

Contents 目錄

The Pêh-ōe-jī romanization, evangelicalism, and knowledge transmission in Taiwan <i>Huang-Lan SU</i> 〈Pêh-ōe-jī tī 台灣早期ê福音傳道kah智識傳播〉蘇鳳蘭	4
A syntactic study of hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) 'contrarily' and tian-tò 'contrarily' in Taiwanese <i>Chia-chen LIU</i> 〈台語「反倒轉(來)」kap「顛倒」ê語法研究〉劉佳箴	40
“Ùi Đam San sú-si kap koat-chiàn Siraya khòa ⁿ Tâi-oân hām Oát-lâm eng-hiông kò-sū ê sio-siāng kap bô-kāng” Tuấn Anh PHAN & Văn Hiển HOÀNG Similarities and differences between heroes' stories from Taiwan and Vietnam <i>Tuấn Anh PHAN & Văn Hiển HOÀNG</i>	70
Chheh-phêng: “CHIÀN HÓE JÍN SENG” Tì-têng TĒ ⁿ Book Review: DINGANG THE GIAN <i>Tì-têng TĒⁿ</i>	92



ISSN 2076 3611



9 772076 361002 03



Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù
台語研究

Vol.11, No.1, March 2019



Tâi-lâm, TAIWAN

Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

Tâi-gí Gián-kiù 台語研究

Vol.11, No.1, March 2019

諮詢顧問 Advisory Board

Đoàn Thiện Thuật
(越南國家大學語言系退休)

Jerold Edmondson
(U. of Texas at Arlington, USA (Emeritus))

John Edwards
(St Francis Xavier University & Dalhousie
University, Canada)

三尾裕子 (日本慶應義塾大學)
吉川雅之 (日本東京大學)

呂興昌 (國立成功大學台灣文學系退休)
李勤岸 (國立台灣師範大學台文所退休)

村上嘉英 (日本天理大學中國語系退休)
林修澈 (國立政治大學民族系)

姚榮松 (國立台灣師範大學台文所退休)
施正鋒 (國立東華大學民族學院)

施炳華 (國立成功大學中文系退休)
洪惟仁 (國立台中教育大學台語系退休)

康培德 (國立東華大學台灣文化學系)

張裕宏 (國立台灣大學語言所退休)

張學謙 (國立台東大學華語系)

莊永山 (國立高雄師範大學英語系退休)

董忠司 (國立新竹教育大學台語所退休)

趙順文 (國立台灣大學日文系退休)

鄭良偉 (美國夏威夷大學東亞語文系退休)

謝菁玉 (國立成功大學外文系)

主編 Editor-in-Chief

蔣為文 Wi-vun Taiffalo CHIUNG
(國立成功大學台灣文學系)

編輯委員 Editorial Board

方耀乾 (國立台中教育大學台文系)

張宏宇 (高苑科技大學外文系)

酒井亨 (日本公立小松大學)

簡華麗 (Oslo U. C., Norway)

Hiro Ota (U. of Hawaii at Manoa, USA)

英文編輯 English editor

Vivian T. Su

行政編輯 Administrative editor

潘秀蓮

出版者 Publishers

國立成功大學台灣語文測驗中心 &
Asian Atsiu International

訂閱 Subscription

國內機關團體一年兩期：NT2,000

國內個人一年兩期：NT1,000

Please refer to subscription form for
international subscription fees.

Abstracting & Indexing

本期刊收錄於 ACI, CEPS, TCI

電子版本 Electronic journal

<http://www.airitilibrary.com>

版權保留，若無出版者之書面同意，bē-sái 用任何形式 kap 工具來再造
本刊內容。

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any
form or by any means without permission in writing from the publishers.

Copyright © NCKU CTLT & Asian Atsiu International

The Pêh-ōe-jī romanization, evangelicalism, and knowledge transmission in Taiwan 4

Huang-Lan SU

〈Pêh-ōe-jī tī 台灣早期ê福音傳道kah智識傳播〉蘇鳳蘭

A syntactic study of hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) ‘contrarily’ and tian-tò ‘contrarily’ in Taiwanese 40

Chia-chen LIU

〈台語「反倒轉(來)」kap「顛倒」ê語法研究〉劉佳箴

“Ùi Đam San sú-si kap koat-chiàn Siraya khòa” Tâi-oân hām Oát-lâm eng-hiông kò-sū ê sio-siāng kap bô-kâng” 70

Tuấn Anh PHAN & Văn Hiển HOÀNG

Similarities and differences between heroes’ stories from Taiwan and Vietnam

Tuấn Anh PHAN & Văn Hiển HOÀNG

Chheh-phêng: 92

“CHIÀN HÓE JĪN SENG” Tì-têng TĒⁿ

Book Review:

DINGANG THE GIAN

Tì-têng TĒⁿ

Pèh-ōe-jī tī 台灣早期ê福音傳道 kah智識傳播

蘇鳳蘭

國立台東大學

Tiah-iàu

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

關鍵詞：白話字、羅馬字、福音傳道、智識傳播、台語

The P^h-ōe-jī romanization, evangelicalism, and knowledge transmission in Taiwan

Huang-Lan SU

National Taitung University

Abstract

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

Keywords: P^h-ōe-jī, romanization, evangelicalism, knowledge transmission, Tàì-gî

1. Introduction: the Early Romanization and Evangelicalism in Taiwan

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

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

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

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

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

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

in Chinese script². Converts learned POJ so that they could read Scripture and church-disseminated brochures and booklets at home, with the aid of a dictionary if necessary. Having the congregations themselves read the church's writing lightened the burden of overworked clergymen's travel back and forth in the plains and mountain areas.³

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2015), published in Macao by the East India Company Press in 1832.⁶

To encourage more people to read the Scriptures and other types of religious texts in Medhurst's romanization⁷, John Van Nest Talmage (1819-1892) (Fagg 2004:106) and his Christian colleagues restructured POJ with seventeen letters representing consonants and vowels, and several tonal markers to transliterate the Amoy language, a type of language close to the Taiwanese language⁸. They

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

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

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

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

As Carstairs Douglas (1830-1877) observed, after several years in overseas missions, missionaries were still struggling with Chinese characters and the Amoy language. The later is linguistically very different from Mandarin Chinese. He suggested that missionaries concentrated on learning the Amoy language. A POJ version of the Bible was therefore a welcome invention for missionaries, who found it useful for helping them master the local language much faster, and for the use of local illiterates who did not know the first thing about how to read Chinese characters. POJ was successfully popularized among the Amoy missionaries and their churches because they could all skip the tough process of learning Chinese script and begin to read a transliteration of the Amoy language. Regardless of whether Douglas' understanding of the Amoy language was recognized¹⁰, the Formosan missionaries found his dictionary to be a great help in the study of POJ and actually purchased three copies of it in their early periods of studying the Taiwanese language¹¹. Rev. Douglas' argument demonstrates the hardships that missionaries experienced in their struggle to learn Chinese script and the hope that using a simpler written format, i.e. POJ, furthered their evangelical work.

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

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

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

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

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

In addition to his hospital work, the medical missionary Dr. Maxwell prioritized teaching POJ as a common writing and reading medium for Taiwanese converts¹³. It was the most urgent service in the Formosan mission. The British

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

missionaries learned the colloquial written format several months before they arrived in Taiwan. They usually stayed in Amoy with senior colleagues in order to get themselves acquainted with local languages and the missionary culture in China. They found reading the Chinese Bible was too challenging for converts who were illiterate in Chinese characters¹⁴. Public readings of the Scriptures could only temporarily attract irregular listeners who had no opportunity to read the Gospel for themselves. The ability to read and write facilitated the process of spreading knowledge of the Gospel. POJ made the mission work more effective since it enabled missionaries to speak and study with potential converts in the converts' native language. With prayers and hymns written in Roman letters, people who "were ignorant of the language (meaning Chinese script) were able to join with the natives in singing the psalms in their own language during the evening service."¹⁵

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

3. Knowledge Transmission

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

¹⁴ The London Mission Society published the Chinese New Testament in High Wenli in the Delegates version in the 1850s in Shanghai and Canton.

¹⁵ Formosa, *EPM*, December 1, 1874, p.296.

¹⁶ The Close of 1880 at Ka-gi, Formosa, *EPM*, April 1, 1881, pp.63-65.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1. The First Newspaper in Taiwan

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

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

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

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

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

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

POJ...(author's translation)¹⁹

The promotion of POJ obviously was not a rejection of using characters (called *khóng-chú-jī*, Confucius' words, in the newspaper)²⁰. Barclay's opening statement in *Taiwan Church News* clearly indicates that he believed POJ was beneficial for learning Chinese characters for all groups of people²¹. POJ language education was not designed to exclude the Chinese literates. As missionaries were primarily concerned with the linguistic needs of the common people, Barclay's goal was to see that Taiwanese Christians could read the Bible in their homes without the aid of a pastor. POJ was a new language tool to increase the natives' ability to read the Bible and later Chinese script. Barclay urged people not to look down on POJ and thus he invited everyone, regardless of their sex or age, to learn POJ.²²

¹⁹ TCN, July 1885, p.1. "Goán kòe-lâi chit-pêng sī in-ūi ài thoân Thian-kok ê tō-lí...só-í goán tâu-tâu khó-khng lín tiòh thak-chheh lâi khòaⁿ Sèng-keng, òng-bāng lín náⁿ-kú náⁿ-bat Siōng-tè ê tō-lí; iā m̄ bián tek-khak óa-khò Bók-su á-sī Thoân-tō-lí ê lāng lâi kóng hō lín thiaⁿ"; in-ūi lín pún-sin khòaⁿ Sèng-chheh, Sèng-sin ê kám-hòa, sui-jiân bô lāng lâi ká-sī, lín iáu kú ē chai Siōng-tè ê chí-i. Khó-sioh lín pún-kok ê jī chin oh, chió chió lāng khòaⁿ ē hiáu--tit. Só-í goán ū siat pát-mih ē hoat-tō, ēng pèh-ōe-jī lâi in-chheh, hō lín cheng-lāng khòaⁿ khah khoài bat. Iā kīn-lâi tī chit-e Hú-siáⁿ goán ū siat chit-ê in-chheh ê khi-khū, thang in-jī chhin-chhiūⁿ chit hō ê khoán-sit. Taⁿ goán òng-bāng lín cheng-lāng beh chhut-lát óh chiaⁿ-ê Pèh-ōe-jī; āu-lâi goán nā in sim-mih chheh lín lóng ē hiáu--tit khòaⁿ. Lāng m̄-thang phah-sng in-ūi i bat Khóng-chú-jī só-í m̄-bián óh chit-hō ê jī; iā m̄-thang khòaⁿ-khin i, kóng sī gín-á só thak--ê. Nng-iūⁿ ê jī lóng ū lō-ēng. Put-kò in-ūi chit-hō khah-khoài iā khah-bēng, só-í lāng tiòh tãi-seng thak-i. Āu-lâi nāⁿ beh sòa thak Khóng-chú-jī sī chin hó; chong-sī pèh-ōe-jī tiòh khah tãi-seng.... Só-í goán khó-khng lín cheng-lāng, jip-kàu í-kip thiaⁿ tō-lí ē lāng, lâm-hū ló-iù, bat-jī, m̄-bat-jī ê lāng lóng-chóng tiòh kín-kín lâi óh..."

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

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

²² TCN, July 1885, p. 1.

The benefits of using the romanization were also noted by POJ users in essay competitions. Intriguingly, before Rev. Barclay published the first issue of his newspaper, an Amoy pastor, Tông Hián-Lí organized a POJ writing competition on “*Pêh-ōe-jī ê Lī-ek*” (Discussion of the Benefits of POJ) in 1884. The Church encouraged all the POJ users in Amoy and Taiwan to submit creative essays. The works of the first and second place winners by Iáp Hàn-chiong and Lâu Bō-chheng were published sequentially in *Taiwan Church News*. In their long essays, the authors did not focus simply on opinions about benefiting the illiterate. Rather, both essayists emphasized the time for studying Chinese script. Iáp suggested that if people could acquire knowledge in a few weeks, or an even shorter period, by reading texts written in POJ, they should not bother with several years of reading Chinese characters²³. For the laboring class who worked every day, as opposed to the elite, learning POJ meant saving time.

3.2. Learning Chinese Script through POJ

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

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

epistemology.

The Church also never discouraged missionaries from learning the Chinese script²⁴. POJ was designed as an auxiliary device for studying Chinese texts. A remarkable message annotated in the POJ New Testament suggested that the Church expected that a “striking gain” of teaching people POJ was that it would also help pastors teach everyone to read in Romanized Chinese²⁵. Some Chinese-centered users thought that POJ might be less appropriate than characters to articulate profound ideas in the Taiwanese language. Yet the advantages of learning POJ incontestably overrode its disadvantages. For instance, studying activities recorded in Rev. George Leslie Mackay’s (1844-1901) diary bear witness to its benefits²⁶. Every week, he and his students recited classical Chinese. With the aid of POJ, they could read Chinese classics aloud in the Taiwanese language. Native islanders who were illiterate in Chinese script had as much difficulty learning to read it as the foreign missionaries did. Rev. Barclay, an accomplished scholar, confessed that in grappling with the complexity of characters, missionary teachers did not understand many of the ones that were necessary to understand the meaning of Chinese classics²⁷. POJ transliteration was very helpful to Chinese script learners. As long as they could speak the Taiwanese language, learners could easily grasp the meanings of Romanized Chinese script, despite the typical issues of transliterating a text from one language to another.

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

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., p.68.

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

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

the process of his enthusiastic religious teaching in POJ, a notable baptism case in the 1870s occurred that is worth mentioning. Rev. Ritchie witnessed a beautiful moment when a Chinese degree-holder (equivalent to a BA degree in England), who should have been able to read the Chinese Bible, asked to be baptized after he learned POJ²⁸. According to his testimony, this young man spontaneously destroyed idols and tablets at home that were symbols of his former Confucian beliefs, since keeping them was incompatible with practicing Christianity. Mr. Ritchie described this conversion as an illustration of the enlightening and regenerating power of teaching people POJ and encouraging them to read the Gospel in POJ²⁹. We do not know if the young man acquired Western medical knowledge as a medical assistant in the Presbyterian training hospitals, as many of his brethren who were Chinese illiterates did. Such an extraordinary case of conversion demonstrates that even a Chinese scholar, fluent in classical Chinese, might choose to learn POJ and be greatly changed in the process.

3.3. The Representation of Cultural Values

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another article echoes the social value that women were expected to be the better half of married couples (*lōe-chō*)³². If they were not educated, there was no way for them to teach their children. The author, Ông Chiap-thôn, criticizes the Chinese tradition that valued sons over daughters. He believed that if women's education could be popularized as it was in the West, then Taiwan would have female doctors, teachers, and reporters³³. Women's capacity to study was not doubted, since girls from elite families were sometimes educated. Education, he suggested, would release women (*hū-jîn-lâng*) from their hell of ignorance³⁴. This hell prevented females from being informed. Thus he concluded, "How could we expect women to be responsible for children's education at home."³⁵ Ông argued that Taiwanese people simply took for granted that women learned from life's experiences, and not from texts or school education. He argued that this fallacy had to be examined. He proposed that free printed POJ course books and cheap tuition (four silver yuan per year) in women's boarding schools sponsored by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan were an incentive, especially being tremendously attractive for plains native girls, to attend³⁶. No matter what genre it was used for, be it textbooks, the Bible, catechetic handouts, novels, or medical guidance, POJ provided a text-friendly environment. Unlike the traditional ideology taught in Chinese text, these POJ writers emphasized that all women, rich or poor, should equally learn to read and write.

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

³² Ibid.

³³ Ông Chiap-thôn, *Lē-lú-hák* (Encouraging Girls' school), *TCN*, November, 1902, p.86.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Anonymous, *Khui-siat Lú-òh* (Launching a Girls' School), *TCN*, November 1886, p.17.

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

3.4. Issues of Knowledge Transmission

Apart from supporting POJ transliteration, Iáp criticized Chinese translated copies of the Bible as inadequate. Iáp argued that the Chinese translation of the Scriptures often contained mistakes that derived from the Chinese script's inability to articulate the texts phonetically. Iáp believed that the original meaning of the Bible was gradually lost in the translation with each new error. Iáp also complained that the errors in the translation were being spread throughout China since people were actively using the faulty translation and the Church was not sending out a corrected copy³⁸.

Iáp's argument on translation issues seems reasonable, but was problematic in practice. He neglected two factors in his argument. Firstly, he did not make the translation issue clear in the process of information sharing. He neglected the fact that the Bible was first translated to Chinese script from English or other languages and later was transliterated into POJ from the Chinese version³⁹. That

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

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

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

The English Presbyterian Messenger (EPM) displays a contradiction to Iap’s assertion that POJ was always phonetically transcribed text (Figure 1). The figure is an example of the translated New Testament (John 3:16) that was used in Formosa. As juxtaposed, the Delegates’ Chinese version of the New Testament was listed in the left column along with the POJ transliteration in the right column⁴⁰. The writer of this piece commented that the POJ version was a “translation” of the Delegates’ vision, not simply a reproduction. It was translated because a fixed sound to each character would generate a “dead language” that “conveys no meaning at all.”⁴¹ It had to be translated into “the language of common speech” so that a precise meaning of the original was retained. In other words, even though POJ was designed to transcribe speech, the transmission from the classical Chinese of the Delegates to the Taiwanese language in POJ was necessary for meaningful delivery. That is, verbatim transliteration, word by word, was not feasible, based on the linguistic nature of the transliterated text.

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

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



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

In addition to translation issues, the impulse of obtaining “benefits” that are transferred from receiving POJ knowledge might impact on the number of baptized adults. The ability to read and write POJ was an essential instrument for religious knowledge transmission. This language strategy earned the foreign mission a great number of local converts when compared to the number of Christian conversions in Amoy and Swatow, Guangdong province⁴². The statistics on Formosan converts from the 1860s-1880s shows that the number of native converts who did not know Chinese characters increased dramatically as a result of the use of POJ⁴³. This implies that the majority of the Christian

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

missionaries peacefully escorted the Japanese army into Tainan as Formosa was ceded to the Japanese Empire as a result of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895. The British missionaries were not simply the third party who was remitted from the Treaty of Tianjin but also the mediators between the Japanese state and the Taiwanese residents. At the time, the Black Flag Army, mustered by the independent regime of Liu Yongfu (1837-1917), had retreated to Canton province, China, although social order and riots were temporarily kept under control by his military, while the Manchu lost their authority over Taiwan. A senior naval officer informed the South Formosa Mission Council that he would soon withdraw the Navy guarding An-pêng Harbour and also provide safe passage for British, German, and American subjects to Amoy in June of the same year. Not having the heart to turn down their church members and other Taiwanese people, Revs. Barclay and Ferguson walked to submit the signed petition to the Japanese barracks at Ji-chan-hang in northern Kaohsiung city. General Maresuke Nogi (1849-1912) accepted the plea only on the condition that no people would be harmed as long as the entire city surrendered peacefully. However, this agreement could be reversed if any uprising occurred. As a result, General Nogi ordered Rev. Barclay to deliver this conditional oral consent throughout the city. He asked Rev. Ferguson to lead the Japanese army through the city gate the next morning. Surprisingly, the takeover was concluded as the missionaries had hoped. The natives developed a significantly better impression of the missionaries because of this, since they had demonstrated the power to broker the peaceful transition to Japanese rule⁴⁶. As a result of their intervention, the missionaries enjoyed a great increase in the number of baptized Christians and a larger POJ population in the early years of Japanese rule.⁴⁷

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

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

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

native groups occurred from time to time⁴⁸. The Missionary Council attributed their betrayal of the Church to a lack of knowledge about Christianity. They were not serious converts, but opportunists who took advantage of the “benefits” offered by the Church and thus easily transferred their loyalty from God to the Japanese emperor. The opportunism of renegade converts demonstrates the importance of political and military power in conversion. The switch of political regime from the Manchu to the Japanese rule in Taiwan complicated the Presbyterian evangelical mission and the motivations of learning knowledge in POJ during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

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

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

Printing, at its very beginning, was devised to solve the problem of the shortage of religious teaching pamphlets in POJ delivered from Amoy⁵⁰. Intense demand for printed catechisms and hymnals spoke volumes about the fact that Christianity had spread more rapidly than expected. In addition, the early reports repeatedly asserted that the Formosa mission was short-handed. Since the indigenous Christians had risen in number, the demand for more churches

⁴⁸ Ibid.

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

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

increased. However, in most remote areas, there were no on-site ordained or diaconal ministers. Rev. Campbell complained continuously that missionaries were exhausted from traveling to distant churches to preach. They had to regularly confirm converts' progress in POJ studies, examine new Christian candidates, baptize converts, and most significantly, give medical treatment to the sick who lived far away from cities. Missionaries were frustrated not just because they were overextended, but also from the lack of printed sources⁵¹. Dr. Maxwell's donation of a printing press from England in 1880 diffused the crises in labour and printed matters. Native converts could read printed Bibles and catechisms in POJ and thus lessen the missionaries' burden of having to read the Gospel to church members.

4.1. Symbolic Importance of the Printed Romanization

Romanized printing in Taiwan was used much more in Christian teaching during the last few decades of the Manchu Empire. At first, it offered a diachronic information platform for didactic sharing in lieu of synchronic oral communication. In addition to advancing the Theological College's work by making it easier to create more teaching materials, the technique of Western movable-type printing, which was more efficient and less labour-intensive than the woodblock-type printing, eased Rev. Campbell's anxiety about the shortage of missionaries for the plains aboriginal tribes⁵². Colporteurs made regular trips to remote churches in mountain and rural regions to distribute free religious flyers and pamphlets. POJ users, who resided in remote areas, owned their printed copies without having to share them with churches⁵³. So the missionaries did not have to travel to remote areas to see congregations as often. With a united and clear layout of the printed format, social interaction and interpersonal

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

⁵² *EPM*, March 1, 1884, p.122.

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

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

An anonymous essay in 1892 attests to the essential role that a printed language played in circulating information in Christian society. The author stated that anything posted in Taiwan Church News was important to deliver to Christian communities. The more the church was established, the more Christianity was accepted, but its expansion was hindered by the obstacles they encountered circulating the newspaper. Christian values, great achievements, school and church rules were circulated through the newspaper to other churches as far as it was possible. Information about newly opened churches, donations, an increase in conversions, and hiring missionaries needed to be shared with the Christian community. Furthermore, reading the newspaper guarded against potential nuisances from precedents set by other churches, such as problems with alcohol among church members. The most favourable aspects of the Christian community were displayed in the newspaper, a space in which the learned expressed their points of view on issues of interest. Before the operation of the press, the profound preaching of erudite pastor-teachers was only available to those who lived in the immediate vicinity of the church⁵⁴. Western movable-type printing technology not only improved people's access to well-developed sermons but also the structure of social interaction to which the Christian community was closely tied.

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

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

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

Furthermore, Romanized publication signified a decisive turning point in the use of POJ. It began the process of transforming POJ readers into POJ writers. POJ compositions in public spaces were an evaluation of Bible studies and the competence in using POJ. The new writing population established an "imagined community" of POJ users⁵⁵. Participants identified their imagined writing community as a group who would never meet but whose members would become acquainted through reading one another's works in the newspaper. This imagined writing community created a type of POJ writing identity which largely overlapped with the Christian society in Amoy and Taiwan.

Currently, we do not have sufficient information to demonstrate how many non-Christian participants were involved in this "imagined community." The writing community members had no obligation to contribute to church activities. They could simply pay six *qian* monthly⁵⁶ or read the paper for free on the bulletin board at any church⁵⁷. However, without textual and statistical evidence,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Conclusion

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

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

Acknowledgment

This article is a revised chapter from the author's doctoral dissertation, Writing "Taiwanese": the Pèh-ōe-jī Romanization and Identity Construction in Taiwan, 1860s-1990s. I greatly thank two anonymous reviewers for providing helpful comments on earlier drafts of the manuscript.

Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Huang-lan SU (suhuanglan@gmail.com).

Reference

- Anderson, B. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Ang, Kaim, and Huang Yan. 2017. *Decoding the History of Taiwan* [Kái-bé Tâi-ôan Sú]. Taipei: Yuanliu Publishing Company.
- Band, Edward. 1936. *Barclay of Formosa*. Tokyo: Christian Literature Society.
- Benjamin, Walter. 2002. The Task of the Translator. In Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings* (Vol. 1), pp.253-263. Cambridge, MA; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1973. Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. In R. Brown (ed.), *Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change: Papers in the Sociology of Education*. London: Tavistock.
- Campbell, William. 1903. *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Records*. London: Kegan Paul.

- Campbell, William. (trans.). 1908. *The Sacred Edict—Translated into the Vernacular of the Bible Used Throughout Chinchew, Changchew and Formosa*. Amoy: The Poe-Bun-Tsai Press.
- Campbell, William. 1910. *Handbook of the English Presbyterian Mission in South Formosa*. Hastings: Parsons.
- Campbell, William. 1913. *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular, Spoken throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa*. Yokohama: Fukuin Printing Co.
- Chang, Der-ling. 2015. History of Taiwanese Roman Scripts POJ [Pêh-ōe-jī Hoat-tián Sú]. *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular* 7 (2), pp.4-26.
- Chang, Miao-Chuan. 2005. *Open Your Eyes and Minds-Taiwan Church News and the Christian Education of Presbyterian Church* [Khai-hòng Sim-gán: Tâi-oân Hú-siâⁿ Kàu-hōe Pò kap Tiúⁿ-ló Kàu-hōe ê Ki-tok-tô Kàu-iók]. Tainan: Presbyterian Church in Taiwan Press.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2001a. Romanization and Language Planning in Taiwan. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal* 9 (1), pp.15-43.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2001b. Missionary Scripts: A Case Study of Taiwanese Pêh-ōe-jī [Pêh-ōe-jī, gín-á-lâng teh iōng ê bûn-jī?]. *The Taiwan Folkway* 51 (4), pp.15-52.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2001c. Language Attitudes toward Written Taiwanese. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 22 (6), pp.502-523.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2016. Pêh-ōe-jī as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Taiwan. In Chiúⁿ Ūi-bûn, Chiu Tēng-pang, and Iû Hūi-jû (eds.), *The Odyssey of Taiwanese Scripts*, pp.51-76, Tainan: Taiwanese Romanization Association.
- Collins, Christian T. G., William Carlson, Christopher Gehrz, and Holst Eric. (eds.) 2012. *The Pietist Impulse in Christianity*. Cambridge, U. K.: James Clarke & Co.

- Crook, Nigel. (ed.). 1996. *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Essays on Education, Religion, History, and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Davidson, James Wheeler. 1903. *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.
- Diaries of George Leslie Mackay*
- Dong, Fangyuan. 2004. The Historical Positions of Taiwanese Romanization. *Taiwan Historica* 55 (2), pp.289-324.
- Eichler, E. R. 1882. The K'uen Shi Wan or, the Practical Theology of the Chinese. *The China Review* 1, pp.94-95.
- Fagg, J. G. 2004. *Forty Years in South China—the Life of Reverend John Van Nest Talmage*. Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing. Reprint.
- Guangzhou Daily*. 1952.
- Guo, Chengkang and Wang Tianyou. (eds.). 2002. *History of the Yua, Ming, and Qing Dynasties* [Gôan Bêng Chheng sú]. Taipei: Wunan Books Inc.
- Heylen, Ann. 2001. Dutch Language Policy and Early Formosan Literacy 1624-1662. In *Missionary Approaches and Linguistics in Mainland China and Taiwan*, pp.199-200. Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press.
- Heylen, Ann. 2008. The Historical Meaning of the Taiwan Romanisation. Keynote speech at Inaugural First Conference on Taiwan Romanisation for Young Scholars, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, 7 September 2008.
- Hong, Wei-Jen. 1996. *Annotated Bibliography of Taiwan Historica—Language* (Tâi-oân Chheh-bók Kái-tê). Taipei: National Taiwan Library.
- Huang, Chia-hui. 2000. *Researching of Taiwanese Literature in Phonetic Writing System*. Master Thesis: National University of Tainan.
- Klöter, Henning. 2002. The History of Peh-oe-Ji. 2002 International Conference of Taiwan's Peh-Oe-Ji Teaching and Studies. National Taitung University, Taitung, 14 July 2002.

- Klöter, Henning. 2008. Facts and Fantasy about Favorlang: Early European Encounters with Tái-wān's Languages. In Alexander Lubotsky, Jos Schaecken and Jeroen Wiedenhof (eds.) *Evidence and Counter-Evidence: Linguistic Essays in Honour of Frederik Kortlandt* (Vol. 2): General Linguistics, pp.207-223. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 2000. Formosan languages: The State of the Art. In David Blundell (ed.), *Austronesian Tái-wān: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, Prehistory*, pp.45-67. Berkeley/Taipei: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology/Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 2002. Preliminary Interpretation of the 15 Recently Uncovered Sinkan Manuscripts. *Studies of Taiwan History* 9 (2), pp.2-5.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 2010. *Studies of Sinkang Manuscripts*. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.
- Liao, Jenn-wang. 2008. 'The Meaning of the Emperor' on Protestant Missionaries' Publishing and Understanding of the Sacred Edict in 19th Century China. *Chinese Studies* 26 (3), pp.225-162.
- Morse, Hosea Ballou. Study Center of Bank of Taiwan. (trans). 1957. A Report of Danshui Custom from Taiwan, 1882-1991 [1882-1991 Tâi-oân Tām-chúi Hái-koan Pò-kò-su]. *Quarterly of Bank of Taiwan* 9 (1), pp.149-171.
- Murakami, Yoshihide. 1965. W. H. Medhurst in the History of Chinese Linguistics. *Tenri Journal of Religion* 7, pp.59-63.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2001. *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Renn, Jürgen, Robert Schlögl, Gabriel Schutz, and Bernard F. Beatrice. (eds.). 2012. *The Globalization of Knowledge in History*. Germany: Epubli.
- Shepherd, John. 1996. From Barbarians to Sinners: Collective Conversion among Plains Aborigines in Qing Taiwan, 1859-1895. In Daniel H. Bays (ed.), *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

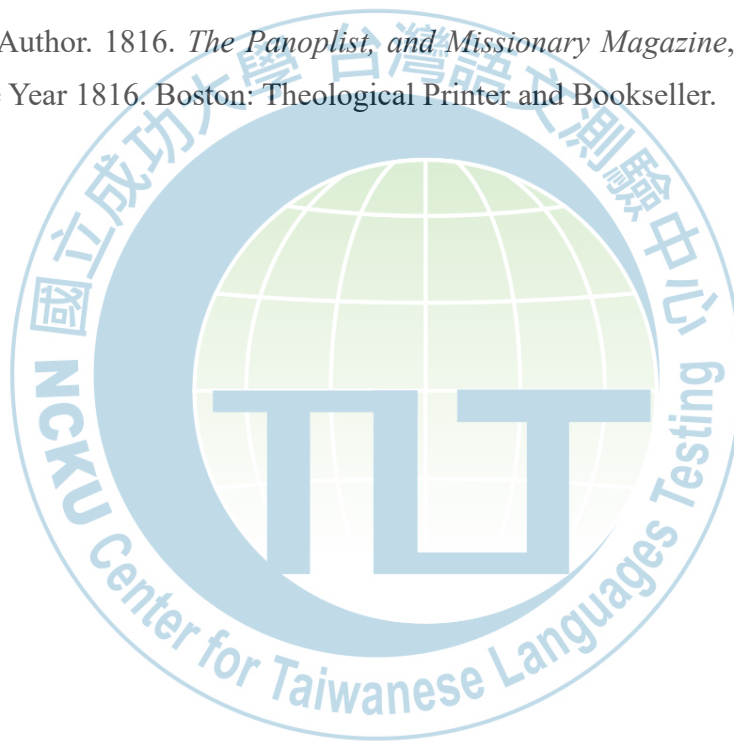
Su, Huang-Lan. 2015. *Writing “Taiwanese”: Peh-ōe-jī Romanization and Identity Construction in Taiwan, 1860s-1990s*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation: University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign.

Taiwan Church News (Tâi-oân Hú-siâⁿ Kàu-hōe Pò, TCN). 1885.

The Chinese Recorder. 1868.

The English Presbyterian Messenger (or The Messenger and Missionary Record, EPM). 2015.

Unknown Author. 1816. *The Panoplist, and Missionary Magazine*, Vol. 12: For the Year 1816. Boston: Theological Printer and Bookseller.



台語「反倒轉（來）」kap 「顛倒」ê語法研究

劉佳箴

國立成功大學

摘要

本研究主要探討兩個台語轉折副詞—「反倒轉（來）」kap「顛倒」。根據教育部臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典，這兩個轉折副詞是近義詞，其詞意kap華語ê「反而」真siàng。雖然辭典已經提供這兩個副詞ê詞意，毋閣阮閣想欲知影這兩個副詞有啥物句法上ê特色。另外，阮嘛想欲探討為啥物佇台語俗語—「拍斷手臂顛倒勇」中ê「顛倒」換做是「反倒轉（來）」時，這句俗語會聽起來無合文法。為著欲閣較了解「反倒轉（來）」kap「顛倒」ê全款kap無全ê所在，本文會對這兩個轉折副詞ê句法進行研究，而且本文所研究ê語料是以書面語為主。「反倒轉（來）」kap「顛倒」其中一個全款ê句法特色是一兩個轉折副詞攏是出現佇補詞層。這兩個副詞其他ê語法全款ê所在佇第三部份有研究。另外，這兩個副詞佇語法上無全ê所在分析佇第四部份。本研究期望藉由句法特色上ê分析，來了解這兩個近義詞全款kap無全ê所在。

關鍵詞：轉折副詞、反倒轉（來）、顛倒、台語

A syntactic study of *hoán-tò-tńg-(lái)* 'contrarily' and *tian-tò* 'contrarily' in Taiwanese

Chia-chen LIU

National Cheng Kung University

Abstract

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

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

1. Introduction

In *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iông-sû Sû-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典¹ ‘*Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan*’, *hoán-tò-tng-(lâi)* 反倒轉(來) ‘contrarily’ and *tian-tò* 顛倒 ‘contrarily’ are near-synonyms. The two Taiwanese adverbs are equivalents of *fǎn'ér* 反而 ‘contrarily’ in Mandarin Chinese. According to Wang’s (1985) analysis², adverbs such as *fǎn* 反 ‘contrarily’, *daò* 倒 ‘however’ and *què* 卻 ‘however’ in Mandarin Chinese are under the type of relation tertiary³, indicating adversative relation between sentences or texts. In addition, they belong to the category of mood tertiary (Wang 1985:176). That is, one of the functions of *fǎn* 反 ‘contrarily’, *daò* 倒 ‘however’ and *què* 卻 ‘however’ in Mandarin Chinese is to connect information between the preceding proposition and the following one, and to express specific moods (L. Chang 2011). Moreover, Guo (1999) considered that *què* 卻 ‘however’, *daò* 倒 ‘however’, *fǎndaò* 反倒 ‘contrarily’, and *fǎn'ér* 反而 ‘contrarily’ in Chinese are adversative adverbs which do not refer to the opposite meaning between two clauses, but rather refer to a psychological contrast, which means that the proposition in the sentence after an adversative adverb does not match the addresser’s expectation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (1) I m̄-nā bô khioh-hīn, hoán-tò-tńg / tian-tò koh
 伊 毋但 無 拏恨, 反倒轉 / 顛倒 閣
 3SG NEG-only NEG pick-hate contrarily / contrarily also
 lâi kā lán tau-saⁿ-kāng.
 來 共 咱 鬥相共。
 come KA 2PL help

'He did not bear grudges; contrarily, he came here and helped us.'

(Google⁴)

- (2)I bô beh lâi, gún tian-tò / hoán-tò-tńg khah hoaⁿ-hí.
 伊 無 欲 來, 阮 顛倒 / 反倒轉 較 歡喜。
 3SG NEG want come 2PL contrarily / contrarily more happy

'He does not want to come; contrarily, we are happy about that.'

(Google⁵)

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

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

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

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

(3)	<i>Phah-tṅ</i>	<i>chhiú-kut</i>	<i>tian-tò</i>	<i>ióng.</i>
	拍斷	手骨	顛倒	勇。
	beat-broken	hand-bone.(arm)	contrarily	strong
	‘The arm was broken; contrarily, the arm will become stronger when it heals.’			
	(Google ⁶)			

(4)	? <i>Phah-tṅ</i>	<i>chhiú-kut</i>	<i>hoán-tò-tṅ-(lâi)</i>	<i>ióng.</i>
	?拍斷	手骨	反倒轉(來)	勇。
	beat-broken	hand-bone.(arm)	contrarily	strong
	‘The arm was broken; contrarily, the arm will become stronger when it heals.’			

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

The data to be analyzed in the paper are mainly collected from the online corpus, Taiwanese Concordancer⁷, administrated by Iunn Un-gian, and other online resources such as writings in blogs, press releases, and articles for recitation contests, retrieved using Google search engine. The paper primarily

⁶ *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sū Sū-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 ‘Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan’

⁷ Taiwanese Concordancer: <http://210.240.194.97/tg/concordance/form.asp>

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

Table 1. Total amount of data to be analyzed

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

2. Literature Review

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

2.1. Functional Projections

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

higher adverbs

[*frankly* Mood_{speech act} [*fortunately* Mood_{evaluative} [*allegedly* Mood_{evidential}
 [*probably* Mod_{epistemic} [*once* T(Past) [*then* T(Future) [*perhaps* Mood_{irrealis}
 [*necessarily* Mod_{necessity} [*possibly* Mod_{possibility}

In this hierarchy, there are four mood adverbs, Mood_{speech act}, Mood_{evaluative},

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

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

MP_{epistemic adverb}>epistemic modals> MP_{deontic adverb}>deontic modals>dynamic modals

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2. M. Chang (2008)

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

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

2.3. Lien (2011)

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

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

- (9) I hoan-tò-tńg-lâi kóng.
 伊 翻倒轉來⁸ 講。
 3SG out.of.expectation speak
 ‘Out of expectation, he says’

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

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

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

2.4. Summary

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

3. Syntactic Similarities between *Hoán-tò-tńg-(lái)* 反倒轉(來) ‘Contrarily’ and *Tian-tò* 顛倒 ‘Contrarily’

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

3.1. Appearing in the Sentence Initial and Medial Positions

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

- (10) *Hoán-tò-tńg* i sī ū in-tián ê Siōng-tè.
反倒轉 伊 是 有 恩典 的 上帝。
contrarily 3SG be have grace MOD God
‘Contrarily, he is a gracious God.’

(Google⁹)

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

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

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

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

(14) I tian-tò tiòh chit kiaⁿ.
伊 顛倒 著 一 驚。
3SG contrarily get one scare
'He contrarily was scared.'
(Taiwanese Concordancer)

(15) *I tiòh chit kiaⁿ tian-tò.
*伊 著 一 驚 顛倒。
3SG get one scare contrarily
'*He was scared contrarily.'

3.2. Preceding Future Modal Verb ē 會 'Will'

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

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

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

(Google¹⁰)

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

(Taiwanese Concordancer)

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

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

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

3.3. Preceding Frequency Adverbs

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

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

(Google¹¹)

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

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

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

(Taiwanese Concordancer)

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

3.4. Hierarchy of the Two Adversative Adverbs

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

- (24) Láu-sit-kóng i hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) / tian-tò it-tēng ē jiá
老實講 伊 反倒轉(來) / 顛倒 一定會惹
frankly 3SG contrarily / contrarily must will provoke
lâi chit tōa tui ê mâ-hoân.
來 一大堆的麻煩。
come one big CL MOD trouble
'Frankly, contrarily, he must make a lot of trouble.'

(made-up sentence)

- (25) *Hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) / tian-tò lâi-sit-kóng i it-tēng ē
*反倒轉(來) / 顛倒 老實講 伊 一定會
contrarily / contrarily frankly 3SG must will
jiá lâi chit tōa tui ê mâ-hoân.
惹 來 一大堆的麻煩。
provoke come one big CL MOD trouble
'*Contrarily frankly, he must make a lot of trouble.'

- (26) *I it-tēng hoán-tò-tńg-(lâi) / tian-tò ē jiá lâi
*伊 一定會 反倒轉(來) / 顛倒 會 惹 來
3SG must contrarily / contrarily will provoke come
chit tōa tui ê mâ-hoân.
一大堆的麻煩。
one big CL MOD trouble
'*He must contrarily make a lot of trouble.'

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

*chhin-chhiū*ⁿ 親像 ‘apparently’, the sentence is grammatical. However, if their positions are reversed, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (28).

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

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

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

3.5. Appearing in Affirmative Declarative Clauses

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

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

(29) I m̄-nā bô khioh-hīn, hoán-tò-tng koh lái ká lán
 伊 毋但 無 拏恨, 反倒轉 閣 來 共 咱
 3SG NEG-only NEG pick-hate contrarily also come KA 2PL
 tau-saⁿ-kāng.

鬥相共。

help

‘He did not bear grudges; contrarily, he came here and helped us.’

(Google¹²)

(30) I bô beh lái, gún tian-tò khah hoanⁿ-hí.
 伊 無 欲 來, 阮 顛倒 較 歡喜。
 3SG NEG want come 2PL contrarily more happy

‘He does not want to come; contrarily, we are happy about that.’

(Google¹³)

3.6. Summary

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

¹² *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sù Sù-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 ‘Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan’

¹³ *Tâi-oân Bân-lâm-gí Siông-iōng-sù Sù-tián* 臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典 ‘Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan’

4. Syntactic Differences between *Hoán-tò-tńg-(lái)* 反倒轉(來) ‘Contrarily’ and *Tian-tò* 顛倒 ‘Contrarily’

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

4.1. Adjectives

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

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

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

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

- (33) Khó-sioh lâng ê tō-tek koan-liām pēng bô teh
 可惜 人 的 道德 觀念 並 無 咧
 pity people GEN morality concept even NEG PROG
chìn-pō, *hoán-tò-tńg* *jú-lâi-jú* *kē-lō*.
 進步, 反倒轉 愈來愈 低路。
 progress contrarily more.and.more useless
 ‘It is a pity that people’s concept of morality has not improved;
 contrarily, it has worsened’
 (Taiwanese Concordancer)
- (34) I pēng bô kiau-ngō, hoán-tò-tńg chin kheh-khì.
 伊 並 無 驕傲, 反倒轉 真 客氣。
 3SG even NEG pride contrarily really kind
 ‘He is not proud; contrarily, he is really kind.’
 (Google¹⁴)
- (35) Khòaⁿ-tiòh in sió-cheh-á bô sí,
 看著 您 小叔仔 無 死,
 see-arrive 3SG-GEN husband’s.younger.brother NEG die
hoán-tò-tńg *jú-lâi-jú* *ióng*, i tiòh koh-chài hē tāng iòh.
 反倒轉 愈來愈 勇, 伊 著 閣再 下 重 藥。
 contrarily more.and.more strong 3SG then also-again fall heavy drug
 ‘Seeing that her husband’s younger brother does not die; contrarily,
 he is stronger and healthier. She then poisons him again.’

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

4.2. Negative Declarative Clauses

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

- (36) In-ūi kang-chok ê koan-hē, lán tian-tò bô lōa-chē
 因為 工作 的 關係, 咱 顛倒 無 佻濟
 due.to job MOD relation 2PL contrarily NEG much
 sí-kan chò-hóe.
 時間 做伙。
 time together
 ‘Due to our jobs, we instead do not have lots of time together.’
 (Google¹⁵)
- (37) Kin-á-jit ū tām-pòh-á thàu-hong, bē kai joah, tian-tò
 今仔日 有 淡薄仔 透風, 袂 蓋 熱 顛倒
 today have a.little windy NEG very hot contrarily
 bô sián-lâng lái peh-soa.
 無 啥人 來 爬山。
 NEG what.people come climb-mountain
 ‘Today, it is a little windy and not very hot. However, nobody comes here for climbing.’
 (Google¹⁶)

¹⁵ *Tâi-bûn Chiàn-sòaⁿ Pō-lók-keh* 台文戰線部落格 ‘Taiwanese Literature Battlefront Blog’: <http://twneclub.ning.com/profiles/blogs/xing-zan-lai-english-bayniu>

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

- (38) In-ūi kang-chok ê koan-hē, *lân hoán-tò-tńg bô lōa-chē
因為 工作 的 關係， 咱 反倒轉 無 佬濟
due.to job MOD relation 2PL contrarily NEG much
sî-kan chò-hóe.
時間 做伙。
time together

‘Due to our jobs, *we instead do not have lots of time together.’

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

‘Due to our jobs, we instead have lots of time together.’

- (40) Kin-á-jit ū tām-pòh-á thàu-hong, bē kài joáh, *hoán-tò-tńg
今仔日 有 淡薄仔 透風， 袂 蓋 熱， 反倒轉
today have a.little windy NEG very hot contrarily
bô siáⁿ-lâng lâi peh-soaⁿ.
無 啥人 來 爬山。
NEG what.people come climb-mountain

‘Today, it is a little windy and not very hot. *However, nobody comes here for climbing.’

- (41) Kin-á-jit ū tām-pòh-á lóh-hō, hoán-tò-tńg chin chē lâng
今仔日 有 淡薄仔 落雨， 反倒轉 真 濟 人
today have a.little rain contrarily really many people
lâi peh-soaⁿ.
來 爬山。
come climb-mountain

‘Today, it is a little rainy. However, so many people come here for climbing.’

4.3. Interrogative Sentences

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

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

- (43) *Sī-án-chóaⁿ* *chit ê* *Tâi-gí* *ián-oân* *tian-tò* *Tâi-gí*
 是按怎 一个 台語 演員 顛倒 台語
 how one CL Taiwanese actor/actress contrarily Taiwanese
ē kóng bē hó-sè?
 會講 袂好勢?
 can speak NEG good-state
 ‘Contrarily, why can’t an actor/actress who acts in Taiwanese soap opera speak Taiwanese fluently?’
 (Taiwanese Concordancer)

4.4. Imperative Sentences

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

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

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

(46) *Lí *hoán-tò-tng* mài khi.
 *你 反倒轉 莫 去
 2SG contrarily NEG go
 ‘* Contrarily, don’t go there.’

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

4.5. Summary

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

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

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

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

5. Conclusion

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

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

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

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

Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Chia-chen Liu (plusallison789@gmail.com).

References

- Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chang, Shu-min. (張淑敏). 2003. Hanyu fuci yu zhuangyu zai jufa jiegoushang de chuxian fenbu 漢語副詞與狀語在句法結構上的出現分佈. [The syntactic distribution of Mandarin Adverbs and Adverbials]. *Taiwan yuwen yanjiu* 台灣語文研究 [*Journal of Taiwanese Languages and Literature*] 1 (1), pp.147-168.
- Chang, Miao-Hsia. 2008. Discourse and grammaticalization of contrastive markers in Taiwanese Southern Min: A corpus-based study. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40 (12), pp.2114-2149.
- Chang, Li-li. (張麗麗). 2011. Zhuanzheyi fuci fan, que, dao de lishi yanbian yu yongfa fenbu 轉折義副詞 [反],[卻],[倒] 的歷史演變與用法分布 [The Historical Development and Performance of the Adversative Adverb Fan, Que, and Dao]. *Hanxue Yanjiu* 漢學研究 [*Chinese Studies*] 29 (4), pp.253-288.
- Ernst, T. 2008. Adverbs and positive polarity in Mandarin Chinese. *Proceedings of the 20th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL-20)*, ed. by Marjorie K. M. Chan & Hana Kang, pp.69-85. Ohio: The Ohio State University.
- Guo, Zhi-liang. (郭志良). 1999. *Xiandai hanyu zhuanzhe ciyu yanjiu* 現代漢語轉折詞語研究 [*A study on adversative words in Modern Chinese*]. Beijing: Beijing Language and Culture University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Routledge.
- Lien, Chinfa. (連金發). 2011. Minnanyu quxiangshi lishi yanbian tansuo 閩南語趨向式歷時演變探索 [Development of Directionals in Southern Min]. *Language and Linguistics* 12 (2), pp.427-475.

- Rudolph, E. 1996. *Contrast: adversative and concessive relations and their expressions in English, German, Spanish, Portuguese on sentence and text level*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. *Elements of grammar: Handbook in generative syntax*, ed. by Haegeman, Liliane, pp.281-337. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Saeed, John I. 2009. *Semantics*. (3rd ed). Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Tang, Ting-chi. (湯廷池). 2000. Hanyu de qingtai fuci: Yuyi neihan yu jufa gongneng 漢語的情態副詞: 語意內涵與句法功能 [Semantics and Syntax of Modal Adverbs in Chinese]. *Zhong yang yan jiu yuan li shi yu yan yan jiu suo ji kan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 [Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica] 71 (1), pp.199-219.
- Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan. (蔡維天). 2007. Zhongwen 'weishenme wen zenmeyang, zenmeyang wen weishenme'—Tan hanyu yiwen ju he fanshenju zhong de nei, wai zhuang yu 重溫「為甚麼問怎麼樣，怎麼樣問為甚麼」—談漢語疑問句和反身句中的內、外狀語 [The hows of why and the whys of how' revisited]-On inner and outer adverbials in Chinese interrogative and reflexive sentences. *Zhongguo yuwen* 中國語文 [Studies of the Chinese Language] 318, pp.195-207.
- Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan. (蔡維天). 2010. Tan hanyu motaici qi fenbu yu quanshi de duiying guanxi 談漢語模態詞其分布與詮釋的對應關係 [On the syntax-semantics correspondences of Chinese modals]. *Zhongguo yuwen* 中國語文 [Studies of the Chinese Language] 336, pp.208-221.
- Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan. (蔡維天). 2011. Ruhe wen heru: Yige shumian yu he kouyu de duibi yanjiu 如何問何如：一個書面語和口語的對比研究. Paper presented at the Conference on History and Present Situation of Chinese Written Language in Chinese. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

- Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan. (蔡維天). 2015. On the typography of Chinese modals. *Beyond Functional Sequence*, ed. by Shlonsky, Ur, 10, pp.275-294. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wang, Li. (王力). 1985. *Zhongguo xiandai yufa* 中國現代語法 [Modern Chinese grammar]. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
- Yang, Che-Hsi. (楊哲熙). 2014. *Taiwan minnanyu juwei zhuci de yuyi shuxing, yuyong gongneng he jufa fenxi* 台灣閩南語句尾助詞的語意屬性，語用功能和句法分析 [*Sentence-final Particles in Taiwanese Southern Min: Their semantic properties, pragmatic functions and syntactic analysis*]. MA thesis: National Tsing Hua University.





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

Tuấn Anh PHAN & Văn Hiến HOÀNG

Hue University of Sciences, Vietnam

Abstract

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

Keywords: nationality, epic, puppet, Siraya, Ede

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

Phoaⁿ Chùn-eng, Ng Bùn-hián

Oát-lâm Sùn-hòa Tâi-hák Kho-hák Tâi-hák

Hoan-ék: Chhoà Sī Chheng-chhúí & Lîm Bí-soat

Tiah-iàu

Tâi-oân kap Oát-lâm ê lèk-sú sī tít-tít ùi tiòh beh kò léng-thó chú-koân, bîn-chòk tòk-líp kap pó-hō bûn-hòa jîn-tông ê chiàn-cheng lèk-sú. M̄-chiah chiah-ê eng-hiông àh-sī hoán-không gōa-lâi cheng-koân, hùn-tōa Hàn-hòa ê im-bô ê sio-chiàn tō chiâⁿ-chò bûn-hák chú-iàu ê chú-tê. Ùi bîn-kan bûn-hák kàu tiong-sè-kí bûn-hák koh kàu hiân-tâi bûn-hák, Tâi-oân kap Oát-lâm ê bûn-hák chhòng-chok, tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ kā tòk-líp, jîn-tông hām bîn-chòk ê bûn-tê tèk-piát tiám--chhut-lâi. Hoân-sè sī kú-tng ê lèk-sú, àh-sī Hàn-jîn thóng-tī kú lâu--lòh-lâi ê sái-bóe éng-hióng--tiòh ê in-toaⁿ, Tâi-oân kap Oát-lâm to-sò ê bîn-kan kò-sū bûn-hák lóng hông sng-tng, phah-bô-khì, tèk-piát sī kap hoán chhim-liók ê eng-hiông sú-si, thoân-soat ê ùi-sán ū koan-hē--ê. Chóng--sī, Tâi-oân kap Oát-lâm ê chió-sò bîn-chòk ê bîn-kan kò-sū bûn-hák lâi-té, chiah-ê eng-hiông sú-si ê ùi-sán iáu pó-liú kah put-lí-á oân-chéng. Pún-bûn chú-iàu gián-kiù Tâi-oân Siraya chòk ê *Koat-chiàn Siraya* hām Oát-lâm Êđê chòk ê *Đam San Sú-si*, chit nng phō chok-phín lâi-té ê lōe-iông, su-sióng, chéng-lūi kap chhòng-chok ki-khá chia--ê. Lán ñg-bāng ē-tàng ùi chit nng phō chok-phín koan-hē bîn-chòk-sèng ê pō-hūn, in tó-ùí sio-kāng, tó-ùí bô-kāng kā pun--chhut-lâi, mā ē-tàng koh khah liáu-kái lâi gián-kiù Oát-lâm kap Tâi-oân ê bîn-chòk-sèng, án-chóaⁿ tui-không gōa-lâi ê sè-lèk hām thoân-thóng bûn-hòa ê pó-chûn.

Koan-kiān-sú: bîn-chòk-sèng, sú-si, pò-tē-hì, Siraya, Êđê

1. Tâh-ōe-thâu

M̄-koán sī tiōng-sè-kí lèk-sú àh-sī hiān-tâi lèk-sú, Tâi-oân kap Oát-lâm ê lèk-sú ūn-miā lóng chiáⁿ kâng, he tō-sī bîn-chòk jîn-tông kap pó-hō léng-thó ê kiàn-kò kòe-têng, leh tui-không pak-hong tâi-liòk hong-kiàn sí-tâi ê thóng-tī, hùn-khoah ê im-bô hit-chūn, tit-tit hông thiau-chiàn, mô-chhat kap bôa-liân--ê. N̄ng ê kok-ka lóng sī hông sit-bîn, chhim-liòk chiáⁿ kú, ah lâu--lòh-lâi ê sái-bóe kàu taⁿ iáu tī--leh ê siū-hâi-chiá, chún chiok kut-lát beh kâ cháu-lī mā lī bē lī. Bó chit hong-bīn lâi kóng, Tâi-oân kap Oát-lâm ê lèk-sú tō-sī chiàn-cheng ê lèk-sú, hoán chhim-liòk ê chiàn-cheng, tī kâng chit ê léng-thó in kok chòk-kūn ê chiàn-cheng (lâi-chiàn). Che tī Tâi-oân kap Oát-lâm ê bûn-hák lâi-té lóng khòaⁿ kah chiáⁿ bêng, ē-tàng kiàn-chèng chin chē hām chiàn-cheng ū koan-hē kap ū kiông-liát bîn-chòk-sèng ê chhòng-chok. Só-pái, n̄ng kok ê bîn-chòk bûn-hák lèk-sú lâi-té, siá kah eng-hiông iú-koan ê chok-phín ū chin tâi-châi, sîn-sèng ê tē-ūi.

Tō-sī ū têng-koan kóng ê tèk-teng, goán tō ùi pí-kàu bûn-hák ê kak-tō keng ū bîn-chòk-sèng ê sio-siāng kap bô-kâng ê só-châi, lâi hun-sek Tâi-oân Siraya chòk hām Oát-lâm Êđê chòk ê bîn-chòk jîn-tông m̄-nā sī pó-chūn ê bûn-tê niá, mā koh ū tī tong-kim cheng-tī ê kok ì-gī chân-bīn.

Kun-kù chin chē lèk-sú chu-liâu, Tâi-oân bat hō Hàn-jîn chhim-liòk chiáⁿ chē pái, lī chit-má siōng chá--ê sī Chiúⁿ Kài-chiòh ê Kok-bîn-tóng tô-bông lâi Tâi-oân ê sū-kiáⁿ liáu-āu. Kap Tâi-oân ê goán-chū-bîn chòk-kūn pí--khí-lâi, Hàn-jîn sī chit ê ū sit-bîn sèng-chit ê î-bîn chòk-kūn. Chha-put-to chit-má Oát-lâm ê léng-thó, Kiaⁿ chòk mā-sī î-bîn lâi ê chòk-kūn, sòa-chiap sī pau-hām chiàn-cheng kap cheng-tī khai-thok, hùn-tōa léng-thó, pêng-têng kap thóng-it ê kòe-thêng. Kiaⁿ chòk àh-sī kiò-chò Oát-lâm-lâng sī ùi tiōng-sè-kí Pak-kí ê Âng-hô-saⁿ-kak-chiu khí-goân--ê. Koh khah chá--kóa, Oát-lâm-lâng sī siók tī Tiong-hôa lâm-pō kàu chit-má Oát-lâm pak-pō ê só-châi leh khiā-khí ê Pah-oát-chòk ê chit chòk. Tiong-kí, Lâm-kí kap Se-goân choân-pō só-châi lóng m̄-sī Oát-lâm-lâng (Kiaⁿ chòk) chū-té tòa ê tē-pôaⁿ. Thàu-kòe kú-tng kap Hàn-jîn kau-liú, bō-èk, pau-hām thàu-lâm ê kòe-thêng, hiān-chhú-sí ê Kiaⁿ chòk, sui-bóng in ê tók-lip ì-sek kap jîn-tông-kám chiáⁿ kiông, m̄-koh chioh gōa-lâi ê bûn-hòa chiáⁿ bêng-hián, bô hoat-tō hui-tú. Khêng-sit sī Oát-lâm-lâng (Kiaⁿ chòk) ê sú-si, eng-hiông-koa kap sîn-ōe chia ê hē-thóng,

nā m̄-sī sòaⁿ-iā-iā, bô tō-sī chha-put-to beh bô ah. Ū kóa sîn-ōe kò-sū sī chhiong-boán ùi Hàn-jîn chioh--lâi ê goân-sò, chhiūⁿ Lú-o pò-thiⁿ chit ê kò-sū. Sò-pái, Oát-lâm Êđê chòk ê *Đam San Sú-si*, tī Oát-lâm eng-hiông sú-si lâi-bīn sī chiáⁿ hán-tit khòaⁿ ê chok-phín ê chit-ê, iông chāi-tē-lâng su-siá lâi tèk-piát têng-hiān Oát-lâm ê lèk-sú bûn-hòa tèk-teng kap bîn-chòk ì-sek.

Nā beh koh kahh siông-sè lâi liáu-kái chit n̄g phō chok-phín, lán tui Êđê kap Siraya chit n̄g chòk ài ũ chong-háp ê koan-tiám.

2. Êđê chòk kap Siraya chòk in sio-siāng kap bô-kāng ê só-chāi

Siraya lāng sī Tâi-oân chió-sò bîn-chòk ê chit-chòk. In chú-iàu tòa Tâi-lâm chit ê só-chāi. In kóng--ê sī Tâi-oân pún-thó ê jí-giân, m̄-sī Hàn-jîn í-bīn lâi ê Tiong-kok phó-thong-ōe. Sui-bóng *Koat-chiàn Siraya* sī pò-tē-hì ê kiòk-pún, m̄-koh chú-kak, jí-giân kap bûn-hòa lóng siòk Tâi-oân bûn-hòa ê jīn-tōng. Kun-kù Chiúⁿ Ūi-bûn kàu-siū ê khòaⁿ-hoat, chit ê bûn-tê tī tong-kim ũ chiáⁿ iàu-kín ê ì-gī, m̄-nā sī kóng, “Gí-giân sī su-úi tít-chiap ê sò-chāi”, koh ũ bîn-chòk chú-gī cheng-sîn ê in-toaⁿ. “Sui-bóng ùi 1945 nī kàu ta”, chiām Tâi-oân liáu-āu, Chiúⁿ Kài-chiòh ê kun-tūi í-keng pek Tâi-oân jīn-bīn kóng Tiong-kok-ōe, m̄-koh tui chin chē Tâi-oân-lāng lâi kóng, Tâi-oân-ōe iáu sī siông chin-chhiat ê jí-giân.” Che kap Oát-lâm-lāng ài khòaⁿ chui-siông ang-á-hì, áh-sī kah-ì thiaⁿ Koan-hō (Quan Ho) ê chêng-hêng chiáⁿ sêng...(Tran 2018:8). Chiúⁿ kàu-siū tèk-piát kiông-tiāu “Tâi-oân-ōe kap Tiong-kok-ōe chū-té tiòh sī n̄g ê bô-kāng ê jí-giân, ē-sái kóng in ê koan-hē tō chhiūⁿ Oát-lâm-ōe hām Tiong-kok-ōe ê koan-hē.” (Tran 2018:8) Kéng chió-sò bîn-chòk koh iông pún-thó jí-giân su-siá ê chok-phín, tú-hó sī goán teh chhōe Tang-a bîn-chòk-sèng ê kòe-thêng ê iōng-ì, i ê ì-gī sī leh lèk-sú-ték ũ chiáⁿ phó-phiàn ê Hàn-hòa siaⁿ-sè hêng-tōng lâi-té, tui-khòng Tiong-goân bûn-hòa tiong-sim ê phah-piàⁿ. Àn Tēⁿ Pang-tin kàu-siū ê kóng-hoat, Tâi-oân iáu ũ chit ê hō Siraya chòk chiáⁿ-miá kap kó-bú hòk-heng chit chòk ê pún-thó (chió-sò) jí-giân ê ũn-tōng. Chit ê bûn-hòa hòk-heng ê kòe-thêng mā kap Chhòa Eng-bûn chêng-hú tui gōa ê sin-lâm-hiòng chêng-chhek, ũ kiōng-tōng ê bók-ték, tō-sī phah-piàⁿ beh kā Tâi-oân kap Tiong-hôa tãi-liók pun hō khui.

Kun-kù sú-hák-ka tī keng-sin-sè boát-kī hit kha-tau, Tâi-oân-tó iáu sī kap kī-tha tãi-liók liâm chò-hóe. M̄-koh, liōng-kī-iok chit-bān nī chêng, hái-pêⁿ-b̄n chheng-koân soah hō Tâi-oân kap tãi-liók hun-khui. Tâi-oân pún-tē ták chòk ê lāng, pau-hâm Siraya chòk lóng sī liōng-kī-iok peh-chheng nī chêng ùi liók-tē chhian-sóa lâi ê chòk-kūn ê goân-chū-bīn, in sú-iōng Lâm-tó-gí-hē (Austronesian) ê gí-giân. Sui-bóng chit-má Tâi-oân ê Hàn-jīn chiām to-sò, m̄-koh, in kī-sit sī 18 sè-kí Phêⁿ-ô sī-kī chiáⁿ chió-sò--ê chiah í-bīn lâi Tâi-oân. Tâi-oân ê goân-chū-bīn, sui-bóng chiah chiām chit-má ê jīn-kháu chha-put-to 2% niá, m̄-koh, in sú-iōng Malay-Polynesia gí-hē, sng sī Lâm-tó-gí-hē lâi-té ê chit ê gí-hē, chiah hong-khòⁿ chò sī chit liáp bí-lē tó-sū chin-chiáⁿ ê chú-lāng. Lèk-sú-tèk, Hàn-jīn chiām Tâi-oân ū chiáⁿ kú ê lèk-sú, ùi Goân-tiâu tiòh ká Phêⁿ-ô siat chò Tiong-kok tãi-liók tui Tâi-oân thâu chit ê khòng-chè ê ki-kò, it-tit kàu Bêng-tiâu, Chheng-tiâu kap chú-tiuⁿ “hoán Chheng hòk Bêng” hiah ê lāng lóng chīn piáⁿ-sè beh kiàn-lip Tiong-kok tãi-liók tui Tâi-oân thóng-tī ê chè-tō. Só-pái, chit-kóa hong-kiàn sí-tai tō í-bīn lâi Tâi-oân ê Hàn-jīn, áh-sī kòa Chiúⁿ Kài-chiòh chheng-koân chāi-lāi, tui Tiong-kok Hàn-jīn ê siū-hūn, thó-ia kap tui-lip mā piáu-bêng liáu chiáⁿ chheng-chhó. Í-bīn lâi Tâi-oân ê Hàn-jīn, sui-bóng in “í Hàn ùi Tiong” ê sim-thài iáu koh leh tak-tíⁿ, m̄-koh in í-keng tô-thoat kàu piⁿ-á, lī-khui tiong-sim ê sim-thài mā chiáⁿ bêng-hián--ê. Chū-jīn-tek, Siraya lāng kap í-bīn lâi ê Hàn-jīn, in chhím-thâu tui-lip p ê koan-hē, í-keng chiáⁿ-chò ū hái-iūⁿ cheng-sin ê Tâi-oân-lāng, kap ū tãi-liók Tiong-goân cheng-sin ê tãi-liók Hàn-jīn ê koan-hē. Ê-sái kóng, *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lâi-té, Siraya lāng kap ơ-àm, ok-mô, kok-chè chhiūⁿ-toat sè-lék ê chiàn-cheng, sī Tâi-oân lím-kīⁿ kap Tiong-hôa tiong-sim hòk-cháp, to hong-bīn chiàn-cheng ê chit bīn kiáⁿ.

Êđê lāng sī Oát-lám chit ê chió-sò ê bīn-chòk, soah sī siōng bêng-iōng--ê, chiām Oát-lám Se-goân kui phiàn pui koh jīn-kháu bát ê thó-tē. Êđê lāng kóng Lâm-tó-gí, hām Chām Pa (Champa) gí chiáⁿ kâng. In chhiūⁿ Tâi-oân ê Siraya lāng kâng-khoán, siók Malay-Polynesia gí-hē bûn-bêng ê chòk-kūn. Tong-jīn, in mā chhiūⁿ Siraya lāng sio-kâng hong liat jip-khi sú-iōng Lâm-tó gí-hē ê chòk-kūn. Kap chū-té tòa thoân-thóng hái-iūⁿ tē-hêng ê Siraya lāng pí, sui-bóng chit nng ê chòk-kūn lī chiáⁿ hng, bô bûn-hòa chiap-chhiok ê ki-hōe, m̄-koh gí-giân, lāng-chéng ùi-thoân hong-bīn ū chiáⁿ chē sio-

kâng ê só-chhài. Kun-kù chhut-miâ bîn-chòk-hák gián-kiù ê Anna de Hautecloque-Howe siá ê Êđê lêng — Chit ê Bó-koân Siā-hōe (Người Êđê – Một xã hội mẫu quyền), Êđê lêng sī lèk-sú-ték ùi-tiòh siám in lāi-pō áh-sī kī-tha chòk-kùn, mài hō in liáh--tiòh, soah ài tit-tít chhian-sóa ê chòk-kùn. Liōng-kī-iok tī 19 sè-kí tiong-kī, in í-keng sóa kah lī hái lú lāi lú hng, kàu koh khah koân ê liòk-tē, koh khah gúi-hiám ê soaⁿ-nâ ah. Êđê lêng hām Chām Pa lêng sui-bóng seng-oáh kah ũ chin bit-chhiat ê kau-liú, hō-siong hō bûn-hòa éng-hióng--tiòh-ê mā chiáⁿ bêng, chóng--sī, án-ne ê koan-hē mā sī ká tui-hong tòng-chò éng-oán lóng sī oan-siú-lêng. Chām Pa lêng kap Êđê lêng, in ũ chit ê chiáⁿ hók-cháp ê koan-hē. In tī bō-ék kap keng-chè chit-pêng sī siōng iàu-kín ê tâng-phōaⁿ, m̄-koh lèk-sú-ték, lèk-tāi koh sī ték-jîn. Kī-tha bô-kâng gián-kiù ê chu-liáu, ká Êđê lêng liat chò sú-iōng Chiám-pô-gí ê chòk-kùn, che sī ũ kho-hák kun-kù--ê, tō-sī in ũ chin chē sio-kâng ê só-chhài. Che kap Siraya lêng hām Hàn-jîn in ê koan-hē chiáⁿ sêng. Êđê chit ê miâ tō chhut chhài Chām Pa lêng ê thòk-im. Ū lêng kóng, Êđê lêng kap kó-chá ê Jorai lêng lóng siók Chām Pa chòk, tō-sī hō Goân kun, Java kun (Inodonesia) kúi-nā pái ká in kong-kek, koh Oát-lâm lêng ùi-tiòh beh hùn-tōa in ê tē-kài khi lâm-chìn ê sū-giáp, m̄-chiah in tâu-h-tâu-h-á sóa khi Se-goân ko-goân hia pī-lân. Chū-án-ne, in khi-chō ka-kī ê bûn-hòa, sui-bóng ũ leh óng-lái, chóng--sī mā tit-tít kap tòa iân-hái pēⁿ-iúⁿ ê Chām Pa bûn-hòa leh tui-khòng.

Êđê lêng kap Siraya lêng lóng ũ chit ê ki-pún bûn-hòa sio-kâng ê só-chhài, che tui seng-oáh-ték áh-sī bûn-hák chhòng-chok bîn-téng ũ chin tòa ê éng-hióng, he tō-sī in kàu taⁿ iáu í-chhiá bú-hē chē-tō ê siā-hōe. Che tō kap Hàn-jîn hām Kiaⁿ chòk ê bûn-hòa lóng bô-kâng. Só-pái, lú-sèng ê kak-sek tī in ê siā-hōe tiòh chiáⁿ iàu-kín ah.

Kui-ê lāi kóng, tī chong-kàu sin-gióng-ték, Êđê lêng kap Siraya lêng lóng ũ kóa chin kī-biâu sio-kâng ê só-chhài. Chit nng chòk ê lêng lóng bô chun-thàn jīm-hô ê it-sîn-kàu, soah ũ bân-mih kai iú lêng ê koan-liām (hoãn lêng sin-gióng). In ài chū-iú, ài tī khòng-ía ê tãi-chū-jân seng-oáh. In ê jîn-bút, ték-piát sī lú-sèng jîn-bút, tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ tī chiàn-cheng--n̄h chiok bêng-ióng, tī ài-chêng--nih chiáⁿ chú-tōng. Lú-sèng iau-kiú lâm-sèng ài hō in chio, lú-sèng ē ká lâm-sèng kiú-hun, lú-hong hū-chek hun-lé ê só-hùi. Che tī Đam San Sú-si lāi-té, lán ē-sái khòaⁿ kah chiáⁿ bêng. Êđê kap Siraya ê siā-hōe--nih, ang-î sī chiáⁿ iàu-kín ê kak-sek. Hū-jîn-láng sī chhù-lāi ê chú-láng, in ũ ke-hóe, hun-

in chú-tông, sīm-chì khéng chhut-bīn kóng tiâu-kiāⁿ, bé-bē, kā cha-po-lâng bé--tng-lái. Chit-má Êđê chòk iū-goân sī chng-thâu ê kiát-kò, khêng-sit lóng sī sī-chòk. Êđê chòk lái-té, hó-giáh-sàn pun kah chiáⁿ bêng.

Chit nng chòk ê lêng siōng bêng-hián ê chha-piát sī in tòa ê khong-kan. Chit chòk tòa tái-chū-jian ê hái-tó, tē-lí khong-kan khah êh, m̄-koh kap gōa-kháu ê sè-kài ū chiap-chhiok, bō-ék ê ki-hōe. Lēng-gōa chit chòk tian-tò sī tòa khòng-khoah ê soaⁿ-nâ, chóng--sī hông ko-lip--khí-lái. Sui-bóng in lóng sóa ng ko-goân khi, m̄-koh chiáⁿ bêng-hián, Siraya lêng ū koh khah chē ê ki-hōe ē-tàng kap pát chòk ê lêng chiap-chhiok, chhin-kūn hái-iūⁿ bûn-hòa. Án-ne, in ê keng-chè, bō-ék, gi-gián kap bûn-hòa chia--ê tō ū pau-iông-sèng kap chiap-háp-sèng. Tian-tò Êđê lêng khah pó-siú, in ê bûn-hòa mā khah ko-ták. In chha-put-to lóng kap Se-goân ko-soaⁿ chhiūⁿ Jorai lêng, Mnong lêng kap Bih lêng chia ê chió-sò bîn-chòk kau-pôe. Chiah-ê chòk-jîn ê kin-goân pún-té chiáⁿ óa Êđê lêng, in ê keng-chè, bûn-hòa kap su-sióng ê thêng-tō mā chiáⁿ sio-siāng.

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

Êđê hām Siraya chit nng chòk ê lêng, in ê bîn-siok bûn-hòa sêng-oáh lóng chin phong-phài, tō-sī Hàn-hòa bûn-bêng tī in ê sin-khu téng iáu-bōe chò hó, áh-sī kóng tui chór-sian kú-tng ê kó-chá kí-tí iáu bô kā hú-tiâu, siáu-biát--khi ê in-toaⁿ. Tī iáu-oán, hiám-ok ê tē-hêng, chhiūⁿ ko-goân, tó-sū áh-sī chhiūⁿ-nâ, chit khoán ko-ták kap hun-koah chhut-lái ê chêng-hêng, nā ùi tui-gōa, keng-chè, bō-ék chia--ê kóng--lái sī chit-khoán chór-gāi, m̄-koh tī bîn-chòk-hák, bûn-hòa-hák kap bîn-kan-bûn-hák chia--ê soah sī chiáⁿ hó kā chiú-tiâu ê tiâu-kiáⁿ. Nā kā in kap Oát-lâm Kiaⁿ chòk ê bîn-kan-bûn-hák lái pí tō chiáⁿ hó liáu-kái ah. Oát-lâm-lêng tī ka-kī kúi chheng nī ê lèk-sú lái-bīn, mā ū chit ê kap pát chòk chhiūⁿ Chām Pa lêng, Khmer lêng, Lào lêng kap Xiêm (Thái Lan) lêng, ték-piát sī in kap Hàn-jîn it-tit kian-chhi, chhi-chhám, choát-tui bô beh thò-hiáp ê chiàn-tàu ê lèk-sú. Che iáu bô kā hit-chūn Oát-lâm-lêng kap Jit-pún-lêng, Tiâu-sián-lêng, se-hng ê pèh-lêng (Bí-kok, Hoat-kok) sio-chiàn sng chai-lái. M̄-koh, lán thang khòaⁿ kóng, Oát-lâm-lêng ê sú-si kap eng-hiông-koa kòa sîn-ōe ê hē-thóng í-keng hông ut-sí bē-chió--khi ah, sīm-chì bô--khi. Oát-lâm-lêng ê sîn-ōe kò-sū ū chin chē kap Hàn-jîn--ê sio-kâng. Che

sī Âng-hô-saⁿ-kak-chiu tòa lãng ê só-chāi lī Hàn bûn-hòa tióng-sim siuⁿ kīn, koh chih-chài pak-siók chh̄t chheng nī ê in-toaⁿ, tì-sú thàu-lãm koh hãm Hàn-jîn ê bûn-hòa lóh-láu liáu chiáⁿ thàu, m̄-chiah Oát-lâm-lãng bô hoat-tō kã ka-kī ê sú-si, eng-hiông-koa ê ùi-sán pó-chûn kah chấp-chng. Chit-má Oát-lâm ê bîn-kan bûn-hák pó-khòe lāi-bīn, bîn-kan sū-sū ê chéng-lūi, Oát-lâm Kiaⁿ chók kan-na tī thoân-soat áh-sī kò-sū khah ù chài-tiâu, chia--ê sī khah òaⁿ chhut-hiân ê chéng-lūi (Oát-lâm-lãng í-keng kã tòk-lip ùi Hàn-jîn ê chhiú-tiông chhiúⁿ--tng-lai ê sí-kí). Ah tī ták chók ê bûn-hòa lāi-té siông thâu koh khah chá chhut-hiân ê bîn-kan sū-sū chéng-lūi, chhiūⁿ sîn-ōe kap sú-si, Se-goân-chók (chhiūⁿ Mnong, Kinh Dú, H điêu, Ba na, Chăm...) tō khah ù iáⁿ-bīn.

Chit khoán chéng-héng chài Êđê lãng lāi kóng khah bô-kâng. Chún-kóng chit-má Êđê lãng kap Kiaⁿ-jîn lóng sī hiaⁿ-tī, kãng chh̄t ê to-bîn-chók ê chók-kok, Êđê lãng kap hãm i khah chhin ê chók-jîn (Chăm lãng, Bana lãng, Xơ đặng lãng), lóng ù kóng Khan chit khoán ê gē-sút lūi-héng. Kóng Khan tō sī tîn-sút bó chit ê kò-sū, hoãn-sè sī jít-siông seng-oah ê kò-sū. Àn Ng Iú-thàu (Nguyễn Hữu Thầu), Êđê lãng ê Khan sī” sú-iông ah-ùn gí-sú ê chong-háp bîn-kan sū-sū pau-hâm lāi-iông kap piáu-ián hong-sek ê chéng-lūi” (Trung 1998:318). Khan piáu-ián ê sí-kan tī cheh-jit, biō-hōe kap hun-ián chia--ê, siàng-sī tī tek-ko-chhū (Nhà rông)/tng-ok (Nhà dài) chh̄n-héng, che sī Se-goân ták chók ê lãng chò-hóe oah-tãng ê só-chāi. Àn Sơ Giòk-chheng (Tô Ngọc Thanh) ê kóng-hoat, piáu-ián Khan ê lãng sī bîn-kan ê gē-jîn, in ē-tàng ná kóng-kó ná tó--leh, chē--leh, chhiúⁿ-koa áh-sī siàng-sī lãng gák-khì. Khêng-sit, chit ê Khan ē-tàng sio liân-sòa kóng kúi-nā àm, it-poaⁿ-ték sī bô leh tiám-hóe, hō khì-hun koh khah sîn-pì, ò-biâu. Se-goân-lãng sîn kóng, tîn-sút Khan ê sí-kan kap khong-kan sī chiok sîn-sèng--ê, siók tī sim-léng ê in-sò, bē-tàng chiò tiòh kng. Nā ù kng, hiah ê eng-hiông ê léng-hùn tō bô thang tng--lái, bô hoat-tō chiūⁿ kóng Khan ê lãng ê sin. Chit-khoán tîn-sút Khan sú-si--ê sī chh̄t-khoán kap chók-sian, sîn-léng kau-liú, ù sîn-sèng ê chong-kàu-sèng. I ê hêng-sek ù tiô-tãng ê sèng-chit, kap Kiaⁿ-chók áh-sī Chăm lãng ê Salman kàu ê oah-tãng kãng-khoán.

Khêng-sit, *Đam San Sú-si* sī leh kóng chit ê kãng-miá ê eng-hiông Đam San ê Khan, tī chin chē chók ê bîn-kan kò-sū pōe-kéng lāi-bīn chhut-hiân, lāi-té ù Chăm lãng. Êđê lãng ê *Đam San Sú-si* tîn-sút lāi-bīn ù chin chē bûn-hòa sè-chiat iáu koh pó-liú khah

chhim-khek ê Châm bûn-hòa ê in-kì, chhiūⁿ kóng tē-miá, miá-chheng kap bûn-hòa chia--ê. M̄-koh, *Đam San Sú-si* mā ũ chin chē ka-kī ê bûn-hòa tèk-sek, hoán-èng Êđê lāng ê hong-siòk sip-koàn, chhiūⁿ seng-sán, hun-in, tãi-chū-jian kap lông-giáp chia--ê. Êđê lāng ê bîn-kan bûn-hòa lāi-té ê Đam San sī leh kóng chit ê lí-sióng eng-hiông ê seng-oáh kap ũn-miá ê Khan. Khêng-sít, beh kã Đam San liát chò sú-si àh-sī eng-hiông-koa bô kan-tan, sī ták chók ê bûn-hòa sít-chiān, hām se-hng-lāng ê bîn-kan bûn-hák ê lūi-piát hêng-sek kap lūi-piát lí-lūn ê chha-ī ê in-toaⁿ. Đam San sī tín-sút kap Đam San chit ê eng-hiông ũ koan-hē ê bîn-kan kò-sū, i bô hoat-tō háh se-iūⁿ-lāng ê Iliat, Odysseus (Homer) sú-si àh-sī kó-chá ê In-tō-lāng ê Ramayana àh-sī Mahabharata ták-hāng sím-bí ê goân-chek àh-sī chêng-lūi ê kui-hoān. Ngô Tek-sēng (Ngô Đức Thịnh) gián-kiù-chiá kã chit-kóa sú-si, chhiūⁿ Đam San Khan khòaⁿ chò sī kó-chá hit-chūn ê sú-si, tī ták ê pō-lók sī-chók ê chêng kai-kip, chêng chêng-hú ê siā-hōe hêng-thài chhut-hiān. Ah hit-kóa keng-tián ê sú-si, chhiūⁿ Iliat, Odysseus, Ramayana lóng sī kó-chá ê sú-si, tī í-keng ē-sái hêng-sēng kok-ka kap chêng-hú ê siā-hōe hêng-thài chhut-hiān. Tong-jian kap Iliat, Odysseus ê sú-si pí--khí-lai, *Đam San Sú-si* tī chheng nī, kúi chheng nī liáu-āu seⁿ--chhut-lai (tãi-iok ùi 16 sè-kí kàu 17 sè-kí, tng-tiòh ták ê iân-hái kap pēⁿ-iūⁿ ê chók-jin kã kong-kek ê tí-không), m̄-koh, tī siā-hōe kiát-kò ê thêng-tō, Đam San tō sng sī khah kó-chá ê khoân-kéng. Siòk-gí kóng, só-ū ê pí-kàu lóng sī bô chiáu-chng, ngē-áu--ê, lán mā bô eng-kai thèh In Au ê kó-chá bûn-bêng chiāⁿ-chò í-it ê phiau-chún lai niū, phêng-kó Tang-lâm-a ê Êđê lāng in ê bîn-kan bûn-hòa. Tī chia, lán chiām-sī kã Khan tòng-chò sī Êđê lāng ũ sú-si àh-sī eng-hiông sú-si sèng-chit ê chong-háp bîn-kan sū-sút ê hêng-sek ê chit-ê.

Gián-kiù-chiá Ngô Tek-sēng (Ngô Đức Thịnh) kã Đam San liát jip-khi siā-hōe siat-tì sú-si ê chêng-lūi (koan-hē eng-hiông jin-bút ê sú-si), kap lēng-gōa chit-khoán sī chhòng-sè ê sú-si. Chit nng khoán sú-si lóng tī “Tng-phiⁿ ũn-bun lūi káu-thoan” chit lūi (Trung 1998:52), Đam San sī tng ũ 2077 chōa, iōng ũn-bun su-siá ê sú-si. It-poaⁿ-tèk, Se-goân ták-chók ê sú-si kòa Đam San chāi-lai, thong-siōng pun-chò chin chē tōaⁿ-lòh kap sió-chiat, chhin-chhiūⁿ chiuⁿ ê ì-sù, ták tōaⁿ, ták sió-chiat kóng bô-kang ê kò-sū, sū-kiāⁿ àh-sī jin-bút. Kun-kù Ngô Tek-sēng ê kóng-hoat, Se-goân eng-hiông sú-si ê gē-sút, it-poaⁿ-tèk ũ “àm-jū kap tô-siōng chē ê piáu-tát hong-sek, phòng-hong ê siàng-thé.” (Trung

1998:53) Lán lóng chai-iaⁿ, Oát-lâm Se-goân siā-hōe chō-chiāⁿ ê sí-kan liōng-kí-iok tī 16 sè-kí, chit-chūn iáu-bōe ū kai-kip hām chit-kóa kai-kip pak-siah ê hêng chhut--lâi, chit ê sí-kí, Se-goân siā-hōe iáu tiàm tī pō-lòk, sī-chòk niá. Hō kun-sū thâu-lâng (Mtao àh-sī Mō tao) tòa-niá, chiah-ê pō-lòk hām sī-chòk ū-tiòh beh cheng-ka jîn-lèk, bîn-chiòng kap ke-hóe chia--ê, tiāⁿ chò kun-tūi ê chhiong-tút. *Đam San Sú-si* ê chêng-kéng kap lōe-iông tī chit khoán ê pōe-kéng têng-hiān chhut--lâi. Lán thang àn i ê lōe-iông (su-siá koan-hē eng-hiông jîn-bút) kap si-hoat ê hêng-sek (iông si-kù piáu-tát sū-sút), ká Đam San liát chò eng-hiông sú-si àh-sī eng-hiông-koa. Gián-kiù-chiá Bú Kong-jîn (Võ Quang Nhơn) ê khòaⁿ-hoat sī *Đam San Sú-si* bô sêng Sabatier ê koan-tiám, tī 17 sè-kí chhut--lâi, sī tī koh khah chá tãi-iok 12 sè-kí chhut-hiān. M̄-koh, chit ê koan-tiám chiāⁿ bêng-hián sī ngē-áu--ê, bô hah khó-kó-hák kap lèk-sú chu-liâu.

Kun-kù Ng Íú-thàu (Nguyễn Hữu Thầu) ê kóng-hoat, leh siu-chip *Đam San Sú-si* ê kòe-thêng, í-keng chhōe tiòh Khan ê sí ê pán-pún. M-koh, chit lâi-té ū nng ê siōng thang sìn-jīm--ê sī 1934 nî Sabatier kap 1959 nî Tô Chú-chì (Đào Tử Chí) kong-pò ê pán-pún. Lēng-gōa nng ê pán-pún mā sī chit nng ê chok-chiá ê, tī bô-kâng ê sí-kan kong-pò, ū kóa só-chāi í-keng bô lâu Khan siōng kó-chá ê ték-teng. Ngō Tek-seng jîn-úi, Êđê lāng ê *Đam San Sú-si* thâu chit pán tī 1927 nî kong-pò, lēng-gōa koh ū tòa Se-goân ê chió-sò bîn-chòk ê sú-si, liōng-kí-iok ū jī-cháp ê pán-pún.

Nā chù-ì tiòh chió-sò bîn-chòk (goân-chū-bîn), it-poaⁿ-ték hō-chò Pêⁿ-pơ-chòk ê bîn-kan bîn-hák ki-chhó, kóa Siraya lāng chāi-lāi, án-ne Tâi-oân chiū sī chit ê ū kú-tng bîn-hák ê kok-ka. Goán iáu bô ki-hōe chhā-khó Tâi-oân ê eng-hiông-koa sú-si, che mā sī bī-lâi goán ē lòh cheng-sîn khui-lát khi liáu-kái kap gián-kiù ê khang-khòe. Sópái, pún-bùn beh iông lēng-gōa chit khoán ê eng-hiông-koa — pò-tē-hì ê kiók-pún. Tiòh sng lán beh sêng-jīn in tī piáu-ian khong-kan kap si-hoat hêng-sek ū kóa chha-piát, tī su-sióng, lōe-iông, sè-kài-koan kap jîn-seng-koan chia--ê, pò-tē-hì eng-hiông chú-tê ê hì-bùn àh-sī tãi-kong ū chin chē só-chāi kap *Đam San Sú-si* saⁿ kiát-liân. Tâi-oân bîn-hòa ê ki-chhó lâi-té, pò-tē-hì sī chit ê ū kiông-liát bîn-chòk kiau-ngō cheng-sîn kap pún-thó ì-gī ê bîn-hòa siōng-teng. Tēⁿ Pang-tìn tī chit phiⁿ chiāⁿ siōng-sè ê lūn-bùn Tâi-oân ê Eng-hiông, Chún-pī Chhiong-tīn lâi-té kóng tiòh, 2006 nî Hêng-chèng-īⁿ Sin-bùn Thoân-pò-chhù pān chit tiūⁿ teng-kiú Tâi-oân ê bîn-hòa siōng-teng ê kong-thiaⁿ-hōe

(choân-bîn kong-tâu), lō-bóe pò-tē-hì sī hông keng--tiòh siōng koân phiò--ê, i chhiau-kòe kī-tha mā chiáⁿ ũ hūn-liōng ê tui-chhiú, chhiūⁿ Giók-san, lâu-jiát hiân-tāi ê Tâi-pak 101 tōa-lâu. Tâi-oân pò-tē-hì ê chú-tê chiáⁿ to-iūⁿ, oáh lin-lin, m̄-koh chiám siōng chú-iàu--ê iáu-sī eng-hiōng-koa. Tēⁿ Pang-tìn jīn-úi, chit ê chú-tê thê-chhéⁿ Tâi-oân-lâng tng-kī kap Tiong-kok tã-liók ê khòng-cheng, kiàn-lip Tâi-oân-lâng ê chú-thé ũ chō-chān, pī-bián “gōng-mà-mà, bē lí-kai, oai-chhoah, piàn-khoán” ê sim-thài, chiáⁿ kú ah, “Tâi-oân í-keng hō sit-bîn-chiá ê thóng-tī...chú-thé kè-tát hām chú-thé ì-sek kàu taⁿ iáu chhiūⁿ chit ê òe tiòh PCBs tók-sèng ê seng-khu, bô hoat-tō chhiūⁿ cheng-siōng-lâng hoe-hók ióng-kiáⁿ.” (Tran 2018:20-21)

Pò-tē-hì sī Tâi-oân-lâng hoán-khòng ì-sek ê piáu-hiân, chit lâi-té *Koat-chiàn Siraya* sī siōng ũ tã-piáu-seng, siōng tián-hêng ê chok-phín lâi-té ê chit-ê, i tùt-hián khòng-cheng, hoán-khòng ê cheng-sîn, ũi-tiòh kheng-tēng bîn-chòk-seng, thâu-khí-seng tō seng tui lâi-pō ê Kok-bîn-tóng (ùi Tiong-kok tã-liók lâi--ê). “Tui Kok-bîn-tóng lâi kóng, Tâi-oân pún-té kan-na sī chit chō pha-hng--khì ê tó-sū, Tâi-oân-lâng ãi tông-cheng chit-khoán ê Tōa-sī-tã, án-ne Tâi-oân chiah piàn-chò “khòng-khoah ê khe-hô”... tng-kī tī kài-giám sī-tã hông khu-kim, koh ũ chiah-ê gō-kí-kā-káp, hō Tâi-oân thè-pō kah sì-cháp gōa tang ah, Tâi-oân it-tít ài jīm-siū Kok-bîn-tóng.” (Tran 2018:22-23) M-koh, Tâi-oân chāi-tē--ê kap í-bîn lâi ê Hàn-jīn (chú-iàu sī Kok-bîn-tóng ê lêng), in ê chiàn-cheng tâu-h-tâu-h-á chiáⁿ-chò Tâi-oân kap Tiong-kok-tã-liók ê chiàn-cheng. Tâi-oân-lâng siūⁿ beh ài ũ-lát, m̄-koán chó-sian ùi toh lâi--ê àh-sī toh chit ê chòk-kún, tiāⁿ-tiòh ài chin-chiáⁿ thoân-kiat, it-tì. Sót-pái, chò-hóe tī Tâi-oân khiá-khí ê Hàn-jīn kap Tâi-oân-lâng ài chhiú khan chhiú, tàu-tīn hoán-khòng gōa-pang. Án-ne ê lōe-iōng, tī *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lâi-té piáu-hiân kah siōng bēng ah, keng-kòe ũi-tiòh kap chhiúⁿ-tō, mô-kúi hām ùi Au-chiu (Philip Toa lò) àh-sī Jit-pún (Âm Dương Dã Gian tǎng) lâi ê chhim-liók-chiá, Siraya lêng ê eng-hiōng chhiūⁿ Tông Bō-hùn, Tông Bō-niá í-keng kap Hàn-jīn ê eng-hiōng chhiūⁿ Tiō Ngá-êng, Koan Chê-bùn chò-hóe chiàn-tàu ê sū-kiáⁿ.

Pò-tē-hì sī Tâi-oân siōng chiūⁿ-kioh ê bîn-kan gē-sút. Kun-kù hák-chiá in ê kái-soeh sī, “Pò-tē-hì thài-ē hō lêng hiah ài? Chin kán-tan, he sī bô jīm-hô Kok-bîn-tóng ê iáⁿ-jiah tī hit lâi-té.” (Tran 2018:24) Hiân-chhú-sī ê pò-tē-hì kiáⁿ òng hiân-tāi, kiát-háp im-gák, bú-tō kap hiân-tāi cheng-tī su-sióng khi hoat-tián. Pian-kiók-ka, chhut-miá ê chok-

ka mā khò thoân-thóng pò-tē-hì gē-sút chhòng-chok sin ê chok-phín. *Koat-chiàn Siraya* sī si-jîn Tân Kiàn-sêng siá kiók-pún, im-gák-ka Chiā Bêng-iū chok-khek kiam chú-chhiùⁿ, gē-jîn Ông Gē-bêng poaⁿ pò-tē-hì, Lâm-khu Bùn-hòa Tiong-sim Tiuⁿ Iàn-jū chí-tō kap Lū Oát-hiông (Lù Việt Hùng) hū-chek hoan-ék chò Oát-lâm-gí pán ê chok-phín. Leh heng-hók chít khoán ũ Tâi-oân chin-sit ê tèk-sek kap jîn-tông ê gē-sút ê kòe-thêng, thang poaⁿ chít chhut pò-tē-hì sī Tâi-lâm Chhī-chèng-hú ê phah-piàⁿ koh ũ Kok-líp Tâi-oân Bùn-hák-koán ê chàn-chō. Chít khoán chip-thé piáu-ián ê hêng-sek, tiòh sng tī hiân-tāi sī-kí, iū-goân kap Êđê làng ê Khan ê hêng-sek ũ chin chē ki-pún-ték sio-kâng ê só-chāi. Chiū-sī chít ê tong-kim ê gē-jîn iông i í-keng lêng-gō koh khòaⁿ kòe ták khoán bô-kâng ê pán-pún ê hêng-sek, koh poaⁿ chít ê chòk-jîn in chin iâu-oán ê kì-tí ê kòe-sū. Tēⁿ Pang-tin kheng-teng kóng, “Góa jîn-ùi, tui pò-tē-hì ê gē-sút, m̄-koán i sī án-chóaⁿ poaⁿ, hì-chhut lōe-iông án-chóaⁿ, pò-tē-hì hō koan-chiòng ê gē-sút khi-hun, hō i chiáⁿ chò chít khoán hong-hù pún-thó bùn-hòa jîn-tông ê piáu-ián hêng-sek...pò-tē-hì ê kiók-pún it-poaⁿ-tèk sī chít-kóa kó-tián, ián-gī kòe-sū kap bú-kiap sió-soat chia--ê, m̄-chiah i ê kak-sek lóng käng-khoán.” (Tran 2018:25)

Só-pái, sui-bóng pò-tē-hì *Koat-chiàn Siraya* ê cheng-lūi kap *Đam San Sú-si* bô-kâng, m̄-koh *Koat-chiàn Siraya* mā sī hiân-tāi chok-phín, ũ chok-chiá, chāi-tē bùn-hòa ê kun-thâu kap koan-hē eng-hiông su-sióng chia--ê käng-khoán ê só-chāi. Chít chhut pò-tē-hì sī kun-kù Tâi-oân Eng-hiông-toân chít phō siá--ê, hong chhòng-chok kap chip-thé ê piáu-ián, án-ne bớ hong-bīn lái kóng, mā sng sī chin chiáⁿ ê bīn-kan bùn-hòa ê chok-phín. Tâi-oân pò-tē-hì gē-sút ê seⁿ-chiáⁿ kap *Đam San Sú-si* kiông-beh sī käng chít ê sī-kan, tō sī 17 sè-kí hit-chūn. Goán koh thê-chhéⁿ chít nng phō chok-phín in käng-khoán--ê sī in piáu-ián ê hong-sek. Chít nng phō chok-phín lóng ài gē-jîn tiàm bú-tái téng áh-sī tãi-chiòng ê sīn-seng khong-kan leh oáh-lin-lin ê ián-chhut. Só-pái, gē-jîn ê ián-chhut áh-sī koh-chài chhòng-chō lóng chiok iàu-kín, che koat-teng chok-phín ũ sêng-kong ah bô.

Koan-chiòng ê kak-sek käng-khoán mā chiáⁿ iàu-kín, i koat-teng chok-phín beh án-chóaⁿ kái-soeh. Tiāⁿ-tiòh hām koan-chiòng tui gē-sút ũ kiông-bêng, koan-chiòng kap gē-jîn chò-hóc hiáng-siū chít ê bùn-hòa khong-kan, tui chok-phín ê lōe-iông chiah ũ hoat-tō liáu-kái, thé-hōe kah chiâu-chng.

4. *Koat-chiàn Siraya kap Đam San Sú-si* in ũ bîn-chòk jîn-tông sio-siāng hām bô-kâng ê só-chāi

Koat-chiàn Siraya kap Đam San Sú-si lóng siá koan-hē ũ chāi-tē-lâng jîn-tông ê chhim-khek in-kì ê siā-hōe kò-sū. Chit n̄ng chòk ũ chit ê chiáⁿ hó khòaⁿ--chhut-lâi sio-kâng ê só-chāi, tō sī in lóng sī bú-koân siā-hōe. Chit n̄ng phō chok-phín--nih, bú-koân sèng-chit tēng-hiān kah chiáⁿ bēng, i hoat-lòh jîn-bút ták-hāng ê oah-tāng, sīm-chì chí-tō chok-phín ê su-sióng hām kò-sū ê thâu-lâi-bóe-khì ê ũn-chok. Kap Oát-lâm-lâng áh-sī Hàn-jîn ê thoân-thóng hū-koân siā-hōe lâi kóng, bú-koân siā-hōe piáu-hiān jîn-lūi chơ-chit koh khah kó-chá ê kòe-khì. Tō sī án-ne, bú-koân siā-hōe ê chūn-chāi hō i ē-tàng poah-khui Hàn bûn-hòa chit ê khor-á, thoat-lī jū-kàu bûn-hòa khu-hék ê chi-phòe. Ũi āu-hiān-tāi ê koan-tiām kā khòaⁿ, bú-koân áh-sī lú-sèng lóng sī lím-kíⁿ koân-lèk ê piáu-hiān/tāi-piáu, tui sèng-piát pēng-koân kap bîn-chú ê khat-bōng. Anne de Hautescloque-Howe tī Êđê Lâng— Chit-ê Bú-koân Siā-hōe (Người Êđê – Một xã hội mẫu quyền) lâi-té jîn-úi, Êđê lêng ê siā-hōe sī siā-hōe--nih choân-pō ê koân-lèk lóng lú-sèng leh hōaⁿ ê kiàn-chèng, hū-jîn-lâng tī siā-hōe chhōa-thâu--ê. Hū-jîn-lâng ē chò seng-lí áh-sī kā cha-pō-lâng bé--tng-lâi. Tī chit ê Hoat-kok lú hák-chiá ê gán-lâi, Êđê ê hū-jîn-lâng chiáⁿ giám-ngē, íong-kám, tōa-siaⁿ-m̄ng. Ka-tēng choân-pō ê ke-hóe lóng in lák-tiâu leh, cha-pō-lâng kan-na sī thè cha-bó-lâng koán-lí ke-hóe--ê niā-niā. Tī hun-in áh-sī ài-chēng--nih, lú-sèng lóng sī chú-tōng--ê, in ē kā cha-pō-lâng chhōa tng-lâi hō in chío, koh hō lām-hong ê ka-tēng kè-chng. Khòaⁿ *Đam San Sú-si*, kò-sū thâu-khí-seng, lán tō khòaⁿ tiòh hū-jîn-lâng tng-ke chò-chú ah. Chhím-thâu, Hơ Nhí kap Hơ Bhi chit n̄ng ê cha-bó-lâng tō kā in hiaⁿ-tī chhōe--lâi, kiò in kā tàu chhōe ang-sài. Tng in hiaⁿ-tī kóng tiòh in bô kah-ì ê lêng hit-chūn (Y Koat, Y Moat), in hoán-tui kah beh liáh-kông, lō-bóe kiông-pek in hiaⁿ-tī sūn in ê i khi kā Đam San kiù-hun. Đam San pún-té bô siūⁿ beh kap in chí-mōe-á kiát-hun, i ê hoán-èng chiáⁿ lêng-tām, bô chhut-lâi gēng-chiap lú-hong lâi kóng chhin-chiáⁿ. Liáu in ché--á (Hơ Áng) ũ chhui kóng kah bô nōa kóng bē iáⁿ, sió-mōe Hơ Lí chiū kā i phah kah beh sí beh oah, i mā m̄-káⁿ hoán-khòng. “Hơ Lí khi Đam San ê pàng-keng, kā i ê tò hīⁿ làm kah lâu-hoeh, chiáⁿ hīⁿ làm kah lâu-hoeh, liáu phah Đam San ê kha-chiah-phiaⁿ, i leh kún-liòng...” (Trung 1999:323) Tông-tông chit ê bēng-íong ê thâu-bák, ũ chhiau-jîn ê thè-lát, chóng--sī, Đam San tī chhù-lâi soah hō in chí-mōe-á ê koân-

lèk ah-tiâu leh, sīm-chì tùi i sú-iōng pòk-lèk. Lō-bóe, Hơ Nhí kap Hơ Bhi n̄ng chí-mōe chhin-sin khi Đam San in tau cheng-sek kā kiū-hun. Chhōa tiòh Đam San liáu-āu, in hō lâm-hong ê ka-têng chiâⁿ tōa-lé ê kè-chng (chhiūⁿ gū, chhiūⁿ, chiú, koán chhiūⁿ ê lāng, sú-iōng-jîn...), m̄-koh ē-tàng hiáng-siū--ê, mā kan-na chhù-lāi ê hū-jîn-lāng (kò*a* í-keng kòe-óng--ê), chhiūⁿ a-má, a-bú ah-sī a-ché chia--ê. Hō hū-jîn-lāng koat-têng ê kám-chêng koan-hē sī chit khoán cheng-thóng, ún-têng ê kám-chêng (Đam San hām Hơ Nhí kap Hơ Bhi n̄ng chí-mōe ê hun-in), nā hō lâm-seng koat-têng ê kám-chêng sī oân-choân bák-nih-kú koh m̄-sī cheng-sek--ê (kiat-hun chêng Đam San kap lú-pêng-iú Hbia). Kun-kù Chu Thài-san ê ì-kiàn, “hó-giáh, béng-ióng ê thâu-bák hoân-sè sī hoàiⁿ-sàu thian-hā ê ióng-chiòng, chhiúⁿ tiòh chin chē lô-kó, gū, chhiūⁿ kap lâm-lú ê sú-iōng-jîn, m̄-koh siōng bóe chiaⁿ-ê chiàn-lī-phín iáu sī siók tī bó hit pêng ê ka-têng. Chiū sī i tòa bóe ê chhù, i thâu-bák ê sin-hūn mā sī kè-sêng bó hit pêng ê thoân-thóng, i hiah ê chhin-sin ê chiàn-iú mā sī bó hit pêng ê chhin-lāng. Lēng-gōa, ke-hóe, chiàn-kū kap chí-hui chham-ka sio-chiàn ê jîn-lèk, chú-iàu mā sī bó hit pêng ê ka-têng.” (Tran 2018:301) Khêng-si t, Đam San í-keng pōaⁿ-kòe choân-pō lé-kàu ê sok-pák khi chhōe kám-chêng chū-iú ê khat-bōng, i tùi hō lāng kiōng-pek sūn-thàn n̄ng ê bóe ê hun-in bô móa-ì, m̄-chiah lō-bóe Đam San koat-sim koh chhōa chit ê ka-kī keng ê bóe, chiū sī Thài-ióng lú-sin. Chit-chân koh ũ chit khoán ì-gī, chiū-sī cheng-hók tãi-chū-jiàn ê khat-bōng iah-sī jîn-lūi sī ú-tiū ê tiong-sim ê chū-ngó ì-sek. M̄-koh lán lóng chai-iaⁿ, chiū-sī tùi lú-koân chit-khoán ê thiau-chiàn (chiàu lâm-seng ê ì-goân koh chhōa) ê in-toaⁿ, siōng bóe chit ê béng-ióng ê thâu-bák chhiūⁿ Đam San soah hi-seng ah. Jîn-ùi Thài-ióng-sin mā sī lú-sin chit-khoán--ê mā hoán-èng Êđê lāng in chiâⁿ kiōng-liát ê lú-koân koan-liām. Nā thèh lái kap Hi-liáp sin-ōe lái-té ê lâm Thài-ióng-sin Helios, ah-sī Tiong-kok sin-ōe lái-té hiah ê hō Hō Gē siā-lólh-lái ê sin-lêng thài-ióng (hui sèng-piát) pí, án-ne lán ē-tàng khòⁿ kóng, i ê sèng-piát ì-sek án-chó^a kiōng-liát khi éng-hióng tiòh sin-ōe kap sú-si lái-té tō-siōng ê kiàn-kò.

Koat-chiàn Siraya lái-té, thâu chit ê chhut-hiān--ê, lóng bē chiàn-pāi ê chiàn-sū sī chit ê lú-seng Tông Bō-hūn. Chit ê Siraya chió-sòe bîn-chòk ê lú-seng ũ ko-kiōng ê bú-gē, ióng-kám ê cheng-sin, ná chhiūⁿ sin-bêng. Sī i chhut-chhiú pang-chān tng teh thoat-tō hiong-ok ê húi-tō ê Hàn-jîn Tiō Ngá-êng. Tông Bō-hūn ê bú-sút chiâⁿ khiàng, chin chē hiong-ok ê hiong-siú chhiūⁿ Tek-ke, Khoah-chhùi--ê, Saⁿ-kha-niau kap Tōa-phīⁿ--ê..., in

iáu-bōe khòaⁿ hó ko-chhiú ê bīn-bók sī siáng to í-keng chiàu-lùn hông phah-pāi ah. Chit ê chok-phín lāi-té, lán khòaⁿ tióh Siraya ê lú-koân-chiá khòaⁿ Hàn-jîn pák-kha ê hong-siòk chiáⁿ bô. Hàn-jîn hō Jû-ka hū-koân (lâm-koân) éng-hióng--tiòh, siūⁿ beh bôa-sái cha-bó-lâng, kā in tòng-chò sèng-kang-kū, hông-chí in cháu-khau, chiah kiò in pák-kha. Chū sè-hàn ū ka-kàu ê cha-bó-lâng tō tit-tit iōng si-tiú lāi pák-kha, hō kha tīng--khì, chiáⁿ chò phòh-siūⁿ, chiáⁿ oh kiáⁿ-lō, bô lī-piān. Tùi cha-po-lâng lāi kóng, ū chit siang iù-iù, bô chiūⁿ-chiáⁿ, bē-tàng cheng-siōng kiáⁿ-lō, pek--tiòh ài khò cha-po-lâng ê cha-bó-lâng chiah sī bí-lē ê cha-bó-lâng. Lâng lóng giáh huiⁿ tòi pài, siōng-sin kóng pák-kha ê hū-jîn-lâng ū chit khoán chiáⁿ tèk-piát ê cheng-iók tēng-lék. Tùi Siraya lêng kóng--lāi, che sī chit khoán iá-bân, khok-héng ê hong-siòk, tùi sèng-piát ê ap-chè. “Tōa-hiaⁿ, lí khòaⁿ Tiō kơ-niú ū pák-kha, siūⁿ khó-liân ah! Tīng tióh gūi-hiám hit-chūn, bô hoat-tō cháu tióh chin kín. Án-ne, Hàn-jîn ê lâm-sèng siūⁿ kòe khó-òⁿ ah ! Kan-na ūi tióh ka-kī ê iók-bōng, siáⁿ khoán ê pō-sò lóng siūⁿ ē chhut--lāi.” (Tran 2018:72) Ông Lộc À chit ê jîn-bút ka-kī mā jīn-úi, “Góa kám-kak ku-koài, in mā jīn-úi góa koài-kī...cha-bó-lâng, hū-jîn-lâng siūⁿ khah chiu-chi, iù-lō, cha-po-lâng kan-na ē-hiáu iōng chhiú iōng kha. Sī án-chóaⁿ lán ê siā-hōe choân-pō ê tãi-chi sī hō cha-po-lâng koat leh?” (Tran 2018:75) Phoe-phéng hū-koân kap pák-kha ê hong-siòk mā sī tùi Hàn-hòa bûn-bêng ê phoe-phòhⁿ kap hoán-khòng. Tiō Ngá-êng kóng, “Tōa-hiaⁿ, lí khòaⁿ, lí mā hō Hàn-jîn ê bûn-hòa éng-hióng loh! Thâu-khak lāi-té choân cha-po-lâng ê su-sióng. Lí chhiò sió-mōe kóng góa tòi leh pák-kha ê hong-siòk, góa khòaⁿ lí thâu-náu mā khi hō lêng pák-kha ah...kám kóng kan-na cha-po-lâng chiah ū koân khi ióng-kám hêng-tōng? Kan-na cha-po-lâng chiah ē-tàng ū-chêng ū-gī hioh? Thài-ē un-jiú ê hū-jîn-lâng chiū bē-tàng ióng-kám leh kòe-jit?” (Tran 2018:116) Chia kóng ê lâm-koân — lú-koân ê àm-jū, chhin-chhiūⁿ kā chū-iú Tâi-oân ê pêng-téng-koân chò àm-hō, “Bō-hùn mā sī hū-jîn-lâng, m̄-koh i ē-sái ka-kī koat-tēng i ê seng-khu téng beh chò siáⁿ. Án-ne, nā bîn-á-chài ē-tàng tng--lāi, sió-mōe góa mā siūⁿ beh kā pák-kha ê hit iân si-tiú pak--lòh-lāi. Tōa-hiaⁿ ài hū-chek tī-liâu sió-mōe ê kha, hō i hó.” (Tran 2018:117)

Tī siōng chhám-liát ê chiàn-cheng--nih, Tông Bō-hùn tit-tit hām hiaⁿ-ko kap ài-jîn/ bī-hun-hu Koan Chê-bûn chò-hóc. Siraya lêng chhiūⁿ Êđê lêng käng-khoán, mā ū hō lêng chio ê hong-siòk. Tng hoán-khòng O-mô-sin (Hắc Ma Thần) ê chiàn-cheng teh-

beh soah hit-chūn, chit ê Hàn-jîn ê íóng-sū tō hō lāng bô kā thiah-pèh thê-chhéⁿ chit ê hong-siòk. Tông Bō-hùn kóng, “Lí mā chai-íáⁿ goán pō-lòk ê hong-siòk ah, lí tiāⁿ-tióh ài hō goán chio...góa mā chin-sim leh kah-ì--lí, kan-na ài lí lái goán tau tōa chiū hó, góa bô iau-kiū jīm-hô ê ke-hóe kap kè-chng.” (Tran 2018:148)

Êđê lāng kap Siraya lāng lóng sī chhut-si tī sio-liân-sòa kap kiông-tāi ê tèk-jîn sio-chiàn ê nng chòk. *Đam San Sú-si* lái-té, lán khòaⁿ tiòh Đam San hām kī-tha béng-íóng ê thâu-bák, chhiūⁿ Mơ tao Grur, Mơ tao Mơ xây chân-khok ê kau-chiàn, sīm-chi Đam San koh káⁿ phah Thiⁿ-kong. *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lái-té, lán khòaⁿ ē tiòh chió-sò Siraya ê pō-lòk, ài tit-tit kap Ng Kài-béng tài-niá ê ok-tō hām bē-chió ùi Au-chiu, Jit-pún lái ê tèk-jîn sio-chiàn. Chiū sī chit khoán lèk-sú tèk-teng ê in-toaⁿ, chit nng ê chòk-kùn ê eng-hiông-koa kap sú-si lái-té, ùi tiòh beh kò bìn-chòk ê jīn-tông, tit-tit piàⁿ su-iaⁿ.

Lēng-gōa chit nng chòk koh ũ chit ê sio-kāng ê só-chāi, chiū sī in iáu bô jīm-hô tók chun ê chong-kàu sin-gióng. Chit ê siā-hōe kiát-kò ê thēng-tō iáu sī pō-lòk sī-chòk ê chōng-hóng, in ê sin-gióng iáu koh tī bān-mǐh kai iú lēng hām to-sin-kàu ê kài-hān niá. *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lái-té, lán khòaⁿ tiòh nng pēng chin-chiáⁿ béng-íóng ê thau-lāng m-sī Tông Bō-niá, Koan Chê-bùn áh-sī Ng Kài-béng, sī nng chióng chhiau-chū-jiān, tái-piáu siang-hong ê sè-lèk, siān-hong ê A-líp-chó, ok-hong ê O-mô-sin (Hắc Ma Thần). A-líp-chó sī Siraya lāng ê chó-lēng, ùi lēng-kài lái beh pó-hō in. A-líp-chó ũ chí-hui siōng béng-íóng ê chiàn-sū ê chāi-tiāu, chiū-sī Lēng-pá chiàn-sū (in ê lēng-hùn lī-khui in ê seng-khu, piàn chò pá pó-hō lāng). O-mô-sin ták-pái chhut-hiān tō chiūⁿ Âm Dương Dã Gian Tǎng ê sin, chhin-chhiūⁿ A-líp-chó chiūⁿ ang-ì Pèh Chin-chu (Siraya lāng ê hoat-su) ê sin chhut-hiān, che lóng sī Salman kàu ê thiàu-tāng. Thiàu-tāng sī Tang-lām-a tē-khu chiáⁿ phó-phiàn ê chiān chong-kàu ê bìn-kan sin-gióng. O-mô-sin siōng lī-hāi ê kun-tūi m-sī lán-lāng, sī i ê hoat-sút piàn ê chiòh-thau kap kúi-peng kúi-chiòng ê kun-tūi. Chit khoán to-sin-kàu ê sin-gióng chin bēng-hián leh hoán-èng Êđê kap Siraya nng chòk ê lāng kap sin-lēng koan-hē lái-té pēng-koan sin-gióng ê tèk-sèng. Đam San koh káⁿ phah, chūn Thiⁿ-kong ê âm-kún, áh-sī siūⁿ beh chhōa Thài-iông-lú-sin chò bó. Khat-bō bìn-chú, thê-seng jīn-lūi sin-sèng ê lèk-liōng chhióng-boán tī chit nng phō chok-phín lái-té. Tái-chū-jiān áh-sī o-àm lèk-liōng ê bīn-thau-chēng, jīn-lūi piáu-hiān chit khoán bô pēng-hoan, m khut-hók ê keh.

Chit n̄ng phō chok-phín lâi-té, lán khòaⁿ ē chhut-lâi n̄ng chòk chì-koân ê sîn-bêng sī Êđê lāng ê Thiⁿ (Yàng) kap Siraya lāng ê A-lip-chó. Sui-bóng lóng sī chì-koân ê sîn-bêng, m̄-koh in ê kak-sek mā hām Hi-liáp sîn-ōe lâi-té ê Zeus beh sêng, tō-sī lóng hō lāng “gí-jîn-hòa” kòe-thâu, ōaⁿ ōe lâi kóng, in sī hông “sè-siòk-hòa ê sîn-sèng sè-lék” ah. Thiⁿ kap A-lip-chó lóng m̄-sī choân-lêng ê chhòng-sè-chiá, chhiūⁿ Allah áh-sī Iâ-hô-hoa. Siraya lāng kap Êđê lāng kan-na khòaⁿ in sī lán-lāng ê pêng-iú, lâu-pē. Tī chin chē khoán ê chōng-hóng, Đam San koh tit-tít giâu-gí, phah-mē áh-sī khióng-hat kóng ē thài Thiⁿ (Yàng). Che tō chêng-bêng kóng lán-lāng ū chit ê kiōng-tāi kap m̄-bat ū ê só-chāi, tãi-piáu chōng-ko ê jîn-bûn cheng-sîn. Siraya lāng ê A-lip-chó tui-tiōng leh pó-hō lán-lāng, ū khioh-óa hiah ê sîn-sèng ê chiàn-sū (Lêng-pà chiàn-sū) ê lêng-lék. M̄-koh, tng A-lip-chó ùi chit ê hoân-jîn ê seng-khu thiàu-tāng hit-chūn, chiaⁿ chin-chiáⁿ tī-teh. Che chêng-bêng kóng A-lip-chó kap Siraya lāng ê bîn-kan sîn-gióng, in ē khan-khap kah bā sng-sng, chhiau-kòe chin-sit tók-sîn chong-kàu hiah ê chhòng-sè-chiá. Sîn-lêng áh-sī lán-lāng ták khoán ê jîn-bút lóng tiâu-tít leh tui-ōe, sio-chèⁿ, che sī bîn-chú cheng-sîn tui-ōe ê piáu-hiān, sī āu-hiān-tāi sī-kí phó-sè ê kè-tát.

Siraya lāng kap Êđê lāng tiàm ka-kī tòa ê só-chāi lóng keng-kòe thau-chéng, chấp-phòe, kap gōa-kok kau-liú áh-sī chhin-kīn chòk-kūn ê bûn-hòa chiaⁿ-ê bûn-tê. ùi Koat-chiàn Siraya lâi-té, lán khòaⁿ ē tiòh chit-tiám, siān-hong sī Hàn-jîn Tiō Ngá-êng, Koan Chê-bûn kap Lí Chì-kiát..., hām Siraya lāng (A-lip-chó, Tông Bō-niá, Tông Bō-hùn, Tui-hong-hui-liām, Pêh-chín-chu...) ê liân-bêng. Ok-hong sī Hàn-jîn (Ng Kài-béng) kap Jit-pún-lāng (Cửu Châu Lãng Nhân) hām Se-pan-gâ lāng (Phillip Tualo) ê liân-bêng. Chiaⁿ-ê chòk-jîn tī chêng-tī lī-ek kap chong-kàu sîn-gióng ū kiōng-tōng áh-sī sio-táh-thut ê só-chāi. *Đam San Sú-sí* lâi-té, lán mā khòaⁿ tiòh Êđê lāng hām kī-tha chò-hóe tī ko-goân tòa ê chòk-jîn, in bit-chhiat kau-liú áh-sī tàu-cheng ê koan-hē. Đam San bat kóng, “Kin-chio chhiū-kin ē-té óe ê hiāⁿ-chháu hō góa bē-sí, chit ê hiāⁿ-chháu pang-chān góa ê chớ-sian chiàn iáⁿ Mnong lāng ah. Lòng Đam hu kó lah! Thiⁿ-kong-peh hō góa ê sîn-kó, siaⁿ-im thàng-thiⁿ ê sîn-kó, thiaⁿ tiòh i ê siaⁿ, Bih lāng chiū khan gū lâi tau-hāng, Liâu-kok-lāng khan chhiūⁿ...ê kó-siaⁿ. Lô-hoân choân-pō ê chhin-chiáⁿ kap pō-chòk lâi chia, ùi khoah-chhùi ê Mnong lāng kàu tōa-hīⁿ ê Bih lāng lah!...Kā chit ê tē-khu choân-pō ê lāng kiò tng--lâi lah! Lán tàu-tīn khi phah chit ê béng-ióng ê chiong-

kun.” (Trung 1998:336) Khêng-sit, tòa Se-goân ták-chòk ê lâng sng sī Malay-Polynesia gí-hē, chhiūⁿ Bih lâng, Mnong lâng, Êđê lâng, Jorai lâng...in ê gí-giân kap bûn-hòa lóng chiáⁿ óa. Chiū-sī án-ne, in chiáⁿ kín kau-liú, kau-ōaⁿ kap kho-óa lèk-liông, chiáⁿ-chò kok kun-sū liên-bêng thang hoán-không gōa-lâi ê chhim-liók àh-sī sio-chiàn. Só-pái, *Đam San Sú-si* lâi-té, thàu-chéng sèng-chit kap chấp-phòe ê bûn-hòa mā bô-su *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lâi-té--ê. Khêng-sit, Oát-lâm sī chit ê to-chéng-chòk ê kok-ka, ũ 54 ê bîn-chòk tiàm bô-kâng bûn-hòa ê só-chāi chò-hóe khiā-khí. Siraya lâng mā tī chit ê sóng-tít ê tó-sū bûn-hòa ê só-chāi tòa. In chham Hàn-jîn, Pêⁿ-pơ-chòk, ùi Au-chiu hām Jit-pún lâi ê gōa-kok-lâng kong-ke thó-tê, léng-thó. Siraya lâng piáu-hiân kóng in sī chin háh-si kap chú-chhi chéng-gī ê lâng. Tông Bō-hùn khéng kē hō Hòa-è ê kiap-sū, kap i chò-hóe chiàn koh ē-sai thong-chéng, hòng-khì choân-pō ê kè-chng. Sui-bóng chin-chéng, Siraya lâng kóng tui Hàn-jîn ê bûn-hòa chiáⁿ kéng-kak kap chhiong-hīn. “In ê hong-siok sip-koàn tauh-tauh-á mā hō Hàn-jîn éng-hióng--tiòh, liáu-âu kòe ták sè-tāi ê kái-piàn...chiâu goán chai, kī-sit Hàn-jîn chá tō lâi Tái-oân ah...thiaⁿ-kóng Pêⁿ-pơ-chòk pún-té ê sèng chiáⁿ lók-thiông, sóng-tít koh seng-oah kán-tan, m̄-koh tō-sī tít-tít hō Hàn-jîn kā hó, tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ chiáh-khui, m̄-chiah tiāⁿ ũ kiaⁿ-hiáⁿ, ē khi hông Hàn-jîn ê sim-thài.” (Tran 2018:76) Chām Pa lâng kap Êđê lâng, in ê koan-hē kap Hàn-jîn hām Siraya lâng ê koan-hē beh sio-siāng. Êđê lâng kap Chām Pa lâng in ũ chin chē sio-chiàn ê lèk-sú, ti-sú Êđê lâng siū-hūn koh chiok tí-hông Chām Pa lâng. Kun-kù chit-kóa hák-chiá ê ì-kiàn, tō-sī beh cháu-siám Chām Pa lâng kong-kek ê in-toaⁿ, m̄-chiah Êđê lâng ài ùi chū-té tòa ê iân-hái pēⁿ-iūⁿ, tauh-tauh-á sóa khi chhim-soaⁿ nâ-lâi ê ko-goân tòa ah. Sui-bóng án-ne, m̄-koh bē-tàng bô kóng in koh ũ chiáⁿ chhim-khek ê bûn-hòa, gí-giân, hiat-thóng kap bîn-kan bûn-hák ê koan-hē. Sīm-chi chin chē lâng siông-sin kóng Êđê lâng ũ kóa khah chá ê Chām Pa lâng pōaⁿ-sóa khi tòa ko-goân, liáu kap tòa iân-hái pēⁿ-iūⁿ ê Chām Pa lâng sit-khi liên-lók. Sū-sit chéng-bêng kóng in ê gí-giân chiáⁿ óa. Lēng-gōa, sui-bóng chiok tí-hông Chām Pa lâng, m̄-koh lèk-sú-ték, Êđê lâng ũi-tiòh bé-bē, chhut-kháu chia--ê, pek-tiòh kap Chām Pa lâng háp-chok. Chit khoán koan-hē hām Hàn-jîn kap Siraya lâng in ê koan-hē sī kāng sèng-chit--ê. Sui-bóng hoán-không, chóng--sī ài sêng-jīn kóng Hàn-jîn àh-sī Chām Pa lâng kòa Kiaⁿ chòk chāi-lâi, lóng ũ chhiⁿ-chhiòh ê bûn-hòa kap bûn-bêng. Tòa keh-piah ê Siraya lâng àh-sī Êđê lâng lóng ài hō éng-hióng--tiòh, chē-chiò

ài chioh in ê bûn-hòa.

Koat-chiàn Siraya kap *Đam San Sú-si* chit n̄g phō chok-phín chhiūⁿ téng-koân kóng--ê, pò-tah, piáu-ián kap chiap-siū-tō lóng ū ki-pún sio-kâng ê só-chāi, in-ūi n̄g phō chok-phín lóng kap piáu-ián oáh-tāng àh-sī ián-chhiūⁿ gē-sút siong-koan. Êđê lāng ê Khan sī choan-giáp ê gē-jîn tī kong-kiōng ê khong-kan, chhiūⁿ hóe-lô pīⁿ àh-sī ū chin chē tãi tàu-tīn seng-oáh kap pān oáh-tāng ê tng-ok lāi-bīn lóng-thók. Kan-na tī chiáⁿ sîn-sèng ê khong-kan hām chiáⁿ chē koan-chiōng sī ka-kī ê tông-pau, ū kiōng-tōng ê chong-kàu sîn-gióng ki-chhó, Khan chiaⁿ ū hoat-tō hông chiap-siū kap oân-choân tēng-hiān. Nā bô hoat-tō tī ka-tēng ê sîn-sèng khong-kan ián-chhiūⁿ, hō kúi-nā tãi cheng-thong ê gē-jîn káu-thoan tēng-hiān, án-ne *Đam San Sú-si* bô hoat-tō oân-choân hoat-hui i ê bûn-hòa kap jîn-bûn kè-tát. Lēng-gōa chit pēng, *Koat-chiàn Siraya* sī chit chhut pò-tē-hì, chiáⁿ bēng-hián che sī chit phō ài ū chin chē kī-tha ki-sút kap piáu-ián chham-ú, chiaⁿ ē-tāng oân-sēng ê chok-phín (chhiūⁿ kiók-pún, im-gák, ián-oân, teng-kng kap tō-kū chia--ê). Tō-sī ū chip-thé piáu-ián ê tèk-teng, piáu-ián ê hēng-sek mā ài ū chin chē jîn-lék háp-chok, m̄-chiaⁿ *Koat-chiàn Siraya* kap *Đam San Sú-si* chit n̄g phō chok-phín chha-put-to sī chip-thé kiōng-tōng ê chhòng-chok.

Chit n̄g phō chok-phín lāi-té, *Siraya* lāng kap Êđê lāng ê hong-siók mā tát-tit lán ti-tiōng, mā hō lán chiáⁿ chē chhù-bī ê chu-liáu. In hō bú-koân siā-hōe éng-hióng--tiòh, m̄-chiaⁿ hū-jîn-lāng tī ài-chēng lāi-bīn chiáⁿ chú-tōng. Bēng-iōng ê eng-hióng ài chiap-siū hông chio. Tāi-chiàn-tàu iáⁿ liáu-āu sī pān chiáⁿ liōng-tiōng ê khò-siúⁿ àh-sī ián-sék. In lóng ū ka-kī ê sîn-gióng, tui ka-kī ê sîn-bēng choát-tui sîn-jīm, sîn-sèng ê chiàn-sū kap Salman kàu (thiàu-tāng) ê hēng-sek chin chē pái tiàm *Koat-chiàn Siraya* hām *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-bīn chhut-hiān kap tò-ōe.

Koan-hē ū bîn-chók jîn-tōng ê tèk-teng, lán khòaⁿ ē tiòh in ê bûn-hôa lóng ū bô kāng-khoán ê pháⁿ sip-koàn. Chhiūⁿ *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té, Hàn-jîn pák-kha ê hong-siók hông phoe-phòⁿ kah siōng chām-gâm--ê, he sī khah-chá ê siā-hōe thún-táh hū-jîn-lāng ê in-toaⁿ. Ah *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-bīn, Chuê nuê (bûn-jī pún-té sī “chiap soh-á” ê ì-sù) ê pháⁿ sip-koàn sī lēng-gōa chit ê hông phoe-phòⁿ ê tui-siōng. Pák-kha ê hong-siók lán kóng kòe ah, chia kan-na chin chit-pō hun-sek Chuê nuê che pháⁿ sip-koàn. Chiáⁿ bēng-hián, put-hēng ê kin-goân kap *Đam San* ê sí-bōng, lóng sī Chuê nuê che

pháiⁿ sip-koàn tì-sú ê hiō-kó. Êđê lāng ê Chuê nuê kui-tēng kóng ke-āu nā put-hēng kòe-sin, án-ne ang-sài hông ín-chún khi chhōa in bót ê chhin chí-mōe áh-sī chhin-chiáⁿ, bô su-iàu nī-kí sù-phòe áh-sī kám-chēng ki-chhó. Lán koh ùi Đam San ê sí-bông kap hun-in ê pi-kiók ê khí-goân kóng, chiū-sī Chuê nuê ê hong-siók hō i bô hoat-tō kap ka-kī ê ài-jīn kiát-hun. Hō Nhí kap Hō Bhí nng chí-mōe chú-tōng kè Đam San, m̄-koh Đam San nā bô kah-ì, i ē-sái kī-choát. Bēng-bēng sī Đam San bô ñg-bāng chit tiūⁿ ê hun-in chhut-hiān, i pún-sin mā ù ài-jīn-á (Hobia), m̄-koh sī Chuê nuê ê pháiⁿ sip-koàn kā sok-pák ê in-toaⁿ hō i bô hoat-tō kī-choát. Lán siūⁿ tiòh Hō nhí tui chit khoán sok-pák ê kin-goân ê òe-gí, “Tng goán a-má Hoklu óng-seng, chhū-lāi ê lāng chhōa góa tng-lāi thè goán a-má (chò goán a-kong ê ke-āu, Chuê nuê ê hong-siók ù thè-sin chit ê kui-tēng) kè hō goán a-kong Y Kla.” Goán a-kong kiò góa chē tī i ê tōa-thú tēng-koân, kha-chiah-phiaⁿ āiⁿ Đam San. I thāi chit chiah gū liáu, kā góa án-ne kóng, “Góa tiāⁿ-tiòh bē-tàng chhōa góa ê cha-bót-sun siuⁿ kú, góa sī lāu-lāng ah, chhin-chhiūⁿ chit-phiàn pha-hng ê soaⁿ-pō, í-keng hiú-nōa, ko-ta ê chhiū-kin...āu-pái lí ē kè Đam San.” (Trung 1998:318-319) Sīm-chi kiát-hun liáu, lán mā khòaⁿ tiòh Đam San ê hun-in sī hō lé-siok sok-pák soah bô chin-chiáⁿ ê ài-chēng, tì-sú i tút-phòah chit khoán sok-pák khi chhōe lēng-gōa chit ê cha-bót-lāng, keng tiòh Thài-iōng lú-sin — chit ê bô hông chē-hān, chhiau-oát thoân-thóng lé-kàu ê kám-chēng, lō-bóe sī chit ê eng-hiōng in-ūi khat-bō chū-iū loān-ài soah sit-khi sèⁿ-miā ah. Án-ne, *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té, pák-kha ê pháiⁿ hong-siók hō hū-jīn-lāng chiáⁿ-chò tiōng-sēng ê sēng-kang-kū, tui cha-pō-lāng sūn-hók. Ah *Đam San Sú-si* lāi-bīn, Chuê nuê ê pháiⁿ hong-siók hō cha-pō-lāng ták-jip bô ài-chēng, sū-sian hông an-pai hó-sè ê hun-in.

Koat-chiàn Siraya kap *Đam San Sú-si* chit nng phō chok-phín ê chiàn-cheng hēng-sek mā bô-kāng, hoán-èng siang-hong siā-hōe thēng-tō ê chha-piát. Nā Đam San ê chiàn-cheng phian ñg lé-gí kap piáu-ián, án-ne *Koat-chiàn Siraya* lāi-té chiū-sī chiáⁿ chhám-chhoeh, hoeh sai-sai kap sí-bông. Sui-bóng Đam San ê pō-tui hēng-kun hong-hong-liát-liát, lāng chin chē, m̄-koh chú-iàu kan-na i kap kī-tha thau-bák (Mōtao Gru, Mō tao Mō xây) kau-chiàn niá. Siang-hong ê su-iáⁿ sī nng ê chí-hui chiong-kun koat-tàu lāi koat-tēng. Tò-péng, *Koat-chiàn Siraya* ê kau-chiàn sī siang-hong kun-sū lèk-liōng ê chhia-piáⁿ, kok chú-chiòng chú-iàu ê kau-chiàn kan-na ù siōng-teng ê ì-gī niá. Kun-kù

John Keegan ê Chiàn-cheng-sú (Lich sử chiến tranh) lâi-bīn ê koan-tiám, tng teh tī pō-lók jī-chòk ê siā-hōe (chhiūⁿ Êđê láng ê) kau-chiàn, chú-iàu sī pī-biān láng-miā ê sng-tng, in-ūi chit kúi chòk ê jīn-kháu chin chió, bú-khì kán-tan. Chiàn-cheng tī che thêng-tō iáu chin kán-tan, ū tián-hiān thâu-lâng lèk-liōng (cheng-sîn) ê siōng-teng. Siang-hong ê sò-liōng chiáⁿ chē, mā kan-na ū heh-kiaⁿ tui-hong ê ì-gī niá, chhun--ê ê su-iáⁿ oân-choân kau hō nng ê chú-chiòng. Chit khoán kau-chiàn chú-iàu mā ū chong-kàu lé-gí sèng, m̄-sī chit pái piáⁿ su-iáⁿ. Tò-péng kóng, ko-kai ê siā-hōe chhiūⁿ hong-kiàn sī-tāi àh-sī chu-pún sī-tāi ê chiàn-cheng sī choân-bīn ê chiàn-cheng, siang-hong iōng choân-pō ê kun-tūi, hiān-tāi sat-siong ê bú-khì kong-khai sio-chiàn, ū tiòh siōng bóe ê sèng-lī put-tèk-chhiú-tōaⁿ. Chit tang-chūn, chiàn-cheng ê kui-bō mā tit-tit leh hùn-khoah. Sīm-chi koh ū choan-giáp ê kun-sū lèk-liōng kap sîn-lêng lèk-liōng (chhiūⁿ Peng-bé-ióng, Lêng-pà chiàn-sū) ê chhām-chiàn, kā siang-hong chi-chhī.

Siraya láng kap Êđê láng in ê ka-têng koan-hē mā ū ki-pún ê chha-ī. Nā ū kiōng-tông hiat-thóng ê Siraya láng chhiūⁿ Tông Bō-niá, Tông Bō-hùn lóng chiáⁿ chhin-bit, mā lóng sio-kēng, m̄-koh *Đam San Sú-si* lâi-té ê hiaⁿ-tī tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ sī sùi-lâng kiáⁿ sùi-lâng ê. Tng Hơ nhí kap Hobhi nng chí-mōe ê piáu-hiaⁿ àn-sng siāu-kài pát-lâng hō in chò ang hit-chūn, sùi hō in mē koh koat-tēng keng kī-tha ê láng. *Đam San* sī chit ê sîn-sèng ê eng-hiông, bē-tàng chiàn-pāi, ū phah-iáⁿ Thài-iông-sîn ê lêng-lèk. M̄-koh, tng i àn-sng kī-choát hām Hơ nhí kap Hobhi nng chí-mōe ê hun-in hit-chūn, i ka-kī ê chí-mōe tō sio-liân-sòa tãi-hoat-lúi-tēng, kā i phah kah kui seng-khu lóng siōng ah.

Chóng kóng chit kù, Tâi-oân hām Oát-lâm in ê bûn-hák ū chiáⁿ chē chhù-bī sio-kâng ê só-chāi, siàng-sī mā ū chin chē ū bûn-chòk jīn-tōng tèk-sek bô kâng-khoán, tát-tit chù-ì. Chit kúi tang, Tâi-oân kap Oát-lâm ê bûn-hák piàn kah hō-siong koh khah lí-kái, ke chiáⁿ chhin-bit, ū kóa pō-hūn sī chiah-ê sio-kâng kap bô-kâng lâi--ê. Kéng Koat-chiàn Siraya kap *Đam San sú-si*, goán sī siūⁿ beh khí chit chō kiô kā Tâi-oân hām Oát-lâm chiap--khí-lái. Chit nng phō chok-phín sī Tâi-oân kap Oát-lâm bûn-hák pó-khòe lâi-té ê pó-chiòh. In lâu ê lân-bōng kì-tí, lèk-sú keng-giām kap chòk-jīn sim-lí ê tèk-teng chia--ê, lóng sī tong-kim ê lán iú-goân ē-tàng ùi chit lâi-té thèh tiòh pó-kùi ê keng-giām. Chiah-ê keng-giām chiáⁿ-chiáⁿ-sī ñg-bāng bīn-chú kap chū-iú ê cheng-sîn, chún-kóng ài hù-chhut sèⁿ-miā ê tãi-kè, mā beh thè ka-kī tui-kiú hēng-hok. (*Đam San Sú-si*). Chiah-ê

keng-giãm koh ù kiông-tiâu leh tùi-không tèk-jîn ê kòe-thêng--nih, thoân-kiat, lí-kái, kiat-háp thoân-thóng kap hiãn-tãi, kok-chè kap pún-thó ê ì-gī (*Koat-chiàn Siraya*). Soah-bóe, góa siūⁿ beh koh chít pái kiông-tiâu Tēⁿ Pang-tìn kàu-siū chít kù chiáⁿ ù ì-gī ê òe, “Góa jîn-úi Tái-oân kap Oát-lâm siang-hong m̄-nā tī hoán-không ap-pek ê sū-giáp téng-bīn, í-keng “kiat-gī kim-lân”, chú-tō gē-sút bûn-hòa kau-liú chít-pêng mā sī “ōaⁿ-thiap hiaⁿ-tī” ah.” (Tran 2018:11)

Thók-chiá Hôe-èng

Jīm-hô phoe-phêng chí-kàu, hoan-gêng email: fantuananh@gmail.com, Tuấn Anh PHAN siu.

Chham-khó Chheh-bók

Anna de Hauteclocque-Howe. 2018. *Người Êđê – Một xã hội mẫu quyền* (dịch giả Nguyễn Ngọc và Phùng Ngọc Cửu). Hà Nội: Nxb Tri thức.

Trần Kiến Thành. 2018. *Truyện các anh hùng Đai Loan – Quyết chiến Siraya* (dịch giả Lù Việt Hùng). Hà Nội: Nxb Thế giới.

Trung tâm Khoa học xã hội và nhân văn quốc gia. 1998. *Sử thi Tây Nguyên*. Hà Nội: Nxb Khoa học xã hội.

Trung tâm Khoa học xã hội và nhân văn quốc gia. 1999. *Tuyển tập văn học dân gian Việt Nam (tập V)*. Hà Nội: Nxb Giáo dục.

冊
評

Book Review: *DINGANG THE GIAN*

Chheh-phêng:
CHIÀN HÓE JÍN SENG
Chiàn-hóe jîn-seng, Tâi-oân chi siaⁿ

Ti-têng TÊⁿ

Ô-chi-bêng-chhi

Kok-ka Tâi-hák Siā-hōe Jîn-bûn Hák-ĩⁿ

The University of Social Sciences and Humanities Vietnam

National University Ho Chi Minh City



Chit-pún Oát-lâm chok-ka Tân Jūn-bêng sian-siⁿ ê si-soán “CHIÀN HÓE JÍN SENG” tī Tâi-oân iōng Tâi-gí chhāi-lāi ê 3 chióng jí-giân hoan-ék chhut-pán, sêng-kong tǎh chhut kiàn-lip Tâi-oân chú-thé-seng ê chit pō, ín-chhōa lán iōng Tâi-gí ê bák-chiu kiâⁿ hiòng sè-kài, hō--lán kám-siū Oát-lâm thó-tē ê bí-lē kap khó-thiáⁿ, liân-kiat Tâi-oân kap Oát-lâm ê ùn-miā, siong-sim tui Tâi-oân bûn-hák ê sī-iaⁿ kap bī-lai ū chin tōa ê khai-thok kap pang-chān.

Tân Jūn-bêng sian-siⁿ ê si-chip iōng Tâi-bûn chhut-pán chin ū i tǎi-piáu-seng ê ì-gī. Tē-it, iōng Tâi-bûn lâi ho-èng si-jîn tui jiók-sè iù-jī ê koan-hoai. Chhin-chhiūⁿ tī “CHIÀN HÓE JÍN SENG” chit siú si--lih, lán khòaⁿ tiòh kiông-beh sit kin ê Oát-lâm-lâng kóng:

“Góa soan-pò

Góa m̄-sī goân-lâi ê góa

Góa siáⁿ-mih lóng m̄-sīⁿ”.

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

Tng-kî í-lâi, Tâi-oân-lâng beh tī ka-tī ê thó-tē kóng pē-bú-ōe siū-chīn phì-siūⁿ, appek, kàu-taⁿ chō-sêng siàu-liân sè-tāi chhōe bô ka-tī ê kin. Nā sī Tâi-oân-lâng bô lêng ē-hiáu koh kóng Tâi-oân-ōe, án-ne Tâi-oân-lâng kám koh iáu sī Tâi-oân-lâng? “CHIÀN HÓE JĪN SENG” Tâi-bûn êk-pún ê chhut-sì tiòh sī tùi gí-giân, chòk-kûn siōng chhim ê chiok-hok, hō--lân tùi Tâi-gí liú-sit ê iu-chhiū thèng hó koh bân--kúi-tang-á, mā hō--lân kám-liām, chai-iaⁿ koh ū lêng tng teh ūi beh chò Tâi-oân-lâng phah-piàⁿ.

Tē jī, si-jîn iōng si hoán-khòng, lán siá Tâi-bûn hoán-khòng. Tâi-gí tī Tâi-oân it-tít lóng sī to-sò lêng ê bó-gí kap kiōng-tông gí. Tān-sī sio-liân-sòa ê gōa-lâi chêng-koân bô chun-tiōng Tâi-gí, kàu-iók thé-chè m̄-bat hō--lân siū kòe bó-gí ê kàu-iók, tì-sú to-sò ê Tâi-oân-lâng m̄-chai bó-gí ê tiōng-iàu-sèng kap kè-tát, sīm-chì lâi ká i khòaⁿ bô. Tī hiān-chhú-sī ê Tâi-oân siā-hōe, siá Tâi-bûn soah piàn-chò sī chit-chióng sī-tāi cheng-sin kap hoán-khòng.

Si-jîn só siá ê si pún-sin tiòh ū hoán-khòng ê khi-bī. Hoán-khòng bô iàu-ì jîn-bîn ê chêng-koân mā phoe-phòaⁿ bô beh su-khó siā-hōe gī-tê, kam-goân chò lô-châi ê jîn-bîn. Chhin-chhiūⁿ chit siú “CHŪ KÓ Í-LĀI”:

“Só-ū tèk-koân lóng chhim-hāi tiòh jîn-bîn
Bô kong-pêⁿ tō chhiūⁿ tng-séh ê kha-kiū
Ūi chit ki kha liàn kàu hit ki kha
Tiām-chēng kám sī ng-kim? Tiām-chēng sī chōe-ok...”

Chit-ê siā-hōe chēng lán chhut-sì tiòh í-keng koat-tēng hó i ê bô-iūⁿ, só-í lán koh khah ài khi su-khó i ê ióng-khi kap gī-bū. Bô lêng siūⁿ beh chò hit-liáp tng-séh ê kha-kiū, hō lêng that lâi koh that khi. Tī chit-ê bô chêng-siōng ê siā-hōe, ták-ê lêng nā lóng kek hō tiām-tiām m̄ chhut-siaⁿ, koân-lèk beh án-chóaⁿ sek-hòng chhut--lâi? Chit-sī koân-lèk

tiòh ē lái chhim-hāi jîn-bîn. Chiong-kî-bóe lán lóng sī kok-ka ki-khì ê kiōng-hoān, chōe-jîn. Kâng-khoán sī tùi jîn-sèng ê hoán-séng, si-jîn ê koan-hoài mā siāng-sī chhut-hiān tī lēng-gōa chit-siú si--lih, “BÔ ÆN-SŪNG SIÁ Ê SI”:

“Bô láng ē-tàng thoat-chōe, tng chit-ê gín-á
Kàu taⁿ iáu bô châi-tiâu chiáh chit-tè pháng...”

Si-jîn thàu-kòe koa-si kā--lán tēng-chōe. Lán mā iōng Tâi-bûn ê hoan-ék chhut-pán lái kā si-jîn hôe-èng. Gún tiòh-sī bô goān-ì koh kè-siòk khòaⁿ Tâi-gí tī hia bók-bók-siú, só-í goán khiā--chhut--lái. “Gún só ng-bāng ê siā-hōe sī se” chò siáⁿ khoán, gún ka-tī lái kái-piàn, ka-tī lái khí-chō”.

Tē saⁿ, iōng Tâi-gí ê bák-chiu khòaⁿ hiòng sè-kài, jîn-bat Oát-lâm ê bí-lē kap iu-chhiú. Chēng-kang ê chúí-éng teh phah, lán khòaⁿ tiòh si-jîn khiā tī khe-á-kíⁿ, siūⁿ-khí kòe-khì tī chia hoat-seng kòe ê chiàn-loān, bák-thâu kat-kat, tiām-chēng siá lóh chit-siú “CHĒNG-KANG KĪ”:

“Khe ah, m̄-thang koh phah chúí-éng ah, thiaⁿ góa kóng
Nng pēng ê chng-thâu í-keng sio-thong
Jîn-bîn ê hoeh-chúí m̄-sī chúí
Chhiáⁿ mài koh tōng to-pēng, hō peh-sèⁿ pēng-an”

Jîn-bîn ê hoeh-chúí m̄-sī chúí, chòk-kûn ê tui-lip sī siáⁿ láng lái chō-sēng? Oát-lâm Tēⁿ, Ng 2 pēng chēng-koán ê kiù-hun kiát-sok tī se-goān 1777 nî. Kàu-taⁿ keng-kòe chiah kú-tng ê si-kan, sui-bóng nng pēng ê chng-thâu í-keng sio-thong, Chēng-kang kíⁿ ê chúí-éng kap si-jîn ê sim-chēng iáu-sī bô hoat-tō pēng-chēng. Si-jîn iōng un-jiú pit-chiam siá chhut chiàn-hóe ê bô-chēng kap peh-sèⁿ ê bô-nāi. M̄-nā sī Chēng-kang kíⁿ chit siú si, si-jîn tui thó-tē ê koan-hoài iáu koh chin khoah, ē-sái kóng piàn-kip Oát-lâm ê thó-tē, chū se-pak pēng ê soaⁿ-khu táh kàu lâm-pō ê Hô-sian chhī, khòaⁿ chīn chit tē thó-tē bí-lē ê chhiò-iōng kap sòe-goát ê liáu-hûn.

Lēng-gōa, si-jîn tui lú-sèng ū ték-piát ê koan-hoài kap khek-ōe. Tī bô-chēng ê

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

“I bô siong-sin ang-sai í-keng hi-seng
Tō sng i ê chiàn-iú bô pòⁿ ê tng-lái
Tī bông-bông choát-bōng tiong tán-thāi
Tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ tī pòⁿ-mê kiaⁿ--chhéⁿ”

Chit siú si hō chò “KĀ CHĪT-Ê PENG-Á Ê KHAN-CHHIÚ SÀNG-CHÁU”. Chiàn-cheng só chō-sèng ê éng-hióng, sī chit-ê kò-jîn, chit-ê ka-têng, sīm-chì chit-ê sè-tāi. Sī--khì ê lâng í-keng kòe-khì, oah--ê ê lâng thòng-khó kap thoa-bôa chiah tú beh khai-sí. Chhin-chhiūⁿ chit-siú “KIM CHÍM-PÔ”:

“Khang-chhiūi ū gōa chhim kan-taⁿ i chai-iaⁿ
Pòⁿ-mê tiām teng-á-hóe
Kim chím-pô tiām-tiām khòⁿ i ê liat-sū pō-chō-kim
Iōng chhiú hó-leh-á kā khng lòe àng-á laiⁿ”

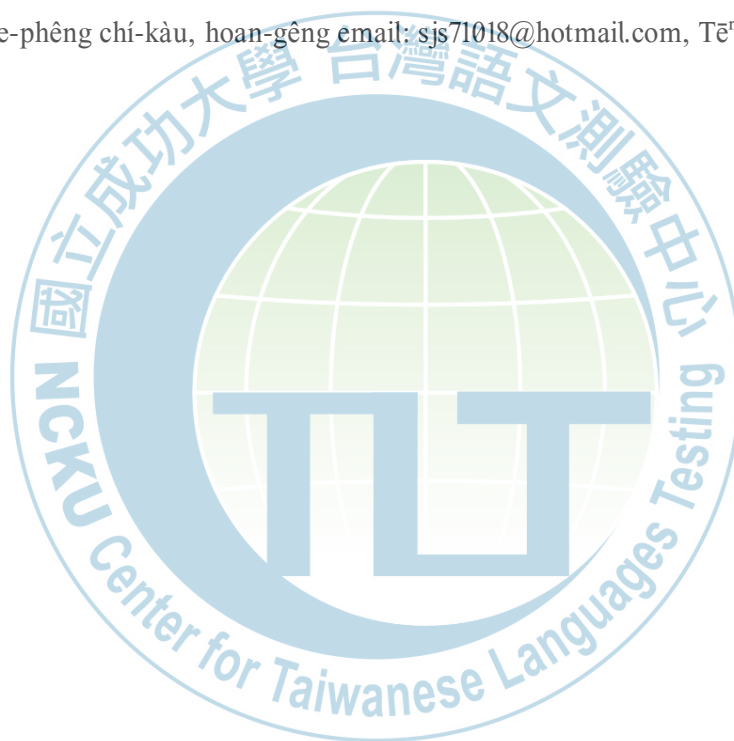
Kim chím-pô ê kò-sū tiòh-sī Oát-lâm chit-tāi lâng ê sok-iaⁿ, mā sī Oát-lâm kò-sèng hiān-tāi bîn-chòk kok-ka jîn-bîn só lâu--ê hoeh kap bák-sái. In chit tāi lâng só keng-lèk--kòe ê khó-thiàⁿ, í-keng piàn chò sī tì-ìm kiáⁿ-sun ê chó-kóng-á-sán, hō hiō-tāi m̄-bián koh cho-siū kâng-khoán ê khó-lān. Chia ê kò-sū mā kā lán thē-chhéⁿ, lán só íóng-iú ê it-chhé, lóng m̄-sī chiah-nī lí-só tong-jiân.

Siūⁿ beh iōng Tâi-gí ê bák-chiu khòⁿ òng sè-kài, tī hiān-chhiú-sí ê Tâi-oân siā-hōe mā m̄-sī chiah-nī lí-só tong-jiân. Chhī-bīn siōng chin hán--tit khòⁿ tiòh Tâi-bùn ê chhut-pán-phín, gōa-kok bûn-hák chok-phín hoan-ék chò Tâi-bùn chhut-pán sī koh khah chió. Nā Tâi-gí siūⁿ beh khui-ki hoat-hiòh, tek-khak sī su-iàu tàk-ke kè-siòk pah-piàⁿ, hō chiàⁿ-káng ê Tâi-oân bûn-hák tã-tã seng-thòⁿ.

Oát-lâm iōng ka-tī ê jí-giân, bûn-jī chò té-ti, kiàn-lip chú-thé-sèng, khí-chō bîn-chòk tók-lip ê kok-ka, sī Tâi-oân chin hó ê hák-sip tùi-siōng. “CHIÀN HÓE JĪN SENG” chhōa lán keng-lèk chiàn-hóe, thé-hōe khó-thàⁿ, hō --lân ùi keng-giām hák-sip, ùi thòng-khó tiong kiáⁿ--chhut--lâi. Lán thàu-kòe chit-pún chheh, m̄-nā liáu-kái Oát-lâm, mā ē koh khah jīn-bat ka-tī.

Thòk-chiá hōe-èng

Jīm-hô phoe-phêng chí-kàu, hoan-gêng email: sjs71018@hotmail.com, Tēⁿ Tì-têng siu.





台語研究

發行公司：華藝數位股份有限公司
 聯絡電話：+886-2-29266006 轉 8950
 傳真專線：+886-2-29235151

郵寄地址：23452 新北市永和區成功路一段 80 號 18 樓
 服務信箱：aporder@airiti.com
 Ainosco Press 網站：http://www.ainoscopress.com

個人訂閱價			圖書館／機關團體訂閱價		
	一期	一年		一期	一年
新台幣	\$ 500	\$ 1000	新台幣	\$ 1000	\$ 2000
歐洲	€ 38	€ 76	歐洲	€ 63	€ 126
美洲	US\$ 45	US\$ 90	美洲	US\$ 73	US\$ 146
亞太	US\$ 42	US\$ 84	亞太	US\$ 70	US\$ 140

訂閱	卷	期	至	卷	期	數量	金額
臺灣郵資						數量	金額
平信一本 40 元，印刷品一本掛號 60 元。							
* 以上價格含稅						總金額	

注意事項

- 期刊將在付款後兩個營業天內寄出。
- 價格及建議出版日恕不另行通知可能變更。
- 機構團體是指圖書館、政府機構、公司使用者及公司以個人名義訂購。
- 個人訂戶是指單一個人使用而非以營利為目的者。
- 對於有意或無意扭曲「個人訂戶」一詞者，Ainosco Press 保留法律追訴權，並得求償損失。

訂閱者資料

個人姓名	
機關名稱	
發票抬頭及統一編號	
聯絡電話	傳真號碼
電子信箱	
收件地址	

付款方式：銀行匯款

帳戶資訊	戶名	華藝數位股份有限公司
	銀行	玉山商業銀行一埔墘分行
	代碼	總行代碼：808；分行代碼：0174
	帳號	017 444 001 9696

付款後請傳真或回函本訂閱單，即完成訂閱。

Ainosco Press Subscription Form

Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular

You may subscribe to the journals by completing this form and sending it by fax or e-mail to
 Address: 18F., No. 80, Sec. 1, Chenggong Rd., Yonghe Dist., New Taipei City 23452, Taiwan (R.O.C.)
 Tel: +886-2-29266006 ext. 8950 E-mail: aporder@airiti.com
 Fax: +886-2-29235151 Website: <http://www.ainoscopress.com>

PERSONAL			LIBRARIES / INSTITUTIONS		
	1 Issue	1 Year		1 Issue	1 Year
Europe	€ 38	€ 76	Europe	€ 63	€ 126
US/CA	US\$ 45	US\$ 90	US/CA	US\$ 73	US\$ 146
Asia/Pacific	US\$ 42	US\$ 84	Asia/Pacific	US\$ 70	US\$ 140
Order	Vol. _____ No. _____	– Vol. _____ No. _____	Copies	Price	
* Postage is not included in the price.				TOTAL US\$	

PLEASE NOTE

- Issues will be sent in two business days after receiving your payment.
- Please note that all orders must be confirmed by fax or email.
- Prices and proposed publication dates are subject to change without notice.
- Institutions include libraries, government offices, businesses, and for individuals where the company pays for the subscription.
- Personal rates are available only to single-user personal subscribers for personal and non-commercial purposes.
- Ainosco Press reserves its right to take appropriate action to recover any losses arising from any intended or unintended misrepresentation of the term "Personal Subscriber."

BILLING INFORMATION

Name	
Company	
TEL	FAX
E-mail	
Shipping Address	

INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS VIA DIRECT BANK TRANSFER

Beneficiary	AIRITI INC.
Address	18F., No. 80, Sec. 1, Chenggong Rd., Yonghe Dist., New Taipei City 23452, Taiwan (R.O.C.)
Bank Name	E.Sun Commercial Bank, Ltd. Puchien Branch
Account No.	017 444 100 6149
Swift Code	ESUNTWTP
Bank Address	No. 188, Sec. 2, Sanmin Rd., Banqiao Dist., New Taipei City 22069, Taiwan (R.O.C.)



NOTES ON THE SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

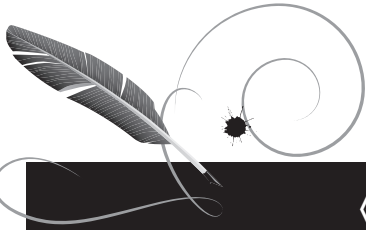
1. Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular is a professional journal dedicated to the study of Taigi or the Taiwanese language. The journal encourages two types of submissions: first, research related to Taigi on any aspects, such as linguistics, literature, or culture. Second, comparative works between Taigi and other languages. Works on multilingualism, language revival and vernacular education are also welcome.
2. The journal accepts research articles, field/work reports and book reviews. Articles and reports are normally limited to 10,000 words or less in English or 20,000 syllables in Taiwanese. Reviews are limited to less than 3,000 words.
3. Manuscript style:
 - A) Manuscripts written in Taiwanese or English are preferred. Please have your manuscript checked by native speakers prior to submission. The author may provide an extra abstract in his/her mother tongue for publication. The author must be responsible for equivalent translation of the abstract.
 - B) Manuscripts written in Taiwanese must be either in Han-Roman hybrid or Roman-only styles. Roman scripts must be Peh-oe-ji. Please use Taigi Unicode fonts for the Taiwanese Roman scripts.
 - C) Footnotes are regarded as notes for extra information, and must be arranged in the bottom of each relevant page. References therefore should be arranged at the end of the full text.
 - D) The potential authors should refer to the journal's sample style for references. For those details not provided in the sample, please follow the journal LANGUAGE.
 - E) Manuscripts normally include a) paper title, b) abstract in Taiwanese, c) abstract in English, d) full text, e) references, and f) appendix (if applicable). Abstract should list up to five keywords.
4. Submission and review procedures:
 - A) Manuscripts are normally submitted by email. Please provide both the Word and the PDF files with appropriate fonts. An extra hardcopy is requested if the manuscript contains special fonts.
 - B) All manuscripts submitted will be subject to double-blind peer review. For this purpose, please do not identify yourself in the manuscript. On a separate sheet, please provide the following information: a) Paper title, b) full name of the author(s), c) affiliation and position, d) contact methods. The submitted copy of manuscripts will not be returned in any circumstances, so please keep a copy of your own.
 - C) Only unpublished manuscripts will be considered for publication. Please submit your manuscripts at least four months prior to the proposed issue for publication.
5. Copyright and honorarium:
 - A) After a manuscript has been published, its author will receive 5 copies of the journal volume in which the article appears without charge.
 - B) It is the responsibility of the author to obtain written permission for quotations from other publications or materials for which they do not own the copyright.
 - C) Upon receipt of manuscript, the author(s) agrees to authorize its copyright to the journal publishers free of charge for publication and reproduction in both print and digital forms for an unlimited period. Authors themselves retain the right to reproduce their own paper in any volume of which the author acts as editor or author, subject to appropriate acknowledgment and citation.
6. The journal is published semiannually in March and September. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the editor-in-chief:

Wi-vun Taiffalo Chiung, Center for Taiwanese Languages Testing, National Cheng Kung University, 1 University Rd., Tainan 701, TAIWAN

E-mail: uibunoffice@gmail.com Tel: 06-2757575 ext 52627 Fax: 06-2755190

Website: <http://ctl.t.twl.ncku.edu.tw/jotv.html>





《台語研究》徵稿啟事

1. 《台語研究》是研究台語的學術期刊，專門刊載二類文章：第一類是以台語為研究對象的語言學、文學、文化等相關領域的論文。第二類是以其他語言為研究對象，m̄-koh伊的研究成果會使提供台語文發展參考的論文。
2. 文稿類型：通常分做「研究論文」kap「冊評」二類，有時有「田野/工作報告」。研究論文kap報告的台文稿以2萬字、英文稿1萬詞，冊評以3千字以內為原則。
3. 論文格式：
 - A) 本刊物kan-nā接受用台文iah是英文寫的文章。母語m̄是台語iah英語的投稿者請tāi-seng自費chhiàⁿ母語人士校稿。作者的民族母語若m̄是台語或者英語，ē-sái ka-tī提供用伊的母語書寫摘要thang做伙刊。作者ài自行負責母語摘要內容翻譯的妥當性。
 - B) 台文稿接受漢羅kap全羅。羅馬字接受傳統白話字。漢字的部份建議使用本刊kap台語信望愛的推薦用字。漢羅透濫的用法，以文意清楚為原則。羅馬字的字型請用Taigi Unicode。
 - C) 「註腳」採用當頁註，而且限定tī對內文的補充解說，文獻請列tī參考冊目。
 - D) 書寫格式請參考本刊提供的參考樣本，其他無特別規範的部份，請參照美國期刊LANGUAGE的格式。
 - E) 文稿內容順序分別是a)篇名 b)台文摘要 c)英文摘要 d)本文 e)參考冊目 f)附錄。摘要含關鍵詞（siōng ke 5個）。
4. 投稿kap審稿程序：
 - A) 請透過email投稿。稿件請提供Word kap PDF二種檔案。若有特別字型者，請提供紙本thang確保內容的正確性。
 - B) 匿名審稿包含2-3位外審委員，過半數通過才接受。投稿請分作者資訊kap文稿thang方便匿名審稿。作者資訊包含a)篇名 b)作者名姓 c)服務單位kap職稱 d)連絡方式。來稿無退還，請ka-tī留底。
 - C) 本刊無接受一份稿投kuí-ā位，mā無接受已經tī別位的學術期刊、專冊發表的論文。本刊採用隨到隨審的方式，請至少tī預定出刊前4個月投稿。
5. 著作權kap稿費：
 - A) 論文出版liáu，本刊會送作者當期出版品5份，無另外算稿費。
 - B) 作者ài保證kap負責文稿確實是伊的原作而且無侵犯別人的著作權。若違反者，作者ài ka-tī擔法律責任。
 - C) 作者投稿liáu視同同意kā著作財產權永久、非專屬授權本刊以紙本kap數位的任何型式出版kap重製。作者有保留日後tī別giah koh刊iah是集做冊出版的權利；若這情形，作者ài註明原底發表tī本刊。
6. 這份刊物是半年刊，預定每年3月、9月出刊。來稿iah是有冊beh review請寄：

701台南市大學路1號 國立成功大學 台灣語文測驗中心 蔣為文收
(請註明投稿「台語研究」)

E-mail: uibunoffice@gmail.com Tel: 06-2757575 ext 52627 Fax: 06-2755190

Website: <http://ctlt.twl.ncku.edu.tw/jotv.html>



台灣元氣寶典
定價/250元



蔣為文抗議黃春明的真相
定價/250元



校園進階越南語
定價/250元



台灣英雄傳：決戰西拉雅
定價/250元



擯槓仔龍chhoe媽媽
定價/260元



中小學生台語認證導論
定價/270元



語言、認同與去殖民
定價/280元



台語文語料處理及線上資源研究
定價/290元



雨怪的婚禮
定價/300元



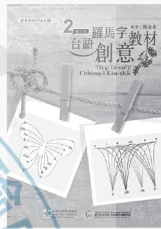
戰火人生/陳潤明詩集
定價/300元



喺講台語·手寫台文—台語文的台灣文學講座
定價/330元



Lóng是金ê-台語認證考古題
定價/330元
附 試題解析



台語羅馬字創意教材
定價/350元



漢字與越南羅馬字學習效率比較
定價/350元



民族、母語kap音素文字
定價/350元



語言、文學kap台灣國家再想像
定價/350元



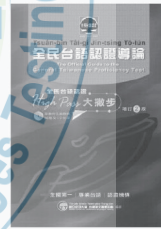
台灣俗語講座
定價/350元



台語觀光文史講座
定價/350元



越南七桃lóng毋驚
增修放大版
定價/380元



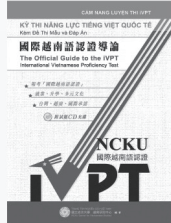
全民台語認證導論·增訂2版!
定價/480元



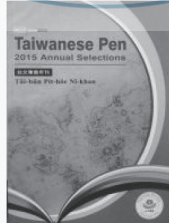
TJ台語白話小詞典
定價/480元



白話字運動先行者--鄭兒玉牧師紀念文集
定價/330元



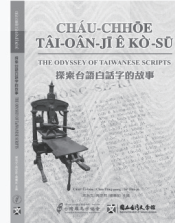
國際越南語認證導論
定價/480元



2015台文筆會年刊
Taiwanese Pen 2015 Annual Selections
定價/480元



台語研究
定價/500元



探索台語白話字的故事
定價/600元



越南魂：語言、文字與反霸權
定價/680元



台語白話字文學選集
1套5冊
定價/1500元

