

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Preface

This thesis examines the Taigi literature (see ch1.2) debates that occurred between 1987 and 1996. This thesis is limited to the period between 1987 and 1996 because the first commentary article about Taigi literature titled “The Problem of Taigi Script Standardization”¹ was published in 1987. Following this, the article “Meditation and Introspection”² was in 1988. These two articles gave rise to the subsequent debates that occurred in three phases in 1989, 1991 and 1996. In addition, another reason is that the year of 1987 was a critical year in Taiwanese history. This was the year that the KMT³ government declared the lifting of martial law which was an important index of Taiwanese democratization. And surely it must be said that this was an essential factor for giving rise to the Taigi literature debates.

Next, this thesis aims to explore the content of the Taigi literature debates. The Taigi literature debates were an important process whereby the status of literary language was sought for Taigi. This study has used the theory of ‘Diglossia’ as the theoretical framework of this paper, and examines the historical background of the formation of the Taigi literature debates, the essence of the literature debate and its related developments. Firstly, the origins of the debates of Taiwanese Language and Literature can be traced back to Japanese colonial period. Then subsequently the KMT implemented the Mandarin-only policy and suppressed Taiwanese native languages from the post war era until recently. Secondly, the essence of the Taigi literature debates can be found in differing Chinese and Taiwanese viewpoints and the debates caused by using Taigi as the literary language in Taiwan literature. Other

aspects of the debate include the Taigi script standardization problem, vernacular education and the language policy issue. Finally, this paper will explore the meaning of the Taigi literature debates for the future development of establishing multi-languages and culture.

The first chapter is arranged into four sections as follows: In the first section, I state the procedure of the formation of my research questions. The basis for my research idea arose after I read the articles “Why not promote vernacular literature (I)?”, written by Huang Shih-Hui and published in Japanese colonial period, and also the article “I achieve Taigi literature and my viewpoint”, written by Lin Zong-yuan. These two articles led me to ponder the Taigi literature debates from different angles and stimulated my interest in this subject. In the second section, research questions and related concepts will be explained. In the third section, I’ll describe the research method, which is based primarily on documentary research, supplemented by observation research. In the long term I intend to continue collecting related written materials to analyze and offer my viewpoint regarding my participation⁴ in the Taigi language and literature movement. I also set out my research framework in this section. In the fourth section, there is the theory introduction and literature review and I will use the theory of diglossia and digraphia to explain my thesis. Also, I will review the related historical documents used in my research.

1.1 Formation of research question

I was impressed by the spirit of two writers those who promoted Taigi literature in different eras. The first one was Huang Shih-Hui⁵, born in the Japanese colonial period. In his article “Why not promote vernacular literature (I)?” published in the newspaper *Wu Ren Bao*, Huang (1930) said “You are Taiwanese. What your head

wears is Taiwanese heaven. What your feet step is on Taiwanese soil. What your eyes see is the Taiwanese situation. What your ears hear is Taiwanese news. All the time you passed is Taiwanese experience. What your mouth says is also Taiwanese language. Therefore, your pen should write down the literature of Taiwan. How to write down the literature of Taiwan? It means using Taiwanese language to write essays, using Taiwanese to write poems, novels, and using Taiwanese to compose songs and describing Taiwanese things. It is not an odd thing.”(Cited from Tan 2001: 47)

Another author that impressed me is Lin Zong-Yuan, born in the KMT authoritarian ruling era. He wrote one article titled “I achieve Taigi literature and my viewpoint”, in the book *Taigi Poetry from Six Poets* edited by Robert L. Cheng. He stated, “Taiwanese literature is the literature which Taiwanese write in their mother tongue. Taigi spoken and written language used to be identified as a common language for all ethnic groups, for sure, Taiwan literature is written in Taigi.” (Cheng 1990b: 214) He also said, “If Taiwanese writers prefer writing in Mandarin and not in their native language, they will destroy their own language. Where can we find the Taiwanese spirit? How could they declare they are writing Taiwan literature?” (Cheng 1990b: 214) Finally, he said, “Taiwan literature needs a revolution. Stand up from the ruins of slave literature and build up your own independent literature.”(Cheng 1990b: 216)

The appeal of these two writers has passed down the years until the present and Taiwanese are still discussing the issue of Taigi literature, and Taiwan literature. Up until now the Taiwanese have not been able to successfully create literature in mother tongue to become the primary Taiwan literature. Taiwanese language and literature

debates happened in 1930, during the Japanese colonial period, however afterwards there was no chance to continue as writing in Taiwanese was forbidden. After the end of Japanese colonial rule, the Taiwanese welcomed the KMT regime and Taiwan became a colonial state again. (Li 2003a) Because of the Mandarin-only policy implemented by the KMT regime, Taiwanese native languages were suppressed again. The Taiwanese language and script thus entered into a dark period. Although the development of Taigi literature was suppressed by the KMT regime, there were poets like Lin Zong-Yuan and Siangyang writing Taigi poems during this time. In this period, Taigi poems were called ‘dialect poems’, and were rejected by the Mandarin-only policy. However, with the soaring of the Taiwan democratization movement, social movements arose and the Taigi literature movement returned to the stage. How could Taigi literature arise again like it did in the Japanese colonial period? What was Taigi literature looking for? After Taiwan democratization, Taigi literature got the chance to seek independence, and debates about Taigi literature occurred. The assertions made during the Taigi literature debates were suspicious to others. Opposition came from Mandarin writers. Then suspicion came from other ethnic groups as well. And of course, Taiwanese writers with Chinese viewpoints also challenged the standpoint of Taigi literature. In the future, will Taigi replace Mandarin and become the choice of Taiwan literature? What will be the status of other Taiwanese native languages and Mandarin? Is the phenomenon of Taigi literature debates similar to other countries, which have been colonized? Will the Taigi literature debates influence future developments in literature in Taiwan? From the above questions, I thought the topic of Taigi literature debates was a question worthy of research. This thesis will answer the following three questions:

1. Why did the Taigi literature debates and related developments happen?
2. What issues did the Taigi literature debates discuss and what related

developments occurred?

3. How will the Taigi literature debates influence future developments in Taiwan?

This paper will show that for the first research question, the main reason why the Taigi literature debates occurred was due to the rising tide of the Taigi literature movement. The Taigi literature movement can be traced back to the debates surrounding Taiwanese language and literature in the Japanese colonial period, which sought to achieve the status of literary language for Taiwanese. However, subsequently the authoritarian KMT regime implemented the Mandarin-only policy, which oppressed native languages. In 1980, Taiwanese national identity increased markedly, and political and social movements sprang up all over the island. Under these circumstances, the Taigi literature movement was much invigorated. Works of Taigi literature, as well as primary theories and script assertion started to strengthen their power finally culminating in the Taigi literature debates between 1987 and 1996.

As to the second research question regarding the debates, it is comprised of two parts. There are two issues in the first part. The first issue refers to the interrogation from the outer group of the Taiwanese local literature camp; that is the debate between Chinese and Taiwanese viewpoints and also debates regarding the value of Taigi writing. The second issue refers to the interrogation from the inner group of Taiwanese local literature camp. This examines the arguments regarding Taigi acting as a literary language in Taiwan literature. The second part looks at developments related to the Taigi literature debates and there are three issues to be explored here as follows: (I) Multi-Viewpoint of the Taigi Standardization Problem (II) Exploration and Implement of Vernacular Education (III) and Exploration of Language Policy

As to the third research question, this paper will show that the influence of the Taigi literature debates on the future development of the Taigi language is in how it has enabled the establishment of a society of multi-language and multi-culture. This subject contains three issues as follows: (1) Extension of the space of Taigi literature, (2) Striving for high language—language and culture awakening movements and dilemma for indigenous people and Hakka ethnic groups, (3) Promoting equilibrium development between localization and globalization

1.2 Definitions of research questions and concepts

The following section will elaborate some relevant definitions of terms and concepts.

“Taigi”, “Holo”, Taiwanese

Ang (1995b) believed Taiwanese to mean “Minnanyu” generally, and this was not included Hakka or indigenous languages. Taiwanese Holo language has been a new dialect, which has been mixed with Jhangjhou and Cyuanjhou. The accurate name should be ‘Holo Taiwan Dialect’ or ‘Taiwan Holo’, but it was used to being abbreviated as Taiwanese or ‘Taigi’. Since more than 75% of the Taiwanese population spoke Holo, the abbreviation usage accords with its social linguistics.

Lin (1997:16) stated that, “the name of “Taigi” is based on social natural law and people have gotten used to it. It is the same meaning as “Minnanyu” used by colonial officials and “Holo” used by Hakkanese.”

Ong (2002) in *Taiwanese common vocabulary* regarded Taiwanese as indicating

the language, which was spoken by all Chinese Fujian descendant Taiwanese living on Taiwan and Penghu.

Khou Kek-tun (1998) stated that Taiwanese was the popular language in Taiwan. Since there are lots of ethnic groups and languages, there was only dominant one that can represent them as a common language. The Holo ethnic group was the majority group and thus their mother tongue is the dominant language in Taiwan. That meant Taiwanese in narrow sense was the same as Holo, the mother tongue of the Holo ethnic group.

In the broad sense, Taiwanese or the Taiwanese language is considered to include Holo, Hakka and indigenous languages. In the narrow sense, Holo represents Taiwanese. I agree with the viewpoint of those scholars and writers who defined Taiwanese in a more narrow sense. This means that the mother tongue of the Holo ethnic group is Taigi or Taiwanese. This is an objective fact from historical times until the present day and is not the author's subjective viewpoint. Since many documents of the Taigi literature debates used the term Holo for Taigi, I have followed those authors' usage, too. This thesis could also have used the terms Minnanyu, or Hoklo, which were used in other documents, which I have quoted.

Taigi writing, Taigi literature

Taigi writing is a kind of writing system, used as the script of Taigi, which includes Han characters only, Roman script only and Han-Roman mixed. (It refers to Han characters mixed with Roman script.) Thus Taigi literature means literary works with Taigi writing. (Lin 1997)

The term “Taigi literature” as used in this thesis means Holo literature and it is limited to Holo works in Taiwan. All the following literary works could be called Taigi literature: (1) folk literature in Taigi colloquial writing (2) Romanized Peh-oe-ji (church Romanized script) (3) Taiwanese vernacular literature in the Japanese colonial period (4) Taigi vernacular literary works written during the KMT regime period until now. In addition, traditionally Taigi literature also includes oral circulation literature and written literature. Oral circulation literature is comprised of folk songs, tale, sayings and so on. Written literature comprises of Lam-kuan, Kua-a-tsheh, Kua-a-hi, Liu-hing-kua and so on. Only a few of them were recorded in script. (Ang 1995a)

Taigi literature movement

The origins of the Taigi literature movement can be traced back to the occurrence in 1975 and 1980 of ‘dialect poems’ and vernacular literature, a mixture of Mandarin writing and vernacular terms or dialogue. In this period, Taigi literature was only in its initial stages. In 1980s, the democratization movement took place as did many other social movements and it was in this heady atmosphere that the Taigi literature movement arose in 1985. The Taigi literature movement became popular during the period of the Taigi literature debates that occurred between 1987 and 1996. However, this was not the first Taigi literature movement as a prior Taigi literature movement had already occurred in the Japanese colonial period in 1930s. At that time, it was known as the ‘Taiwanese vernacular literature movement’ or the ‘Taiwanese language and literature movement’. Thus the Taigi literature movement that happened in the post-war era can be counted as the second Taigi literature movement or ‘Second Taiwanese Renaissance movement’. (Lin 1997)

Taigi literature debates

This thesis will explore the unfolding of the debate between 1987 and 1996, including the debate surrounding Taigi Literature. Taigi literature was seeking the status of a literary language during this time. During this period, those who were concerned with Taigi literature, including scholars and writers, would discuss subjects like the independence of Taiwan literature, language form of Taiwan literature, the value of the Taigi writing and related developments such as the Taigi script standardization, vernacular education, language policy and so on. All of these were important parts of the Taigi literature movement and also the result of the movement. Those who joined the argument included the following: Lin Zong-Yuan, Song Ze-lai, Liao Hsien-hao, Ang Ui-jin, Lin Yang-Min, Robert L. Cheng, Li Ciao, Peng Rui-Jin, Lin Jin-Sian, Chen Ruo-Si and so on. They had some lively discussions in newspapers such as the *Independence Evening Post*, *The China Post*, and *the People's newspaper*. The subjects they discussed were Taigi literature, Taiwan literature, Taigi, national language, Taigi script standardization problems and so on. (Chen 2006)

Actually, the earliest commentary articles of Taigi literature movement were Song (1987) and Lin (1988). Although there was no response to these two articles at the time, they led to an increase in writers and works of Taigi literature, which in turn lent much power to the debate. At that time, in the conservative society where the Mandarin was superior, the Mandarin-only policy could not accept any public voice like the Taigi literature movement. Eventually there were three phases of discussion in the debate. The first phase occurred by Liao's (1989) article ⁶. This article represented the typical Chinese viewpoint and its appearance led to the debates from the writers of Taigi literature. The second phase of the debates heralded by Lin's (1991) article. This article led to the reply and discussion from the local literature camp. The last phase of

the debate occurred by Chen's (1996) article. This article was from a Taiwanese writer, but written from a Chinese viewpoint. It also caused lively discussion. (Lu 2001; Chen 2006)

Limitations between 1987 and 1996

Why is the debate confined between 1987 and 1996? The reason is that the earliest appearance of Taigi commentary article in the post-war period was in 1987 and this was a critical year in Taiwanese history. On July 14 of that year the KMT regime declared the lifting of martial law thus this was an important index of Taiwan democratization. And in turn the decade of the 1980s, saw the flourishing of many new social movements. And it was at this moment that the Taigi literature movement also began. As a matter of fact the Taigi literature movement had started to develop in the 1970s and many works of literature had accumulated during that time. There were also commentary articles like Song (1987) and Lin (1988). Although there was no response to these two articles, they led to three phases of discussion in 1989, 1991 and 1996. There are different viewpoints about the time-frame of the Taigi literature debates as evidenced by the following:

Chen (2006) limited her discussion to the years between 1987 and 1996 in her article. I agreed with her assertion and used it in my thesis. Lu (2001) didn't have limitations on time-frame in his article. Fang (2006) limited his discussion to the years between 1989 and 1991 in his article. It didn't cover the discussion of the aforementioned three articles: Song (1987), Lin (1988) and Chen (1996) Chiung (2006b) examined the years between 1987 and 2000 as revival period of Taigi literature development in his article, but he didn't mention the debates of Taigi literature (1987~1996).

From the above reference exploration, this thesis limits the period of Taigi literature debates between 1987 and 1996. It starts from the lifting of martial law in 1987. In the first two years, Song (1987) and Lin (1988) two articles are regarded as fuse of Taigi literature argument. Then there are two vigorous arguments happened in 1989 and 1991. Although the Chen's (1996) article doesn't have so much feedback and there are few references mentioned about it, I consider the issue raised by this article is worthy to discuss. Its subject should be included.

1.3 Research method and framework

1.3.1 Methodology

This thesis will explore the reasons for the development of the Taigi literature debates and will also look at the debate's subsequent influence. There are various ways to research these kinds of subjects. I have mainly used document research, that is, the research method of document review of primary and secondary sources as well as use of observation research. Examination of documents to carry out research means to systematically use written materials to explore a research question. I have collected related written materials including foreign documentary material. From the analysis of these documents, I have tried to explore the answer and meaning of my research topic. The observation research that I undertook was in accordance with my personal experience of participation in the Taigi literature movement and my personal observations during this time. In addition to this, I also use the theories of diglossia and digraphia as an explanatory framework for my thesis. For more detail about the theoretical framework, please refer to section 1.4. Generally speaking, in researching the 'Taigi literature debates' we must make reference to the historical documents of the Taigi literature movement, the debates surrounding Taigi literature and some

documentary materials about related developments. I discuss the causality of debate occurrence and the influence that it may have had on Taiwanese literature by analyzing these data.

This thesis will explore the reasons behind and the influence of ‘the literary language debate’. It states that there is a direct relationship between the Taigi literary language debate and the rise of the Taigi literature movement. I believe there are three factors, which affected the rise of the Taigi literature movement. The first one is related to the historical origins of the movement in the Japanese colonial period. Therefore it is essential for me to collect source material of the Taiwanese language and literature movement at that time. The second factor is related to the native language crisis arising from the KMT-era Mandarin-only policy. Thus I also collect some documents about the Mandarin-only policy. The third factor is related to the appeal and subsequent development of Taigi writing in the post-war era which necessitate me having to collect data like early forms of Taigi poems, Taiwanese vernacular literature and Taigi literature.

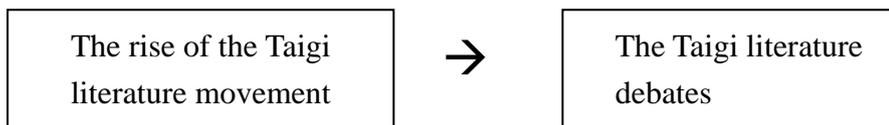
Of course, I also collect data related to the theoretical assertions made during the debate or related to any facts like the orientation of Taigi literature, language form problems of Taiwan literature and debates related to developments such as the Taigi script standardization, vernacular education and language policy. Finally, for researching the influence of Taigi literature debates on future developments such as establishing a multi-language society, I collect the following data: (1) documents regarding expanding the living space of Taigi literature (2) literature about striving for high language—the language and culture awakening movement and the dilemma for indigenous people and Hakka ethnic groups (3) literature regarding promoting

equilibrium development between localization and globalization. All these data include related documentary materials, newspapers, magazines and current research papers.

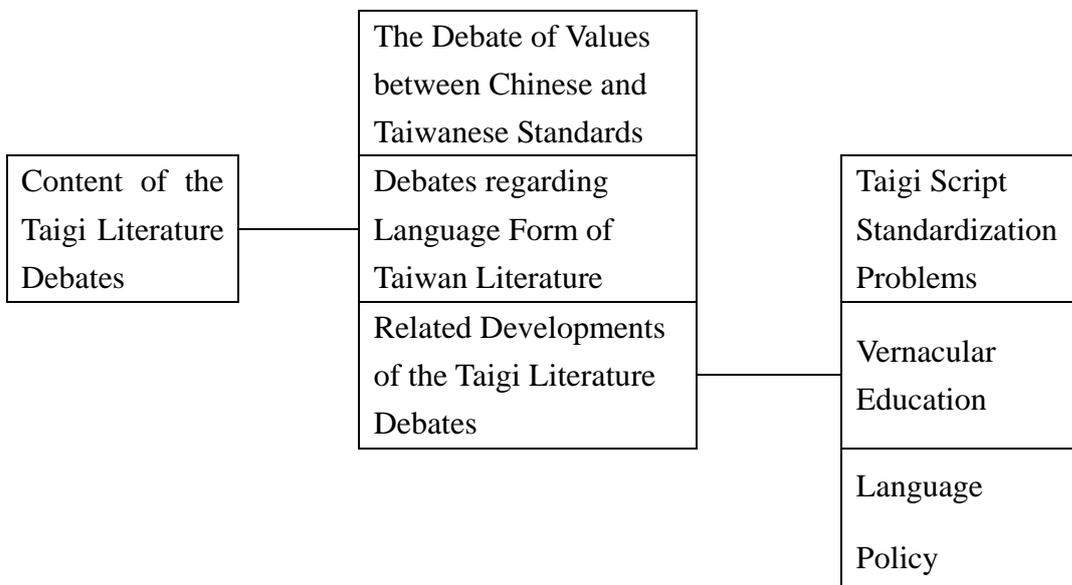
1.3.2 Framework

Based on the above research question, the analysis framework of this thesis is as follows:

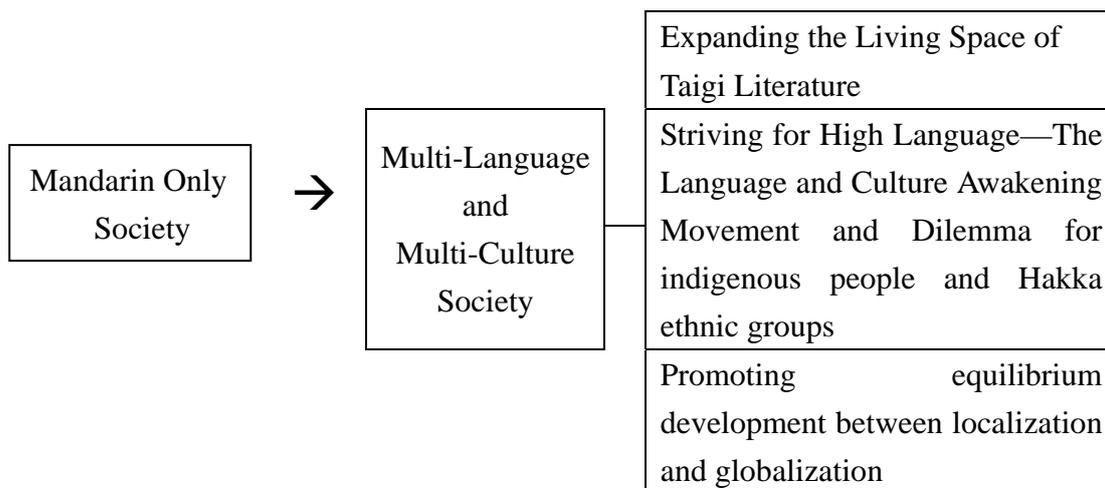
1.3.2.1 Reasons for the formation of the Taigi literature debates



1.3.2.2 Content of the Taigi literature debates



1.3.2.3 The influence of Taigi literature debates on future developments - establishing a multi-language society



Based on the framework above, the chapters of this thesis are arranged as follows:

In the second chapter, I deal with the first research topic: the reasons for the formation of the Taigi literature debates – the rise of the Taigi literature movement. This includes the historical origins of the movement in the Japanese colonial period, the dark post-war era of Taigi development and the appeal and subsequent development of Taigi writing later on.

In the third chapter, I deal with the second research question: the content of the Taigi literature debates, This subject includes (1) the debate between Chinese and Taiwanese viewpoints and by extension, the exploration of Taigi writing value (This subject occurred later however and I will examine it in another section separately.), (2) the debate about language form for Taigi literature, (3) references from other countries' language movements.

The fourth chapter deals with the second research question. This is the extended

subject of related developments to the Taigi literature debates.

In the chapter five, I will address the third research question, which is looking for the significance of the Taigi literature debates. This section will explore those native languages, which are low languages but striving to become high languages and trying to establish a multi-ethnic and multi-language society.

In the last chapter, conclusions will be drawn, along with proposals for future research.

1.4 Theory and literature review

1.4.1 The concept of theory: Diglossia and digraphia

What is diglossia? It comes from French word 'diglossie'. Charles Ferguson used it in English in 1959. Fasold quoted Ferguson's definition of diglossia as following:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may includes a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

(Fasold 1984:38-39)

The features of diglossia were explained by Ferguson as the following table:

Table 1. The features of diglossia

Titles	High varieties	Low varieties
1.Function	Formal and guarded language	Informal, homey and relaxed language
2.Prestige	Superior, more elegant, and more logical language	Inferior and denied language
3.Literary heritage	Continuation of the great tradition	None of traditional literary work
4.Acquisition	Acquired by formal teaching in school	Learned in the normal, natural way
5.Standardization	Formal codification	Lack of established spelling rules.
6.Stability	Lasted for centuries, seldom borrowing words from Low dialect	Often borrowing words from High dialect
7.Grammar	Strict and perfect regulation	An intuitive notion of simple grammar
8.Lexicon	Normally written including technical terms	Everyday conversation for homey objects
9.Phonology	Closer to the common underlying forms (fewer rules)	Farther from underlying forms (relatively more rules)

This table lists the major point of Ferguson's explanation, is made by the author of this thesis. For the more detailed explanation, please refer Fasold (1984).

In Ferguson's concept, the High dialect and the Low dialect are two quite different varieties of the same language. The High dialect used in formal situations is learned from formal education. It has a script criterion, literary tradition, is more elegant, more logical and has a higher status. The Low dialect used in informal situations is acquired from daily life. It has no script criterion, simple grammar, low class and no social status. For example, in the German-speaking area of Switzerland,

standard German is High dialect and other Swiss German dialects are Low dialect. In Haiti, French is high dialect and Creole, a mixed language, is Low dialect. (Fasold, 1984; Chiung 2006b) Joshua Fishman (1967) stated that diglossia not only happened in the situation of ‘two varieties of the same language’. (Fasold 1984) Fishman believed that diglossia “referred to the distribution of more than one language variety to serve different communicational tasks in a society”. (Cited from Fasold 1984: 40) The concept of diglossia was extended to ‘high language’ and ‘low language’.

If we use Charles Ferguson’s theory of diglossia to examine multi-ethnic and multi-language Taiwanese society, in brief, Mandarin can be regarded as the high language, which is used in the Congress, school and mass media. In contrast, native languages like Holo, Hakka and indigenous languages are all low languages, which are used in informal area like family, private meetings and folk activities. Huang (1995) analyzed Taiwanese languages classes as follows: (please refer to **Table 2**)

Table 2. Taiwanese language classes

Westernized Mandarin (H1)
Mandarin (H2)
Taiwanese (M) ⁷ (Including all dialects)
Taiwanese Mandarin (L)

Resources: Huang1995: 16

From high language to low language, the chart is ranked as the followings: Westernized Mandarin, Mandarin, Taiwanese (Including all native languages), and Taiwanese Mandarin. Westernized Mandarin means Mandarin speaking mixed with foreign languages as used by certain intellectuals. Taiwanese Mandarin means

Mandarin speaking with a Taiwanese accent by native speakers.

Chiang (1996) considered Taiwanese language to be formed as double-nested diglossia under the definition of Fasold (1984)

Table 3. Taiwan languages system of ‘double-nested diglossia’

The first level		the second level	
High <	English	High	
	Mandarin	Low	
Low <	Taigi	High	
	Hakka, indigenous languages	Low	

Resources: Chiang 1996:63

In the first level of **Table 3**, English and Mandarin are high languages compared to Taigi, Hakka and indigenous languages. In the second level, the high language of English and Mandarin are divided into high class English and low Mandarin again. The low languages of Taigi, Hakka and indigenous languages are divided into high class Taigi and low Hakka and indigene languages again. According to the standpoint of Chiang (1996), English is considered as a high language in the first level of diglossia. This is because of the ‘pro-US’ policy in Taiwan, which is like a cultural colonization phenomenon in Taiwan. In the second level of diglossia, English has a higher status than Mandarin for ordinary people because the value of English is overstated in Taiwan.

As to digraphia, it is similar to the concept of diglossia. Diglossia distinguishes

high and low class on the basis of spoken languages and digraphia does it on the basis of written language. Chiung quotes Dale's definition of digraphia as follows: "One language uses two script systems." Sinologist DeFrancis also used the same definition. (Cited from Chiung 2006b) Based on the definition of Dale and DeFrancis, Chiung modified this to the following: "In a society, there is over one script system which bears different communication functions separately." (Chiung 2006b: 79-80)

In the traditional Han character culture, classical Han writing was considered as a formal tradition. It belonged to 'high script'. It was used in formal areas like government official documents, and imperial examinations. Other scripts stemming from Han characters belonged to 'low script'. These scripts were used in informal areas and in folk society, for example 'Kua-a-tsheh', 'Peh-oe-ji' in Taiwan, 'kana' in Japan, 'Hangul' in Korea, and 'Chu Nom' in Vietnam. (Chiung 2006b) Digraphia, however, is not a permanently fixed phenomenon. It continues to change over time. In Japan, Korea and Vietnam, they originally used classical Han writing script but abolished it at some point. The scripts they invented like Japanese 'kana', and Korean 'Hangul' in the earlier era, all formed part of their new scripts and became 'high script.' Vietnam abolished 'Chu Nom' and replaced by Romanized 'Chu Quoc Ngu'. (Chiung 2006b) After the colloquial writing movement in China, colloquial writing became popular and there was a tendency to replace the classical Han writing and this became 'high script'.

Although the use of colloquial writing is still the main trend in Han society, Taigi writing is still considered as a 'low script'. Why did this happen? The reason is found in the fact that Taiwan was a foreign colony for a long time. According to the definition of digraphia, Taiwanese native languages are used to act as the 'low script',

which means their writing system served the function of communication in the colonial society. Therefore, in the Japanese colonial period and KMT ruling period, the seeking of literary language status in the ‘Taigi literature movement’ began. Via the movement, Taigi literature sought for high script. Taiwanese received modern educations in the Japanese colonial period and became aware of foreign suppression. Hence, some events occurred at this period such as the Taiwanese vernacular language and literature debates, the collection of folk songs and the compiling and arranging of folk literature and so on. Eventually all these activities were suppressed by Japanese colonial rulers and Taigi failed to achieve the status of literary language. On their accession to power, the KMT regime quickly promoted the policy of ‘Mandarin Only’ in Taiwan, and continued to suppress native languages. It is no wonder that Taiwanese native languages at this point underwent serious language attrition. Fortunately, Taigi poems and vernacular literature emerged in the martial law period. And finally the Taigi literature movement arose again during the process of Taiwan’s democratization. This movement also stimulated the debates about Taigi literature, but Taigi still didn’t achieve the status of literary language in the Constitution.

Actually, the Taigi literature movement was trying to achieve the status of literary language and wanted to become high script. This thesis will use the theory of digraphia to explain the subject of the Taigi literature movement, Taigi literature identification, the Taigi literature debates and related developments. Since digraphia and diglossia have a close corresponding relationship, this thesis also applies diglossia theory.

1.4.2 Literature review

Between 1987 and 1996, the Taigi literature debates emerged in Taiwan. This

was the second debate to have arisen in the past sixty years, with the first argument occurring in the 1930's, in the Japanese colonial period. If the second debate of Taigi literature could be thought of as a continuation of the activities of our predecessors, it would be better stated as the revival of resistance to oppressed ethnic literature. Since the earlier Taigi literature movement in the Japanese colonial period affected the Taigi literature debates in the post-war era heavily, I included many references in the Japanese colonial period in my thesis. I have divided the literature into three categories as follows: the Taigi literature movement, the Taigi literature debates and related developments and the influence of the Taigi literature debates on future developments. The following was some of the literary sources that I surveyed for background information for this thesis.

1.4.2.1 Studies related to the Taigi literature movement

Hu (1989) reviewed the Taiwanese homeland language and literature movement in the Japanese colonial period. In this article, he mentions the debates about vernacular literature in the 1930s, which included debates about the localization of Taiwan literature and debates about whether there must be the unification of speech and writing forms of Taigi. The Taiwanese vernacular language and literature movement deeply influenced the Taigi literature movement in the post-war era. (Hu 1989) Through Hu's article, we can understand the historical background of the Taiwanese vernacular language and literature movement and the different assertions and interests of those in literary circles regarding Chinese colloquial writing and Taiwanese colloquial writing. This article elaborates the deep significance of the Taigi literature movement. The historical background of the Taigi literature movement in the Japanese colonial period provided me with a lot of extremely useful information, which I then examined through the theories of diglossia and digraphia.

Huang (2003a&b) mentioned that after the KMT regime assumed power in Taiwan, they started to remold Taiwanese culture and promote the policy of ‘National language’. They tried to control politics and culture in order to quickly develop national unification. This article stresses the exploration of language policy and language institutional organization and the suppression of ‘National language’ policy on native languages. In general, it mainly analyzes how the KMT regime used language to implement their assimilation policies. Through diglossia and digraphia, I used this article to analyze Taigi developments in the dark post war period, and how Mandarin became a high language and script and how Taigi was oppressed as a low language and script.

The articles of Lin (1997) and Siangyang (1993) offered valuable references to the development of Taigi writing post war. In particular they help me to explain how people strived for high language and high script status for Taigi. Lin (1997), mentioned the development of Taigi literature movement and offered a discourse of Taiwanese vernacular language and literature in Japanese colonial period. Lin (1997) clearly introduces and analyzes the origin, development, theoretical basis and the future influence of Taigi literature. Another author Siangyang (1993) outlined the development of Taigi poetry from the 1920s (the Japanese colonial period) to the 1990’s during the KMT era. This article also represented the viewpoint of Siangyang about the Taigi literature movement.

1.4.2.2 Studies related to Taigi literature debates and related developments

Lu (2001) criticized the writings of Liao Hsien-hao(1987), Chen (1996), Lin

(1991), who were three main participants in the Taigi literature debates. He offered his critical viewpoint about their writings. He stressed that Taigi literature still had a periphery status. It needed to seek the official status and to get into the education system and only then could it have an optimistic future. (Lu 2001) The viewpoint in Lu's article offered me a lot of hints in researching the Taigi literature debates. Later again, I used diglossia and digraphia to examine the writings of the three main participants like Liao Hsien-hao.

Chen (2006) stated that Taiwan's national language has never been the literary language of writers because of colonial suppression. Therefore, language problems have traditionally been the focal point of debate and discussion for Taiwan literature writers. This article analyzed the value system beyond the Taigi literature debates and examines the aims and significance of the Taigi literature debates striving for a national literature for Taiwan. Chen considered the Taigi literature debates as having the ambition to create a national language for a national literature. This viewpoint offered a way of thinking about diglossia and digraphia. Chen divided the participants of the Taigi literature debates into two camps. One camp was native and the other one was non- native. She also divided the value system into Chinese and Taiwanese viewpoints and analyzed the language arguments of the Taiwanese viewpoint. I also divide the Taigi literature debates into native camp and non-native camp and explore their value system. (Chen2006).

Hong (1992) introduced theoretical experts of the Taigi script, for example Ong Iok-tek, Robert L. Cheng, Khou Kek-tun, Ang Ui-jin, Lin Yang-Min and so on. In this article, he mentions the script proposals of Ang Ui-jin and Robert L. Cheng regarding romanization mixed with Han characters. Both of them had the same idea but

different ways of dealing with it and they have debated this subject endlessly. From the assertions of theoretical experts that Hong introduces and the practical viewpoints of those Taigi literature writers, who switched from Mandarin to Taigi, I have divided Taigi script into three proposals: Han-Roman mixed, Han characters only and Roman script only. According to this classification, I elaborate the multi-viewpoint of the Taigi script problem.

Mother tongue means language learning from the mother, but parents in Taiwan teach children with Mandarin at home instead of native Taiwanese. Thus Mandarin, the school teaching language, becomes the mother tongue to many Taiwanese children. Ang (1990) advocated native language education to replace mother tongue education. He thought that native language education could correct the mistaken policy of 'Mandarin Only', and that it could solve the problems of people's indifference, cultural split and ethnic identification. On the other hand he also mentioned that native language education could establish the confidence of native culture. Ang's subject pointed out the mistaken concept of vernacular education in society and the neglect of vernacular education by the government duty, which induced me to explore vernacular education.

Huang (1995) offered this thesis a lot of information. Huang's current language classes of Taiwanese language offered me a good proof of diglossia and digraphia. Huang (1995) stated that two foreign regimes used their 'National Language' to assimilate Taiwanese. This background reflected the ruler's political means and the resistance from subject people. Also Huang compared the means and influence of two national language movements in different period. Finally, he put forward using a spirit of justice to distribute language resources in the country. Huang's (1995) viewpoint

and data inspired me a lot in dealing with the subject of language policy.

Fishman, et al. (1968) elaborated the struggle and dilemma of decolonizing countries on freeing themselves from the powerful influence of colonial language. The Creole language in Haiti, Swahili in Tanzania and Hindi in India were not national languages before. How could these low language native languages become high languages? Their historical experiences are valuable models for Taiwan to learn from regarding language development.

1.4.2.3 Studies related to the influence of the Taigi literature debates on the future development - establishing a multi-language and multi-culture society

Tsai (2007) elaborated indigenous people adopted their own viewpoint using Mandarin writing in 1970's. It explained the resistance of the unequal relationship between indigenous people and Han people. This kind of literature led to ethnic identification among indigenous people. Eventually it resulted in indigenous people going back to their tribes and trying to revive their culture. Tsai (2007) mentioned the process of development, the rise and the definition of indigene literature and also discusses the writing background of the relationship between Indigenous people and Han People. Tsai (2007) offered me very important research data, which explored the culture awakening movement and dilemma for indigenes striving for high Language

Luo (2001) defined Hakka literature as “all belongs to Hakka literature if the thinking is Hakka language, all writing and recording are based on the content of Hakka social life. It doesn't matter whether the writer is Hakka people or his born place. It doesn't matter the literary language.”(Luo 2001: 6)

So far, most Hakka literature writing belongs to Luo's definition instead of the form with the Unification of speech and writing. Luo's definition in Hakka literature made me reflect on the subject of the Hakka language movement striving for high language and its dilemma.

Wu and Chang (2002) stated some principles and concepts for teaching young children English. This article stressed how to learn English well, and it also discussed the enigma of the foreign language learning age. It explored the related subject of 'language learning critical period' and analyzed the factor of influencing language learning. It mentioned the problem of identification of self and culture. These subjects led me to explore the subject of equilibrium development between localization and globalization. That means English plays an important role in globalization and also that localization needs to balance with globalization.

Brief summary

The Taigi literature debates are related to the discussion of Taiwan literature orientation and seeking for independence, which led to seek the status of literary language for Taigi. The content of Taigi literature debates includes the debate of viewpoint between Chinese and Taiwanese, language form argument of Taiwan Literature and extended to Taigi script problems, the related subjects like vernacular education and language policy. The subject of the Taigi literature debates striving for high language from low language also drives the revival of Taiwan's other ethnic groups' language and culture, which encourages the dream of a multi-ethnic and multicultural society. I also refer the data of other countries language movement for comparison.

Endnotes:

¹ See Song (1987a)

² See Lin (1988)

³ KMT is abbreviation of Kuo-Min-Tang. For Mandarin translation, please refer Appendix I.

⁴ In 1995, I served as the executive secretary of the Taiwan Language and Literature Research Association in Taij hong. In 1996, I served as the chief editor of Taiwanese World Magazine. In 1999, I participated in Tongyong pinyin promotional work. In April 2001, I served as a training elementary school teacher in vernacular education. From October 2001 until the present, I have taught native language in Yingge, Taipei County. In 2003, I served on the editing committee of an elementary Taiwanese textbook.

⁵ This thesis will adopt Tongyong Pinyin Romanization system except the writers who had declared their names on the publication already.

⁶ This article is the summary of Liao's "Re-thinking of Taigi literature" In Lu (eds.). (1999).

⁷ "M" means middle language. All dialects in Taiwan are middle language between high language and low language. (Huang 1995)