

客語及台語與性相關的髒話初探*

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摘 要

髒話是一種民間的語言行為，普遍存在於各種語言，並長期施行於日常生活當中。從古至今，髒話不但發展出多種表達方式與用途，更兼具多重的社會心理功能，因而可藉由探索髒話來探究歷史與風俗的演變。

然而，由於精英階層的文化歧視，像髒話這麼突顯又長久遍存的語言行為，至今卻鮮少被學界注意。所以本論文主張必須突破這種學術偏見，以新的研究視野來探討此類普羅百姓的語文化。

所有的髒話之中，與性相關的語詞向來被認為禁忌度（taboo loading）最高，不只數量多而發達，還展現鮮明的性別意識。本論文以台語、客語這兩種台灣本土母語中與性相關的髒話語料做為研究對象，把它們視為一個論述空間（discourse），並比較這兩種語言中此類髒話的構成方式以及它們所體現的性別觀點。

目前初步的研究發現，台語、客語與性相關的髒話當中，許多極為相似，可以互通，同時大多呈顯以男性為中心的思維模式。不過客語的誇張性、表達性、大膽開放尺度以及意象的豐富程度都超過台語，殺傷力相對也較強。這兩種語言的這些共同點和差異該如何詮釋？與台灣的歷史、社會變遷和福佬、客家這兩個族群的關係可以做何種聯結？這些都是本論文試圖探討的課題。

關鍵字：髒話、性、性別、語言行為、論述空間

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Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tsham Sîng Siong-kuan ê Tshoh-kàn-kiâu Tsho-thàm*

Tēⁿ, Ngá-î

Kok-lip Tâi-uân Su-huân Tâi-hák Tâi-uân Gí-bûn Hák-hē Phok-sū Hâu-suán-jîn

Tiah-iàu

Tshoh-kàn-kiâu sī bîn-kan ê gí-giân hîng-ûi, kú-tîng si-hîng tī jît-siông sing-uah, koh phó-phiàn tsûn-tsāi tī ták-tsióng gí-giân tiong-kan. Kàu taⁿ, tshoh-kàn-kiâu m̄-nā huat-tián-tshut tsûe-tsue piáu-tát khúan-sit kap iōng-tô, koh kiam-pī kúi-nā tsióng siā-hûe sim-lí kong-lîng, thang tui kî-tiong tshiau-tshûe lik-sú kap hong-siòk ián-piàn ê kha-jiah. Tsóng-sī, kùe-khì in-ûi tsing-ing kai-tsàn ê kî-sī, tsiah-nih hiáⁿ-bák, tút-hián ê gí-giân hián-siōng suah oh-tit hō hák-sút-kai tiōng-sī. Só-í pún-lūn-bûn tsú-tiuⁿ ū pit-iàu phah-phua tsit tsióng kai-kip phian-kiàn, iōng sin ê gián-kiù sī-ia̍ lài thàm-thó tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsit tsióng phó-lô peh-sèⁿ ê gí-bûn-hua (languag-culture).

Tshoh-kàn-kiâu iōng-gí tiong-kan, kap sîng siong-kuan--ê it-hiōng hông liáh-tsò kìm-khī thîng-tō (taboo loading) siōng kuan ê, m̄-nā sò-liōng tsûe koh tsin huat-tát, jî-tshiáⁿ tui sian-bîng ê sîng-piát ì-sik. Pún-lūn-bûn iōng Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tse 2 tsióng Tâi-uân pún-thó gí-giân tsit hong-bián ê gí-liáu tsò gián-kiù tui-siōng, ká sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu liáh-tsò 1 ê tui-ue khong-kan (discourse), thang pí-kàu tse 2 tsióng gí-giân-tiong tsit lūi tshoh-kàn-kiâu ê hîng-sik, sūa thó-lūn in só thê-hián ê sîng-piát kuan-tiám.

Hián-tshú-sī tsho-pō ê gián-kiù huat-hián, Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tsham sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsin tsûe ē-tàng saⁿ-thong, koh lóng sī iōng lâm-sîng tsò tsú-thé lài kiàn-kò--ê. M̄-kú Kheh-gí--ê phòng-tshîng thîng-tō khah kuan, piáu-tát-sîng (expressiveness) kap “sat-siong-lát” (wounding capacity) siong-tui mā khah kiōng. Tsiah ê kiōng-tōng-tiám kap tsing-tsha beh án-tsúaⁿ tshûan-sik? Kap tse 2 ê tsók-kûn ê bûn-hua, lik-sú ū siáⁿ-mih kuan-hē? Tsiah--ê mā sī tát-tit thó-lūn ê khò-tê.

Kuan-kiàn-jī: tshoh-kàn-kiâu, sîng, sîng-piát, gí-giân hîng-ûi, tui-ue khong-kan

* Tsok-tsiá kám-siā Lí Khîn-hūaⁿ lâu-su tsioh i 5 pún gí-giân-hák siong-kuan ê tshoh, hō tsit phiⁿ lūn-bûn ê lí-lūn kî-tshóo ē tit-thang khai-tián. Mā kám-siā Tân Lúi sian--ê thê-kiōng Tâi-gí ê i-hák bîng-sū. Kheh-gí ê gí-liáu siu-tsip tsham kái-thók ài tik-piát kám-siā Phùng Hí-siu (馮喜秀) sîn-sâng. Koh kám-siā Bân-bân Kî-tok Tiúⁿ-lô kàu-hûe Yù Suk-yîn (游淑英) bók-su-niū, Lîm Chhiong-yū (林暢有) bók-su tsham Hiú Suk-fà (邱淑華) lú-sū. Siāng-sī kám-siā Pîn-tong-tshī Kî-tok-kàu Sîn-gī-hûe tsioh gúan hóng-tâm ê só-tsāi.

1. Gián-kiù Tōng-ki

Tshoh-kàn-kiâu sī phó-phiàn tsūn-tsāi (universal) ê jí-giân hîng-ûi (speech acts)¹, koh kiam-pī to-gûan ê sim-lí kap siā-hūe kong-lîng, kú-tng tī ták tsióng jí-giân khuan-kíng, iū-kî sī tiong-ê kai-tsàn ê peh-sèⁿ tiong-kan, put-kuan-sî hông su-iōng. Thong-kùe tshoh-kàn-kiâu, lāng siau-tháu tsing-sū, piáu-tát sim-siaⁿ, mā thang hú-tsō á-sī tng-ūaⁿ jí-khì, sīm-tsi koh iōng án-ne lâi kau-liū kám-tsing, kiàn-kò siā-kūn lūe-pō ê jîn-tōng. Tshoh-kàn-kiâu mā thang kóng sī 1 tsióng siā-hūe sít-tsiān (social practice)². Keng-kùe sò-pah-nî, hūan-sè kúi-nā tshing tang ê ián-piàn, ták tsióng jí-giân lóng lúi-tsik hong-hù ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu jí-sū, hîng-sing ka-kī ê thūan-thóng. Hiān-tāi-lāng thang tui tsin tshiau-tshue lik-sú, hong-siok koh ū jí-giân kap jîn-ti ê ián-tsin, siang-sí koh thang tshiat-jip kau 1 ê bô kâng ì-sik hîng-thai kau-tsiap piān-lūn ê tui-ue khong-kan (Hughes, 1993: 1-36; Coates, 1993: 16-57).

Láu m̄-kú, tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsiah-nih kú-tng koh hiáⁿ (salient), koh ū tsue-tsue tng siā-hūe bûn-hua ì-hâm ê jí-giân hiān-siōng kau taⁿ suah hán-tit hō hák-sút-kai gián-kiù. Tsú-iàu ê gûan-in tsāi-tī tshoh-kàn-kiâu it-tit hông liat-tsò “tsing-tsê-tō bô kau”, “unkempt” ê jí-giân hîng-ûi, hông phîⁿ-siuⁿ sī ē-kai-tsàn, bô tsui-tsún, bô sò-iōng, bô tì-sik ê lāng teh kóng ê “tsho-ue”, “thai-ko-ue.” (Wajnryb, 2006: 207) Kî-sit, tsāi-lâi jí-giân-hák-tsiá hîng-tshū ê tê-bák íng-íng sī “kempt”, tsūi sī hông liat-tsò standard language, bûn-ngá, tsiaⁿ-thóng jí-giân ê jí-im, jí-huat kap jí-ì. Sū-sit tse siok-tī tsing-ing ê kai-kip phian-kiàn kap bûn-hua kî-sī (Wajnryb, 2006: 1-14, 279-284; Hughes, 1993: preface vii-ix). Siā-hūe--nih tsíang-khòng kuan-lik (power) ê “majority” óng-óng ē-tàng khòng-tsè “siōng-ting ê bûn-hua tsu-pún” (symbolic cultural capital), mā thêh-tiōh tì-sik ê tshuan-sik-kuan. Kîⁿ-nā tsiah ê tsing-ing kah-ì ê, á-sī tui in ū lī-ik ê, tō hông suan-iōng tsò “phiau-tsún” ê, “bûn-ngá” ê, ū “phín-bī” (taste/class) ê, siong-tui mā ká “minority” ê jí-giân bûn-hua “otherized”, ká in pian-iân-hua (Coates, 1993: 4-6; Bourdieu, 1994: 444-454)³.

Bûn-hák ê gián-kiù-tsiá mā bē tàng thiàu-thuat tsit tsióng high-brow ê kai-kip iu-uat-kám kap tūa-sè-bák (snobbishness). In sù-siōng gián-kiù ê hūan-ûi hān-tiāⁿ tī si, sàⁿ-bûn, siáu-suat, hi-kiok tng-tng hông liat-tsò king-tián (canonized) ê bûn-lūi (genres). Kî-sit tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsin tsue sî-tsūn tshut-hiān tī siū-khì lé-mē. Ūi-tiōh beh tui tsit-bák-nih tát-kau siong-hāi tui-hong ê hāu-kó, tshoh ê lāng

1 Jí-giân hîng-ûi sī tsí lāng iōng jí-giân tsò kang-kū lâi tsham pát-lāng kau-thong, piáu-tát ka-kī ê ì-hiōng, bók-tik, sìn-liām kap òng-bāng tng-tng ê hîng-tōng (謝國平, 1994: 214-215).

2 “Siā-hūe sít-tsiān” tsāi-tī tshoh-kàn-kiâu lâi kóng, tsūi sī tse m̄ kan-ta sī 1 tsióng jí-giân ê piáu-hiān á-sī kau-thong ê hîng-sik nā-tiāⁿ, koh kap tsing-thé ê siā-hūe kî-tsè hō-tōng, tsham-ú tī siā-hūe bûn-hua kè-tát-kuan ê hîng-sok kap ūn-tsok.

3 Tsit ūi teh tsí ê “to-sò” (majority) kap “tsio-sò” (minority) m̄ sī teh tsí lāng-giāh ê tsue-tsio, sī teh kóng kuan-lik ê tshut-tik kap khòng-tsè (Coates, 1993: 6). Ū ê hông sít-bîn ê tsók-kūn sui-jiān jîn-kháu tsue, mā sng “minority”; jîn-kháu tsio ê thóng-tī kai-tsàn huan-tng sī “majority”.

tik-khak ài tshoh kah kán-té ū-lát, hiông koh thau-ki. Só-í tshoh-kán-kiâu ê gí-giân sú-iông ìng-tong sī tsing-bít koh súi-khùi, tsiah ē-tàng huat-hui tsit ê tsok-iông. Kì-jân án-ne, tshoh-kán-kiâu ê bí-hák tshiú-lō sū-sit-tsiūⁿ bē khah su hō hiah ê “tsiāⁿ-thóng” ê bûn-hák tsok-phín. Lán ìng-kai ká tshoh-kán-kiâu liáh-tsò bûn-kan bûn-hák ê 1 ê lūi-hîng, hō tshoh-kán-kiâu kap siók-gí, gān-gí, gik-khiat-á-ue tít-tít pēⁿ-pēⁿ khiā-khí, saⁿ-kap hông gián-kiù.

Pún lūn-bûn tsú-tiuⁿ, hák-sút tsiāⁿ-tsò 1 tsióng siā-hue sit-tsiān, m̄ sī teh thē tsú-liū kè-tát, iā tsiū sī hiān-iú ê “tì-sik tsìng-kûan” kap bûn-hua kûan-lik ê hiān-tsōng (status quo) teh hók-bū, sūa tsài-sing-sán tsiah ê “an-tsûan” ê ì-sik hîng-thài. Hák-sút nā beh tsiāⁿ-tsò 1 tsióng tîng-thâu khí-tsō siā-hue kong-gī ê hîng-tōng, ìng-tong tiōh khi biān-tùi, khi kút-ó hiah ê kú-tîng hông hut-liók, pài-thiat ê minority gī-tê, sīm-tsi khi thiau-tsiān hák-sút ê kìm-khī.

Só-ū gí-giân ê tshoh-kán-kiâu tiong-kan, kap sing siong-kuan--ê it-hiông hông jîn-tîng sī kìm-khī-tō (taboo loading) siōng kûan, hông tiōh-kiaⁿ ê thîng-tō (shock value) mā siōng kûan, siōng-kài ū sat-siong-lát ê (wounding capacity/injuring potency) (Wajnryb, 2006: 147-148). Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí lâi-té kap sing siong-kuan ê tshoh-kán-kiâu mā hián-bîng tsit tsióng tsáu-sè, koh put-tsi-á huat-tát, m̄-nā liông tsūe, koh tsiáp-tsiáp hông sú-iông.

Koh, tui Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tsham sing siong-kuan ê tshoh-kán-kiâu, mā thang huat-hiān 1 ê tua-to-sò gí-giân ê kiōng-tōng hiān-siōng. He tsiū sī tshoh-kán-kiâu m̄-nā tua sîng-piát ì-sik (gendered), koh lóng tshái-iông ling-jíok tsa-bó ê khúan-sit, tshiong-búan ùan-hūn lú-sîng ê sim-thài (misogyny) (Hughes, 1993: 205-236). Siāng-sī, kun-kù tsit-kúa gí-giân-hák ê gián-kiù, tsa-pō-lâng pí tsa-bó-lâng khah tsiáp tshoh (Coates, 1993: 20-23). Tse hián-sī tsa-pō kap tsa-bó tī tshoh-kán-kiâu tsit ê tui-ue khong-kan (discourse) ê kûan-lik kuan-hē bô tui-tít mā bô píng-tít. Bô-lūn tī gí-giân pún-sin sù-lūi ê kiàn-kò, á-sī sit-tsè ê gí-giân hîng-úi tít-thâu, tsit lūi tshoh-kán-kiâu ê mainstream tsiū sī man stream⁴.

Tsò 1 ê tsa-bó-lâng, gúa siūⁿ beh thàm-kiù tsiah ê siōng-kài “ok-tók”, sng-tîng lú-sîng ê kán-kiâu-ue, mā beh biān-tui jít-siōng sing-uah-tiong ê sîng-piát phian-kiàn. Tik-piát tī tsit pang tshân-iá tiau-tsa ê kùe-thîng-tiong, gúa ê sîng-piát sīm-tsi hun-in tsōng-hóng ín-khí lāng hui-gi gúa ê gián-kiù tōng-ki kám ū-kau giām-siok. Tsiah ê king-giām jú hō gúa kám-kak ài tūt-phua tsit tsióng tui lú-sîng gián-kiù-tsiá ê kī-sī, kè-siók tsin-hîng tshoh-kán-kiâu ê tiau-tsa. Gúa siong-sin, gián-kiù pún-sin

4 “Mainstream” kap “man stream” beh kâng-im, sūa hîng-sîng siang-kuan-gí (pun). Tse sī 1990 nî-tāi í-lāi lú-sîng tsú-gī ê tsa-bó gí-giân hák-tsiá thê-tshut--ê. In gián-kiù gí-giân kap sîng-piát ê kuan-hē, huat-hiān gí-giân só thê-hiān ê kè-tát-kuan to-sò iông tsa-pō tsò tsú-thé (Hughes, 1993: 206-218).

tsiū sī siōng hó ê piān-kái.

Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí kâng-khuân siók tī Hàn-Tsōng gí-hē (Sino-Tibetan family). In ū tsūe-tsūe gí-im, sū-lūi, gí-huat kap iōng-tô lóng tsin sîng (古國順主編, 2005: 2-5). Kap sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu mā hō-ìng tsit hō tsîng-hîng. Tū-khì gí-hē saⁿ-tông í-gūa, tse kiám-tshái mā in-ūi tsit-pō-hūn ê Kheh-ka kap Hō-ló tsók-kūn tī Tâi-ûan ê sîng-ùah khong-kan tsiap-kūn, nī kú gùeh tshim, bûn-huà hō-tōng só tsō-tsiāⁿ ê kiat-kó. Tsóng-sī pún-lūn-bûn ê tsho-pō gián-kiù huat-hiān, Kheh-gí tshoh-kàn-kiâu iù-lō kap “phòng-tshing” (hyperbole) ê thîng-tō pí Tâi-gí-ê khah kûan, sat-siong-lát siong-tui mā khah tūa. Pún lūn-bûn siūⁿ beh thām-thó tse 2 tsióng gí-giân tiong-kan kap sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu ū siáⁿ-mih kiōng-tōng-tiám kap tsing-tsha, koh ū tì-sú tsing-tsha ê khó-lîng-sîng gūan-in, siang-sī mā beh thó-lūn in só thián-hiān ê sîng-piát ì-sik.

2. Gí-liâu Lâi-gûan, Gián-kiù Hong-huat kap Lí-lūn Ki-tshó

2.1 Gí-liâu Lâi-gûan

Pún lūn-bûn gí-liâu ê siu-tsip, Tâi-gí pō-hūn kun-kù gúá tsîng sè-hàn kah taⁿ kóng tsit ê bó-gí bat thiaⁿ--kùe ê gí-sū.

Kheh-gí pō-hun iōng Pîn-tong Liók-tui tē-khu tò tsú-iàu ê hūan-úi. Pún-tsik Lín-lòk, hiān-tshú-sī tūa tī Pîn-tong-tshī ê bîn-kan hák-tsiá Phùng Hí-siu (馮喜秀) thê-kióng í ka-kī tsíng-lí, iáu bē tshut-pán ê 236 tiâu Hak-fa liáu-seu-fa gí-sū hāng-bák. Līng-gūa koh ū iōng khai-káng ê hong-sik ká kàu-hūe ê lāng hóng-m̄ng, tshiáⁿ in tò-húe hūe-sióng bat thiaⁿ--kùe ê “tsho-ue”. Hóng-m̄ng ê sí-kan tui 2009 nī 8 gùeh liók-siók tsin-hîng kàu keh-tng-nī 8 gùeh. Siū-hóng-tsiá tsit tsūn tūa tī Bân-bân á-sī Pîn-tong. In thê-kióng ê kàn-kiâu iōng-sú tsú-iàu sī Lín-lòk, Tióng-tī, Lāi-pō-á kap Bân-bân tsit kúí ê hong-tin teh kóng ê.

Līng-gūa mā ū tsham-khó Liau Kīm-mìn (廖金明) 2009 nī 7 gùeh khng tī Kheh-úi-hūe siong-kuan blog ê tsu-liâu. Put-kò tsiah--ê khah siók Biâu-lík--ê, kap Liók-tui ê Kheh-gí sui-jiân pēⁿ-pēⁿ siók Si-yan-khiōng (Sù-kūan-khiuⁿ), m̄-kú bô ûan-tsūan saⁿ-thong. In-ūi sū ê gūan-pún ì-gī kap ìng-iōng hong-sik m̄ káⁿ tsūan-jiân khak-tīng, pún-lūn-bûn kan-ta tshái-iōng khak-jīn ê pō-hūn. I thê-kióng ê tsu-liâu āu-jit su-iàu tsin-1-pō tiau-tsa.

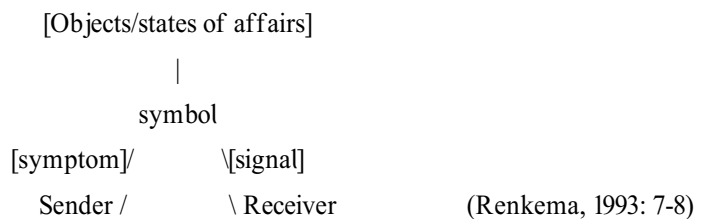
2.2 Gián-kiù Hong-huat kap Lí-lūn Ki-tshó

Tsham sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu thang tsiâⁿ-tsò l ê discourse, tsiū sī tsiam-tùi l ê tsú-tê kúi-nā ê lip-tiūⁿ hō-siong huat-giân, thó-lūn ê tui-ue khong-kan (dialogic space). Pún lūn-būn kā Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tsit hong-biān ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu khuaⁿ-tsò l ê discourse, beh thàm-thó tsit tsióng tik-iú gí-giân hîng-ûi ê hîng-sik kap kong-lîng, koh ū in tiong-kan ê hō-tōng kuan-hē (Renkema, 1993: 2).

Nā tshái-iōng Bühler ê Organon Model, thang kā tui-ue khong-kan lâi-té ê tui-tâm kùe-thîng hun-tsò 3 ê kai-tūaⁿ:

- [1] Kóng-ue ê lāng (sender/addresser) kā ue sàng--tshut-khì, tsiâⁿ-tsò sìn-hō (signal), mā thuân-tát l tsióng tiâu-thâu á-sī sìn-sit (symptom). Tse tsiū sī it-puaⁿ teh kóng ê “encoding”.
- [2] Suah--lôh-lâi hông tsí-tshing ê sū-hāng (objects/states of affairs) tsiâⁿ-tsò siōng-ting (symbol), tãi-piáu bó-tsíong ì-gī.
- [3] Suah-búe, thiaⁿ ê lāng (receiver/addressee), iā tsiū sī hông tshoh ê lāng ài kā tsiap-siu--tiòh ê sìn-hō tshuân-sik, tshái-tshú bó-tsíong huan-ìng, iā tsiū sī “decoding”. Án-ne kui ê gí-giân hîng-ûi ê bók-tik tsiah sng ū tát-sîng.

Í-siōng ê tui-ue liū-thîng ē-sái ue-tsò l ê kán-tan ê tô:



Tsing ū thê-khí, gí-giân hîng-ûi ê lí-lūn kā gí-giân liāh-tsò l tsióng hîng-tōng. Gí-giân mā sī l tsióng piáu-hiān hong-sik (a form of acting/performance). Gí-huat kap gí-im tsiah-ê khah kò-tīng ê khúan-sit í-gūa, koh pau-hâm gí-iōng (pragmatics) hong-biān, tshin-tshiūⁿ-kóng, l ê sìn-hō tsúaⁿ-iūⁿ tsok-iōng tsiah tát-kàu kóng-ue ê lāng beh ài ê hāu-kó. Tsit ê encoding kàu decoding ê tng-ūaⁿ kùe-thîng thang koh hun-tsò 3 pō-hūn:

- [1] locution: tsiū sī kóng-ue ê hîng-sik (utterance).
- [2] illocution: ūi-tiòh beh tát-kàu l ê bók-tik só siat ê sian-kuat tiâu-kiāⁿ (prerequisites), tshin-tshiūⁿ

ìng-ún, bīng-līng, iàu-kiû, tâu-su lóng sng illocution. Tsit pō-hūn khan-siáp-tiōh tui-ue siang-hong tui-tī in ê siā-hūe ê kè-tát-kuan (weltanschauung) kap siōng-sik (default) ê liáu-kái. Tse mā tshiāng-tsāi tsāiⁿ-tsò hák-sút gián-kiù ê khò-tê.

[3] perlocution: l ê jí-giân hīng-úi só sán-sing ê hâu-kó (Renkema, 1993: 21-26).

Tui-ue ê siang-hong lóng ài tui kóng-ue hit tong-sī ê tsīng-kíng koh ū siā-hūe kè-tát phiau-tsún ū it-tīng ê jīn-ti, tsiah ē-tàng thuan-tát ì-gī koh tsiam-tui ì-gī lâi tshái-tshú hīng-tōng. Só-í jí-ì ê sán-sing sī “piān-khūaⁿ” ê, m̄ sī kò-tīng ê.

Lú-sing tsú-gī ê jí-giân hák-tsiá Ann Weatherall (2002: 1-9, 75-94) khiā tī siā-hūe kiàn-kò (social constructionist) ê līp-tiūⁿ, mā tsú-tiūⁿ ài ká jí-giân kap jīn-ti ê kuan-hē khūaⁿ-tsò l ê discourse lâi thām-thó. Tui-tī l ê jí-sú ê ì-hām mā-tiōh khng tui si-hīng tsit ê jí-giân hīng-úi ê tik-tīng tsīng-kíng (local context) khi hun-sik, tsiah ē tsing-bit. Ì-gī ê kiàn-kò kùe-thīng su-iàu tui-ue siang-hong ê “háp-tsok”, tsiah ē-tàng ūan-sīng. Mā in-úi tsit ê iân-kò, ì-gī tshiāng-tsāi teh piān. Ì-gī ê hīng-sīng m̄-nā khan-siáp-tiōh kóng-ue-tsiá ê kò-jīn kám-siū kap siā-hūe ūi-kai, koh tui hit tong-sī tsāi-tē tsíng-thé ê līk-sú, tsing-tī, king-tsè kap bûn-hua tiâu-liū teh kiāⁿ.

Weatherall ê khūaⁿ-huat tú-hó hō-ìng bûn-hua gián-kiù ê kiàn-kò hong-huat (constructionist approach). Stuart Hall (1997: 25-29) tsú-tiūⁿ, l ê tui-ue khong-kan lâi-té it-tit ū bô kâng ê sè-lik, phài-hē kap hák-suat teh hō-siong kīng-tsing, tsing-tshú ì-gī ê tsú-tō-kuan kap tshuan-sik-kuan. Ì-gī m̄-nā sī bô kâng ì-sik hīng-thài lūn-tsiàn ê ūi-só, koh sī in tàu-tsing, tâm-phuaⁿ ê kiát-kó, m̄ tsiah íng-uan teh tshiau-tshik piān-ūaⁿ. Ì-gī mā íng-íng ài tui thán-hūaiⁿ thán-tit kau-tshe ê tsing-tī siā-hūe ūi-ti khi thām-tshūe.

Līng-gūa l hong-biān, Weatherall sīng-tsiap Edward Sapir kap Benjamin Whorf ê jí-giân siong-tui-lūn (linguistic relativism), jīn-tīng jí-giân kap jīn-ti ū khan-liân. Tsóng-sī Weatherall jīn-úi tsit tsióng kuan-hē m̄ sī tan-hong-hiòng ê, m̄ kan-ta l pīng tók-tók teh si-ka tsok-iōng, līng-gūa l pīng pī-tōng sīng-siū, siáu-kik huan-ìng (reflect) nā-tiāⁿ. Tsāi i khūaⁿ, jí-giân ê hīng-sik kap jīn-ti ê lue-hām sī siang hong-hiòng ê hō-siong íng-hióng tui-hong, hō-siong khan-sīng hīng-kò.⁵

Tsit ê kuan-tiám mā kap kàu-iòk sim-lí-hák-tsiá L. Vygotsky ê “háp-tsok lí-lūn” (scaffolding) saⁿ-thong . Vygotsky iōng siā-hūe bûn-hua tsò tshú-hiòng, tsú-tiūⁿ hō gín-á tui l ê siā-khu ê kiát-kò lâi-té, thóng-kùe thuan-thé hō-tōng ê thê-giām lâi hák-sip. Án-ne tī tì-sik í-gūa, in koh tī

5 Edward Sapir (1884-1939) kap Benjamin Whorf (1897-1941) sī khai-thok jí-giân siong-tui-lūn ê hák-tsiá. In thê-tshut jí-giân ē íng-hióng jīn-ti ê ká-suat.

tsing-kám-tsiūⁿ tit-tiòh un-lúan kap hûe-pò (feedback), thang pang-tsân in ê jîn-keh huat-tián kap jîn-tông ê hêng-sok⁶ (黃瑞枝, 2008: 80). Vygotsky ê lí-lūn íng-hióng āu-lâi ê jîn-ti gí-giân-hák. Tshin-tshiūⁿ Dedre Gentner (2003: 222-224) jîn-ûi, jîn-ti tui kû-thé kiâⁿ ñg thiú-siōng-huà, koh ū tì-sik hē-thóng ê hêng-kò, mā ài thóng-kùe gí-giân lâi thuan-sing kau-liú, táuh-táuh khok-tián.

Tī tshoh-kàn-kiāu ê tui-ue khong-kan--nih, l ê kàn-kiāu ê si-hing ē án-tsúaⁿ hong kái-thók, mā ài khng tui tik-ting ê kò-jin kap si-khong pue-king ê discourse khi hun-sik. Nā tshoh tsham sing siong-kuan ê kàn-kiāu, tsū sī thong-kùe sing tsit khuan hō siā-hue khuaⁿ-tsò kìm-khī ê mih-kiāⁿ, ká phah-phua siōng-kui kóng--tshut-lâi, thang búan-tsiok bó-tsióng bók-tik á-sī sim-lí su-kiū.

Tse í-gūa, sing-piát ì-sik kap tshoh-kàn-kiāu ê kuan-hē mā thang tui siā-hue kiàn-kò ê kuan-tiám tshiat-jip. Sing-piát ì-sik thong-kùe tshoh-kàn-kiāu ê tshiú-tuaⁿ lâi tui-tián, siang-sī tshoh-kàn-kiāu mā tsiaⁿ-tsò sing-piát ì-sik ê thē-hiān. Lō-búe siang-hong-biān thau-lām, hō-siong tsiaⁿ-tsò khi-in kap hiō-kó.

3. Tshoh-kàn-kiāu ê Hūan-ûi Kài-ting kap Kong-ling

3.1 Tshoh-kàn-kiāu ê Hūan-ûi Kài-ting

Pún lūn-būn teh thó-lūn ê tshoh-kàn-kiāu, tsú-iàu tsham-khó Wajnryb (2006: 30-36) tī *Language Most Foul* tsit pún tshoh só liat ê lūi-piát, pau-kuat:

- [1] Pháiⁿ-tshui (abusive swearing), tshin-tshiūⁿ “Nái iáu bē sí?”
- [2] Tsiu-tsham (cursing), tshin-tshiūⁿ “Phong-tō té-miā lō-pông-si”.
- [3] Kàn-kiāu (cussing), phi-jū “kán!”
- [4] Pháiⁿ-ì lé-mē ê thē-uaⁿ-sū (dysphemism), tshin-tshiūⁿ ká “lòh-suaⁿ” kóng-tsò “tshut-suaⁿ”.
- [5] Tsing-sū-sing jī-gán (expletive), kap kám-thàn-sū (exclamation) tsin sing, tshin-tshiūⁿ “iáu-siū oh!”
- [6] A-tsa-ue (foul language), iōng sin-thé pài-siā tshut-lâi ê mih-kiāⁿ (effluvia/excretion) lâi mē, tshin-tshiūⁿ “i tài sái”, “tsit khō sái-lāng”.
- [7] Bú-jjók tui-hong ê ue, tshin-tshiūⁿ “Lí tsit kha pùn-sò”.
- [8] Tī kong-kiōng tiūⁿ-sò hong khuaⁿ-tsò kìm-khī, bô būn-ngá, tik-piát sī kóng-tiòh sing-khi-kuan kap sing-lí kong-ling siong-kuan ê ue (obscenity), tshin-tshiūⁿ “lān-tsiáu”.
- [9] Kìm-khī-sū, tui-khi obscenity í-gūa, koh ū “sí” tī Tāi-uan siā-hue mā sī l ê kìm-khī.

6 Vygotsky (1896-1934) sī Iú-thài-lāng āu-tāi ê Lō-se-a (Russia) hák-tsiá. I ê “háp-tsok lí-lūn” mā hō-tsò “ing-kè lí-lūn”, iōng siā-hue tsú-gī tsò ki-tshó, kàu 1960 nī-tāi í-āu tsiah hō hák-kài tiōng-sī.

Kî-sit jî-t-siông sing-úah-tiong tshoh-kàn-kiâu ê sî-tsūn tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ tshut-hiān tse 9 tsióng lūi-hîng lâm-tsáp ê tsîng-hîng⁷.

3.2 Tshoh-kàn-kiâu ê Kong-lîng

Tshoh-kàn-kiâu tī bô kâng ê tsîng-kíng ē huat-hui bô kâng ê tsok-iōng, sán-sing bô sio-siāng ê ì-hâm, pau-kuat hū-bîn--ê kap tsiaⁿ-bîn--ê:

- [1] Lé-mē kap lîng-jîok tui-hong.

Ūi-tiōh tsit ê bók-phiau, lāng huat-bîng tsūe-tsūe tūa sat-siong-lât ê iōng-sū (Hughes, 1993: 207).

- [2] Siau-tháu hū-bîn tsîng-sū.

Lāng tú-tiōh bô sūn-sū ê sî ē tshoh, thong-kùe sióng-siōng ê gí-giân pók-lik lâi tshú-tāi tsin-sit ê tâng-kha tâng-tshiú (Wajnryb, 2006: 184, 201). Án-ne tsiū ná-tshiūⁿ khuaⁿ kék-liát ê ūn-tōng pí-sái lâi pài-kái sim-kuaⁿ-thâu ê ap-lik.

- [3] Gí-khì tsō-sū: expletives kap ūe-bó.

3.1 ū kóng-tiōh tshoh-kàn-kiâu ē-sái tsò kám-thàn-sū. Tse í-gūa, ū ê lāng ká kàn-kiâu-sū tsò ūe-bó lâi īng, kóng ták kù ūe ê suah-búe lóng ài koh ke 1 kù “kàn lín-niá”.

- [4] Piáu-tát tshin-bit ê kám-tsîng, kian-kò jîn-tōng kap kui-siòk-kám.

Tī tshù-bûn-hua thuan-thé (subcultural group), iû-kî sī hui tsîng-sik ê tiûⁿ-háp, tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ tshut-hiān “kàn-kiâu siā-kau”. Kāng 1 ê khor-á-lāi ê lāng thong-kùe tsit ê bô kìm bo khī ê gí-giân hîng-úi lâi suan-sī siang-hó ê kuan-hē, mā thang ká sim-tsîng pàng khin-sang, kái-siān thuan-thé lūe-pō hō-tōng ê khi-hun, tsik-tsū jîn-tōng.

- [5] Hián-bîng huan-khòng ê khut-sè.

Kun-kù gí-giân-hák-tsiá ê gián-kiù, tshoh-kàn-kiâu ê lāng thong-siōng tsa-pō pí tsa-bó khah tsūe, koh tsa-pō mā pí tsa-bó tshoh-tiōh khah tsū-tsāi. Tsîn-tsîng mā ū kóng-tiōh, tshoh-kàn-kiâu ê gí-sū, iû-kî sī kap sîng siong-kuan--ê, lóng sī lâm-sîng iōng-sū khah tsūe, koh tsin tsūe lóng sī teh mē tsa-bó ê (Hughes, 1993: 206-220; Wajnryb, 2006: 172-179; Coates, 1993: 20-23, 126-129). Tse thián-hiān tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsit ê tui-ūe khong-kan lâi-té ê sîng-piát kuan-lik kuan-hē bô ping-hîng. Lîng-gūa, tshoh-kàn-kiâu it-puaⁿ-tik lóng tī hui-tsîng-sik ê tiûⁿ-háp tsin-hîng. Tse koh hián-sī high-brow language kap low-brow language ê kuan-lik kuan-kē. Tsit kúi tang ū ê tsa-bó gián-kiù-tsiá teh suan-thók lūn-bûn ê sî kong-khai sū-iōng tshoh-kàn-kiâu gí-sū. Koh hip hop ê kua-sū mā tsioh tsūe ín-iōng tshoh-kàn-kiâu. Tsiāh ê tsò-huat hián-sī pian-iān ê tsók-kûn beh tūt-phua sîng-piát, kai-kip kap bûn-hua ap-tsè, tsîng-tshú huat-giân-kuan, tshuan-sik-kuan ê

7 Wajnryb koh ū thê-khí “siat-tòk” (blasphemy) tsit ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu lūi-piát. Tsóng-sī Kheh-gí, Tâi-gí tsham sîng siong-kuan ê kàn-kiâu lóng bô siat-tòk ê ūe-gí, só-í pún-lūn-bûn bô ká liát--tshut-lâi.

húan-khòng khut-sè.

4. Kap Siong Siong-kuan ê Kheh-gí, Tâi-gí Tshoh-kàn-kiâu

Kap siong siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu khan-liân-tiòh siong-hîng-ûi, siong-khi-kuan, koh ù tui in pâi-tshut ê bùt-tsit (effluvia), kap siong-piát tít-tít tsân-bîn. Tsiáh--e kî-sit kap pún-thé àm-jū thé-hē (ontological metaphorical system), iā tsiū sī jîn-lūi tui ka-kī sì-khò-ûi khuan-kíng ê jîn-ti kap siong-siong, koh ù jîn-lūi siong kî-pún ê sing-ùah thé-giām lóng ù tsin bā ê kuan-hē. Tsiáu George Lakoff tsham Mark Johnson (1980: 1-13) ê gián-kiù, lāng ê jîn-ti tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ ài thong-kùe àm-jū (metaphor) tsiáh tng-uaⁿ-tsò gí-giân lâi khài-liām-huà (conceptualized). Lāng ê jîn-sik hē-thóng (epistemology) kap gí-giân hē-thóng sī-siong thong-kùe tsiáh ê pún-thé àm-jū lâi kiàn-kò.

Tshin-tshiūⁿ jîn-thé tsiaⁿ-tsò 1 ê ù pian-kài ê khong-kan, 1 ê iông-khi (container) ê khài-liām, tsiū sī 1 ê phó-phiàn tsùn-tsāi tī bô kâng gí-giân-tiong ê pún-thé àm-jū (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 29-31; Palmer, 1996: 224-232). Khong-kan kap hong-hiòng (spatial/oriental) koh kau-liām-tsò 1 ê kî-pún ê àm-jū kiat-kò. Kap siong siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu khan-liân-tiòh “ē-sin” ê pō-ûi, tsiū kap body/container/orientation ê khong-kan àm-jū hē-thóng ù kuan-hē. Pau-kuat Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tsāi-lâi, tī tsūe-tsūe gí-giân ê bûn-huà kè-tât hē-thóng lâi-bîn, “ē” siong-tui “tít” hong hun-phuê tiām hū-bîn ì-hâm (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 11-14). Sô-í ē-sin siong-tui “tít-sin” ê thâu, mā sūa hong pâi tī hū-bîn ê khài-liām ùi-ti, sūa kap ù-uè, kē-lō, ín-iù, tsūe-ók, jiók-thé iók-bōng (tshin-tshiūⁿ tsiah, pâi-sià kap siong tít-tít) tsiáh ê hū-bîn ê hāng-bák liân-siong tsò-húe. Siong siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu sī-án-tsúaⁿ ē sán-sing hiah tūa ê sat-siong-lát kap kìm-khī-tō, kî-sit mā sī ín-ûi khi hō “ē-sin” ê hū-bîn ì-hâm “tì-ìm--tiòh”.

Tui “sin-thé” ê àm-jū hē-thóng thang koh khok-tián tsūe-tsūe khah iù-lō ê siong-kuan àm-jū. Hun-pi kap pâi-sià-mih siók tī “sin-thé” tsit ê àm-jū hē-thóng ê hun-tsi. Pâi-sià-mih hong liáh-tsò bô lō-īng koh kiaⁿ-lāng ê mih-kiāⁿ (excretion/waste), hîng-sing ling-gūa 1 ê tui hū-bîn ì-hâm ê àm-jū. Koh, nā tui “ē-sin” tsit ê hū-bîn ùi-só pâi-tshut-lâi ê mih, tshin-tshiūⁿ jiō, sái, phui, siâu, gùeh-king (gùeh-sin), hū-bîn ê thing-tō tsiū koh saⁿ-thiⁿ ka-kiông. Kî-tiong siong-kài hong liáh-tsò ùe-sùe--ê, tsiū sī siong-khi-kuan ê pâi-sià-mih.

Sing kap sing-iók sī só-ū ùah-mih ê tiōng-iàu kî-ling, mā sī jîn-lūi tsāi-lâi tsiū kuan-tshat-tiòh koh tshin-sin thé-giām ê sèⁿ-miā ùah-tāng. Tsóng-sī lāng iáu bē ùan-tsūan liáu-kái kî-tiong ê gūan-lí tsin-tsing, sing kap sing-iók it-tit sī 1 hāng ò-bít. Lāng 1 hong-biān ù tsing-iók ê su-kiù, 1 hong-biān koh kám-kak ka-kī bô tsāi-tiâu khòng-tsè, sūa tui siong giâu-gi kiaⁿ-hiāⁿ. Koh, tsing kó-tsá sing tsiū kap

su-iòk tshìong-hîng tì-kàu ê tsūe-ok pák tsò tui. Kó-tián bûn-hák-tiong tui-tī lūan-lūn (incest) kap thong-kan (adultery) tsiah ê ùi-pūe tō-tik lūn-lí ê só-kiá⁸, tsū ù tsin-tsūe su-siá. Bô-tiāⁿ-tiòh in-ùi sîng ê sîn-bít-sîng kap hū-bīn thián-hiān, sîng suah tsiaⁿ-tsò jîn-lūi siā-hūe kiōng-tông ê kìm-khī khò-tê. Sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu mā suah ián-piàn-tsò só-ū gí-giân-tiong kìm-khī-tō siōng kuan, sat-siong-lát siōng kiōng ê pháiⁿ-tshui.

Līng-gūa 1 ê lē tsū sī Bûn-gē Hók-hing sí-kí (Renaissance) François Rabelais siá ê “Gargantua and Pantagruel”. I thiau-kang iōng tián-ngá koh khua-kháu hák-sik ê siaⁿ-khui lāi su-siá ē-sin ê kong-līng kap sîng-iòk-bōng. Mā sī in-ùi tsiah--e lóng sī hông hū-bīn-hua, kìm-khī-hua ê sin-thé pō-ūi kap jîn-sîng pún-līng, tsit ê tsok-phín tsiah ē-tàng tsè-tsò nāu-kiòk (farce) kiam bô-hóng hòng-tshì (parady) ê siang-tīng hâu-kó (Mack, 1980: 1237-1277).

Ē-sin koh ù siong-kuan ê sin-thé kong-līng ē tsiaⁿ-tsò kìm-khī, kī-sit koh tsham līng-gūa 1 ê ki-pún àm-jū, tsū sī entity/substance, mā ù khan-liân. Tui entity/substance sūa koh ín-tshut jī-gūan tui-lp ê khài-liām kiát-kò (binary/bipolar structure). 1 hāng mih á-sī 1 ê lāng ē-sái hông tsún-tsò 1 ê tui tsūe-tsūe tsióng bût-tsit (substance) kò-sîng ê tsūn-tsāi sit-thé (entity). Jîn-thé tsiaⁿ-tsò 1 ê iōng-khī kiam sit-thé, ē hián-bīng tsūe-tsūe kò-sîng bût-tsit ê tik-sîng. Lāng kuan-tshat tsiah ê tik-sîng, sūa huat-tián-tshut jī-gūan siong-tui ê khài-liām thé-hē, tshin-tshiūⁿ tīng kap ē, hó kap bá, tsa-pō kap tsa-bó, lí-sîng kap tsīng-sū, līng-hūn kap jiók-thé tīng-tīng (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 14-21). Tse 2 ê kik-tuan só tãi-piáu ê kè-tát-kuan thián-hiān tī sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu--nih, mā huan-ìng tī tsíng-thé ê sîng-piát kuan-līk kuan-hē tiong-kan.

Sin-thé/iōng-khī/ hong-hiōng kap lāng/sit-thé/bût-tsit tsiah ê tīng-tīng tháh-tháh ê àm-jū hē-thóng sui-bóng bô tsūan-jīn it-tì (consistent), m̄-kú ù tik-tīng ê kuan-liân-sîng tī--teh (coherent) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 87-105), sūa kau-tíⁿ tsiaⁿ-tsò hók-tsáp ê “àm-jū bāng-lō.”

Í-hā kā Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tsham sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu hun-tsò 3 pō-hūn lāi thó-lūn: [1] tōng-sū kàn/kán; tiáu. [2] tsa-pō ê sîng-khī-kuan kap hun-pì: lān-tsiáu, lān-pha kap siáu; lín-kun, hak-lón, siáu, lín-sú, lín-mò. [3] tsa-bó ê sîng-khī-kuan: tsi-bai; chū-pài/chū-piat.

8 Kū-iok Sîng-king Sat-bó-jīⁿ Hā-kuan tē 13 tsūⁿ siá-tiòh Tâi-pit-ōng ê kiáⁿ Àm-lūn līng-jiók káng pē kò bó ê sió-mue Tha-má, āu-lāi ín-khí Tâi-pit ê tsing kiáⁿ-jī sio-thāi. Kó-Hi-liáp pì-kiòk *Oedipus Tyrannus* siá-tiòh tsú-kak Oedipus thāi-sí lau-pē, tshūa lâu-bú koh seⁿ kiáⁿ. Koh ù kó-Hi-liáp ê sú-si *Iliad* kap līng-gūa 1 tshut hì-kiòk *Agamemnon* mā ù siá-tiòh thong-kan kap bô-sat.

4.1 Tōng-sū “Kàn/Kán” kap “Tiáu”

4.1.1 Tâi-gí ê “kàn/kán”

“Kàn” sī l ê tōng-sū, siong-tong Ing-gí ê “fuck”. Gûan-té tsit ê sū bô-tiā sī tiong-sing ê (neutral), m̄ sī “pháiⁿ-ūe”, mā ē-sái lâm-lú thong-iōng, phî-lūn kóng, si-hîng sîng-hîng-ûi hō-tsò “sio-kàn” (intercourse). Búe-tshiú tsit ê sū suah kap “tshah”, “tshák”, “tshim-jip” tsiah ê lân-tsiáu tsin-jip tsa-bó thê-lâi ê tōng-tsok koh ū pók-lik ì-hâm liân-sióng tsò-húe, lō-búe súa piàn-tsò tsa-por iōng-sū, koh hông iōng lâi tshoh-kàn-kiâu (Hughes, 1993: 206-209).

“Kàn” ē-sái tan-tòk tsiaⁿ-tsò l ê kám-thàn-sū, put-kò siaⁿ-tiâu tui gûan-lâi ê tē 3 siaⁿ kái-piàn-tsò tē 2 siaⁿ “kán”. “Kán” ê gí-im kiat-kò piáu-hiân khah kiông ê “gí-im ì-siōng” (phonetic imagery) (Palmer, 1996: 272-289). I ê khí-thâu sī l ê tui nng-gòk (velar) só huat ê pók-lih-im (plosive/clack) /k/. Tse sī l ê siōng ngē-tauh ê tsú-im (hardest consonant) (Sheidlower, 1995: ix). Koh lâi /k/ tsham tshui-khang āu-piah ê bó-im /a/ kuaⁿ-tsò-húe; tsit sī ê /a/ khó-lîng í-king tng-tsò /ʌ/, piàn-tsiaⁿ-tsò l ê tshui-sat ê gók-gók-siaⁿ (grunt of thrust) (Sheidlower, 1995: ix). /Ka/ king-kùe kui ê tshui-khang, lui-tsik ap-lik, kàu tī siōng thâu-tsîng, tsih tsiah giâ kuan, kâ tng-kuan-pai ê khi-jîn (dental alveolus) that-tiau leh, pik tsit ê im tui phîⁿ-khang tshut, hîng-sîng /n/ ê phîⁿ-im, án-ne siōng-búe sui-jîan bô pók-lih-im /t/ tsáu--tshut--lâi, mā ū lui-sū ê hâu-kó. Jī-tshiáⁿ siaⁿ-tiâu hong-biân, “kán” koh tui gûan-lâi “kàn” siōng kê ê tē 3 siaⁿ, tsuan-tsò tē 2 siaⁿ, tui siōng kuan ê siaⁿ-tiâu ūi-ti hiōng-hiōng siák-lòh-lâi kàu siōng-kē--ê, tshiong ê lát tsin pá-tsiok. Tsit tsióng tsho-kê-kê ê gí-im phue-háp khah hi-kiók-sing ê siaⁿ-tiâu khí-lòh, ē-tàng piáu-hiân tsîng-sū-sing ê gí-im ì-siōng, kiâu-tiòh tsin siap-phā, só-í tsiaⁿ hah iōng-lâi tshoh (Wajnryb, 2006: 247).

“Kàn” kap tsiok tsūe sū tau-tsò-húe, sán-sing bē tsio piàn-thé (variations), tua-pō-hūn lóng sī iōng sing lâi bú-jjók tui-tik ê tsa-bó tsi-tshin. Siōng tsiap thiaⁿ--tiòh--ê ū “kàn lín niá”, “kàn lín tsó-má”, “kàn lín tsó-gūa-má” (liân lâu-bú hit ping ê a-má to m̄ pàng lāng suah), “kàn lín pô”.

Koh ū kap hù-sū “phua” kap--teh, hîng-sîng koh khah pók-lik ê “kàn phua lín niá”. “Phua” sī tsí tshù-lú-moh (hymen) phua--khì. Tsāi-tī Hàn-jîn ī-sing-luan (heterosex) pē-kuan (patriarchy) ê kuan-tiám, ē-tàng kap l ê tsāi-sik ê tsa-bó gín-á sio-kàn, hō i ê tshù-lú-moh phua--khì tshut-hueh, ē hō tsit ê tsa-por-lāng tsiaⁿ tua ê búan-tsiok. Pē-kuan kâ tsing-tsiat (virginity) liáh-tsò lú-tik ê iau-kiú, mā kâ tshù-lú-moh uan-tsing bô phua tòng-tsò phing-tuan tsing-tsiat kap lú-sing kè-tát ê phiau-tsún. Tsit khuan “tshù-lú-moh tsing-kat” (complex of hymen) sū-sit sī teh tsáiⁿ-tsè, khún-tiòk lú-sing ê sin-thé tsū-tsú-kuan (定宜庄, 2004: 364-386).

Lĩng-gūa 1 ê kap “phùa” siong-kuan, mē tsa-bó ê sū hō-tsò “phùa-bâ”, mā sī teh tsí tshù-lú-mòh phùa-khang, àm-sī tsa-bó-lâng siong-kuan-hē tsin “lūan” (promiscuous), bô tō-tik. Tse í-gūa, “bâ” tsit tsióng tōng-bút koh hông thèh-lâi tsí ki-lú, koh i ê huat-im mā tú-hó kap Ing-gí ê “bar” tsin úa, sù tsè-tsò siang-kuan-gí (pun) ê hâu-kó. Ū lāng mē tsa-bó hō-tsò “bâ tsa-pó”, “tsit ê bâ”, ká só mē ê tui-siōng phî-jū-tsò tī tik-tsióng íng-giáp tiūⁿ-sò siōng-pan ê “bar girls”, mā sī pháiⁿ tsa-bó ê siang-tíng ì-sù.

Mā ū kap tsa-bó siong-khî-kuan tso-háp ê “kàn lín niâ tsi-bai”, “kàn lín lâu-bú tsi-bai”. Tsi-bai sī siong-khî-kuan tiong-kan kìm-khî thîng-tō kap hū-bīn ì-hâm siōng tâng ê (Wajnryb, 2006: 71-88). Ká sin-thé pō-ūi kù-thé kóng--tshut-lâi, thang hō sat-siong-lát koh thê-sing.

Kū-té ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu gí-sū mā ē-sái kap kî-tha ê sū kiát-háp, tng-ūaⁿ-tsò sin ê sū-lūi. Hiân-tshú-sí gúa siu-tsip--tiòh “kàn/kán” ê gí-liâu tiong-kan, siōng-kài tng--ê sī “kàn lín niâ lâu tsi-bai ông”, lóng-tsóng 7 ê im-tsat. Sui-bóng hong-tsò “ông”, m̄-kú in-ūi kap “tsi-bai” tsit ê kík-tō hū-bīn ê khî-kuan kap-tsò-húe, tsit ê “tshing-ho” m̄ sī o-ló, tian-tó sī 1 tsióng huan-bīn hòng-tshì. “Tsi-bai-ông” piáu-sī hū-bīn-sing thang tshing-tsò “tsi-tsun”, sī teh khai-sé tui-hong “kík hū-bīn bô tè pí”. Koh, tsit só-tsāi kóng-tiòh “lâu”, thián-hiân pē-kuan ká lú-sing bút-hua (fetished), iōng nî-hue kap gūa-māu lâi phîⁿ-siuⁿ tsa-bó, nā lâu tsiū bô sùi, bô kè-tát.

Koh ū lĩng-gūa 1 ê ká “kàn/kán” tàu-tsiap tshòng-sin ê lē. Gúa bat thiaⁿ 1 ê kok-hāu gō-nî ê tsa-bó gín-á tshoh, “Ē sóng kàn tsúi-kóng (spout/hose); bē sóng kàn lê-bóng (lemon)”. Tsit kù thâu-tsing pō-hūn thí-tshiò tui-hong ài phah-tshiú-tshing (masturbation), āu-puaⁿ-tsat ê “kàn lê-bóng” sit-tsāi ū-kàu “tók”, mā tsin ū siōng-siōng-lát. Nā ū-iaⁿ kàn-tiòh lê-bóng, tik-khak ē sīⁿ kah beh sí. Pún-té tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsiū sī ài phòh-hong (exaggerate), jú kî-kuai hàm-kó (grotesque, bizarre), jú ē-tàng huat-hui tshoh ê hâu-kó (Wajnryb, 2006: 256-257). Jī-tshiáⁿ tsit kù tsiân-āu-tsat lóng ū ah-ūn (rhymed), suah-búe-jī “kóng” kap “bóng” ê siáⁿ-tiâu mā pēⁿ-pēⁿ sī tē 2 siaⁿ, liām--khí-lâi gí-kám bē bái, put-tsí-á kiát-tsok.

“Kàn/Kán” koh hō pát tsióng gí-giân tsioh-iōng, hīng-sing khua-gí hiân-siōng. Kiám-tshái sī “Kàn/Kán” gí-im tik-tsit hông tshoh-tiòh tsiāⁿ kòe-giân, só-í m̄-nā kóng Tâi-gí ê lāng hīng tshoh, liân Hūa-gí mā ká khip-siu. Tsit-má ū tsit-kua kóng Hūa-gí ê siâu-liân-lāng mā ē kóng “他好幹”, “我真是幹死了”, piáu-sī “u-kàu bē sóng”.

Koh ū mē lāng “khi píⁿ-á hông kàn!” piáu-sī khuaⁿ-khin, uan-hūn ê ì-sù.

“Khiàm-kàn” khah siók tshing-siàu-liân iōng-gí, ì-sù kap “khiàm-kiâu” tsha-put-to, teh mē lāng lān-mūa, kò-lāng-ùan, m̄ tsai sí-ùah, khiàm kà-sī. Put-kò “khiàm-kàn” ê siaⁿ-sàu pí “khiàm-kiâu” iáu khah pháiⁿ.

M̄-kú, ū sī-tsūn “kàn/kán” mā ū īng tī tsiaⁿ-bīn ê sī-tsūn. Tshin-tshiūⁿ pēⁿ-pēⁿ siàu-liân hák-sing ē kún-sng-tshiò kóng, “Kán! Khó hiah hó beh tãi! Khi hō kúi kàn--tiòh!” Kî-sit tshoh tsit kù ê lāng m̄ sī teh ùan-tò, huan-tít sī teh o-ló, kã tui-hong kiong-hí, mã piáu-bīng in tiong-kan buddy ê kám-tsing.

3.2 ū thê-khì, tshoh-kàn-kiâu ē-sái tsò pang-tsān gí-khì ê tsō-sū. Tshin-tshiūⁿ ū ê lāng ták kù ūe thing-lòh-lái ê só-tsāi tik-khak ū 1 kù “kán” á-sī “kàn lín niá”. Tsóng-sī teh kóng ê lāng bô tshoh-kàn-kiâu ê ì-sù, huan-sè mã bô ì-sik-tiòh ka-kī teh kóng tsit ê sū. Tī tsit tsióng tsing-hing, “kán” kap “kàn lín niá” tsiaⁿ-tsò i ê ūe-bó, piáu-sī sio thing-khùn (pause), gí-khì tng-ūaⁿ, kong-ling tsiū ná Ing-gí ê “well”, “you know”, á-sī gí-búe tsō-sū. Tsit tsūn ê “kán” kap “kàn lín niá” piⁿ-tsiaⁿ-tsò 1 tsióng particle.

“Kàn/kán” sī siōng tsiap hōng īng ê Tâi-gí kàn-kiâu tōng-sū. In í-gūa iáu ū 1 jī ì-sù tsham in siong-tong, tsiū sī “sái”. Ū lāng kóng “sái lín niá”, “sái lín niú-lé”. Koh ū lāng kóng beh kái khah hó-tshui, suah kái-kóng “kàn lín niá 3 kho”, “sái lín niá tâng-kóng-á-tshia”, “lín niá 19”. Kî-sit án-ne koh jú tsiáh-lāng kàu-kàu, mē pát-lāng ê lāu-bú tsho-siòk, kap lāng sio-kàn 1 pái kan-ta tát 3 kho, liân “kang-tsi” to bô. Hing-iōng lāng sī “tâng-kóng-á-tshia”, ná 1 tui àu thih, mã sī teh káng keng-thé. Kóng lāng ê lāu-bú ná 19 hùe hiah siàu-liân, sui-bóng piáu-bīn o-ló, sū-sit sī koh teh tsai-sing-sán pē-kuan iōng siàu-liân, gūa-māu lai lūn-tuan tsa-bó-lāng, kã lú-sing bít-hua ê sim-thai.

4.1.2 Kheh-gí tōng-sū “tiáu”

Kheh-gí ê tōng-sū “tiáu” bô-lūn tī gí-ì á-sī siā-hūe kap sim-lí kong-ling tít-thau, lóng kap Tâi-gí ê “kàn/kán” siong-tong.

“Tiáu” ê tsú-im sī tī tshui-khang khah thau-tsing, iōng tsih kã tít-kuan-pai khi-jīn that-tiau leh só huat ê that-im (dental-alveolar plosive) /t/, ū pók-lih ê hâu-kó. I ê bó-im sī /i/, /a/, /u/ 3 ê kiát-háp, huat-im pō-ūi tui tshui-khang thau-tsing koh kuan ê ūi-ti /i/, sêh kàu tshui-khang āu-piah koh kê ê ūi-ti /a/, jiān-āu koh kàu tshui-khang āu-piah koh kuan ê ūi-ti /u/ (謝國平, 1994: 71-77). Tui thau-tsing sêh kàu āu-piáh-bīn, tui kuan ê só-tsāi kàng-kê koh tshiūⁿ kuan, su-iàu liòh-á khah tng ê sī-kan, tú-hó thang lúi-tsik tshoh-kàn-kiâu ê tsing-sū-sing tōng-lát (emotional momentum), huat-hui pók-huat ê lik-liōng. Jī-tshiáⁿ i ê siaⁿ-tiáu tsai-tī Sù-kuan-khiuⁿ Kheh-gí sī tē 3 siaⁿ, kap Tâi-gí ê tē 2 siaⁿ tsha-put-to,

mā sī tùi khah kuan ê im hiông-hiông siak-lòh-lâi khah kē, koh Kheh-gí tsit ê siaⁿ-tiâu íng-úan bē piàn-tiâu, í-tshî tsit tsióng “ko-kàng-im” bô-sik.⁹ Án-ne ê gí-im kiat-kò tì-kàu “tiâu” ê gí-im ì-siōng sian-bîng ū-lát, tshoh--khí-lâi tsin sù-a-phah.

“Tiâu” tī Kheh-gí ìng-iōng ê tsing-hîng, tãi-khai kap Tâi-gí ê “kàn/kán” lūi-sū. Tshin-tshiūⁿ “tiâu ngiâ â-mê” tsiū sī “kàn lín niâ”, “tiâu ngiâ â-mê chhū-pài” tsiū sī “kàn lín niâ tsi-bai”.

Tsóng-sī Kheh-gí bô siong-tong “kàn lín tsó-má”, “kàn lín tsó-kong”, “kàn lín tsó-gūa-má”, “kàn lín pō” tsiah ê piáu-tát. Tùi pát-lâng ê tshin-lâng, iū-kî sī tsa-bó tsi-tshin ê bú-jiók, Kheh-gí kik-ke kàu “â-mê” nā-tiāⁿ.

“Tiâu” kap kî-tha sū-lūi ê tso-háp mā ū tsit-kúa sī Tâi-gí tshoh-kàn-kiâu só bô ê. Put-kò Kheh-gí liáu-seu-fa ê ì-siōng tsai-hiân pí Tâi-gí--ê iáu khah to-iōng-huà, mā khah kū-thé, uah-thiàu koh iù-lō, tshiâng-tsai ē thê-khí sio-kàn ê pō-ūi kap khi-kuan tik-tiám, tsō-sing koh khah tūa ê tiòh-kiaⁿ thing-tō kap sat-siong-lát. Tshin-tshiūⁿ biâu-sút anal sex ê “tiâu sū-vút”, ì-sù sī “kàn kha-tshng”, tui tse koh tshui-pai kúi-nā ê siong-kuan ê liáu-seu-fa. “Tiâu ngiâ sū-vút” ì-sù sī “kàn lí ê kha-tshng”. Ī-sing-luan pē-kuan “tsing-siōng” ê sio-kàn thê-ūi sī tsi-bai kap lân-tsiáu ê kau-háp. Kóng beh kàn lêng ê kha-tshng tsit ê “bô tsing-siōng” ê só-tsai, ū phòh-hong ê ì-sù tī--teh, piáu-sī tui lêng ê khuaⁿ-khin koh pí “kàn tsi-bai” khah tâng. Koh, kàn-kha-tshng sī tông-sing-luan lâm-sing sio-kàn ê bô-sik tsi it. Tsú-liū ê ĩ-sing-luan pē-kuan tui-tī tông-sing-luan ê lâm-sing kik-kî pài-thiat phiⁿ-siūⁿ. Nā tui 1 ê tsa-pō-lâng kóng “tiâu ngiâ sū-vút”, sī teh àm-sī tui-hong sī gay, bú-jiók-sing tsiū koh khah tūa.

“Pún ngin tiâu sū-vút” ì-sù sī “hō lêng kàn kha-tshng” mā sī teh king-thé lêng sue-siâu, sià-sí sià-tsing.

Tui “tiâu ngiâ sū-vút” koh huat-tián tshut “m̄ tiâu ngiâ sū-vút”, ì-sù sī “bē giàn hiù--lí”, lân kàn lí ê kha-tshng to bē kâu-giàn.

“Tiâu” mā ē-tàng piáu-sī tsin siūⁿ-khì, káu-khì tsiāⁿ kiōng teh ká lêng mē. “Tiâu pí sí”, sī “kàn hō i sí” ê ì-sù. “Tiâu sa kî” pún-tsiāⁿ sī tui khah “bùn-ngá” ê “ma sòi kî” (tsiū sī “mē hō i sue”) lâi ê. Āu-lâi “ma sòi kî” thg-ūaⁿ-tsò “tiâu sòi kî”. Khó-ling sī “sôi” ê im búe-tshiú koh liòh-á tsáu-súa, suah

9 Sū-kūan-khiuⁿ Keh-gí ê tē 3 siaⁿ sui-bóng mā sī ko-kàng-im, m̄-kú khah bô Tâi-gí tē 2 siaⁿ teh kàng ê thing-tō hiah tūa, kî-sit sī tī Tâi-gí ê tē 2 siaⁿ kap tē 3 siaⁿ tiong-kan.

koh pìⁿ-tsiāⁿ-tsò “tiáu sa kì”¹⁰.

“M tiáu” sī “m-mài”, “bē giàn” ê ì-sù.

“Hó-tiáu” sī tsí “kiò-siàu hó, ū ióng-khì”. Tâi-gí mā ū gí-ì kap iōng-huat tsiap-kūn ê sū, hō-tsò “hó-kàn”. “Hó-tiáu” kap “hó-kàn” sui-jân “tsho” koh “thó”, tsóng-sī ū tsiāⁿ-bīn khing-tīng ê ì-hâm tī--teh.

“Fái-tiáu” hīng-iōng lāng pháiⁿ sīng-tē.

“Kéu tiáu-é” ì-sù sī “káu-á kàn ê”, mē lāng bô lō-īng, bô khah-tsùah. It-puaⁿ lāng lóng ká lāng í-gūa ê tōng-bút khuaⁿ-tò pí lāng khah kē-tíng ê. Só-í nā khi hō káu kàn--tiòh, sng ū-kau sue, kiàn-siàu, koh m-tát, pí khi hō lāng kàn--tiòh khah tshám-sí.

Siāng-sī, “tiáu” mā kap “kán” kâng-khuan tī tshù-thuan-thé ū sī-tsūn ē tsiāⁿ-tsò jīn-tōng ê phiau-thâu. Ū 1 ê Kheh-lāng ê siū-hóng-tsiá bat biâu-sút i ka-kī ê tshin-sin king-giām. Tī Tióng-tī 1 king thì-thâu-á-tiām, lāng-kheh lóng sī hū-kīn ê tsò-tshin-lāng. In kīⁿ-bīn tui thâu “tiáu” kah búe, bô 1 kù “hó ũe.” Tshin-tshiūⁿ kóng, “Tiáu, vān sên ô?” ì-sù sī “kán, nái iáu ùah--teh?” Tsit kù piáu-bīn sui-bóng teh tsui-tsó tui-hong khi sí, kī-sít sī teh kap kám-tsīng tsin tshim koh tshin ê tshù-piⁿ ping-iú sio-tsioh-mng, piáu-sī khuaⁿ-tiòh in ping-an hó-sè sim-kuaⁿ tsin huaⁿ-hí.

4.2 Lâm-sing Khi-kuan kap Hun-pì

Tsit tsat beh kóng ê Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí sing-siong-kuan ê kàn-kiāu sū-lūi lóng sī kap tsa-pō ê sing-khi-kuan koh ū in hun-pì ê mih (secretion) ū khan-liân, mā thang tui tsin khuaⁿ-tiòh tse 2 tsióng gí-giân kiōng-tōng kap tsha-ī ê tsáu-hiōng. Bô-lūn Kheh-gí á-sī Tâi-gí, kap tsa-pō sing-khi-kuan siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiāu m-nā kò-sù kap gí-ì tsiap-kīn, jī-tshiáⁿ sò-liōng lóng tsin tsūe, tsin huat-tát. Siong-tui--ê, tsa-bó khi-kuan ê siong-kuan kàn-kiāu tī tse 2 tsióng gí-giân lóng tsin tsio.

Koh, kap “kàn/kán”, “tiáu” ê tsáu-sè kâng-khuan, lâm-sing khi-kuan siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiāu, Kheh-gí--ê mā sī pí Tâi-gí--ê ê khah phōng-tshing, kù-thé koh tūa-táⁿ.

Sing-khi-kuan tī lāng ê ē-sin tsit ê hū-bīn ì-hâm ê pō-ūi. Koh, sing tī tsing-sik, kong-khai ê

10 “Tiáu sa kì” kám sī tui “tiáu sô kì” piàn--lái ê? Gúa ū kap Phùng Hí-siu lâu-su thó-lūn--kùe. I mā kám-kak ū tsit ê khó-ling-sing.

tiūⁿ-háp hong liáh-tsò kìm-khī. Put-kò tī līng-gūa l hong-biān, lâm-sing ê sing-khì-kuan kap hun-pì mā sī tsa-po-lāng sing līng-lik (potency), tsa-po khi-khai (masculinity) kap kuan-lik ê siōng-ting. Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí lâm-sing khi-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsiū tī “kuan-līng” kap “ùe-sùe”, tsiaⁿ-bīn kap hū-bīn tse 2 thâu ê ì-hâm tiong-kan haiⁿ lai haiⁿ khi, ū-sī-tsūn hong thêh-lai khua-kháu, ū-tang-sī koh ē-sái thêh-lai līng-jjók tui-tik.

4.2.1 Tâi-gí ê lâm-sing khi-kuan kap hun-pì: lān-tsiáu, lān-pha kap siâu

4.2.1.1 Lān-tsiáu

“Lān-tsiáu”, penis, ē-sái tan-tók tshoh, tsiaⁿ-tsò l e kám-thàn-sū, piáu-sī put-buan, m̄ siong-sin, bô tsàn-sing á-sī khuaⁿ bô bák-tē.

Kóng beh kā lāng ê “lān-tsiáu tok--khí-lai”, ū “castrate“, iam--khí-lai ê àm-sī. Kā siōng-ting lâm-sing khi-phik kap kuan-ui ê pō-ūi tsám-tū, piáu-sī beh kā tui-hong hā loh té.

“Tua-ki lān” sī teh phín-phóng sing-līng-lik kap kuan-ui ê ūe. Tse thang khuaⁿ-tsò sī tui jīn-thé pō-ūi tsiaⁿ-tsò hong-pī khong-kan/iōng-khì ê àm-jū só tshui-ián lai--ê. Iōng-khì ê gūa-hīng jú tua, tai-piáu lai-té ê iōng-liōng tsiū jú tua (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 26-30). Tsai-tī lān-tsiáu, jú tua-ki, lai-té só té ê siâu hong siōng-siōng-tsò sò-liōng jú tsūe, jú ē-tàng hián-sī sing-līng-lik (potency/virility). Siong-tui, “sè-ki-lān” tsiū hong phīⁿ-siūⁿ.

“Tuh lān” piáu-sī “ián-khì”, “bē sòng”, “hùn-khai”.

“Ūe hó-lān” sī teh mē lāng ɔ-pêh kóng, kóng-ue bô sit-tsai.

4.2.1.2 Lān-pha

“Lān-pha” (testicle) mā ē-sái tan-tók tsò kám-thàn-sū, ì-hâm kâp “lān-tsiáu” kūn-úa.

“kui lān-pha húc” ì-sù sī tsin siū-khì. Tsit ê piáu-tát khan-liân-tiōh 3 ê àm-jū. Tâi-sing, tse mā sī tsioh “sin-thé tsiaⁿ-tsò iōng-khì”, koh ū “siūⁿ-khì tsiaⁿ-tsò l tsióng bût-tsit” tse 2 ê àm-jū, kā sing-tē siōng-siōng-tsò lān-pha lai-té ê húc. Siang-sī tsit só-tsai koh iōng-tiōh “húa-hák piàn-húa” ê àm-jū (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 143-144). Tóh kap sio (burning) sī l tsióng húa-hák kùe-thīng, ē hō bût-tsit sán-sing piàn-húa. Húc ē jú sio jú mēh, kā mih-kiāⁿ tui kò-thé sio-tsò ian, pìⁿ-tsiaⁿ-tsò khi-thé, tsiū

ná-tshiūⁿ jú lâi jú siū-khi ê tsíng-sū ián-piàn.¹¹

“Phô lân-pha” teh hîng-iông lāng hiān-sit, úa-khò kûan-sè, m̄ tsai-iaⁿ kiàn-siàu ê bô-iūⁿ. Tsit ê piáu-tát 1 hong-biān tsioh-iông lâm-sing khi-kuan tãi-piáu kûan-sè ê ì-hâm, lîng-gūa 1 hong-biān koh tsioh lân-pha tī ē-sin tsit ê hū-bīn thé-uī ê àm-sī. Koh, nā tsin-tsiāⁿ beh iông tshiū khi phô pát-lāng ê lân-pha, tik-khak tiōh khut sing-khu, àⁿ kàu pát-lāng ê ē-sin, khū--lōh-lâi á-sī kûi--lōh-lâi tsiah phô ē tiōh. Tsit tsióng “kē” khut-sè ê liân-sióng tsiū jú hián-bing “phô lân-pha” tsit ê hîng-úi ū jūa pi-phí tshàu-tsiān.

Nā mē lāng “bô lân-pha” á-sī “bô lân-hút” sī teh tshiò lāng kiò-siàu báí, bô tám-sik. Tsit-tsióng ì-hâm sī tui lân-pha tsiaⁿ-tsò lâm-sing kûan-lîng ê siōng-ting lâi--ê. Lân-hút sī lân-pha lâi-té îⁿ-îⁿ, kò-thé tsōng-thài, ná kúe-tsi-hút ê kò-tsō. Kheh-gí liáu-seu-fa bô iông-tiōh “lân-hút”.

4.2.1.3 Siâu

Siâu (semen) sī hîng-sú sing-hîng-úi ê sī-tsūn tui lân-tsiáu hun-pì ê bít-tsit. Kap lân-tsiáu, lân-pha lūi-sū, siâu kiam-pī lâm-sing kûan-lîng, khui-lát kap a-tsa ùe-sùe ê siang-bīn siōng-ting ì-hâm (ambiguities). Koh, siâu sī tui lâm-sing khi-kuan pài-siá ê mih-kiāⁿ, tì-sú i “bô-lō-īng mih” ê hū-bīn àm-sī tsiū koh jú tâng. Siōng tsiap thiaⁿ--tiōh-ê tsiū sī “sáⁿ siâu”, piáu-sī siū-khi, ià-siān, bô teh sìn-táuh.

Kap “sáⁿ siâu” kap ê sū kài tsūe. “Bô saⁿ siâu lō-īng” teh mē lāng bô lō-īng.

“Tshòng sáⁿ siâu” jī-bīn sī teh m̄ng lāng beh tshòng siáⁿ, ū-tang-sī mā thêh lâi mē lāng o-pêh-bú, á-sī pháiⁿ siaⁿ-sàu kiò lāng “mài lâi ká gúa lō”. Put-kò “tshòng sáⁿ siâu” mā e-sái iông tī tsiāⁿ-bīn, tshin-tshiūⁿ hó ping-iú tiong-kan iông tsit kù kàn-kiâu lâi hō-siong kuan-sim.

“Sue-siâu” sī ū-kàu sue ê ì-sù, ká pháiⁿ-ūn kap siâu ê hū-bīn ì-hâm liân-sióng tsò-húe.

“Gê-siâu” piáu-sī “bô ài”, “uàn-tsheh”. “Hau-siâu” sī tsí “pêh-tshát”. Tse 2 ê sū tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ hong īng,

11 Iú-kuan iông jîn-thé kái-phua-hák (anatomy) lâi phi-lūn siū-khi “tsáu-hiòng” ê àm-jū, tshin-tshiūⁿ “kui pak húe beh giā-khi-lâi”, iáu-koh ū iông bít-lí ê tsok-iông-lát lâi phi-lūn hâu-kó tsham tōng-hiòng ê àm-jū, mā ē-sái tsham-khó Palmer, 1996: 224-232.

sat-siong-lát mã sù liû-sit, jú lâi jú bô hông tòng-tsò tsho-ue¹².

“Gik-siâu” kap “gê-siâu” ì-sù tsiap-kîn, piáu-sī “kik bô kah-ì”, tăn-sī “gik-siâu” ê kháu-khí khah không.

“Khò-siâu” sī kóng lāng “giàn-thâu”, “kik khò-khò”.

“Tsuaⁿ siâu” teh mē lāng pûn ke-kui, bô sít-lik. Tsit ê sù thang kap “tsuaⁿ-siâu” pí-kàu. “Tsuaⁿ” sī tsí tī 1 ê iōng-khì lâi-té tshut-lát hō ìk-thé á-sī liû-tsit phûn--tshut-khì. “Tsuaⁿ siâu” teh kóng lâm-sìng ko-tiâu (orgasm) ê sī ká siâu tui lân-tsiáu tsuaⁿ--tshut-lâi, ejaculate ê tōng-tsok, mã sī sîng-lîng-lik ê piáu-hiân. “Tsuaⁿ” pún-lâi tsí iōng sè-pha húc bân-bân-á tsian, tshin-thiùⁿ “tsuaⁿ bah-iû”, kan-ta ē-tàng tsuaⁿ 1 tih-á. Kóng lāng teh tsuaⁿ, tsü sī iōng “bô siâu thang tsuaⁿ” tsiaⁿ-tsò “sit-khì sîng-lîng-lik” ê àm-sī, lâi king-thé lāng bô sít-lik, bô tsai-tiâu thang “tsuaⁿ”, kan-ta tsiaⁿ 1 ki tshui ngē-sí tsuaⁿ nā-tiāⁿ.

Lîng-gūa 1 kù “bô siâu kiam bô ko”, mã sī lûi-sū ê ì-sù. Tsit kù tsioh ko kap siâu pēⁿ-pēⁿ siók liû-tsit ê tik-sîng lâi ká lāng mē. “Bô ko” mã sī teh tsí “bô siâu”. 2 ê ì-sù tsiap-kîn ê sù pîng-liát, ē-thang thê-sîng tshoh ê lát-thâu.

“Lô siâu lô phîⁿ”, sī mē lāng ɔ-pêh hue, ɔ-pêh bú. Phîⁿ sī tui phîⁿ-khang tshut--lâi ê pài-sià-mih. Siâu kap phîⁿ 2 hāng siāng-sī ìng-tiòh thê-lâi ê pài-sià-mih tsiaⁿ-tsò hùe-mih ê àm-jū, koh ū in lóng siók liû-tsit ê tik-tiám. In-ûi siâu kap phîⁿ ū tse 2 ê kiōng-tōng-tiám, tse 2 hāng sio tháh pîng liát, ē hō mē lāng ê hâu-kó ka-kiōng. Koh “lô” tsit jī tiōng-hók, mã hîng-sîng 1 tsióng tsiat-tsau.

Tsiaⁿ--e í-gúa, “tshio” pún-té sī teh kóng tsa-pò hòⁿ-sik. “Tshio” mã thang kap pát ê sù háp teh ìng, tshin-tshiūⁿ “tshio-tiô”, “tián-tshio”, lóng sī ká tsa-pò ê tsîng-iòk giâ--khí-lâi, beh si-hîng in ê sîng-lîng-lik, khok-tián ké-sueh-tsò ài tián hong-sîn ê ì-sù.

4.2.2 Kheh-gí ê lín-kun, lín-mò, hak-lón, siâu, lín-sú

4.2.2.1 Lín-kun, lín-mò

“Lín-kun”, tī Kheh-gí ū-sí-tsūn kóng “lín”, tsü sī “lân-tsiáu”. Iōng tsit ê sù teh tshoh ê khuan-sit, ū-ê kap Tâi-gí ê “lân-tsiáu” sio kâng. Tshin-tshiūⁿ “tú lín” tsü sī “tuh lân”. “Vat hú-lín” sī “ue hó-lân”.

12 Wajnryb (2006: 45-47) kóng, 1 ê kàn-kiâu-sû nā tī hui-kàn-kiâu ê tiûⁿ-háp siûⁿ tsiáp hông ìng, kìm-khî-tō kap sat-siong-lát ē kiám-tsió, lô-búe tsü bô hông kám-kak sī teh tshoh ah.

“Hú-lín-siân” tsiū sī “hó-lân-sian”, tsí ài o-pêh kài ê lāng.

“Lín” mā ē-tàng tsò kám-thàn-sû, tshin-tshiūⁿ “ngâ lín ô!” ì-sū sī “gúa ê lân-tsiáu ûe!”

“Chheu-kiông-lín” tit-tsiap huan-ik-tsò “sán kiuⁿ lân”, hîng-iông lāng sán kah tsiok pháiⁿ-khuaⁿ-siùⁿ, ná 1 kî kiuⁿ hiah sán.

“Ngang-kiáng-lín” sī iông ko-tiâu ê sî lân-tsiáu piàn ngē koh piàn-tit ê ì-siông, lâi mē lāng kò-tsip, m̄ tsai thang tshun-tshia, bē-su tsit ê sî-khik ê lân-tsiáu hiah tīng. “Ngang-kiáng” pún-ì sī tsí “ngē ê âm-kún”, ē-sái iông lâi o-ló lāng giám-ngē, mā thang thêh-lâi mē lāng khut-kiông kò-tsiáp, m̄ tsai thang piàn-khiâu.

“Lín-kun-thèu” tsiū sī “lân-tsiáu-thâu”, kan-ta tsiàm sè-tè-á pō-ûi, iông lâi hîng-iông lāng giàn-thâu, ài khi pûn hó-khang--e, kiát-kiók bô bâu-tiòh puaⁿ-hāng lī-ik.

Tī pún-lūn-bûn tshân-ia tiau-tsa ê kùe-thîng-tiong, mā ū siu-tsip-tiòh iông “lín-kun-thèu” lâi phî-lūn tsiáu-á-siaⁿ ê jí-liâu, kâ “phák-thèu-kûng” (pêh-thâu khiat-á) teh háu ê siaⁿ kóng-tsò “chit-kut-lu, chit-kut-lu, lín-kun-thèu”.

“Lâi lín” ì-sù sī “giú lân-tsiáu”, tshiò lāng “hòⁿ-sik” á-sī ài tsáp-tshap, tsò bô pit-iâu ê tãi-tsi.

“Pûn ngin khon lín-kun” tsiū sī “hō lāng khuaⁿ-tiòh lân-tsiáu”, bē-su theng kah pêh-pêh, hō lāng khuaⁿ kah thâu-ki thiat-té, phîⁿ-siùⁿ kah bô 1 tè. Līng-gūa 1 ê ì-sù sī mē lāng khi khai-tsa-bó, tsò sán-khùi-tãi.

“Kot lín tû m̄ tón” jī-bīn sī “beh kuah lân-tsiáu to kuah bē tīng”. Tse sī iông phòng-hong ê khúan-sit lâi piáu-tát sim-kuaⁿ-thâu ê bô-nâi.

Ū 1 kù siong-kuan ê kàn-kiâu-ue sī “Hó-hó ke lín-é kot lòi kuan”, jī-bīn ì-sù sī “hó-hó ê lân-tsiáu kuah lâi kuaⁿ”, mē lāng bô tãi bô tsi bú 1 thuaⁿ, ke hùi-khi--ê. Koh ū 1 kù ì-sù sio siâng, put-ko sī iông “hak-lón”, tsiū sī lân-pha, lâi hîng-iông, hō-tsò “hó-hó ke hak-lón kot lòi khian”, jī-bīn ê ì-sù sī “hó-hó ê lân-pha kuah lâi tiâu”.

“Án túng ngâ lín”, tit-tsiap kóng sī “tsiah-nih tâng guá ê lân-tsiáu”, tsiū sī “tsiah-nih jiá guá siūⁿ-khi” ê ì-sù.

Í-hā kúi ê Kheh-gí tshoh-kàn-kiâu sī Tâi-gí bô, á-sī oh-tit thiaⁿ--tiòh ê. In ê phòng-tshing pha-sò kap sat-siong-lát pí Tâi-gí siong-kuan ê sū khah kiông, koh thián-hiân Kheh-lâng tui-tī jîn-thé iù-jī ê kuan-tshat kap sióng-siông-lát.

“Chhiôn ngâ lín”, jī-bīn ê ì-sù sī “suh gúa ê lán-tsiáu”, piáu-sī kik-tuan siū-khì, súa sióng-siông beh bīng-līng tui-hong thê ka-kī tsò oral sex, á-sī beh kui-khì suh ka-kī ê lán-tsiáu. Nā tsiáu lāng ê liông-kut ē-tàng uan ê thīng-tō lāi tshui-tuan, tē 2 tsióng tsīng-hīng tong-jiân sī tsò bē kàu; lāng bô huat-tō àⁿ-lôh-lāi kàu ka-kī ê ē-sin. Koh khah hām--ê, tsiū sī bô lāng ka-kī teh tsò oral sex. Kóng tsit tsióng phòng-tshing bô-sít ê ūe kī-sít sī beh hīng-iông khi kah liáh-kông, kàu sít-khì lí-sing ê tē-pō, jú phòng-tshing tãi-piáu tsīng-sū-sing jú kiông. Tsit kù kā tsin-hīng oral sex ê tōng-tsok kap pō-ūi lóng tshing-tshó thián-hiân, kím-khī-tō tsin kuan, hông ìn-siông tshim-khik.

Kheh-gí liáu-seu-fa, koh ū “chhiôn ngâ lín, tiáu ngiâ â-mê” kap “tú ngâ lín, tiáu ngiâ â-mê”, lóng sī kā gúan-lái 2 ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu gí-kù tàu tsò-húe, hō sat-siong-lát thê-sing.

“Áu lín set chôi” sī “áu lán-tsiáu lāi that tshui” ê ì-sù, mē lāng phiàn-siáu--ê, á-sī sí-hó, ka-kī tsò ê tsūe-gik ka-kī taⁿ. Tsit ê piáu-tát mā sī hām kah tshiau-kùe jîn-thé ê tōng-tsok kap sing-hīng-úi ê kik-hān. Tsit tsióng “tshiau-hiân-sít” ê phòng-tshing-tō tú-hó tút-hián tshoh ê lāng ū jūa ùan-hūn, jūa siū-khì, sī káu-khì tsiâⁿ kiông ê piáu-tát kuan-sit.

Siong-kuan--e ū 1 kù “áu lín set chôi chhit-kâ sâi”, ì-sù sī “ka-kī áu lán-tsiáu lāi sàⁿ”. Kheh-gí “sút” sī tsí “tsiáh”. “Sâi” pí “sút” khah hū-bīn, teh mē lāng tham-tsiáh, tsheⁿ-kông-hut, iáu-siū-sut, tsiáh kah tsin pháiⁿ-khuaⁿ-siūⁿ. Áu ka-kī ê lán-tsiáu that tùa tshui í-king tsin hām, koh kiò lāng “sàⁿ ka-kī ê lán-tsiáu”, káu-khì tsiū koh jú kiông.

Tâi-gí khah bô iông-tiòh pubic hair, tsiū sī lán-tsiáu-mơ, tsi-bai-mơ (iā thang kóng “lān-mua”, “lān-mơ”) lāi tshoh. M̄-kú Kheh-gí ū. “Lín-mò phung thiân” ì-sù sī khi kah lán-tsiáu-mơ kap tsi-bai-mơ lóng tshàng--khí-lāi, khi tú-tiòh thiⁿ, iông phòng-hong ê hong-sik lāi hīng-iông kik siū-khì.

“Lín-mò set ko phung” ì-sù sī “lán-tsiáu-mơ that kùe phāng”. Tsit ê “phāng” sī tsí seⁿ-m̄ng (mā ē-sái kóng “im-m̄ng”, “im-hō”, vulva). Kui kù sī teh mē lāng siuⁿ tshiau-kùe, bē-su sio-kàn ê sí siūⁿ tūa-lát, tsa-po-lāng lián lán-tsiáu-mơ to tsīⁿ-jīp-khì kàu tsa-bó ê im-tō (vagina).

“Lín-fó tsók” jī-bīn ê ì-sù sī “lán-tsiáu-húe tóh”, piáu-sī tsin siūⁿ-khì ê ì-sù, siong-tong Tâi-gí ê “kui lán-pha húe”. Sui-jiân tse 2 tsióng gí-giân pēⁿ-pēⁿ lóng iông-tiòh tsa-po ê sing khi-kuan tsiâⁿ-tsò 1 ê

iông-khi ê àm-jū, m̄-kú in tsí-tshing ê pō-ūi bô kâng. Tsóng-sī, bô-lūn sī “lín-fó-tsók” á-sī “kui lán-pha hùe” lóng sī tsioh tòk-tòk tsa-por tsiah ū ê khi-kuan lāi phî-lūn hùn-lō, hián-jian lóng siók lâm-sing iông-gí.

Kheh-gí koh ū 1 kù “ngang-kiáng lín tù-tó lín-fó-tshók”, ì-sù sī kóng ngē tú ngē, n̄ng ping lóng bô beh sio-niū. Tse mā sī ká gūan-lāi 2 ê kàn-kiāu sio-tháh, súa sán-sing sin ê gí-ì.

Līng-gūa “lín-kun” mā ū lāng ká hō-tsò “chôi”. Nā mē lāng “chôi-mian”, tsiū sī mē lāng “lān-tsiáu-bīn”, kài pháiⁿ-khuaⁿ ê iūⁿ-siūⁿ.

4.2.2.2 Hak-lón

“Hak-lón” tsiū sī “lān-pha”. Kheh-gí lāi-té iông-tiōh hak-lón ê liáu-seu-fa ū “phû hak-lón”, kap Tâi-gí “phô lān-pha” ê kò-sû kap gí-ì sio-siāng.

“Thai nen mò thu, thai hak mò liong” sī teh tshiò tūa-liáp lān-pha kap tūa-liáp ne ê lāng bô tō-liōng, ē-sái iōng lāi mē tsa-por-lāng kap tsá-bó-lāng. Tī siā-hūe it-puaⁿ ê jīn-tí, ne kap lān-tsiáu/lān-pha hun-piát siōng-ting lú-sing kap lâm-sing tik-tsit. Tsiah ê pō-ūi nā khah tūa, tsiū tãi-piáu sing-līng-līk khah kiōng, á-sī khah ū khih-ín-lát. Tsóng-sī tī tsit kù ūe lāi-té sing-khi-kuan khah tūa suah tsiāⁿ-tò hông king-thé ê lí-iū, iōng tsit tsióng glk-tsúan kò-tīng-hua ìn-siōng (counter-stereotype) ê tshiú-lō lāi ká lāng tshoh.

4.2.2.3 Siâu, lín-sú

“Siâu” tsiū sī Tâi-gí ê “siâu”. “Siâu” kap “siâu” m̄-nā im kūn-úa, lian tsit-kúa īng-huat mā saⁿ thong.

“Siâu vá!” sī 1 ê kám-thàn-sû, ì-sù sī “siâu lah!”, piáu-sī hó-tīng, khuaⁿ bô tsiūⁿ bák.

“Sôi-siâu” ê ì-sù kap iōng-tō lóng kap Tâi-gí ê “sue-siâu” kâng-khuan. Kheh-gí tiāⁿ-tiāⁿ tshut-hiān “án sòi-siâu”, tsiū sī “tshiah-nih sue-siâu”.

“Yè siâu” tsiū sī “gê-siâu”.

Tâi-gí só-bô ê piáu-tát ū “sâi siâu”, ì-sù kap “tsiáh sái” tsha-put-to, m̄-kú sat-siong-lát ke khah

kiông. Tsing ū the-khi “sâi” pí “tsiáh” tù khah kiông ê hū-bīn ì-hâm, tì-kàu “sâi-siâu” pí “tsiáh siâu”, “tsiáh sái” mē-tiōh iáu khah kik-kut.

Koh ū “mò siâu sâi”, siong-tong “bô l-sut-á lī-ik thang tshng” ê ì-sù. Tse mā sī kik phòng-tshing ê ūe. “Sâi-siâu” í-king ū kàu sue-búe ah, suah liân “siâu” to bô thang “sâi”, ū-íⁿ sue-búe kah ū-tshun.

Gín-á nā m̄ thak-tskeh, á-sī sng-tsik báí, pē-bú tsit-sī khi kàu-tè, mē gín-á “thuk-siâu”, tsī sī “thak siâu” ê ì-sù. Tse pí Tâi-gí lūi-sū ê gí-kù sat-siong-lát khah kiông. Tâi-gí--ê kik-ke sī mē “thak l khor kiān”, “thak kâu”, á-sī “thak-tskeh thak tī kha-tsiah-phia” án-ne ê thng-tō niā-niā.

“Siâu-siâu phi-phi” hng-iōng pháiⁿ-tshui tshoh bô thng. “Phi” sī phīⁿ-khang lâu ê phīⁿ.

“Lín-sū” ū 2 ê ì-sù. 1 ê sī tsí “siâu”. Līng-gūa mā ē-tàng tsí pau-phūe (mā hō-tsò “pau-sui”, foreskin) kap lān-tsiâu tiong-kan só khê ê lah-sap-mih. “Lín- sū” nā tshut tsāi tē 2 tsióng ké-sueh, sat-siong-lát pí “siâu” khah tūa. “Siâu” iáu sng thē-lāi hun-pì ê l khuan, ū sing-iók ê kong-līng, ū-sī mā siōng-ting sing-līng-līk, iáu ū kúa “tsiāⁿ-bīn” ì-hâm. Tsóng-sī “pau-phūe kap lān-tsiâu tiong-kan só khê ê lah-sap-mih” sī tsūan-jīan hū-bīn ê bô-lō-īng-mih, koh bih tī àm-thiap, ún-bát ê só-tsāi, tshiong-búan àm-sàm, ùe-sùe, bē kīⁿ-tit lāng ê ì-siōng. In-ūi án-ne, “lín-sū” siong-kuan ê liáu-seu-fa pí “siâu” siong-kuan--ê ke l tsān ì-sù, mā ke khah “tók”.

Pún-lūn-būn kā “lín- sū” ê tē 2 tsióng ì-sù huan-ik-tsò “pau-phūe-sái”. Tâi-gí ū kúi ê sū iōng “sái” lâi tshing-ho sing-khu pō-ūi ê hun-pì á-sī ù-ùe, tshin-tshiūⁿ hīⁿ-sái, phīⁿ-sái, bák-sái. Tsóng-sī bô l ê tik-tīng ê sū lâi tsí pau-phūe só giáp ê lah-sap-mih. Tui “lín- sū” tsit ê sū thang tsai, Kheh-lāng tui jīn-thē kuan-tshat tsiāⁿ siōng-sè, koh káⁿ thián-hiān tī in ê gí-giān, sūa tui “lín- sū” huat-tián-tshut tsūe-tsūe liáu-seu-fa.

“Sâi lín-sū” tsī sī “sàⁿ siâu”, á-sī koh khah bú-jiók-sing ê “sàⁿ pau-phūe-sái”, mē lāng “bô lō-īng” á-sī “tsáp-tsing-á-kiáⁿ”, “m̄-tsiāⁿ-kiáⁿ”.

“Yâ lín-sū” ê “yâ” sī “iá-sing, hòng-tòng” ê ì-sù, teh mē tūa-lāng bô tsing-king, mē gín-á put-siū-kà.

“Ô lín-sū” jī-bīn sī kóng “pàng siâu” á-sī “pàng pau-phūe-sái”, mā sī teh mē lāng “bô lō-īng”. “Ô” tsit ê Kheh-gí tōng-sū īng tī “ô-sū” kap “ô-ngiau”, hun-piát teh tsí pàng-sái kap pàng-jō.

“Mùt lín-sù” ê “mùt” sī “nūa--khì”, “phái--khì” ê ì-sù. Kui ê sù sī teh mē lāng “àu-hùe”.

“Mak-ke lín-sù” kap “sáⁿ siâu” thang saⁿ-thong, mē lāng tsò bô ìng-kai tsò ê tãi-tsi.

4.3 Tsa-bó ê Sing-khì-kuan: Tsi-bai, Chhù-pài, Chhù-piat

Thâu-tsing ū kóng--kùe, gí-giân hák-ka huat-hiân, sing-khì-kuan siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu gí-sù tiong-kan, sat-siong-lát pài tē-it-ê tsiū sī tsa-bó-ê. Bô-lūn sī Eng-gí ê “cunt” á-sī Tâi-gí ê “tsi-bai”, Kheh-gí ê “chhù-pài”, “chhù-piat” tshoh--khì-lâi lóng pí tsa-por ê sing-khì-kuan khah hông tiòh-kiaⁿ, mā khah “hiông” khah “tók” (Wajnryb, 2006: 71).

Ū 1 hāng tsin tát-tit tsù-ì, tsiū sī tī Tâi-ûan “tsi-bai” kap “chhù-pài” tūa-pō-hūn sī hō tsa-por-lāng báu khì tshoh. Tsa-bó m̄-nā pí tsa-por-lāng khah hán-tit tshoh, mā khah m̄-káⁿ tshoh, koh jú m̄-káⁿ kóng tsit ê iōng in ê sin-thé pō-ūi kò-sing ê sū-lūi. Tsa-bó-lāng ê sing-khì-kuan iū-tsāi tsa-por-lāng thèh-khì kiâu, koh hun-phùe hō i pí tsa-por ê sin-thé pō-ūi khah hū-bīn ê ì-hām, tse thián-hiân 1 tsióng gí-giân pòk-lik, mā koh 1 pài hián-sī gí-giân bô-lūn tī kiat-kò á-sī sú-iōng tóng-thâu lóng sī iōng tsa-por tsò tiong-sim, man-made ê man-stream tsiah sī mainstream.

Tsi-bai sī-án-tsúaⁿ ē tsiāⁿ-tsò tshoh-kàn-kiâu gí-sù-tiong kìm-khī-tō siōng kuan ê? Bô-tik-khak sī in-ūi i ún-bát ê ūi-só, bô tshiūⁿ tsa-por ê sing khì-kuan lō-hiân tī gūa-kháu, (Wajnryb, 2006: 71-88). Mā khó-ling sī in-ūi tsi-bai thàng kàu tsú-kiong kap nng-tsâu, ná-tshiūⁿ tshim-jip kah thé-lāi thām bē-tiòh té ê só-tsāi, súa hng-sing 1 tsióng sîn-bit-kám, mā ín-khí tsa-por-lāng ê giâu-gi kiaⁿ-hiāⁿ, tsiah iōng hū-bīn tshiú-huat kā tsi-bai tsài-hiân (represent).

Koh, tse kiám-tshái mā khan-liân-tiòh kó-tsá lāng tui-tī jīn-thé ê jīn-ti, iū-kī sī tui-tī lú-sing tók-iú ê sing-iók ki-ling ê tsai-bat bô kàu-giáh. Âng-eⁿ-á tui tsi-bai tshut-si, gùeh-king mā sī tui tsit ê sîn-bit ê khang lâu--tsut-lâi. Koh, seⁿ kiáⁿ í-âu bó-thé tsū-jian ē tshut ni-tsiap. Sing-sán, gùeh-king kap tshī bó-ling lóng sī tsa-por-lāng bô huat-tō thé-giām ê sēⁿ-miā uah-tāng. In khuaⁿ-tiòh tsa-bó-lāng tshui-tsūn kap gùeh-king kī-kan ê khó-thàng. Koh seⁿ kiáⁿ kap gùeh-king lóng ē ín-khí hueh tui tsi-bai lâu--tshut-lâi, liōng ū-sī tsin tsūe, hueh ê tshàu-tsheⁿ-bī, koh ū sian-âng kap ɔ-tò-âng ê sik-ti, mā ín lāng kiaⁿ-ùi. Tsa-por-lāng hūan-sè khí-thâu sa-bô gūan-in, jú kám-kak put-an. Lō-búe tsit tsióng bô-an-tsūan-kám kiám-tshái súa ián-piàn-tsò uan-tsheh, tui-tī tsa-bó sing-khì-kuan hó-tīng ê thài-tō

mā hîng-kò tī lâm-sîng tsò tsú-thé ê gí-giân kap tì-sik hē-thóng lâi-té.¹³

Lîng-gūa l hong-biân, tsa-bó seⁿ kiáⁿ liáu ū ni thang iúⁿ-tshī sè-kiáⁿ ê sū-sít, sui-bóng oh-tit hông lí-kái, m̄-kú tsa-por-lâng iū-gūan khing-hiòng khing-tīng tsit tsióng “bó-sîng”, sīm-tsi ē him-siān tsit tsióng lú-sîng tók-iú ê sing-iók lîng-lík. Koh, lú-sîng ê sin-thé, iū-kī sī sing-khì-kuan, mā sī in khat-bō ê bók-phiau. Kám ē sī tshut tsāi tsit khúan iā ài iā kiaⁿ koh bē bîng-liâu ê m̄u-tún sim-thài, tsa-por-lâng tui lú-sîng ê hîng-kò sūa tī tsiaⁿ-bīn kap hū-bīn 2 ê kik-tuan tiong-kan píng lâi píng khi? Tī lâm-sîng tsú-tō ê gí-giân tsài-hiān tīng-thâu, lú-sîng ū sī-tsūn hông hîng-iōng-tsò sūn-kiat kah bō iók-bōng ê sîng-lú, m̄-kú ū-sī-tsūn koh hông tá-ap-tsò ín-iū lāng tui-lòh ê tshiong-ki. (Hughes, 1993: 212-216) Tsi-bai tsiaⁿ-tsò siōng “tók” ê kàn-kiâu tsham tsit tsióng sim-lí m̄u-tún kám ū tī-tāi? Kám sī thong-kùe tshoh ê gí-giân pók-lík hō tsa-por búan-tsiok siūⁿ-beh “kàn” ê iók-bōng, siāng-sī koh khò ká tsi-bai ù-miā-hua thang kap i pó-tshī kù-lí?

Tse í-gōa, tsi-bai tsiah-nih kiōng ê sat-siong-lát kap pē-kuan khua-lū bó-hē sè-lik ē koh-tsai hîng-khí, ká in ián hō tó ê kiaⁿ-hiāⁿ (usurpphobia) kám iā ū kuan-hē? Pē-kuan kám sī thong-kùe gí-giân ká tsit ê lú-sîng sin-thé pō-ūi kik-tō sng-tīng, thang siau-tháu in ê usurpphobia, koh thè pē-kuan ê tsáiⁿ-tsè háp-lí-hua?

Koh, tsa-por iōng in ê sîng-hun-pì (sexual secretion) “siâu” lâi tshoh, tsóng-sī in kan-ta tshoh tsi-bai, bō tshoh gùeh-king, mā bō thèh tshiah-tua, pèh-tua tsiah ê lú-sîng ê hun-pì lâi tshoh. Tsiah ê gí-giân-tsiūⁿ ê “khiām-sik” (absence) thang hō lán siáⁿ-mih khé-sī?

Tâi-gí kap Kheh-gí--nih iōng lâm-sîng sîng-khì-kuan kiàn-kò ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsiaⁿ huat-tát. M̄-kú, tū-khì “tsi-bai” kap “chū-pài” í-gūa, lán tsiū oh-tit tshūe-tiòh kap lú-sîng sin-thé siong-kuan ê kàn-kiâu gí-sū ah. Án-ne ê “khiām-kueh” koh tãi-piáu siáⁿ-mih?

Í-siōng tsióng-tsióng ê bûn-tê tú-hó thián-hiān tshoh-kàn-kiâu sī tsin tsūe sè-lik sio-tú-thâu, tshiong-búan piān-tsing tsiām-tsāi tōng-lát ê ūi-só. Gî-bûn múa-múa-sī ê tsa-bó sîng-khì-kuan tú-tīng thang tsiaⁿ-tsò l ê khai-tián sin ê tui-ue ê tshut-huat-tiám.

4.3.1 Tsi-bai

Tâi-gí ê “tsi-bai” ē-sái tsò kám-thàn-sū lâi īng, piáu-sī hó-tīng, khuaⁿ-khin.

¹³ Kàu taⁿ iáu ū Tâi-ûan-lâng siong-sin, tsa-bó nā gueh-king lâi bē-sái jip-khì biō-sī pài-pài, kiaⁿ ká “sîn-sîng” ê só-tsāi “ùe lâ-sâm--khì”.

“Tsi-bai” mã e-sái tsò hîng-iông-sû, tshin-tshiũⁿ “ũ-kàu tsi-bai”, “ũ-kàu tsi e”. “Tsi” sī “tsi-bai” ê kán-tshing. “Lân-pha” kap “lân-tsiáu” tsiũ bô hîng-iông-sû ê kong-iông. “Tsi-bai” koh ē-sái kap bîng-sû kap, tshin-tshiũⁿ “tsi-bai-lâng”, mē lāng kò-sìng á-sī só-tsò tsin bái.

“Tsi-bai” mã thang tsò metonymy, tsiũ sī iông 1 ê pō-ũi lâi phî-lūn tsíng-thé ê àm-jū (Palmer, 1996: 232-235; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 35-40). Tsi-bai tsiâⁿ-tsò lú-sìng khi-kuan, ē-sái iông lâi tãi-piáu 1 ê tsa-bó-lāng, put-kò hū-bīn ì-hâm tsin tâng. Ū ê lāng mē “iáu-siũ tsi, iáu-siu bai”, tsiũ sī “iáu-siũ tsa-bó” ê ì-sù, ká “tsi-bai” tsit ê sù thiah-tsò 2 kùeh lâi mē, ka-kiông gí-khì. Mã ū lāng tsí-tshing tsa-bó tsò “tsit ê tsi”.

4.3.2 Chhù-pài, chhù-piat

“Tsi-bai” tī Kheh-gí ē-sái kóng “chhù-pài” á-sī “chhù-piat”, “piat-é”, khah bô ìng-lâi tsò kám-thàn-sù, m̄-kú e-sái tsò hîng-iông-sû. “Án chhù-pài” sī kóng “tsiah-nih tsi-bai”. “Koi chhù-pài” sī “kài tsi-bai” ê ì-sù.

“Chhù-pài” mã thang kap pát ê bîng-sû kap, koh sán-sing sin ê ì-gī. “Kiê chhù-pài” tsiũ sī “ke-á tsi-bai”, sī “pháiⁿ-khuaⁿ-siũⁿ” ê ì-sù. “Chhù-pài-mian” ê ì-sù sī “tsi-bai-bīn”, mã sī teh tshiò lāng pháiⁿ-khuaⁿ-thâu, kap iông lâm-sing khi-kuan teh tshoh ê “chhò-mian” siong-tong.

“Kéu chhù-pài” jī-bīn sī “káu-á tsi-bai” ê ì-sù, mē lāng tham-sim bē búan-tsiok. “Chhù-pài” kap bô kâng ê tông-bút tso-háp sù hîng-sing bô kâng ê gí-ì. Tse kiám-tshái kap lāng tui tsiah ê tông-bút ê kò-tīng-hua ìn-siōng ū kuan-hē.

“Piat-é-choi” ì-sù sī “tsi-bai-tshui”, mē lāng “pháiⁿ-tshui” ê ì-sù.

“Piat-mà” jī-bīn sī “tsi-bai tsa-bó”, ì-sù úa-kūn Tâi-gí ê “thūn-bó”, tshiò tsa-bó-lāng bô sing-iók lîng-lîk. Tsit kù huan-ìng Hàn-jîn pē-kuan, pau-kuat Kheh-ka pē-kuan, tsù-tiōng pē-hē thuan-tsong tsiap-tâi ê sim-thài, mã ká sing-iók, iû-kí sī seⁿ hâu-seⁿ, khuaⁿ-tsò iân-siók ka-tsók kap tsók-kūn miā-kin ê tiōng-iâu kong-lîng. Tsa-bó-lāng tsiâⁿ-tsò sing-iók ê kang-kū, nā bô seⁿ tsiũ hông kî-sī (張典婉, 2004: 231).

“Sê chhù” ì-sù sī “tsiⁿ tsi-bai”, sī tsa-bó piáu-tát ka-kī tsin siũ-khì teh tshoh ê ũe. “Sê chhù” kap “chhiôn ngá lín” tú-hó tsiâⁿ-tsò tui-tsiâu, lóng thong-kùe tui tsa-bó, tsa-por ê sing-khi-kuan tsin-hîng oral sex ê gí-giân siōng-siōng lâi piáu-sī hùn-lō. Tse 2 ê gí-kù ká tông-tsok kap pō-ũi lóng kau-tài kah

siông-sè kū-thé, bē-su hiān-hiān khòaⁿ ē tiōh (graphic), hông thiaⁿ-liáu ē tshuah-tsit-tiō. Hiān-tshú-sí gúa siu-tslp--tiōh ê Tâi-gí tshoh-kàn-kiâu gí-liáu iáu bô tsiah-nih thán-pêh khai-hòng ê.

“Thai chū-mà-khang” ì-sū sī “tūa tsi-bai ê tsa-bó-khang”, tsí tsa-bó ê tsi-bai phua tsioh tūa-khang. Tsit kù kap Tâi-gí ê “phua-bâ” ì-hâm siong-tong, lóng sī iōng tsi-bai kang tūa, tshù-lú-môh phua--khì, lâi king-thé tsa-bó sit-tik im-lūan, tsi-bai tsiah hông kàn kah phua-khang nūa--khì. Tse tsiū ná-tshiūⁿ 4.1.1 ū kóng-khí--ê, sī Hàn-jîn pē-kuan “tshù-lú-môh tsing-kat” ê tsok-iōng.

Kàu taⁿ thó-lūn--tiōh ê siong siong-kuan tshoh-kàn-kiâu tãi-khai lóng teh hó-tīng lú-sing. Tsóng-sī ē-bīn beh thām-thó l ê lē-gūa.

Kheh-gí ê “chū-pài” tsí-tsió ū tī l só-tsāi hông thêh-lâi tsò tsiaⁿ-bīn ê ūn-iōng. “Â-che-pài” sī “a-tsé tsi-bai” ê ì-sù, sui-jiān hō siā-hūe ê tsú-liú kè-tát jīn-tīng bô kàu bûn-ngá, m̄-kú tse sī iōng lâi tshing-ho siang-hó saⁿ-thiàⁿ ná tsí-mūe-á ê lú-sing ping-iú, piáu-hiān l tsióng tshin-tshiat-kám. “Â-che pài” sī hiān-tshú-sí Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tshoh-kàn-kiâu tiong-kan tok-it iōng tsiaⁿ-bīn ì-hâm hīng-sok tsa-bó-lâng kap tsa-bó sing-khì-kuan--ê. Jī-tshiáⁿ tī lâm-sing tsò tiong-sim ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu--nih, “â-che-pài” sī tsio-sò iōng lú-sing tsò tsú-thé, koh bô sng-tīng lú-sing ê, thang hō tsa-bó-lâng khuaⁿ-uah tsū-tsāi lâi sú-iōng. Tsit ê tik-sū hiān-siōng hián-sī, “â-che-pài” bô-tik-khak thang tsiaⁿ-tsò tī tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsit ê lūn-tâm líng-hik-tiong (discursive field), tiōng-kiàn sin ê sing-piát kuan-hē ê khí-tiám, siāng-sí mā thang tsò tsa-bó-lâng tsing-tshú sin ê ì-gī ê tshiat-jip-tiám.

5. Suah Ūe-búe

Peter Trugill 1975 nī bat kóng--kùe, lí nā bô kah-ì l ê lāng ê khiuⁿ-kháu, kī-sit tsin-tsiaⁿ ê gūan-in tshiāng-tsāi sī lí bô kah-ì i ê kè-tát-kuan (ín tsū Wajnryb, 2006: 283-284). Piáu-bīn ê gí-giān phian-kiàn sū-sit sī ìng-tsing pūe-āu tsūe-tsūe-tīng ê kai-kip, tsók-kún kap bûn-hua kī-sī, ká bô háh tsú-liú kè-tát, bô háh bûn-hua pà-kuan lī-ik ê mih-kiāⁿ ká “tē-hā-hua”, suan-tshing in “bô tsúi-tsún”, “bô phín-bī” (Bourdieu, 1994: 444-449). Tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsiū sī án-ne hông hui-huat-hua ê gí-giān hīng-úi kap siā-hūe sít-tsiān.

Kī-sit nā ūaⁿ l ê kak-tō lâi khuaⁿ, tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsit tsióng tsing-kám piáu-hiān tsin kiōng ê gí-giān hīng-úi ìng-tong ē-tàng thê-hiān tsin “súi-khùi” ê bûn-hák bí-hák. Ūi-tiōh beh mē-iāⁿ, ká siong-hāi thīng-tō thê-sing kàu tsīn-pōng, á-sī beh piáu-tát siū-khì, gī-ngái, huaⁿ-hí, kám-khai ê tsing-sū, tshoh ê lāng tik-khak ài piāⁿ-tsīn khui-lát ká ka-kī bó-gí ê tik-sik pik--tshut-lâi. Só-í huan-tng sī tui tshoh-kàn-kiâu lán tsiah thang kám-ìng bīn-kan gí-giān ê sēⁿ-miā-lát. Tshoh-kàn-kiâu sū-sit sī l ê

gí-bûn-huà (languag-culture) ê tsing-huà. Òh 1 ê gí-giân nā bē-hiáu í “tsho-siòk”, “a-tsa” ê pháiⁿ-tshuì, òh-liáu tsiū bô sng kàu-giáh, iáu bô kàu tshim-jíp.

Pí-kàu Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tsham sng siong-kuan ê liáu-seu-fa/tshoh-kàn-kiau thang huat-hiân, tse 2 tsióng gí-giân sui-jîân pēⁿ-pēⁿ siòk Hàn-Tsōng gí-hē, in tsit lūi tshoh-kàn-kiau ê kò-sū, gí-huat kap gí-ì mā ū tsūe-tsūe saⁿ thong, sīm-tsi sio siāng ê só-tsāi. Tsóng-sī, Kheh-gí-ê tui-tī sū-hāng ê kuan-tshat kap biâu-sút pí Tâi-gí-ê khah iù-lō, khah tshim-khik, mā khah uah-thiâu kù-thé, phòng-tshing tūa-táⁿ ê thing-tō mā siong-tui khah kuan, tì-kàu Kheh-gí-ê ê sat-siong-lát pí Tâi-gí-ê khah kiōng, koh thián-hiân Kheh-ka tsòk-kūn huat-phuat ê sióng-siōng-lát. Lán beh án-tsú^a lâi ké-sueh tsit khuan piáu-hiân tshiu-lō kap gí-giân hâu-kó (perlocution) ê tsha-tī? Tse kap Kheh-ka, Hò-ló 2 ê tsòk-kūn tī Tâi-uan siā-hūe ê huat-tián kám ū khan-liân?

Kheh-lâng tūa-kui-bô í-bîn kàu Tâi-uan ê sī-kan tãi-khai tī 1680 nî-tāi í-āu (羅肇錦, 2000: 21). Hit tang-tsūn iân-hái ping-iūⁿ tūa-pō-hūn í-king sī Hò-ló-tsng. Khah bân kàu ê Kheh-lâng tsiū súa-khi lūe-liòk úa suaⁿ ê só-tsāi, khò tsò-sit tō-uah. Hiāng-sī Kheh-ka í-bîn m̄-nā tiōh biān-tui khah ngē-táuh ê thian-jîân khuan-kíng, koh ài tshù-lí in kap suaⁿ-tíng gūan-tsù-bîn ê kín-tiuⁿ kuan-hē. Jîn-kháu hong-biān, tsiáu 1993 nî hák-tsiá ê kó-kè, Hò-ló-lâng tsiām Tâi-uan tsóng-lâng-giáh ê 73.3%, Kheh-lâng kan-ta 12%. Tsīng 1905 nî í-lâi tãi-khai lóng í-tshí tsit ê pí-lē (黃宜範, 1993: 21)¹⁴. Tī gí-giân hong-biān, Hūa-gí sī tsú-liū ê kuaⁿ-hong gí-giân. Tâi-gí sī Tâi-uan bîn-kan thong-hing ê pún-thó gí-giân. Kheh-gí koh it-tit biān-tui liū-sit ê gūi-ki.¹⁵ Siāng-sī, siā-hūe tui-tī Kheh-lâng ê kì-tīng in-siōng tsiū sī kut-lát, khin-khiām, hong-pì (吳錦發, 1998: 41-43), ū-ê Kheh-lâng sīm-tsi ún-tsōng ka-kī ê tsòk-kūn sin-hūn (鍾肇政, 1998: 26-28). Kiám-tshái in-ūi tsiah ê tē-lí, lík-sú king-giām, koh ū gí-giân, bûn-huà ê siong-kuan in-sò, tì-kàu Kheh-lâng tng-kí siū-tiōh khún-tiòk, súa hīng-sing in ngē-tsiāⁿ ióng-bing ê tsòk-kūn tik-tsit, koh huat-tián-tshut “Kheh-ka bûn-huà ê líong-bîn sng-keh”. In siāng-sī “pì-sù koh khai-hōng, pó-siú koh kik-tsin, khuan-iōng koh kò-tsip, tsū-pi koh tsū-ko” (吳錦發, 1998: 41-43). Ná-tsun sim-kuaⁿ-thau ê úi-khut jú tuā, huan-ìng á-sī huan-khòng tsiū ē jú kik-liát. Án-ne Kheh-lâng hūan-sè tsiū sī thong-kùe gí-giân ê sióng-siōng lâi siáu-tháu in ê sim-lí ap-lík. In ê liáu-seu-fa kìm-khī-tō kap ín-lâng tsù-bák, tiōh-kiaⁿ ê thing-tō mā tui teh tshing-kuan, m̄-nā ì-siōng sian-bing uah-kut, biâu-sút ê tshiu-lō mā khah iù-jī, koh khah káⁿ tút-phua siā-hūe siōng-kui ê sok-pák. Án-ne

14 Nā-tsiáu 2004 Tâi-uan tsuan-kok Kheh-ka jîn-kháu kī-tshó tsu-liáu tiau-tsa ê sò-kì, tsū-ngó jîn-tīng sī Kheh-lâng ê ū 285.9 bân lāng. Nā pau-kuat ū Kheh-ka hiat-thóng, ū 2 tsióng tsòk-kūn jîn-tōng ê, iok-liòk ū 624 bân lāng (行政院客家委員會, 2007, chart). Tsiah ê sò-jī ho-ìng Kheh-lâng iok-liòk tsiām Tâi-uan jîn-kháu 13% ê pí-lùt, koh hián-sī 25% tsó-iū ê Tâi-uan tsū-bîn ū Kheh-ka hiat-iân. Tse tãi-khai sī khua-tsòk-kūn thong-hun ê kiát-kó.

15 Kheh-ka tsòk-kūn ì-sik-tiōh in ê bó-gí liū-sit gūi-ki, 1998 nî 12 gúeh 28 tī Tâi-pak huat-khi “還我客語” ê ke-thau ūn-tōng. Kun-kù Hing-tsing-tīⁿ Kheh-ka Úi-uan-hūe ê tsu-liáu, 1994 gí-giân hák-ka ê gián-kiu huat-hiân, Kheh-gí liū-sit ê sok-tō sī 1 tang 5%. 2002 Kheh-Úi-hūe ê tiau-tsa hián-sī, 13 hūe í-hā ē-hiáu liú-liáh sú-iōng Kheh-gí ê Kheh-lâng kan-ta 11.6%; kàu 2003 ē-hiáu kóng á-sī thiaⁿ Kheh-gí ê Kheh-lâng kan-ta 43.6% (行政院客家委員會, 2007, chart).

káⁿ iā sī tsió-sò tsòk-kûn (minority) beh tù tsú-liú siā-hūe sing-tsûn lóh--khì ê 1 tsióng huat-tō (sruviving skill)?¹⁶

Lîng-gūa 1 hong-biān, Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tsiah ê tsham sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu thián-hiān 1 ê gí-giân ê kiōng-tōng hiān-siōng, tsiū sī kī-sī lú-sîng, bô-lūn tī sū-lūi, gí-huat kap gí-ì tîng-thâu, á-sī sú-iōng-kûan ê tshú-tik (access), lóng sī iōng tsa-pōr tò tsú-thé. Gí-giân-tsiūⁿ tsit tsióng bô pîng-tîng, bô tui-tîng ê sîng-piát kûan-lik kuan-hē, siāng-sī koh ū pē-kûan tui “siok-lú” ê giân-hîng kui-hūan, tì-kàu tsa-bó-lâng tī tshoh-kàn-kiâu ê discourse hông kìm-siaⁿ (silenced) sit-gí (aphasia) (Davies, 1996: 340-341), tsin pháiⁿ sú-iōng tsiah ê gí-sū. Tshoh-kàn-kiâu mā suah tsiaⁿ-tsò “lín-pē ê gí-giân”, hông thêh lâi ká lú-sîng pian-iân-hua.

Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tsham sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu tiong-kan, lé-mē-tsiá (addressor) ê sîng-piát tūa-to-sò lóng siat-tîng tī tsa-pōr tsit pîng In teh tshoh ê tshíu-tūaⁿ tshiāng-tsāi thong-kùe bú-jiók lú-sîng, á-sī iōng lâm-sîng khi-kuan kap hun-pì khah tsūe, tì-sú tsa-bó beh tshoh mā bô tè tshoh. Koh, tsiah ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu biâu-sút lâm-sîng sin-thé ê siong-kuan sū-lūi tsin tsūe mā tsin huat-tát, m̄-kú biâu-sút tsa-bó--ê m̄-nā tsió, koh tã-khài kan-ta tsi-bai tsit pō-ūi, jī-tshiáⁿ hō tsa-bó sîng-khi-kuan siōng hū-bīn ê ì-hâm. Tsit-tsióng sò-liōng kap ì-hâm ê bô pîng-hîng, thián-hiān iōng tse 2 tsióng gí-giân só hîng-kò ê tì-sik bûn-hua thê-hē tui-tī lú-sîng sin-thé kò-tsò ê bû-ti, hut-liók kap phian-kiàn.

Na khiā-tī siā-hūe kiàn-kò-lūn ê lip-tiūⁿ lâi khuaⁿ, gí-giân kap jīn-ti hō-siong khan-ín hîng-sîng, gí-giân ê hîng-sik tsiong-kí-búe sī kap khài-liām ê lue-hâm tsiaⁿ-tsò tsit-thé. Koh, gí-giân hîng-ūi mā sī 1 tsióng siā-hūe sit-tsiān. Án-ne, teh sú-iōng Kheh-gí kap Tâi-gí tsiah ê sîng siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu ê sī-tsūn, mā sī 1 pái koh 1 pái teh si-hîng khuaⁿ-khin, ùan-hūn kap tsè-ap lú-sîng ê hîng-tōng, siāng-sī mā it-tit teh tsài-sing-sán pē-kûan ê ì-sik hîng-thai, ì-tshí pē-kûan khiā tī tsáiⁿ-tsè ūi-ti ê hiān-tsōng, koh pó-hō ì-sik hîng-thai í-gūa pē-kûan tī tsîng-tī, kîng-tsè, bûn-hua tîng-tîng tsân-bīn ê kî-tik lī-ik kap kûan-lik (Weatherall, 2002: 3-5).

Tsóng-sī tsa-bó-lâng iáu ū ki-hūe thang gik-tsúan tsit-tsióng sè-bīn. Nā tui tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsiaⁿ-tsò 1 ê tui-ue khong-kan lâi-tshiat-jip, ì-gī kî-jīn sī tsūe-tsūe ì-sik hîng-thai kau-siáp ê só-tsāi, mā íng-úan tī kái-kò kap tsài-kiàn-kò ê kùe-thîng tiong-kan, lú-sîng tsiū thang tui sit-lòh huat-giân-kûan (disarticulate) ê tshù-kíng tiōng-sin tsing-tshú in ê huat-giân-kûan (rearticulate) (Storey, 1994: ix). Kiám-tshái thang tsioh kû ê gí-sú ká tng-ūaⁿ ì-gī (trans-coding) (Hall, 1997: 270), á-sī huat-bîng tù

16 Tsiáu sim-lí hák-tsiá Bernard Saper ê gián-kiù, Iû-thai-lâng iōng kik-tō kîng-thé ka-kī ê tshio-khue lâi pài-kái in tī tsú-liú siā-hūe hông pài-thiat ê kan-khó. T. Reik jīn-ūi tse sī tsió-sò tsòk-kûn ê sing-tsûn tì-hūi (Liao, 2005: 170-171).

lú-sing ì-sik ê kàn-kiâu jí-sû, sīm-tsi tshòng-tsō l thò lú-sing ê kháu-thâu jí-giân (parler-enter-elles) á-sī su-siá jí-giân (écriture feminine) (Nye, 1996: 329-332; Moi, 1991: 102-147)¹⁷. Kî-sit tshin-tshiūⁿ “tsi-bai” tsit tsióng siōng hū-bīn ê sū, á-sī “gùeh-king” tsit khuan tsa-por-lâng bē-tsīng īng-tiōh á-sī m̄ káⁿ īng ê lú-sing sin-thé tik-ting sū-lūi, lóng ū tsiaⁿ tūa ê tsai-kiàn-kò tsiām-tsāi tōng-lát (re-constructing potentiality), tát-tit ká ūn-iōng. Gí-giân sui-bóng sī sing-pát ap-pik ê kang-kū, m̄-kú mā thang tsiaⁿ-tsò l ê huan-sing kak-tshéⁿ ê khong-kan, tui tsin lú-sing thang súan-tik bô kang ê huan-khòng khuan-sit kap tsian-tàu ūi-ti.

Pún lūn-būn sī l ê tsho-phue ê gián-kiù. Sūa-tsiap siong-kuan ê tshin-ia tiau-tsa iáu ū kúi-nā ê khun-lan su-iáu khik-hók. Tāi-sing, sui-jian Tāi-gí sī gúa ê bó-gí, m̄-kú in-ūi kò-jīn ki-tok-kau kap tióng-sán kai-kip ê pūe-king, gúa kám-kak huan-sè iáu ū tsioh tsūe Tāi-gí tshoh-kàn-kiâu sī gúa m̄ bat thiaⁿ--kùe ê, su-iáu koh khi jioh, tsò khah tsūe tshin-ia tiau-tsa, siu-tsip bô kang thau-lō, kai-tsán tī tsit hong-biān ê iōng-gí.

Lūn-kau tshin-ia tiau-tsa tsiū koh biān-tui ling-gūa l ê būn-tê. In-ūi tshoh-kàn-kiâu tai-khai lóng tī hui-tsing-sik kap su-jīn ê tiūⁿ-háp tsin-hing, jī-tshiaⁿ tshoh ê lāng ài tiām-tī bó-tsíong tsing-sū kap tsing-king tsiah kiāu ē tshut tshui, só-í tsin phaiⁿ iōng m̄ng-kuan á-sī kháu-thau hóng-m̄ng ê hong-sik lai siu-tsip jí-liāu, mā khah bô huat-tō án-ne khi kám-siū tsit ê jí-giân hing-ūi huat-sing ê sī teh tshoh ê tsing-king kap ì-hām. Koh in-ūi tshoh-kàn-kiâu ê kím-khī-tō tsin kuan, tsioh tsūe lāng bô gūan-ì tsiap-siū hóng-tām. Hiān-tshú-sī kan-ta ē-tàng tūa pát-lāng teh tshoh ê sī jīn-tsin “thau-thiaⁿ”, á-sī kap l ê thuan-thé kau-pūe khah kú, tit-tiōh in ê sìn-jīm, tsiah khah iōng-tīⁿ thēh-tiōh jí-liāu.

Tui tsham sing siong-kuan ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu tsit ê tsho-pō gián-kù khí-kiāⁿ, āu-jit ng-bāng ē-tàng ká gián-kiù ê huan-ūi khok-tián kau pát-tsíong tsú-tê ê tshoh-kàn-kiâu.

17 “Écriture féminine” sī Huat-kok lú-sing tsú-gī tsok-ka Hélène Cixous thē-tshut--ê. I tsú-tiuⁿ ì-gī khai-hòng ê lú-sing su-siá, phue-phuaⁿ pē-kuan jī-guan tui-lip ê su-í. Huat-kok ê lú-sing tsú-gī hák-tsia Luce Irigaray mā thē-tshut “parler-enter-elles” ê lūn-sút, tsú-tiūⁿ ē-sái khai-tshòng l thò lú-sing ê jí-giân.

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A Preliminary Study on Sex-related Swear Words in Hak-fa and Tâi-gí

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Abstract

Over the centuries, languages have developed multiple swear words that facilitate expression and fulfill varied socio-psychological needs. Thus, studying swearing may unveil historical and cultural transformations in a specific socio-political context.

However, such a prevalent, salient and long-existing language phenomenon was barely researched due to class and cultural discrimination. To challenge such academic elitism, this article aims to take swearing as a discourse and re-examine it as a branch of proletarian language-culture.

Among swear words, the sex-related ones are considered the most “taboo-loaded”. As one of the best-developed type of swear words, they come forth with a great number and variety, revealing vivid gender ideologies.

This study analyzes the sex-related swear words in two vernaculars in Taiwan—Hak-fa and Tai-gi. It compares elements, structures and gender viewpoints of these swearing practices in the two languages.

Preliminary studies indicated that numerous sex-related swear words in Hak-fa and Taigi are identical and the majority of them are male-centric. Nevertheless, in terms of hyperbole and expressiveness, Hak-fa sex-related swear words far surpass their Tai-gi counterparts. These Hak-fa swear words contain more graphic details of sex and body parts. As a result, they are endowed with stronger “wounding capacity”.

How can these similarities and disparities of sex-related swear words be explained? What can be the contributions of these cross-linguistic comparisons? The article will bring forward interpretation of the results with the perspectives of the history and society of Taiwan as well as the interrelationship between Hakka and Hoklo, the two ethnic communities that speak Hak-fa and Tai-gi respectively.

Keywords: swear word, sex, gender, speech act, discourse

