

爱知大学
博士学位论文

文化归宗、权利抗争与政治认同
——近代台湾白话书写研究
**“Culture Return” , “Struggle for Rights”
and “Political Identity”:**
**The Study on Vernacular Writing in
Modern Taiwan**

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摘 要

语言文字是人类参与社会活动的重要媒介，承载着思维方式、价值观念、民族情感、政治认同等诸多精神层面的活动，具有广泛而深刻的学术研究价值。近代以来，世界各个国家和地区的书面语言都发生了显著的变化，总的趋势是由典雅到通俗，由繁复到简单，由艰深到直白。这与民族国家、大众权利、科学理性等现代性思潮的兴起密切相关。随着殖民主义在全球的扩张，强势的宗主国通过教育途径对弱势的殖民地进行语言同化，使这一问题变得更加扑朔迷离。近代台湾所经历的独特而复杂的语言场域就是一个鲜明的典型，折射出台湾民众夹杂在文化母国中国、宗主国日本以及自身殖民地处境的种种纠结。

甲午战后，原属中国的台湾成为日本的殖民地，丧失了文化自主性。日本当局凭借政权的力量在台湾推行以日语为中心的同化政策，具有浓厚中华文化情结的台湾士绅则通过诗社、文社、书房等途径延续汉文脉，成为对抗殖民同化的阵地。20世纪二、三十年代，民族自决、民族自治的思潮在全世界范围内激荡，成长壮大起来的新一代台湾知识群体也纷纷投入到民族运动的洪流当中。他们以文化启蒙为号召，创办了白话报刊《台湾民报》，一方面引导台湾文化向中国归宗，大量引介大陆五四新文化运动的成果，汲取思想营养；另一方面进行权利抗争，抗议殖民当局对台湾民众的残酷压榨与剥削，以及对台湾人和在台日本人实行的差别待遇。三十年代前期兴起的台湾话文运动，是文化启蒙的深入发展，也是部分台湾知识群体主体意识觉醒、寻求文化自主性的尝试。然而殖民地境遇中的台湾无法主宰自己的命运，随着战争局势的发展，台湾知识群体发起的文化启蒙运动很快被日本当局主导的“皇民化”浪潮所吞没，最终无果而终。

二战结束后，台湾光复，结束了殖民地的历史，纳入中华民国管辖。国民党政权为了巩固自身在台湾的统治，实现“去日本化，再中国化”的目标，重塑台湾民众的民族情感、国家意识和政治认同，在台湾发起了轰轰烈烈的“国语运动”。初期由于当局操之过急，加之发生“二二八”事件，台湾民众对学习国语一度产生抵触情绪。后续主政者坚持推广，历经二十余年实现了与大陆相同的国语普及。这一政策在客观上维系了对中华文化的认同，并为两岸的人员往来和文化交流提供了诸多便利。

因为所处的历史境遇不同，殖民地台湾与半殖民地中国大陆发生的白话文运动，既有千丝万缕的密切联系，又有不同的特征和迥异的结果。语言破碎是殖民地的显著特征。处于异族统治下的台湾知识群体艰苦奋斗、挣扎，却难以完成文化启蒙的历史使命。迷茫、悲情、游移、破碎成为日据时期台湾意识的基调，也为一部分台湾人的迷失埋下了伏笔。

关键词：文化归宗；权利抗争；政治认同

Abstract

With rich contents involved such as ways of thinking, personal values, national emotion and political recognition, language is an important media in social interactions and is thus widely and profoundly researched in scholastic fields. Written languages all over the world have witnessed obvious changes since modern times, showing a general tendency from being classical to vernacular, complicated to simple, and difficult to easy. Such changes are closely related to the surges of modern thoughts, such as national countries, public rights and scientific reasoning. This problem has become more and more sophisticated with a global expansion of colonialism when colonizing countries assimilate the colonized in terms of language by means of education. The unique and complicated language environment in modern Taiwan is a good example of such phenomenon, reflecting the hard situation of Taiwanese entangled between China, their mother country in culture, Japan, their colonial country, and Taiwan, their colonized dwelling place.

Taiwan, formerly a Chinese Territory, became a colony of Japan and lost its cultural autonomy after the war between China and Japan in 1894. In terms of language, the Japanese colonial power carried out an assimilation policy centered on Japanese in Taiwan with the administrative force, whereas those Taiwanese intellectuals who had a strong identification to the Chinese culture tried every means to maintain the Chinese language by organizing poetry and literature communities, libraries and schools, and thus formed a rival force to the colonial assimilation. There surged a wave of national autonomy and national independence during the 1920s and 1930s. Influenced by such ideas, a growing group of Taiwanese intellectuals devoted themselves to the national movement. Upholding the idea of cultural enlightenment, they issued a journal in vernacular Chinese, Taiwan People's Daily, to lead the local culture back to its Chinese Origin by introducing and absorbing achievements of the May Fourth Movement in Mainland China, and to protest against the colonial suppression, exploitation and discrimination. The vernacular Chinese movement which appeared in the early 1930s was the further development of such enlightenment, and also a tentative trail of the awakening of subject consciousness and the searching for cultural autonomy of part of the Taiwanese

intellectuals. But the colonial Taiwan had no chance to decide its own fate and such movement was quickly engulfed by the Japanization movement launched by the colonial authority and became invalid along with going of the war.

Taiwan came back to Republican China and ended its history of a colony when the WWII was over. The Republican government launched a Chinese Language Campaign with a large scale in order to strengthen its control in Taiwan, to reshape the national emotion, national ideology and political recognition among the Taiwan people, and to realize a target of “de-Japanization” and “re-Chineseness”. But the local Taiwan people were once resistant to the Chinese Language Campaign because the government was too hasty in its early stage and there occurred the February 28th Event in 1947. Owing to the persistence of later government leaders, the Chinese language was popularized to the same degree of Mainland China after more than 20 years of hard work. Though political recognition was not realized between Taiwan and Mainland China, the Campaign maintained the recognition of Chinese culture by Taiwanese, and it provided convenience to personnel interactions and cultural communications between the two.

Vernacular writing movements in colonial Taiwan and half-colonial Mainland China were closely related on the one hand, but they had different features and results on the other due to the different historical situations. Language fragmentation is an obvious feature of colonies. Under an alien colonization, Taiwan intellectuals strived and struggled at that time, but found it hard to fulfill their historical duty of cultural enlightenment. Hesitation, sorrow, puzzle and fragmentation became the key tune in the Taiwan ideology during the Japanese colonization, and seeded a lost generation in part of the Taiwan people.

Key Words: culture return; struggle for rights; political identity