán台灣ê語言寫落來? Che kám m̄是siōng直接siōng明白ê意思leh? Lán知影漢字tī漢字文化圈nih, 一直是統治者ê統治工具, 1種書面書寫系統, 非口語, 也m̄是常民使用ê文字, koh lóng liáh統治者ê語言做標準來選用漢字, 所致字音字義不時變換/增加/無標準化, 也根本無leh處理常民白話書寫ê需求, 因此漢字無法度寫出任何1種語言。照án-ne khòa"中文字iah是有人khah愛講he漢字, 事實i tiòh無符合chit ê資格ah。

Ah nā án-ne台灣字, tī tá-lòh? Kàu kah當今21世紀ah, lán台灣人iáu tiòh koh leh走chhōe? 就算國家台灣文學館自2008年舉辦《愛、疼、惜》台語文學展

覽kap舊年《講lán ê故事》白話字展覽，台灣人普遍iáu是m̄知影台灣字。Hia-ê苦心chhui排ê展覽，時間kàu tiòh ài拆sak，bē-tàng一直排設落去，chit-chūn換khng網路，是講lán人nā m̄知有台灣字ê，mā是bē曉去chhōe。Kā展覽內容整理做書面資料，koh kah學術文章連結tiòh是chit本冊ê目的thang達tiòh保存kap流通ê功能。Chit本冊分做2部分，頭前是蔣為文教授ê 2篇相關論文，第二部分是東南亞福建話羅馬字文物資料展示。

Chhiūⁿ lán頂面所講ê，tī論文nih tiòh有jú詳細kap嚴格ê論述，koh kā台灣羅馬字ê歷史對17世紀荷蘭時期sak，新港文書ê Siraya語ê羅馬字是台灣字ê開始，kàu kah 19世紀初（差不多200 tang前）iáu有人用tī正式文件，sòa接英國人設計ê白話字，一直kàu taⁿ（150 tang），台語白話字離開宗教用途，行入民間成做台語書寫主流，形成雖bóng粗胚m̄-koh有頭有尾ê台灣白話字史觀。有kā台灣ê白話羅馬字ê發展過程分會清楚，按東南亞ê唐人開始，反傳回福建、廣東。因此，蔣為文提出2 ê重要ê論述：第一、羅馬字是台灣白話文學ê開基祖，tiòh看hō i tiòh人，lán台灣人，尤其文學界ê學者jú m̄-thang因為ka-kī m̄-bat白話字文學tiòh錯認台灣白話文源頭，第二、台語羅馬字也就是台語白話字，歷經時代演進kap歷史事件造成ê變遷，tī台灣ê發展已經成做世界ê重要無形文化資產。

Lán台灣人kám ē曉珍惜 ka-kī ê文化？知影、了解是感情ê起步，lán chit本冊ē-tàng hō lán小khóa深入了解台灣人經歷過ê重要語文書寫變遷。了解台灣，了解台語，了解ka-kī真正ê文化源頭，接受ka-kī ê文化源頭，chiah thang來講愛台灣。

Kā母（台）語教育放外外甚至pháiⁿ面chhiuⁿ sio看，che是chit-má台灣人普遍ê反形，實在是真悲情koh苦惱ê tāi-chì。Lán台灣人m̄是m̄-bat字koh kiam無衛生lioh，是lán遭受政治ê二二八，社會精英文化一時斷截，接sòa文化hō KMT政權kā i phah kah消phiaⁿ，koh毒害 kàu taⁿ造成，台灣本土ê母語soah lóng強beh火hoa去，chit本冊，bē輸lán台灣人ê強心劑，tiòh thàn beh救iáu-ē赴ê時緊來讀。

讀者回應

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《台語研究》徵稿啟事

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