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跨領域整合型研究計畫之前置規劃案成果報告

馬來西亞漢語方言之共同性研究

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## 中文摘要

南洋群島因為地理上的孤立，堪稱是剔除變數後的最佳漢語方言實驗室。相對於台灣、中國大陸的漢語方言調查成果，東南亞漢語方言研究的質與量都還有很大的進步空間，值得努力開拓。固然南洋漢語方言會跟當地原住民及其他馬來、印度移民語言混雜而產生變異，但孤懸海外的獨立發展，也可能免於台灣華語和閩南語的夾擊、中國大陸普通話乃至文革的洗禮，反而保存了漢語方言的古老說法，從而印證百年前漢語方言聖經乃至辭典的語音或詞彙記錄。

本計畫聚焦於馬來西亞，因為在東南亞各國中，馬來西亞華人眾多，依據各種方言群來劃分的鄉幫及社團非常興盛，有助於多樣化的漢語方言維持一定程度的語言活力，即使學校教育體系並不支持。即以雪隆華堂(雪蘭莪及吉隆坡華人大會堂)鄉音考古系列紀錄片的統計，就包含三江會館(上海話等吳語)、福州會館(閩清、古田等閩東語)、興安會館(莆仙話)、福建會館(漳、泉等閩南語)、汀州暨廣東會館(閩西、粵東客家話)、應和會館(梅縣等嘉應州客家話)、茶陽會館(潮州大埔客家話)、河婆會館(潮州揭西客家話)、潮州會館(潮、汕等閩南語)、惠東安會館(惠州惠陽、東莞、寶安客家話)、廣惠肇會館(廣州、惠州、肇慶粵語)、赤溪公所(台山赤溪客家話)、會寧公所(四會粵語、廣寧客家話)、高州會館(高州粵語)、廣西會館(廣西粵語)、雷州會館(雷州閩南語)、海南會館(海南閩南語)等，語種十分豐富。

以往文獻著重探討馬來西亞個別漢語方言之特殊性、語音和詞彙上的多語混合，似乎相較於台灣、中國大陸的漢語方言，馬來西亞給人駁雜、不夠正宗的印象。但我們認為這樣的觀察、描述、解釋是不足的，個別殊異只是一個面向；而各種漢語方言背後隱藏的共同性卻被忽略了，無論是區域共通特徵或是語言接觸造成的共性。此種新面向，值得結合各漢語方言及文化領域內的專家，跨出各自的藩籬，經由本申請案作為平台，以每月至少聚集討論一次的方式，逐步廓清研究的方向和內容，俾便於今年(2019)年底，正式向科技部提出三年期整合型計畫之申請。

目前本案羅致的學者及分工如下：利亮時(鄉幫及社團)、洪馨蘭(親屬人類學及族群研究)、李惠琦(海南閩南語)、張屏生(潮汕、雷州閩南語)、王本瑛(馬來西亞華語、廣西粵語)、吳中杰(客家話)、杜佳倫(詩巫、愛大華的閩清閩東語)、嚴立模(北馬之漳泉閩南語)、葉詩綺(專長南島語，探討馬來語對漢語方言的影響)、陳筱琪(檳城福建話)、徐雨村(信仰和經濟)、劉秀雪(莆仙話)。

舉例言之，馬來西亞華語表贊同說是囉(shi lo)、福建話是囉(si lo)、客家話係囉(he lo)，不同語種卻用相同的語助詞，且調值一致為 33。又如聲調上的傾向高調閩，部份客家話陰平原本為 33 調，卻往往傾向讀 55 調，跟去聲

混同。福建閩清的梅城、坂東二大方言，陰平都是 44 調，在馬來西亞砂拉越詩巫的閩清話，陰平卻往往讀 445 調。詞彙上，廣寧客家話和廣西粵語一樣，外公、外婆都說公 tai55、婆 tai55，本字見於揚雄方言卷六：「南楚瀑涯之間謂婦妣曰母女多」。詩巫以閩東語為主，連第二強勢的閩南語，山、臻、曾攝許多字也改讀舌根韻尾，如「間趁等-ang, 彎-uang, 船孫-ung」。我們發現當地大埔客語的局部山開一、合一、合三等也有此種改讀-ng 的變化，如「安酸官管番磚船\*-on→-ong」。馬來西亞華語逢入聲字仍短促讀之，一如其他在地閩、客、粵方言。完成體標記、狀態標記「了」不若台灣讀輕聲，而讀全形的 liau213，其他漢語方言如客家話亦然，「吃飽了」說「食揪了 liau1」。長達半年的規劃期間，各自發揮專長收集個別方言及文化材料，然後透過聚會彙整出彼此之共同性，未來能順利完成年底的提案。

**關鍵詞：**馬來西亞、漢語方言、共同性、區域特徵、語言接觸

## **Abstract**

According to their ancestral homeland, Chinese community in Malaysia can be further divided into quite a few dialectal groups. Chinese community is largely composed of Fujian, Canton, Chaozhou, and Hakka. The common languages in urban area are Cantonese, Hokkien or Teochew. While a significant number of people speaking Hakka in certain area, especially in the rural, such as Batu Kawa district of Kuching, Bau, and Serian.

For instance, the major ancestral homelands of Hakka in Malaysia are Tai Poo, Huiyang, Jiexi, Haifeng, or Lufeng in Guangdong. Among them, Tai Poo as well as Hopo (a dialect of Jiexi Hakka), spoken in Malaysia are always mingled with various local tribes and different Chinese dialects due to geographical relationship. After a long period of time developing, their lexicon is highly influenced by ethnic integration and borrowing from foreign vocabulary. This report aims to analyze interesting phonological and lexical aspects there, being influenced mainly by Malay and English.

Meanwhile, we analyze Chinese dialects spoken by other adjacent places for comparative studies. We also find that Chinese dialects used in their ancestral homeland are pretty similar to those in Malaysia phonologically, but not lexically. In this way, it can be assumed that the linguistic changes are affected by both immigration and daily language contacts. Foreign words were lent to Chinese dialects unconsciously and became pervasive usages. If the mother language cannot be learned completely, its tone and phonotactics can be interfered, hence, new vocabulary is generated as a result. The linguistic and ethnic phenomenon in Malaysia is unique. Its innovation and status among Chinese dialects worth further exploring and better comprehension.

There has been a surge of exciting work in the form of empirical studies of how language is spoken in various social contexts, or how different factors bring about language variation. As a multiethnic and multilingual society, Malaysia is a good example of a contact situation where languages play different roles in the various domains. In presenting findings of an investigation into the variants among Chinese in Malaysia, this study intends to demonstrate how other languages (for example English and Malay) and other Chinese topolects may contribute to the changes in one certain Chinese language.

Different features comprising phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic data will be collected. Combining qualitative findings with quantitative data, the study presents a state of the linguistic variation in the Chinese-speaking community, emphasizing the need to go beyond treating variation as located along a linear dimension of standard and vernacular. In other words, we are not only interested in investigating the language variation, or determining which variants are used and deemed more appropriate for use in the social contexts of Malaysia, but also in highlighting that variation, or the rise of the 'new common standard', can also be used to discuss the negotiation of ethnic identities within the Chinese community.

**Keywords: Malaysia, Chinese Dialect, homogeneity, areal features, language contact**