

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES TOWARD TAIBUN
THE WRITTEN TAIWANESE

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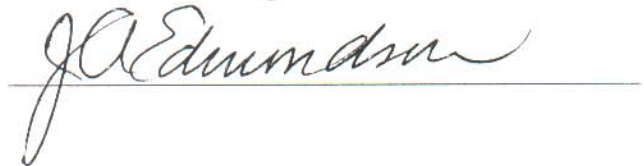
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**LANGUAGE ATTITUDES TOWARD TAIBUN
THE WRITTEN TAIWANESE**

by

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ABSTRACT

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES TOWARD TAIBUN THE WRITTEN TAIWANESE

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This survey includes a total of 244 students from Tamkang University and Tamsui College in Taiwan. The students were told to evaluate seven prepared Taibun reading samples (written in different orthographies) on six characteristic scales. The statistical results reveal that Han character-only orthography received highest rating, Han-Roman mixed received the second highest, and Roman-only script received the lowest. Overall, the students showed positive attitudes toward Taibun. In addition to the orthography factor, students' background also affected their evaluations. The significant factors are: (1) place of residence (Taipei vs. non-Taipei), (2) major (Taiwanese and English vs. Mechanical Engineering vs. Chinese, Japanese, and Public Administration), (3) mother tongue (Taiwanese vs. non-Taiwanese), (4) language ability (Taiwanese vs. non-Taiwanese), (5) national identity (Taiwanese vs. non-Taiwanese), and (6) assertions on national status (independence vs. non-independence). In short, whether or not Taibun will be successfully promoted to a national status, highly depends on people's orthography demands and their attitudes toward written Taiwanese. Moreover, their language ability and national identity also will play an important role while they are making the determinations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF TABLES	xii
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Motivation and purpose of the study	1
1.2 The colonial background of Taiwan	3
1.2.1 The aboriginal era	4
1.2.2 The west European era (1624-1661)	5
1.2.3 The Koxinga era (1661-1683)	7
1.2.4 The Ch'ing dynasty era (1863-1895)	7
1.2.5 The Japanese era (1895-1945)	8
1.2.6 The Chinese KMT era (1945-present)	8
1.2.7 An awareness of Taiwanese	11
1.3 Overview of the study	15
2. ETHNICITY, LANGUAGES, AND WRITING SYSTEMS IN TAIWAN	16
2.1 Ethnicity and Languages in Taiwan	16
2.1.1 The Taiwanese aborigines	16
2.1.2 The Holo people	18

2.1.3	The Hakka people	20
2.1.4	The Mainlanders	20
2.1.5	Ethnic relations	21
2.1.6	Language policy	22
2.2	The evolution of written languages in Taiwan	23
2.2.1	The Sinkang manuscripts	24
2.2.2	The classical Han and Koa-a-chheh writings	25
2.2.3	The Peh-oe-ji writing	27
2.2.4	The Japanese, Taiwanese, and Mandarin writings	32
2.3	The modern movement of written Taiwanese	33
2.3.1	Socio-political factors of writing reforms in Asia	34
2.3.2	The first movement of colloquial writing in 1920s	37
2.3.3	The contemporary Taibun movement since 1980	41
2.4	Three main writing schemes of the contemporary Taibun	49
2.4.1	Han characters only	50
2.4.2	Roman script only	52
2.4.3	Han-Roman mixed	54
3.	SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDIES IN TAIWAN	56
3.1	Previous empirical sociolinguistic studies in Taiwan	56
3.1.1	Language attitudes	57
3.1.2	Language use, shift, and ethnicity	58
3.2	Literature on the issues of written Taiwanese	60

4. METHODOLOGY	63
4.1 Methods	63
4.2 Questionnaire design	64
4.3 Selection of reading samples	65
4.4 Selection of raters	67
4.5 Conducting procedure	68
4.6 Data analysis	69
5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	74
5.1 Evaluations of different reading samples	74
5.1.1 Evaluations of six characteristic scales	75
5.1.2 Different readings show different scores	76
5.1.3 Raters' evaluations on writers' backgrounds	85
5.2 Raters' backgrounds may affect their evaluations	96
5.2.1 The significant factors	96
5.2.2 The Taibun equation for predicting reading scores	106
5.3 Language, mother tongue, ethnicity and politics	111
5.3.1 Ethnic identity, mother tongue, and language ability	112
5.3.2 Language, society, and politics	125
6. CONCLUSION	134
6.1 Summary of the findings	134
6.2 Conclusion	137
6.3 Recommendations for further studies	140

Appendix

A. SUMMARY OF FREQUENCIS AND PERCENTAGES OF RATERS' RESPONSES IN QUESTIONNAIRE	141
B. TRANSLATIONS OF READING SAMPLES AND READING QUESTIONS	146
C. TRANSLATIONS OF READER'S BACKGROUND QUESTIONS	152
D. ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE SHEETS	157
E. ORIGINAL HAN CHARACTERS OF PROPER NOUNS IN ROMANIZATION	168
REFERENCES	173
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	182

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Map of the geographical location of Taiwan	6
2. Distribution of languages in Taiwan	18
3. Sinkang Manuscripts adopted from Murakami (1933)	25
4. A Koa-a-chheh published by <i>Tek-na</i> bookstore	26
5. Tai-oan-hu-sia ⁿ Kau-hoe-po, issue 1, in 1885	30
6. First page of Peh-oe-ji Bible	30
7. Han characters only orthography	52
8. Roman only script orthography	54
9. Han-Roman mixed orthography	55
10. Evaluations of the subjects on writers' age category	86
11. Percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's age category	87
12. Evaluations of the subjects on writer's gender category	87
13. Percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's gender category	88
14. Evaluations of the subjects on writer's political leanings	89
15. Percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's political leanings	89
16. Evaluations of the subjects on writer's religion	90
17. Percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's religion	91
18. Evaluations of the subjects on writer's national identity	92
19. Percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's national identity	92
20. Evaluations of the subjects on understanding of language	93
21. Percentage of subjects on expected language of 7 readings	93

22. Percentage of subjects on expected language of reading B	94
23. Percentage of subjects on expected language of reading D	94
24. Relationship between ethnic identity and mother tongue in Taiwan	119
25. Relationship between ethnic identity and language ability in Taiwan	121
26. Relationship between mother tongue and language ability in Taiwan	123
27. Relationships among Holoee speakers, M-Holoee ability, and Holo people	124
28. Relationships among Hakfa speakers, Hakfa plus ability, and Hakka people	124
29. Relationships among Mandarin speakers, M-only ability, and Mainlanders	125

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Inventory of Taiwanese consonants in the spelling of Peh-oe-ji, based on the dictionary of <i>E-mng-im Sin Ji-tian</i>	31
2. Inventory of Taiwanese vowels in the spelling of Peh-oe-ji, based on the dictionary of <i>E-mng-im Sin Ji-tian</i>	32
3. Relation between language and political status in Taiwan	34
4. Chart of distinctive features of reading samples	67
5. Result of factor analysis on the six characteristic scales	76
6. Results of factor loadings on the six characteristic scales	76
7. Results of one-way ANOVA of seven reading samples	77
8. Results of t-test between any two reading samples	78
9. Chart of distinctive features of reading samples	79
10. Results of factor analysis of seven reading samples	81
11. Results of factor loadings of reading samples	81
12. Factor loadings on reading samples after rotation	82
13. T-test between Hakka and non-Hakka on reading D	84
14. Classification of subjects for speakers and awareness	96
15. Results of Tukey's HSD on the major factor	101
16. Results of Tukey's HSD on the mother tongue factor	103
17. Results of Tukey's HSD on the language-ability factor	104
18. Results of Tukey's HSD on the national identity factor	105
19. Results of Tukey's HSD on the national status factor	105
20. Results of Tukey's HSD on the reading samples	108

21.	SPSS output (coefficients) from a linear regression analysis of the equation data	109
22.	SPSS output (ANOVA) from a linear regression analysis of the equation data	110
23.	Observed number of each category by ethnic identity and mother tongue characteristics	113
24.	Expected frequency of each category by ethnic identity and mother tongue characteristics	114
25.	Observed number of ethnic categories "same" and "different" by mother tongue	116
26.	Expected frequency of ethnic categories "same" and "different" by mother tongue	116
27.	Observed number of mother tongue categories "same" and "different" by ethnic identity	117
28.	Expected frequency of mother tongue categories "same" and "different" by ethnic identity	117
29.	Observed number of each category by ethnic identity and language ability characteristics	120
30.	Observed number of ethnic categories "same" and "different" by language ability	120
31.	Observed number of language ability categories "same" and "different" by ethnic identity	120
32.	Observed number of each category by mother tongue and language ability characteristics	121
33.	Observed number of mother tongue categories "same" and "different" by language ability	122
34.	Observed number of language ability categories "same" and "different" by mother tongue	122
35.	Factors extracted from the 40 questions	126
36.	Factor loadings of the 40 questions	127

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Although research on language attitudes in Taiwan has been conducted by several investigators, research on written Taiwanese is sparse. The fundamental purpose of this study is to survey the contemporary issues of written Taiwanese. In order to offer readers better understanding of the *Taibun* movement, this chapter provides general information and background of Taiwan. Section 1.1 is the motivation and purpose of the study. Section 1.2 describes the colonial background of Taiwan, and section 1.3 is the overview of the study. Readers may also refer to chapter 2 for more details of the Taibun issues.

1.1 Motivation and purpose of the study

The decline of vernacular languages in Taiwan has been more and more pronounced and obvious since the Japanese (1895-1945) and *Chiang Kai-shek's KMT* occupations (1945-present), which respectively adopted Japanese and Mandarin Chinese as the only official languages in Taiwan. Chan's research revealed that "proficiency in *Guoyu* by the Taiwanese is increasing, while that in *Minnanyu* is decreasing." (1994: iii). In addition, Young (1989: 55) pointed out that "there is increased use of Mandarin with each succeeding generation. About half (50.9%) of the Hakka and 41.3% of the Southern Min used Mandarin frequently or most of the time with family members of the younger generation." Lu (1988: 73) also indicated that the percentage of Mandarin used by ethnolinguistic Hakka people was 67.48%, and Holo people was 50.09%. Moreover, Huang (1993: 160) pointed out that the aboriginal languages in Taiwan are all endangered. In other words, all the research indicates that there is a shift from native Taiwanese languages toward Mandarin Chinese.

During the rise of political reform since 1980s, more and more people have become aware that they are losing their vernacular languages. As a consequence, people have protested and demanded that the KMT regime to change their monolingual policy to a multilingual policy, and insisted on bilingual education. People have tried to promote native Taiwanese languages in order to maintain their vernaculars. There are two core issues for the Taiwanese language movement. First, the movement wishes to promote spoken Taiwanese¹ in order to maintain people's vernacular speech. Second, the movement attempts to promote and standardize written Taiwanese in order to develop Taiwanese (vernacular) literature. The movement of written Taiwanese since 1980s is generally referred to as the "*Taibun* (台文)" movement. This is to distinguish from the movement of colloquial writing (白話文運動) in the 1920s. The literature written in *Taibun* is so-called "*Taigi bunhak* (台語文學 Taigi literature)" or "*Bogi bunhak* (母語文學 Vernacular literature)."

Whether vernacular speech eventually will completely shift to Mandarin or be maintained depends largely on language attitudes. In other words, people's language attitudes play an important role in Taiwan's language future. However, research on language attitudes in Taiwan is rather scanty. Moreover, most research focuses on spoken Taiwanese, and never on written Taiwanese. As mentioned above, Taiwanese promoters are concerned about both spoken and written Taiwanese. People's attitude toward written Taiwanese and its various writing systems is the focus of this paper.

The purpose of this study is to examine readers' responses toward different writing systems of *Taibun*, written Taiwanese. The subjects of this investigation were limited to the 244 students of Tamkang University and Tamsui College in Taiwan. Seven reading samples

¹ In this paper, the broad definition of Taiwanese (台語) includes all the native aboriginal languages, Hakkafa, and Holoee. Occasionally, Taiwanese refers to the Holoee only.

with different writing systems were prepared and then subjects were asked to evaluate the characteristics of each sample. The main research questions are:

1. Does a rater evaluate each of the reading samples differently? If so, what factors influence a rater's judgment?

2. Do the raters' own characteristics, such as gender, residence, major, national identity and language ability have an effect on their evaluations? In other words, what particular groups of people tend to accept written Taiwanese and what writing systems do they prefer?

1.2 The colonial background of Taiwan

In this section, Taiwan's colonial history is described chronologically from the earliest aboriginal era until the contemporary KMT era.

Before mentioning the diachronic background of Taiwan, it is good to recall some world history: In 1492, Christopher Columbus discovered the New World, and a few years later in 1498 the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama opened the sea route between Europe and India by way of The Cape of Good Hope. The end of the fifteenth century was the beginning of the great voyages, and the era of "great discoveries" from the European point of view.

Formosa, the former name of Taiwan, was originally praised as "*Ilha Formosa* (beautiful island)" by Portuguese sailors as they were passed by the beautiful island in the sixteenth century (Su 1980: 52). These words of praise also put Taiwan on the international stage, and later it became involved in the colonialism of west Europe.

1.2.1 The aboriginal era

Before the Han² immigration (漢人) and the European discovery of Taiwan, Taiwanese aborigines, who belong to the Austronesian-Formosan³ language family (Ethnologue 1996), had already resided in Taiwan over fifty thousand years according to such archaeological discoveries as the *Tng-pin* pre-historical culture (長濱文化) in southeast Taiwan.

Even though the Taiwanese aborigines currently constitute only 1.7% of the total population of Taiwan (Huang 1993: 13), the aborigines used to be the majority and were distributed all over the island of Taiwan prior to Han immigration, which began in the second half of the seventeenth century. For example, the population of aborigines in 1650 was 68,576 and there were only 15,000 Han people (Iunn 1992: 5-10), most of the Han people were located in southwest Taiwan. Nevertheless, the Taiwanese aborigines never formed a confederated political organization connecting the tribes all over the island at that time.

Due to more and more Han immigration to Taiwan, the indigenous tribes which mainly resided in the western plain areas were more likely to have contact with Han people than the tribes living in the mountains. They either were conquered by Han people or intermarried with them (Su 1980). As time went on, their languages were gradually replaced and their ethnic identities were submerged by the vast number of Han settlers. The friendly⁴ tribes were called *Sek-hoan* (熟番 ripe barbarians, sinicized barbarians) by Han

² Han people, when contrast with Taiwanese aborigines, refer to the ethnic groups from Mainland China which use Han characters (漢字), including groups such as Holo people, Hakka people, and Mainlanders (外省人). The meaning of Han people is different from the term "Chinese (中國人)" which usually refers to the citizens of China after 1912.

³ The classification of Taiwanese aboriginal languages is based on the languages spoken by the recent aboriginal tribes. Therefore, there is some possibility that the ancient indigene did not have the same linguistic origin.

⁴ From the viewpoint of Han people.

people during the Ch'ing (清) Dynasty, and called *Penn-pou chok* (平埔 plain tribes) later. On the other hand, those tribes which mostly resided in the mountain areas and were hostile to the Han people were called *Chhenn-hoan* (生番 rude barbarian) or *Ko-soann chok* (高砂族, 高山族; mountain tribes).

Because of the historical tradition of intermarriage, there is an old Taiwanese saying "*U Tngsoann-kong, bo Tngsoann-ma* (有唐山公, 無唐山媽 We have got a Mainland Grandpa, but no Mainland Grandma)" (Kan 1995: 152-162). It reveals 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.

1.2.2 The west European era (1624-1661)

In the early period of the seventeenth century, prior to invading Taiwan, the Hollanders occupied the Pescadores, *Phenn-ou* (澎湖) islands, which are located in the Taiwan Strait between Taiwan and the Mainland China for a short period. Pescadores, at that time were regarded as territory of the *Ming* Dynasty (明朝 1368-1644) of China. The Dutch occupation of the Phenn-ou islands caused great anxiety to the Ming Dynasty, because it was regarded as a foothold for further invasion to south China. Therefore, the Ming Dynasty in 1623 sent over tens of thousands of soldiers to fight against the hundreds of Dutch soldiers in 1623. After several months' fighting, some conditions were set up. Those conditions contained first the provision that Hollander soldiers must be withdrawn from Phenn-ou island, which was regarded as a Chinese territory. In return they were to get conditional trade permissions in China. Second, the Ming Dynasty wouldn't intervene in the invasion of Taiwan, which was not regarded as a Chinese territory if the Dutch decided to invade Taiwan (Su 1980: 58). Therefore, in 1624 the Dutch decided to abandon the occupation of Phenn-ou, and turned to occupying southern Taiwan in 1624 until the arrival in 1661 of *Koxinga* (國姓爺) regime. In addition to Dutch control of southern Taiwan,

northern Taiwan was occupied by the Spain between 1626 and 1642.

Conversion to Christianity was also an important purpose of the Dutch in addition to exploiting resources (Su 1980: 80-82). They established churches and schools. Moreover, they developed a Romanized script to translate Testament into native aboriginal languages. This was the first well formed writing system and the first Romanization for writing the native Taiwanese languages in the history of Taiwan. Nowadays the writings are generally called "*Sinkang*⁵ *Bunsu* (新港文書 Sinkang Manuscripts)." There is more detailed discussion on the Sinkang Manuscripts in the section 2.2.1.

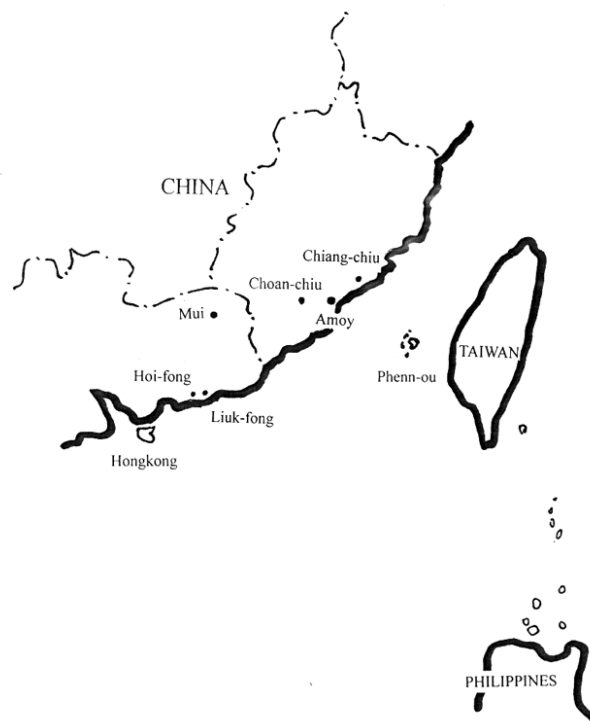


Figure 1. Map of the geographical location of Taiwan.

⁵ "Sinkang" also spelled in "Sinkan" in some materials.

1.2.3 The Koxinga era (1661-1683)

The first half of seventeenth century saw the fall of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) in China. There were several remnant forces after the last Ming Emperor was killed in the capital *Jinlin* (金陵) in the year of 1644. One of the remnants *Koxinga* (國姓爺 or 鄭成功) who mainly controlled the coastal areas of southeast China, such as *Amoy* (廈門), tried to restore the Ming Dynasty. However, he lost most of his soldiers in 1657 in the battle of Jinlin to retake the capital. After that failure, he retreated to occupy Taiwan as a base against Mainland China. As a result, in 1661 he drove away the Hollanders and then set up the Koxinga Regime. This was the first political regime established by Han people in the history of Taiwan (Su 1980: 99-113).

It is Koxinga regime that first brought the Confucianism and the Chinese feudal system to Taiwan. The classical Han writing (文言文) was first adopted as an official writing system in the history of Taiwan. At the end of Koxinga regime, the total number of Han people in Taiwan was around one hundred fifty thousand. From that on, the Taiwanese aborigines were exceeded by Han people.

1.2.4 The Ch'ing dynasty era (1663-1895)

It would be better say that the *Ch'ing* (清) Dynasty proposed to suppress the Koxinga regime in Taiwan, rather say that the Ch'ing dynasty proposed to occupy Taiwan as a territory of China in the case of battle between Ch'ing and Koxinga.

In 1683, the Koxinga regime was under the control of Ch'ing's general *Si-long* (施琅). The Ch'ing Dynasty originally proposed to withdraw all Ch'ing troops and abandon the Taiwan island after the surrender of Koxinga regime. However, general Si-long opposed this proposal and finally the Ch'ing Dynasty was persuaded in 1684 to declare Taiwan an administrative division *Hu* (府) under the Ch'ing Province of *Hokkian* (福建) in 1684 (Su 1980: 118-120).

During the early period of Ch'ing occupation of Taiwan, the Ch'ing Dynasty set up several prohibitions against the Han immigration to Taiwan. Nevertheless, there were still countless Han people trying to immigrate to Taiwan. There are several traditional *Koa-a-chheh* (歌仔冊 *Koa-a* songbook) describing the adventure of crossing the torrential Taiwan Strait against the law. Such as "*Khng-lang bok koe Taioan koa* (勸人莫過台灣歌 Don't cross the Taiwan Strait)" (Ong 1993a: 72). At the end of nineteenth century, the population of Taiwan had reached two and a half million (Su 1980: 133).

1.2.5 The Japanese era (1895-1945)

Taiwan and the Phenn-ou islands were ceded to Japan as a consequence of the Treaty of *Shimonoseki* (馬關條約) which ended the Sino-Japanese War of 1895. The Japanese colonization of Taiwan was the turning point in the transition from traditional Chinese feudal society to a modern capitalist society (Su 1992: 205-215).

During the Japanese colonial period, the Chinese imperial examination system (科舉制度) was replaced with modern education. Transportation all over the island was established. A great number of surveys and investigations about Taiwan's land, census, ethnicity, languages and customs were done by the Japanese. Those investigations are still useful references and been studied by researchers doing Taiwan studies today, even though they were originally for colonial purposes. Such reports include Japanese-Taiwanese Dictionary (日臺大辭典 1907), Taiwanese-Japanese Dictionary (臺日大辭典 1931), and Taiwanese Ethnography (台灣文化志 1928).

1.2.6 The Chinese KMT era (1945-present)

At the end of World War II (1945), the Japanese forces surrendered to the Allied Forces. After that, the *Chiang Kai-shek*, the leader of Chinese Nationalist (國民黨 *KMT* or *Kuomintang*) took over Taiwan on behalf of Allied Powers under General Order No.1

(September 2, 1945) (Peng 1995: 60-61). Meanwhile, Chiang Kai-shek was fighting against the Chinese Communist Party (中國共產黨) 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 fighting nations. However, because of Chiang's defeat in China, Chiang decided to occupy Taiwan as a base under the excuse that "Taiwan was traditionally part of China" and from there fight back to Mainland China (Kerr 1992; Peng 1995; Su 1980; Ong 1993).

While occupying Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek renewed the political regime, the Republic of China (R.O.C.), which was formerly the official name of Chinese government (1912-1949) in Mainland China, and was replaced by the People's Republic of China (P.R.C.) in 1949. Chiang still asserted that ROC was the only legitimate government of China. Because Taiwan was regarded as a base and a part of China in the view of Chiang's KMT regime, Taiwanese were not allowed to identify themselves as Taiwanese but only as Chinese (Ong 1993). Speaking Taiwanese, for example, was forbidden; besides, students were forced to learn Mandarin Chinese, Chinese history, Chinese geography and so forth.

During the Chinese KMT era, Taiwan was under the control of martial law from 1949 to 1987. Taiwanese were not allowed to organize any opposition party⁶, or hold any national level elections, such as presidential and legislative elections. Besides, the Taiwanese people did not have freedom of the press.

The contemporary native political movement was initiated in the second half of 1980s⁷. The leader of KMT, *Chiang Ching-kuo*, the son of former leader Chiang Kai-shek⁸, died in 1988. His vice president *Lee Teng-hui*, who was born in Taiwan and was generally

⁶ Democratic Progressive Party (民主進步黨) was the first Taiwanese party during KMT era, which was not organized until September 28, 1986.

⁷ The origin of contemporary political movement may also trace back to the 1970s.

⁸ Chiang Kai-shek died in 1975.

regarded as a Taiwanese, succeed Chiang. He, therefore became the first Taiwanese president (1988-2000).

As Lee used to say, "the KMT was a foreign regime⁹." He proposed to let the foreign KMT become a native KMT for Taiwanese (i.e., from China KMT to Taiwan KMT). Because of his policy of Taiwanization (台灣化), some radically conservative KMT members in 1993 quit the KMT and organized the Chinese New Party (新黨) in 1993. As the manifesto of CNP describes (1993), "The New Party affirms the goals of our nations Founding Father Dr. Sun Yat-sen, to preserve national unity.¹⁰" The unification between Taiwan and China was thus the goal of the CNP.

Generally speaking, there are three main political parties in Taiwan, which represented three different ideologies and attitudes toward national status, at the end of twentieth century. First, there is the Taiwanese party, the Democratic Progressive Party, which regards itself as an identity for Taiwanese and is the promoter of Taiwanese independence ("to build the Republic of Taiwan¹¹"). Second, there is the KMT party, which represents the identity of both Taiwanese and Chinese, and supports of the "Republic of China on Taiwan.¹²" Third, there is the Chinese New Party, which reflects the identity of Chinese and supports unification between Taiwan and China. The numbers of supporters of those three parties were reflected in the percentage of total votes each party received in the

⁹ Lee Teng-hui used to say "...KMT is also a foreign regime. It's necessary to reform it to become a KMT of Taiwanese (...國民黨也是外來政權呀!...有必要將他改變成台灣人的國民黨)" (The Independence Weekly Post 1994:issue 258) during an interview with a Japanese writer 司馬遼太郎 in 1994.

¹⁰ "The New Party affirms the goals of our nations Founding Father Dr. Sun Yat-sen : We pursue to preserve our national unity, promote a democratic political system, general welfare, equal justice under the law, ensure national peace and security, pursue a realistic public policy, and eliminate corruption from public life" (The New Party Manifesto 1993).

¹¹ "建立主權獨立自主的台灣共和國" form The Program of Democratic Progressive Party (民主進步黨黨綱 1995).

¹² This title, the Republic of China on Taiwan (中華民國在台灣), is originally from Lee Teng-hui.

Legislative Election of December 1998. DPP received 29.55%, KMT 46.39%, and CNP 7.05%.

1.2.7 An awareness of Taiwanese

Generally speaking, Taiwan was an indigenous society before Dutch occupation in the early seventeenth century. There was only tribal awareness and no awareness of being "Taiwanese (台灣人)."

After vast Han immigration, Taiwan became an immigrant society. In the early period of immigration, most of those immigrants just proposed to live in Taiwan provisionally, and they identified themselves with their original clans (宗族) in southeast China (Tan 1994: 140-141). However, during the course of the Ch'ing Dynasty, Taiwan moved from an immigrant society to a native society through the process of indigenization (Tan 1994: 92). That means that the immigrants to Taiwan began to settle down and to distinguish themselves from people who lived in China. Therefore, there is an old Taiwanese saying that "*Tngsoann-kheh*¹³, *tui-poann soeh* (唐山客, 對半說 You should discount the words of the Chinese people)." It means that you shouldn't believe Chinese too much while you are doing business with them. In short, the late of Ch'ing dynasty era was the origin of a pro-Taiwanese nation in terms of Su (前期性台灣民族) (Su 1992: 196-200).

Owing to modernization and capitalization during the Japanese occupation, the earlier pro-Taiwanese identity has advanced to Taiwanese nationhood (Su 1992: 220). Those immigrant identities, once attached to the place of their ancestors such as "*Chiang-chiu-lang* (漳州人 Chiang-chiu people)," and "*Choan-chiu-lang* (泉州人 Choan-chiu people)," have been replaced by a developing sense of being a "*Taioan-lang*

¹³ The Han people who already settled down on Taiwan called themselves "*Pun-te-lang* (本地人 local people)," in contrast to "*Tngsoann-lang* (唐山人 Mainland China people)" who lived in China (Su 1992: 196-200). "*kheh*" means a guest or a traveler. "*Tngsoann-kheh*" means travelers from Mainland China.

(台灣人 Taiwanese)" (in contrast to being Japanese). Thereafter, "Taioan-lang" was widely used by the people all over Taiwan.

The strong Taiwanese identity during the Japanese era could be well illustrated by the following organizations of Taiwanese youth. For example, the guidelines of *Sin-Bin Hoe* (新民會 New People Association), which was established in 1920, mentioned: "To push the political reform in Taiwan in order to improve the happiness of Taiwanese."¹⁴ (Ong 1988: 44-49).

In addition, the article "Our Island and Us (我島與我們 1920)" in the Journal of Taiwan Youth (台灣青年), published by the Taiwan Youth Association (台灣青年社), which was organized by overseas Taiwanese students in Tokyo Japan, mentioned: "...Taiwan belongs to the Empire, moreover, Taiwan belongs to us Taiwanese."¹⁵ (Ong 1988: 53).

Moreover, the declarations (1925) of the Association of Taiwanese Academic Studies (東京台灣學術研究會), which was also organized by some overseas Taiwanese students in Tokyo included:

"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)"

(Ong 1988: 91-92)

After the identification as a Taiwanese¹⁶ nation during the era of the Japanese

¹⁴ "為增進台灣人的幸福, 進行台灣統治的改革運動" (Ong 1988: 44-49).

¹⁵ "...台灣是帝國的台灣, 同時也是我們台灣人的台灣" (Ong 1988: 53).

¹⁶ Even though some people might identify themselves as Japanese during the *Hong-bin-hoa* movement (皇民化運動 movement of being the glorious people of the Japanese Empire), most people still regarded Taiwanese as a different nation from Japanese. For example, the Japanese awarded so-called "National Language Family (國語家庭)" to selected Taiwanese who were qualified to be Japanese. The qualified people were only 0.9% of total population of Taiwan in 1942 (Huang 1993: 94).

occupation, came an era of confused identity (i.e., Taiwanese consciousness versus Chinese consciousness). This was mainly caused by the new immigrants who came into Taiwan along with Chiang around 1949, and most of them still identify themselves as Chinese nowadays. In addition, the KMT Chinese sinoization of Taiwan also played an important role in the construction of national identity.

More than one million (Huang 1993: 25) soldiers and refugees, who currently make up 13% of Taiwan's population, came to Taiwan along with the KMT regime around 1949, while the Mainland China was under the control of Chinese Communist Party. They were called "*Goa-seng-lang* (外省人 Mainlanders or people from other provinces)" by native Taiwanese. According to Hu-chhing Ong (1993), 54% of Mainlanders identified themselves as Chinese, only 7.3% identified themselves as Taiwanese, the rest are neutral. In other words, most¹⁷ of those Mainlanders still identify themselves as Chinese nowadays.

During the early occupation of Taiwan by the Chiang Kai-shek's KMT regime, there occurred the "February 28 Massacre (二二八屠殺 1947)," in which more than twenty thousand Taiwanese were killed by Chiang's troops (Kerr 1992: 303). The February 28 Massacre was followed by the well-known 1950s "White Terror Era (白色恐怖時期)" in the history of Taiwan. In addition to the Chiang autocracy and exploiting of economic resources, the cultural contrast between Taiwanese and Chinese also caused the February 28 massacre (Su 1980; Kerr 1992). Since the awareness of being a Taiwanese was a threat to the Chinese KMT regime, the KMT regime proposed to "brain wash" Taiwanese through the national education system and the mass media (Ong 1993: 70-71). As a result, many Taiwanese, especially the younger generations, came to identify themselves as Chinese.

¹⁷ Although most of Mainlanders identify themselves as Chinese, there were some who regarded themselves as Sin-Chu-Bin (新住民: New Settlers). It means that they are the recent immigrant Taiwanese instead of Chinese. Moreover, they organized "Goasenglang Association of Taiwan Independence ([外省人] 台灣獨立協進會) to promote Taiwan independence in 1992 (GATI 1992).

According to Ong's survey (1993), the percentage of Chinese identity among Taiwanese (excluding Mainlanders here) age 50-59 is 9.3%, for those age 40-49, it is 18.3%, for those age 30-39 is 20.5%, and for those age 20-29 is 30.5%.

Generally speaking, there are three main national identities among people in Taiwan. First, there are those with Taiwanese identity. They usually support an independent Taiwan within the Republic of Taiwan, instead of the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China. Second, there are those who are both Taiwanese and Chinese. Their ambiguous identity is reflected in their ambiguous attitudes toward national status (i.e., they wish to maintain the ambiguous national status). Third, there are those with Chinese identity. Even though they also call themselves Taiwanese, their idea of Taiwanese is primarily a regional consciousness within a Chinese national identity. They propose to unify with the People's Republic of China in the future under some conditions, such as PRC becomes democratic and achieves the same living level as Taiwan.

The percentage of these three typical national identities is well reflected in the percent of the vote of the first¹⁸ direct presidential election held in 1996. There were four sets of presidential candidates: (1) Peng Ming-min (彭明敏 21.13%), candidate of the Democracy Progressive Party, which was the first opposition party during KMT era, and was traditionally regarded as a Taiwanese party, (2) Lee Teng-hui (李登輝 54.00%), candidate of the Taiwan KMT¹⁹, which represent an ambiguous identity of both Taiwanese and

¹⁸ Taiwanese people were not allowed to vote directly for president during the time of Chiang's family, until eight years later after the death (1988) of KMT's autocratic leader Chiang Ching-kuo (蔣經國), who was the inheritor of his father Chiang Kai-shek.

¹⁹ Taiwan KMT (台灣國民黨) is different from the China KMT (中國國民黨). China KMT was definitely regarded as a foreign regime from Mainland China and was controlled by the Chiang's family. After Chiang Ching-kuo's death, his vice president Lee Teng-hui succeeded Chiang's term as president. Lee Teng-hui used to say "...KMT is also a foreign regime. It's necessary to reform it to become a KMT of Taiwanese (...國民黨也是外來政權呀!...有必要將他改變成台灣人的國民黨)" (The Independence Weekly Post 1994:issue 258) while interviewing with a Japanese writer 司馬遼太郎 in 1994.

Chinese, (3) Lim Iunn-kang²⁰ (林洋港 14.9%), who was the the representative of Chinese New Party, and represented the identity Chinese. The fourth set was Tan Li-an (陳履安 9.98%) who represented neutral identity.

In addition to the data from the 1996 presidential election, we may look at a survey done in January 1999 by the TVBS poll center, based on 1,176 subjects. 22.7% of subjects intended to support Taiwan independence, 49.4% intended to maintain ambiguous national status, and 15% preferred to unify with China in the future.

In short, the people of Taiwan today remain divided in the view of themselves and where they should go politically. Their diversity of national identity has affected not only political issues regarding Taiwan's national status, but also cultural issues, such as Taiwanese writing and Taiwanese literature, which are the main concerns of the contemporary *Taibun* movement. That is why the colonial background of Taiwan was given in these sections for readers' better understanding of the Taibun movement.

1.3 Overview of the study

Chapters 1 and 2 sketches the socio-historical background of Taiwan and the modern Taibun movement, which can give a reader a background about why and how the people in Taiwan have promoted their vernaculars. Chapter 3 reviews some literature regarding previous research on language attitudes in Taiwan, and on written Taiwanese. Chapter 4 describes the methodology of this research, including methods, questionnaire design, selections of writing samples and subjects, the conducting procedure and the data analysis. Chapter 5 exhibites the statistical results and discussion of the investigations. Chapter 6 provides the summary, conclusion of this study, and recommendations for further studies.

²⁰ Lim Iunn-kang was originally a member of KMT, however, he was expelled from KMT due to his insistence on being presidential candidate without KMT's nomination. His was mainly supported by the Chinese New Party during election.

CHAPTER 2

ETHNICITY, LANGUAGES, AND WRITING SYSTEMS IN TAIWAN

Section 2.1 introduces the ethnic groups and languages in Taiwan. Section 2.2 introduces the evolution of written languages in Taiwan. Section 2.3 sketch the modern movement of written Taiwanese. Section 2.4 introduces the main orthographies in the contemporary Taibun.

2.1 Ethnicity and languages in Taiwan

The total area of Taiwan, including the main island and several small islands, is 35,961 square kilometers. The population of Taiwan in 1995 was around twenty one million (Ethnologue 1996). Generally speaking, there are four primary ethnic groups: aborigines (1.7%), *Holo* (73.3%), *Hakka* (12%), and Mainlanders (13%) (Huang 1993: 21). The Holo, Hakka, and Mainlanders are occasionally called Han people (漢人) and their languages are called Han languages in contrast to the aborigines. Even though they are called Han people and Han languages, they have different ethnic languages. That is, Holo, Hakfa, and Taiwan Mandarin, are not mutually intelligible (DeFrancis 1990: 54-57).

Some foreign languages such as Japanese and English are also used by Taiwanese people for the purpose of international trade. Besides, there are some new settlers such as Vietnamese and Filipino who recently married Taiwanese spouses. They were all omitted in my descriptions of ethnicity and languages in Taiwan.

2.1.1 The Taiwanese aborigines

There are several aboriginal tribes who have resided in Taiwan for thousands of years. Today they speak about 12 languages, which belong to Austronesian-Formosan language

family, and they live over the island of Taiwan (Ethnologue 1996). The classification of different tribes varies from scholar to scholar such as G. Taylor, 伊能嘉矩 (*Yoshinori*), 烏居龍藏, and Paul Li. Those tribes were divided into two distinct groups based on their social and ethnic relations with the Han people. First, *Sek-hoan* (熟番; ripe barbarians, sinicized barbarians) or *Penn-pou* tribes (平埔; plain tribes), which means they were more under daily Han control, and they mainly resided in the plains of western Taiwan. Second, *Chhenn-hoan* (生番; rude barbarian) or *Ko-soann chok* (高山族; mountain tribes). They were more unfriendly (from the viewpoint of Han people) and less under daily Han control. Most²¹ of them resided in the mountainous areas.

The Plain tribes include *Katagalan* (凱達格蘭), *Kavalan* (葛瑪蘭), *Taokas* (道卡斯), *Pazeh* (巴則海), *Papora* (巴布拉), *Babuza* (貓霧棟), *Hoanya* (洪雅), *Thao* (邵), *Siraya* (西拉雅), and *Qaugaut* (猴猴) (Li 1997b: 61). They were gradually oppressed by the Han immigrants from the late of seventeenth century onward. As a result, they started to lose their own languages and customs (Tsuchida 1991: 1).

The "mountain" tribes include *Atayal* (泰雅), *Saisiyat* (賽夏), *Bunun* (布農), *Tsou* (鄒), *Rukai* (魯凱), *Paiwan* (排灣), *Puyuma* (卑南), *Amis* (阿美), and *Yami* (雅美) (Li 1997b: 61).

²¹ Some of them such as Amis reside in the eastern coastal areas of Taiwan.

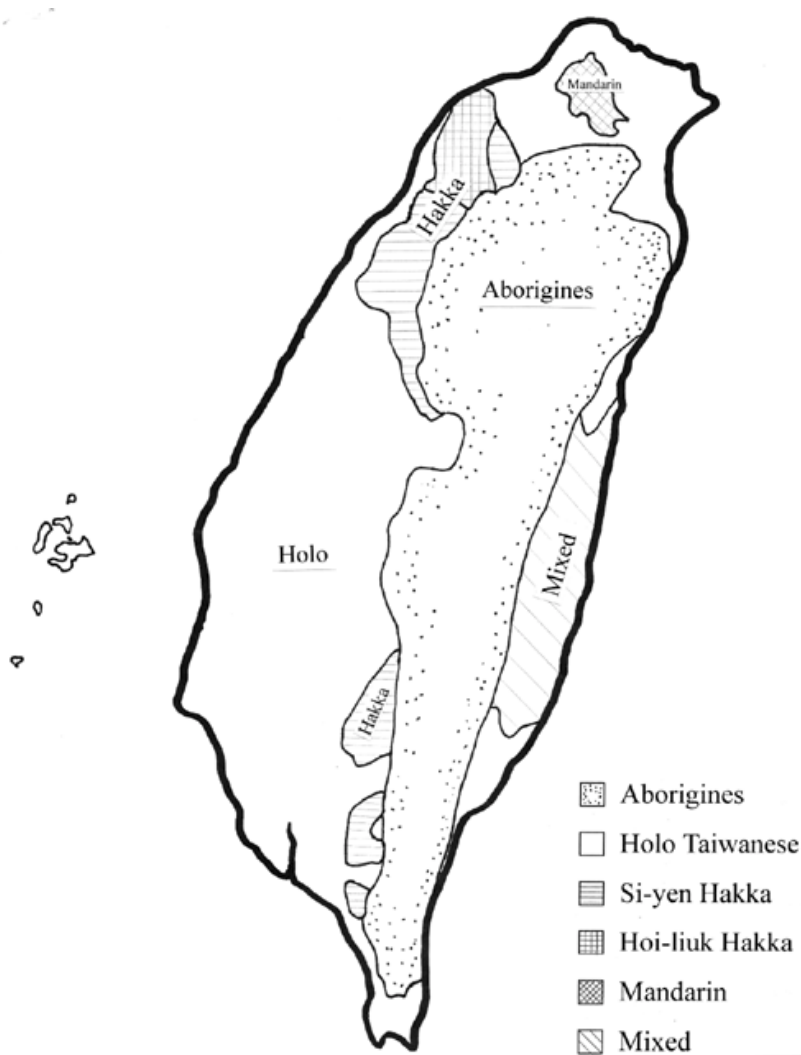


Figure 2. Distribution of languages in Taiwan.

2.1.2 The Holo people

The Holo people were the first immigrants in the history of Taiwan. They began to move massively to Taiwan after the Koxinga era in the second half of seventeenth century.

The *Holo* people are also called *Min-nan* people (閩南人 people of Southern Min). The ethnic language used by Holo ethnicity is *Holo-oe*, which is also called Southern Min.

Moreover, Holo is more widely called *Taigi* (台語) or *Taioan-oe* (台灣話), the Taiwanese language. The name "Holo" may be written in different Han characters and interpreted by different scholars as having different meanings. One assumption is 河洛 (Lim 1991: 7-8), which means the plains between the Yellow river (黃河) and the Lok river (洛水), which are the origins of Holo people. The second assumption was issued by Ang Ui-jin (1987: 148), who asserted that correct Han characters for Holo should be 絡獠²². That means Holo people are the descendants of 絡獠, which was one tribe of Oat race (越族) in southeast China. Besides, Khou Kek-tun (1992: 10-14) asserted that the widely used term 福佬 is more acceptable. That term means the people of *Hokkian* province (福建).

The Holo people of Taiwan were primarily from the *Choan-chiu* (泉州 *Quanzhou*) and *Chiang-chiu* (漳州 *Zhangzhou*), where were two cities of Hokkian Province in southeast China. According to the census done in 1926, 44.8% of Taiwan population were from Choan-chiu, 35.2% were from Chiang-chiu, and only 3.1% were from other cities of Hokkian (Khou 1992: 28).

Generally speaking, Choan-chiu and Chiang-chiu are two dialects of the Southern Min language. There are some differences between Choan-chiu and Chiang-chiu, such as /koe/ vs. /ke/ to represent the same meaning of word 'chicken.' Although Choan-chiu and Chiang-chiu were originally two different varieties of Southern Min, they gradually merged and became a new "non-Chiang non-Choan (不漳不泉)" vernacular after they were carried to Taiwan (Ang 1992b: 71). Moreover, they were greatly influenced by the languages of plain tribes, and the Japanese language during Japanese occupation of Taiwan. Today, this new "non-Chiang non-Choan" language is widely called *Holo* or *Taigi* (Taiwanese).

²² The original Han character of 絡 mentioned in Ang's book is the left hand side radical of 貂 plus the right hand side radical of 絡. I use 絡 instead of the original one is because the character limit of my computer.

2.1.3 The Hakka people

Another immigrant group, aside from the Holo people are the Hakka (客家). The reason for Hakka migration to Taiwan was mainly because of restrictions of Ch'ing dynasty. Thus, Hakka migration is later than Holo people. For example, right after Ch'ing dynasty defeated Koxinga regime in 1683, the Ch'ing announced such restrictions as "people who lived in *Tio-chiu* (潮州) and *Hui-chiu* (惠州)(most of whom were Hakka people) were not allowed to move to Taiwan, because those places were suspected of being the bases of pirates." Such restrictions on Hakka were continued until 1760 (Su 1980: 129).

Hakka means "guest" in Chinese. The name was due to their continuing immigrations in the history of the formation of Hakka (Lo 1933). *Hakfa* (客話, or *Hakkafa* 客家話) is the ethnic language of Hakka people. There are two main Hakka varieties in Taiwan, that is, *Si-yen* (四縣) and *Hoi-liuk* (海陸). Si-yen means four counties. This was because Si-yen speakers were mainly from *Moi* (梅縣), *Hin-nen* (興寧), *Chen-phin* (鎮平), *Chhong-lok* (長樂) counties of the Canton Province of China. *Hoi-liuk* means *Hoi-fong* County and *Liuk-fong* County, because *Hoi-liuk* speakers were mainly from *Hoi-fong* (海豐) and *Liuk-fong* (陸豐) counties of the Canton province. According to the census data in 1926, around 65% of Hakka population were Si-yen speakers, 35% were *Hoi-liuk* speakers (Khou 1992). Because Si-yen and *Hoi-liuk* speakers were settled in different places, they didn't mix as much as Holo people did, the distinction between Si-yen and *Hoi-liuk* still exist today.

2.1.4 The Mainlanders

The third vast immigration of Taiwan was so-called *Goa-seng-lang* (外省人 Mainlanders or people from other provinces) or *Sin-chu-bin* (新住民 New Settlers).

In the year 1949, Chiang Kai-shek's army was defeated in China, and then he and his followers moved into Taiwan. Around 1.2 million Mainland Chinese, including soldiers and

refugees, came to Taiwan along with Chiang's KMT political regime (Huang 1993: 25). Those soldiers and refugees were from all provinces of China where they spoke different languages such as *Cantonese*, *Shanghai* (上海), or *Santong* (山東). Owing to the linguistic diversity and national language policy, most of mainlanders have switched from their first languages to Mandarin Chinese. Therefore, the Mandarin language is generally regarded as the lingua franca among the Mainlanders.

According to the census of 1988, 67.7% of the total population of Mainlanders resided in the Great Taipei area²³ (Huang 1993: 26). The remaining Mainlanders are found in other metropolitan areas of Taiwan.

Ong Hu-chhing (1993) pointed out that 54 percent of the Mainlanders still identified themselves as Chinese. Only 7.3% identified themselves as Taiwanese and the rest were neutral. Although most of Mainlanders identify themselves as Chinese, some regarded themselves as *Sin-Chu-Bin* (New Settlers) to show their strong identity with Taiwan. It means that they were the recent immigrant Taiwanese instead of Chinese. Moreover, they organized "Goasenglang Association of Taiwan Independence ([外省人]台灣獨立協進會)" to promote Taiwan independence in 1992 (GATI 1992).

2.1.5 Ethnic relations

The ethnic relations in Taiwan are much more complicated than we can describe in this subsection. Gordon (1964) points out that intermarriage is the most difficult stage to achieve between ethnic groups. Therefore, we may use the proportion of intermarriage as an index to examine the current ethnic relations in Taiwan.

In Hu-chhing Ong's research, he divided his subjects into two groups (i.e., native Taiwanese (本省籍) vs. Mainlanders (外省籍)); 9.7% (125/1287) of them are intermarried.

²³ Including Taipei city, Taipei county, and Kelang (基隆) city.

He further concluded that "although intermarriage is becoming more popular, the factor of ethnicity still plays a role on choosing one's significant other." (1993: 77-85).

For more information about ethnic relations in Taiwan, refer to the works such as *Ethnic Relations and National Identity* (Tiunn 1993) and *Ethnicity in Taiwan: Social, Historical, and Cultural Perspectives* (Chen 1994).

2.1.6 Language policy

The language policy in Taiwan is usually specified as the "Guoyu Zheng-ce (國語政策; National Language Policy)." Guoyu Zheng-ce reflects the mono-lingualism of the colonial governments in Taiwan. Under this policy, only a particular language was chosen as the *Guoyu*, which means the official language or national language,²⁴ and it would be considered the high language in diglossia.²⁵ Other languages were denounced as "*fang-yen* (方言)," which would be considered the low language in diglossia. The Guoyu Zheng-ce was first established by Japanese during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1895-1945), where Japanese was chosen as the Guoyu. After World War II, the Guoyu policy was continued by the new ruler, the Chinese KMT, with Japanese being replaced by Mandarin Chinese as the new Guoyu.

The concrete procedures for executing the Guoyu policy may vary from time to time. Generally speaking, we could survey Guoyu policy through three dimensions: Education, mass communication, and language rights. In the education dimension, the education of native Taiwanese languages is excluded from the national education system. Moreover, students are not allowed to speak Taiwanese in school. For instance, the well-known terms

²⁴ The meaning of Han characters 國語 (Guoyu) is national language. Guoyu in current Taiwan commonly refers to the Mandarin Chinese even though the term "national language" might be comprised of more than two languages.

²⁵ For the notion of diglossia, refer to Fasold (1993: 34-60).

"掛狗牌仔 (Hanging a doggie tag on someone's neck)," and "講台語罰一箍 (one Taiwanese sentence, one dollar), reflect the fact that students were punished because of talking in Taiwanese.

In the dimension of mass communication, the Taiwanese languages in mass media are restricted and discriminated against by the Broadcasting and Television Law (廣電法 1975). Jang (1993) pointed out that the proportion of native Taiwanese programs on televisions had decreased from 12% (1976) to 8% (1985).

In the dimension of language rights, people are not allowed to use native Taiwanese languages in public places, such as post offices, theaters, and government offices. Moreover, even in the church, preaching in Taiwanese languages was not allowed until the most recent political reform. For instance, the government issued the order in 1957 that the use of Romanized Taiwanese must be banned, and Mandarin should be used in preaching. For references on Guoyu policy, see Huang (1993), Tiunn (1974), Png (1965), and Si (1996).

2.2 The evolution of written languages in Taiwan

The first written language in Taiwan was the Romanization written in *Sinkang*, a type of writing used by the Siraya plains tribe during Dutch occupation of Taiwan in the seventeenth century. Thereafter, the classical Han²⁶ (文言 *wenyan*) and *Koa-a-chheh*²⁷ writings became the written standards during Koxinga and Ch'ing's occupations. In addition to those two written standards of Han characters, Roman scripts have been developed to write Holo and Hakka since the nineteenth century. After Taiwan became a part of Japan (1895-1945), Japanese writing became the official written language in Taiwan. After World War II, Mandarin Chinese became the official standard for writing under Chiang Kai-shek's

²⁶ The official written language.

²⁷ Only for ordinary people.

occupation of Taiwan.

2.2.1 The Sinkang manuscripts

As Campbell (1903) described, "during that period they (i.e., Dutch) not only carried on a profitable trade, but made successful efforts in educating and Christianising the natives; one missionary alone having established a number of schools and received over five thousand adults into the membership of the Reformed Church." (1992: vii). The natives around Sinkang²⁸ were first taught Christianity through the learning of the Romanization of Sinkang dialect. There were some textbooks and testaments written in Romanized Sinkang, such as the *The Gospel of St. Matthew in Formosan Sinkang Dialect and Dutch (Het Heylige Euangelium Matthei en Jonannis Ofte Hagnau Ka D'llig Matiktik, Ka na Sasoulat ti Mattheus, ti Johannes appa. Overgefet inde Formosaansche tale, voor de Inwoonders van Soulang, Mattau, Sinckan, Bacloan, Tavokan, en Tevorang.)*, which was translated by Daniel Gravius in 1661 (Campbell 1996; Lai 1990: 121-123).

After Koxinga drove the Dutch out from Taiwan, that Roman scripts were still used by those plain tribes for a period. There were several Romanized manuscripts found written in languages of native aborigines or in bilingual texts with Romanization and Han characters after those native languages had disappeared. Most of the manuscripts were either sale contracts, mortgage bonds, or leases (Naojiro Murakami: 1933). Because most of those manuscripts were found in Sinkang areas and were written in Sinkang language, they were named Sinkang Manuscripts (新港文書) by scholars, or *Hoan-a-khe* (番仔契 the contract of barbarians) by the public (Lai 1990: 125-127).

²⁸ Sinkang (新港), also spelled in Sinkan, was the place opposite to the Tayouan where the Dutch had settled in 1624. The present location is Sin-chhi of Tainan county (新市, 台南縣).



Figure 3. Sinkang Manuscripts adopted from Murakami (1933).

There are 141 examples of Sinkang Manuscripts discovered to date, the earliest manuscript dated 1683, and the most recent one dated 1813. In other words, those aborigines continued to use the Romanization for over a century-and-a-half after the Dutch had left Taiwan (Naojiro Murakami: 1933).

2.2.2 The classical Han and Koa-a-chheh writings

The classic writing system of Han characters²⁹ (文言文) was the official written language before the twentieth century in the Hanji³⁰ cultural areas such as Taiwan, China, Vietnam, Korea, and Japan (Chiung 1997). The classical Han became the official written language, much as Latin was in pre-modern Europe (Norman 1991: 78). In addition to

²⁹ The classical writing of Han characters was also called classical Chinese or literary Chinese.

³⁰ 漢字: Han characters

those standard Han characters used for classical Han writing, there were some dialectal characters, which were more popularly used by local people for the purpose of vernacular writing. Such as *Chu-Nom* (字字 喃) in Vietnam and *Koa-a-chheh* in Taiwan.

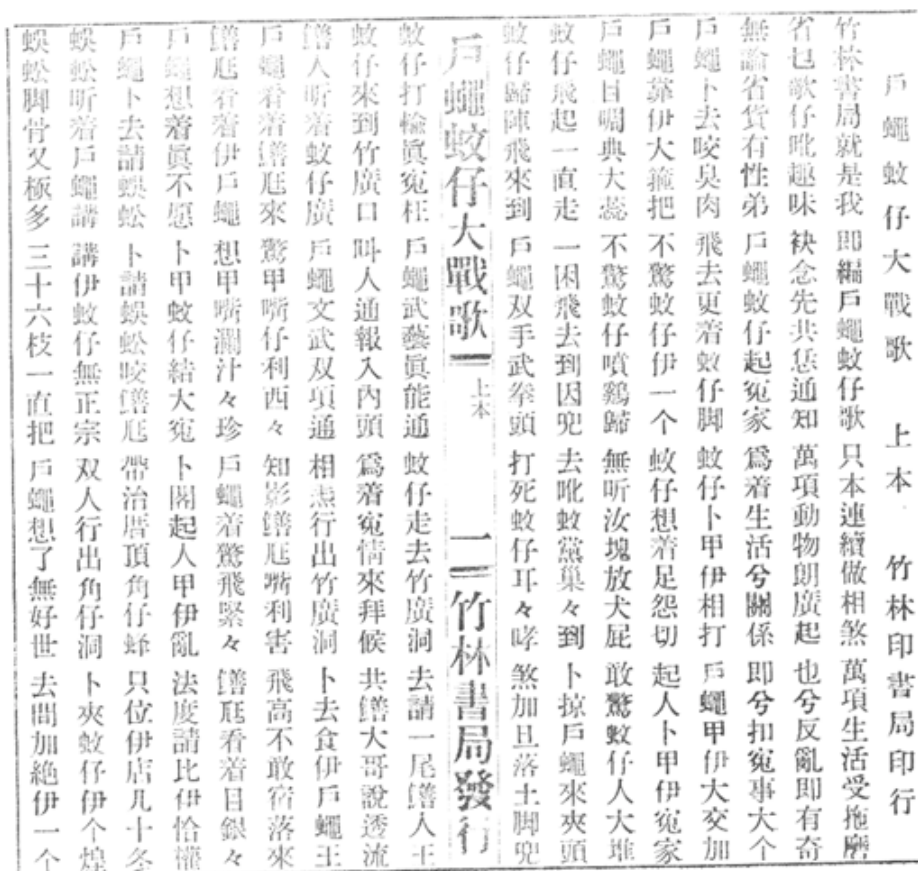


Figure 4. A Koa-a-chheh published by *Tek-na* bookstore.

The Koa-a-chheh³¹ (song books) orthography was named because many traditional song books were written in this system. Each sentence was composed of either five or seven characters. They were not regarded as classical Han writing because they were

³¹ For more details regarding koa-a-chheh, see Ong (1993: 169-215).

written close to spoken forms. Even so, they were sort of different from the modern colloquial forms. Therefore, they should be classified as pre-modern colloquial writings.

Although Koa-a-chheh writing was regarded as a writing system, the usage of Han characters could vary from user to user. In other words, different writers could choose different characters to express the same word. In general, people chose characters from an available inventory of characters or created new characters. There are three main principles while choosing from available characters:

First, the same etymon is written with the same Han characters. Such as "想(*siunn*: think)" in the Koa-a-chheh sentence "蚊仔想著足怨切 (*bang-a siunn tioh chiok oan-chheh*: the mosquito was very sad while he thought about that)."

Second, the meaning of a character was ignored; only the sound was attended to. For example, "足(*chiok*)" was supposed to be the meaning of "foot" in classical Han writing, however, it means "very (*chiok*)" in the Koa-a-chheh sentence above.

Third, the pronunciation of a character was ignored, and its meaning borrowed to express the same meaning in different languages. Such as the meaning of "蚊" was borrowed to express "mosquito (*bang*)" in Taiwanese.

2.2.3 The Peh-oe-ji writing

If Sinkang writing represents the first foreign missionary activities in Taiwan, then the development of *Peh-oe-ji* (白話字) reveals the comeback of missionary influences after the Dutch withdrawal from Taiwan.

More and more missionaries came to preach in China in the seventeenth century even though there were several restrictions on foreign missionaries under the Ch'ing Dynasty. The restrictions on foreign missionaries were continued until the Treaty of *Tientsin* (天津條約) was signed between Ch'ing and foreign countries in 1858. Taiwan, at that time was under the control of Ch'ing Dynasty, therefore, foreign missionaries were allowed after that

treaty. The first mission after the Dutch, settled in *Taioan-hu* (台灣府), present *Tailam* city (台南 *Tainan*), by missionary James L. Maxwell and his assistants (Hsu 1995: 6-8; Lai 1990).

Before missionaries arrived Taiwan, there were already several missionary activities in southeast China. They had started developing Romanization of Southern Min and Hakka. For instance, the first textbook for learning the Romanization of the Amoy³² dialect, *Amoy Spelling Book* (*Tngoe hoan ji chho hak*³³) was published by John Van Nest Talmage³⁴ in 1852 in Amoy. The first New Testament in Romanized Amoy (*Lan e Kiu-chu Ia-so' Ki-tok e Sin-iok*³⁵) was published in 1873, and the first Old Testament (*Ku-iok e Seng Keng*³⁶) in 1884. In addition, there were several dictionaries, such as the "Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy, with the Principial Variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew Dialects"³⁷, by Rev. Carstairs Douglas in 1873. The currently most popular Romanized dictionary in Taiwan, "*E-mng-im Sin Ji-tian*"³⁸ (A Dictionary of the Amoy Vernacular Spoken throughout the Prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa)" edited by Rev. William Campbell, was first published in Taiwan by Taiwan Church Press in 1913 (Lai 1990).

That Romanization was called *Poe-oe-ji* in Taiwan. It means the script of vernacular speech in contrast to the complicated Han characters of *wenyen*. The wide use of *Poe-oe-ji*

³² Amoy was a dialect of Southern Min, and was regarded as mixed Chiang-chiu and Choan-chiu dialects. The Amoy dialect was usually chosen by missionaries as a standard for Southern Min.

³³ 《唐話番字初學》.

³⁴ John van Nest Talmage was named 打馬字, 1819-1892.

³⁵ 《咱的救主耶穌基督的新約》

³⁶ 《舊約的聖經》

³⁷ 俗稱《廈英大辭典》; See "Introduction to Douglas' Amoy-English dictionary," by Ui-jin Ang 1993b.

³⁸ 《廈門音新字典》 There have been fourteen editions by 1987.

in Taiwan was promoted by the missionary Reverend Thomas Barclay while he published monthly "*Tai-oan-hu-sia*" *Kau-hoe-po*³⁹ (Taiwan Prefectural City Church News)" in July 1885. In addition to publications related to Christianity, there were some other publications written in Peh-oe-ji, such as "*Pit Soan e Chho' Hak* (Fundamental Mathematics)" by Ui-lim Ge in 1897, "*Lai Goa Kho Khan-ho'-hak*⁴⁰ (The Principles and Practice of Nursing)" by G. Gushue-Taylor in 1917, and the novel "*Chhut Si-Soa*" (Line between Life and Death⁴¹)" by Khe-phoan Teⁿ (鄭溪伴) in 1926. Besides, recently there were a series of novels translated from world literatures into Peh-oe-ji by the members of "5% *Tai-ek Ke-oe*⁴² (5% Project of Translation in Taiwanese)" since 1996.

³⁹ 《台灣府城教會報》Taiwan Prefectural City Church News has changed its title several times, and the recent title (1988) is *Taioan Kau-hoe Kong-po* (台灣教會公報 Taiwan Church News). It was published in Peh-oe-ji until 1970, and then switched to Mandarin Chinese (Lai 1990: 17-19).

⁴⁰ 《內外科看護學》

⁴¹ 《出死線》

⁴² Five Percent 台譯計劃. In November of 1995, some Taiwanese youths who were concerned about the writing of Taiwanese decided to deal with the Taiwanese modernization and loanwords through translation from foreign language into Taiwanese. The organization 5% Project of Translation in Taiwanese was then established on February 24, 1996. Its members have to contribute 5% of their income every month to the 5% fund. The first volume includes 7 books. They are *Lear Ong*, *Kui-a Be-chhia*, *Mi-hun-chhiu*ⁿ e *Kui-a*, *Hoa-hak-phin e Hian-ki*, *Thiⁿ-kng Cheng e Loan-ai Ko'-su*, *Pu-ho'-lang e Lek-su*, and *Opera Lai e Mo'-sin-a*, were published by *Tai-leh* (台笠) press in November 1996.



Figure 5. *Tai-oan-hu-siaⁿ Kau-koe-po*, issue 1, in 1885.

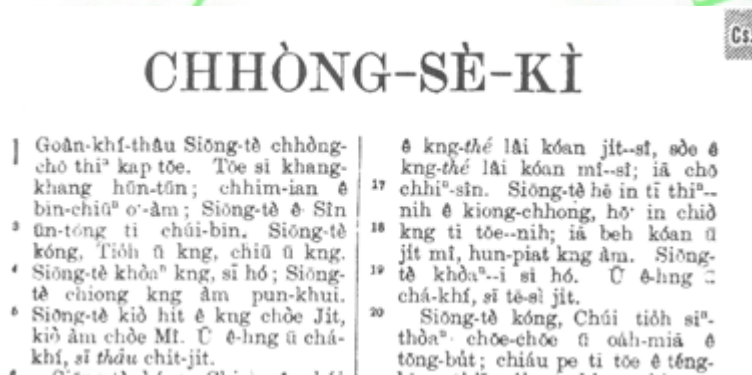


Figure 6. First page of *Peh-oe-ji Bible (Sin-Ku-Iok e Seng-Keng, 1995 version)*.

In short, the Peh-oe-ji was the ground of Romanization of modern Taiwanese colloquial writing. Even though there were several different Romanizations for writing Taiwanese, many of them were derived from Peh-oe-ji. Besides, the use of Peh-oe-ji and its derivations were more popular than other systems of Romanization.

Table 1. Inventory of Taiwanese consonants in the spelling of Peh-oe-ji, based on the dictionary of *E-mng-im Sin Ji-tian*

Peh-oe-ji	Hanji samples	I.P.A
b	門 bun	[b]
ch	曾 cheng	[ts]
chh	出 chhut	[ts ^h]
g	語 gi	[g]
h	喜 hi	[h]
j	入 jip	[dz]
k	求 kiu	[k]
kh	去 khi	[k ^h]
l	柳 liu	[r] ^{*43}
m	罵 me	[m]
n	年 ni	[n]
ng	長 tng	[ŋ]
p	邊 pian	[p]
ph	頗 pho	[p ^h]
s	時 si	[s]
t	地 te	[t]
th	他 tha ⁿ	[t ^h]
ts	查 tsa	[ts] ^{*44}

⁴³ A flap sound.

⁴⁴ The different usages between /ts/ and /ch/ in the spelling of Peh-oe-ji is based on vowel position. That is, /ts/ preceding back vowels, and /ch/ preceding front vowels.

Table 2. Inventory of Taiwanese vowels in the spelling of Peh-oe-ji, based on the dictionary of *E-mng-im Sin Ji-tian*

Peh-oe-ji	Hanji samples	I.P.A
a	阿 a	[a]
e	矮 e	[e]
i	伊 i	[i]
o'	烏 o'	[o]
o	蚶 o	[ə] ^{*45}
u	有 u	[u]

2.2.4 The Japanese, Taiwanese and Mandarin writings

In the end of nineteenth century and the twentieth century that followed, there were two primary types of orthographic changes in Taiwan. First, there were changes that resulted from the policy of colonial governments. For example, the Japanese writing was adopted as the official written language during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan from 1895 to 1945. Since 1945 the Japanese writing was been replaced by the Mandarin Chinese of the KMT regime. For detailed information regarding the promotion of Japanese and Mandarin, see Huang (1993: 85-123), Tiunn (1974), and Png (1967: 113-189).

Secondly, there were changes due to the need of literacy by its users (i.e., the Taiwanese people), such as the movement for colloquial writing (白話文運動) in the 1920s, which was intended to replace the traditional writing of classical Han (文言文 *wenyan*). As a consequence, the so-called New Literature (新文學) was born. It contrasted to the Old

⁴⁵ Central un-rounded middle vowel.

Literature, written before twentieth century, in the history of the literature of Taiwan. As for the *Taibun* movement, since the 1980s, it has primarily been constructed around the colloquial writing. Furthermore, it has deeply involved the issue of relations between Taiwan and China. Generally, the Taibun movement represents the claim of cultural independence from China. There is more introduction to these two movements in the following section 2.3.

2.3 The modern movement of written Taiwanese

The reform of the writing system in Taiwan is not a unique case in Asia. We may first look at other reform cases in Han cultural areas, where they had the same historical tradition of using Han characters, and then turn to the case of Taiwan.

In summary, the following table 3 will give us a general idea of the relationship between languages and political status since 1624 in Taiwan.

Table 3. Relation between language and political status in Taiwan

Period	Political status	Spoken Languages	Writing Systems
-1624	Tribal society	Aboriginal	Tribal
1624-1661	Dutch colonialism	Aboriginal/Taiwanese*	Sin-Kang-Bun (新港文) Classical Han (文言文)
1661-1683	Koxinga colonialism	Aboriginal/Taiwanese	Classical Han Sin-Kang-Bun
1683-1895	Ch'ing colonialism**	Aboriginal/Taiwanese	Classical Han Koa-a-chheh (歌仔冊) Peh-oe-ji Sin-Kang-Bun
1895-1945	Japanese colonialism	Aboriginal/Taiwanese/Japanese	Japanese Classical Han Colloquial Han (in Taiwanese) Colloquial Han (in Mandarin) Peh-oe-ji Kana-Taiwanese (台式假名)
1945-	KMT colonialism**	Aboriginal/Taiwanese/Mandarin	Chinese (Mandarin) Taiwanese Aboriginal

* Taiwanese means Hakka-Taiwanese and Holo-Taiwanese here.

** Readers may have different opinions on classifying the political status; the Ch'ing and KMT colonialism presented here are from the perspective of Taibun promoters.

2.3.1 Socio-political factors of writing reforms in Asia

Hanji cultural areas, such as Vietnam, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and China, have used Han characters and the classical Han writing style before twentieth century. However, there were great changes before the advent of the twentieth century. In Vietnam, Han characters and its derivative characters, *Chu Nom* (字字喃), which had been adopted as writing systems for more than a thousand years in Vietnam, were officially replaced by the Romanized *Chu Quoc Ngu* in 1945, the year of establishment of Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The *Chu Quoc Ngu* was developed on the basis of Romanized Vietnamese

writing, which was originally developed by missionaries⁴⁶ in the seventeenth century. In Korea, Han characters were finally replaced by *Hangul* (諺文) after World War II. *Hangul*, the Korean script, which analyzes syllables into three parts including initial, middle, and final sounds, was originally designed and promulgated by King *Sejong* in 1446. In Japan, the syllabary *Kana* (假名) system was gradually developed after Japan's adoption of Han characters; although Han characters are not completely replaced by *Kana*, the number of Han characters used by Japanese was decreased from thousands to 1,945 frequently used characters in 1981. As for China, although writing reform has been in process since the late period of the nineteenth century, Han characters are still widely used and taught in the national education system. It seems that Han characters will still be the dominant orthography at least for the present. For more details about writing reforms in the Han cultural areas, please see Chiung (1997), Defrancis (1950; 1977), Hannas (1997), and Taylor (1995).

Regarding the reforms in Taiwan, Vietnam, Korea, and Japan, we may examine them in two respects. First of all, from the perspective of domestic literacy and anti-feudalism: China's main influences on these countries included the use of the Han character, Buddhism, Confucianism, the imperial examination system (科舉制度), and an official government system (文官系統). According to the Han character and the imperial examination system, the books of Confucius and Mencius were accorded the status of classics among scholars and mandarins who assisted the emperor or king in governing his people. Everyone who desired to become a scholar or mandarin had to learn to use Han characters and read these classics and pass the imperial examination, unless he had a close relationship with the emperor. However, the classics were not only difficult to read (i.e.,

⁴⁶ Usually, Alexandre de Rhodes is referred to as the inventor of Vietnamese Romanization.

Han characters) but also hard to understand (i.e., the text), because the texts were written in classical Han writing (文言文 *wenyan*) instead of colloquial speech (白話 *Baihua*). In other words, because most of the people were farmers who labored in the fields all day long, they had little interest in learning Han characters. As a consequence, a noble class and a peasant class were formed and the classes strengthened the feudal society. This complication of Han characters could be well expressed with the old Taiwanese saying “*Hanji na thak e-bat, chhui-chhiu to phah si-kat* (漢字若讀會 bat, 嘴鬚就打死結).” It means that you can’t understand all the Han characters even if you studied until you could tie your beard into a knot. In short, the demand for widespread literacy was the advising factor pushing reform of writing systems.

In contrast with the internal factor of literacy, the external factor was the political interaction between China and those countries. Historically, both Korea and Vietnam were once occupied by China. As for Japan, even though she was never directly occupied, Japan was forced to adopt many things from China under the influences of the grand *Han* dynasty (漢朝) and *Tang* dynasty (唐朝) in the history of China. That is to say, the Chinese people had the dominant status in Han cultural areas. Consequently, the reform of written language against classical Chinese writing would be considered as a violation of the Chinese Empire. For instance, while Korean Hangul was designed, *Mal-li Choe* (崔萬里), the chief of scholars opposed the new writing system. He wrote a voluminous letter to the King Sejong, as follows:

我朝自祖宗以來 至誠事大 一遵華制 今當同文同軌之時 創作諺文 有該觀聽
 儻曰諺文 皆本古字非新字也 則字形雖倣古之篆文 用音合字盡反於古 實無所據
 若流中國 或有非議者 豈不有愧於事大慕華...

In the first place it is a violation of the principle of maintaining friendly relations with China, to invent and use letters which do not exist in China. (Lee 1957: 4)

In the second half of nineteenth century, Western colonialism came to the Han cultural areas. As a result, China was no longer able to dominate these areas. She was even unable to defend herself from the Western invasions. On the other hand, the rise of modern nationalism against the Western colonialism in these areas, forced those people to consider their national transitions from a feudal society to a modern society. To achieve this purpose, considering a writing reform to reduce the population of illiterate people became an important job. In addition, the nationalism against colonialism, also caused Vietnam, Korea, Japan, and Taiwan, to reconsider their relationships with China. That is to say, they had to maintain the vassal relationship with China or become a politically and culturally independent country. Under the influence of literacy and independence, Vietnam, Korea, and Japan were successful in the great changes from Han character to *Chu Quoc Ngu*, *Hangul*, and *Kana*. However, in China, although there were many proposed orthographic designs since the late period of the nineteenth century, such as *Qie-yin-zi*⁴⁷ (切音字), *Quan-hua Zi-mu*⁴⁸ (官話字母), and Latinization (Zhou 1978), Han characters have been only successfully simplified so far. The pattern of writing reforms in Asia is the same as Gelb mentioned in his famous book about the world's writing reforms, "in all cases it was the foreigners who were not afraid to break away from sacred traditions and were thus able to introduce reforms which led to new and revolutionary developments" (Gelb 1952: 196).

2.3.2 The first movement of colloquial writing in 1920s

Prior to twentieth century, the classical Han writing was the dominant writing system in Taiwan. Most literary works were then written in this system. However, about two

⁴⁷ Designed by *Zhuang-Zhang Lu* (盧憲章) in 1892 in Amoy. See Png (1965: 8-10).

⁴⁸ Designed by *Zhao Wang* (王照) in 1900. See Png (1965: 10-13).

decades later under the Japanese occupation, Taiwanese intellectuals started the issue of reforming classical Han writing. They published and argued against the traditional Han writing. Some examples are *Teng-chhong Ng's* (黃呈聰 1922) "Essay on the Mission of Vernacular Writing,"⁴⁹ and *Tiau-khim Ng's* (黃朝琴 1922) "Issue of Reforming the Classical Han writing."⁵⁰ In general, the movement of colloquial writing (白話文運動) from the 1920s to the 1930s centered on two points. First, they intended to reform the complicated classical Han writing (*wenyan*⁵¹) and then develop a new writing form, which was based on the colloquial speech (*Baihua*). Second, they attempted to create a new literature which was based on the new colloquial writing, instead of the old literature which was based on the classical Han writing. (Ou 1985, Iap 1993; Phenn 1992; Lim 1993; Lim 1996; Tiunn 1993).

Regarding the claim of reforming classical Han writing, it quickly and successfully aroused a sympathetic echo from the public. Thereafter, it raised another controversy. What language should be the base of colloquial writing? Japanese, Mandarin, or Taiwanese? At that time, Taiwan was under the control of Japan, and the modern Japanese writing was taught through the national education system. It seemed that Japanese writing was the best choice, if considering the economic factors. However, Japanese was not the vernacular of the Taiwanese people. Most of the people still used Taiwan languages in their daily life. Therefore, people such as *Chioh-hui Ng* (黃石輝 1930) and *Chhiu-seng Koeh* (郭秋生 1931), published "Why not Promote Homeland Literature?,"⁵² and "A Proposal for Constructing the Taiwanese Language."⁵³ They advocated that Taiwanese people should

⁴⁹ <論普及白話文的新使命>, 發表 ti 《台灣》第 4 年第 1 號。

⁵⁰ <漢文改革論> 發表 ti 《台灣》

⁵¹ For the details of differences between *wenyan* and *Baihua*, see Norman 1991 or Defrancis 1990.

⁵² <怎樣不提倡鄉土文學> 發表 ti 《伍人報》

⁵³ <建設台灣話文一提案> 發表 ti 《台灣新聞》

use colloquial Taiwanese to write poems, fiction, and so on. In other words, they should assert that the new literature should be written in Taiwanese. In addition to Taiwanese, Mandarin was also proposed by some people such as *Ngou-kun Tiunn* (張我軍), who had studied in Beijing, China. Because Tiunn thought that Taiwanese vernacular was too vulgar to become a literate language, he advocated using Mandarin⁵⁴ as the literate language to create this new literature.

As a consequence, the so-called New Literature developed in the 1920s was generally written in the colloquial speech of Japanese, Taiwanese, and Mandarin. Although Japanese writing was the only official written language, writings in colloquial Taiwanese or Mandarin, which primarily used Han characters (these were so-called *Hanbun* 漢文, Han writing) were still allowed in some particular newspapers and magazines, such as *Taioan Binpo* (台灣民報 Taiwan People's News) until 1937, the year the Japanese started to attack China⁵⁵. In order to win the war against China, Japan promoted the *Hong-bin-hoa*⁵⁶ movement in Taiwan, which strongly forced Taiwanese to identify themselves as Japanese, and then fight for the Japanese against the Chinese. During the Hong-bin-hoa movement, Han writing, which was the symbol of a connection between Taiwanese and Chinese, was then prohibited by Japan. The movement of colloquial writing since 1920s was therefore ended in 1937.

⁵⁴ Under the Japanese occupation, most of the Taiwanese spoke either Taiwanese or Japanese. Only a few who had studied abroad in China were able to speak in Mandarin. The key point that someone proposed to promote Mandarin writing as the new writing system was because Mandarin was written in Han characters. People would be able to guess the meanings from Han characters, even though Mandarin was not the vernacular of the Taiwanese people. Besides, modern colloquial writing of Mandarin had been promoted since the movement of May 4, 1919 (五四運動) in China. Those promoters asserted that it would be better for Taiwan to follow China's writing reform.

⁵⁵ Eventually, it became World War II in Asia.

⁵⁶ 皇民化運動: Movement of being the glorious people of the Japanese Empire.

The differences between classical Han writing and colloquial writing are showed as the following (see Norman 1991 or Defrancis 1990 for details of differences between *wenyan* and *Baihua*):

臺邑額載厝餉 磨餉二項 俱始於偽鄭 志載瓦厝草厝共徵得銀一千二百零四兩 數十年來 有片瓦寸草俱無 子姓零落及孤寡不能自存者 亦必按冊拘追... (黃淑王敬《台海使槎⁵⁷錄》)
Classical Han writing, from *Tai Hai Su Chhai Lok* (Memo of Inspection on Taiwan) by *Siok-keng Ng* of 1737.

現在發財的機會，是真不少，也真容易碰到，巷株式期米，幾點鐘內，可以賺到整萬銀，但這是要有才能和資本，不是普通人可以夢想的。那些毛管出汗的人，任伊怎會粒積，也不過得以免至受餓...(賴和〈富戶人的歷史〉) Colloquial Han writing, from *Pu-hou-lang e Leksu*⁵⁸ (History of A Rich Guy) by *Ho Loa* around 1940.

Although the colloquial writing movement successfully converted the traditional classical Han writing to modern colloquial writing, Han characters still were the dominant orthography. There were only a few colloquial writing promoters such as *Poe-hoe Chhoa* (蔡培火 1927), who pointed out that colloquial writing in Han characters was still a heavy burden for most Taiwanese. He therefore advocated using Taiwanese Romanization to liberate the illiterate. He mentioned about the relationship between new Taiwan and Roman scripts in his book "Opinions on Ten Issues"⁵⁹, which was published in 1925.

Pun-to lang long-kiong u saⁿ-pah lak-chap-ban lang, kin-kin chiah chha-put-to ji-chap-ban lang u hak-bun, kiam m-si chin chio mah? Che si sim-mih goan-in neh? Chit hang, si lan ka-ti be-hiau khoaⁿ hak-bun tang; chit hang, si siat-hoat e lang bo u chap-hun e seng-sim. Iau koh chit hang, chiu-si beh oh hak-bun e bun-ji gian-gu thai kan-ke hui-siong oh-tit oh. (Chhoa 1925: 14-15)

⁵⁷ The original Han character is 木 with 差.

⁵⁸ This was an unpublished novel found by Sui-beng Lim (1993: 381-430). This literary work might be done around 1940 before Loa's death in 1943.

⁵⁹ "Chap-Hang Koan-Kian (十項管見 Opinions on Ten Issues)" was entirely written in Peh-oe-ji

We Taiwanese have 3.6 millions of population, but only two hundred thousand of them are literate. Isn't it too few? What are the reasons? One is that we think little of literacy; another reason is that the ruler is not sincere to promote education; and the third is that the orthography (i.e., Hanji) and language are too difficult to learn literacy.

He also said in the article "The Goal of Cultural Movement"⁶⁰ of January 1927:

我們今日要向絕大多數無業的男女同胞，宣傳文化，即便可以幫贊我們，做我們的路用，漢文和國語(指日語)都沒有資格。我想除非拿台灣話來當這個衝，以外別無方法...那單單二十四個的羅馬字，在我台灣現在的文化運動上，老實是勝過二十四萬的天兵呵。(quoted from Ong 1993: 53)

In order to improve our culture, to liberate our people, the Taiwanese language is our best weapon, rather than *Hanbun* or Japanese... The only 24 scripts in the Taiwanese Romanization is much more useful than 240 thousands of soldiers.

2.3.3 The contemporary Taibun movement since 1980

The term "*Taibun* movement" adopted in this paper is used to specify the language movement from the mid-1980s to the present (1999), which reveals the upsurge in promoting standardization for Taiwanese languages, and the promotion of *Taigi* literature⁶¹ (台語文學). *Taibun* (台文), on the grounds of its characters, means modern Taiwanese writing or *Taigi* writing. It was created in contrast to *Zhongwen* (中文), which means modern Mandarin Chinese writing.

As the colloquial writing movement became allied with the political movement in the 1920s, the *Taibun* movement also occurred along with the rise of the native political activities against the foreign KMT regime in the middle of 1980s. Generally speaking, the

⁶⁰ See <我在文化運動所定之目標>, 《台灣民報》, Jan. 1927.

⁶¹ The term "*Taigi* literature" is to specify the literature in Taiwanese languages.

Taibun movement consists of two dimensions: the linguistic and the literature dimensions. From the linguistic dimension, vernacular education and standardization of written Taiwanese are the two primary goals of Taibun promoters. From the perspective of literature, the Taibun movement attempts to link to the issue of Taiwanese writing, which occurred during the colloquial writing movement in the early period of twentieth century, and then establish Taigi literature.

From the linguistic perspective, Taiwanese people are concerned about vernacular education and standardization of Taibun. Since the 1980s, more and more Taiwanese people have become aware that they are losing their vernaculars. Therefore, they have protested against the monolingual policy⁶² of the KMT. There are several organizations devoted to the vernacular languages, such as *Tai-Bun Thong-Sin*⁶³ (台文通訊 Taiwanese Writing Forum) organized in 1991, *Taioan Gibun Hakhoe*⁶⁴ (台灣語文學會 Association of Taiwanese Languages, 1991), *Haseng Taioan Gibun Chhiokchinhoe*⁶⁵ (學生台灣語文促進會 STAPA: Students Taiwanese Promotion Association, 1992), *Taigibun Thuitian Hiaphoe* (台語文推展協會 Taiwanese Development Association, 1995), and others. They claim the right to use Taiwanese in public places and in mass media, and that they have the right to

⁶² For more details about people's protests against KMT's monolingual policy, see Huang 1993: 49-82.

⁶³ See <http://www.taiwnese.org/>

⁶⁴ See <http://userweb.hello.com.tw/~evillee/>

⁶⁵ There have arisen several so-called "*Pun-thou Sia-thoan* (本土社團 Organization for the promotion and study of native culture and society)" on university campuses since the mid-1980s. *Taigisia* (台語社 Taiwanese language society), one of the groups, which was devoted to the Taiwanese languages first arose on the campus of *Sengkong Univ.* (成大) in 1988, and then at *Kau-thong Univ.* (交大 1990), National Taiwan Univ. (台大 1990), *Tamkang Univ.* (淡江 1991), *Chheng-hua Univ.* (清華 1992), and so forth. In the year 1992, the members of these societies organized the across campuses organization, *Hakseng Taioan Gibun Chhiokchinhoe*. *Taigi Hakseng* (台語學生 Taigi Students) has been published by the organization since Sept. 1992. For details, see "Language movement on campus since 1990 (九〇年代以來校園台語文運動概況)," by STAPA 1995. <http://www.umdj.edu/~chenchen/bunhak/hakseng/90nitai.html>

carry out vernacular education.⁶⁶ In addition, they advocate writing in Taiwanese languages. They hold workshops and Taigi camps,⁶⁷ and they have issued several publications⁶⁸ and awards⁶⁹ of Taibun.

Although the issues of colloquial writing in Taiwanese were initiated in the 1920s, a literary tradition has still not existed long enough to standardize the orthography. Moreover, under the colonial rules of the Japanese and the KMT, Taibun, generally regarded as a representative of native Taiwanese culture, was excluded from the national education system. Moreover, Taibun was not allowed even outside the campus. For instance, *Sin Iok* (新約), the Romanized Taiwanese New Testament was seized by KMT in 1975. As a consequence, different Taibun groups may use different writing systems for their publications. Dictionaries compiled by different persons may adopt different orthographies.

⁶⁶ According to research done in 1994, vernacular education was being carried out only in a few local counties such as *Pintong* (屏東縣) and Taipei, which were governed by the opposition party DPP. Taiwanese languages were taught less than 2 hours a week. See *Bun-lu Kang* (江文瑜) "The future of vernacular education: based on the survey of contemporary vernacular education in Taipei county (由台北縣學生和老師對母語教學之態度調查看母語教育之前景" in Si (1996: 371-411)

⁶⁷ Some such camps are *Taiwan Gigian Bunhoa Iann* (台灣語言文化營: Taiwanese Languages and Culture Camp, by *Tagisia* (台語社) at Tamkang Univ on February 1992), *Kotiong-seng Taigi Sengoah Iann* (高中生台語生活營: Taigi Camp for High School Students, by STAPA since July 1993), *Taigi Bunhak Iann* (台語文學營: Taigi Literature Camp, in *Lam-khun-sin* (南鯤身*) since 1994), *Sekai Taigi Iann* (世界台語營 World Taigi Camp, since 1995). Most of them are held yearly. Han characters marked with * means that there is no character in the Big-5 character set for Window 95. So, a similar character was adopted here.

⁶⁸ There were some Taibun periodicals, such as *Tai-Bun Thong-Sin* (台文通訊 Taiwanese Writing Forum, by TBTS since July 1991), *Hanchi Si-khan* (蕃薯詩刊, by Yam Poetry Society), *Taigi Hakseng* (台語學生: Taigi Students, by STAPA since Sept. 1992), *Taigi-hong* (台語風), *Taigi Buntiah* (台語文摘 Excerpts of Taigi Writing), *Gadang* (茄荖 *Gadang* Taiwanese Magazine, by TTH since May 1995), *Dai Qi Se Gai* (台語世界雜誌 Taiwanese Word, since June 1996), *Ia Cing* (*夜種 Sowing, since 1996), *Taibun Bong-Po* (台文罔報 Taibun Post, since Oct. 1996), and *Hakka Thoi-Van-Fa Chon-Khan* (客台語專刊 Hakka Taiwanese Periodical, since Jan. 1997. <http://home.i1.net/~alchu/hakka/hakkafal.htm>). Most of them were published monthly.

⁶⁹ There are many different awards for Taibun issued by different groups. So far (1999), the first professional, and largest group for Taibun awards is *Li Kang-Khiok Taigi Foundation* (李江去⁷ 台語文教基金會), which was founded in 1997.

Due to the non-standardization of Taibun, many people have devoted their lives to the design of new writing systems in the hope that they will become standardized. However, the more designs they propose, the more complex and difficult it will be to standardize Taibun. Because every designer insists on her/his own details of form, they simply argue with each other when they meet about the issue of orthography. The arguments about orthography occurred pretty frequently in the early stages of the Taibun movement in the 1980s. That is to say, most issues of Taibun were focused on orthography more than on writing during the early stages. As a result, there were few literary works done in Taibun since most people were waiting for its standardization. Thereafter, during the early period of 1990s, Taibun promoters became more aware that practical writing in Taibun was more important than the design of orthography. In other words, they noticed it was impossible for Taibun to achieve standardization without any practical writing in Taiwanese. For example, in 1991, the editor of TBTS mentioned about the standardization of Taiwanese orthography:

台灣文字標準化愛建立 ti 台文普及化 e 基礎上才有意義，也只有台文先普及化、大眾化，台文 e 標準化才有可能達成。語言及文字攏是有社會性 e 物件，所以台文普及化 m 是語言學家單獨會當完成 e 工課(khang-khoe)，這件代誌需要全民 e 參與才有法度成功。

(no.2, Aug. 1991)

It won't be successful and meaningful to standardize Taibun without the fundamental promotion of universalizing Taibun. In other words, it is impossible to achieve the standardization until we have universalized Taibun. Language and orthography are the products of a society; we need all members' participation, not only the linguists, in the use of Taibun.

After 1990, they paid more attention to the promotion of writing in Taibun. They held Taibun workshops periodically to exchange their experiences in Taibun writing. The first widely attended Taibun workshop *Tai-Bun Thong-Sin Taibun Sia-chok-hoe* (台文通訊 台

文寫作會 Taibun Workshop⁷⁰ of the Taiwanese Writing Forum) was officially established in 1991. Their publication *Tai-Bun Thong-Sin* (TBTS) was published in July 1991. The purposes of TBTS were mentioned in the first issue, as follows:

1. 提高台灣人用台語思考 e 能力
2. 提升台灣人對台文 e 寫 kap 閱讀 e 能力
3. 提倡大眾傳播媒体使用台文 e 風氣
4. 促成台文工作者 e 聯攜及分工合作

(no.1, p2, 1991)

1. To enhance the Taiwanese people's ability to think in Taigi.
2. To enhance the Taiwanese people's abilities in writing and reading in Taibun.
3. To advocate the use of Taibun in mass media.
4. To establish connections and cooperation among Taibun promoters.

In addition to TBTS, other groups such as *Han-chi Si-sia* (蕃薯詩社 Yam Poetry Society) was established by some Taiwanese writers in May 1991. They claimed that their purposes were "to create the Taiwanese literature in the native Taiwanese languages (用台灣本土語言創造正統的台灣文學)," and "to achieve the standardization and literaturization of Taigi (追求台語文字化與文學化)" (Lim 1996: 97-99).

There are two main factors, which play an important role in the standardization of Taibun. They are: the promotion of universal Taibun, which we have talked about above; and the wide use of computers and electronic networks⁷¹ in the 1990s. Before wide use of

⁷⁰ Some overseas Taiwanese in Los Angeles of USA, who were interested in the Taiwanese language gathered together for sharing their experiences in writing Taiwanese since 1990, and then they decided to establish a Taibun workshop in 1991. Thereafter, they organized several TBTS chapters in Taiwan. See TBTS no. 1, July 1991, and STAPA 1995a: 147-172.

⁷¹ Since 1990, there is a so-called *Taigi-bang* (台語網 Taigi Net), which all members in the mailing list communicate with each others in Taiwanese Romanization without Han characters. The recent address (1999) of Taigi Net is taigu@formosa.org. For more details about the history of Taigi Net, see STAPA 1995, and 《台灣文藝》 no. 122, Dec. 1990, pp.112-117.

computers and electronic networks, many unique Han characters were designed by different Taibun users. For instance, "勿," which means "no," was combined with "會," which means "able," to represent the new character "勿會," which means "unable" in Taigi. However, those new characters don't exist in the Big-5 Han character set, which is the standard character set for Mandarin software in Taiwan. Even though there have been several Taigi software programs⁷² developed since the early 1990s, the compatibility between Taigi software and other dominant Mandarin software programs is still a great problem. Therefore, the new characters either were added by hand or ignored by editors of periodicals. That is to say, most of the layouts of Taibun works were not legible and not aesthetically pleasing to readers. Thereafter, more and more Taibun writers decided not to use or create new characters. In other words, they now limit their Han characters to the stock of the regular Big-5 character set. The orthographic designs other than Han character and Roman script, such as *Ganbun* (諺文)⁷³ disappeared quickly because they do not have technical support in Mandarin software dominated society.

In the perspective of literature, the Taibun movement since the 1980s has attempted to connect itself with the issue of Taiwanese writing during the colloquial writing movement in the early period of the twentieth century, and then establish so-called Taigi literature, which represents the essence of literature in Taiwan. Generally speaking, the debates on literature before the 1980s, during KMT's occupation, focused on the formation of Taiwan Literature⁷⁴ (台灣文學) versus China Literature⁷⁵ (中國文學). After that, it

⁷² The first Taigi software, TW-301, was designed and published in 1991. See "台語電腦文書處理輸入法系統手冊" by Robert Cheng. Chian-ui Press. TW-301 was a DOS version. Recently, the widely used Taigi software Hotsys, which was compatible to MS Word, was published in 1994. For detail and free download, visit <http://www.hotsys-haksys.com>

⁷³ There were several persons who used to design different *Ganbun*, which were from the idea of Korean *Hangul*, such as Ui-jin Ang (洪惟仁), Cho-tek Khou (許曹德), and Khe Koeh (郭溪).

⁷⁴ The term "Taiwan Literature" is used to translate the term "台灣文學." It occurred in the so-called Debates on Literature of Home Village in the late 1970s. "Taiwan Literature" indicates the national status

raised another debate on the relationship between *Taigi* literature (台語文學) and Taiwan Literature in the late 1980s.

Under the colonial rule of KMT, not only was vernacular writing suppressed,⁷⁶ but even literary works about the Taiwan society, which were written in Mandarin Chinese by native Taiwanese writers were not recognized as Taiwan Literature. They were belittled as so-called "Literature of Home Villages"⁷⁷ (鄉土文學). In other words, literature in Taiwan was treated as a branch of China Literature (i.e., it was regarded as the frontier literature within the larger frame of China Literature). Thereafter, in the 1980s, as soon as the rise of the native political movement and the debates on Taiwanese consciousness versus Chinese consciousness were becoming more common, more and more Taiwanese people started to recognize the national status of Taiwan Literature. In other words, the derogatory term "Literature of Home Villages" was replaced by glorious Taiwan Literature, which exhibits equality with China Literature. Consequently, Taiwan Literature acquired the national status it deserved in the 1980s (Phenn 1992; Iap 1993; Tiunn 1993).

After Taiwan Literature achieved national status, people paid more attention to the relationship between *Taigi* literature and Taiwan Literature. Taibun writers, such as *Chong-goan Lim*, claimed that Taiwan Literature must be written in Taiwanese. Lim mentioned, as follows:

instead of regional literature under the national frame of China. "Taiwan Literature" was adopted here instead of Taiwanese literature, because "Taiwanese literature" may refer to "literature in Taiwanese languages."

⁷⁵ China Literature was adopted instead of Chinese literature is in contrast to Taiwan Literature.

⁷⁶ Vernacular writing was denounced as "Dialect Literature (方言文學)" and then rebelled by the majority of Mandarin Chinese writers before 1980s. Only a few writers such as *Chong-goan Lim* (林宗源) and *Hiong-iong* (向陽) dared to take the risk of writing in vernacular (Lim 1996: 16-21).

⁷⁷ This term is from the so-called Debates on Literature of Home Villages (鄉土文學論戰) in the second half of 1970s. For detail, see Phenn, 1992, and Iap, 1993.

今仔日台灣文壇為何猶未寫出不朽的精采的作品，除了一寡因素之外，就是作家忽視母語，輕視母語... 一個無自信的人，怎有才調寫出不朽的精采的作品，結果也只好乖乖做文化的屬民，文學的奴隸。所以今仔日的作家，著愛重新整合創新台語，按呢，才有才調寫出現時現地醞釀佇心靈中的世界。(Lim 1984: 18-21)

Why does immortal work still not occur in the literature of Taiwan? There are some factors, one is that our writers ignored and looked down our own mother tongue because they were not confident of their vernacular. How could a writer without any confidence create an immortal work? Consequently, they had to subordinate themselves to Chinese culture and become the slaves of Chinese literature. So, today, we Taiwanese writers have to devote ourselves to literary works in Taigi. Then, we will be able to describe our world in our mind.

台灣文學就是愛用台語來寫...台灣文學就是台灣人用台灣人的母語寫的文學...台語文學就是台灣文學。(Lim 1990)

Taiwan Literature must be written in Taigi...Taiwan Literature is the literature written in the mother tongue of Taiwanese people...Taiwan Literature is Taigi literature.

We could say that Taiwanese languages are regarded as important components of Taiwan Literature by Taibun writers. Therefore, they asserted that Taiwan Literature must be based on Taiwanese languages. Moreover, some writers, such as *Chong-goan Lim* and *Iong-bin Lim*, claimed that Taigi literature is the essence of Taiwan Literature; only Taigi⁷⁸ literature can well represent the literature of Taiwan (Lim 1991; 1994). Indeed, in normal cases, the fact that national literatures were written in their vernacular languages is not at all surprising. For instance, the Japanese language is the main literary language in Japan, and Japanese writing represents the essence of Japan literature. The situation is the same as Vietnamese in Vietnam, Korean in Korea, English in Britain, American English in the

⁷⁸ Different Taibun writers may have different definitions about Taigi. First, Taigi refers to only Holoee; second, it refers to Aboriginal languages, Hakfa, and Holoee; third, it means all languages in Taiwan, including Mandarin.

United States, German in Germany, and French in France. However, it seems that the vernacular writings in colonies do not have such fortune as they have in Japan and other independent nations. While "Taigi literature represents Taiwan Literature" was the claim, some Mandarin writers, such as *Kiau Li*⁷⁹ (李喬 1991) and *Sui-kim Phenn*⁸⁰ (彭瑞金 1991) argued that language is not an important component of literature. They asserted that literary works in any language could be Taiwan Literature. In other words, both Li and Phenn recognized the legitimate status of Mandarin writing for the literature of Taiwan.

In short, the contemporary Taibun movement since the 1980s reflects Taiwan's socio-political complexity and its colonial background. From the perspective of Society and literacy, Taiwanese languages are the vernaculars of most Taiwanese people. They are justified in the use of vernacular writing. However, Taibun and Taiwanese languages were politically ignored by the KMT's inflated national frame (i.e., the Republic of China⁸¹). For example, Taibun was excluded from the national education system of ROC. As a consequence, most of Taiwan's young generation are now only skilled in Mandarin writing. Whether or not Taiwanese people are willing to accept or shift to Taibun deeply depends on people's national identity and their attitudes forward a new orthography.

2.4 Three main writing schemes of the contemporary Taibun

There are probably more than a hundred orthographies designed by different persons who were enthusiastic for the standardization of Taibun. However, most of the designs were

⁷⁹ See "A wide road of language: some thought on Taiwanese languages (寬廣的語言大道--對台灣語文的思考)," 9/29/1991, Independence Evening Post (自立晚報).

⁸⁰ See "Please don't kindle the language bomb (請勿點燃語言炸彈)," 10/07/1991, and "Language, writing, and literature (語、文、文學)," 10/27/1991, Independence Evening Post (自立晚報).

⁸¹ The name "Republic of China" was brought to Taiwan by Chiang Kai-shek and then became the official name of Taiwan since 1949. By 1999, the government of ROC still claims that the territory of ROC includes Mainland China, and even Mongolia.

probably accepted and used only by their own designers. Moreover, many of them were never applied to practical Taibun writing after they were designed.

Those orthographic designs may be divided into two groups based their graph constructions: First, Han character script; second, non-Han character script. Non-Han character may be further divided into two types. New phonetic script, such as *Ganbun* designed by Ui-jin Ang, or ready-made phonetic script, which makes use of the present Roman alphabets or *Bopomo* (ㄅㄆㄇ) to write Taibun. Even if designers use the identical Roman alphabets, they may have different spelling systems, such as *Peh-oe-ji*, *Dai-im* (台音式), TLPA, *PS daibuun* (普實台文) and *Kho-kun* (科根).

Owing to the wide use of the personal computer and electronic networks in Taiwan since the 1990s, most orthographic designs, which need extra technical support other than regular Mandarin software, couldn't survive. Therefore, the majority of recent Taiwanese writing systems were either in Han characters, Roman alphabet or a mixed system with Roman and Han.

2.4.1 Han characters only

The usage of Han characters could vary from user to user. That is to say, different writers could choose different characters to represent the same word. In other words, some Taiwanese lexicon items can't be well expressed in Han character. According to Cheng (1989: 332), approximately 5% of the Taiwanese morphemes have no appropriate Han characters, and they account for as much as 15% of the total number of characters in a written Taiwanese text. In other words, those 15% purely Taiwanese words are most likely to be written in different Han characters by different writers. For detailed discussions on Han characters, see Cheng 1989, DeFrancis 1990, Norman 1991, and Chiung 1998. In general, Taibun writers either choose characters from an available inventory of characters

or create new characters. There are three main methods while choosing from available characters:

First, the same etymon (this is so-called 本字 "*pun-ji; ben-zi*") is written with the same Han characters, such as "想 (*siunn*: think)" in the sentence "蚊仔想著足怨切."⁸² The meaning of 想 in Taiwanese is the same as in Mandarin, Vietnamese, Korean, and Japanese (their pronunciations are different). In other words, 想 is the graph expressing the Taiwanese word *siunn*. Therefore, 想 was adopted in the sentence. It sounds easy to use *pun-ji* for all such cases; however, different users may have different opinions on defining *pun-ji*. For instance, the commonly used character for "person" is "人." However, some scholars, such as Ang, argued that the historical 'true' form for "person" should be "儂."

Second, the meaning of a character is ignored; only the sound is attended to. This method is called 假借 (*ka-chioh; jiajie*). For example, "足 (*chiok*)" is supposed to be the meaning of "foot" in classical Han writing, however, it means "very (*chiok*)."

Third, the pronunciation of a character is ignored, and its meaning is borrowed to express the same meaning in different languages. This method is called 訓用 (*hun-iong; xunyong*). For example, the meaning of "蚊" was borrowed to express "mosquito (*bang*)."

⁸² *Bang-a siunn tioh chiok oan-chheh*: the mosquito was very sad while he thought about that.

登玉山記

陳憲國

少年讀書个時陣，無拄好去選著佢山有關係个科系；出業了後食頭路嘛佢山離袂開。迄个時陣，認為下山是一个真歡喜个代誌，上山去出差，雖然有出差費通好領，毋過因為是真艱苦个代誌，所以攏誠無愛去。離開山頂个工作已經真久了，職段時間內，若有閒，三不五時仔，攏會去山頂行行咧，才感覺講山頂个景緻、空氣，是佇平地享受袂著个。

舊年中秋節成(chiann⁵)個月前，有一个不時塊做伙超山个朋友，敲電話來相招，講卜利用中秋節个連續假期去超玉山，講若有決定著卜來去「排雲

Figure 7. Han characters only orthography
(*Ia Cing*, no.7, July 1996).

2.4.2 Roman script only

The main reason for using Romanization is because its economy and learnability compared to Han characters, which may require a couple of years to be able to read and write. For instance, there were totally 47,035 different Han characters collected in the *Kangxi Dictionary* (康熙字典 1716). However, an ordinary literate Chinese person knows and uses somewhere between 3,000 and 4,000 Han characters (Norman 1991: 73). An elementary school student in Taiwan may know around 2,669 characters⁸³ after sixth grade.

⁸³According to the latest (1995) elementary textbooks compiled by the National Compilation Agent (國立編譯館), the number of Han characters learned by students at each grade is 328 for first grade, 479 for second grade, 455 for third grade, 529 for fourth grade, 493 for fifth grade, and 385 for sixth grade.

Generally speaking, most Taiwanese Romanizations used today were derived from *Peh-oe-ji*, the traditional orthography developed by missionaries more than a hundred years ago. The main arguments among different Romanizations are:

1. The way of using representative alphabets for consonants and vowels. For instance, the consonants [p t k] of IPA were phonologically transcribed into <p t k> in the Peh-oe-ji system, but they were presented with <b d g> in the system of *Dai-im*.⁸⁴

2. The use of diacritic symbols for suprasegmentals. For instance, the symbol "^" represents the fifth Taiwanese tone in Peh-oe-ji. Therefore, "bûn" means "文," but "bûn" was presented with "bun5" in TLPA, and "buun" in PS daibuun.⁸⁵ Besides, some people may just use "bun" without considering the tones.

3. The way of spelling. For example, the word "*緣投 (handsome)" was spelled "ian-tau" in traditional Peh-oe-ji. However, "ian" may be spelled "en" today. Besides, the whole word "ian-tau" may be spelled "iantau" without a hyphen between syllables.

⁸⁴ *Dai Qi Se Gai* (台語世界雜誌) was published in *Dai-im* Romanization.

⁸⁵ PS daibuun make use of diacritical spelling rules to deal with suprasegmentals.

5% Tâi-ék kè-oē 6

Pù-hō̍-lâng ê Lèk-sú

Chit-má hoat-châi ê ki-hoē, chin-chiàⁿ bê-chió, iáh chin hó gū--tiòh, chhiūⁿ tu-sek kê-bí, kúi tiám-cheng lái, ē-tàng chiâⁿ bân gîn, m̄-koh che sī ài ū châi-tiâu kah pún-chîⁿ, m̄-sī phó-thong-lâng ē-tàng bîn-bāng--tiòh . Hia ê khò mô-kúg chhut-koāⁿ thàn-chîⁿ ê lâng, jīm i joā ū-châi-tiâu

Figure 8. Roman only script orthography (5% *Tai-ek Ke-oe*, 1996).

2.4.3 Han-Roman mixed

There are two main reasons why the Han-Roman mixed orthography arose in the late 1980s. First, there is difficulty that some writers use different Han characters for the same Taiwanese word. The existence of various characters for identical words has reduced reading efficiency, and made the readers likely to confuse the meaning of sentences. Second, because most Taiwanese are skilled in using Han characters instead of Romanization, texts in Roman-only scripts may reduce their fluency in reading. Therefore, there is a compromise between Han-only and Roman-only (i.e., mixed orthography). That is to say, when a writer is not comfortable with the Han characters of particular words, then s/he may write down Roman script to represent the words. Because different writers may have different degrees of comprehension of Han characters, the percentage of Roman script used in a text varies from person to person.

Generally speaking, the Han-Roman orthography (漢羅) is the most common style for writing Taibun in the contemporary Taiwan (1990s). Most Taibun publications are published in Han-Roman. Such as *Tai-Bun Thong-Sin*, *Taigi Hakseng*, *Taibun Bong-Po*, *Hakka Thoi-Van-Fa Chon-Khan*, and *Dai Qi Se Gai*.

9 台文BONG報29期

BONG報小說

作家kap 作家ê 記事

Babuja A.Sidaia

讀冊ká-ná lim 燒酒，世界出名ê 作家出身kap 別
 m̄-bat lim ê 人無想 beh 途--ê káng 款，有3種出身，
 lim, lim tiâu ê 人真oh 改。家世好--ê、bái--ê kap 普通--
 Tng teh lim ê 時滿腹熱情，ê。聽--起來 ká-ná 不止á 有
 lim 了soah 茫茫。Lim 著bái 理，實在是廢話，無要緊，作
 酒會頭殼thiá', lim 著好酒bē 家講--ê 真少m̄ 是廢話，世間
 頭殼thiá', án-ni niá, lóng ná 有jōa chē 正經話thang
 無sia' 營養。寫，beh 寫gah 圖書館排bē 落
kám 有影hiah 簡單！廢話內

--無愛讀冊ê 讀者講--ê 讀gah 目

說內底
 chiah 知
 個作家講
 個讀者發
 心--a, 手
 mā 會sá
 ê 廢話l
 siâu-hau
 出身
 好運,
 chau-tha
 人phái'
 khah 悲
 讀gah 目

Figure 9. Han-Roman mixed orthography (Taibun Bong-Po, no. 29, February 1999).

CHAPTER 3

SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDIES IN TAIWAN

Because of the political factor, some issues of social science studies, such as sociolinguistics used to be a taboo in Taiwan. Consequently, research on language attitudes, use, shift, and ethnicity is pretty scanty, not to mention empirical studies on Taibun, the written Taiwanese. Owing to the fact that all references I could find so far do not completely match the empirical studies of attitudes toward written Taiwanese, it is not necessary to describe the details of the previous studies. In section 3.1, some relevant literature of the previous studies in sociolinguistics of Taiwan are provided with very brief descriptions. In section 3.2, some anthologies which discuss the issues of written Taiwanese are briefly introduced for the readers' reference. As a matter of fact, literature regarding Taiwan's languages, history, ethnicity, orthographies, and political situation were mentioned in chapters 1 and 2. Readers may refer to chapters 1 and 2 for a preliminary idea about the background of the Taiwan's language movement. This preliminary idea would be helpful for readers to understand the results and discussion on the topics of Taibun in chapter 5.

3.1 Previous empirical sociolinguistic studies in Taiwan

In this section, some previous research on sociolinguistics of Taiwan is described. Although the research is not completely identical to the research of Taibun, it is more or less related to the current sociolinguistic setting in Taiwan. In other words, a better understanding of Taiwan's sociolinguistic setting would be useful for one to understand the Taibun movement. In this section, research on language attitudes is provided first, and later research on language use, shift, and ethnicity are described.

3.1.1 Language attitudes

Methods used for the study of language attitudes may be divided into direct and indirect methods. In the direct method, subjects are asked to report their opinions about languages or speakers of particular languages through interview or questionnaire. For instance, the direct method was used in the research conducted by *Bun-lu Kang* (1996). In the indirect method, subjects are not aware that their language attitudes are being investigated. The frequently used indirect method is the so-called matched-guise technique (see chapter 4 for the notion of matched-guise or see Fasold 1993).

The latest survey on language attitudes in Taiwan was conducted by *Mei-yu Chang* (1996). A survey questionnaire was used to collect language-use and language-attitude data from 200 elementary students, who came from homes where Holo or Hakfa was spoken. The results of language-use survey revealed that a significant shift toward Mandarin has taken place among the students; the results of the language-attitude survey showed that most students held positive attitudes toward Holo and Hakfa.

In November of 1994, *Bun-lu Kang* (1996) surveyed the language attitudes among the teachers (32 persons) and elementary students (938 persons), who were involved in the vernacular education program in Taipei county. She further concluded that the effect of vernacular education (one hour a week) in Taipei county was quite limited.

In 1995, a study on language attitudes by using the indirect "matched-guise" technique was conducted by *Chiung-ming Wang*. Eighty-nine high school students at *Tai-kah* (大甲) high school were told to judge four taped speakers (male Taiwanese, female Mandarin, male Mandarin, and female Taiwanese) on 20 characteristics. She pointed out that gender is an important factor conditioning language attitudes among the students.

In 1990, a large scale survey on language attitudes was conducted by *Karl-Eugen Feifel* (1994) through the matched-guise technique. 12 voices were prepared (4 in Standard

Mandarin, 4 in Holo, and 4 in Taiwanese Mandarin). Subjects (altogether over 600) were from different counties of Taiwan. They consisted of five groups: elementary school students, middle school students, university students, the working population, and retired persons. In addition to the study on attitudes, language use was also included in Feifel's research. He pointed out that "the Mandarin showed an increased usage in the families of the younger Minnan pupils (i.e., up to one third in conversation with the father and up to 50% with siblings)" (1994: 209).

In addition to the literature mentioned above, some researchers, such as Adams (1986), Hsu (1987), and Sedlak (1976) also examined the language attitudes in Taiwan.

3.1.2 Language use, shift, and ethnicity

Literature on the study of language attitudes was mentioned in the section 3.1.1. Some of those studies consisted of language attitudes and other sociolinguistic topics, such as language use, so the literature already mentioned above won't be mentioned again in this section.

In 1994, a study on language shift was conducted by Chan (1994) through both questionnaire survey (2755 pieces of valid questionnaires) and interview (eight persons) techniques. Chan pointed out that:

First, proficiency in Guoyu by the Taiwanese is increasing, while that in Minnanyu (i.e., Holo) is decreasing. Second, Guoyu is used in all domains, even for home communication and religious purpose. Moreover, choices between Guoyu and minnanyu seem not to have been substantially affected by attitudes toward the two ethnic groups (i.e., Mainlanders vs. Taiwanese) and the two languages (i.e., Mandarin vs. Holo), or by objection to the language policy. More importantly, younger Taiwanese do not demand a one-to-one relationship between Taiwanese ethnic identity and Minnanyu, and they tend to keep dual Taiwanese and Chinese identities, or even replace their ethnic identity with a national identity. (Chan 1994: iv).

In 1993, Huang (1993) published his book "Language, Society, and Ethnic Identity." This book consists of several sociolinguistic topics. Most of the results were from his and his students' previous studies. As his subtitle described "A Study of Sociolinguistics in Taiwan," this book could be regarded as a general introductory book to Taiwan's sociolinguistic setting.

In 1990, Wen (1990) surveyed the language vitality and perceived ethnolinguistic vitality in *Tho-hng* (桃園), Taiwan. A total of 419 subjects were involved in the survey. Wen (1990) pointed out that although Hakka is the largest ethnic group in Tho-hng, Hakka is the group which possesses the lowest language and ethnolinguistic vitality in the area, followed by Holo, and Mainlanders.

In 1988, Young (1989) investigated language use and shift in Taiwan. There were 823 subjects from different counties, aged 18 and older, who were surveyed in three domains: family, work, and friends. Young (1989: 55-56) pointed out that there is a language shift toward Mandarin, and Mandarin is becoming the common language for a large number of inter-ethnic interactions.

In 1988, Lu (1988) surveyed the language attitudes, use, and ethnic identity in Taiwan. There were 581 respondents involved. The statistical technique, correlation analysis, was adopted in her study on the relationships among language attitudes, use, and ethnic identity. The relationship between attitudes and ethnic identity is as she said, "although there was some correlation between index of ethnic identity and the four language attitudes, the relationship was only moderate." (1988: 93). As for the relationship between ethnic identity and language use, she pointed out that "the relationship between ethnic identity and language use in Taiwan was not one of cause-and-effect. Speaking Mandarin may be either due to an instrumental consideration or a conditioned language behavior. They do not have to change their ethnic identity" (1988: 99).

In 1977 and 1978, Berg (1986) conducted a large-scale investigation on language use by using a non-obtrusive observation technique. His data was collected by observations on interlocutors in five domains: markets, department stores, shopping areas, banks, and parks. He concluded that "Language shift will be confined to new middle class families living in urban areas. The prestige of Southern Min depends largely on the attitudes of the middle class" (1986: 199).

3.2 Literature on the issues of written Taiwanese

In this section, several publications regarding written Taiwanese are mentioned for readers who need further information. For the literature inventory of linguistic studies on Taiwanese languages, readers may refer to Cheng (1997) or Ang (1996). An inventory of literature is attached as appendixes in Cheng's book. Ang's book is a collection of Taiwan's linguistic materials with brief introductions.

Traditionally, the studies of written Taiwanese focus on the etymology of Han characters for Taiwanese lexicon. That is, most researchers proposed to find the so-called "*pun-ji* (本字)," the "original Han characters" in classic Han texts for writing Taiwanese words. Many of the researchers have devoted themselves to this job for more than decades or even a lifetime. Usually, the initiator of seeking for *pun-ji* is referred to *Heng Lian* (連橫) and his famous publication *Taioan Gitian* (台灣語典; Dictionary of Taiwanese Etymology), which was compiled in 1933, and published later in 1957. Recently, other publications, such as *Seng-chiong Khou's "Taioan Hangi Sutian* (台灣漢語辭典; 1992)," and *Siu-le Ngou's "Chonghap Banlamgi Honggian Kipun Jitian* (綜合閩南語方言基本字典)" are the classics of Taiwanese etymology. Owing to the fact that they are not practically involved in the promotion of modern Taibun too much, they are not important in this section. So, only

the publications that play an important role on the contemporary Taibun movement are presented in section 3.2.

In the 1980s, people became aware that they needed a Taiwanese orthography to write their vernacular. They published and discussed the issues of Taibun. Most of their articles oddly occurred in newspapers and magazines, instead of collected in anthologies. Mentioned in the following paragraphs are some of the authors and anthologies, which play an important role in written Taiwanese:

In 1989, Robert Cheng (1989) published his anthology "Essays on Written Taiwanese." This anthology consists of four topics: (1) Practice of written Taiwanese, (2) Literary criticism, (3) Dictionary criticism, (4) Discussion on Han characters. In 1990, he published another anthology, "Essays on Taiwan's Sociolinguistic Problems" consists of three topics: (1) The sociolinguistic setting in Taiwan, (2) Bilingual education, (3) Taiwanese writing. The anthologies advocate writing in Taiwanese, and because the books were mostly written in the so-called Han-Roman mixed Taibun, Cheng is generally regarded as the representative of writing in Han-Roman Taibun.

In 1992, Ang (1992) published his anthologies "Taiwanese Literature and Taiwanese Orthography" and "Taiwan's Language Problem." He pointed out the demand for Taiwanese orthography. Generally speaking, Ang⁸⁶ is regarded as the representative of Han-only Taibun.

Tai-Bun Thong-Sin (TBTS), the monthly periodical, has been published in Han-Roman Taibun since July 1991. It contains many issues of spoken and written Taiwanese. Generally speaking, the articles in TBTS could reflect the history and issues of the contemporary Taibun movement.

⁸⁶ Although Ang's proposed "perfect" orthography is *Ganbun* (諺文), he never use Gunbun in practical writing. (STAPA 1999: 15-16).

In addition to the literature mentioned above, there are some other references containing the issue of written Taiwanese, such as Ong (1993), Khou (1992b), and Huang (1993). For further references regarding the usage and reforms of Han character in Asia, readers may refer to John DeFrancis (1990; 1977; 1950), Jerry Norman (1991), or William Hannas (1997).



CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the principal methods are first provided in section 4.1 for readers to gain the big picture of the research design, and then detailed designs and procedures were arranged in each section. They are: the questionnaire design (section 4.2), the selection of reading samples (4.3), the selection of raters (4.4), the conducting procedure (4.5), and the data analysis (4.6).

4.1 Methods

Usually, the matched-guise technique, which was first developed by Lambert (Lambert et al. 1960; Lambert 1967) and his associates, is adopted for the research of language attitudes. Several messages were recorded in different languages by a number of bilingual speakers fluent in the languages, and then the subjects were told to rate the personalities of taped speakers on semantic differential scales. For details of Lambert's procedures, please refer to his research. A cassette with recorded messages in different languages is an important feature for his technique. However, the research of language attitudes toward written language vs. spoken language is quite different. So, Lambert's matched-guise was modified here in order to fit the need of research on written Taiwanese.

The modified matched-guise for the research here was conducted as follows: seven reading samples (or writing samples) written in different orthographies of *Taibun* were prepared and then the subjects were told to rate each reading on the characteristic scales such as interesting, expressive and friendly. The ratings were based on semantic differential scales, ranging from the lowest 1 to the highest 7. For example, concerning the

characteristic "interesting," 1 means very boring, 4 means neutral, and 7 means very interesting.

The texts of reading samples were written in the same style; In my design, they were written in narrative style, talking about the traditional life in the countryside of Taiwan. The purpose of choosing reading samples that are written in the same style is to minimize the influence of context on readers' evaluations. Therefore, the scores of reading samples rated by readers were further assumed as the reflection of readers' responses to different orthographies. The score is treated as a "reading index" which shows a reader's degree of favor toward a particular reading sample (i.e., orthography).

In addition to the modified matched-guise, readers' backgrounds, such as gender, residence, and self-reported information about their own attitudes toward language, society, and politics were collected through my questionnaire design. The principal purposes are to examine how readers' background may affect their evaluations on reading samples, and to further formulate an equation for predicting scores of reading samples rated by different subjects. The equation is called the Taibun equation, which can predict and indicate readers' degrees of acceptance toward various orthographic designs.

4.2 Questionnaire design

There are two fundamental parts of the questionnaire. Part I examines readers' responses to the reading samples. It consists of seven reading samples, and each one has 12 questions. Part II is to retrieve readers' general background and self-reported information. For the real sample of the questionnaire, please refer to appendix D.

Part I: There are 12 questions, which are repeated for the seven reading samples. In other words, readers were asked the same questions after reading each sample. The questions are divided into two sections. Section 1 consists of question items 1 to 6. This is to examine readers' responses on six characteristic scales (i.e., friendly, understanding, easy,

likable, interesting, and expressive). Readers' responses are based on seven-point semantic differential scale, ranging from lowest 1 to highest 7. For instance, concerning the characteristic "interesting," 1 means very boring, 4 means neutral, and 7 means very interesting. Section 2 consists of items 7 to 12. They test readers' reactions to the writers' characteristics (i.e., authors' age, gender, political leanings, religion, national identity, and usage of language). Their answers to these the questions are based on nameable classifications, instead of semantic differential scales. For example, in item 9, political party is classified as KMT, DPP, CNP, GPT, TAIP, not related, and uncertain. "Not related" means that readers do not think there is a connection between the writer and the political party. "Uncertain" means that the readers are not quite sure about the connection between the writer and the party.

Part II: This part of the questionnaire is designed to retrieve some information about the readers. It consists of two sections. Section 1 consists of question items 1 to 14; it contains readers' general backgrounds such as gender, age, major, area, ethnic identity, language usage and ability. Section 2 has items 15 to 54; it survey the readers' attitudes and opinions on some issues, such as vernacular education, political leanings, national identity, and so on.

4.3 Selection of reading samples

In my design, there are seven reading samples; The reading samples are named A, B, C, D, E, F, and G. They were written in Taiwanese (Holo) except for reading D was in Hakfa (in Mixed orthography). Readings A, B, C, E, and G were adopted from the story "*Ama e Saikhia-chi*"⁸⁷ by Chiung; Reading D was adapted from the article "*Pun Ame kai*

⁸⁷ "*Ama e Saikhia-chi*" (Grandma's Savings)," in *Haiang Taibun-chip* (海翁 台文集). 1996. Taipei: Tai-leh.

*Sin*⁸⁸" by Yap; Reading F was adopted from the article "*Sidⁿ-mi Hocho Iuki Pui-liau*." They were more or less revised in orthography to fit our survey needs. The following are brief descriptions in terms of different orthographies (see appendix B for the texts):

Han Characters Only: This is used in readings C and G. Reading C was entirely written in colloquial Taiwanese. But, reading G was kind of between Taiwanese and Mandarin. The style of G is quite similar to the writing style of so-called Home Village Literature (鄉土文學) from the 1970s.

Roman Scripts Only: Reading B was completely written in *Pehoeji* (白話字), the traditional Taiwanese Romanization.

Mixed (Han-Roman): This is used in readings A, D (in Hakfa), and F. Reading A used more Roman scripts than D and F did. Generally speaking, the spelling of Roman scripts here is the same as Peh-oe-ji, but without tone markers.

Han with *bo-po-mo* (ㄅㄆㄇ): Reading E was written in Han characters with *bo-po-mo*, the National Phonetic Symbols (國語注音符號), a special phonetic system used for learning Mandarin in Taiwan.

In order to gain a better understanding of the reading samples, we may analyze the seven readings into six distinctive features based on orthography and language used in the texts: Han character, Roman script, *Bopomo*, Mandarin Chinese, Hakka, and Ratio of Han to Roman.

The properties of distinctive features are binary, either "+," which means "yes," or "-," meaning "no." Each reading sample consists of six features, and their combinations of features differ from reading to reading.

⁸⁸ "*Pun Ame kai Sin* (A Letter to My Mom)," in *Hakka Thoi-Van-Fa Chon-Khan* (客台語專刊). No. 14, 1998.

The Han feature means whether or not Han characters are employed in the writings. On the other hand, the Roman and Bopomo features mean whether or not the Roman scripts and Bopomo phonetic symbols are employed in the writing. If Han and Roman are both adopted (Mixed style) in readings, we need another distinctive feature, the ratio of words in Han character to words in Roman script, to tell the difference between two mixed writings. The Ratio feature is described as "+" if the proportion of Han characters in the text is greater than half. On the other hand, the Ratio feature is described as "-" if the proportion of Han is less than a half. In the reading samples, the proportions of Han characters in readings A and B are less than 50%, so A and B are described as [-Ratio], and the others are [+Ratio].

The Mandarin feature indicates whether or not a reading was written with a grammar and lexicon close to Mandarin Chinese. The Hakka feature indicates whether a reading was written in Hakka or not. Table 4 shows the features of each reading in different combinations.

Table 4. Chart of distinctive features of reading samples

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Han	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Roman	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
Bopomo	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Mandarin	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Hakka	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Ratio	-	-	+	+	+	+	+

4.4 Selection of raters

The selection of raters is quite important, because different samplings could cause different statistical results, which would then further affect our investigation. If we want our

results to represent the language attitudes of all Taiwan's population, including such differences as class and degree of education, then the design of survey would be very different from the design conducted in this thesis. Because of the limit of time and cost, we need to focus on some particular groups. Therefore, the subjects in my survey were limited to the college students from *Tamkang University* (淡江大學) and *Tamsui Oxford University College* (淡水學院), which are both located in *Tamsui*, a college town half a hour away from Taipei.

There are a total of 244 students in my survey, including 157 female and 87 male. 138 are from Taipei, and 106 from other places. For detailed statistics of students' background, refer to appendix A.

Because college major was hypothesized as a factor that could have influence on readers' evaluations on Taibun writing, the subjects were primarily chosen based on their majors. Most of the subjects were from Tamkang University, and their majors were: Public Administration (46 students), Mechanical Engineering (34), Japanese (21), Chinese (52), and English (37), and others (14). Owing to the fact that there is no Taiwanese department at Tamkang University, the students (40) of Taiwanese Literature Department at Tamsui College were chosen. Up to now (1999), Tamsui College is still the only school in Taiwan that provides the Taiwanese major.

4.5 Conducting procedure

Generally speaking, it takes about 30 minutes for a subject to go through the whole questionnaire. Usually, readers are not patient with this sort of time-consuming survey. If readers lose their patience, it may affect the accuracy of the results. For instance, they may be negligent in answering the questions. So, how to maintain readers' patience is quite important. A way to keep the readers' patience, is to conduct survey during their class time. So, several classes offered by the departments were borrowed to conduct my survey. In

addition to the advantage of keeping the readers attention, time-saving is also a big advantage for researchers. For instance, in an hour, we could get around 40 completed questionnaires from a class.

In summary, my survey was conducted in December of 1998. The classes I surveyed were: Politics, offered by Department of Public Administration (公行系); Electronics, offered by Mechanical E.; Modern Japanese language, offered by the Japanese Dept.; Modern literature, offered by the Chinese Dept.; Translation, offered by the English Dept.; and Taiwanese languages, offered by the Taiwanese Dept.

In the classes, students were told to evaluate the reading samples based on their first impressions. During the survey, they were not allowed to discuss the questions with each other. Their answers were directly marked on the questionnaire sheets. The languages used in the readings were not told until they all handed in their questionnaire sheets. The classes didn't take a break until all students finished their survey.

4.6 Data analysis

There are several statistical techniques employed in the research. They are t-test, ANOVA (analysis of variance), post hoc comparison, regression analysis, factor analysis, and chi-square test. The software programs adopted for dealing with data and conducting statistical techniques are Microsoft Excel 97 and SPSS 8.0. The main reason that two different programs were used here, is because they possess different merits. In this section, only general concepts of the statistical techniques employed in the research are provided. For details about statistics in linguistic studies, readers may refer to Rietveld (1993), Butler (1985), or Woods (1996).

Before we conduct any statistics, we always need to input all materials into digital data. Therefore, after I had collected all the returned questionnaire sheets, they were inputted into MS Excel in the following format: Each row contains the answers of a subject;

answers of questions were listed from left to right. Each column consists of the same question responded by different subjects from top downward. Due to the fact that different statistical techniques may require different formats, the original format was occasionally adjusted for different purposes. After transferring all materials into digital data, statistics could be done with the assistance of the computer. The functions of the statistical techniques adopted in the thesis are described.

Before we go through each specific technique, some important statistical terms need to be mentioned. First, whenever we do statistics, we always set up hypotheses for testing. The hypotheses come in pairs: a **research** or **alternative hypothesis** (denoted by H_1 or H_a) versus the **null hypothesis** (H_0). The null hypothesis always states that there is nothing special going on in here. As Rietveld (1993: 5) described, "The null hypothesis (H_0) is the hypothesis actually tested in a statistical testing procedure. A null hypothesis is formulated in such a way that we can calculate the probability that H_0 is true." If a null hypothesis is rejected under a certain condition of alpha level, then the alternative hypothesis (research hypothesis) is automatically accepted. The **Alpha level** (α) is the probability of rejecting a null hypothesis when this hypothesis is in fact true. It usually refers to the significance level of a test. In this thesis, the significance level was set up at $\alpha = 0.05$. That is, if $p < 0.05$ (less than 5 chances in 100 that the null hypothesis is valid), then we could accept the research hypothesis. In other words, there are something special going on between the tested groups. Usually, a null hypothesis is not stated, but is implicitly present whenever statistical hypothesis-testing is executed. So, throughout the thesis, the detailed null hypotheses are not mentioned, but only the results of the statistical tests.

T-test: "The t-test is a parametric statistical test that tests whether the means of sets of scores from two samples are significantly different from each other" (Fasold: 1993: 98). For instance, paired t-tests were conducted between scores of each two reading samples in

the research of written Taiwanese. The mean score of reading C evaluated by the subjects is 5.28, and the mean score of reading D is 4.42. Does it mean that readers evaluated C differently from D? The null hypothesis is that there is nothing different between the means of C and D. The results of the t-test reveals that $p < 0.05$, so we can reject null hypothesis and conclude that 5.25 is significantly different from 4.42. In other words, readers evaluate C differently from D. In another test, the mean score of reading E is 4.98, and F is 5.07. The results of the t-test shows that $p = 0.14 > 0.05$, then we can not reject the null hypothesis. In other words, readers give the same ratings to E and F.

ANOVA: In the case of comparing mean scores of reading samples, a t-test can only test between two groups. If we need to compare more than two groups simultaneously, then ANOVA can be applied. There are several ways of doing analysis of variance. One-way ANOVA was employed in this case. The result $p < 0.05$ reveals that we could reject the null hypothesis, accepting the alternative hypothesis. That is, there is something different between the mean scores of readings. In other words, a reader may evaluate reading samples differently. However, the results of ANOVA only provide us the general information. They do not point out which two readings are significantly different from each other. If we need to specify which pairs of readings are significantly different from each other, we may use another technique such as post-hoc comparisons.

Post-hoc comparisons: There are several choices of post-hoc comparisons. In my thesis, Tukey's Honest Significant Difference (HSD) tests, under the icon "GLM-General Factorial" of SPSS program, were employed for the purpose of simultaneous comparisons among a set of groups (variables), the results of these facts further specify which subsets are homogeneous (i.e., no significant difference). The Tukey's HSD tests were mostly applied to the investigations on the background factors which can affect raters' evaluations on readings.

Regression analysis: Linear regressions were conducted with SPSS for formulating the Taibun equation, which could predict the scores of particular reading samples evaluated by different readers. As Rietveld (1993: 71) described, regression analysis is a method used to analyze the variability of a dependent variable in relation to the variability in one or more independent variables. In other words, the relationship between a dependent variable Y and one or more independent variables X_1, \dots, X_k is studied.

$$Y = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + \dots + b_kX_k + e \quad (1)$$

$$Y' = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + \dots + b_kX_k \quad (2)$$

In the equation (1), the dependent variable Y is interpreted as being composed of additive parts related to the independent variables. The values of the constant b_0 and the coefficients b_1, \dots, b_k are estimated on the observed data (i.e., the 244 subjects in the thesis). The sum of $b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + \dots + b_kX_k$ is referred to as the predicted value Y' shown in equation (2). Therefore, (2) is often referred to as the prediction equation. The symbol e is called the error or residual, which indicates the difference between the observed value (Y) and the predicted value (Y'). In other words, it can be expressed as $e = Y - Y'$. When values of the constant b_0 and the coefficients b_i are estimated, we usually try to minimize the sum of the squares of the error ($\sum e^2$). This principle is referred to as the principle of least squares.

When linear regression was applied to formulate the Taibun equation, data were rearranged in to a different the format. All the independent variables were encoded in dummy coding, that is, either in "1," which means "yes", or in "0," which means "no." For example, the residence variable Taipei was encoded in "1," and non-Taipei was encoded in "0."

Factor analysis: In some situations where numerous variables are used to characterize objects, we may want to know to what extent these variables have something in common.

In other words, we want to know to what extent they measure the same "underlying" variables. Regularly, it occurs that clusters of variables turn out to be intercorrelated. Then we may want to assess whether or not these clusters measure common aspects of the dimensionality or domain. In other words, we are trying to figure out whether it is possible to reduce whole variables to fewer sets. An example of its application is the investigation on the question items 15 to 54 in the questionnaire design. The survey consists of 40 questions (variables), which were designed to survey the readers' attitudes and opinions on various issues, such as written language, vernacular education, political favor, national identity, and so on. The results of the factor analysis conducted with SPSS reveals that 11 factors (or called components) were extracted from the 40 variables. That is, although there are 40 variables, they could be divided into 11 new variables (i.e., factors). We may call these new variables dimensions. The original variables in the dimension are under the influence of an identical factor.

Chi-square test: As Fasold (1993: 95) described "the chi-square test is a non-parametric statistical procedure most often used to test the independence or inter-dependence of the distribution of two namable characteristics within a population." For instance, the chi-square tests were used in my research to test the relationship between ethnic identity and mother tongue. We want to know how a person's ethnic identity correlates to her/his mother tongue. If s/he identifies herself/himself as a Hakka person, is her/his mother tongue more likely to be Hakfa? On the other hand, if s/he identifies Hakfa as her/his mother tongue, is s/he more likely to identify herself/himself as a Hakka person? For detailed procedures of doing chi-square tests, see Butler (1985).

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 5 provides the results and discussion of the investigations. The readers' evaluations on the seven reading samples are first presented in 5.1. It consists of three topics: evaluations of six characteristic scales, different scores of the various readings, and raters' reactions to Taibun writers' backgrounds. In section 5.2, readers' backgrounds are examined to tell which factors could affect readers' evaluations. Furthermore, a prediction equation, the Taibun equation is presented to predict readers' reading score on a particular reading sample. In section 5.3, the relationships among ethnic identity, mother tongue, and language ability are examined by chi-square tests. Also, the readers' subjective (self-reported) attitudes towards some issues (question items 15-54) are analyzed and presented in this section.

5.1 Evaluations of different reading samples

In the section 5.1, the evaluations of all raters (regardless of their backgrounds) on the seven reading samples were examined. The criteria of a rater's response to each reading sample were based on the twelve characteristic questions (Q1-12, repeated for each reading sample) in the questionnaire. Subsection 5.1.1 presents the procedure that the first six characteristic scales were calculated as a "reading index" of a rater's preference of a corresponding reading sample. Furthermore, in subsection 5.1.2 the statistical comparisons among "reading indexes" of reading samples were conducted to tell whether or not raters evaluated the reading samples as being significantly different. In subsection 5.1.3, the next

six characteristic questions were calculated to show the raters' reactions to the writers of the seven readings.

5.1.1 Evaluations of six characteristic scales

There were six characteristic scales for each reading sample. The rating of each characteristic scale was based on a seven-point semantic differential scale, ranging from 1 (lowest) to 7 (highest). Because we need to use these six characteristic scales as criteria to measure raters' preferences of each reading, it would be better if we could reduce these six scales to fewer categories. To do so, factor analysis was employed with SPSS. The analysis reveals that only one component was extracted from the six scales, and the component accounts for 78.31% of total variance. This means that we may conclude that there is only one primary factor among the six characteristic scales. In other words, we may employ the combined mean value of the six characteristic scales as an index of a rater on a particular reading sample instead of using all six individual characteristic values, yielding seven indexes for each rater, one for each reading sample A, B, C, D, E, F, and G. If a rater has an index 5 on reading A, and an index 3 on reading B, it means that the rater evaluates reading A higher than reading B. This index will be called the "reading index." The notion of "reading index" is important because we need the reading indexes of all raters for further comparisons throughout this research.

Table 5. Result of factor analysis on the six characteristic scales

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	4.70	78.31	78.31	4.70	78.31	78.31
2	0.50	8.29	86.60			
3	0.30	4.96	91.56			
4	0.21	3.57	95.13			
5	0.19	3.15	98.27			
6	0.10	1.73	100.00			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Table 6. Results of factor loadings on the six characteristic scales

	Factor
	1
Friendly	0.91
Understanding	0.88
Easy	0.94
Likable	0.92
Interesting	0.80
Expressive	0.87

5.1.2 Different readings show different scores

The reading indexes of the 244 raters on the seven reading samples were calculated with MS Excel, and then the data was rearranged into a new format (i.e., separate columns for seven reading samples with each column containing 244 rows for 244 raters), in order to do one-way ANOVA among the seven readings. Table 7, the results of the one-way ANOVA, reveal that there are significant differences among the seven reading samples at the 5% significance level. This means that the raters evaluate the reading samples differently.

Table 7. Results of one-way ANOVA of seven reading samples

	no.	sum	mean	sd.
Reading A	244	882.00	3.61	1.08
Reading B	244	514.67	2.11	0.80
Reading C	244	1287.83	5.28	0.93
Reading D	244	1077.33	4.42	1.05
Reading E	244	1215.17	4.98	1.01
Reading F	244	1237.50	5.07	0.94
Reading G	244	1469.83	6.02	0.77

F=454.42 1 tailed P=0.00<0.05

This preliminary analysis reveals the following initial ranking: (from lowest to highest) B < A < D < E < F < C < G. In order to specify which pairs of readings are significantly different, paired t-tests were conducted with SPSS. Table 8 shows that all pairs (except E-F) are significantly different at the 5% significance level. In other words, we may treat reading E and F as if they have the same rating, while all other readings differ significantly from each other. (The results of post-hoc comparisons presented in section 5.2.2 also reveal that raters evaluated the readings as being significantly different).

Table 8. Results of t-test between any two reading samples

	Paired Differences				t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	sd.	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
			Lower	Upper			
A - B	1.51	1.06	1.37	1.64	22.09	243	0.00*
A - C	-1.66	1.13	-1.81	-1.52	-23.01	243	0.00*
A - D	-0.80	1.17	-0.95	-0.65	-10.67	243	0.00*
A - E	-1.37	1.20	-1.52	-1.21	-17.74	243	0.00*
A - F	-1.46	1.18	-1.61	-1.31	-19.31	243	0.00*
A - G	-2.41	1.16	-2.56	-2.26	-32.32	243	0.00*
B - C	-3.17	1.13	-3.31	-3.03	-43.65	243	0.00*
B - D	-2.31	1.13	-2.45	-2.16	-31.75	243	0.00*
B - E	-2.87	1.25	-3.03	-2.71	-35.90	243	0.00*
B - F	-2.96	1.20	-3.11	-2.81	-38.66	243	0.00*
B - G	-3.91	1.18	-4.06	-3.77	-52.01	243	0.00*
C - D	0.86	1.02	0.73	0.99	13.27	243	0.00*
C - E	0.30	1.00	0.17	0.42	4.65	243	0.00*
C - F	0.21	0.95	0.09	0.33	3.38	243	0.00*
C - G	-0.75	0.76	-0.84	-0.65	-15.32	243	0.00*
D - E	-0.56	1.08	-0.70	-0.43	-8.14	243	0.00*
D - F	-0.66	1.02	-0.79	-0.53	-10.03	243	0.00*
D - G	-1.61	1.11	-1.75	-1.47	-22.68	243	0.00*
E - F	-0.09	0.96	-0.21	0.03	-1.49	243	0.14
E - G	-1.04	0.90	-1.16	-0.93	-18.17	243	0.00*
F - G	-0.95	0.81	-1.05	-0.85	-18.41	243	0.00*

In order to examine which factors associated with the different readings may have affected raters' evaluations, the seven readings were analyzed into six distinctive features based on orthography and language used: Han character, Roman script, *Bopomo* (ㄅㄆㄇ), Mandarin Chinese, Hakka, and Ratio of Han to Roman (see table 9). The context of the readings were assumed to be the same and then ignored because they all were written as narrative stories about traditional life in countryside.

Table 9. Chart of distinctive features of reading samples

mean	2.11	3.61	4.42	4.98	5.07	5.28	6.02
	B	A	D	E	F	C	G
Han	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Roman	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
Bopomo	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Mandarin	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Hakka	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Ratio	-	-	+	+	+	+	+

The properties of distinctive features are binary, either in "+," which means "yes," or in "-," meaning "no." Each reading sample consists of six features, and their combinations of features differ from reading to reading.

The Han feature means whether or not Han characters are employed in the writings. In addition, the Roman and Bopomo features mean whether or not the Roman scripts and Bopomo phonetic symbols are employed in the writings. If the Han and Roman are both adopted (Mixed style) in readings, we need another distinctive feature, the ratio of words in Han character to words in Roman script, to tell the difference between two mixed writings. The Ratio feature is described as "+" if the proportion of Han characters in the text is greater than a half. On the other hand, the Ratio feature is described as "-" if the proportion of Han is less than a half. In the reading samples, the proportions of Han characters in readings A and B are less than 50%, so A and B are described as [-Ratio], and the others are [+Ratio].

The Mandarin feature indicates whether or not a reading was written in a grammar close to Mandarin Chinese. The Hakka feature indicates that whether a reading was written in Hakka or not.

We may want to know how these distinctive features might affect subjects' evaluations on readings. The findings based on the comparisons between any two readings regarding their distinctive features are described in the following paragraphs.

First of all, a reading categorized as [+Han] is evaluated higher than a reading that is [-Han]. For example, there is only one different feature between reading A and B, that is, the Han feature. Given that the evaluations of A and B are significantly different, we may assume that the difference of rating between A and B is affected by the Han feature. Since A has a higher rating than B does, we can conclude further that a reading with [+Han] will be evaluated higher than the other.

Secondly, a reading that is [+Roman] is evaluated lower than a reading that is [-Roman]. For example, comparing C with F, there is only one different feature, that is, the Roman feature. Because the t-test reveals that C and F are significantly different, we may conclude that the different ratings are the effect of the Roman feature.

Third, a reading that is [+Bopomo] is rated lower than a reading with [-Bopomo]. For example, there is only one different feature between C and E, that is, Bopomo. Since t-test shows significant difference between C and E, we may say that Bopomo is the effective feature in this case.

Fourth, a reading that is [+Mandarin] is evaluated higher than a reading that is [-Mandarin]. The evidence is from the comparison between C and G.

Fifth, a reading that is [+Hakka] is evaluated lower than a reading with [-Hakka]. The assumption is proven with the comparison between D and F, which was adapted instead of the comparison between D and A. This is because the [+Ratio] must be employed by D in this case.

Finally, a reading that is [+Ratio] is evaluated higher than a reading that is [-Ratio]. The comparison between A and F shows the evidence.

The findings mentioned above are the "surface" factors that may affect raters' evaluations of the seven reading samples. We may go further to see whether or not there are any "underlying" factors. The statistical technique Factor Analysis was conducted with SPSS. Two factors were extracted from the reading samples. Factor 1 consists of reading A, C, D, E, F, and G. Factor 2 consists of reading B. Tables 10 and 11 are the results of factor analysis and factor loadings.

Table 10. Results of factor analysis of seven reading samples

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.24	46.28	46.28	3.24	46.28	46.28
2	1.33	19.03	65.31	1.33	19.03	65.31
3	0.62	8.82	74.14			
4	0.56	8.00	82.13			
5	0.49	6.94	89.07			
6	0.48	6.91	95.99			
7	0.28	4.01	100.00			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Table 11. Results of factor loadings of reading samples

	Factor	
	1	2
C	0.79	-0.09
F	0.77	-0.19
E	0.75	-0.17
G	0.73	-0.47
D	0.72	0.25
A	0.60	0.50
B	0.25	0.85

Because factor 2 in the un-rotated factor matrix covers only reading B, a Varimax rotation was conducted for a better interpretation of factor 2. Table 12 is the rotated factor matrix.

Table 12. Factor loadings on reading samples after rotation

	Factor	
	1	2
G	0.86	-0.12
F	0.78	0.15
C	0.75	0.25
E	0.75	0.16
D	0.54	0.53
B	-0.13	0.88
A	0.34	0.70

Rotated Factor Matrix

Based on the rotated factor matrix, factor 1 covers readings G, F, C, E, and D. It means that if a rater gives a high/low rating to reading G, then s/he will probably also give high/low ratings to readings F, C, E, and D. Because of the fact that readings G, F, C, E, and D were written either partly or entirely in Han characters, and they were given higher ratings than B and A. We may assume that Han characters, which make a reading more "readable" for the Han character-educated subjects, plays an important role in factor 1. On the other hand, factor 2 cover readings B and A, which were written with a high proportion of Roman script. We may say that Romanization plays an important role in factor 2. Because most of the subjects were not skilled in Taiwanese Romanization, the use of a high proportion of Roman words made the readings "unreadable" to the subjects. Therefore, B and A got lower ratings than G, F, C, E, and D. The term "readable" means that an

orthography, which is more recognizable and familiar to a reader, will enable the reader to understand the text more easily and clearly than another orthography.

It seems that whether or not a writing system is readable to a particular reader has a great influence on her/his attitude toward the reading. That is, if a particular orthography is more readable/unreadable to a reader, then s/he is more likely to give a high/low rating to the reading. We may further assume that there is only one underlying factor based on the findings of factor 1 and factor 2. That is to say, people will give higher ratings to those writing systems which are more "readable" to them. In other words, the ratings of readings are ranked based on the degree of readability to a particular person. Based on this assumption of the underlying factor, we may examine those surface factors mentioned before to see whether or not they coincide with the underlying factor.

The surface factors reveal that the [+Han], [+Mandarin] and [+Ratio] features will cause a reading sample to be evaluated higher than [-Han], [-Mandarin] and [-Ratio]. The findings are not surprising. In Taiwan, Mandarin Chinese and Han characters have been taught through the national education system since the occupation of KMT regime in 1945. Therefore, all the subjects in this experiment, who are under age 30, are more familiar with Mandarin and with Han characters. Because readers are skilled in Mandarin and Han characters, [+Mandarin] and [+Han] features, which made the texts more "readable" to them, were rated higher than others. So, the surface factors Han, Mandarin, and Ratio coincide with the hypothetical underlying factor. On the other hand, because most of the subjects are not Hakka-speakers, (only 19 among the whole 244 subjects are able to speak Hakfa), the [+Hakka] feature will reduce the ratings of readings. We are more confident of this assumption after comparing the mean scores between Hakka and non-Hakka speakers of reading D (in Hakfa). Table 13 is the result of the unpaired t-test; it reveals that the mean scores of Hakka speakers and non-Hakka speakers are significantly different at 5%

significance level. This means that the [+Hakka] feature will raise the rating of a reading if the readers are able to speak Hakfa. In other words, their Hakfa-speaking ability made them give high scores to reading D. (The fact that language ability can affect readers' evaluations is further confirmed in section 5.2).

Table 13. T-test between Hakka and non-Hakka on reading D

	no.	mean	sd.
Hakka	19	5.35	0.80
non-Hakka	225	4.34	1.03
t=5.17		1 tailed p=0.00 < 0.05	

As for the Roman feature, even though English is taught to students as a second language from high school on, it does not mean that students are skilled in Taiwanese Romanization. Therefore, the [+Roman], which makes texts more "unreadable" will reduce the rating of a reading if the readers are not familiar with Romanization.

As for the Bopomo feature, although every student is taught Bopomo as a supplementary tool while learning Mandarin, the Bopomo is not suitable for representing the Taiwanese languages. In other words, Bopomo becomes a barrier and reduces the reading efficiency. Therefore, [+Bopomo] feature can reduce the rating of a reading.

In summary, the readers showed positive attitudes toward overall Taibun (regardless of different orthography). That is, with a mean score **5.15** $((C+D+E+F+G)/5)$ or **4.50** $((A+B+C+D+E+F+G)/7)$. In addition, the survey reveals that people will give higher ratings to those orthographies that are more "readable" to them. In other words, the ratings of readings are ranked based on the degree of readability to a particular person. Therefore, we may conclude that the different ratings of the seven reading samples are the reflection of readability to the 244 subjects, who represent the Mandarin and Han character-educated

college students. Furthermore, we may assume that the acceptability of Taibun, written Taiwanese, is represented by its readability (The readability is usually affected by various factors, such as language and orthography abilities). We are then able to predict which particular systems will be accepted by particular persons. According to the results above, reading G is the most acceptable to the readers. However, the content of G is the least Taiwanese (i.e., the language used is closer to Mandarin than Taiwanese). On the other hand, B has the lowest rating, and is the least acceptable. But the content of B is the most Taiwanese. This result indicates that even though an orthography was well designed to represent a language, the orthography will not necessarily be accepted more than others. In other words, the users' orthographic backgrounds and social context may play important roles in choosing a new orthography.

5.1.3 Raters' evaluations on writers' backgrounds

Questions 7 to 12 on each reading sample are to test subjects' reaction to the writer of a particular reading. That a particular person will favor a particular writing system was assumed. Therefore, the subjects' impressions of the authors reflect their impressions of the corresponding writing systems. In other words, through questions 7 to 12, we can learn readers' expectancies concerning the backgrounds of Taibun writers. In the study, the subjects were told to judge the authors' age, gender, political leaning, religion, opinion on national status, and the languages the authors are writing in. In this section, only typical stereotypes are mentioned. For detailed statistical data regarding subjects' answers on those questions, please refer to appendix A.

Subjects' evaluations on writers' age range are illustrated in figure 10. The X-axis represents the different readings A to G (readings were arranged from lowest rating B to highest rating G). The Y-axis represents the cumulative percentage, which was added up

from the bottom category "over 60" to top "uncertain." For instance, the percentage of subjects who judged the age of reading A's author to be older than 60 is about 8%, while the percentage judged author's age older than 50 is about 17%. Because 17% was added up from "over 60" to "50-59," then we know the percentage of subjects who judge the author's age range "50-59" is about 9%. This kind of graph was employed here because it shows the different percentages of age categories of different readings at the same time and space. The area of each level roughly represents the percentage of corresponding category. This figure is helpful in seeing subjects' reactions.

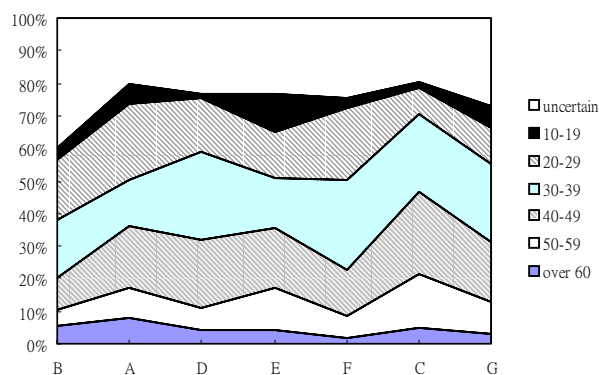


Figure 10. Evaluations of the subjects on writers' age category.

Figure 10 shows that subjects' judgments on writers' age are roughly equally distributed among the age categories except the youngest category "10-19" and the oldest "over 60." It seems that age is not a stereotypical characteristic. Figure 10 shows the percentage individually from reading A to G. We may treat the seven readings altogether, and then calculate the percentage again. The reason is that we may use this average percentage as a criterion is to tell readers' stereotypes toward general written Taiwanese.

Figure 11 shows the average percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's age category.

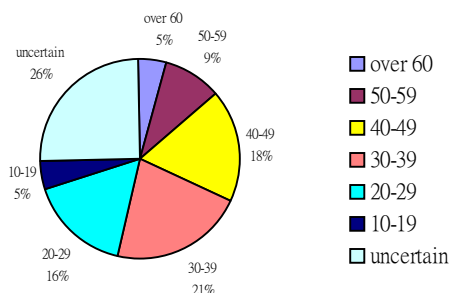


Figure 11. Percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's age category.

Subjects were asked their impressions of the authors' gender with question 8. The following figures 12 and 13 show the percentages in the gender categories. Most subjects (i.e., 19% + 43% = 62%) didn't assign the authors a particular gender. However, if they did assign a gender, then most of them associated the author with male (31%), and fewer with female (7%).

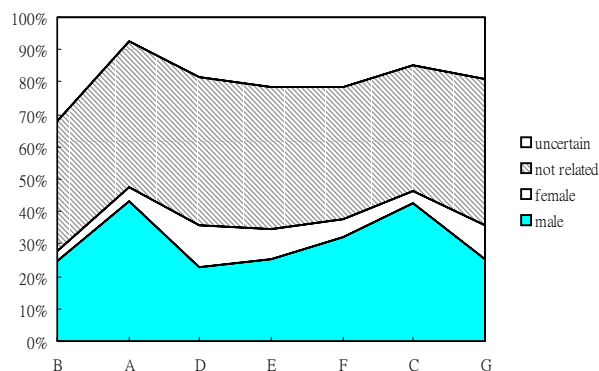


Figure 12. Evaluations of the subjects on writer's gender category.

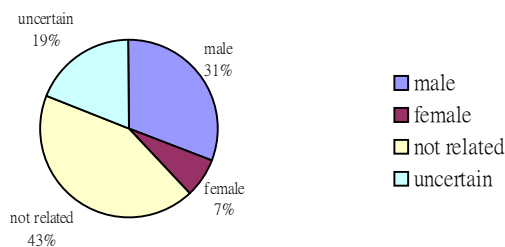


Figure 13. Percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's gender category.

In question 9, the subjects' judgments on the authors' political leanings were tested. The political parties listed on the answer sheet were the KMT, the Democratic Progressive Party, the Chinese New party, the Green Party Taiwan, and the Taiwan Independence Party. The answer category "not related" means that the rater does not think there is any relationship between the author and a political party. The answer "uncertain" means that the rater is not sure about which particular party the author might favor.

Figures 14 and 15 show that most of subjects didn't associate the authors with particular parties (i.e., 63%). However, others associated the authors mostly with DPP (24%), a few with KMT (8%), TAIP (3%), CNP (2%), and GPT (1%). It seems expectable that most people will associate Taibun writers with DPP, the first native opposition party of influence during the KMT era in Taiwan. Although TAIP⁸⁹ and GPT⁹⁰ also represent native Taiwanese parties, the fact that they have been recently formed (both in 1996) and are still not well recognized by public may reduce their percentages of being associated with the Taibun writers. On the other hand, the well-known third major party CNP was not

⁸⁹ The percentage of votes received by TAIP in the national legislative election (立委選舉) of 1998 was 1.45%. Other major parties were: KMT 46.43%, DPP 29.56%, and CNP 7.06%.

⁹⁰ The percentage of votes received by GPT in the national assembly election (國代選舉) of 1996 was 2.97%.

associated with Taibun writers. It seems that its low association with Taibun coincides with the expectancy of people in Taiwan that CNP represents Chinese nationalism rather than Taiwanese.

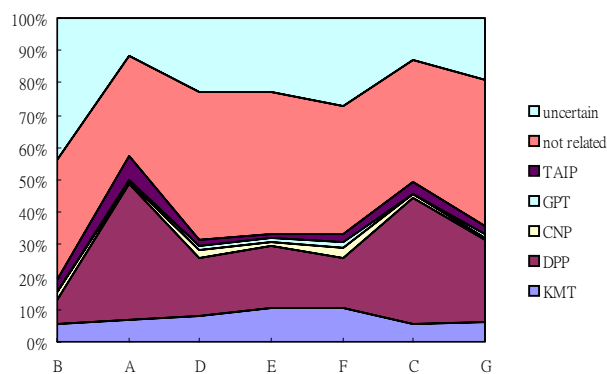


Figure 14. Evaluations of the subjects on writer's political leanings.

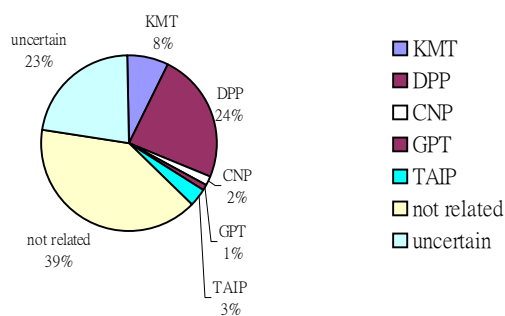


Figure 15. Percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's political leanings.

On question 10, the subjects' judgments on the authors' religion were evaluated. The religions listed on the answer sheet were Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity and Catholicism. The category "others" means other than those four religions. Figures 16 and 17 indicate that

most of the subjects (71%) didn't associate the authors with any religion. The rest of the subjects associated the authors mostly either with Buddhism (10%) or Taoism (11%). Christianity and Catholicism only received 7%. The proportion seems reasonable because most Taiwanese believe in the traditional Buddhism and Taoism.

In the experiment, reading B was written in pure *Peh-oe-ji*, the traditional Romanized Taiwanese writing system that was developed by western missionaries. Figure 16 shows that in the case of reading B, more subjects associated the writer with foreign religions (Christianity 11%, Catholicism 8%) than traditional religions (Buddhism 2%, Taoism 3%). We may interpret that this is because Buddhism and Taoism are usually regarded as symbols of Han culture, and on the other hand, Christianity and Catholicism are considered to be western, where Roman scripts were invented.

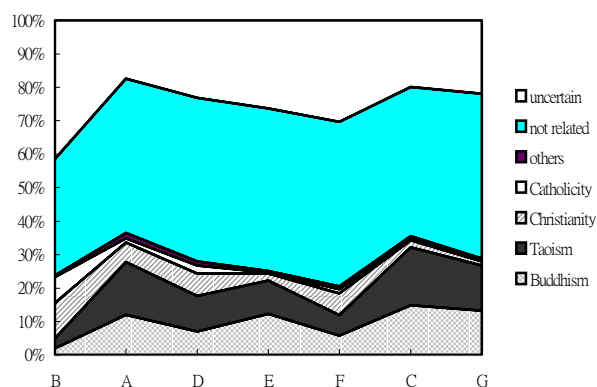


Figure 16. Evaluations of the subjects on writer's religion.

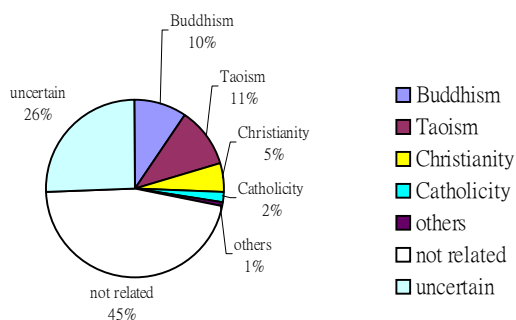


Figure 17. Percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's religion.

Question 11 tested subjects' judgments on authors' national identity, that is, whether the authors tend to want to unify with P. R. China or be independent or maintain the current status regarding Taiwan's national status. Figures 18 and 19 show that over half of the subjects (63%) didn't associate Taibun writers with any national identity. The rest of subjects associated the Taibun writers mostly with independence (20%) and current status (13%), while only 4% of subjects associated the writers with unification. In other words, if readers believe there is a connection between a Taibun writer and national identity, then most of them will associate Taibun writers with independence and current status instead of unification. This also coincides with the result mentioned before that people highly connect Taibun writers with Taiwanese political parties (DPP, TAIP, and GPT, total 28%) instead of the Chinese party CNP (2%). That is to say, people will consider Taibun as a representative of Taiwanese if they do believe there is a connection between writing and national identity.

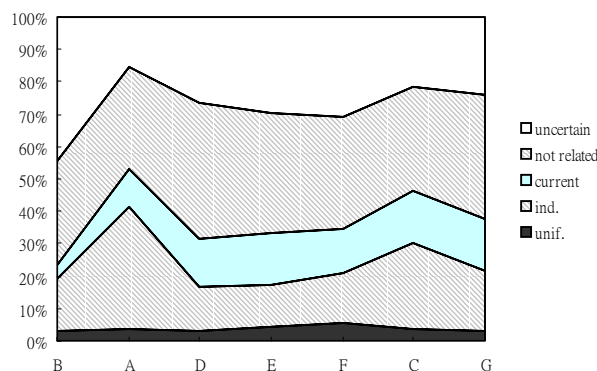


Figure 18. Evaluations of the subjects on writer's national identity.

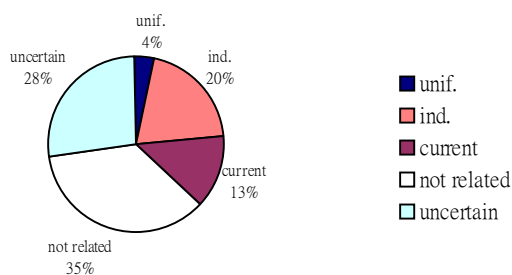


Figure 19. Percentage of subjects on Taibun writer's national identity.

Finally, question 12 tested the subjects' understanding of the languages the authors were expressing, to see whether the reader realized that a particular article was written in Taiwanese or not, while the reader faced the article in a newspaper or magazine without any advance hint of the language. Figure 21 reveals that more than half of the subjects were able to tell the languages the authors were using in each reading sample except B and D.

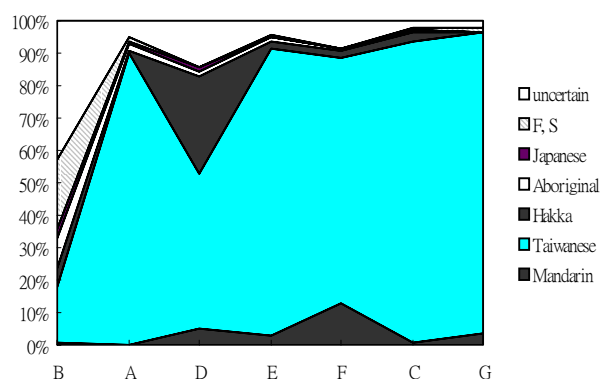


Figure 20. Evaluations of the subjects on understanding of language.

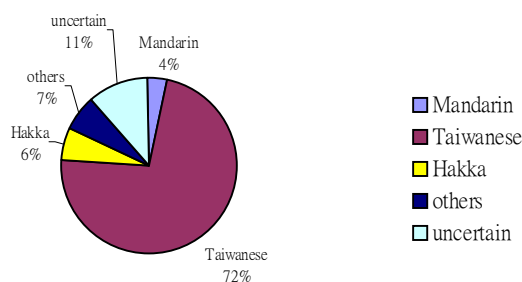


Figure 21. Percentage of subjects on expected language of 7 readings.

It is reasonable that most of the subjects (83%) were not able to recognize that reading B was written in Taiwanese. This is because Taiwanese people are not skilled in Romanization; it may even be said that they don't know there is a Taiwanese Romanization. Figure 22 shows the percentage of subjects on their expected language of reading B. It points out that there are 21% of subjects considered reading B as either in French or Spanish, higher than the percentage 17% considering B as in Taiwanese. That is to say, people might associate Roman script with foreign languages. According to the survey on religions mentioned before, people may also associate Roman script with foreign religions.

In other words, we could say that Roman script is considered by some people as a representative of foreign cultures and then associated with foreign languages and foreign religions.

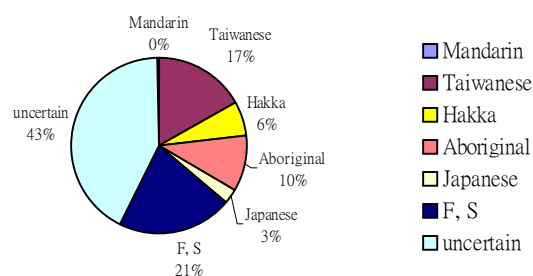


Figure 22. Percentage of subjects on expected language of reading B.

As for reading D, which was written in Hakfa instead of Holo-Taiwanese. Figure 23 reveals that there were still 48% of subjects considering reading D as Holo writing. Only 30% (i.e., 73 persons) of subjects were aware that D was written in Hakka.

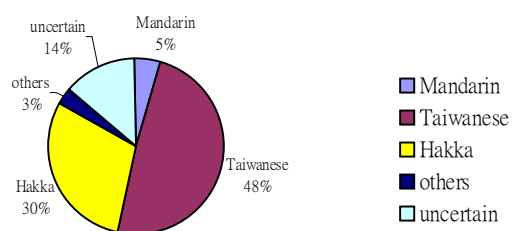


Figure 23. Percentage of subjects on expected language of reading D.

We may be curious about which subjects are potentially able to tell Hakka writing from Holo writing. Table 14 indicates that 68% (i.e., 13/19) of Hakka speakers⁹¹ were aware of the Hakka writing; on the other hand, only 27% of non-Hakka speakers were aware of this Hakka writing. A Chi-square test on table 14 also reveals that the chi-square value 12.65 (after Yates's correction) is substantially larger than the critical value 3.84 (1 degree of freedom) at 5% significance level. That is to say, Hakka speakers are really more able to tell Hakka writing from Holo, compared with non-Hakka speakers. The comprehension of Hakka language led Hakka speakers to be aware of Hakka writing. In other words, language ability is an important factor determining whether a person can recognize the language of a particular writing or not. (The fact that language ability can affect readers' evaluations is further confirmed in section 5.2). Suppose there some Holo and Hakka articles on newspaper or magazine. Most Hakka speakers might be able to make the distinctions among Hakka, Holo, and Mandarin. In contrast, most Holo speakers might only be able to distinguish Holo from Mandarin. This is because most of Hakka speakers are able to speak Hakka, Holo, and Mandarin. However, Holo speakers are typically only able to speak Holo and Mandarin. For instance, based on the 244 subjects, 53% (10/19) of Hakka speakers possess ability in Hakfa, Holo, and Mandarin. Only 5% (10/203) of Holo speakers possess the same ability.

⁹¹ The definitions of Hakka speakers and Holo speakers in this section are defined by subjects' language ability only, and do not necessary correlate to their mother tongue or ethnicity. For example, the classification of a Hakka speaker here was based on subjects' self-report on background question 14. The subject was treated as a Hakka speaker if s/he answered her/his Hakka speaking ability is equal to or higher than 3, based on a five-point semantic differential scale.

Table 14. Classification of subjects for speakers and awareness

(observed)	aware	not aware	total
Hakka speaker	13	6	19
non-Hakka speaker	60	165	225
<i>total</i>	73	171	244
12.65 > 3.84 (df=1; after Yates's correction)			p < 0.05

5.2 Raters' backgrounds may affect their evaluations

In previous sections I examined the evaluations of all raters regardless of background. In this section, I examine whether or not raters' backgrounds may affect their evaluations on the reading samples. In other words, do the raters' own characteristics, such as gender, residence, major, age, mother tongue, language ability, national identity, and assertions on Taiwan's national status, have an effect on their evaluations? Furthermore, we may want to predict the mean scores of a particular reading sample evaluated by people with different backgrounds. In order to answer these questions, the first part of this section is the procedure for finding the significant factors among all the assumed factors. The significant factors were generally evidenced by using the statistical post hoc comparisons. After that, a Taibun equation, which consists of all significant factors and reading samples, was established to predict the reading scores on different writing samples evaluated by different persons. This prediction equation is specified as the Taibun equation in this research.

5.2.1 The significant factors

Before we find out the significant factors, we need to assume some possible factors. The assumed factors here are: (1) gender, (2) place of residence, (3) major, (4) age, (5) ethnic identity, (6) mother tongue, (7) language ability, (8) political leanings, (9) national identity, and (10) assertion on Taiwan's national status.

Owing to the fact that all the subjects were college students, some factors such as degree of education were not considered in this survey.

(1) Gender consists of female and male. The classification of a rater's gender was based on the rater's answer on background question 1. In this survey, there were a total of 244 subjects, including 157 female, and 87 male.

(2) Place of residence consists of Taipei and non-Taipei. The classification of a rater's residence was based on the rater's answer on background question 5. In the survey, there were 138 subjects from Taipei, and 106 from other places.

(3) Major consists of the following: Taiwanese, English, Chinese, Japanese, Mechanical Engineering, Public Administration, and others. "Others" here means other than the six majors. The classification was based on background question 3. Among the subjects, 40 were Taiwanese majors at *Tamsui* College (this is the first and the only Taiwanese major so far in Taiwan), and the other majors were all from *Tamkang* University (i.e., 37 were English major, 52 Chinese, 21 Japanese, 34 Mechanical E., 46 Public Administration, and 14 had other majors).

(4) Age consists of the ages: 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and over 23. The classification is based on background question 2. Among the subjects, there were 44 persons for age 18, 67 for age 19, 54 for age 20, 31 for age 21, 21 for age 22, and 27 persons for age 23 or over.

(5) Ethnic identity consists of Mainlander, Holo, Hakka, Aborigines, and others. "Others" here means that a rater either chose multiple items or chose the "uncertain" item on background question 6. There were 21 subjects who identified themselves as Mainlanders, 153 as Holo people, 18 as Hakka people, 2 as Aborigines, and 50 as others.

(6) Mother tongue consists of Mandarin, Taiwanese (Holo), Hakfa, Indigenous languages, and others. "Others" here means that a rater either chose multiple items or chose "uncertain" item on background question 7. There were 58 subjects who considered their

own mother tongue to be Mandarin, 152 Taiwanese, 15 Hakfa, 2 as indigenous languages, and 17 as others.

(7) Language ability consists of monolingual in Mandarin-only, bilingual of Mandarin and Taiwanese, and Hakfa plus (either bilingual in Mandarin and Hakfa, or trilingual in Mandarin, Holoee, and Hakfa). The classification of these three types of language ability is based on background question 14. For example, if a rater answered that her/his Hakfa-speaking ability is equal or higher than 3 (based on a 5-points semantic differential scale), then s/he will be assigned a Hakfa-speaking ability. Among the 244 subjects, 30 were Mandarin monolingual, 193 were Mandarin and Taiwanese bilingual, and 19 were Hakfa plus. Two subjects who didn't finish answering question 14 were excluded, so there were a total of 242 here.

(8) Political leaning consists of KMT-only, DPP-only, CNP-only, and others. The classification of political leanings was based on question 20, 26, 32, and 43. For instance, if a rater chose 5 or higher than 5 (based on a 7-points semantic differential scale) on question 20, then the rater will be assumed to favor KMT favor. Owing to the fact that a rater may have more than two favorite political parties, the classification was limited to one political leaning only in order to simplify the comparison. Therefore, KMT-only means the rater chose KMT only, without choosing any other favorite parties. "Others" means that other than the three one-favor-only choices. In the survey, 24 chose KMT-only, 75 chose DPP-only, 5 chose CNP-only, and 140 gave other responses.

(9) National identity, which consists of Taiwanese-only identity, identity as both Taiwanese and Chinese, Chinese-only identity, and others. "Others" means other than the three identity types (most people of this group chose "neutral"). The classification was based on question 47, 48, and 49. Owing to the fact that some raters contradictorily answered the questions, for instance some raters chose to be Taiwanese-only on question 47,

but they also chose to be Taiwanese-Chinese on question 48. So, the number of the identity type of Taiwanese-only was limited on the number who chose Taiwanese-only without choosing any other identity types on question 48 and 49. As for determining the identity type of Taiwanese-Chinese, a rater was assumed to be this type if the rater answered to be Taiwanese-Chinese on question 48. The rater was still assumed to be the Taiwanese-Chinese type even if the rater also chose other types on question 47 and 49. As for determining the type of Chinese-only, the procedure was similar to Taiwanese-only. The number of Chinese-only was limited on the number who chose Chinese-only without choosing any other identity types on question 47 and 48. A rater was assigned the category "others" if the rater didn't fit the three identity types. In the survey, there were 48 persons belonging to Taiwanese-only type, 130 for Taiwanese-Chinese type, 2 for Chinese-only type, and 64 for the category others.

(10) Assertion on Taiwan's national status consists of Taiwan independence (TI), maintaining the current status (MT), unification with P. R. China (UNI), and others (most people of this group chose "neutral"). The classification was based on question 51, 25, and 36. The procedure for determining the status types was similar to determining the identity types. For instance, the number of TI supporters was limited on the number who chose TI on question 51, without choosing any other types on question 25 and 36. The number of MT was the number who chose MT on question 25, even if the raters might choose other types on question 51 and 36. After calculation, there were 67 persons for TI, 102 for MT, and 14 for UNI.

After the ten possible factors are assumed, we need further examination to see whether they are effective or not. For instance, if the mean scores on a reading evaluated by subjects of different majors reveal significant differences at the 5% significance level, then we may say that major is an significant factor. On the other hand, if the statistical result

doesn't show significant differences, then we can say that major is not a significant factor. In order to do this, we need to do post hoc comparisons. The Tukey's Honest Significant Difference (HSD) test of General Linear Model (GLM) was conducted by using SPSS program. However, some assumed factors, such as gender and residence, consist of only two groups (i.e., female vs male; Taipei vs non-Taipei). Because the post hoc comparisons require more than two groups in a factor, the gender and residence factors were examined with linear regression, a statistical technique adopted for calculating the Taibun equation in the survey.

The statistical comparisons reveal that the following factors are significant factors which can affect a rater's evaluation on the reading samples. (1) Place of residence, (2) Major, (3) Mother tongue, (4) Language ability, (5) national identity, and (6) assertion on Taiwan's national status. Although post hoc comparisons show that these six factors are effective, the comparisons also indicated that some factors such as major, which originally consisted of 7 groups, should be re-classified into only 2 groups for significant difference. In other words, it's important to classify the subjects into only 2 groups in the major factor when we apply the factor to our Taibun equation in the next section. The statistical results and the new groups of each significant factor after re-classifications are described in the following paragraphs.

(1) Place of residence: This significant factor was evidenced by linear regression (for more information, see next section 5.2.2.). The places were encoded in dummy coding, that is, "0" represents Taipei, and "1" represents non-Taipei. The result of regression reveals that there is significant difference between subjects from Taipei and non-Taipei.

(2) Major: Originally, the subjects were classified into 7 groups in the major factor. However, table 15, the results of Tukey's HSD reveals that there are two subsets in the factor: subset 1 includes Mechanical Engineering, Japanese, PA, and Chinese. Subset 2

includes Japanese, PA, Chinese, Taiwanese, others, and English. It means that the majors in the same subset are not significantly different, but majors between subjects are significantly different (except the overlapped Japanese, PA, and Chinese). Among the majors, Mechanical E. differs from Taiwanese, others, and English. In other words, although not all majors are significantly different from each other, major might be an significant factor for some particular majors. We may try other classifications to see which majors have significant influences on reading evaluation. The majors were re-classified into 2 groups: Group 1 consists of Taiwanese and English majors. Group 2 consists of Mechanical major. These two groups were adopted as two independent variables in the regression analysis for formulating Taibun equation in the next section. The results of regression analysis reveal that these two groups actually are two independent variables in the Taibun equation. Therefore, we could say that the majors of Taiwanese, English, and Mechanical Engineering. have significant influences on evaluation. For details, see section 5.2.2.

Table 15. Results of Tukey's HSD on the major factor

		Subset		
	MAJOR	N	1	2
Tukey HSD	Mechanical	238	4.26	
	Japanese	147	4.44	4.44
	PA	322	4.47	4.47
	Chinese	364	4.50	4.50
	Taiwanese	280		4.60
	Others	98		4.60
	English	259		4.65
	Sig.		0.16	0.28

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

Based on Type III Sum of Squares

a Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 202.935.

b Alpha = .05.

(3) Mother tongue: The original proposed distinctions of mother tongues were Mandarin, Taiwanese, Hakfa, Indigenous languages, and others. The results of Tukey's HSD tests (table 16) indicate that we need to re-classify the mother tongues. Owing to the fact that there is no significant difference between Taiwanese and Hakfa, but there is significant difference between these two languages and Mandarin, I re-divided the mother tongues into native Taiwanese languages (i.e., Taiwanese and Hakfa) versus Mandarin Chinese. Although table 16 also shows that there is no differences between "others" and Taiwanese, and Hakfa, and Mandarin (i.e., "others" is the overlapped group), we may first try the new classification of native Taiwanese languages vs Mandarin Chinese, and see whether or not the new groups have significant influences. In addition, the reason that indigenous languages were not considered as the third group was because there were few (i.e., only 2) subjects who identified indigenous languages as their mother tongues in the survey. After the re-classification, the groups native Taiwanese languages and Mandarin were adopted as two independent variables in the regression analysis for Taibun equation. The results of regression reveal that only the category, native Taiwanese languages, is a significant variable. So, we could say, it has an influence on a reader's evaluation that whether or not the reader's mother tongue is a native Taiwanese language (i.e., Taiwanese or Hakfa). In other words, there is a significant difference between those whose mother tongues are native Taiwanese languages and non-native Taiwanese languages.

Table 16. Results of Tukey's HSD on the mother tongue factor

(I) MTONGUE	(J) MTONGUE	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Others	Indigenous	1.07*	0.26	0.00	0.35	1.79
	Hakfa	-0.12	0.12	0.88	-0.46	0.22
	Taiwanese	-0.17	0.09	0.32	-0.43	0.08
	Mandarin	0.16	0.10	0.52	-0.12	0.43
Indigenous	Others	-1.07*	0.26	0.00	-1.79	-0.35
	Hakfa	-1.19*	0.26	0.00	-1.91	-0.47
	Taiwanese	-1.25*	0.25	0.00	-1.93	-0.56
	Mandarin	-0.92*	0.25	0.00	-1.60	-0.23
Hakfa	Others	0.12	0.12	0.88	-0.22	0.46
	Indigenous	1.19*	0.26	0.00	0.47	1.91
	Taiwanese	-0.06	0.09	0.97	-0.31	0.20
	Mandarin	0.27*	0.10	0.05	0.00	0.54
Taiwanese	Others	0.17	0.09	0.32	-0.08	0.43
	Indigenous	1.25*	0.25	0.00	0.56	1.93
	Hakfa	0.06	0.09	0.97	-0.20	0.31
	Mandarin	0.33*	0.05	0.00	0.18	0.48
Mandarin	Others	-0.16	0.10	0.52	-0.43	0.12
	Indigenous	0.92*	0.25	0.00	0.23	1.60
	Hakfa	-0.27*	0.10	0.05	-0.54	0.00
	Taiwanese	-0.33*	0.05	0.00	-0.48	-0.18

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

(4) Language ability: the originally proposed groups were monolingual in Mandarin (M-only), bilingual in Mandarin and Taiwanese (M-T), and Hakfa plus (M-T-H). Table 17 indicates that M-T and M-T-H are not significantly different. So, we may re-classify the three groups into fewer groups. That is, M-only versus MT (it means M-T and M-T-H). Because the total 244 subjects in the survey comprise the number of M-only and MT, we may regard either M-only or MT as an independent variable in the further regression analysis. The results of regression in next section reveal that it would be better to choose

M-only as a variable. The results indicate that there is a significant difference between M-only and non-M-only.

Table 17. Results of Tukey's HSD on the language-ability factor

LANG-ABILITY		N	Subset
			1
Tukey HSD	M-only	210	
	M-T	1351	4.53
	M-T-H	133	4.71
	Sig.		0.11

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

Based on Type III Sum of Squares

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 65.512.

b. Alpha = .05.

(5) National identity: The originally proposed groups were Taiwanese-only, Taiwanese-Chinese, Chinese-only, and others. Table 18 indicates that the groups were grouped together as a homogeneous group. So, we may try another classification. Finally, the subjects were grouped into Taiwanese (i.e., Taiwanese-only and Taiwanese-Chinese) versus non-Taiwanese (i.e., Chinese and others). Our regression reveals that there is a significant difference between Taiwanese and non-Taiwanese.

Table 18. Results of Tukey's HSD on the national identity factor

IDENTITY	N	Subset	
		1	
Tukey HSD Chinese	14.00	4.26	
Others	448.00	4.43	
T-C	910.00	4.50	
Taiwanese	336.00	4.61	
Sig.		0.24	

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

Based on Type III Sum of Squares

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 51,456.

b. Alpha = .05.

(6) Assertion on Taiwan's national status: The original classification were Taiwan independence (TI), maintaining the current status (MT), unification with P. R. China (UNI), and others. Table 19 shows that there are two homogeneous subsets. My final classification was Taiwan independence versus non-Taiwanese independence. The results of regression reveal that there is a significant difference between TI and non-TI.

Table 19. Results of Tukey's HSD on the national status factor

NATIONAL STATUS	N	Subset	
		1	2
Tukey HSD Uni.	98	4.33	
MT.	714	4.42	
Others	427	4.50	4.50
TI.	469		4.66
Sig.		0.17	0.24

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

Based on Type III Sum of Squares

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 248,775.

b. Alpha = .05.

5.2.2 The Taibun equation for predicting reading scores

After obtaining the significant factors mentioned above, the Taibun equation, which will predict the reading scores of a particular reading sample evaluated by different raters, will be formulated. The equation should look like:

$$Y' = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + \dots + b_kX_k$$

Y' is the dependent variable or the mean score we want to predict.

X_1, X_2, \dots, X_k are the independent variables or the factors which affect raters' evaluation.

b_0 is a constant, and b_1, b_2, \dots, b_k are the coefficients, which determine the contributions of independent variables. The values of the constant and coefficients are provided later in the section.

All the independent variables were encoded in dummy coding, that is, either as "1," which means "yes", or as "0," which means "no." For example, the residence variable Taipei was encoded in "1," and non-Taipei was encoded in "0." After independent variables and dependent variable were decided, a linear regression was employed with the SPSS software program in order to get the significant constant and coefficients. Consequently, if a rater provided us her/his background information, such as residence, then it is possible to fill out all the X_i with either 1 or 0, and finally be able to calculate the value of Y' (i.e., the reading score we want to predict).

There are two types of independent variables in the regression analysis. All variables mentioned here are significant. First type consists of reading samples A, B, C, D, EF, and G. They were treated as 6 independent variables, and encoded in dummy coding. "EF" means that the original E and F were combined since Tukey's HSD reveals that there is no significant difference between E and F. Table 20 is the results of Tukey's HSD. It reveals

that all reading samples (after E and F were combined together) are significantly different from each other.



Table 20. Results of Tukey's HSD on the reading samples

(I) READINGS	(J) READINGS	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
A	B	1.51*	0.09	0.00	1.26	1.75
	C	-1.66*	0.09	0.00	-1.91	-1.42
	D	-0.80*	0.09	0.00	-1.04	-0.56
	EF	-1.41*	0.07	0.00	-1.62	-1.20
	G	-2.41*	0.09	0.00	-2.65	-2.17
B	A	-1.51*	0.09	0.00	-1.75	-1.26
	C	-3.17*	0.09	0.00	-3.41	-2.92
	D	-2.31*	0.09	0.00	-2.55	-2.06
	EF	-2.92*	0.07	0.00	-3.13	-2.71
	G	-3.91*	0.09	0.00	-4.16	-3.67
C	A	1.66*	0.09	0.00	1.42	1.91
	B	3.17*	0.09	0.00	2.92	3.41
	D	0.86*	0.09	0.00	0.62	1.11
	EF	0.25*	0.07	0.01	0.04	0.46
	G	-0.75*	0.09	0.00	-0.99	-0.50
D	A	0.80*	0.09	0.00	0.56	1.04
	B	2.31*	0.09	0.00	2.06	2.55
	C	-0.86*	0.09	0.00	-1.11	-0.62
	EF	-0.61*	0.07	0.00	-0.82	-0.40
	G	-1.61*	0.09	0.00	-1.85	-1.36
EF	A	1.41*	0.07	0.00	1.20	1.62
	B	2.92*	0.07	0.00	2.71	3.13
	C	-0.25*	0.07	0.01	-0.46	-0.04
	D	0.61*	0.07	0.00	0.40	0.82
	G	-1.00*	0.07	0.00	-1.21	-0.79
G	A	2.41*	0.09	0.00	2.17	2.65
	B	3.91*	0.09	0.00	3.67	4.16
	C	0.75*	0.09	0.00	0.50	0.99
	D	1.61*	0.09	0.00	1.36	1.85
	EF	1.00*	0.07	0.00	0.79	1.21

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

The second type of independent variable consists of the significant background factors. The factors were treated as 7 independent variables. They are: (1) Taipei as a residence, (2) major in Taiwanese or English, (3) major in Mechanical Engineering, (4) native Taiwanese languages (i.e., Taiwanese or Hakfa) as mother tongues, (5) monolingual in Mandarin, (6) Taiwanese identity (i.e., Taiwanese-only, or Taiwanese-Chinese), and (7) assertion of Taiwan independence. The variables were all encoded in dummy coding.

After the independent variables were decided, the scores already evaluated by the 244 subjects were treated as a dependent variable Y (Y is observed; Y' is predicted) in order to calculate the constant and coefficients. In other words, the data of the 244 subjects were treated as a model to formulate the prediction equation. Tables 21 and 22 are part of the SPSS output from a linear regression analysis. Reading sample EF was excluded from table 21 as a criterion to compare with other reading samples. Table 21 reveals that all coefficients of the independent variables are significantly different at 5% level.

Table 21. SPSS output (coefficients) from a linear regression analysis of the equation data

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1.00 (Constant)	4.78	0.08		62.17	0.000
A	-1.41	0.07	-0.32	-19.68	0.000
B	-2.92	0.07	-0.67	-40.66	0.000
C	0.25	0.07	0.06	3.51	0.000
D	-0.61	0.07	-0.14	-8.51	0.000
G	1.00	0.07	0.23	13.91	0.000
Taipei	-0.13	0.05	-0.04	-2.95	0.003
TB-EN	0.18	0.05	0.06	3.67	0.000
ME	-0.23	0.07	-0.05	-3.46	0.001
NTL	0.23	0.05	0.07	4.58	0.000
M-only	-0.34	0.07	-0.07	-4.82	0.000
T-id	0.15	0.05	0.04	2.96	0.003
TI	0.15	0.05	0.05	3.30	0.001

Table 22. SPSS output (ANOVA) from a linear regression analysis of the equation data

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	2540.42	12	211.70	252.98	0.000
Residual	1418.41	1695	0.84		
Total	3958.83	1707			

a. Dependent Variable: MEAN

b. Independent Variables: (Constant), TI, G, Taipei, TB-EN, M-obly, T-id, D, C, NTL, ME, B, A

Based on the results of table 21, we could conclude our Taibun equation as follows:

(Taibun equation)

$$\begin{aligned}
 Y' = & 4.78 - 1.41 (A) - 2.92 (B) + 0.25 (C) - 0.61 (D) + 0.00 (EF) + 1.00 (G) \\
 & -0.13 (\text{Taipei}) + 0.18 (\text{TB-EN}) - 0.23 (\text{ME}) + 0.23 (\text{NTL}) - 0.34 (\text{M-only}) \\
 & + 0.15 (\text{T-id}) + 0.15 (\text{TI})
 \end{aligned}$$

A, B, C, D, EF, G refer to the reading sample

Taipei: Taipei as a residence

TB-TN: major in Taiwanese or English

ME: major in Mechanical Engineering

NTL: native Taiwanese languages (i.e., Taiwanese or Hakfa) as mother tongues

M-only: monolingual of Mandarin

T-id: Taiwanese identity (i.e., Taiwanese-only, or Taiwanese-Chinese)

TI: assertion of Taiwan independence

All the independent variables must encoded in either 1 (yes) or 0 (no) when applied to this Taibun equation. The value of Y' is between the highest 7 and the lowest 1, based on a seven-point semantic differential scale.

Here is an example how the Taibun equation will apply to predict reading scores. Suppose we want to predict John's score on reading sample A (so, fill out A with "1" and others B, C, D, EF, G with "0"). The background answers of John are: living in *Kaohsiung* (non-Taipei, so fill out the Taipei variable with "0"); major in English (fill out TB-EN with "1," and ME with "0"); Hakfa as his mother tongue (fill out NTL with "1"); with speaking capability of Hakfa, Taiwanese, and Mandarin (fill out M-only with "0"); with an identity of Taiwanese-only (fill out T-id with "1"); and with a assertion of Taiwan independence (fill out TI with "1"). Therefore, John's predicted score on reading sample A will be 4.08 (on a scale of 1-7) as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 Y' &= 4.78 - 1.41(1) - 2.92(0) + 0.25(0) - 0.61(0) + 0.00(0) + 1.00(0) \\
 &\quad - 0.13(0) + 0.18(1) - 0.23(0) + 0.23(1) - 0.34(0) \\
 &\quad + 0.15(1) + 0.15(1) \\
 &= 4.78 - 1.41 + 0.18 + 0.23 + 0.15 + 0.15 \\
 &= 4.08
 \end{aligned}$$

5.3 Language, mother tongue, ethnicity and politics

Previous sections discussed the factors that may affect readers' evaluations on different reading samples, and then finally the Taibun equation was developed to predict readers' scores. In this section, there are two main research concerns: First, what are the relationships among ethnic identity, mother tongue, and language ability. That is, are they independent or interdependent? The reason we want to know the relationships is because, for instance, if it is known that a person identifies himself as an ethnic Holo person, we might be able to predict his/her mother tongue and language ability. Statistical Chi-square tests were employed for this study. The other concern in this section is that we attempt to know what the "underlying" factors are among the questions from 15 to 54 in the final part

of the questionnaire. In other words, we want to find out what clusters of questions (variables) are intercorrelated, and then the variables in a cluster will be simplified and considered as a single variable (factor). The results of this topic could provide us a big picture of how people in the linguistically and identificationally diverse society of Taiwan, interact with each other. The technique of factor analysis was adopted with SPSS for this topic.

5.3.1 Ethnic identity, mother tongue and language ability

In this subsection, the relationships among ethnic identity, mother tongue, and language ability are examined. Because of the fact that ethnic identity, mother tongue, and language ability can not be measured in units, but are of a yes-or-no type, the non-parametric test known as the chi-square (χ^2) test was employed here. Also, chi-square cannot compare more than two namable characteristics; that is, we are not able to simultaneously compare ethnic identity, mother tongue, and language. So, they are arranged into three pairs: Ethnic identity versus mother tongue; ethnic identity versus language ability; and mother tongue versus language ability. The results of chi-square tests reveal that the characteristics of each pair are all positively correlated to each other. The procedure and results of chi-square tests are briefly described in the following paragraphs.

First of all, the relationship between ethnic identity and mother tongue is examined. The 244 subjects were divided into different groups by ethnic background and mother tongue (characteristics). The classifications of ethnicity were Mainlander, Holo, Hakka, and others. The criteria for assigning subjects to the categories were the same as mentioned in previous section 5.2; for details please refer to that section. The only exception is that "others" here consists of "indigenes" and "others" of the previous section. The reason is that there are few indigenes (only 2) in the survey. The classifications of mother tongue were

Mandarin, Holoee, Hakfa, and others. The criteria for assigning subjects to the groups were also the same as mentioned in previous section 5.2. "Others" here, consists of "indigenous languages" and "others" of the previous section. Finally, each subject was assigned a category, which consists of ethnic identity and mother tongue characteristics.

Table 23 shows the number of each category by ethnic identity and mother tongue characteristics. For instance, among the 244 subjects, 21 identified themselves as Mainlanders; 153 as Holo people; 18 as Hakka people, and 52 as others; and, among the 21 subjects who identified themselves as Mainlanders, 14 of them regarded Mandarin as their mother tongue; 6 of them regarded Holoee as their mother tongue, etc.

Table 23. Observed number of each category by ethnic identity and mother tongue characteristics

obs.		<i>Ethnic identity</i>				
		Mainlander	Holo	Hakka	others	<i>total</i>
<i>Mtongue</i>	Mandarin	14	23	4	17	58
	Holoee	6	126	1	19	152
	Hakfa	0	1	12	2	15
	others	1	3	1	14	19
<i>total</i>		21	153	18	52	244

After all subjects were assigned a category, chi-square tests were conducted. Table 24 shows the expected frequency of each category. It reveals that the observed number is higher than expected frequency in each bold pair of observed and expected frequencies. On the other hand, the observed numbers are smaller than the expected frequency in the pairs other than boldface. For instance, the observed number of the Mainlander-Mandarin category in table 23 is 14, which is higher than 4.99, the expected frequency of the same category in table 24. Besides, the observed number, 6, of the Mainlander-Holoee category in table 23, is smaller than the expected frequency 13.08 in table 24. Moreover, the

chi-square value 195.99 is substantially larger than the critical value 16.92 (degree of freedom is $3 \times 3 = 9$) at the 5% significance level. Although some frequencies in the expected table (table 24) are less than 5 (usually, greater than 5 in each expected cell is required), it still shows that the chi-square value is larger than the critical value after re-classification, which made all cells greater than 5. The re-classification is Mainlander vs native Taiwanese (Holo + Hakka + others), and Mandarin vs Taiwanese languages (Holo + Hakfa + others). Therefore, we could reject the null hypothesis, which hypothesizes that there is no association between the two characteristics. In other words, the preliminary conclusion is that ethnic identity and mother tongue are interdependent. That is, if a person has Holo as her/his mother tongue, then s/he is more likely to identify herself/himself as an ethnic Holo. Or we could say that if a person identifies herself/himself as an ethnic Holo, then s/he is more likely to have Holo as her/his mother tongue. The term "preliminary conclusion" was used here because we need further evidences to confirm or modify this conclusion. The further evidences and discussion were described in the following paragraphs.

Table 24. Expected frequency of each category by ethnic identity and mother tongue characteristics

exp.		<i>Ethnic identity</i>				<i>total</i>
		Mainlander	Holo	Hakka	others	
<i>Mtongue</i>	Mandarin	4.99	36.37	4.28	12.36	58.00
	Holo	13.08	95.31	11.21	32.39	152.00
	Hakfa	1.29	9.41	1.11	3.20	15.00
	others	1.64	11.91	1.40	4.05	19.00
<i>total</i>		19.36	141.09	16.60	47.95	244.00

$$x^2=195.99 > 16.92 \text{ (df=9)} \quad *p < 0.05$$

Although the chi-square test of table 23 indicates that there is a preliminary interdependent relationship between ethnic identity and mother tongue, there is a

contradictory phenomenon deserving our attention. That is, among the 58 Mandarin speakers (in the first row of table 23), only 24% (14/58) of them identify themselves as Mainlanders. Comparing with Holoee speakers, which consist of 83% (126/152) identifying themselves as Holo people, or comparing with Hakfa speakers, which consist of 80% (12/15) identifying themselves as Hakka people, it reveals that Mandarin speakers are not highly correlated to the identity of Mainlanders. Therefore, table 23 was rearranged based on the following classification for further analysis: if a person's ethnic identity coincided with her/his corresponding mother tongue, then s/he was assigned to the ethnic category "same;" on the other hand, if her/his ethnic identity didn't coincide with her/his corresponding mother tongue, s/he was assigned to the ethnic category "different." The observed numbers of new arrangement were listed in table 25. The corresponding expected frequencies were listed in table 26. Comparing table 25 with table 26, the observed values of Holoee, Hakka, and others in the column "same" are greater than the corresponding expected values. On the other hand, the observed value of Mandarin in the column "same" is smaller than its expected value. Further, the chi-square value 68.09 is substantially larger than the critical value 7.82 (degree of freedom is $3*1 = 3$) at the 5% significance level. The comparisons between table 25 and table 26 reveal that Holoee and Hakfa speakers are more likely to coincide with the "same" ethnic identity, but the Mandarin speakers are more likely to coincide with the "different" ethnic identity. That is to say, Holoee/Hakfa speakers are more likely to identify themselves as ethnic Holo/Hakka people, but Mandarin speakers are not likely to identify themselves as ethnic Mainlanders. Does this finding automatically tell us that Holo/Hakka people are also more likely to regard Holoee/Hakfa as their mother tongues? No, further investigation need to be conducted for the answer. To do the investigation, table 23 was rearranged into table 27.

Table 25. Observed number of ethnic categories "same" and "different" by mother tongues

obs.		<i>Ethnic id.</i>		
		same	different	<i>total</i>
<i>Mtongue</i>	Mandarin	14	44	58
	Holoee	126	26	152
	Hakfa	12	3	15
	others	14	5	19
<i>total</i>		166	78	244

Table 26. Expected frequency of ethnic categories "same" and "different" by mother tongues

exp.		<i>Ethnic id.</i>		
		same	different	<i>total</i>
<i>Mtongue</i>	Mandarin	39.46	18.54	58
	Holoee	103.41	48.59	152
	Hakfa	10.20	4.80	15
	others	12.93	6.07	19
<i>total</i>		166	78	244

$\chi^2=68.09 > 7.82$ (df=3) *p<0.05

Table 27 was arranged based on the classification: if a person's mother tongue coincided with her/his corresponding ethnic identity, then s/he was assigned to the mother tongue category "same;" on the other hand, if her/his mother tongue didn't coincide with her/his corresponding ethnic identity, s/he was assigned to the mother tongue category "different." The corresponding expected frequencies were listed in table 28. Comparing table 27 with table 28 in the "same" column, only the observed value of ethnic Holo greater than its corresponding expected value. The comparisons between table 27 and table 28 reveal that only ethnic Holo people are more likely to coincide with the "same" mother tongue, but the Mainlanders, hakka people, and others are more likely to coincide with the "different" mother tongue. That is to say, Holo people are more likely to regard Holoee as

their mother tongue, but the Mainlanders/Hakka people are not more likely to regard Mandarin/Hakfa as their mother tongue.

Table 27. Observed number of mother tongue categories "same" and "different" by ethnic identities

obs.		<i>Mtongue</i>		
		same	different	<i>total</i>
<i>Ethnic id.</i>	Mainlander	14	7	21
	Holo	126	27	153
	Hakka	12	6	18
	others	14	38	52
<i>total</i>		166	78	244

Table 28. Expected frequency of mother tongue categories "same" and "different" by ethnic identities

exp.		<i>Mtongue</i>		
		same	different	<i>total</i>
<i>Ethnic id.</i>	Mainlander	14.29	6.71	21
	Holo	104.09	48.91	153
	Hakka	12.25	5.75	18
	others	35.38	16.62	52
<i>total</i>		166	78	244

$\chi^2=54.87 > 7.82$ (df=3) *p<0.05

In short, the chi-square tests mentioned above reveal two points: (1) Holo/Hakfa speakers are more likely to identify themselves as ethnic Holo/Hakka people, but Mandarin speakers are **not** more likely to identify themselves as ethnic Mainlanders. (2) Holo people are more likely to regard Holo as their mother tongue, but the Mainlanders/Hakka people are **not** more likely to regard Mandarin/Hakfa as their mother tongue. The relationships between ethnic identity and mother tongue in Taiwan are illustrated in figure 24. The results in figure 24 reflect some phenomena in Taiwan: (1) the relationship between mother

tongue of Holo and ethnic identity of Holo people is interdependent. (2) Even though a person identifies herself/himself as ethnic Hakka, s/he may not regard Hakfa as her/his mother tongue. The primary factor might be the increasing language shift⁹² from Hakfa toward Mandarin. This phenomenon implies that even though a person's mother tongue has shifted, s/he may still maintain her/his original ethnic identity for a while. (3) Mandarin speakers may not identify themselves as Mainlanders. Owing to the Guoyu language policy, Taiwanese people have been taught Mandarin through the national education system since 1945. Consequently, some people may regard Mandarin as their mother tongue. Even so, they may still maintain their original ethnic identity. In this investigation, among the 58 Mandarin speakers, only 14 identify themselves as Mainlanders, the others (i.e., 44) identify themselves as Holo or Hakka people. We may want to know what factors caused these Mandarin speakers maintain their original ethnic identity. After tracing the Mandarin speakers' background, it reveals that their parents and grandparents' frequently used languages might play an important role in maintaining their original ethnic identity. For instance, among the 44 Mandarin speakers who did not regard themselves as Mainlanders, 13 report⁹³ that their parents both speak Holo, 20 report their parents both speak Mandarin (Among the 20 persons, 14 of their grandparents speak Holo or Hakfa, only 3 of their grandparents speak Mandarin), and the remaining number did not report their answer. On the other hand, among the 14 Mandarin speakers, 10 of them report that their parents both speak Mandarin, and only 1 reports that her parents both speak Holo.

⁹² Several researches have pointed out that there is a language shift in Taiwan from vernaculars toward Mandarin. Refer to chapter 2 for the literature.

⁹³ The information of parents and grandparents' frequently used languages is based on question item 13 in the questionnaire. For instance, if a subject reports that the frequency s/he speak Mandarin to her/his father is 3 or higher than 3, then Mandarin was assumed her/his father's frequently used language.

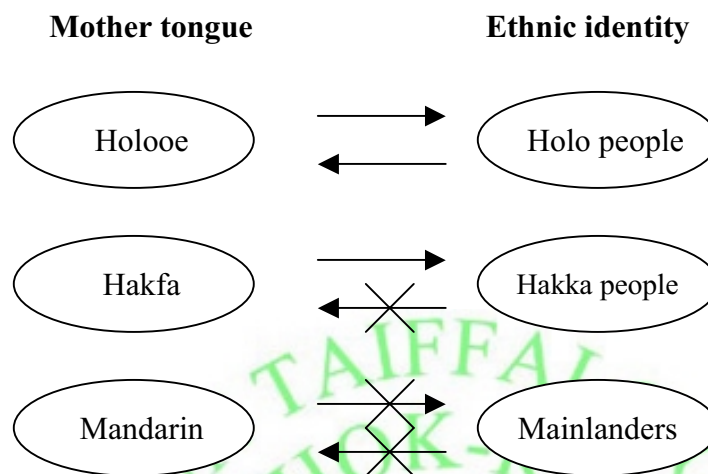


Figure 24. Relationship between ethnic identity and mother tongue in Taiwan.

After doing the chi-square tests for the relationship between ethnic identity and mother tongue, the other two pairs, that is, ethnic identity versus language ability; and mother tongue versus language ability, were also tested and listed in the following paragraphs. Because the procedures of chi-square tests have been described above, only the observed tables and results of the two pairs are briefly mentioned in the following paragraphs. The types of language ability consist of Mandarin-only, bilingual in Mandarin and Holoee, and Hakfa plus (Mandarin-Hakfa or Mandarin-Holoee-Hakfa). For details about their classification, see previous section 5.2.

Tables 29, 30, and 31 show the data of ethnic identity versus language ability. Figure 25 illustrates the relationship between ethnic identity and language ability.

Table 29. Observed number of each category by ethnic identity and language ability characteristics

obs.		<i>Ethnic id.</i>				<i>total</i>
		Mainlander	Holo	Hakka	others	
<i>Lang ab.</i>	M-only	7	15	2	6	30
	M-Holoee	13	135	3	42	193
	Hakfa plus	1	2	13	3	19
	<i>total</i>	21	152	18	51	242

Table 30. Observed number of ethnic categories "same" and "different" by language ability

obs.		<i>Ethnic id.</i>		
		same	different	<i>total</i>
<i>Lang ab.</i>	M-only	7	23	30
	M-Holoee	135	58	193
	Hakfa plus	13	6	19
	<i>total</i>	155	87	242

$\chi^2=24.67>5.99$ (df=2) *p<0.05

Table 31. Observed number of language ability categories "same" and "different" by ethnic identity

obs.		<i>Lnag ab.</i>		
		same	different	<i>total</i>
<i>Ethnic-id</i>	Mainlander	7	14	21
	Holo	135	17	152
	Hakka	13	5	18
	others	0	51	51
	<i>total</i>	155	87	242

$\chi^2=140.48>7.82$ (df=3) *p<0.05

Figure 25 indicates (1) Holo/Hakka people are interdependent with M-Holoee/Hakfa plus. (2) Mainlanders and M-only are not interdependent with each other. Figure 25 reveals that although Mandarin is highly used, people may still maintain their original ethnic identity. In Lu's survey, she also pointed out that "the relationship between ethnic identity

and language use in Taiwan was not one of cause-and-effect. Speaking Mandarin may be either due to an instrumental consideration or a conditioned language behavior. They do not have to change their ethnic identity." (1988: 99).

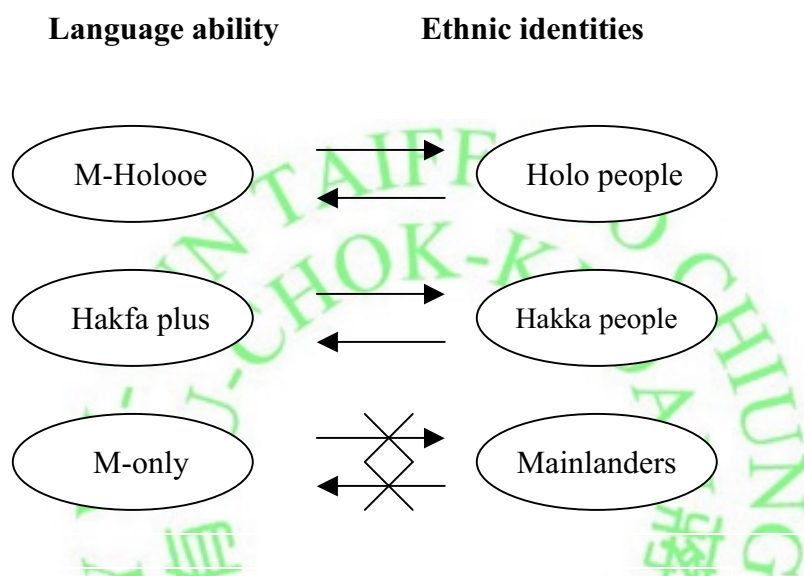


Figure 25. Relationship between ethnic identity and language ability in Taiwan.

Table 32, 33, and 34 show the data of mother tongue vs. language ability. Figure 26 illustrates the relationship between mother tongue and language ability.

Table 32. Observed number of each category by mother tongue and language ability characteristics

obs.		<i>Mother tongue</i>				<i>total</i>
		Mandarin	Holoee	Hakfa	others	
Lang ab.	M-only	15	12	0	3	30
	M-Holoee	41	137	2	13	193
	Hakfa plus	1	2	13	3	19
	<i>total</i>	57	151	15	19	242

Table 33. Observed number of mother tongue categories "same" and "different" by language ability

obs.		<i>Mtongue</i>		<i>total</i>
		same	different	
<i>Lang ab.</i>	M-only	15	15	30
	M-Holoee	137	56	193
	M-Hakfa	13	6	19
<i>total</i>		165	77	242

$\chi^2=5.27 < 5.99$ (df=2) $p > 0.05$

Table 34. Observed number of language ability categories "same" and "different" by mother tongue

obs.		<i>Lnag ab.</i>		<i>total</i>
		same	different	
<i>Mtongue</i>	Mandarin	15	42	57
	Holoee	137	14	151
	Hakfa	13	2	15
	others	0	19	19
<i>total</i>		165	77	242

$\chi^2=124.51 > 7.82$ (df=3) $*p < 0.05$

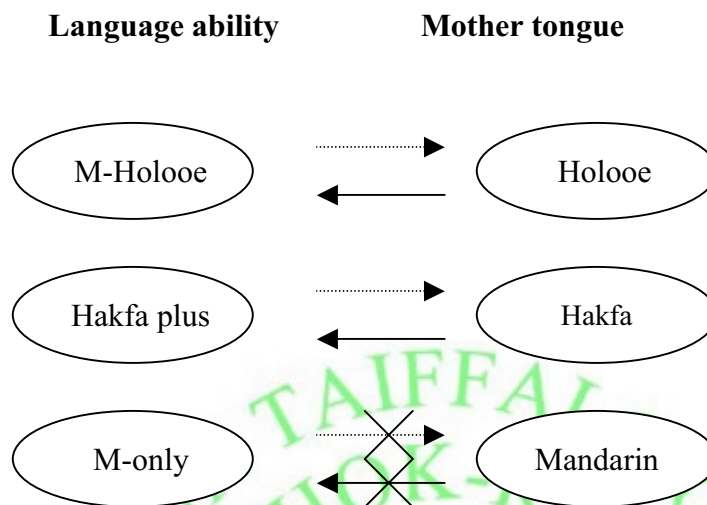


Figure 26. Relationship between mother tongue and language ability in Taiwan.

The dotted line in figure 26 means that the statistical p value was not substantially smaller than 0.05. Figure 26 indicates (1) people with Holoee/Hakfa as a mother tongue are more likely to possess M-Holoee/Hakfa plus ability. (2) People with Mandarin as a mother tongue do not necessarily possess Mandarin-only ability.

In summary, the chi-square tests reveal that only Holo people show substantially interdependent relationships among the three characteristics (i.e., ethnic identity, mother tongue, and language ability). Hakka people show partly interdependent relationships among the characteristics. As for Mainlanders, there is no interdependent relationship among the characteristics. The relationships among the three characteristics were illustrated in figures 27, 28, and 29.

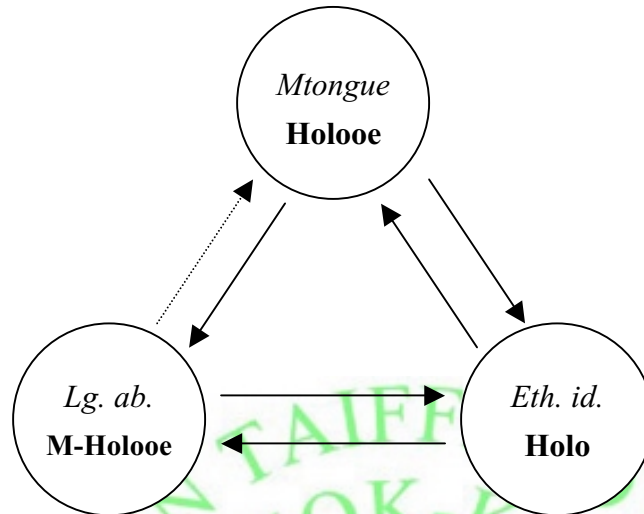


Figure 27. Relationships among Holoee speakers, M-Holoee ability, and Holo people.

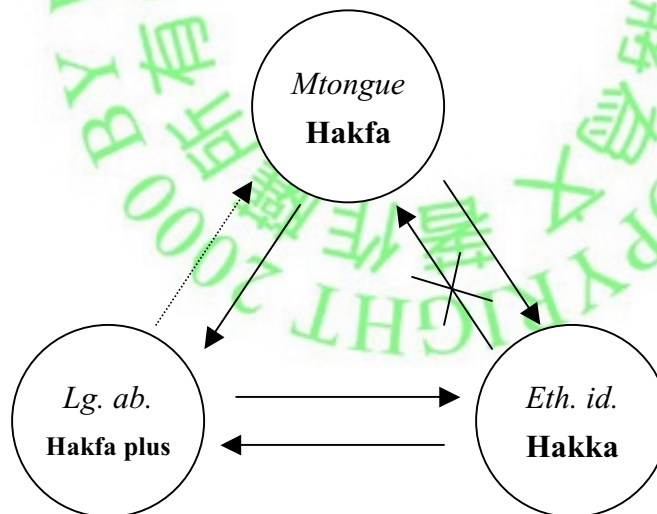


Figure 28. Relationships among Hakfa speakers, Hakfa plus ability, and Hakka people.

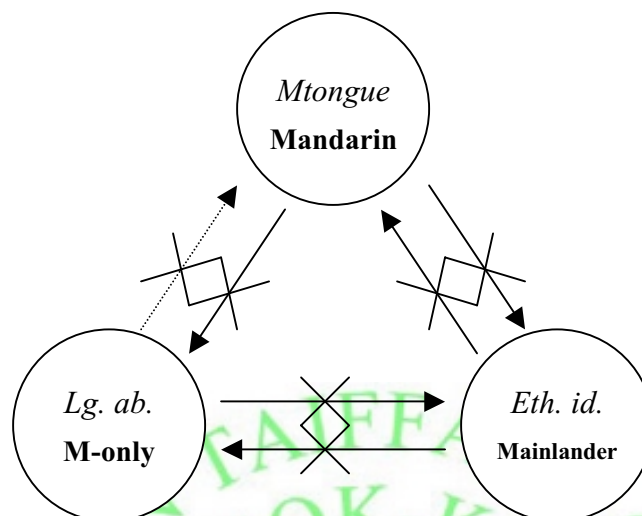


Figure 29. Relationships among Mandarin speakers, M-only ability, and Mainlanders.

5.3.2 Language, society, and politics

This section, I deal with subjects' responses to questions 15 to 54 (i.e., the final part of questionnaire), which consists of some self-reported information regarding subjects' general attitudes toward languages, language policy, vernacular education, political leaning, national identity, national status, and so forth. The ratings of the questions are based on a seven-point semantic differential scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). For detailed frequency of ratings on each question, please refer to appendix A. The main purpose of this topic is to find the underlying factors among the 40 questions, and then gain the ideas of how the items in a factor are intercorrelated. For instance, the survey reveals that item 26 (tend to support the native Democratic Progressive Party) could correlate to item 31 (to accept Lee Teng-hui's saying "KMT is a foreign regime"). In other words, if someone tends to support DPP, then s/he is more likely to accept Lee's saying. For this topic, the multivariate technique known as factor analysis was adopted by using SPSS program.

Table 35 indicates that 11 underlying factors (eigenvalues > 1) were extracted from the 40 questions. The factors explain 63.4 % of the total variance.

Table 35. Factors extracted from the 40 questions

Factor	Eigenvalues	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	7.65	19.10	19.10
2	3.42	8.50	27.60
3	2.49	6.20	33.80
4	2.18	5.50	39.30
5	1.87	4.70	44.00
6	1.55	3.90	47.90
7	1.40	3.50	51.40
8	1.32	3.30	54.70
9	1.28	3.20	57.90
10	1.12	2.80	60.70
11	1.06	2.60	63.40

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Table 36 is the results of factor loadings after Equamax rotated factor analysis. The Equamax rotated factor analysis was adopted because the results are easier to interpret and more suitable for my model. Factor 1 of table 36 primarily accounts for the question items 47, 48, 51, 36, 25, and 19, which were blocked together. Factor 2 accounts for items 22, 33, 27, and 29. The other items were also blocked together based on their factors as shown in the table.

Table 36. Factor loadings of the 40 questions

no.	Factor										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
47	-0.73	-0.10	0.03	0.29	-0.18	-0.17	-0.07	0.00	0.10	0.06	0.20
48	0.73	0.23	-0.03	-0.15	0.00	0.19	0.23	0.02	0.03	0.05	-0.14
51	-0.66	-0.02	0.02	0.36	0.20	0.11	0.14	0.17	0.14	-0.28	0.01
36	0.59	0.02	-0.01	0.05	0.02	0.26	-0.18	0.01	-0.16	0.22	0.22
25	0.53	0.18	-0.11	-0.27	-0.12	-0.04	-0.11	-0.16	0.24	0.25	-0.08
19	-0.48	0.05	0.01	0.45	0.08	0.15	0.22	0.23	0.04	-0.13	0.08
22	0.12	0.79	0.11	-0.05	0.01	0.11	-0.11	-0.19	-0.06	0.04	-0.03
33	0.06	0.68	0.01	-0.07	0.03	0.12	-0.03	-0.38	-0.16	0.03	-0.14
27	0.04	0.62	-0.18	-0.26	0.05	0.00	-0.08	-0.02	0.05	0.14	0.00
29	0.20	0.59	-0.33	-0.04	0.07	0.00	-0.24	0.15	-0.18	0.07	-0.06
18	-0.01	0.10	0.72	0.19	-0.01	0.01	-0.03	0.19	0.07	-0.06	0.00
41	0.00	-0.07	0.71	0.05	0.04	0.23	0.14	0.19	0.09	-0.03	0.11
30	0.06	-0.16	0.69	0.05	-0.08	0.08	0.24	0.01	0.10	-0.02	0.21
24	0.13	0.20	-0.67	0.02	-0.08	0.31	0.06	0.09	-0.22	0.08	0.01
52	-0.19	0.05	0.41	-0.06	-0.08	0.13	0.39	0.35	0.13	-0.01	-0.06
26	-0.11	-0.07	-0.01	0.78	0.06	-0.07	0.09	0.02	0.26	-0.12	0.01
20	0.23	0.21	-0.14	-0.66	0.20	0.16	-0.10	0.02	-0.04	0.19	0.03
31	-0.23	-0.13	0.31	0.54	-0.05	-0.01	0.18	0.00	-0.14	0.06	0.29
43	-0.06	0.03	0.06	0.01	0.87	-0.06	-0.02	0.02	-0.06	0.06	0.00
37	-0.02	-0.06	-0.07	0.03	0.83	-0.02	-0.04	-0.04	0.05	0.17	0.00
32	0.24	0.26	-0.01	-0.43	0.55	0.13	-0.03	-0.16	-0.12	0.19	0.06
40	-0.04	0.05	0.08	-0.09	-0.01	0.77	0.09	0.08	0.01	0.04	0.01
21	0.23	0.00	0.04	0.07	0.03	0.65	-0.15	-0.19	0.07	0.02	-0.10
39	0.09	0.23	-0.15	-0.21	-0.15	0.56	0.16	-0.37	0.07	0.02	0.08
38	0.03	-0.17	0.06	0.16	-0.02	0.03	0.61	0.20	0.18	-0.19	-0.01
44	0.13	-0.39	0.13	0.15	-0.16	0.00	0.57	0.16	0.11	-0.05	0.24
28	-0.02	0.18	-0.13	0.16	0.00	-0.37	0.56	-0.02	-0.09	0.26	0.20
53	-0.10	-0.16	0.18	0.01	0.05	0.26	0.42	0.26	0.18	-0.14	0.14
15	0.02	-0.10	0.04	0.09	-0.21	-0.20	0.12	0.59	0.06	-0.05	0.30
16	-0.05	-0.30	0.13	-0.17	-0.08	0.00	0.24	0.58	0.10	0.14	0.09
54	-0.08	-0.06	0.07	0.04	0.17	0.00	0.27	0.50	0.16	-0.30	0.44
34	0.02	0.09	0.13	0.14	0.32	-0.10	0.09	0.47	0.30	-0.27	0.24
45	-0.04	0.01	0.10	-0.04	0.03	-0.05	0.16	-0.02	0.72	-0.05	0.31
35	0.02	-0.01	0.03	0.24	-0.05	0.31	-0.12	0.25	0.61	0.10	-0.09
46	-0.05	-0.31	0.24	0.07	-0.14	0.09	0.36	0.13	0.56	-0.11	0.14

Table 36. --Continued.

50	0.11	-0.01	-0.01	0.05	0.11	0.01	0.08	-0.01	-0.03	0.78	-0.11
49	-0.04	0.10	-0.02	-0.20	0.27	0.00	-0.14	-0.02	0.09	0.67	0.06
42	0.34	0.06	-0.03	-0.29	0.00	0.18	-0.10	0.03	-0.28	0.41	0.08
23	-0.07	0.03	-0.03	-0.05	-0.01	0.01	0.02	0.07	0.03	-0.07	0.84
17	0.03	-0.12	0.17	0.09	0.06	-0.04	0.04	0.17	0.33	0.11	0.57

Equamax Rotated Factor Matrix.

How do we interpret the results of factor analysis? Factor loadings marked with the same mark, either in "-" or "+" (in real cases, they were marked without "-") means that they are positively correlated to each other; The marks "-" and "+" do not refer to any semantic "good" or "bad" meanings. That is, for instance, if one agrees/disagrees with the saying in question item 47, then s/he is more likely to agree/disagree with items 51 or 19. If someone agrees/disagrees with the saying in 48, then s/he is more likely to agree/disagree with 36 or 25. On the other hand, the loadings with different marks, "-" versus "+", meaning that they are negatively correlated to each other. That is, if someone agrees/disagrees with item 47 which is "-", then s/he is more likely to disagree/agrees with item 48, which is "+." In table 36, factor 1 primarily accounts for the questions 47, 48, 51, 36, 25, and 19. They are (items marked with * are "-" loadings):

- 47.* I think I am a Taiwanese, not a Chinese.
- 48. I think I am a Taiwanese as well as a Chinese.
- 51.* I think Taiwan must be independent, no matter what.
- 36. I think Taiwan should unify with China as soon as P. R. China becomes a democracy and has the same living level as Taiwan.
- 25. I think maintaining the current national status is our best choice.
- 19.* I agree that Taiwan should announce an independent national status as long as we can ensure it will be safe from China's attack.

Factor 1 reveals the fact that Taiwanese-only identity associates with Taiwan independence; Taiwanese-Chinese identity associates with maintaining the current national status and unification with P. R. China. Therefore, factor 1 could be referred to as the "**national identity**" dimension.

Factor 2 accounts for items 22, 33, 27, and 29. This factor could be referred to as the dimension of **language attitudes**. It reveals that negative attitudes towards Taiwanese languages could associate with opposition to vernacular education. Therefore, if someone agrees with item 22, then s/he is more likely to agree with items 33, 27, and 29. On the other hand, if someone disagrees with item 22, then s/he is more likely to disagree with the other items.

- 22. I feel that it's pretty vulgar to speak Taiwanese or Hakka.
- 33. I feel that the Taiwanese speaker is lower class.
- 27. Promoting vernacular will obstruct people's national identity and unity.
- 29. It's not necessary to promote vernacular education because the Taiwanese language is already popular now.

Factor 3 accounts for items 18, 41, 30, 24, and 52. This factor could be called an **orthography** dimension. If someone believes that any language must have a writing system, then s/he is more likely to support a standardization for Taiwanese. If someone has tried to write down spoken Taiwanese, then s/he is more likely to be aware of the need for Taiwanese standardization.

- 18. A language must have a writing system in order to survive in modern society.
- 41. There are some Taiwanese words without appropriate Han characters, so we should establish a standardization for the Taiwanese orthography.
- 30. Taiwanese, Hakka, or indigenous languages should develop their own writing systems in order to maintain and develop their language cultures.

- 24.* I think being able to "speak" Taiwanese or Hakfa is enough, it's not necessary to learn to "write" them.
52. I have tried to write down spoken Taiwanese or Hakka; however I didn't know how to write in that language.

Factor 4 explains items 26, 20, and 31. This could be called a dimension of "**Taiwanization**," which is usually called "*Pun-thou-hoa* (本土化)" by Taiwanese people since the rise of native political movement in 1980s. Generally, DPP is regarded as a native party. In contrast to DPP, the KMT is considered as a foreign party. Factor 4 reveals that if someone agrees with item 26, s/he is more likely to agree with item 31, and disagree with item 20.

26. I tend to support DPP (Democratic Progressive Party).
- 20.* I tend to support KMT
31. I agree with Lee Teng-hui's saying "KMT is a foreign regime."

Factor 5 accounts for items 43, 37, and 32. Factor 5 could be called the dimension of **political majority**. Currently, TAIP, GPT, and CNP are the minority parties compared to KMT and DPP. Therefore, if someone tends to support/abandon the political majority, then s/he is more likely to abandon/support the minority parties (i.e., TAIP, GPT, and CNP).

43. I tend to support TAIP (Taiwan Independence Party).
37. I tend to support GPT (Green Party Taiwan).
32. I tend to support CNP (Chinese New Party).

Factor 6 accounts for items 40, 21, and 39. This factor could be called a "**Guoyu (國語)**" dimension. The term "Guoyu" in Taiwan refers to "official language" and "national

language." Moreover, it's widely referred to as the high language in diglossia⁹⁴. Owing to the language policy of KMT, Mandarin is considered as the only high language in Taiwan. Factor 6 reveals that Guoyu policy could associate with mono-lingualism.

- 40. Promoting "Guoyu (common language)" can improve the relation and reduce conflicts between different ethnic groups.
- 21. A country should have an "united" language.
- 39. We should use Guoyu (National language) in public places.

Factor 7 accounts for items 38, 44, 28, and 53. Factor 7 could be called a dimension of **linguistic heritage**. If someone wishes her/his vernacular to be passed on to her/his children, then s/he is more likely to have a positive attitude toward vernacular education.

- 38. I hope my (future) wife/husband is able to speak Taiwanese or Hakfa.
- 44. I hope my children will be able to speak Taiwanese or Hakfa.
- 28. A country should not set up a "united" language by policy.
- 53. Promoting vernaculars can improve the ethnic relations and reduce conflicts between different ethnic groups.

Factor 8 accounts for items 15, 16, 54, and 34. This is the **multi-lingualism** dimension. It reveals that if someone has positive attitude toward Taiwanese languages, then s/he is more likely to accept multi-lingual policy.

- 15. I feel that speaking Taiwanese or Hakka is more friendly.
- 16. In addition to their mother tongues, everyone should learn at least one or more other ethnic languages, such as Mandarin, Taiwanese, Hakka, or indigenous languages.

⁹⁴ For the nothion of diglossia, see Fasold (1993: 34-60).

- 54. Mandarin is the only official language so far. I think we can also add Taiwanese or Hakka as official languages.
- 34. Taiwan should have more than two official languages.

Factor 9 accounts for 45, 35, and 46. This could be a dimension of **vernacular education**. Factor 9 reveals the phenomena that the notion of vernacular education of the 244 subjects is highly associated with teaching students their vernaculars, instead of using the vernacular as a "teaching language." Among the subjects, 150 agree with the notion of teaching vernacular in school; only 78 agree with the idea that vernaculars could be "teaching languages." In addition, vernacular education is also associated with the notion that everyone should be forced to learn at least two of the languages: Mandarin, Taiwanese, Hakfa, or indigenous languages.

- 45. Government should force everyone to learn at least any two of the following languages through the school education system: Mandarin, Taiwanese, Hakfa, or indigenous languages.
- 35. Vernacular education means that there are some hours to teach students their vernaculars in school.
- 46. We should have vernacular education in Taiwan.

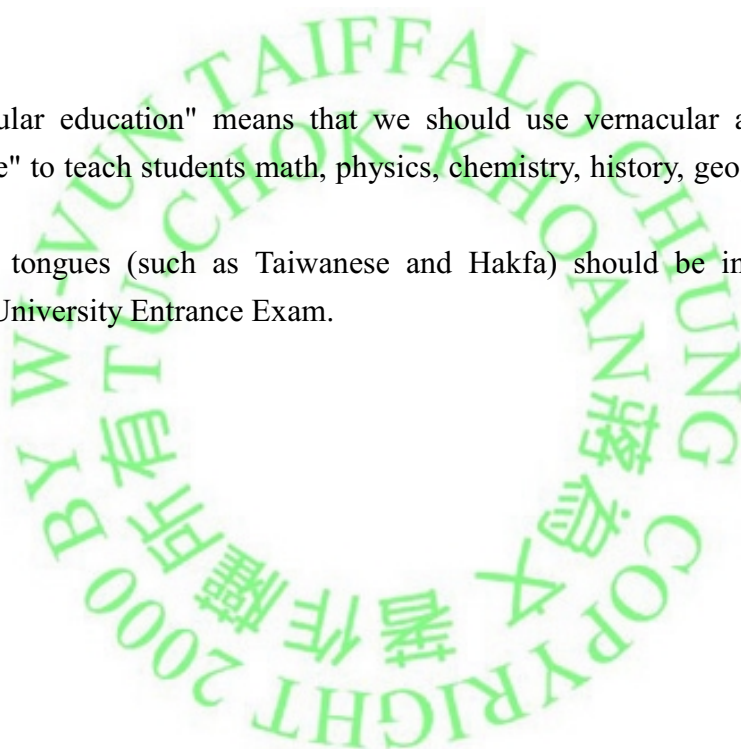
Factor 10 accounts for items 50, 49, and 42. This factor could be named a dimension of **Taiwanese identity**. The dimension indicates that if someone accepts Hau's saying, then s/he is more likely to identify herself/himself as a Chinese, not a Taiwanese. On the other hand, if someone oppose Hau's saying, then s/he is more likely to reject the Chinese-only identity.

- 50. It's not important to identify myself as a Taiwanese or a Chinese.
- 49. I think I am a Chinese, not a Taiwanese.

42. I agree with Hau Po-chhun's (a former general) saying "Our national army won't guard Taiwan's independence"

Factor 11 accounts for items 23 and 17. This could be a dimension of the **language of education**. It shows that if someone can accept vernaculars as "teaching language," then s/he is more likely to accept the vernaculars being included in the United University Entrance Exam.

23. "Vernacular education" means that we should use vernacular as a "teaching language" to teach students math, physics, chemistry, history, geography, and so forth.
17. Mother tongues (such as Taiwanese and Hakfa) should be included in the United University Entrance Exam.



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of the findings

The statistical results of this research reveal that the readers' (244 students from *Tamsui* and *Tamkang* Universities) overall attitudes toward written Taiwanese are positive. That is, with mean scores **5.15** $((C + D + E + F + G) / 5)$ or **4.50** $((A + B + C + D + E + F + G) / 7)$ based on a seven-point semantic differential scale. Also, the results reveal that the readers evaluated the prepared 7 reading samples significantly different (except E vs. F). The ranking of the reading scores is: (lowest) $B < A < D < EF < C < G$ (highest). This ranking reflects the preferences of the Mandarin and Han-characters educated college students with regard to the orthographies of written Taiwanese. The survey reveals that **Roman script** and **Bopomo** (ㄅ ㄆ ㄇ; National Phonetic Symbols for Mandarin in Taiwan) used in Taibun texts received more negative evaluations (lower scores) by the 244 readers; in other words, Roman script and Bopomo can reduce the readers' degree of acceptance; **Han characters** received the most positive evaluation. The survey indicates that readers will give higher ratings to those orthographies which are more "readable" to them. In other words, the ratings of seven reading samples are a reflection of readability to the 244 subjects. The readability could be affected by readers' language and orthography abilities. For detailed results and discussion, see section 5.1.

In addition to the orthography factor, the background of the readers could also affect their evaluations (see section 5.2). Based on the results of the investigations, there are 6 factors, which can affect readers' evaluations. There are: **place of residence** (Taipei vs. non-Taipei), **major** (Taiwanese and English vs. Mechanical Engineering vs. Chinese,

Japanese, and Public Administration), **mother tongue** (Taiwanese vs. non-Taiwanese), **language ability** (Taiwanese vs. non-Taiwanese or we could say non-Mandarin-only vs. Mandarin-only), the individual's evaluation of her/his **national identity** (Taiwanese vs. non-Taiwanese), and assertions on Taiwan's preferred **national status** (independence vs. non-independence). There are 3 factors, which do not affect readers' evaluations. They are: gender, age, and political leanings. "Taiwanese" mentioned in this paragraph includes Hakfa and/or Holo languages.

Further, based on the findings above, a prediction equation, the Taibun equation, which can predict the reading scores of particular reading samples evaluated by different readers, was formulated as follows:

$$Y' = 4.78 - 1.41 (\mathbf{A}) - 2.92 (\mathbf{B}) + 0.25 (\mathbf{C}) - 0.61 (\mathbf{D}) + 0.00 (\mathbf{EF}) + 1.00 (\mathbf{G}) \\ - 0.13 (\mathbf{Taipei}) + 0.18 (\mathbf{TB-EN}) - 0.23 (\mathbf{ME}) + 0.23 (\mathbf{NTL}) - 0.34 (\mathbf{M-only}) \\ + 0.15 (\mathbf{T-id}) + \mathbf{0.15 (TI)}$$

A, B, C, D, EF, G refer to the reading sample

Taipei: Taipei as the place of residence

TB-TN: major in Taiwanese or English

ME: major in Mechanical Engineering

NTL: native Taiwanese languages (i.e., Taiwanese or Hakfa) as mother tongues

M-only: monolingual in Mandarin

T-id: Taiwanese identity (i.e., Taiwanese-only, or Taiwanese-Chinese)

TI: assertion of Taiwan independence

All the independent variables must be encoded either 1 (yes) or 0 (no) when applied to this Taibun equation. The value of Y' is based on a seven-point semantic differential scale, from lowest 1 to highest 7.

Readers' reactions to the writers of written Taiwanese were also examined (see section 5.1.3). Generally speaking, readers didn't have any idea regarding the writers. However, if readers associated writers with particular expectations, Taibun writers were mostly regarded as male, with native political leanings, native religions, and native identity. In the dimension of **age**, readers didn't associate Taibun writers highly with any particular age group. In the **gender** dimension, 62% of the readers didn't assign a particular gender to the Taibun writers as a group, 31% assigned "male" to them, and 7% "female." In the dimension of **political leanings**, 63% of readers didn't associate the writers with particular parties, 24% associated them with DPP, 8% with KMT, 3% with TAIP, 2% with CNP, and 1% with GPT. In the **religion** dimension, 71% didn't think there was a connection between Taibun writers and religion. The others assigned Buddhism (10%), Taoism (11%), Christianity (5%), or Catholicity (2%) to the Taibun writers. In the dimension of **national identity**, 63% didn't associate the Taibun writers with any expected national identity. Of the rest of them, 20% associated the writers with independence, 13% with maintaining current status, and 4% with unification. Finally, the readers' understanding of the languages the Taibun writers are expressing was also tested. It reveals that language ability plays an important role on readers' understanding of Taibun writings. For instance, compared to other speakers, Hakka speakers were more likely to tell reading D (written in Hakfa) from other readings (in Holo Taiwanese).

In section 5.3.1, the results of chi-square tests reveal the relationships among three characteristics: ethnic identity, mother tongue, and language ability. The results of tests between ethnic identity and mother tongue show that: (1) the relationship between Holo people and Holo speaker is interdependent. (2) Even though a person identifies herself/himself as ethnic Hakka, s/he may not regard Hakfa as her/his mother tongue. (3) Mandarin speakers may not identify themselves as Mainlanders. The results of tests

between ethnic identity and language ability show that: (1) Holo/Hakka people are interdependent with M-Holo/Hakfa-plus speakers. (2) Mainlanders and M-only speakers are not interdependent with each other. The results of tests between mother tongue and language ability show that: (1) people with Holo/Hakfa as a mother tongue are more likely to possess M-Holo/Hakfa-plus ability. (2) People with Mandarin as a mother tongue do not necessarily possess Mandarin-only ability.

In section 5.3.2, the results of factor analysis on the 40 questions (items 15-54 in the questionnaire) indicate that 11 factors were extracted. They are the dimensions: (1) national identity, (2) language attitudes, (3) orthography, (4) Taiwanization (本土化), (5) political majority, (6) *Guoyu* (國語), (7) linguistic heritage, (8) multi-lingualism, (9) vernacular education, (10) Taiwanese identity, and (11) language of education.

6.2 Conclusion

There are three fundamental writing schemes of *Taibun* in the contemporary issues of written Taiwanese. They are Han character-only, Han-Roman mixed, and Roman script-only. The results of the investigation reveal that the college students surveyed have positive attitudes toward overall *Taibun* (regardless of different orthography). As for which orthography is preferred, the results reveal that the college students tend to prefer Han-only more than Han-Roman and Roman-only. The results reflect the preferences of the Mandarin and Han character-educated college students with regard to the written Taiwanese. Since all students in Taiwan have been taught the Mandarin and Han characters through the national education system since 1945, it implies the potential difficulty of promoting Roman script in the Han character dominated society.

Usually, many factors are involved in the choice and shift of orthography. From the perspective of social demand, the factor that the increasing⁹⁵ use of spoken and written Mandarin by Taiwanese people has reduced the demand for a new orthography. In other words, people may not feel the necessity of learning a new orthographic tool since they have already acquired writing skill in modern standard Chinese. Even so, the readers' positive attitudes toward Taibun indicate that it is still possible for Taibun to be accepted in addition to the existed Mandarin writing. Thus, what findings of the survey may contribute to the promotion of Taibun? According to the results of the survey, there are seven factors that could affect readers' evaluations on Taibun. They are orthographic design, place of residence, major, mother tongue, language ability, national identity, and national status. Since place of residence and school major are not controllable factors (because there always have been people living in different places and with different majors), a Taibun promoter may pay attention to the other factors, which can be divided into three domains:

(1) Orthographic domain, which refer to the designs of orthography. Usually, good orthographic designs do not absolutely guarantee that they will be accepted by public. On the other hand, the acceptance of orthographies by people does not necessarily mean that the orthographies were well designed. In this survey, although Roman script was rated lower than Han character, the economy and easy learning of Roman script make Romanization still worth consideration. The fact that most of the current Taibun publications are published in the Han-Roman mixed scheme instead of Han-only, points out that readers may tend to prefer Roman script after they are skilled in Taiwanese Romanization. In other words, if the current *Bopomo*, which is taught through the national education system in Taiwan, can be replaced by Romanization, the circumstance of using Romanization will increase the possibility of promoting Romanized Taibun. The Roman

⁹⁵ See chapter 3 for references of language use and shift in Taiwan.

script might be in competition with Han character, or even replace Han character if Romanization is taught with Han character at the same time when students enter elementary school.

(2) Language domain, which includes the factors of mother tongue and language ability. The survey reveals that people who are able to speak native Taiwanese languages are more likely to give higher ratings to Taibun. This fact points out that the promotion of Taibun should focus on the particular groups who frequently use or are able to use Holo or Hakfa. Moreover, Taibun should be promoted to Taiwanese public as soon as possible, before people entirely shift to monolingual Mandarin Chinese.

(3) Political domain, which covers the factors of national identity and national status. Usually, political transitions can affect the language situation. In the case of Taiwan, the current ambiguous national status and diversity of national identity reflect people's uncertain determinations on the issue of written Taiwanese. On the other hand, people's uncertain determinations on the Taibun issue also reflect the political controversy on national issues of Taiwan. Although Taiwan is still under the rule of the KMT, there are still some chances that Taibun could be adopted as an official written language under some conditions. For instance, if the government is dominated by a native political party (and if the members of the native party have a strong will to promote Taibun), then Taibun could become an official written language in Taiwan.

In short, whether or not Taibun will be accepted and successfully promoted to a national status highly depends on people's orthography demands and their attitudes toward written Taiwanese. Moreover, their language ability and national identity also will play an important role while they are making the determinations.

6.3 Recommendations for further studies

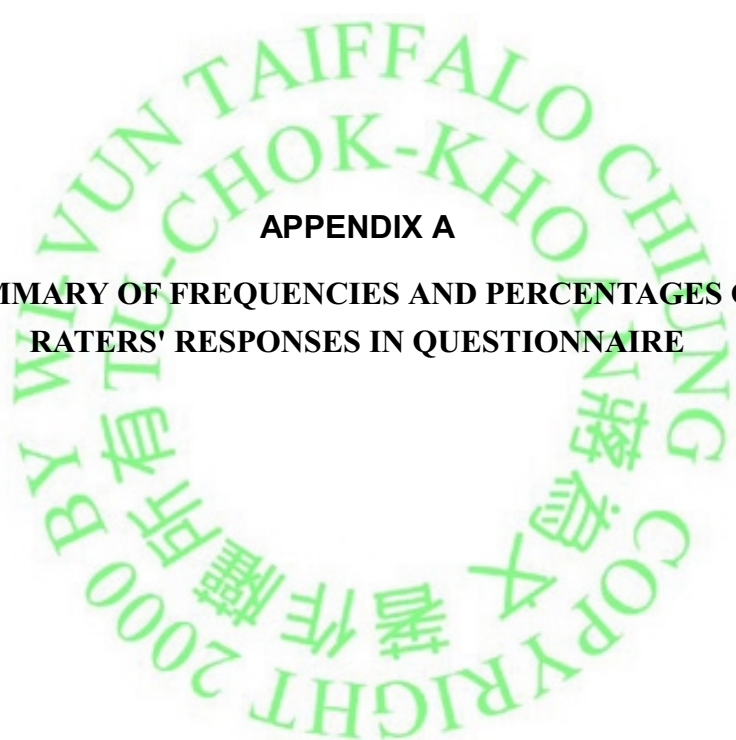
While this thesis has uncovered many of the factors determining Taiwanese readers' reactions to various orthographies, it should be look upon as preliminary. Subsequent research is necessary to test the conclusions drawn here. There are three primary concerns that need to be addressed:

Because of the limits of time and cost, the investigations on attitudes toward written Taiwanese of this thesis focus on college students. Some factors such as educational level and social class were excluded from the study. Therefore, those factors may be considered in further studies.

The original purpose of the study was to predict readers' reactions to Taibun articles occurring in newspapers or magazines. Therefore, ability in Taibun writing is not required for the readers in the test. Other research may be proposed to survey the people who are skilled in Romanization, such as the Church people who are able to use the traditional Romanized *Peh-oe-ji*, and Taibun writers who publish Taibun works. They might have different preferences from the readers in this study.

In this study, readings mostly or partly in Roman scripts were more negatively evaluated by the readers. One of the factors might be that their reading efficiencies were reduced because of the fact that most of the readers were not skilled in Taiwanese Romanization. Therefore, it might be interesting to consider how different orthographies affect readers' reading efficiency. For instance, how long does it take for readers to go through paragraphs in Han-only, and in Roman-only? What proportion of Han characters to Roman scripts results in the best reading efficiency?

APPENDIX A
SUMMARY OF FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF
RATERS' RESPONSES IN QUESTIONNAIRE



Summary of frequencies and percentages of responses on reading questions

Q1: How do you feel about this reading? Friendly - unfriendly

	7		6		5		4		3		2		1		SUM	%	MEAN
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%			
A	3	1.23	32	13.11	95	38.93	19	7.79	47	19.26	26	10.66	22	9.02	244	100.00	4.01
B	0	0.00	1	0.41	6	2.46	39	15.98	20	8.20	56	22.95	122	50.00	244	100.00	1.99
C	27	11.07	102	41.80	87	35.66	8	3.28	11	4.51	7	2.87	2	0.82	244	100.00	5.40
D	7	2.87	42	17.21	106	43.44	33	13.52	32	13.11	15	6.15	9	3.69	244	100.00	4.50
E	24	9.84	77	31.56	100	40.98	19	7.79	15	6.15	6	2.46	3	1.23	244	100.00	5.19
F	14	5.74	54	22.13	122	50.00	24	9.84	15	6.15	13	5.33	2	0.82	244	100.00	4.92
G	91	37.30	103	42.21	44	18.03	4	1.64	0	0.00	1	0.41	1	0.41	244	100.00	6.12

Q2: What percentage of this reading do you understand? 100% - 0%

	7		6		5		4		3		2		1		SUM	%	MEAN
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%			
A	1	0.41	18	7.38	47	19.26	71	29.10	55	22.54	37	15.16	15	6.15	244	100.00	3.64
B	1	0.41	1	0.41	2	0.82	2	0.82	11	4.51	30	12.30	197	80.74	244	100.00	1.32
C	53	21.72	102	41.80	51	20.90	23	9.43	7	2.87	8	3.28	0	0.00	244	100.00	5.60
D	7	2.87	61	25.00	72	29.51	60	24.59	20	8.20	18	7.38	6	2.46	244	100.00	4.58
E	44	18.03	84	34.43	62	25.41	28	11.48	16	6.56	7	2.87	3	1.23	244	100.00	5.32
F	72	29.51	99	40.57	42	17.21	18	7.38	4	1.64	5	2.05	4	1.64	244	100.00	5.76
G	157	64.34	62	25.41	16	6.56	7	2.87	0	0.00	2	0.82	0	0.00	244	100.00	6.49

Q3: Do you feel this reading is easy to read? easy - difficult

	7		6		5		4		3		2		1		SUM	%	MEAN
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%			
A	0	0.00	1	0.41	43	17.62	2	0.82	124	50.82	50	20.49	24	9.84	244	100.00	2.97
B	0	0.00	1	0.41	2	0.82	5	2.05	18	7.38	62	25.41	156	63.93	244	100.00	1.52
C	19	7.79	72	29.51	121	49.59	2	0.82	25	10.25	3	1.23	2	0.82	244	100.00	5.17
D	1	0.41	21	8.61	130	53.28	7	2.87	65	26.64	10	4.10	10	4.10	244	100.00	4.25
E	11	4.51	57	23.36	114	46.72	9	3.69	46	18.85	7	2.87	0	0.00	244	100.00	4.82
F	40	16.39	69	28.28	99	40.57	15	6.15	16	6.56	3	1.23	2	0.82	244	100.00	5.35
G	103	42.21	92	37.70	40	16.39	6	2.46	2	0.82	1	0.41	0	0.00	244	100.00	6.17

Q4: Do you feel you like this reading? like - dislike

	7		6		5		4		3		2		1		SUM	%	MEAN
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%			
A	0	0.00	12	4.92	56	22.95	9	3.69	71	29.10	71	29.10	25	10.25	244	100.00	3.15
B	0	0.00	0	0.00	13	5.33	24	9.84	28	11.48	84	34.43	95	38.93	244	100.00	2.08
C	18	7.38	59	24.18	123	50.41	16	6.56	17	6.97	10	4.10	1	0.41	244	100.00	5.05
D	3	1.23	22	9.02	104	42.62	38	15.57	55	22.54	18	7.38	4	1.64	244	100.00	4.22
E	8	3.28	45	18.44	117	47.95	21	8.61	36	14.75	14	5.74	3	1.23	244	100.00	4.65
F	12	4.92	37	15.16	111	45.49	43	17.62	21	8.61	17	6.97	3	1.23	244	100.00	4.64
G	64	26.23	88	36.07	77	31.56	12	4.92	0	0.00	3	1.23	0	0.00	244	100.00	5.80

Q5: What's your feeling about the writing style in this reading? interesting - boring

	7		6		5		4		3		2		1		SUM	%	MEAN
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%			
A	4	1.64	28	11.48	72	29.51	78	31.97	38	15.57	12	4.92	12	4.92	244	100.00	4.17
B	1	0.41	3	1.23	11	4.51	123	50.41	34	13.93	21	8.61	51	20.90	244	100.00	3.14
C	19	7.79	49	20.08	103	42.21	57	23.36	10	4.10	4	1.64	2	0.82	244	100.00	4.96
D	4	1.64	19	7.79	81	33.20	99	40.57	30	12.30	6	2.46	5	2.05	244	100.00	4.30
E	10	4.10	47	19.26	88	36.07	80	32.79	10	4.10	6	2.46	3	1.23	244	100.00	4.74
F	4	1.64	28	11.48	57	23.36	119	48.77	29	11.89	3	1.23	4	1.64	244	100.00	4.32
G	47	19.26	80	32.79	73	29.92	41	16.80	2	0.82	1	0.41	0	0.00	244	100.00	5.52

Q6: Do you think this kind of writing expresses author's idea very well?

	7		6		5		4		3		2		1		SUM	%	MEAN
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%			
A	5	2.05	42	17.21	57	23.36	11	4.51	74	30.33	42	17.21	13	5.33	244	100.00	3.83
B	3	1.23	11	4.51	11	4.51	47	19.26	33	13.52	68	27.87	71	29.10	244	100.00	2.61
C	30	12.30	129	52.87	51	20.90	8	3.28	18	7.38	8	3.28	0	0.00	244	100.00	5.50
D	6	2.46	72	29.51	83	34.02	20	8.20	46	18.85	9	3.69	8	3.28	244	100.00	4.64
E	16	6.56	98	40.16	84	34.43	13	5.33	21	8.61	11	4.51	1	0.41	244	100.00	5.16
F	32	13.11	97	39.75	76	31.15	26	10.66	11	4.51	1	0.41	1	0.41	244	100.00	5.43
G	76	31.15	123	50.41	32	13.11	9	3.69	2	0.82	2	0.82	0	0.00	244	100.00	6.05

Q7: How old would you think the author is?

	above 60		59-50		49-40		39-30		29-20		19-10		uncertain		SUM	%
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%		
A	20	8.20	22	9.02	47	19.26	34	13.93	57	23.36	14	5.74	50	20.49	244	100.00
B	13	5.33	13	5.33	24	9.84	43	17.62	44	18.03	9	3.69	98	40.16	244	100.00
C	12	4.94	40	16.46	62	25.51	58	23.87	19	7.82	4	1.65	48	19.75	243	100.00
D	11	4.55	15	6.20	51	21.07	66	27.27	40	16.53	2	0.83	57	23.55	242	100.00
E	10	4.12	31	12.76	45	18.52	37	15.23	35	14.40	28	11.52	57	23.46	243	100.00
F	5	2.05	16	6.56	34	13.93	68	27.87	54	22.13	7	2.87	60	24.59	244	100.00
G	7	2.87	24	9.84	46	18.85	57	23.36	28	11.48	16	6.56	66	27.05	244	100.00

Q8: What gender do you think the author might be?

	male		female		not related		uncertain		SUM	%
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%		
A	106	43.44	10	4.10	110	45.08	18	7.38	244	100.00
B	61	25.00	7	2.87	98	40.16	78	31.97	244	100.00

C	104	42.62	9	3.69	95	38.93	36	14.75							244	100.00
D	55	22.54	33	13.52	111	45.49	45	18.44							244	100.00
E	62	25.41	22	9.02	108	44.26	52	21.31							244	100.00
F	79	32.38	13	5.33	99	40.57	53	21.72							244	100.00
G	62	25.51	25	10.29	109	44.86	47	19.34							243	100.00

Q9: What political parties do you feel the author might support?

	KMT		DPP		CNP		GPT		TAIP		not related		uncertain		SUM	%
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%		
A	17	7.00	101	41.56	2	0.82	1	0.41	18	7.41	76	31.28	28	11.52	243	100.00
B	13	5.35	18	7.41	6	2.47	1	0.41	9	3.70	89	36.63	107	44.03	243	100.00
C	14	5.74	95	38.93	3	1.23	0	0.00	9	3.69	91	37.30	32	13.11	244	100.00
D	19	7.79	44	18.03	7	2.87	3	1.23	4	1.64	111	45.49	56	22.95	244	100.00
E	25	10.25	47	19.26	4	1.64	3	1.23	3	1.23	107	43.85	55	22.54	244	100.00
F	25	10.29	38	15.64	8	3.29	4	1.65	6	2.47	96	39.51	66	27.16	243	100.00
G	15	6.15	62	25.41	2	0.82	2	0.82	7	2.87	110	45.08	46	18.85	244	100.00

Q10: What religion do you feel the author might be?

	Buddhism		Taoism		Christianity		Catholicity		others		not related		uncertain		SUM	%
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%		
A	29	12.03	38	15.77	14	5.81	3	1.24	4	1.66	111	46.06	42	17.43	241	100.00
B	5	2.05	7	2.87	26	10.66	19	7.79	1	0.41	85	34.84	101	41.39	244	100.00
C	36	14.88	42	17.36	5	2.07	1	0.41	2	0.83	108	44.63	48	19.83	242	100.00
D	17	7.00	26	10.70	16	6.58	6	2.47	3	1.23	119	48.97	56	23.05	243	100.00
E	30	12.35	24	9.88	5	2.06	1	0.41	1	0.41	118	48.56	64	26.34	243	100.00
F	14	5.74	15	6.15	16	6.56	3	1.23	2	0.82	120	49.18	74	30.33	244	100.00
G	32	13.17	33	13.58	3	1.23	1	0.41	1	0.41	120	49.38	53	21.81	243	100.00

Q11: What do you think is the author's opinion on national status?

	unif.		ind.		current		not related		uncertain		SUM	%
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%		
A	9	3.69	92	37.70	28	11.48	78	31.97	37	15.16	244	100.00
B	8	3.28	38	15.57	11	4.51	78	31.97	109	44.67	244	100.00
C	9	3.70	65	26.75	38	15.64	78	32.10	53	21.81	243	100.00
D	7	2.88	34	13.99	35	14.40	102	41.98	65	26.75	243	100.00
E	11	4.51	31	12.70	39	15.98	90	36.89	73	29.92	244	100.00
F	14	5.74	37	15.16	33	13.52	85	34.84	75	30.74	244	100.00
G	7	2.87	45	18.44	40	16.39	94	38.52	58	23.77	244	100.00

Q12: What language do you feel the author might be trying to express in this reading?

	Mandarin		Taiwanese		Hakka		Aboriginal		Japanese		French, Spanish		uncertain		SUM	%
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%		
A	0	0.00	220	90.16	1	0.41	6	2.46	2	0.82	2	0.82	13	5.33	244	100.00
B	1	0.41	42	17.21	14	5.74	24	9.84	7	2.87	51	20.90	105	43.03	244	100.00
C	2	0.82	227	93.03	7	2.87	1	0.41	0	0.00	1	0.41	6	2.46	244	100.00
D	12	4.94	117	48.15	73	30.04	3	1.23	3	1.23	1	0.41	34	13.99	243	100.00
E	7	2.88	216	88.89	4	1.65	3	1.23	0	0.00	3	1.23	10	4.12	243	100.00
F	31	12.97	181	75.73	4	1.67	2	0.84	0	0.00	1	0.42	20	8.37	239	100.00
G	9	3.72	225	92.98	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.83	6	2.48	242	100.00

Summary of frequencies and percentages of raters' backgrounds on items 1-14

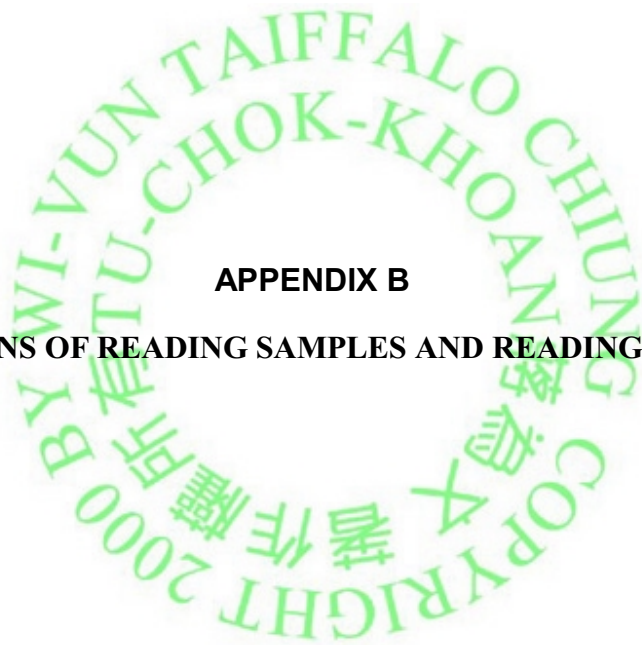
1	Male	Female												SUM	%	
	no.	%	no.	%												
	87	35.66	157	64.34											244	100.00
2	Other ages	23		22		21		20		19		18		SUM	%	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	244	100.00
	15	6.15	12	4.92	21	8.61	31	12.70	54	22.13	67	27.46	44	18.03	244	100.00
3	Other majors	Admin.		Mechanical		Japanese		Chinese		English		Taiwanese		SUM	%	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	244	100.00
	14	5.74	46	18.85	34	13.93	21	8.61	52	21.31	37	15.16	40	16.39	244	100.00
4	Other classes	Politics		Electrics		Japanese		Chinese		English		Taiwanese		SUM	%	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	244	100.00
	2	0.82	56	22.95	34	13.93	21	8.61	52	21.31	36	14.75	43	17.62	244	100.00
5	Other places	Taipei												SUM	%	
	no.	%	no.	%												
	106	43.44	138	56.56											244	100.00
6	Ethnic identity:	Others		M		Holo		Hakka		Aborigines		uncertain		SUM	%	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	244	100.00
	8	3.28	21	8.61	153	62.70	18	7.38	2	0.82	42	17.21	244	100.00		
7	Mother tongue:	others		M		T		Hakka		Aborigines		uncertain		SUM	%	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	244	100.00
	10	4.10	58	23.77	152	62.30	15	6.15	2	0.82	7	2.87	244	100.00		
8	Fluent language:	others		M		T		Hakka		Aborigines		uncertain		SUM	%	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	244	100.00
	10	4.10	220	90.16	10	4.10	1	0.41	0	0.00	3	1.23	244	100.00		
9	language before sch	others		M		T		Hakka		Aborigines		uncertain		SUM	%	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	244	100.00

		5	2.05	88	36.07	129	52.87	13	5.33	0	0.00	9	3.69	244	100.00
10	often used:	others		M		T		Hakka		Aborigines		uncertain			
		no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	SUM	%
		7	2.87	218	89.34	17	6.97	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.82	244	100.00
11	father uses often:	others		M		T		Hakka		Aborigines		uncertain			
		no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	SUM	%
		11	4.51	77	31.56	142	58.20	10	4.10	0	0.00	4	1.64	244	100.00
12	mother uses often:	others		M		T		Hakka		Aborigines		uncertain			
		no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	SUM	%
		14	5.74	80	32.79	138	56.56	8	3.28	0	0.00	4	1.64	244	100.00
13	Language usages:	not applicable		always		often		sometimes		seldom		never			
	Mandarin	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	SUM	%
13,1,1	grandpa	123	50.41	21	8.61	4	1.64	14	5.74	30	12.30	52	21.31	244	100.00
13,1,2	grandma	114	46.72	18	7.38	8	3.28	13	5.33	32	13.11	59	24.18	244	100.00
13,1,3	father	35	14.34	72	29.51	60	24.59	51	20.90	19	7.79	7	2.87	244	100.00
13,1,4	mother	32	13.11	72	29.51	65	26.64	53	21.72	16	6.56	6	2.46	244	100.00
13,1,5	brothers	62	25.41	92	37.70	57	23.36	24	9.84	4	1.64	5	2.05	244	100.00
13,1,6	sisters	72	29.51	93	38.11	51	20.90	21	8.61	2	0.82	5	2.05	244	100.00
13,1,7	male fri.	23	9.43	129	52.87	71	29.10	11	4.51	4	1.64	6	2.46	244	100.00
13,1,8	female fri.	19	7.79	139	56.97	70	28.69	7	2.87	3	1.23	6	2.46	244	100.00
13,1,9	signif.	193	79.10	37	15.16	13	5.33	1	0.41	0	0.00	0	0.00	244	100.00
	Taiwanese	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	SUM	%
13,2,1	grandpa	72	29.51	128	52.46	19	7.79	5	2.05	3	1.23	17	6.97	244	100.00
13,2,2	grandma	48	19.67	150	61.48	19	7.79	5	2.05	5	2.05	17	6.97	244	100.00
13,2,3	father	38	15.57	31	12.70	67	27.46	70	28.69	23	9.43	15	6.15	244	100.00
13,2,4	mother	40	16.39	29	11.89	64	26.23	72	29.51	24	9.84	15	6.15	244	100.00
13,2,5	brothers	84	34.43	11	4.51	37	15.16	50	20.49	40	16.39	22	9.02	244	100.00
13,2,6	sisters	98	40.16	7	2.87	34	13.93	47	19.26	41	16.80	17	6.97	244	100.00
13,2,7	male fri.	57	23.36	6	2.46	27	11.07	73	29.92	55	22.54	26	10.66	244	100.00
13,2,8	female fri.	61	25.00	4	1.64	17	6.97	73	29.92	63	25.82	26	10.66	244	100.00
13,2,9	signif.	203	83.20	0	0.00	4	1.64	13	5.33	14	5.74	10	4.10	244	100.00
	Hakka	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	SUM	%
13,3,1	grandpa	179	73.36	7	2.87	3	1.23	4	1.64	4	1.64	47	19.26	244	100.00
13,3,2	grandma	171	70.08	6	2.46	5	2.05	6	2.46	4	1.64	52	21.31	244	100.00
13,3,3	father	169	69.26	3	1.23	4	1.64	5	2.05	10	4.10	53	21.72	244	100.00
13,3,4	mother	169	69.26	1	0.41	4	1.64	6	2.46	7	2.87	57	23.36	244	100.00
13,3,5	brothers	179	73.36	0	0.00	4	1.64	1	0.41	5	2.05	55	22.54	244	100.00
13,3,6	sisters	182	74.59	0	0.00	4	1.64	1	0.41	5	2.05	52	21.31	244	100.00
13,3,7	male fri.	170	69.67	0	0.00	2	0.82	1	0.41	4	1.64	67	27.46	244	100.00
13,3,8	female fri.	171	70.08	0	0.00	2	0.82	0	0.00	4	1.64	67	27.46	244	100.00
13,3,9	signif.	224	91.80	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.41	19	7.79	244	100.00
	Others	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	SUM	%
13,4,1		233	95.49	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.82	1	0.41	8	3.28	244	100.00
13,4,2		229	93.85	0	0.00	2	0.82	4	1.64	0	0.00	9	3.69	244	100.00
13,4,3		233	95.49	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.82	3	1.23	6	2.46	244	100.00
13,4,4		233	95.49	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.82	4	1.64	5	2.05	244	100.00
13,4,5		232	95.08	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	2.87	2	0.82	3	1.23	244	100.00
13,4,6		234	95.90	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	1.64	2	0.82	4	1.64	244	100.00
13,4,7		231	94.67	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	2.87	2	0.82	4	1.64	244	100.00
13,4,8		230	94.26	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	2.46	4	1.64	4	1.64	244	100.00
13,4,9		242	99.18	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.41	0	0.00	1	0.41	244	100.00
14	Language ability:			5		4		3		2		1			
	Listening	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	SUM	%
14,1	Mandarin	211	86.48	29	11.89	3	1.23	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	244	100.00
14,2	Taiwanese	47	19.34	112	46.09	68	27.98	16	6.58	0	0.00	0	0.00	243	100.00
14,3	Hakka	1	0.41	7	2.90	14	5.81	59	24.48	160	66.39	241	100.00	1.46	
14,4	English	2	0.82	23	9.47	136	55.97	78	32.10	4	1.65	243	100.00	2.76	
	Speaking	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	SUM	%
14,5	Mandarin	203	83.88	35	14.46	4	1.65	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.83	242	100.00
14,6	Taiwanese	28	11.57	80	33.06	95	39.26	37	15.29	2	0.83	242	100.00	3.39	
14,7	Hakka	1	0.42	6	2.50	12	5.00	37	15.42	184	76.67	240	100.00	1.35	
14,8	English	2	0.83	21	8.68	121	50.00	92	38.02	6	2.48	242	100.00	2.67	

Summary of frequencies and percentages of raters' self-reports on items 15-54

	(agree) 7		6		5		N		3		2		1 (disagree)		SUM	%	MEAN
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%			
15	42	17.43	80	33.20	34	14.11	59	24.48	11	4.56	10	4.15	5	2.07	241	100.00	5.14
16	116	48.13	88	36.51	18	7.47	16	6.64	1	0.41	2	0.83	0	0.00	241	100.00	6.23
17	11	4.58	24	10.00	20	8.33	87	36.25	41	17.08	31	12.92	26	10.83	240	100.00	3.67
18	49	20.50	60	25.10	43	17.99	51	21.34	18	7.53	10	4.18	8	3.35	239	100.00	5.04
19	47	19.58	42	17.50	24	10.00	64	26.67	22	9.17	20	8.33	21	8.75	240	100.00	4.52
20	3	1.24	10	4.15	21	8.71	99	41.08	20	8.30	28	11.62	60	24.90	241	100.00	3.15
21	77	31.95	64	26.56	27	11.20	34	14.11	12	4.98	19	7.88	8	3.32	241	100.00	5.29
22	2	0.83	7	2.90	19	7.88	22	9.13	39	16.18	58	24.07	94	39.00	241	100.00	2.35
23	22	9.17	23	9.58	33	13.75	79	32.92	40	16.67	29	12.08	14	5.83	240	100.00	4.02
24	12	5.00	30	12.50	42	17.50	60	25.00	58	24.17	18	7.50	20	8.33	240	100.00	3.93

25	32	13.33	31	12.92	39	16.25	80	33.33	30	12.50	11	4.58	17	7.08	240	100.00	4.39
26	29	12.08	33	13.75	28	11.67	104	43.33	16	6.67	16	6.67	14	5.83	240	100.00	4.38
27	2	0.84	6	2.51	18	7.53	41	17.15	53	22.18	60	25.10	59	24.69	239	100.00	2.69
28	37	15.35	35	14.52	53	21.99	46	19.09	46	19.09	18	7.47	6	2.49	241	100.00	4.56
29	2	0.83	4	1.66	12	4.98	44	18.26	78	32.37	62	25.73	39	16.18	241	100.00	2.78
30	44	18.41	71	29.71	63	26.36	50	20.92	9	3.77	1	0.42	1	0.42	239	100.00	5.35
31	40	16.60	28	11.62	21	8.71	93	38.59	21	8.71	23	9.54	15	6.22	241	100.00	4.35
32	3	1.24	2	0.83	10	4.15	101	41.91	17	7.05	31	12.86	77	31.95	241	100.00	2.81
33	0	0.00	4	1.66	16	6.64	26	10.79	34	14.11	61	25.31	100	41.49	241	100.00	2.21
34	22	9.13	36	14.94	46	19.09	84	34.85	23	9.54	23	9.54	7	2.90	241	100.00	4.39
35	28	11.62	53	21.99	69	28.63	45	18.67	19	7.88	14	5.81	13	5.39	241	100.00	4.72
36	21	8.90	18	7.63	33	13.98	63	26.69	35	14.83	28	11.86	38	16.10	236	100.00	3.69
37	4	1.69	3	1.27	11	4.64	119	50.21	18	7.59	27	11.39	55	23.21	237	100.00	3.12
38	33	13.92	44	18.57	54	22.78	95	40.08	5	2.11	4	1.69	2	0.84	237	100.00	4.94
39	22	9.36	39	16.60	34	14.47	78	33.19	31	13.19	16	6.81	15	6.38	235	100.00	4.30
40	36	15.25	43	18.22	70	29.66	54	22.88	20	8.47	7	2.97	6	2.54	236	100.00	4.90
41	30	12.66	55	23.21	67	28.27	64	27.00	10	4.22	7	2.95	4	1.69	237	100.00	4.97
42	10	4.22	13	5.49	11	4.64	96	40.51	25	10.55	28	11.81	54	22.78	237	100.00	3.26
43	4	1.69	1	0.42	8	3.38	114	48.10	18	7.59	36	15.19	56	23.63	237	100.00	3.00
44	68	28.81	81	34.32	57	24.15	23	9.75	4	1.69	2	0.85	1	0.42	236	100.00	5.75
45	24	10.26	37	15.81	48	20.51	55	23.50	40	17.09	11	4.70	19	8.12	234	100.00	4.32
46	45	18.99	67	28.27	66	27.85	46	19.41	10	4.22	1	0.42	2	0.84	237	100.00	5.34
47	38	16.03	16	6.75	24	10.13	59	24.89	37	15.61	32	13.50	31	13.08	237	100.00	3.90
48	58	24.68	53	22.55	48	20.43	43	18.30	8	3.40	5	2.13	20	8.51	235	100.00	5.06
49	1	0.43	1	0.43	4	1.71	46	19.66	31	13.25	47	20.09	104	44.44	234	100.00	2.17
50	25	10.55	29	12.24	28	11.81	62	26.16	28	11.81	25	10.55	40	16.88	237	100.00	3.84
51	29	12.29	12	5.08	26	11.02	96	40.68	23	9.75	33	13.98	17	7.20	236	100.00	3.99
52	48	20.25	66	27.85	73	30.80	34	14.35	10	4.22	5	2.11	1	0.42	237	100.00	5.38
53	44	18.57	55	23.21	62	26.16	50	21.10	20	8.44	6	2.53	0	0.00	237	100.00	5.15
54	37	15.61	46	19.41	50	21.10	74	31.22	20	8.44	9	3.80	1	0.42	237	100.00	4.89



APPENDIX B

TRANSLATIONS OF READING SAMPLES AND READING QUESTIONS

Reading Sample A (Taiwanese, using Han and Roman scripts)

Se-han 的 si-chun, kui 家伙仔 kah 阿公阿媽 toa 做伙; he 是半 chng-kha 的所在, 因為若講草地, 離車頭 koh 近近 a nia, 騎車 to 免 5 分鐘 leh。He 是 hit 種古早式的厝瓦厝, 頭前是一個 phak chhek-a 的埕 kah 菜園仔; 聽阿媽講, 本來兩 peng beh koh khi chhun-chhiu-a, 毋過因為 hit 時手頭 khah an, toaN-a 無 koh khi, kan-taN tiam 正 peng khi 一間豬 tiau kah 雞 tiau; au-piah 是 chau-kha、柴間仔 kah 一台退休的老牛車, 另外伊的 to-peng 是一間豬 tiau。

When I was a child, my family included my parents, siblings, and grandparents. We kind of lived in countryside. It's "kind of," not "very," because our little town was not far from the railroad station. It took only 5 minutes to get there. Our house was a traditional red tile building. There was a ground for drying millet and a garden for planting some vegetables in front of the house. I heard from my grandma that they originally planned to build side buildings around our house, but they didn't do it because they didn't have enough money at that time. They just built two sheds for raising pigs, chicken, and ducks in the right front side. And there were a kitchen, a hut for storing things, and an old cattle vehicle behind the house.

Reading Sample B (Taiwanese, using only church Roman scripts)

(The tone markers are omitted here, refer to appendix D for tone markers)

Hit-si5 ma7 kai3 chhu3-bi7, iu5-ki5 na7 tng7-tioh8 chhit-geh8-si5-a2, tak8-am3 na7 siuN7-tioh8 ai3 khia5 kau3 ku7-chhu3 to7 e7 khi2 ke-bo2-phoe5, put-si5 to7 ai3 kio3 hiaN-ko kap goa2 choe3-tin7 toe3, iu5-ki5 si7 na7 khia5 kau3 Tiau5-peh-a in hit-tah koh khah khiong2-pou3, lng7-peng5 e5 chhiu7-a2 sa3-sa3-kio3, siong7-kiaN si7 ban7-it chhia tiam7 chia lau3-lian7 to7 hai7 a!

It was very interesting during that period. I always felt my "hen skin" trembling as soon as I thought that I have to ride my bike from our new house to our old house at midnight in July. I usually asked my brother to go with me. It was the worst when we passed by Mr. Tiau's house. We were so afraid that the chains of our bikes might get out of gear at that place.

Reading Sample C (Taiwanese, using Han characters. The grammar and Han characters are more close to Taiwanese than reading G)

佇讀小學仔儘前，全家伙仔攏是蹓咧茲，茲阮攏給號做「舊厝」(因為這是相對於以後的新厝)。雖然佇我幼稚園讀煞迄冬，父母因為愛做生理的關係，阮就搬去後火車站附近，毋過阿公阿媽共款蹓咧舊厝。因兩個老翁公婆仔攏家己睏一間，因為阿媽卡無膽就叫阿爸愛乎我逐暗轉去佻伊做伴睏，就按呢一直到我大概讀國中二年迄時陣，逐暗若讀冊了就騎著孔明車，咿咿歪歪 禿到舊厝，隔工透早閣 唏唏唆唆 禿轉來，食一下仔早頓，制服穿穿咧，乍拼去學校。

Our family lived here before I attended elementary school. We always call this house Old House in contrast with the later New House. My grandma and grandpa still lived in the Old House, even though our family had moved to the New House near the railroad station. My parents decided to move because they needed to do business over there. My grandma and grandpa have their own rooms. They lived alone in each room. My grandma requested my father's permission to allow me to sleep with her because she was afraid of sleeping alone. Therefore, I rode to the Old House every night after I finished my homework, and then back to the New House the next morning until the second year of high school.

Reading Sample D (Hakka language, using Han and Roman scripts)

過年炊粿麼還 chhin 記得，過年定著做甜粿 lau 菜頭粿。甜粿炊好以後硬硬，放幾隻月 mo 問題。愛食時正切來冷食，多少像 tu 美國，切 *cheese* 共樣。麼有拿來煎，mo-sii 拿來 pho。菜頭粿就愛煎正好，又定著搵放蒜頭米 ke 豆油正好食。頭擺做一擺菜頭粿 chhin 難得，lia-ha 塢兜(ngai-teu)常常做，菜頭常年買得到，用 *microwave* 又 chhin 方便。用芋頭換菜頭做芋粿麼 chhin 好食。

I still remember doing traditional sweet *pan* (cake) and carrot *pan* during the celebration of New Year. *Pan* is stiff and it can keep for months. You may cut a piece of *pan* whenever you want to eat, just like you cut a piece of cheese. You may fry it or cook it. Actually, it tastes better if you fry it and put some garlic and soybean sauce on it. It was difficult to handle the first time I cooked *pan*. But now it's very easy and I cook it very often now. You may also try to cook taro *pan*; it tastes good, too.

Reading Sample E (Taiwanese, using Han and Bopomo)

阿爸阿母搬來新厝了就開米店做生意。ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ 有人問我阮厝ㄉㄛˊ 創啥物？我若講ㄉㄛˊ 賣米，人為ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄍㄨㄛˊ ㄌㄨㄛˊ 阮ㄉㄛˊ 開米絞，ㄍㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ 有ㄉㄛˊ ㄛˊ 米ㄉㄛˊ ㄛˊ，事實上資本那有ㄉㄨㄛˊ 粗！不過是中盤商，ㄌㄨㄛˊ ㄍㄨㄛˊ 大盤ㄍㄨㄛˊ 米ㄉㄛˊ ㄛˊ。ㄉㄨㄛˊ 一時阿爸日時ㄌㄨㄛˊ 上班，ㄍㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ 放假、禮拜ㄌㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ 鬥載米，所以日時阿媽就來鬥ㄌㄨㄛˊ ㄍㄨㄛˊ，暗頓食飽了ㄌㄨㄛˊ ㄍㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ 去舊厝。阿媽的頭路毋但 ㄌㄨㄛˊ ㄌㄨㄛˊ ㄛˊ，ㄉㄨㄛˊ 舊厝一ㄌㄨㄛˊ 飼一寡雞仔、鴨仔、豬仔，三不五時ㄍㄨㄛˊ 飼一寡鵝仔，甚至卡早聽哥仔一ㄌㄨㄛˊ 講ㄍㄨㄛˊ 有飼一隻牛，一ㄌㄨㄛˊ 不時ㄌㄨㄛˊ 騎起去牛的ㄌㄨㄛˊ ㄌㄨㄛˊ ㄉㄨㄛˊ ㄌㄨㄛˊ ㄌㄨㄛˊ，後來阿公無ㄍㄨㄛˊ 駛牛車ㄌㄨㄛˊ，ㄌㄨㄛˊ ㄍㄨㄛˊ 伊賣掉。

My parents opened a rice store after we moved to the New House. Sometimes some people asked me what business my parents did. People usually thought that my parents owned a mill if I said they did rice business. Actually, my parents didn't have enough money to open a mill. There were only rice distributors. They bought rice from mill and then sold it to customers. My mother took charge of everything for the rice store. My father had another job during the weekdays. He could help my mother carry rice to customers only during weekends. Therefore, my grandma assisted my mother during the weekdays. My grandma was not only an assistant, she also raised some chicken, ducks, and pigs. I heard from my brothers that she even used to raise a cattle at one time.

Reading Sample F (Taiwanese, using Han and Roman scripts)

有機質肥料 kap 化學肥料到底有啥物無工？Ti chia, 做一個簡單 e 介紹。講到有機肥料，咱就想著「有機農業、永續性有機農業」，這個道理真簡單，咱將作物 e 果實收成，供應人類 kap 一寡高等動物來食用，然後閣將因 e 排泄物還原倒轉去土壤內底；另外果實收成了後植物 e 殘骸任其自然或者是用強制性(如機械方式) e 分解，然後 ma 是還原倒轉去土壤內底，這種循環系統咱就叫做自然農法，有人叫伊「永續性有機農業」，咱卡早 e 祖先就是按呢一代一代生存落來

What's the difference between organic fertilizer and chemical fertilizer? I will give you a brief introduction. The first thing that comes to mind when we think about organic fertilizer is "persistent agriculture". The principle of organic fertilizer is pretty easy. After harvest, the crop became our food. And then our excrement was returned to restore the soil.

Besides, the residues left after our harvest may be decomposed by natural or artificial ways, and then returned to the soil again. This recycling was called natural agriculture or persistent agriculture. This way of using organic fertilizer has been past on to us from one generation to another.

Reading Sample G (Taiwanese, using Han characters. The grammar and Han characters are more close to Mandarin than reading C)

阿媽養的雞仔、鴨仔都是是正港的土雞、番鴨。日時就放它們去四界跑，暗時才趕進去雞稠。有時雞母若要生卵，都會跑去牛車頂、或是柴間仔裡面，找一個好位，"不" 一下就生一粒出來。我不時都四界巡，找看有雞母要生卵無，若找著就問看阿媽要讓它孵無，若不讓它孵就把卵撿起來，尤其若是雞瀾仔 頭一次生的卵，阿媽都會吩咐我另外把它放做伙。聽說這種卵特別有營養，透早起來粥煮燒燒，把卵仁打入碗裡，放些鹽花仔才把粥盛到碗裡，再用另外一塊空碗把它蓋著，吃起來蓋贊又蓋補身體！

All the chickens and ducks my grandma raised were "crude chickens" and "crude ducks." They could run here and there and get a lot of exercise because they were not bound. When a hen would have eggs, she usually found a good place in a hut or a cattle vehicle. I checked those places very often. If I found some eggs, I always asked my grandma whether she wanted those eggs hatched or not. If not, then I would pick them up. My grandma always told me to classify those eggs. Eggs from the hens which were first time mother chickens should be separated from the rest. This type of egg has more nutrition. You can put it in a bowl along with some salt, and then put hot rice soup into the bowl, and finally use another bowl to cover it for a couple of minutes. It tastes very good.

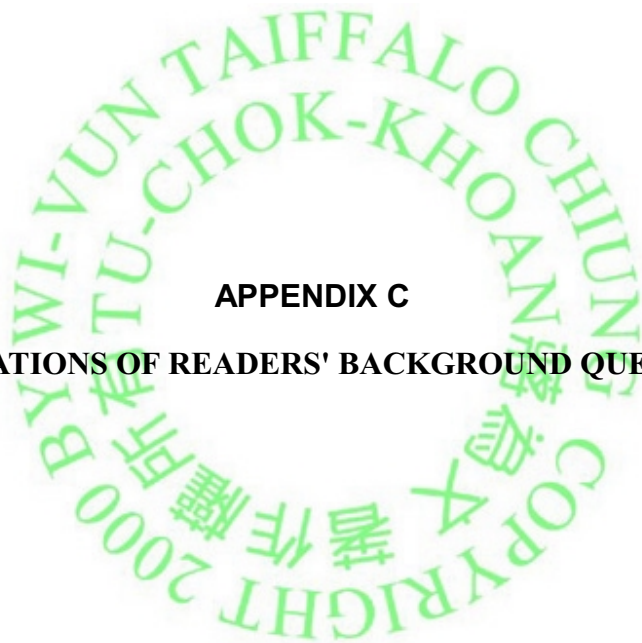
Translations of Reading Questions

1. How do you feel about this reading?

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
friendly						unfriendly

2. What percentage of this reading do you understand?

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
100%						0%



APPENDIX C

TRANSLATIONS OF READERS' BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

Section 1

1. Sex Female Male
2. Age _____
3. Major Taiwanese English Chinese Public Administration
 Mechanical E. others _____
4. What class are you in, as you complete this survey? _____
5. In which city have you lived the longest amount _____
6. What 's your ethnic identity ?
 5 Mainlander (New settler) 4 Holo (Southern Min) 3 Hakka 2 Aborigines 1 uncertain
7. What do you feel your "mother tongue" is?
 5 Mandarin 4 Taiwanese 3 Hakka 2 Aboriginal language 1 uncertain
8. In which language do you speak most fluently?
 5 Mandarin 4 Taiwanese 3 Hakka 2 Aboriginal language 1 uncertain
9. What is the language you learned before attending elementary school ?
 5 Mandarin 4 Taiwanese 3 Hakka 2 Aboriginal language 1 uncertain
10. What is the language you use most often?
 5 Mandarin 4 Taiwanese 3 Hakka 2 Aboriginal language 1 uncertain
11. What is the language your father uses most often?
 5 Mandarin 4 Taiwanese 3 Hakka 2 Aboriginal language 1 uncertain
12. What is the language your mother uses most often?
 5 Mandarin 4 Taiwanese 3 Hakka 2 Aboriginal language 1 uncertain
13. Please indicate the frequency of each language you use when you talk with these persons.

(leave it blank if you don't understand that language)

Frequency scale 5 always 4 often 3 sometimes 2 seldom 1 almost never

	Grand-p.		parents		Siblings		Friends		Significant other
	G.pa	G.ma	Pa.	Ma.	Bro.	Sis.	male	female	
Mandarin									
Taiwanese									
Hakka									
others									

14. What degree do you feel your listening and speaking ability of these languages might be?

Listening

Mandarin	5 native	4 no problem	3 so so	2 a little	1 zero
Taiwanese	5 native	4 no problem	3 so so	2 a little	1 zero
Hakka	5 native	4 no problem	3 so so	2 a little	1 zero
English	5 native	4 no problem	3 so so	2 a little	1 zero

Speaking

Mandarin	5 native	4 no problem	3 so so	2 a little	1 zero
Taiwanese	5 native	4 no problem	3 so so	2 a little	1 zero
Hakka	5 native	4 no problem	3 so so	2 a little	1 zero
English	5 native	4 no problem	3 so so	2 a little	1 zero

Section 2

Please choose an answer based on the 7 scale for the following questions.

(7=strongly agree 6=agree 5= kind of agree N= Neutral 3= kind of disagree 2= disagree 1= strongly disagree)

15. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I feel that speaking Taiwanese or Hakka is more friendly.
16. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 In addition to their mother tongues, every person should learn at least one more other ethnic languages such as Mandarin, Taiwanese, Hakka, or aboriginal lg.
17. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 Mother tongues (such as Taiwanese and Hakfa) should be included in the United University Entrance Exam.
18. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 A language must have a writing system in order to survive in modern society.
19. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I agree that Taiwan should announce an independent national status as long as we can ensure it will be safe from China's attack.
20. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I tend to support KMT (Kuomintang).
21. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 A country should have an "united" language.
22. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I feel that it's pretty vulgar to speak Taiwanese or Hakka.
23. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 "Vernacular education" means that we should use vernacular as a "teaching language" to teach students math, physics, chemistry, history, geography, and so forth.

- 24.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I think being able to "speak" Taiwanese or Hakka is enough, it's not necessary to learn to "write" them.
- 25.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I think maintaining the current national status is our best choice.
- 26.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I tend to support DPP (Democratic Progressive Party).
- 27.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 Promoting vernacular will obstruct people's national identity and unity.
- 28.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 A country should not set up a "united" language by policy.
- 29.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 It's not necessary to promote vernacular education because the Taiwanese language is already popular now.
- 30.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 Taiwanese, Hakka, or aboriginal languages should develop their own writing systems in order to maintain and develop their language cultures.
- 31.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I agree with Lee Teng-hui's (present president) saying: KMT is a foreign regime.
- 32.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I tend to support CNP (Chinese New Party).
- 33.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I feel that the Taiwanese speaker is lower class.
- 34.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 Taiwan should have more than two official languages.
- 35.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 Vernacular education means that there are some hours to teach students their vernaculars in school.
- 36.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I think Taiwan should unify with China as soon as P. R. China becomes a democracy and has the same living level as Taiwan.
- 37.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I tend to support GPT (Green Party Taiwan).
- 38.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I hope my (future) wife/husband is able to speak Taiwanese or Hakka.
- 39.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 We should use *Guoyu* (National Language) in public places.
- 40.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 Promoting "*Guoyu* (common language)" can improve the relations and reduce conflicts between different ethnic groups.
- 41.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 There are some Taiwanese words without appropriate Han characters, so we should establish a standardization for the Taiwanese orthography.

- 42.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I agree with Hau Po-chhun's (a former general) saying: Our national army won't guard Taiwan's independence.
- 43.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I tend to support TAIP (Taiwan Independence Party).
- 44.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I hope my children will be able to speak Taiwanese or Hakka.
- 45.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 The government should force everyone to learn at least two of the following languages through the school education system: Mandarin, Taiwanese, Hakfa, or aboriginal languages.
- 46.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 We should have vernacular education in Taiwan.
- 47.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I think I am a Taiwanese, not a Chinese.
- 48.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I think I am a Taiwanese as well as a Chinese.
- 49.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I think I am a Chinese, not a Taiwanese.
- 50.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 It's not important to identify myself as a Taiwanese or a Chinese.
- 51.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 I think Taiwan must be independent, no matter what.
- 52.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 Sometimes I have tried to write down spoken Taiwanese or Hakka, however I didn't know how to write in that language.
- 53.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 Promoting vernaculars can improve the ethnic relations and reduce conflicts between different ethnic groups.
- 54.7 6 5 N 3 2 1 Mandarin is the only official language so far. I think we can also add Taiwanese or Hakka as official languages.



APPENDIX D

ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE SHEETS

以下問卷是 美國 德州大學 Arlington 校區 語言所 (Program in Linguistics, The University of Texas at Arlington) 的研究計劃, 請您依序作答, 謝謝您的合作參與! ☺

Se-han 的 si-chun'kui 家伙仔 kah 阿公阿媽 toa 做伙; he 是半 chng-kha 的所在, 因為若講草地, 離車頭 koh 近近 a nia, 騎車 to 免 5 分鐘 leh。He 是 hit 種古早式的厝瓦厝, 頭前是一個 phak chhek-a 的埕 kah 菜園仔; 聽阿媽講, 本來兩 peng beh koh khi chhun-chhiu-a, 毋過因為 hit 時手頭 khah an, toaN-a 無 koh khi, kan-taN tiam 正 peng khi 一間豬 tiau kah 雞 tiau; au-piah 是 chau-kha, 柴間仔 kah 一台退休的老牛車, 另外伊的 to-peng 是一間豬 tiau。

1. 你覺得這種短文讀起來親切嗎?
7 非常親切 6 很親切 5 還好 4 沒感覺 3 有點不親切 2 不親切 1 非常不親切
2. 你覺得這篇短文你能看懂多少?
7 完全懂 6 幾乎全懂 5 懂一半以上 4 懂一半 3 懂一半以下 2 懂一點 1 完全不懂
3. 你覺得這種寫法容易閱讀嗎?
7 非常容易 6 很容易 5 還好 4 沒感覺 3 有點難 2 很難 1 非常困難
4. 你覺得你喜歡這種寫法嗎?
7 非常喜歡 6 很喜歡 5 還好 4 沒感覺 3 有點不喜歡 2 不喜歡 1 非常不喜歡
5. 你覺得這篇短文的寫法?
7 非常有趣 6 很有趣 5 有趣 4 沒感覺 3 無聊 2 很無聊 1 非常無聊
6. 你覺得這種寫法可以完整表達作者的意思嗎?
7 非常可以 6 可以 5 還好 4 沒感覺 3 有點不行 2 不行 1 非常不行
7. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的年紀 大概是?
7. 60-以上 6. 59-50 5. 49-40 4. 39-30 3. 29-20 2. 19-10 1. 不一定
8. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的性別 大概是?
4 男性 3 女性 2 不一定 1 不曉得
9. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的政黨傾向 大概是?
7 國民黨 6 民進黨 5 新黨 4 綠黨 3 建國黨 2 不一定 1 不曉得
10. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的宗教信仰大概是?
7 佛教 6 道教 5 基督教 4 天主教 3 其他 2 不一定 1 不曉得
11. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的國家認同傾向 大概是?
5 統一 4 獨立 3 維持現狀 2 不一定 1 不曉得
12. 你覺得 這種寫法 大概是在表達何種語言?
7 華語(國語) 6 台語 5 客家話 4 原住民語言 3 日文 2 法文或西班牙文 1 不曉得

Hit-sî mā kài chhù-bī, iû-kî nā tng tiòh chhit-goèh sî-á, ták-àm nā siūⁿ-tiòh ài khiâ kàu kû-chhù tō ē khí ke-bó-phôe, put-sî tō ài kiò hiaⁿ-ko kap góa chòe-tīn tòe, iû-kî sī nā khiâ kàu Tiâu-peh-a in hit-tah koh khah khióng-pò, n̄ng-pêng ē chhiū-á sà-sà-kiò, siōng-kiáⁿ sī bān-it chhia tiām chia làu-liān tō hāi a!

1. 你覺得這種短文讀起來親切嗎？
7 非常親切 6 很親切 5 還好 4 沒感覺 3 有點不親切 2 不親切 1 非常不親切
2. 你覺得這篇短文你能看懂多少？
7 完全懂 6 幾乎全懂 5 懂一半以上 4 懂一半 3 懂一半以下 2 懂一點 1 完全不懂
3. 你覺得這種寫法容易閱讀嗎？
7 非常容易 6 很容易 5 還好 4 沒感覺 3 有點難 2 很難 1 非常困難
4. 你覺得你喜歡這種寫法嗎？
7 非常喜歡 6 很喜歡 5 還好 4 沒感覺 3 有點不喜歡 2 不喜歡 1 非常不喜歡
5. 你覺得這篇短文的寫法？
7 非常有趣 6 很有趣 5 有趣 4 沒感覺 3 無聊 2 很無聊 1 非常無聊
6. 你覺得這種寫法可以完整表達作者的意思嗎？
7 非常可以 6 可以 5 還好 4 沒感覺 3 有點不行 2 不行 1 非常不行
7. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的年紀 大概是？
7. 60-以上 6. 59-50 5. 49-40 4. 39-30 3. 29-20 2. 19-10 1. 不一定
8. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的性別 大概是？
4 男性 3 女性 2 不一定 1 不曉得
9. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的政黨傾向 大概是？
7 國民黨 6 民進黨 5 新黨 4 綠黨 3 建國黨 2 不一定 1 不曉得
10. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的宗教信仰大概是？
7 佛教 6 道教 5 基督教 4 天主教 3 其他 2 不一定 1 不曉得
11. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的國家認同傾向 大概是？
5 統一 4 獨立 3 維持現狀 2 不一定 1 不曉得
12. 你覺得 這種寫法 大概是在表達何種語言？
7 華語(國語) 6 台語 5 客家話 4 原住民語言 3 日文 2 法文或西班牙文 1 不曉得

佇讀小學仔儘前，全家伙仔攞是躑咧茲，茲阮攞給號做「舊厝」（因為這是相對於以後的新厝）。雖然佇我幼稚園讀煞迄冬，父母因為愛做生理的關係，阮就搬去後火車站附近，毋過阿公阿媽共款躑咧舊厝。因兩個老翁公婆仔攞家己睏一間，因為阿媽卡無膽就叫阿爸愛乎我逐暗轉去佻伊做伴睏，就按呢一直到我大概讀國中二年迄時陣，逐暗若讀冊了就騎著孔明車，咿咿歪歪 禿到舊厝，隔工透早閣 唏唏 唆唆 禿轉來，食一下仔早頓，制服穿穿咧，乍拼去學校。

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9. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的政黨傾向 大概是？
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11. 你覺得 會這種寫法的人 的國家認同傾向 大概是？
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過年炊粿麼還 chhin 記得，過年定著做甜粿 lau 菜頭粿。甜粿炊好以後硬硬，放幾隻月 mo 問題。愛食時正切來冷食，多少像 tu 美國，切 *cheese* 共樣。麼有拿來煎，mo-sii 拿來 pho。菜頭粿就愛煎正好，又定著搵放蒜頭米 ke 豆油正好食。頭擺做一擺菜頭粿 chhin 難得，lia-ha 埕兜(ngai-teu)常常做，菜頭常年買得到，用 *microwave* 又 chhin 方便。用芋頭換菜頭做芋粿麼 chhin 好食。

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有機質肥料 kap 化學肥料到底有啥物無工？ Ti chia, 做一個簡單 e 介紹。講到有機肥料, 咱就想著「有機農業、永續性有機農業」, 這個道理真簡單, 咱將作物 e 果實收成, 供應人類 kap 一寡高等動物來食用, 然後閣將因 e 排泄物還原倒轉去土壤內底; 另外果實收成了後植物 e 殘骸任其自然或者是用強制性(如機械方式) e 分解, 然後 ma 是還原倒轉去土壤內底, 這種循環系統咱就叫做自然農法, 有人叫伊「永續性有機農業」, 咱卡早 e 祖先就是按呢一代一代生存落來

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阿媽養的雞仔、鴨仔都是是正港的土雞、番鴨。日時就放它們去四界跑，暗時才趕進去雞棚。有時雞母若要生卵，都會跑去牛車頂、或是柴間仔裡面，找一個好位，"不"一下就生一粒出來。我不時都四界巡，找看有雞母要生卵無，若找著就問看阿媽要讓它孵無，若不讓它孵就把卵撿起來，尤其若是雞瀾仔 頭一次生的卵，阿媽都會吩咐我另外把它放做伙。聽說這種卵特別有營養，透早起來粥煮燒燒，把卵仁打入碗裡，放些鹽花仔才把粥盛到碗裡，再用另外一塊空碗把它蓋著，吃起來蓋贊又蓋補身體！

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1. 性別 女 男
2. 年紀 _____
3. 科系背景 台文系, 英文系, 中文系, 公行系, 機械系, _____其他
4. 填問卷時, 上課的科目是? _____
5. 住最久的地方 _____縣市 _____鄉鎮區
6. 我的族群認同傾向是?
5 外省(新住民) 4 Holo(閩南) 3 Hakka(客家) 2 原住民 1 不曉得
7. 你覺得你的「母語」是?
5 華語(國語) 4 台語 3 客家話 2 原住民語言 1 不曉得
8. 你最流利的語言是?
5 華語(國語) 4 台語 3 客家話 2 原住民語言 1 不曉得
9. 你上小學之前最先學會的語言是?
5 華語(國語) 4 台語 3 客家話 2 原住民語言 1 不曉得
10. 你最常使用的語言是?
5 華語(國語) 4 台語 3 客家話 2 原住民語言 1 不曉得
11. 你父親最常使用的語言是?
5 華語(國語) 4 台語 3 客家話 2 原住民語言 1 不曉得
12. 你母親最常使用的語言是?
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13. 請依程度填寫號碼, 指出你跟以下這些人交談時所使用的語言。
(不會說的語言免填)

程度表示 5 總是 4 常常 3 有時 2 很少 1 幾乎沒有

	祖父母		父母		兄弟姊妹		朋友		男女朋友(或夫妻)
	祖父	祖母	父親	母親	兄弟	姊妹	男性	女性	
華語									
台語									
客家話									
其他(請指出)									

14. 以下幾種語言, 你覺得你的「聽」、「講」能力如何? 請依程度圈選。

「聽」的能力

- | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| 華語(國語) | 5 完全沒問題 | 4 沒問題 | 3 還可以 | 2 會一點 | 1 完全不會 |
| 台語 | 5 完全沒問題 | 4 沒問題 | 3 還可以 | 2 會一點 | 1 完全不會 |
| 客語 | 5 完全沒問題 | 4 沒問題 | 3 還可以 | 2 會一點 | 1 完全不會 |
| 英語 | 5 完全沒問題 | 4 沒問題 | 3 還可以 | 2 會一點 | 1 完全不會 |

「講」的能力

華語(國語)	5 完全沒問題	4 沒問題	3 還可以	2 會一點	1 完全不會
台語	5 完全沒問題	4 沒問題	3 還可以	2 會一點	1 完全不會
客語	5 完全沒問題	4 沒問題	3 還可以	2 會一點	1 完全不會
英語	5 完全沒問題	4 沒問題	3 還可以	2 會一點	1 完全不會

以下題目請按 贊成或反對 的程度 圈選

(7=非常贊成 6=贊成 5=有點贊成 N=沒意見,不一定 3=有點反對 2=反對 1=非常反對)

15. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我覺得講台語或客語比較親切。
16. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 除了會自己的母語之外,應當至少再學一種其他族群的語言譬如華語、台語、客語、或原住民語言。
17. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 母語(台語、客語等)應該列入聯考範圍。
18. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 語言 必須文字化(有書面語)才有生存發展的空間。
19. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我認為只要在台灣的安全受到保障之下,台灣就可以宣佈獨立。
20. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我傾向支持 國民黨。
21. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 一個國家應該有統一的語言。
22. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我覺得講台語或客語,會給人一種粗俗的感覺。
23. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 「母語教育」就是以母語為「教學語言」,透過母語教導學生學習數學、物理、化學、歷史、地理等。
24. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我覺得會「講」台語或客語就好,不需要懂得如何「寫」台語或客語。
25. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我認為維持現狀是台灣最好的選擇。
26. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我傾向支持 民進黨。
27. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 推行「母語」對國家認同與團結 會有所阻礙。
28. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 一個國家不應該用人為的力量制定統一的語言,應當順其自然。
29. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 現在台語已經很流行了,不需要母語教育。
30. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 台語、客語、或原住民語言應該各有其文字系統(書面語),以便保存並發展其語言文化。
31. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我贊成李登輝 曾說的:「國民黨是一個外來政權」。
32. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我傾向支持 新黨。
33. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我覺得講台語的人比較沒水準。
34. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 台灣應該有二個以上的官方語言(國語)。
35. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 「母語教育」就是每週有幾小時的課程教學生講母語。

36. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我認為在中華人民共和國走向民主、自由，生活水準和台灣相當後，台灣應該和中國大陸統一。
37. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我傾向支持 綠黨。
38. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我希望我未來結婚的對象會講台語或客語。
39. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 公開場所應該使用國語。
40. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 推行「國語(共同語)」能增進不同族群間的了解與尊重，消除族群衝突。
41. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我覺得台語常有「有音無字」的現象，應該制定標準的文字用法(書面語)。
42. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我贊成郝柏村 曾說的：「國軍不保護台獨」。
43. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我傾向支持 建國黨。
44. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我希望我的孩子會講台語或客語。
45. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 政府應透過學校教育 強制每人至少會以下任何二種語言。華語、台語、客語、或原住民語言。
46. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 台灣應該實施「母語教育」。
47. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我認為我是台灣人，不是中國人。
48. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我認為我是台灣人，也是中國人。
49. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我認為我是中國人，不是台灣人。
50. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我是台灣人或中國人並不重要。
51. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我認為 台灣一定要獨立。
52. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 我有時候想把「口語」的台語或客家話用文字寫下來，卻不知道怎麼寫。
53. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 推行「母語」能增進不同族群間的了解與尊重，消除族群衝突。
54. 7 6 5 N 3 2 1 目前華語是唯一的國語(官方語言)，我認為可以增加台語或客語為國語。

謝謝您用心地填完這份問卷，勞力！多謝！按仔細！Thank you!

APPENDIX E

ORIGINAL HAN CHARACTERS OF PROPER NOUNS IN ROMANIZATION



Amoy (E-mng)	廈門
Ang, Ui-jin	洪惟仁
Barclay, Thomas	巴克禮
Bo-po-mo	ㄅㄆㄇ注音符號
Campbell, William	甘爲霖
Cheng, Robert L. (Tenn, Liong-ui)	鄭良偉
Chhi, Cheng-kong	徐正光
Chhoa, Poe-hoe	蔡培火
Chiang, Ching-kuo	蔣經國
Chiang, Kai-shek	蔣介石
Chiang-chiu	漳州
Chian-ui	前衛
China Literature	中國文學
Chiung, Wi-Vun Taiffalo	蔣爲文
Choan-chiu	泉州
Choe, Mal-li	崔萬里
Classical Han (Bun-gian, Wenyan)	文言
Colloquial writing (Peh-oe, Baihua)	白話文
Crane	文鶴出版社
Douglas, Carstairs	杜嘉德
Er-ya	爾雅出版社
First Press	第一出版社
Formosa Folkways	常民文化
GATI	外省人台灣獨立協進會
Gravius, Daniel	倪但理
Guoyu (Kok-gi)	國語
Hakka	客家
Hanbun (Han writing)	漢文
Han-chi Si-sia	蕃薯詩社
Hanji (Hanzi, Han character)	漢字
Hau, Po-chhun	郝柏村
Hiong-iong	向陽
Holo	鶴佬, 福佬, 河洛

Hong-bin-hoa movement	皇民化運動
Hsu, C. H. (Khou, Khiam-sin)	徐謙信
Huang, Shuanfan (Ng, Soan-hoan)	黃宣範
Iap, Chioh-tho	葉石濤
Iap-kiong	業強出版社
Independence Press	自立晚報出版部
Iunn, Phek-chhoan	楊碧川
Jang, Shyue-chian (Tiunn, Hak-khiam)	張學謙
Jin-kong	人光出版社
Kan, keng-jin	簡炯仁
Kang, Bun-lu	江文瑜
Khou, Cho-tek	許曹德
Khou, Kek-tun	許極燉
Khou, Seng-chiong	許成章
Koa-a-chheh	歌仔冊
Koeh, Chhiu-seng	郭秋生
Koxinga	國姓爺, 鄭成功
Lai, Yung-hsiang	賴永祥
Lee, Teng-hui	李登輝
Li, Khin-hoann	李勤岸
Li, Kiau	李喬
Li, Paul J. K.	李壬癸
Lian, Heng	連橫
Lim, Chai-hok	林再復
Lim, Chong-goan	林宗源
Lim, Iong-bin	林央敏
Lim, Iunn-kang	林洋港
Lim, Pek-ui	林柏維
Lim, Sui-beng	林瑞明
Literature of Home Villages	鄉土文學(專指 70 年代)
Literature	文學界雜誌社
Lo, Hsiang-lin	羅香林
Loa, Ho	賴和

Lu, Heng-chhiong	呂興昌
Lu, Zhuang-Zhang	盧憲章
Mandarin Daily News Press	國語日報社
Maxwell, James Laidlaw	馬雅各
NCL-Taiwan	國立中央圖書館 台灣分館
Ng, Chioh-hui	黃石輝
Ng, Teng-chhong	黃呈聰
Ng, Tiau-khim	黃朝琴
Ng, Yuzin Chiautong	黃昭堂
Ngou, Nai-tek.	吳乃德
Ngou, Sam-lian	吳三連
Ngou, Siu-le	吳守禮
Ong, Hu-chhiong	王甫昌
Ong, Iok-tek	王育德
Ong, Si-long	王詩琅
Ou, Bin-siong	胡民祥
Peh-oe-ji	白話字
Peng, Ming-min (Phenn Beng-bin)	彭明敏
Penn-pou (plain tribes)	平埔族
Phenn, Sui-kim	彭瑞金
Png, Su-tok	方師鐸
Sejong	世宗 (韓國 李朝)
Si, Long	施琅
Sinkang Manuscripts	新港文書
SMC Publishing Inc.	南天出版社
STAPA	學生台灣語文促進會
Su, Beng	史明
Tai-Bun Thong-Sin	台文通訊
Taibun	台文
Taigi	台語
Tai-goan	台原
Taioan Binpo	台灣民報
Taiwan Business	台灣商務印書館

Taiwan Church Press	台灣教會公報社
Taiwan HAPA	台灣客家公共事務協會
Taiwan Interinds Publishing Inc.	玉山社
Taiwan Literature	台灣文學
Talmage, John Van Nest	打馬字
Tamkang University	淡江大學
Tamsui College	淡水學院
Tan, Bi-iong	陳美蓉
Tan, Ki-lam	陳其南
Tan, Li-an	陳履安
Tan, Un-tong	陳運棟
The Independence Weekly Post	自立周報
Tiu-hiong	稻鄉出版社
Tiunn, Bou-kui	張茂桂
Tiunn, Bun-ti	張文智
Tiunn, Gounn-kun	張我軍
Tiunn, Iam-hian	張炎憲
Tiunn, Phok-u	張博宇
Tsuchida, Shigeru	土田滋
Un-sin	允晨出版社
Wang, Zhao	王照
Woolin	武陵出版社
Yoshinori	伊能嘉矩
Yuanliou	遠流
Zhongwen	中文
Zhou, You-guang	周有光

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