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ETHNOLINGUISTIC POLITICS IN TAIWAN

Abstract:

Monolingual Mandarin Chinese policy was adopted during ROC's occupation of Taiwan since 1945. Taiwanese people were forced to learn Mandarin Chinese and to identify themselves as Chinese through the national education system. In response to ROC's Chinese language policy, the promoters of Taiwanese have protested against the monolingual policy and have demanded vernacular education in schools. This is the so-called 'Tâi-bûn Ûn-tōng' or 'Taiwanese language movement' that has substantially grown since the second half of the 1980s. The purpose of this paper examines the relationship among politics, nationalism and ethnolinguistic development in the case of Taiwan from the 1940s to current date.

Key words: Taiwanese, Tai-gi, nationalism, politics, ethnicity

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1. Introduction

Taiwan is a multilingual and multiethnic society. Traditionally, the people are divided into four primary ethnic groups: the indigenous (around 1.7% of Taiwan's population), Tâi-oân-lâng or Taiwanese (73.3%), Thòi-vân-ngìn or Hakka (12%) and post war immigrants² (13%) (Huang 1993:21). In addition, as international marriages have become more and more common in the globalization era, and Taiwan being no exception, foreign spouses in Taiwan number 483,587 as of September 2013, according to the statistics of Taiwan's National Immigration Agency, Ministry of Interior.³ These foreign nationals account for 2.07% of Taiwan's total population.⁴

The speakers of Tâi-gí (台語Taiwanese language) are traditionally and commonly called Tâi-oân-lâng (台灣人), literally 'the Taiwanese people.' Occasionally, they are called Hō-ló-lâng (or Hô-ló, Hok-ló, in different spellings) or Bân-lâm-lâng (閩南人Southern Min people) by other ethnic groups. The language Tâi-gí is also occasionally called Hō-ló-ōe (福佬話) or Bân-lâm-ōe (閩南話Southern Min language) in different contexts. Although the term 'Tâi-gí' has been

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

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

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

used for more than one hundred years in society in Taiwan, it has not always been politically and officially approved by the government of Republic of China on Taiwan (ROC, thereafter). On the contrary, 'Southern Min' is officially adopted by the ROC to refer to Taiwanese.

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

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

The purpose of this paper examines the relationship among politics, nationalism and ethnolinguistic development in the case of Taiwan from the 1940s to current date.

2. The historical context of ethnic groups and relations

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

The aboriginal tribes, which belong to the Austronesian-Formosan language family, have been living in Taiwan for over a thousand years (cf. Lewis 2009). The classification of different tribes varies from scholar to scholar. Up to July 2014, the existing indigenous people are officially recognized as sixteen ethnic groups by the government of ROC on Taiwan. Their ethnic names also vary from past to present. For example, ‘Sek'-hoan’ (熟番; ‘cooked savages’ or ‘sinicized barbarians’) or ‘Chhe'-hoan’ (生番; ‘raw savages’ or ‘rude barbarians’) were frequently used during the Chinese feudal period. Those pejorative names were later replaced by ‘Takasago’ (タカサゴ高砂族⁵) during the Japanese rule. ‘Takasago’ was further replaced by ‘Shānbāo’ (山胞 mountain compatriots) by the Chinese

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

ROC regime. The current official name 'Yuánzhùmín' (原住民indigenous peoples) was not approved by the ROC until 1994.

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

Koxinga (國姓爺or鄭成功), leader of one of the remnants, brought 25,000 soldiers to Taiwan and drove away the Dutch, who were the colonizers of Taiwan at that time. The Koxinga Regime was then shortly established in Taiwan from 1662 to 1683 (Su 1980:102; Ong 1993b:56). The Koxinga regime was later defeated by the Qing armies. Consequently, Taiwan became the colony of Qing Empire from 1883 to 1895.

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

the speaker lived was usually used by its speaker to refer to her/his vernacular. For example, the terms, such as Chiang-chiu (漳州), Choan-chiu (泉州), Amoy (廈門), and Formosan, were widely employed in dictionaries compiled by missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see appendix I). The term 'Southern Min' was not even common until ROC's promotion of it in Taiwan after World War II.

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

Due to Qing's restrictions on migration, Hakka and Tio-chiu people are less numerous than the Hokkien during the process of migration to Taiwan. For example, right after Qing defeated Koxinga

regime in 1683, the Qing announced such restrictions as “people who lived in Tio-chiu and Hui-chiu (Fuichiu 惠州) were not allowed to move to Taiwan, because those places were suspected of being the bases for pirates.” Such restrictions on Hakka were continued until 1760 (Su 1980:129).

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

The number of immigrants increased and soon became higher than the number of the indigenous people. The majority of the early immigrants who moved to Taiwan were male. Many of them

intermarried with local indigenous women. The indigenous tribes that mainly resided in the western plain areas were more likely to come into contact with immigrants than tribes living in the mountains. They either were conquered by immigrants or intermarried with them (Su 1980).

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

In the early period of migration, most of those immigrants only intended to live in Taiwan provisionally, and they identified themselves with their original clans in southeast China (Tan 1994, pp. 140-141). However, during the course of indigenization, they moved

from an immigrant society to a native society in the nineteenth century (Tan 1994, p. 92). That means that the immigrants began to settle down and to distinguish themselves from the people who lived in China. For example, there was an old Taiwanese saying, "Tâng-soa"-kheh, tùi-pòa" soeh" (唐山客,對半說). Literally, it means that "you should discount the words of the guests from China." It advised that you should not believe the Chinese too much while you are doing business with them. This old saying also reveals that the indigenized immigrants had considered themselves as 'masters' rather than 'guests' in Taiwan, where they have been living for several generations. In short, the late nineteenth century saw the origin of a proto-Taiwanese nation, according to historian Su Beng (Su 1992, pp. 196-200).

In 1895, Taiwan and the Pescadore islands were transferred by the Qing emperor to Japanese emperor as a consequence of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which ended the first Sino-Japanese War. The Japanese colonization (1895-1945) of Taiwan was the historical turning point in Taiwan in the transition from traditional Chinese feudal society to a modern capitalist society (Su 1992, pp. 205-215). Owing to modernization and capitalization during the Japanese rule, the earlier proto-Taiwanese identity advanced to Taiwanese nationhood (Su 1992, p. 220). Those immigrant identities, once connected to the homeland of their ancestors such as 'Chiang-chiu

people' and 'Choan-chiu people,' began to be replaced by a developing sense of being a 'Taiwanese people' in contrast to being a Japanese people. Thereafter, 'Taiwanese language' and 'Taiwanese people' were widely used by the people all over Taiwan.

The strong Taiwanese identity during the Japanese era could be well illustrated by the formation of political organizations, such as Sin Bîn Hoe (新民會 New People Association), established in 1920. Its organization guidelines mentioned: "To promote political reforms in Taiwan in order to improve the happiness of the Taiwanese people" (Ong 1988, pp. 44-49). Moreover, the declarations (1925) of the Tokyo Association of Taiwanese Academic Studies (東京台灣學術研究會), which was organized by some overseas Taiwanese students in Tokyo, included: (Ong 1988, pp. 91-92)

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

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

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

In addition to the identity transition from seeing themselves as immigrants to seeing themselves as native Taiwanese, the linguistic genres of vernacular spoken by the immigrants also changed. For example, although Choan-chiu and Chiang-chiu were originally two

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

3. Awareness of Writing in Taiwanese

The Taiwanese language could be written in different orthographies. Currently, there are three major writing systems: 1) Roman-only, or exclusive use of Roman scripts, 2) Han characters only, which means exclusive use of Hanji, and 3) Han-Lo ‘Hanji with Roman

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

script,' which means a combination of Hanji with Roman scripts (Cheng 1990, pp. 219-237; Ong 1993a; Tiuⁿ 1998, pp. 230-241; Chiung 2001; Klöter 2005).

The Roman scheme for writing Taiwanese was mainly developed and contributed by Western missionaries in the nineteenth to early twentieth century (Klöter 2005, p. 89). Called Peh-ōe-jī, which means the scripts of vernacular speech in contrast to the complicated classical Han writing, it was introduced in Taiwan in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷ It is currently also called 'Tâi-oân-jī' or Taiwanese scripts. It made important impact in three significant aspects: 1) cultural enlightenment, 2) education for all people and 3) literary creation in colloquial Taiwanese (Chiung 2013b, p. 111, Chiung 2011, p. ix).

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

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

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

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

Generally speaking, missionaries' dictionaries were using Amoy vernacular as the criteria by the early twentieth century. Thereafter, the vernacular spoken in Taiwan gradually became the criteria. For example, *The Amoy-English Dictionary* and *English-Amoy Dictionary*, published by The Maryknoll Language Service Center in Taichung in 1976 and 1979, are two such dictionaries. Their vocabularies and

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

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

pronunciation systems are mainly based on the local Taichung vernacular even though 'Amoy' was named. The publisher had to use 'Amoy' rather than 'Taiwanese' was due to the factor that Taiwan under ROC's martial law from 1949 to 1987. At a later time, they were republished as *Taiwanese-English Dictionary* in 2001 and *English-Taiwanese Dictionary* in 2013, respectively.¹¹

In addition to missionaries' efforts, the Taiwan Governor-General's Office also published several dictionaries during the period of Japanese rule (Ang 1993c). For example, we have the *Japanese-Taiwanese Encyclopedic Dictionary* in 1907 and *Taiwanese-Japanese Encyclopedic Dictionary* in 1931 and 1932. Vocabularies based on Taiwanese were collected in those dictionaries and they were written in Hanji with revised Japanese Kana.¹²

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

¹¹ These dictionaries are available at <<http://www.taiwanese-dictionary.org>>

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

dictionaries published during martial law period were much more limited in number. Moreover, more than half of them had to politically compromise with ROC and use the name 'Southern Min.'

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

Amoy vernacular was regarded as the criteria for compiling the Bible by both Maxwell and Barclay. Thereafter, all editions of the Bible were translated in Taiwanese vernacular. For example, the *Ko-Tân*

edition of Colloquial Taiwanese New Testament,¹³ which was mainly translated based on the vernacular spoken in the central Taiwan areas, was completed by the Maryknoll Society in 1972 (Niu 2005; Lim 2005). This Bible is also called 'Âng-phôe Sèng-keng' or 'Red Cover Bible' because of the color of its front cover. It was expected to fulfill the needs of modern Taiwanese speakers. Unfortunately, it was seized by the ROC regime in 1975. It was later transcribed into Han-Lo version by Lîm Chùn-iok and published by the Taiwan Church Press in 2005.¹⁴

Several revised or newly translated editions of the Bible in Taiwanese were published again after the martial law was lifted in Taiwan. During this period, the Taiwanese Bibles were published in three ways: 1) Roman-only, 2) Han-only, and 3) Han-Lo hybrid. For example, *Hiân-tâi Tâi-gú Sin-iok Sèng-keng*, or The Today's Taiwanese New Testament, which was translated directly from Greek into Romanized Taiwanese mainly based on northern Taiwanese varieties, was published by the Bible Society in Taiwan in 2008 (Li 2010, pp. 74-75).¹⁵ It was later published again in the Han-Lo version in 2013 (Tiuⁿ 2014, pp. 16-17). Recently, *Choân-bîn Tâi-gí Sèng-keng* or The Common Taiwanese Bible, which was revised from 1933 Barclay's edition and transcribed into southern Taiwanese accents, was

¹³ *Ko-Tân Tâi-oân Peh-ōe Sèng-keng Eh-pún* 高老灣白話經本

¹⁴ Its original texts are available at <<http://taigi.fhl.net/list.html>>, and sound archives are available at <http://bible.fhl.net/new/audio_hb.php?version=6>

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

completed in 2013. It contains three versions: 1) Roman-only, 2) Han-Lo, and 3) Han-Lo plus Ruby functions.¹⁶ They are expected to be published in recent years. In addition to Roman-only and Han-Lo editions, Taiwanese Bible in Han characters “台語漢字本聖經” was published in 1996 for the first time. This Hanji edition was merely transcribed from Barclay’s edition into Han characters.

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

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

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

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

In addition to newspapers, there were some other publications, such as *Pit Soàn ê Chho Hak* (Fundamental Mathematics) by *Ūi-lîm Gê* in 1897, *Lāi Gōa Kho Khàn-hō-hak* (The Principles and Practice of Nursing) by G. Gushue-Taylor in 1917, the novel *Chhut Sí-Sòaⁿ* (Line between Life and Death) by *Khe-phoàn Tēⁿ* in 1926, and the collection of commentaries *Chap-hāng Koán-kiàn* (Opinions on Ten Issues) by *Pôe-hóe Chhòa* in 1925.¹⁸

Due to the successful promotion of written Taiwanese in the second half of nineteenth century, it had contributed to the emergence of Taiwanese new literature, which was written in accordance with the Taiwanese colloquial vernacular rather than traditional classical Han writing (Chiung 2005, p. 35). Comparing to the May Fourth New Culture Movement of 1919 in China, Taiwanese people had experienced colloquial writing decades earlier than the

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

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

Chinese people. This is one of the reasons why the development of modern literature in Taiwan is quite different from China.

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

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

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

At the end of World War II, Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Chinese Nationalist (KMT) took over China (excluding Manchuria), Taiwan, and French Indo-China north of 16° north latitude on behalf of the Allied Powers under General Order No. 1 of September 2, 1945

(Hodgkin 1981, p. 288; Peng & Ng 1995, pp. 60-61; Chiung 2007, p. 110-111, 2008). In accordance with this order, Chiang sent troops to Taiwan and Vietnam. After Japanese forces were disarmed, Chiang was requested by Ho Chi Minh and French power to withdraw his troops from Vietnam in 1946. However, Chiang's troops remained in Taiwan even though the well-known February 28 Revolution occurred in 1947 (Kerr 1992; Su 1980, pp. 749-801; Ong 1993b, pp. 157-162). Simultaneously, Chiang Kai-shek was fighting against the Chinese Communist Party in Mainland China.

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

Chiang claimed that Taiwan was a province of China, and ROC was the only legitimate government of China even though the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in Beijing by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in October 1949. Due to Chiang's control of Taiwan, his mortal enemy, the communist leader Mao Zedong, also

claimed that Taiwan was a part of PRC. In fact, both KMT and CCP used to support Taiwan to become an independent state from the Japanese during the 1920s and 1930s (Siau 1981). Nevertheless, the current relation between Taiwan and China remains a political issue to solve. From the perspective of people in Taiwan, many public opinion polls done lately have shown that the majority of Taiwanese people are more likely to support Taiwanese independence. For example, the polls conducted by Taiwan Thinktank in July 2014 revealed that 82.9% of the subjects agreed that Taiwan and China are two countries independent from each other.¹⁹

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

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

the second half of the 1980s (Hsiao 1997; Erbaugh 1995; Li 1999; Lim 1996; Chiung 1999, 2007; Klöter 2005).

Although Peh-ōe-jī was originally devised for religious purposes, it is no longer limited to religious applications after the contemporary Tâi-bûn movement was raised in the late 1980s (Chiung 1999, p. 42, 2005, p. 40). Peh-ōe-jī has been adopted by many Taiwanese promoters to write Taiwanese either in Roman-only or Han-Lo styles. For example, famous Taiwanese periodicals such as *Tôî-oân-jī* (*Taiwanese Scripts*), *Tâi-bûn Thong-sìn* (*TBTS Newsletter*), *Tâi-bûn Bóng Pò* (*Bong Newspaper*), and *Hái-ang* (*Whale of Taiwanese Literature*) all adopt Peh-ōe-jī as the Romanization for writing Taiwanese. Moreover, academic Journal, such as *Journal of Taiwanese Vernacular* accepts Peh-ōe-jī as official writing. In addition, professional organizations such as Tâi-oân Lô-má-jī Hiap-hōe (Taiwanese Romanization Association) was organized in August 2001 for the promotion of writing in fully Romanized Taiwanese.²⁰ Tâi-bûn Pit-hōe (Taiwanese Pen), the literary society of Taiwanese writers for the promotion of literary creations in Taiwanese vernacular was established in 2009. The Center for Taiwanese Languages Testing at National Cheng Kung University was established in 2010.²¹ They all recognized Peh-ōe-jī as the official orthography for Taiwanese.

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

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

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

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

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While people were feeling hopeful and confident about mother tongue education, Ma Ying-jeou, from the KMT, won the presidential election in 2008. Once KMT became the ruling party again, all native policies regarding Taiwanese languages and culture adopted by the DDP were gradually changed. For example, the budget for Taiwanese proficiency test was cut by KMT legislators in February 2009.²² Also, 'Taiwan' was withdrawn by MOE from 'Taiwan Southern Min' of the "Grade 1-9 Curriculum Guidelines" in 2009. Moreover, private publishers such as King-an were later forced to replace 'Taiwanese' with 'Southern Min' on the title of Taiwanese textbooks for elementary students.²³ The major excuse of the MOE officials and KMT legislators was that the term 'Taiwanese' would mislead people into thinking that Hakka and indigenous Formosan languages were excluded from the list of native languages in Taiwan. It sounded like that they were calling for racial equality. In fact, they were oppressing the Taiwanese speaking people's growing awareness of their own identity and sowing seeds of discord among ethnic groups in Taiwan.

Because Ma Ying-jeou was regarded as a pro-China president by the Taiwanese people, these actions hostile toward Taiwanese were

²² Petition and press release are available at <<http://www.tlh.org.tw/liansu.htm>> Relevant news reports, available at <<http://www.peopo.org/news/29178>>, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pz1b6dWrpUE>>, and <<http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/paper/283646>>

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

considered Ma's step toward de-Taiwanization (去台灣化). In response to MOE's racial discrimination against Taiwanese speaking people, around 40 Taiwanese organizations immediately formed an alliance called "Alliance against the Discrimination Term on Southern Min" (ADTSM) and protested against the MOE.²⁴ The organizations include Taiwanese Romanization Association, Haiang Taiwanese Association, Taiwan South Society, Taiwan Hakka Society, etc (Chiung 2010b).

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

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

²⁴ The videos on the protest are viewable with keyword '送蛇教育部' (sent snakes to MOE) on Youtube, or at <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GdkkAobYkFQ>>, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yuWDOQqBIV4>>, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9D0EGCC4zHM>> Their relevant news reports are available at <<http://hongtintgb.pixnet.net/blog/post/277018-090729>> 反國語政研新連結 and <<https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/nihonnokoe/conversations/messages/1555>>

How can we use such a pejorative and insulting term to refer to a modern people?

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

To give readers a better idea of how different names are preferred and used in Taiwan, search results using Google Taiwan, dated on March 19, 2015, of different names (in Han characters) are tested. It reveals that台灣話/台語 or Taiwanese Language was the most popular one with 14.7 million items found on Google. On the contrary, 閩南語 or Southern Min was accounted only 0.8 million. This shows that Taiwanese language is the most favored name by the

Taiwanese people.

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

5. Conclusions

From the political perspective of ROC, Mandarin Chinese in traditional Chinese characters was considered the only orthodox language. Education in Taiwanese, either in Han characters or Roman scripts, was definitely regarded as a challenge to the Chinese regime. Although nationalism may or may not consist of a linguistic component, it is definitely the case in East Asia that language and scripts play a substantial role in nation-building. For more than a millennium, Han characters and classical Han writing have served as the hallmark and tie between China and the Sinitic countries in the Han sphere. From the nationalistic viewpoint, abolition of Chinese

characters was thus considered an important step to the construction of a newly independent nation-state by the Taiwanese language promoters. Although writing in Taiwanese is still far removed from the ROC controlled Taiwanese society, it is not surprising that as conflicts between Taiwan and China increase, people's enthusiasm about written Taiwanese will be mobilized. For example, the Association of Taiwanese Romanization and Taiwanese Pen were established in 2001 and 2009, respectively. These organizations aiming to promote writing in Romanized Taiwanese. It can be considered Taiwan's reflection of the increased military and politico-economic threats from China in recent years.

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