

Tâi-gí iáh-sī Bân-lâm-gí?
Tâi-gí Miâ-chheng Cheng-gī ê Gián-kiú
台語 iáh-sī 閩南語? 台語名稱爭議 e 研究

Chiúⁿ Ūi-bûn
Kok-lip Sêng-kong Tâi-hák
Tâi-oân Gí-bûn Chhek-giām Tiong-sim

Tiah-iàu

‘Tâi-gí’ chit-ê hō-miâ tī Tâi-oân í-keng iōng pah gōa tang ah. M̄-koh, kàu taⁿ
Tiong-hōa Bîn-kok gōa-lâi chêng-koân iáu sī m̄ chêng-sek kā sêng-jīm. Bô-táⁿ-kín, in
koh chin khok-hêng kóng Tâi-gí sī ‘Bân-lâm-gí.’ Kun-kù Chi-ná ê kó jī-tián, ‘Bân’ sī
‘chōa chéng ê iá-bân-lâng’ ê ì-sù. Chit-ê sū sī ū bú-jiòk khòaⁿ lâng bô ê ì-sù. Ūi tiòh
Tâi-oân-lâng ê chun-giâm, tī 2009 nī 7 goeh ū 40 gōa ê pún-thó siā-thoân khi
Kàu-iòk-pō khòng-gī. Chit phiⁿ lūn-bûn ùi siā-hōe gí-giân-hák kap chêng-tī ê kak-tō[’]
lâi thàm-thó Tâi-gí miâ-chheng ê cheng-gī. Pún-bûn kí-chhut, ‘Bân-lâm-ōe’ tī Tâi-oân
siōng-hó ài kiò-chò ‘Tâi-gí.’ Nā beh ùi khah tōa ê sī-iaⁿ lâi khòaⁿ, tī Hok-kiàn, Tâi-oân,
Tang-lâm-a ê ‘Bân-lâm-ōe’ ē-sái hō-chò ‘Lán-lâng-ōe.’

Koan-kiàn-sū: Tâi-oân-ōe, Bân-lâm-gí, Tâi-gí, Lán-lâng-ōe, Ē-m̄ng-ōe

漢字關鍵詞：台灣話、閩南語、台語、咱人話、廈門話

Taiwanese or Southern Min?¹

On the Controversy of Ethnolinguistic Names in Taiwan

Wi-vun Taiffalo Chiung

Center for Taiwanese Languages Testing

National Cheng Kung University

Abstract

‘Tâi-gí’ the ethnolinguistic name for Taiwanese has been used for more than one hundred years in Taiwan. However, it has not always been politically and officially approved by the government, the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. In contrast, ‘Southern Min’ is officially adopted by the ROC to refer to the language Taiwanese. ‘Min’ is the abbreviation of Hokkien province in China. In addition, it is a pejorative name with the meaning ‘barbarians with snake origin,’ according to Chinese classical dictionaries. In response to ROC’s racial discrimination against Taiwanese-speaking people, around 40 Taiwanese organizations protested against the ROC in July 2009. The purpose of this paper is to survey the controversy over the term ‘Tâi-gí’ from the perspective of sociolinguistics and political science. It is suggested that ‘Southern Min’ be replaced by ‘Taiwanese’ when referring to varieties spoken in Taiwan, and by ‘Lán-lâng-ōē’ when referring to all varieties spoken in China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asian countries.

Keywords: Taiwanese, Southern Min, Tai-gi, Lan-lang-oe, Amoy

1. Introduction

Taiwan is a multilingual and multiethnic society. Traditionally, the people are divided into four primary ethnic groups: the indigenous (around 1.7% of Taiwan’s population), Tâi-oân-lâng or Taiwanese (73.3%), Thòi-vân-ngìn or Hakka (12%) and post war immigrants² (13%) (Huang 1993:21). In addition, as international marriages have become more and more common in the globalization era, and Taiwan

¹ This paper was originally presented at the 16th North America Taiwan Studies Conference, June 18-20, 2010, UC Berkeley, USA. I am thankful for the comments and suggestions provided by the discussants and reviewers.

² Mainly the immigrants came to Taiwan with the Chiang Kai-shek’s KMT regime after 1945.

being no exception, foreign spouses in Taiwan number 483,587 as of September 2013, according to the statistics of Taiwan's National Immigration Agency, Ministry of Interior.³ These foreign nationals account for 2.07% of Taiwan's total population.⁴

The speakers of Tâi-gí (台語 Taiwanese language) are traditionally and commonly called Tâi-oân-lâng (台灣人), literally 'the Taiwanese people.' Occasionally, they are called Hō-ló-lâng (or Hô-ló, Hok-ló, in different spellings) or Bân-lâm-lâng (閩南人 Southern Min people) by other ethnic groups. The language Tâi-gí is also occasionally called Hō-ló-ōe (福佬話) or Bân-lâm-ōe (閩南話 Southern Min language) in different contexts. Although the term 'Tâi-gí' has been used for more than one hundred years in society in Taiwan, it has not always been politically and officially approved by the government of Republic of China on Taiwan (ROC, thereafter). On the contrary, 'Southern Min' is officially adopted by the ROC to refer to Taiwanese.

'Min' comes from the abbreviation of Hokkien (福建) province of China. In addition, it is a pejorative name with the meaning 'barbarians with snake origin,' according to the famous Chinese classical dictionaries *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì* (說文解字 *Interpretation of Chinese Characters*) by Xǔ Shèn (許慎) and *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì Zhù* (說文解字注) by Duàn Yù Cǎi (段玉裁).

Because the Ma Ying-jeou regime of ROC still considers itself a Chinese regime rather than a native Taiwanese regime, Ma insists on using the term 'Southern Min' in order to make a connection to China. For example, the term 'Southern Min' was officially adopted in the "2008 Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines" (97年九年一貫課程綱要) by the ROC's Ministry of Education (thereafter MOE) in July 15, 2009. In response to MOE's discriminatory labeling for Taiwanese speaking people, around 40 Taiwanese organizations formed an alliance called 'Alliance against the Discrimination Term on Southern Min' (「反對閩南語歧視稱呼」正名聯盟) and demonstrated against MOE in July 29, 2009.

Another case occurred in 2013. Five Chinese KMT members of the Committee on Education and Culture of the ROC Legislative Yuan, Tēⁿ Thian-châi (鄭天財), Lí Tōng-hô (李桐豪), Khóng Bûn-kiat (孔文吉), Chiúⁿ Nái-sin (蔣乃辛) and Tân Siok-hūi (陳淑慧), proposed to cut 10% of the promotional budget for exhibition for the National Museum of Taiwan Literature. Their major claim was that the term 'Taiwanese literature' (台語文學) was adopted in the exhibition entitled "Exhibition on Vernacular Literature in Native Languages of Taiwan." They demanded that the term 'Taiwanese' be replaced by Southern Min or Hō-ló-ōe.

The purpose of this paper is to survey the controversy over the term 'Tâi-gí' from

³ The data are available at <<http://www.immigration.gov.tw/public/Attachment/31031955020.xls>>

⁴ By the end of October 2013, the amount of Taiwan's total population is 23,361,147 according to Taiwan's recent updated statistical data of Ministry of Interior, available at <http://www.ris.gov.tw/zh_TW/346>

the perspective of sociolinguistics and political science. Some historical background and current developments are surveyed. Solutions are also provided for readers' considerations.

2. The historical context of migration, indigenization and ethnic relations

Generally speaking, Taiwan was an indigenous society before Dutch occupation (1624-1661) in the early seventeenth century. There was only tribal awareness and no awareness of being "Taiwanese" at that time.

The aboriginal tribes, which belong to the Austronesian-Formosan language family, have been living in Taiwan for over a thousand years (cf. Lewis 2009). The classification of different tribes varies from scholar to scholar. Up to July 2014, the existing indigenous people are officially recognized as sixteen ethnic groups by the government of ROC on Taiwan. Their ethnic names also vary from past to present. For example, 'Sèk-hoan' (熟番; 'cooked savages' or 'sinicized barbarians') or 'Chheⁿ-hoan' (生番; 'raw savages' or 'rude barbarians') were frequently used during the Chinese feudal period. Those pejorative names were later replaced by 'Takasago' (タカサゴ高砂族⁵) during the Japanese rule. 'Takasago' was further replaced by 'Shānbāo' (山胞 mountain compatriots) by the Chinese ROC regime. The current official name 'Yuánzhùmín' (原住民 indigenous peoples) was not approved by the ROC until 1994.

The first half of the seventeenth century saw the fall of the Ming Empire (1368-1644) in China. The Qing Empire was then eventually established in China by the Manchurians. There were several remnant forces after the last Ming emperor was killed. The remnant forces spread out to different areas, such as Taiwan, Vietnam and other Southeast Asian areas. They tried to resist the military attacks of the Qing with the slogan "opposing Qing to restore Ming." This situation lasted for several decades after the fall of Ming.

Koxinga (國姓爺 or 鄭成功), leader of one of the remnants, brought 25,000 soldiers to Taiwan and drove away the Dutch, who were the colonizers of Taiwan at that time. The Koxinga Regime was then shortly established in Taiwan from 1662 to 1683 (Su 1980:102; Ong 1993b:56). The Koxinga regime was later defeated by the Qing armies. Consequently, Taiwan became the colony of Qing Empire from 1683 to 1895.

Among the soldiers of Koxinga, they mainly came from southern Hokkien and partly from eastern Canton (廣東). The language spoken by the people from southern Hokkien is the so-called 'Southern Min.' In fact, 'Southern Min' was not even a common term by its speakers at that time. A local prefecture or county name where the speaker lived was usually used by its speaker to refer to her/his vernacular. For

⁵ A cognate name derived from an indigenous tribe in Kaohsiung.

example, the terms, such as Chiang-chiu (漳州), Choan-chiu (泉州), Amoy (廈門), and Formosan, were widely employed in dictionaries compiled by missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see appendix I). The term ‘Southern Min’ was not even common until ROC’s promotion of it in Taiwan after World War II.

The languages used by the people from northeastern and eastern Canton are Hakka (客家) and Tio-chiu (or spelled Teochew 潮州). Hakka means ‘outsiders’ or ‘guests,’ which was the name given by other neighboring ethnic groups during their continual immigrations in the history of the formation of Hakka (Lo 1933). In addition to Hakka, there are some other terms used to refer to Hakka in different areas and social contexts. For example, Hakka is also called Ngái or Hẹ in Vietnam. Nowadays, ‘Hakka’ is the official name approved by governments both in ROC and People’s Republic of China (PRC). In addition to Hakka, the terms ‘Thòi-vân-ngìn’ or ‘Theù-kâ-ngìn’ or ‘Ngìn’ or ‘Ngài’ were recently coined to refer to ‘Hakka people in Taiwan.’

Due to Qing’s restrictions on migration, Hakka and Tio-chiu people are less numerous than the Hokkien during the process of migration to Taiwan. For example, right after Qing defeated Koxinga regime in 1683, the Qing announced such restrictions as “people who lived in Tio-chiu and Hui-chiu (Fuichiu 惠州) were not allowed to move to Taiwan, because those places were suspected of being the bases for pirates.” Such restrictions on Hakka were continued until 1760 (Su 1980:129).

After the restrictions on migration were completely lifted by the Qing emperor, more and more Hokkien and Hakka people moved to Taiwan. Conflicts among the Hokkien, Hakka and aborigines frequently occurred in regard to disputes such as land and natural resources (Ong 1993b:84-87). As a result, some pejorative terms were coined by each ethnic group to refer to other groups. For example, ‘hoan-á’ (番仔 ‘barbarians’ or ‘savages’) was used to refer to indigenous people by the Hokkien and Hakka; ‘pailang’ (白浪 or 歹人), which means ‘bad guys’ was coined by indigenous people in return to refer to the Hokkien and Hakka. ‘Kheh-hiaⁿ-kong’ (客兄公), which literally means ‘Hakka adulterer’ was used by Hokkien to refer to male Hakka speakers. In return, ‘Hok-lo-ma’ (福佬嫖 Hok-lo concubine) was created by Hakka to refer to the female Hokkien speakers.

The number of immigrants increased and soon became higher than the number of the indigenous people. The majority of the early immigrants who moved to Taiwan were male. Many of them intermarried with local indigenous women. The indigenous tribes that mainly resided in the western plain areas were more likely to come into contact with immigrants than tribes living in the mountains. They either were conquered by immigrants or intermarried with them (Su 1980).

There is an old Taiwanese saying reflecting this history of intermarriage: “ū

Tńg-soaⁿ-kong, bô Tńg-soaⁿ-má” (有唐山公, 無唐山媽). Tńg-soaⁿ was the old-fashioned term widely used by these immigrants to refer to their homeland in China. The saying literally means, “we have got a Mainland Grandpa, but no Mainland Grandma” (Kan 1995:152-162). Moreover, recent DNA studies by Doctor Lin Marie (2010) have revealed that the gene of Taiwanese people are much closer to People in Vietnam and Southeast Asia than those in China. It shows that although only 1.7% of the Taiwanese population are currently “pure” aborigines, as a matter of fact, most of the current Taiwanese population are partly descended from aboriginal stock (Brown 2004:149; Lin 2010). This phenomenon is similar to those cases such as Ming Huong people in Vietnam, and Baba Nyonya in Singapore and Malaysia.

In the early period of migration, most of those immigrants only intended to live in Taiwan provisionally, and they identified themselves with their original clans in southeast China (Tan 1994:140-141). However, during the course of indigenization, they moved from an immigrant society to a native society in the nineteenth century (Tan 1994:92). That means that the immigrants began to settle down and to distinguish themselves from the people who lived in China. For example, there was an old Taiwanese saying, “Tńg-soaⁿ-kheh, tui-pòⁿ soeh” (唐山客,對半說). Literally, it means that “you should discount the words of the guests from China.” It advised that you should not believe the Chinese too much while you are doing business with them. This old saying also reveals that the indigenized immigrants had considered themselves as ‘masters’ rather than ‘guests’ in Taiwan, where they have been living for several generations. In short, the late nineteenth century saw the origin of a proto-Taiwanese nation, according to historian Su Beng (Su 1992:196-200).

In 1895, Taiwan and the Pescadore islands were transferred by the Qing emperor to Japanese emperor as a consequence of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which ended the first Sino-Japanese War. The Japanese colonization (1895-1945) of Taiwan was the historical turning point in Taiwan in the transition from traditional Chinese feudal society to a modern capitalist society (Su 1992:205-215). Owing to modernization and capitalization during the Japanese rule, the earlier proto-Taiwanese identity advanced to Taiwanese nationhood (Su 1992:220). Those immigrant identities, once connected to the homeland of their ancestors such as ‘Chiang-chiu people’ and ‘Choan-chiu people,’ began to be replaced by a developing sense of being a ‘Taiwanese people’ in contrast to being a Japanese people. Thereafter, ‘Taiwanese language’ and ‘Taiwanese people’ were widely used by the people all over Taiwan.

The strong Taiwanese identity during the Japanese era could be well illustrated by the formation of political organizations, such as Sin Bîn Hoe (新民會 New People Association), established in 1920. Its organization guidelines mentioned: “To promote political reforms in Taiwan in order to improve the happiness of the Taiwanese people”

(Ong 1988:44-49). Moreover, the declarations (1925) of the Tokyo Association of Taiwanese Academic Studies (東京台灣學術研究會), which was organized by some overseas Taiwanese students in Tokyo, included: (Ong 1988:91-92)

“To support the liberation of Taiwan!” (支持台灣的解放運動)

“To obtain the freedom to speak Taiwanese!” (獲得使用台灣話的自由)

“Taiwan independence forever and ever!” (台灣獨立萬歲)

In addition to the identity transition from seeing themselves as immigrants to seeing themselves as native Taiwanese, the linguistic genres of vernacular spoken by the immigrants also changed. For example, although Choan-chiu and Chiang-chiu were originally two major different varieties of Southern Min, they gradually merged and became a new “non-Chiang non-Choan” (不漳不泉) vernacular after they were brought to Taiwan (Iwasaki 1913; Ong 1957:3-5, 1987:18-23; Ang 1992a, 1992b:71).⁶ Moreover, they were greatly influenced by the languages of indigenous plain tribes, and particularly the Japanese language during the Japanese ruling period (Ong 1957:44-45). For instance, ‘tá-káu’ (former name of Kaohsiung city), ‘Tâi-oân’ (current name of Taiwan), ‘má-se’ (drunken) and ‘Báng-kah’ (a place name in Taipei) are cognates from Formosan Austronesian languages. In addition, ‘chù-bûn’ (ちゅうもん to order), ‘sú-sih’ (すし Japanese sushi), ‘se-bí-loh’ (セビロ a suit), ‘ò-bah’ (オーバー an overcoat) are loanwords in Taiwanese coined from Japanese. In short, this new “non-Chiang non-Choan” language has been widely called ‘Tâi-gí’ or ‘Tâi-oân-ōe,’ which all mean the ‘Taiwanese language’ by the Taiwanese people since the early twentieth century.

3. Dictionaries, Bibles and literary works in Taiwanese

The Taiwanese language could be written in different orthographies. Currently, there are three major writing systems: 1) Roman-only, or exclusive use of Roman scripts, 2) Han characters only, which means exclusive use of Hanji, and 3) Han-Lo ‘Hanji with Roman script,’ which means a combination of Hanji with Roman scripts (Cheng 1990:219-237; Ong 1993a; Tiuⁿ 1998:230-241; Chiung 2001; Klöter 2005).

The Roman scheme for writing Taiwanese was mainly developed and contributed by Western missionaries in the nineteenth to early twentieth century (Klöter 2005:89). Called Pêh-ōe-jī, which means the scripts of vernacular speech in contrast to the complicated classical Han writing, it was introduced in Taiwan in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷ It is currently also called ‘Tâi-oân-jī’ or

⁶ There are some differences between Choan-chiu and Chiang-chiu, such as /koe/ vs. /ke/ to represent the same meaning of word ‘chicken.’

⁷ It was reported that the earliest development of Pêh-ōe-jī was contributed by the Spanish missionaries of Mania in the early 17th century (Klöter 2002 & 2004).

Taiwanese scripts. It made important impact in three significant aspects: 1) cultural enlightenment, 2) education for all people and 3) literary creation in colloquial Taiwanese (Chiung 2013b:111, Chiung 2011:ix).

Those applications and publications of Pèh-ōe-jī since the nineteenth century can be summarized in the following six categories: 1) textbooks, 2) dictionaries, 3) religious literature, include in the translation of the Bible, catechisms, and religious tracts, 4) newspapers, 5) private note-taking or letters, and 6) other publications, such as physiology, math, and novels (Chiung 2005:36, 2012).⁸

Carstairs Douglas's *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy* of 1873 is regarded as an influential dictionary on the orthography of Pèh-ōe-jī.⁹ After Douglas's dictionary, most Romanized dictionaries and publications followed his orthography with little or no changes (Ang 1993b:1-9, 1993a). George L. Macky's *Chinese Romanized Dictionary of the Formosan Vernacular*, which was considered the first dictionary to focus on vernacular spoken in Taiwan, was completed in 1874 and printed in 1891 in Shanghai. William Campbell's dictionary *Ē-m̄ng Im Sin Jī-tián* or *A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken Throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa*, firstly published in 1913 was the first Pèh-ōe-jī dictionary published in Taiwan.¹⁰ It is the most widely used Romanized dictionary in Taiwan (Lai 1990; Ang 1996). This dictionary has been reprinted and renamed as *Kam Uî-lîm Tâi-gú Jī-tián* or *William Campbell's Taiwanese Dictionary* since 2009.

Generally speaking, missionaries' dictionaries were using Amoy vernacular as the criteria by the early twentieth century. Thereafter, the vernacular spoken in Taiwan gradually became the criteria. For example, *The Amoy-English Dictionary* and *English-Amoy Dictionary*, published by The Maryknoll Language Service Center in Taichung in 1976 and 1979, are two such dictionaries. Their vocabularies and pronunciation systems are mainly based on the local Taichung vernacular even though 'Amoy' was named. The publisher had to use 'Amoy' rather than 'Taiwanese' was due to the factor that Taiwan under ROC's martial law from 1949 to 1987. At a later time, they were republished as *Taiwanese-English Dictionary* in 2001 and *English-Taiwanese Dictionary* in 2013, respectively.¹¹

In addition to missionaries' efforts, the Taiwan Governor-General's Office also published several dictionaries during the period of Japanese rule (Ang 1993c). For example, we have the *Japanese-Taiwanese Encyclopedic Dictionary* in 1907 and

⁸ Some publications may be available at the website of Memory of the Written Taiwanese, which was initiated by Iûⁿ Ún-giân. This site is located at <<http://ip194097.ntcu.edu.tw/Memory/TGB>>

⁹ This dictionary was scanned and available at <<http://ip194097.ntcu.edu.tw/memory/TGB>>

¹⁰ This dictionary was digitized and available at <<http://taigi.fhl.net/dick>>

¹¹ This dictionaries are available at <<http://www.taiwanesedictionary.org>>

Taiwanese-Japanese Encyclopedic Dictionary in 1931 and 1932. Vocabularies based on Taiwanese were collected in those dictionaries and they were written in Hanji with revised Japanese Kana.¹²

Dictionaries compiled by individuals were mainly published after 1945 (see Appendix I). These could be divided into two periods: 1) the martial law period before 1987, and 2) after the martial law. Many more dictionaries were published after the martial law was lifted. In addition, the term ‘Taiwanese’ was adopted by almost all dictionary publishers, except the one published by ROC’s National Translation and Compilation Center in 2001. In this case, ‘Southern Min’ was adopted to fit the political ideology of ROC. On the contrary, dictionaries published during martial law period were much more limited in number. Moreover, more than half of them had to politically compromise with ROC and use the name ‘Southern Min.’

In addition to dictionaries, the Bible is regarded as an important medium for the standardization of written Taiwanese. There were two major contributors to the completion of the Taiwanese Romanized Bible: Dr. James L. Maxwell and Rev. Thomas Barclay. Dr. Maxwell was the first medical missionary to Taiwan in 1865. Under his supervision, *Lán ê Kiù-chúIa-so Ki-tok ê Sin-iok*, the first Romanized *Taiwanese New Testament* was published in 1873, and *Kū-iok ê SèngKeng*, the *Taiwanese Old Testament*, was published in 1884. They were both printed in the UK (Lai 1990). Their revised editions were completed by Rev. Barclay. The revised New Testament was published in 1916. Later, the Revised Old Testament along with the revised New Testament were collected together and published in 1933. The 1933 Barclay edition of the Bible is the most widespread Romanized Bible in Taiwan (Niu 2013). In short, the Taiwanese Bible of Barclay and Maxwell plays the same role as Martin Luther’s translation of the Bible from Latin into the German vernacular.

Amoy vernacular was regarded as the criteria for compiling the Bible by both Maxwell and Barclay. Thereafter, all editions of the Bible were translated in Taiwanese vernacular. For example, the *Ko-Tân edition of Colloquial Taiwanese New Testament*,¹³ which was mainly translated based on the vernacular spoken in the central Taiwan areas, was completed by the Maryknoll Society in 1972 (Niu 2005; Lim 2005). This Bible is also called ‘Âng-phôe Sèng-keng’ or ‘Red Cover Bible’ because of the color of its front cover. It was expected to fulfill the needs of modern Taiwanese speakers. Unfortunately, it was seized by the ROC regime in 1975. It was later transcribed into Han-Lo version by Lîm Chùn-iòk and published by the Taiwan Church Press in 2005.¹⁴

¹² *Taiwanese-Japanese Encyclopedic Dictionary* was digitized and supplemented with modern Taiwanese translations in Han-Roman style, available at <<http://taigi.fhl.net/dict>>

¹³ *Ko-Tân Tâi-oân Pêh-ôe Sèng-keng Ek-pún* 高陳台灣白話聖經譯本.

¹⁴ Its original texts are available at <<http://taigi.fhl.net/list.html>>, and sound archives are available at

Several revised or newly translated editions of the Bible in Taiwanese were published again after the martial law was lifted in Taiwan. During this period, the Taiwanese Bibles were published in three ways: 1) Roman-only, 2) Han-only, and 3) Han-Lo hybrid. For example, *Hiān-tāi Tâi-gú Sin-iok Sèng-keng*, or The Today's Taiwanese New Testament, which was translated directly from Greek into Romanized Taiwanese mainly based on northern Taiwanese varieties, was published by the Bible Society in Taiwan in 2008 (Li 2010:74-75).¹⁵ It was later published again in the Han-Lo version in 2013 (Tiuⁿ 2014:16-17). Recently, *Choân-bîn Tâi-gí Sèng-keng* or The Common Taiwanese Bible, which was revised from 1933 Barclay's edition and transcribed into southern Taiwanese accents, was completed in 2013. It contains three versions: 1) Roman-only, 2) Han-Lo, and 3) Han-Lo plus Ruby functions.¹⁶ They are expected to be published in recent years. In addition to Roman-only and Han-Lo editions, Taiwanese Bible in Han characters “台語漢字本聖經” was published in 1996 for the first time. This Hanji edition was merely transcribed from Barclay's edition into Han characters.

In addition to dictionaries and the Bible, newspapers and other publications are also important in the promotion and standardization of written Taiwanese. The first modern newspaper *Tâi-oân-hú-siâⁿ Kàu-hōe-pò* (*Taiwan Prefectural City Church News*) was published monthly by Rev. Barclay in July 1885 (Tiuⁿ 2005; Tan 2007). This newspaper was published in Pêh-ōe-jī until March 1969. Thereafter, it was shifted to Mandarin Chinese under the political pressure from ROC.

In order to print Taiwanese Roman scripts, which contain some distinctive features and tone marks, a state-of-the-art printing machine was imported from Scotland in 1881. This printer was in operation from 1885 until 1960s. After the printer was imported, the first publishing house in Taiwan, known as Chū-tin-tông or Sin-lâu Bookstore, was established in Tainan by Rev. Barclay in 1884. It was later called Taiwan Church Press.

Although *Taiwan Prefectural City Church News* was a religious oriented newspaper, it also contained a variety of articles, such as aspects of literature, history, culture and science (Ng 2000; Chiung 2011). For example, a short story entitled as “Jit-pún ê koài-sū” (an oddity in Japan) and a travel note “Pak-káng Má ê sin-bûn” (news on the goddess Pak-kang Ma) were published in 1886.¹⁷

In addition to newspapers, there were some other publications, such as *Pit Soàn ê Chho Hák* (Fundamental Mathematics) by *Ūi-lîm Gê* in 1897, *Lâi Gōa Kho*

<http://bible.fhl.net/new/audio_hb.php?version=6>

¹⁵ The Bible was copyrighted in 2007 and published in 2008. For the comparisons of different editions of Taiwanese Bible, readers may refer to Niu (2005) or Iuⁿ (2013).

¹⁶ Three versions of Common Taiwanese Bible are available at <<http://taigi.fhl.net/list.html>>

¹⁷ Articles in this newspaper were digitized and researchable at <<http://210.240.194.97/nmtl/dadwt/pbk.asp>>

Khàn-hō-hák (The Principles and Practice of Nursing) by G. Gushue-Taylor in 1917, the novel *Chhut Sí-Sòá* (Line between Life and Death) by *Khe-phoàn Tē* in 1926, and the collection of commentaries *Cháp-hāng Koán-kiàn* (Opinions on Ten Issues) by *Pōe-hóe Chhò* in 1925.¹⁸

Due to the successful promotion of written Taiwanese in the second half of nineteenth century, it had contributed to the emergence of Taiwanese new literature, which was written in accordance with the Taiwanese colloquial vernacular rather than traditional classical Han writing (Chiung 2005:35). Comparing to the May Fourth New Culture Movement of 1919 in China, Taiwanese people had experienced colloquial writing decades earlier than the Chinese people. This is one of the reasons why the development of modern literature in Taiwan is quite different from China.

4. People's resistance to ROC's Chinese policy

Usually, the religious believers apply Pèh-ōe-jī writing to their daily life after they acquire the skill of Romanization. For example, they may use Pèh-ōe-jī as a tool for note taking or writing letters to their daughters, sons, or friends in addition to reading the Bible. Pèh-ōe-jī was widely used among the church people in Taiwan prior to 1970s (Chiung 2012, 2013a). Among its users, women were the majority. Most of those women did not command any literacy except Pèh-ōe-jī. Today, there are still a few among the elder generations, especially women, who read only Pèh-ōe-jī.

Why did Pèh-ōe-jī declined severely in the 1970s? It is the consequence of the ROC colonialism. From the political perspective of ROC, Mandarin Chinese in traditional Chinese characters was considered the only orthodox language. The Bible in Romanized Taiwanese was definitely regarded as a challenge to the Chinese regime, which is considered a foreign regime by many Taiwanese.

At the end of World War II, Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Chinese Nationalist (KMT) took over China (excluding Manchuria), Taiwan, and French Indo-China north of 16° north latitude on behalf of the Allied Powers under General Order No.1 of September 2, 1945 (Hodgkin 1981:288; Peng & Ng 1995:60-61; Chiung 2007:110-111, 2008). In accordance with this order, Chiang sent troops to Taiwan and Vietnam. After Japanese forces were disarmed, Chiang was requested by Ho Chi Minh and French power to withdraw his troops from Vietnam in 1946. However, Chiang's troops remained in Taiwan even though the well-known February 28 Revolution occurred in 1947 (Kerr 1992; Su 1980:749-801; Ong 1993b:157-162). Simultaneously, Chiang Kai-shek was fighting against the Chinese Communist Party

¹⁸ Some photos of these publications are available at <http://www.de-han.org/pehoeji/exhibits/index.htm>

in Mainland China.

In 1949, Chiang's troops were completely defeated and then pursued by the Chinese Communists. At that time, Taiwan's national status was supposed to be dealt with by a peace treaty among the nations at war. That is Treaty of Peace with Japan signed by 48 nations at a later time in San Francisco in September 1951. However, because of Chiang's defeat in China, Chiang decided to occupy Taiwan as a base and from there he would fight to recover the Mainland (Kerr 1992; Ong 1993b; Peng & Ng 1995; Su 1980). Consequently, Chiang's political regime Republic of China (ROC) was renewed in Taiwan and has remained there since 1949.

Chiang claimed that Taiwan was a province of China, and ROC was the only legitimate government of China even though the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in Beijing by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in October 1949. Due to Chiang's control of Taiwan, his mortal enemy, the communist leader Mao Zedong, also claimed that Taiwan was a part of PRC. In fact, both KMT and CCP used to support Taiwan to become an independent state from the Japanese during the 1920s and 1930s (Siau 1981). Nevertheless, the current relation between Taiwan and China remains a political issue to solve. From the perspective of people in Taiwan, many public opinion polls done lately have shown that the majority of Taiwanese people are more likely to support Taiwanese independence. For example, the polls conducted by Taiwan Thinktank in July 2014 revealed that 82.9% of the subjects agreed that Taiwan and China are two countries independent from each other.¹⁹

Monolingual Mandarin Chinese policy was adopted during ROC's occupation of Taiwan (Huang 1993; Heylen 2005). Taiwanese people were forced to learn Mandarin Chinese and to identify themselves as Chinese through the national education system (Cheng 1996; Tiuⁿ 1996; Hsia 1997:307). Consequently, research has revealed that a language shift toward Mandarin is in progress (Lu 1988:73; Young 1989:55; Chan 1994:iii). In response to ROC's Chinese language policy, the promoters of Taiwanese have protested against the monolingual policy and have demanded vernacular education in schools. This is the so-called 'Tâi-bûn Ūn-tōng' or 'Taiwanese language movement' that has substantially grown since the second half of the 1980s (Hsia 1997; Erbaugh 1995; Li 1999; Lim 1996; Chiung 1999, 2007; Klöter 2005).

Although Pêh-ōe-jī was originally devised for religious purposes, it is no longer limited to religious applications after the contemporary Tâi-bûn movement was raised in the late 1980s (Chiung 1999:42, 2005:40). Pêh-ōe-jī has been adopted by many Taiwanese promoters to write Taiwanese either in Roman-only or Han-Lo styles. For example, famous Taiwanese periodicals such as *Tôî-oân-jī* (*Taiwanese Scripts*),

¹⁹ Press release available at Taiwan Thinktank<<http://www.taiwanthinktank.org/chinese/page/5/62/2840/0>>

Tâi-bûn Thong-sin (TBTS Newsletter), *Tâi-bûn Bóng Pò* (Bong Newspaper), and *Hái-ang* (Whale of Taiwanese Literature) all adopt Pêh-ōe-jī as the Romanization for writing Taiwanese. Moreover, academic Journal, such as *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular* accepts Pêh-ōe-jī as official writing. In addition, professional organizations such as Tâi-oân Lô-má-jī Hiáp-hōe (Taiwanese Romanization Association) was organized in August 2001 for the promotion of writing in fully Romanized Taiwanese.²⁰ Tâi-bûn Pit-hōe (Taiwanese Pen), the literary society of Taiwanese writers for the promotion of literary creations in Taiwanese vernacular was established in 2009. The Center for Taiwanese Languages Testing at National Cheng Kung University was established in 2010.²¹ They all recognized Pêh-ōe-jī as the official orthography for Taiwanese.

Under the pressure of the Taiwanese language movement, the ruling KMT regime had no choice but to open up some possibilities for vernacular education. Eventually, the president Lee Teng-hui, who is a native of Taiwan, approved the compromised proposal that elementary schools be allowed to have vernacular education starting in fall semester 2001. Prior to implementation of the vernacular education proposal, KMT lost its regime during the 2000 presidential election for the first time in Taiwan. Chen Shui-bian was elected president. Consequently, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) became the ruling party until 2008 when the KMT retrieved regime again.

This vernacular education proposal was thus conducted by the ruling DPP. A class called ‘pún-thó’gí-giân’ (native languages), with a period of 40 minutes per week, is required in all elementary schools from fall semester 2001. Schools may choose the vernacular languages to teach in accordance with the demands of their students. In the vernacular education, course titles were officially named ‘Taiwan Southern Min Language,’ ‘Taiwan Hakka Language’ and ‘Formosan Austronesian languages’ to refer to the languages taught in class. In addition to elementary schools, universities were encouraged to establish new departments of Taiwanese languages and literatures or relevant studies. About twenty some such departments or graduate institutes were therefore established by 2008. The National Museum of Taiwan Literature was also officially established in Tainan in 2003.

While people were feeling hopeful and confident about mother tongue education, Ma Ying-jeou, from the KMT, won the presidential election in 2008. Once KMT became the ruling party again, all native policies regarding Taiwanese languages and culture adopted by the DPP were gradually changed. For example, the budget for Taiwanese proficiency test was cut by KMT legislators in February 2009.²² Also,

²⁰ TLH’s official website at <<http://www.tlh.org.tw/>>

²¹ CTLT’s official website at <<http://ctl.twl.ncku.edu.tw/>> For more information on the development of General Taiwanese Proficiency Test, please refer to Chiung (2010a).

²² Petition and press release are available at <<http://www.tlh.org.tw/liansu.htm>> Relevant news reports,

'Taiwan' was withdrawn by MOE from 'Taiwan Southern Min' of the "Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines" in 2009. Moreover, private publishers such as King-an were later forced to replace 'Taiwanese' with 'Southern Min' on the title of Taiwanese textbooks for elementary students.²³ The major excuse of the MOE officials and KMT legislators was that the term 'Taiwanese' would mislead people into thinking that Hakka and indigenous Formosan languages were excluded from the list of native languages in Taiwan. It sounded like that they were calling for racial equality. In fact, they were oppressing the Taiwanese speaking people's growing awareness of their own identity and sowing seeds of discord among ethnic groups in Taiwan.

Because Ma Ying-jeou was regarded as a pro-China president by the Taiwanese people, these actions hostile toward Taiwanese were considered Ma's step toward de-Taiwanization (去台灣化). In response to MOE's racial discrimination against Taiwanese speaking people, around 40 Taiwanese organizations immediately formed an alliance called "Alliance against the Discrimination Term on Southern Min"(ADTSM) and protested against the MOE.²⁴ The organizations include Taiwanese Romanization Association, Haiang Taiwanese Association, Taiwan South Society, Taiwan Hakka Society, etc (Chiung 2010b).

The major arguments by the ADTSM are summarized, as follows:

First of all, 'Southern Min' contains the Chinese character 閩 'Min', which is an offensive and pejorative word. It means 'savages' or 'barbarians' according to Chinese classical dictionaries *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì* (說文解字) by Xǔ Shèn (許慎) and *Shuō Wén Jiě Zì Zhù* (說文解字注) by Duàn Yù Cǎi (段玉裁). It was the term used by the officials in northern China, where was the political center of ancient China. Although the term 'Min' have been used for a thousand years to refer to Hokkien, it does not mean that it is still appropriate today. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of UN of 1948 it was stated that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. How can we use such a pejorative and insulting term to refer to a modern people?

Secondly, 'Taiwanese' is the traditional term which has been used for more than one hundred years in society in Taiwan. It is used not only by the Taiwanese people,

available at <<http://www.peopo.org/news/29178>>, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pz1b6dWrpuE>>, and <<http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/paper/283646>>

²³ The press releases against the policy are available at <<http://ungian.pixnet.net/blog/post/28744136>> and <<http://taigi.fhl.net/News/News41.html>>

²⁴ The videos on the protest are viewable with keyword '送蛇到教育部' (sent snakes to MOE) on Youtube, or at <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GdkkAobYkFQ>>, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yuWDOQqBIV4>>, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9D0EGCC4zHM>> Their relevant news reports are available at <<http://hongtintgb.pixnet.net/blog/post/277018-090729>> 「反對閩南語歧視稱呼」新聞連結 2> and <<https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/nihonnokoe/conversations/messages/1555>>

but also by the Chinese people in Taiwan. For example, Lian Heng (連橫), grandfather of KMT's former chairperson Lian Chian (連戰), published a book entitled as *Etymology of Taiwanese Language* (台灣語典) in 1933. In addition, a book entitled as *Taiwanese Dialect Symbols* (台語方音符號) was published by the Provincial Council for National Language Promotion in 1955. Also, *Taiwanese Conversions in Phonetic Symbols* (注音台語會話) was published by the Ministry of National Defense in 1958. They all used the term *Taiwanese* in these books. The term was not replaced by 'Southern Min' until the 1960s when the KMT tried to strengthen their assimilation policy. That is, force the Taiwanese people to identify themselves as Chinese rather than as Taiwanese.

To give readers a better idea of how different names are preferred and used in Taiwan, search results using Google Taiwan, dated on July 23, 2014, of different names (in Han characters) are provided in Table 1. It reveals that 台灣話 or Taiwanese Language was the most popular one with 20.6 million items found on Google. It was even higher than Chinese except Beijinghua in number. 台語 or Taiwanese was the second largest in number. 閩南語 or Southern Min is the fourth one and accounted only 1.1 million. This shows that Taiwanese language is the most favored name by the Taiwanese people.

Table 1. Searching results of different names by Google Taiwan (2014/7/23)

Names	台灣話 (Taiwanese1)	台語 (Taiwanese2)	鶴佬話 (Ho-lo1)	閩南語 (Southern Min)	河洛話 (Ho-lo2)	福佬話 (Ho-lo3)
Results	20,600,000	3,420,000	2,180,000	1,100,000	978,000	432,000
Name	北京話 (Beijinghua)	國語 (National Language)	華語 (Huayu)	漢語 (Hanyu)	普通話 (Putonghua)	中國話 (Zhongquahua)
Results	32,900,000	6,650,000	4,500,000	4,140,000	1,790,000	1,410,000

Thirdly, 'Taiwanese' is simply a proper noun rather than an abbreviation of "languages in Taiwan." ADTSM pointed out that Hakka, Formosan Austronesian languages and Taiwanese are all native languages in Taiwan. It does not necessarily mean that Taiwanese is the only native language in Taiwan as MOE officials and KMT legislators faulted. If their logic was correct, National Taiwan University (NTU) should be the first one to be renamed since there are around 160 universities in Taiwan. Why is NTU the only one using 'Taiwan'? In addition, aboriginal people such as 'Seedig' and 'Tao' should both be renamed because the terms all mean 'people'

in their languages. How can they use the name ‘people’ since they are not the only people in Taiwan!?

Fourthly, there are also Hakka people living in the so-called ‘Southern Min’ areas, such as Chiau-an (詔安) and Lam-cheng (南靖) in southern Hokkien, China. In MOE officials’ logic, the term ‘Southern Min’ should not be used either!

Fifthly, the so-called Southern Min language is not limited to the southern Hokkien areas, but is also spoken in the eastern part of Canton, especially in the areas of Tio Soaⁿ (潮汕) and Hai Liok Hong (海陸豐). Following the officials’ logic, the term ‘Southern Min’ would exclude the speakers in eastern Canton.

The sixth reason is that, in practice, none of the Taiwanese promoters asserted that Hakka and Formosan Austronesian languages are not languages of Taiwan. For example, in the case of the National Museum of Taiwan Literature, Taiwanese as well as Hakka and Formosan Austronesian languages were all included in the Exhibition on Vernacular Literature in Native Languages of Taiwan. How could we say Taiwanese promoters were narrow-minded?

Seventhly, the right to use one’s own name in one’s own language is an important issue recognized by international organizations. For example, in the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights of 1996 is found the statement that “all language communities have the right to preserve and use their own system of proper names in all spheres and on all occasions,” in article 31; and “all language communities have the right to refer to themselves by the name used in their own language. Any translation into other languages must avoid ambiguous or pejorative denominations”, in article 33. The term ‘Taiwanese’ has been widely used for more than a hundred years in Taiwan. Therefore, ROC regime should respect it.

5. Solutions and Conclusions

A name referring to an ethnic group could be given by members of the group themselves, or by neighboring ethnic groups. In the past, the reference was more frequently given by other people. It would be acceptable if the name is a neutral term without any discriminatory intent. For example, the term ‘Tâi-oân’ was originally given by new settlers to refer to the tiny area of An-pêng, where the indigenous Siraya tribe resided (Ong 1993b:17). Later on it was expanded to refer to the whole territory of Taiwan, and the suffix ‘lâng’ (people) was added as ‘Tâi-oân-lâng’ to refer to the Taiwanese.

On the contrary, the ethnic name is neither appropriate nor acceptable if it contains pejorative denominations, such as ‘hoan-á’ and ‘Min’ as mentioned above. In this case, it is best to respect the way members of an ethnic group use “to refer to themselves by the name used in their own language” as declared in the Universal

Declaration of Linguistic Rights.

In the case of ‘Southern Min,’ it is definitely not appropriate to be used any more since it contains a pejorative meaning. I propose that ‘Lán-lâng-ōe’ (咱人話) be used to refer to all language varieties spoken in southern Hokkien, eastern Canton, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippine, Vietnam, Thailand and other places, which were formerly considered as ‘Southern Min’ speaking areas. ‘Lán-lâng’ literally means ‘our people’ or ‘we as human beings,’ referring to the ethnic name. A suffix ‘ōe’ (language) is added as ‘Lán-lâng-ōe’ to refer to its language. Actually, the term ‘Lán-lâng-ōe’ is not a brand new one but has been used by ‘Hokkien’ speakers in Philippine for a long time.

While ‘Lán-lâng-ōe’ is assigned to refer to the language family, particular local terms can also be given to its varieties in particular areas, as long as their speakers agree with the practice. For example, ‘Tâi-gí’ or ‘Tâi-oân-ōe’ (Taiwanese) is given to specify the varieties spoken in Taiwan, and ‘Pin-siâⁿ-ōe’ or ‘Pinang-ōe’ refer to the varieties spoken in Penang, Malaysia. Further, ‘Tâi-gí-lâng’ is given as an ethnic name to the speakers of Tâi-gí, and ‘Pin-siâⁿ-lâng’ to the speakers of Pin-siâⁿ-ōe.

Someone may suggest that ‘Hô-ló,’ ‘Hō-ló’ or ‘Hok-ló’ be used instead of Taiwanese. However, they cannot represent the characteristics of Taiwan. ‘Hô-ló,’ ‘Hō-ló’ and ‘Hok-ló’ are merely spellings of varieties spoken in different areas. In Taiwan, they were not widely and commonly known until the 1990s when the language revival movement became a hot issue. It was usually the name used by Hakka people to refer to Taiwanese speaking people. For those Taiwanese speakers who do not live near Hakka communities, they might have never heard this word. For example, the famous Taiwanese linguist Ông Iók-tek (1924-1985), who was born in Tainan, had never heard of ‘Hô-ló’ until he went to university in Taipei in the 1940s (Ong 2002:185).

‘Hô-ló’ may be written in different Han characters and different scholars have interpreted as having different etymological meanings. However, there is no consensus yet. One assumption was 河洛 (Lim 1991:7-8), which means the plains between the Yellow River and the Lok River (洛水) in China. It was said that Hô-ló people were originally from these areas. The second assumption, raised by Ang Ui-jin (1987:148), asserted that the Han characters should be 貉獠, which was one tribe of the Hundred Yue (越族) in southeast China. Thirdly, Kho Kek-tun (1992:10-14) asserted that it might be 福佬, which means the people from Hokkien province.

According to *Taiwanese-Japanese Encyclopedic Dictionary* (Ogawa 1931:829), ‘Hô-ló’ and 福佬 were recorded and it means the ‘pejorative’ name given by the Cantonese to refer to people from Hokkien. In addition, missionaries Samuel Wells Williams (1874:ix) and Kennelly (1908:207) both pointed out that ‘Hoklo’ was the

name referring to ‘Swataw²⁵’ (汕頭) people by local Cantonese people. The name was later written in different varieties of Han characters, such as 學老, 福猪, or 福佬. In Canton, in addition to Cantonese, there are also Hakka and the so-called ‘Southern Min’ speakers. Teochew (潮州) and Swataw speakers mainly reside in eastern part of Canton. They were traditionally considered as a branch of ‘Southern Min’ because they were descended from Chiang-chiu, Hokkien (Ong 1987:13-15).

All the facts have shown that Hakka people used to assign the name ‘Hoklo’ to ‘Hokkien descendants in Canton.’ Once the Hakka immigrated to Taiwan, they kept using the name to refer to Taiwanese speakers who were mainly descended from Hokkien. However, the population of Hakka accounts for only 12%, and they are limited to certain areas. Therefore, the name ‘Hoklo’ is not widely known by the Taiwanese speakers except those who have frequent contacts with Hakka.

In short, ‘Taiwanese’ is probably the best ethnolinguistic name to refer to the language spoken by Tâi-gí speakers in Taiwan. Further, ‘Southern Min’ should be replaced by ‘Lán-lâng-ōe’ from a broader perspective to refer to all speech varieties spoken in China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asian countries.

Correspondence

Any correspondence should be directed to Wi-vun Taiffalo CHIUNG (uibuntw@gmail.com).

²⁵ Original spelling by S. W. Williams (1874).

References

- Ang, Ui-jin. 1987. 台灣河洛語聲調研究[*The Tonal Studies of Taiwanese Ho-looe*]. Taipei: Independence Press.
- Ang, Ui-jin. 1992a. 台語文學與台語文字[*Taiwanese Literature and Taiwanese Orthography*]. Taipei: Chian-ui.
- Ang, Ui-jin. 1992b. 台灣語言問題[*Taiwan's Language Problems*]. Taipei: Chian-ui.
- Ang, Ui-jin. 1993a. 巴克禮《廈英大辭典補編》及杜典以後的辭字典簡介 [Introduction to Barclay's supplement to Amoy-English dictionary, and other dictionaries afterward it]. In 閩南語經典辭書彙編 no.4 [A Collection of Southern Min Classic Dictionaries]. Vol.4, pp.10-25. Taipei: Woolin Press.
- Ang, Ui-jin. 1993b. 杜嘉德《廈英大辭典》簡介 [Introduction to Douglas' Amoy-English dictionary]. In 閩南語經典辭書彙編 no.4 [A Collection of Southern Min Classic Dictionaries]. Vol.4, pp.1-9. Taipei: Woolin Press.
- Ang, Ui-jin. 1993c. 日據時代的辭書編纂[The compiling of dictionaries in Japanese occupied era]. In 閩南語經典辭書彙編 no.7 [A Collection of Southern Min Classic Dictionaries]. Vol.7, pp.1-26. Taipei: Woolin Press.
- Ang, Ui-jin. 1996. 台灣文獻書目題解:語言類[A list of Historical Materials: Language Category]. Taipei: NCL-Taiwan.
- Brown, Melissa J. 2004. *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chan, Hui-chen. 1994. *Language Shift in Taiwan: Social and Political Determinants*. Ph.D. dissertation: Georgetown University.
- Cheng, Robert L. 1990. 演變中的台灣社會語文[*Essays on Taiwan's Sociolinguistic Problems*]. Taipei: Chu-lip.
- Cheng, Robert L. 1996. 民主化政治目標與語言政策[Democracy and language policy]. In Si, Cheng-hong. (ed), pp.21-50.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 1999. *Language Attitudes toward Taibun, the Written Taiwanese*. MA thesis: The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2001. Language attitudes toward written Taiwanese. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 22(6), pp.502-523.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2005. 語言認同與去殖民[*Language, Identity and Decolonization*]. Tainan: National Cheng Kung University.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2007. Language, literacy, and nationalism: Taiwan's orthographic transition from the perspective of Han sphere. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 28(2), pp.102-116.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2008. 1945 年蔣介石軍隊代表聯軍同時佔領台灣 kap 北越[Taiwan and northern Vietnam were occupied by Chiang's troops in 1945]. *The Taiwan Fokways* 58(3), pp.9-15.

- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2010a. Development of the Taiwanese Proficiency Test. *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular* 2(2), pp.82-103.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2010b. Politics and Ethnicity Names: A Case Study on Southern Min People in Taiwan. 16th North America Taiwan Studies Conference, June 18-20, UC Berkeley.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2011. *Tâi-gí Pêh-ōe-jī Bûn-hák Soán-chîp* [Collection of Literary Works in Romanized Taiwanese] Vol.1 of 5). Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan Literature.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2012. 教會羅馬字調查研究計畫期末報告書[Final Report of the Project on Church Roman Scripts]. Tainan: Tainan Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2013a. A survey of Romanized Taiwanese Peh-oe-ji users and usages in Taiwan's church. *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular* 5(1), pp.74-97.
- Chiung, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2013b. Missionary scripts in Vietnam and Taiwan. *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular* 5(2), pp.94-123.
- Erbaugh, Mary. 1995. Southern Chinese dialects as a medium for reconciliation within Greater China. *Language in Society* 24, pp.79-94.
- Heylen, Ann. 2005. The legacy of literacy practices in colonial Taiwan. Japanese-Taiwanese-Chinese: language interaction and identity formation. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development* 26(6), pp.496-511.
- Hodgkin, Thomas. 1981. *Vietnam: The Revolutionary Path*. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Hsiao, A-chin. 1997. Language ideology in Taiwan: the KMT's language policy, the Tai-y language movement, and ethnic politics. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 18 (4), pp.302-315.
- Huang, Shuan Fan. 1993. 語言社會與族群意識[Language, Society, and Ethnic Identity]. Taipei: Crane.
- Iuⁿ, Un-gian. 2013. 台語語詞使用分析研究——以三本台語新約聖經做例 [Analysis of Taiwanese word usage: using three Taiwanese New Testaments as examples]. *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular* 6(1), pp.4-20.
- Iwasaki, Keitarō [岩崎敬太郎]. 1913. 新撰日臺言語集[New Japanese-Taiwanese Conversions]. Taipei: New Japanese-Taiwanese Conversions Publisher.
- Kan, Keng-jin. 1995. 台灣開發與族群[Cultivation and Ethnic Groups in Taiwan]. Taipei: Chian-ui Press.
- Kennelly, M. 1908. *Comprehensive geography of the Chinese Empire and dependencies*. Shanghai: T'usewei Press.
- Kerr, George. H. 1992. 被出賣的台灣[Formosa Betrayed]. (Chinese edition). Taipei:

- Chian-ui.
- Kho, Kek-tun. 1992. 台灣語概論 [*An Introduction to Taiwanese language*]. Kaoshiung: First Press.
- Klöter, Henning 2002. The history of Peh-oe-ji. Paper presented at the 2002 International Conference on Taiwanese Romanization. Taitung: National Taitung Teachers College.
- Klöter, Henning. 2004. Early Spanish romanization systems for Southern Min. Paper presented at the International Conference on Taiwanese Romanization. Tainan: National Cheng Kung University & National Museum of Taiwanese Literature.
- Klöter, Henning. 2005. *Written Taiwanese*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Lai, Young-hsiang. 1990. 教會史話 [*Topics on Taiwan Church History*]. Vol. 1. Tainan: Jin-kong Press.
- Lewis, Paul M. 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. (16th edition). Dallas: SIL International. Online version available at <<http://www.ethnologue.com/>>
- Li, Heng-chhiong. (eds.). 1999. *Collection of Essays on Taigi Literature Movement* [台語文學運動論文集]. Taipei: Chian-ui.
- Li, Khin-hoann. 1996. 語言政策及台灣獨立 [Language policy and Taiwan independence]. In Si, Cheng-hong. (ed.), pp.113-134. Taipei: Chian-ui.
- Li, Lam-heng. 2010. 現代台灣基督徒 tiòh 讀《現代台語聖經》 [Modern Christians should read the Modern Taiwanese New Testament]. *New Messenger Magazine* no.119, pp.74-75.
- Lim, Chai-hok. 1991. 閩南人 [*Min-nan People*]. Taipei: San-min Bookstore.
- Lim, Chun-iok. 2005. 台灣文化資產(一)—白話字紅皮聖經 [Taiwanese cultural heritage: the Taiwanese Red Cover Bible]. Tâi-gí Sìn-bōng-ài Bāng-chām at <<http://taigi.fhl.net/classic/classic3.html>>
- Lim, Chun-iok. 2013. 人人愛讀 ê 《全民台語聖經》 [Everybody's Common Taiwanese Bible]. *New Messenger Magazine* no.137, pp. 74-75.
- Lim, Iong-bin. 1996. 台語文學運動史論 [*Essay on the Taigi Literature Movement*]. Taipei: Chian-ui.
- Lin, Marie. 2010. 我們流著不同的血液：台灣各族群身世之謎 [*We Are Not of the Same Blood: Myth of the Ethnic Groups in Taiwan*]. Taipei: Chian-ui.
- Lo, Hsiang-lin. 1933. 客家研究導論 [*An Introduction to the Study of the Hakkas in Its Ethnic, Historical, and Cultural Aspects*]. (Taiwan edition 1992). Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc.
- Lu, Li-Jung. 1988. *A Study of Language Attitudes, Language Use and Ethnic Identity in Taiwan*. M.A. Thesis: Fu-jen Catholic University.
- Ng, Ka-hui. 2000. *Literary works in the Peh-oe-ji Materials*. MA thesis: National University of Tainan.

- Niu, Siok-hui. 2005. 當上帝開口說台語：台語新約聖經三種版本的比較[*While the God Speaks in Taiwanese: Comparisons and Contrasts of Three Taiwanese New Testaments*]. Tainan: Jin-kong.
- Niu, Siok-hui. 2013. 《聖經》「巴克禮譯本」對台灣社會 kap 語言 ê 貢獻[The contribution of the “Amoy Romanized Bible” to the Taiwan society and language]. *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular* 5(2), pp.76-93.
- Ogawa, Naoyoshi [小川尚義]. 1931. 臺日大辭典(上)[*Taiwanese-Japanese Encyclopedic Dictionary*]. Taipei: Taiwan Governor-General's Office.
- Ong Iok-tek. 1957. 台灣語常用語彙[*The Basic Vocabulary of the Formosan Dialect*]. (Japanese edition). Tokyo: Eiwa Language Institution.
- Ong Iok-tek. 1987. 台灣語音の歷史的研究[*Historical Phonology of the Taiwanese Language*]. (Japanese edition). Tokyo: First Bookstore.
- Ong Iok-tek. 1993a. 台灣話講座[*Essay on the Taiwanese Language*]. Taipei: Independence Press.
- Ong, Iok-tek. 1993b. 台灣:苦悶的歷史[*Taiwan: A Depressed History*]. (Taiwan edition). Taipei: Independence Press.
- Ong, Iok-tek. 2002. 落入漢字的陷阱:「福佬」、「河洛」的語源之爭[Do not be trapped by Han characters: on the controversy of Hoklo and Holo]. In 王育德全集 2: 台灣語研究卷[*Collection of Ong Iok-tek's Works (2)*], pp.185-207. Taipei: Chian-ui.
- Ong, Si-long. 1988. 台灣社會運動史[*A History of Taiwanese Social Movement*]. Taipei: Tiu-hiong Press.
- Peng, M.M. and Ng, Y.C. 1995. 台灣在國際法上的地位[*The Legal Status of Taiwan*]. Taipei: Taiwan Interminds Publishing Inc.
- Si, Cheng-hong. (ed.) 1996. 語言政治與政策[*Linguistic Politics and Policy*]. Taipei: Chian-ui.
- Siau, Him-gi. 1981. 國共長期倡導台灣獨立的史實[Historical facts on Chinese KMT and Communists' supports for Taiwanese independence]. *Taiwanese Independence Monthly* no.110-112. Web resource at < <http://www.wufi.org.tw/> 國共長期倡導台灣獨立的史實(上) /> (2014/07/20)
- Su, Beng. 1980. 台灣人四百年史[*Taiwan's 400 Year History*]. (Chinese edition). San Jose: Paradise Culture Associates.
- Su, Beng. 1992. 民族形成與台灣民族[*The Forming of a Nation and the Taiwanese Nation*]. Published by the author.
- Tan, Bo-chin. 2007. 漢字之外:《台灣府城教會報》kap 台語白話字文獻中 ê 文明觀[*Beyond Han Characters: Viewpoints on Civilization Revealed from the Taiwan Prefectural City Church News and Other Taiwanese Peh-oe-ji Materials*]. Tainan: Jin-kong.

- Tan, Ki-lam. 1994. 台灣的傳統中國社會 [*The Traditional Chinese Society of Taiwan*]. (2nd edition). Taipei: Un-sin Press.
- Tiuⁿ, Biau-koan. 2005. 開啟心眼：《台灣府城教會報》與長老教會的基督徒教育 [*Open Your Minds: Christian education of the Taiwan Prefectural City Church News and the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan*]. Tainan: Jin-kong.
- Tiuⁿ, Chong-liong. 2014. 全然為台灣的聖經譯本 [The Bible for the Taiwanese]. *Lusoan Magazine* no.410, pp.16-17.
- Tiuⁿ, Hak-khiam. 1998. Writing in two scripts: a case study of digraphia in Taiwanese. *Written Language and Literacy* 1 (2), 225-47.
- Tiuⁿ, Ju-hong. 1996. 台灣現行語言政策動機的分析 [An analysis on the Taiwan's current language policy]. In Si, Cheng-hong. (ed.), pp. 85-106.
- Young, Russell. 1989. *Language Maintenance and Language Shift among the Chinese on Taiwan*. Taipei: Crane.

Appendix I: Dictionaries relevant to Taiwanese.

Year published	Titles	Editors	LG written	Given names	Places	publishers
1837	Dictionary of the Hok-keen Dialect of the Chinese Languages, According to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms (福建方言字典)	W. H. Medhurst (麥都思)	閩南語、英語	福建話	澳門	Honorable East India Company (英國東印度公司)
1838	A vocabulary of the Hok-keen Dialect as spoken in the county of Tsheang-tshew (漳州語彙)	S. Dyer	漳州話、英語	福建漳州話	Malacca	Anglo-Chinese College Press
1853	Anglo-Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect (翻譯英華廈腔語彙)	Elihu Doty (羅啻)	廈門話、英語	廈門話	廣州	S. Wells Williams
1866	A Vocabulary of the Hokkien Dialect, as Spoken at Amoy and Singapore	J.A. Wi ⁿ	閩南語、英語	福建話	新加坡	
1873	Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy (廈英大辭典)	Carstairs Douglas (杜嘉德)	廈門話、英語	廈門話	倫敦	Missionary of the Presbyterian Church in England
1874	A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language; Arranged According to the Wu-Fang Yuen Yin, with the Pronunciations of Peking, Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai (漢英韻府)	S.W. Williams (衛三畏)	北京話、廣東話、廈門話、上海話	廈門話	上海	上海長老教會
1882	Chineesch-Hollandsh Voordenboek van het Emoi Dialect (廈荷辭典)	J.J.C Franken & C.F.M. de Grijs	廈門話、荷蘭話	廈門話	Bata-via	Landsdrukkerij
1882-1890	Nederlandsch-Chineesch Woorden Book Met de Transcriptie der Chineesche Karaters in het Tsiang-tsiu Dialect (荷華文語類參)	Gustave.Schlegel	漳州話、荷蘭話	漳州話	荷蘭 Leiden	E.J.Brill
1883	English and Chinese Dictionary of the Amoy Dialect (英廈辭典)	John Macgowan	英語、廈門話	廈門話	倫敦	Fruber & Co
1874 完成、1891 出版	Chinese Romanized Dictionary of the Formosan Vernacular (中西字典)	George L. Makay (馬偕)	廈門話、英語	Formosan	上海	台北耶穌聖教會
1894	Ē-m̄ng-im ê jī-tián (廈門音 ê 字典)	John Talmange (打馬字)	廈門話	廈門話	廈門	鼓浪嶼萃經堂

1898	日臺小字典	上田萬年、小川尚義	台語、日語	台灣語	台北	總督府
1900	Diccionario Tónico Sino-Espanol, Del Dialecto de Emoy, Chiang-chiu, Choan-chiu Formosa	R.P.Fr. Ramon Colomer	閩南語、西班牙語	Formosa	廈門	鼓浪嶼萃經堂
1904	日臺新辭典	杉房之助	台語、日語	台灣語	台北	日本物產合資會社
1907	日臺大辭典	小川尚義	台語、日語	台灣語	台北	總督府
1908	日臺小辭典	小川尚義	台語、日語	台灣語	東京	大日本圖書株式會社
1913	廈門音新字典(A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken Throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu Chiang-chiu and Formosa (Taiwan))	William Campbell (甘為霖)	閩南語、英語	Formosa	台南	台灣教會公報社
1923	Supplement to Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy (廈英大辭典補編)	Thomas Barclay (巴克禮)	閩南語、英語	廈門話	上海	台南長老教會
1931	臺日新辭書	東方孝義	台語、日語	台灣語	台北	總督府
1931-1932	臺日大辭典(上)(下)	小川尚義	台語、日語	台灣語	台北	總督府
1932	臺日小辭典	小川尚義	台語、日語	台灣語	台北	總督府
1938	新訂日臺大辭典(上)	小川尚義	台語、日語	台灣語	台北	總督府
1946	國臺音萬字典	二樹庵、詹鎮卿	華語、台語	臺語	嘉義	蘭記
1954	增補彙音寶鑑	沈富進	台語	台語	斗六	文藝學社
1957	臺灣語常用語彙	王育德	台語、日語	台灣語	東京	永和語學社
1957	台灣語典	連橫	台語、文言	台灣語	台北	中華叢書編審委員會
1969	閩南語國語對照常用辭典	蔡培火	閩南語、華語	閩南語	台北	正中
1970	漢英台灣方言辭典	陳嘉德	台	台灣方言	臺北	南天

			語、英語			
1971	A Dictionary of Southern Min	Bernard L.M. Embree	台語、英語	閩南語		
1976	中國閩南語英語字典 (Amoy-English Dictionary)	The Maryknoll Language Service Center	台語、英語	閩南語	台中	The Maryknoll Language Service Center
1979	英廈辭典 (English-Amoy Dictionary)	The Maryknoll Language Service Center	英語、台語	閩南語	台中	The Maryknoll Language Service Center
1980	臺語辭典	徐金松	台語	臺語	台北	南天
1981	現代閩南語辭典	村上嘉英	閩南語、日語	閩南語	日本	天理大學
1984	普通話閩南方言詞典	黃典誠 etc	普通話、閩南語	閩南語	廈門	廈門大學
1986	綜合閩南方言基本字典	吳守禮	閩南語、華語	閩南語	台北	文史哲
1986	台灣禮俗語典	洪惟仁	台語、華語	台語、閩南語、鶴佬語	台北	自立
1991	簡明台語字典	林央敏	台語	台語	台北	前衛
1991	台灣話大詞典	陳修	台語、華語	台灣話	台北	遠流
1992	台語大字典	魏南安	台語、華語	台語	台北	自立晚報
1991	國台音彙音寶典	陳成福	華語、台語	台語	台南	西北
1992	常用漢字臺語詞典	許極燉	台語	臺語	台北	自立晚報
1992	台灣漢語辭典	許成章	臺語、華語	漢語	台北	自立晚報
1992	國台雙語辭典	楊青矗	台語、華語	台語	台北	敦理
1994	分類臺語小辭典	胡鑫麟	台語	臺語	台北	自立晚報
1994	實用臺語小字典	胡鑫麟	台語	臺語	台北	自立晚報
1995	蘭記臺語字典	二樹庵、詹鎮卿	華語、台語	臺語	嘉義	蘭記
1996	實用華語臺語對照典	邱文錫、陳憲國	華語、台語	臺語	台北	樟樹
1997	台語語彙辭典	楊青矗	台語、華語	台語	台北	敦理
1997	台灣俗諺語典	陳主顯	台語、華語	台語	台北	前衛

1998	台華字典	陳慶洲陳宇勳	台語、華語	台語	台北	陳慶洲
1998	福全台諺語典	徐福全	台語、華語	台語	台北	徐福全
1998	常用漢字台語詞典	許極燉	台語、華語	台語	台北	前衛
1999	實用臺灣諺語典	陳憲國、邱文錫	台語、華語	台語	台北	樟樹
2000	台語字彙	王王辰	台語、華語	台語	台北	萬人
2000	國臺對照活用辭典	吳守禮	華語、台語	台語	台北	遠流
2001	台灣閩南語辭典	國立編譯館	閩南語、華語	台灣閩南語	台北	五南
2001	台語俗語辭典	楊青矗	台語、華語	台語	台北	敦理
2001	Taiwanese-English Dictionary	The Maryknoll Language Service Center	台語、華語、英語	台語	台中	The Maryknoll Language Service Center
2002	新編華台語對照典	邱文錫、陳憲國	華語、台語	台語	台北	樟樹
2002	普實台華詞典	邱豔菱, 莊勝雄	台語、華語	台語	台中	台灣語文研究社
2002	台灣彙音字典	謝達鈿	台語、華語	台語	台中	謝達鈿
2003	台語實用字典	董峰政	台語	台語	台南	百合文化
2003	通用台語字典	吳崑松	台語、華語	台語	台北	南天
2004	新編台日大辭典	王順隆	台語、日語	台語	台北	王順隆
2004	國語台語對比辭典	陳成福	華語、台語	台語	台南	建利書局
2005	台語音外來語辭典	張光裕	台語、華語	台語	台中	雙語
2005	國語臺語綜合字典	陳成福	華語、台語	台語	台南	大正書局

2007	東方台灣語辭典	村上嘉英	台語、日語	台灣語	東京	東方書店
2007	重編新訂日台大辭典上卷	王順隆	日語、台語	台語	台北	王順隆
2007	高階標準臺語字典	陳冠學	台語、華語	台語	台北	前衛
2009	甘為霖台語字典 KamUî-lîmTâi-gúJî-tián (William Campbell's Taiwanese Dictionary)	William Campbell (甘為霖)	台語、閩南語、英語	台語	台南	台灣教會公報社
2009	台語白話小詞典	張裕宏	台語、華語	台語	台南	亞細亞國際傳播社
2009	福爾摩莎語言文化詞典	張宏宇	台語、華語、英語	台語	台北	文鶴
2011	全民台語認證語詞分級寶典	蔣為文	台語、華語	台語	台南	亞細亞國際傳播社
2011	實用台語詞典	盧廣誠	台語、華語	台語	台北	文水藝文
2012	精解台語漢字詞典	王華南	台語、華語	台語	台北	文水藝文
2013	English- Taiwanese Dictionary	The Maryknoll Language Service Center	英語、台語、華語	台語	台中	The Maryknoll Language Service Center

*This inventory was updated by Wi-vu Taiffalo Chiung with some references from Ang (1996) (2014/7/27updated).

Major Han characters with English translation:

福建話 Hokkien language

閩南話 Southern Min

漳州 Chiang-chiu

泉州 Choan-chiu

廈門 Amoy

台語/臺語/台灣語/台灣話 Taiwanese

華語 Mandarin Chinese

鶴佬 Ho-lo, Hoklo

英語 English

日語 Japanese

This paper was originally published in

CHIUNG, Wi-vun Taiffalo. 2015 "Taiwanese or Southern Min? on the controversy of ethnolinguistic names in Taiwan," *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular*, 7(1), 54-87.

ISSN:2076-3611