

**Taiwan Indigenous Language Policy: A Case Study of
Truku Tribe in Taipei City and Wanrong Township
Hualien**

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Wanrong Township Hualien

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ABSTRACT

In the 2009 UNESCO report, it was mentioned that the languages of the 16 indigenous of Taiwan are on the verge of extinction. In these ten years, the government and indigenous groups have worked together to revitalize the indigenous languages. In 2017, the indigenous language officially became the national language, which is the value and respect for the indigenous peoples. This research uses semi-structured in-depth interviews with Truku indigenous as a case. Two senior executives, three Truku language teachers and four Truku elders were interviewed. This study found that the indigenous language revitalization policy is a multi-level cooperation between the government and indigenous civil organizations, and self-identity is the main motivation that affects the learning of indigenous languages. This research can bring people's understanding of Taiwan indigenous and the revitalization of indigenous languages.

Keywords: Taiwan aboriginal, Taiwan indigenous people, language policy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Research Background	1
Research Motivation	3
Research Purpose	4
Research Questions	5
Contribution	5
Limits	5
Delimits	6
LITERATURE REVIEW	7
Language Policy.....	7
The Definition of Language Policy.....	7
Implementation of Language Policy	10
Cases and Methods of Language Policy in The World.....	11
Taiwan’s Indigenous Language Policy	13
Indigenous Language Policies Implemented by Taiwanese Government	14
Cooperation between Taiwanese indigenous and Taiwanese government.....	16
Synthesize Summaries	18
METHODOLOGY	20
Research Design.....	20
Source of Data.....	21
Instrumentation and Date Collection	21
Ways of Data Analysis.....	23
Administration of the Study	24
DATA ANALYSIS	25
The Types of Language Policies in Promoting Indigenous Language.....	28
The Effectiveness of Cooperation between Government and Indigenous Civil Organization.....	31
Self-Identity Agree to Affect the Motivation to Learn the Indigenous Language	34
Regional Differences Affect Motivation to Learn the Indigenous language	37
Summary of Data Analysis	39
CONCLUSION.....	41
Discussion of the Major Finding.....	41
Discussion 1: Multi-layered Types	41
Discussion 2: The Cooperation were Positive Effective.....	41
Discussion 3: Self-identity Agree Affected Learning Motivation	42
Discussion 4: Regional Difference Did Not Affect Learning Motivation	43
Conclusion and Suggestions	44

APPENDIX 1 Interview Protocol.....	45
APPENDIX 2 Interview Consent Form.....	47
BIBLIOGRAPHY	49
The Transcripts.....	50

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Attributes of the 9 interviewees	27
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INTRODUCTION

Research Background

Language is an important asset for human beings. Language is an important carrier of intangible cultural heritage and is closely related to culture. Language reflects the human history and social culture. With the inheritance of generations, language has accumulated the wisdom of human adaptation and survival for thousands of years, including customs, lifestyle, religion, and social relations.¹ Language is not only a tool that also represents human beings' culture. There are more than 6,000 languages in the world, and each language has its preservation value. Taiwan is a multicultural and multilingual society, which includes Mandarin, Minnan, Hakka, and indigenous languages. In my research, I will focus on the Taiwan indigenous peoples and the efforts to revitalize the indigenous languages.

The indigenous peoples had settled in Taiwan for thousands of years that consisted of several groups with different languages and lifestyles. Ferrell (1969) identified nearly twenty aboriginal languages spoken in Taiwan at the time of the first contact with the Dutch in the 1600s². Therefore, we can conjecture in the early 17th, the aboriginal language was widespread used in Taiwan. However, after experiencing waves of historical colonization and the occurrence of events. For centuries, the aboriginal peoples of Taiwan have been forced to learn the language of the colonizers with their more populous ethnic groups. The ethnic migration and the impact of modern life have led to a significant loss of culture, language, and ethnic identity. According to the journal article, the author Sandel, Todd L said,

In the period of Japanese colonialism, a Taiwanese would be punished by being forced to kneel out in the sun for speaking *Tai-yü*. The situation was the same when Taiwan

¹ Rieks Smeets, "Language as a Vehicle of the Intangible Cultural Heritage," *Museum International* 56, no. 1-2 (2004/05/01 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1350-0775.2004.00470.x>, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1350-0775.2004.00470.x>.

² Raleigh Ferrell, *Taiwan aboriginal groups: problems in cultural and linguistic classification* (臺灣土著族的文化, 語言分類探究) (Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1969).

was recovered by the KMT. My son and my daughter-in-law often wore a dunce board around their necks in the school as punishment for speaking *Tai- yü*.³

Taiwan experienced the colonization of Japan and the rule of the National Government in 1945. Both of these have implemented a policy of banning dialects. This is the reason why some of the grandparents can speak Japanese and Mandarin well.

After 1945, the inheritance and development of Aboriginal languages experienced even more change. Arriving in Taiwan in 1945, the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) actively promoted its "National Language" policy. Dialects were forbidden, including Minnan, Hakka, Aboriginal, as well as the language of the previous colonizing power, Japanese. As a result, the new generation is becoming rusty and even rejecting the mother tongue. After martial law ended in 1987, Taiwanese society became open and pluralistic, and many mother tongues have gradually gained attention. Taiwan 's Ministry of Education is continuing to promote mother tongue education. Starting from 2001, Taiwan has implemented "Native Languages" learning in the Grades 1-9 Curriculum. Students in elementary schools are required to study their native language. However, under the influence of globalization and strong language in recent years, local language planning policies may be affected and impacted. For example, Executive Yuan launched the "Blueprint to make Taiwan a bilingual country by 2030" in 2018. Its purpose is to improve the public 's English and improve the country 's overall national competitiveness. The two goals of this blueprint are to "enhance the competitiveness of the country" and "thickly cultivate the English language skills of the Taiwanese people", to provide people with quality job opportunities and to strengthen the Taiwanese's comprehensive soft power in using English.⁴

³ Todd L Sandel, "Linguistic capital in Taiwan: The KMT's Mandarin language policy and its perceived impact on language practices of bilingual Mandarin and Tai-gi speakers," *Language in Society* 32, no. 4 (2003).

⁴ National Development Council, *Blueprint for Developing Taiwan into a Bilingual Nation by 2030*, (2018).

In the generation of strong languages, the language policies developed by the government may affect the revival and inheritance of local languages and may put local languages in a weaker position.

In my research, I am going to take the Truku indigenous as a case study. The Truku tribe originated in Nantou, Taiwan. Around the 16th century, the Truku people moved from Nantou to Xiulin Township(秀林鄉), Hualien. After the colonization in Japan, the Truku people were distributed in Xiulin Township, Wanrong Township, Ji'an Township(吉安鄉), and Zhuoxi Township(卓溪鄉). At present, the Truku population has about 30 thousand people, and they belong to the Atayalic languages(泰雅族語) with the Atayal and Sadiq(賽德克) ethnic groups. Take the Truku tribe as a case study to know about their feelings and look from the citizens' aspect to figure out some gaps between the government and indigenous people. To understand the Language Planning and Policy in Taiwan requires knowing both what is the language policy? and Taiwan's history of language policy. I proceed by first addressing language policy on the broader, public level, and then looking at Taiwan indigenous issues on the narrower, private level.

Research Motivation

The initial motivation for my research is because I have half of the Truku Aboriginal descent. However, I have been growing up in Taipei since birth. I'm very new to Truku aboriginal culture and language. In my daily life, the official policy did not have much impact on me, nor did it desire to learn or obtain a local language certificate. Therefore, through the research, I hoped that I can understand the value of the Truku indigenous language and even let everyone understand the value and importance of Taiwan indigenous. Language is not just a tool; it can also represent a local ideology and ethnic integration. Language ideology is a

belief held by a group about language usage in society. The analysis of language ideology is very important because language ideology is related to the social position and experience of a group and their political, economic, and symbolic interests. An analysis of language ideology will lead to an understanding of social relationships in a specific society.⁵ Therefore, I am going to conduct in-depth interviews and investigate whether other indigenous people have the same feelings as me, and the relevant suggestions are given to the organizations and the government. At the same time, I hope that my research can provide some new ideas for language planning policies. I can share with the government, organizations, and people to think about similar issues.

Research Purpose

The purpose of my research is to understand Taiwan's indigenous language policy in relation to the Truku aboriginal people who live in Taipei and Wanrong village Hualien. In recent years, Taiwan has transformed into a multilingual and international society. In this case, many researchers research and document the changes in government policy formulation and citizens. In order to better understand the situation. I refer to the book, the author is Johnson David Cassels. He described the definition of language policy as a core concept by five scholars.⁶ I utilized this main concept to understand the perceptions and feelings of indigenous peoples about the government's implementation of various language policies and laws. I will write more detail about the definition of language policy in chapter two literature review. From the citizens' perspective may bring new ways to retain and develop the native language.

⁵ Russell L Young, "Language maintenance and language shift in Taiwan," *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development* 9, no. 4 (1988).

⁶ David Cassels Johnson, "What is language policy?," in *Language Policy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2013).

Research Questions

1. What are the types of language policies in promoting indigenous language?
2. In terms of the indigenous language policy, how effective is the cooperation between the government and the indigenous civil organization?
3. How does self-identity agree to affect the motivation to learn the indigenous language?
4. How do regional differences affect motivation to learn the aboriginal native language?

Contribution

After declaring martial law ended in 1987. Taiwan liberated the use, learning, and inheritance of native languages. In these 32 years, Taiwan's education has continued to promote the revival and development of the native language. Through my research, I hope that I can provide some advice to local people, governments, and non-governmental organizations to make the language policy have some new clear directions. Able to develop a balanced education in strong languages and native languages.

Limits

The limits of my research are the money budget, time-limited, and language barrier. For the language barrier, most of the Truku Indigenous language that I learned from my mother. Therefore, I cannot fully understand the meaning and fluent communication in the Truku dialect. During the interviews, I will have some relatives who can speak Truku Indigenous language and Mandarin to be the translator for me. Avoiding that some words or sentences that I cannot understand immediately. Also, this is the reason that I choose the Truku group to study. I have relatives and friends who can help me out of the interviews. Due to the

money budget and time limited. I do not have enough time and money to go through all indigenous in Taiwan. I will go through the Truku aborigines who live in Taipei and Wanrong village Hualien because I live in Taipei since I was born. I have some relatives from the urban aborigines who also willing to let me an interview. Another interview place that I choose Wanrong township in Hualien because that is the place where my mother grew up. I have many relatives there and I am going to choose a few more representative people for my interview.

Delimits

My research scope is limited to Taiwanese Truku indigenous. My research target is the Truku indigenous people in Wanrong village, Hualien, and Taipei city. In recent years, the urban aboriginal population has increased year by year. In order to improve the completeness of the research, I must research the Truku indigenous people in both tribe and city. Wanrong Township, Hualien was used as the tribal research region because it is the main distribution area of the Truku aborigines. Taipei is used as the research region for urban Truku aborigines because Taipei is the capital of Taiwan and an important educational area. Based on the above conditions, I chose these two regions as the main research areas. The Truku tribe is the fifth largest ethnic group among the sixteen ethnic groups in Taiwan. Separated by the Atayal tribe in 2004. As it is a newly branched ethnic group, more effort is needed in the inheritance of Turku's mother tongue. Therefore, I hope that my research can bring more suggestions and inspiration to the Truku indigenous.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Language Policy

Many governments have formulated language policies to encourage or suppress the use of a particular language. Countries often promote official languages through language policies, and many countries use language policies to protect regional or endangered languages. The existence of a few languages may constitute a potential obstacle to the integration of language and culture within the country, but most countries also recognize that protecting the language rights of the people will help increase citizens' trust in the central government. National governments often develop policies, legislation, or court rulings to cultivate people's understanding of a particular language or defend the rights of individuals or groups to use a certain language. Since the formulation of language policies is usually related to national historical factors, the scope of language policies in practice will vary from country to country.

The Definition of Language Policy

There are few concrete definitions of language policy. In other words, language policy lacks an overall theoretical unity. Although it is difficult to express a clear definition of language policy in a few sentences, in this chapter I will summarize and synthesize the few definitions already in circulation according to the literature review.

First, according to the book, the author Kaplan and Baldauf mentioned that a language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in societies, groups, or systems.⁷ The author described the language policy as a series of laws or regulations formulated by authoritative institutions as

⁷ Robert B Kaplan and Richard B Baldauf, *Language planning from practice to theory*, vol. 108 (Multilingual Matters, 1997).

part of the language plan. The language policy defined by the author here is the most widely accepted, and the language policy is embodied through the provisions of the text. However, other activities can also be regarded as language policies. Language policies are not necessarily formulated by authoritative organizations. They can also be formulated and implemented by grassroots organizations. In addition, the most effective language learning is through family and environmental factors, not all language policies are through laws.

Second, according to the book. The author Harold F. Schiffman mentioned that,

Language policy is primarily a social construct as part of a *linguistic culture*, which is the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, religious strictures, and all the other cultural ‘baggage’ that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their background.⁸

Schiffman's main argument is that language policy is based on language culture. In the definition, the author mentions a clear strategy formulated by the government, as well as a strategy as a cultural construct. Cultural construction strategies depend on language beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies in the phonetic community. In Schiffman's language policy perspective, which focuses on the cultural perspective, language policy cannot be entirely dependent on policy formulation and school teaching, because language itself appears under policies without laws.

Spolsky distinguished the three components of the language policy of the speech community. In the third point, the author mentioned the traditional concepts of intentional language planning and policymaking. Compared with the beliefs and ideologies of the first and second points, practice and belief were not necessarily planned or intentional. The author believed that language policy was generated by beliefs and ideologies in the speech community.

⁸ Harold F Schiffman, *Linguistic culture and language policy* (Psychology Press, 1998).

This idea is similar to the opinion of Schiffman, the author of the second language policy definition. The third point defined by Spolsky is similar to that of Kaplan and Baldauf. The formulation of laws and regulations is also part of language planning and management.

According to another scholar, DC Johnson, he believed that McCarty's definition of language policy was based on socio-cultural methods. It was also known as "new language policy research", and not only regarded language policy as "top-down" or "bottom-up" but also as multiple layers.⁹I agree that McCarty views language policy as multi-level. Not only from top to bottom but also from bottom to top. The author believes that language policy lies in the ability of language regulation. It is a socio-cultural process in which human beings are generated through interaction and negotiation. The language policy text formulated by the government serves as the basis, and the author pays more attention to the interaction between people.

Tollefson views language policy as a mechanism of power, using language as the basis for classifying social classes. This mechanism will give some groups and language privileges and refuse to institutionalize equal access to political power and economic resources. This critical definition enables language policies to examine how inequality is created and how they resist this inequality and reformulate it.

Simply put, language policy is a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language. It includes the official regulations and unofficial, covert, and implicit mechanisms which connected to language beliefs and practices. Policy texts span multiple contexts and layers of policy activity and are influenced by the ideologies and discourses. Besides, "policy" as a verb, not a noun. Language policy not only the products

⁹ Johnson, "What is language policy?."

also the processes. The topic of my research is the effectiveness of Taiwan 's indigenous language policy. Before evaluating the effectiveness, I need to understand the language policy in depth. Language policy is indeed complicated, it includes many aspects and a variety of concepts. After having a basic understanding of the definition of language policy, returning to Taiwan 's policy on native languages will enable this paper to have a more complete study.

Implementation of Language Policy

The actual implementation of language policies may produce diverse characteristics in life. Even if we do not understand the language policy, it can still have a strong influence. For example, the official language policies formulated by the government sometimes have laws and regulations on academic discourses. Although some of the official documents' content can be understood, the content is too long to make the grassroots people less willing to spend time reading the policy text. Although these words and conventions are not always clear, these words are strictly enforced by academic publishing editors and reviewers. In addition, the language itself has undergone various historical language plans and policies, and these history and planning processes all affect the form of the language. The implementation of the language policy includes multiple aspects. For example, the implementation space includes classrooms on campus, face-to-face interactions in the community, national education policies, and even global economic relations. For the local implementation, language policy will be implemented in education, family, community, or working environment. The following will describe the language policy implementation cases described by previous scholars.

Cases and Methods of Language Policy in The World

The whole process of language revival requires cooperation between the government and the people to achieve a complete language revival action. The revival of language is not only through textual formulation but also needs to be understood by the native speakers. The following are examples of changes in Old English in the 13th century. According to a book, author D. C. Johnson mentioned that,

During the Norman Conquest of England in 1066. Norman French was implemented as the language of the state. French used in parliament and the courts and was considered the superior variety. While English was marginalized and used primarily for oral communication. However, English made a strong comeback in official domains in 1258. When Henry III issued a proclamation that was first composed in French. In order to directly address the people, the proclamation was issued in Old English. This is one of the oldest written documents in English and it serves as an important language policy because it officially recognized Old English in the domain of government.¹⁰

This example brought an important change to Old English and is also a successful

language policy case. In this case, French was the official language at the time, English was a marginal language and was usually used only for oral communication. This example can also be applied to the local languages of Taiwan, especially the aboriginal languages.

There is no official text in the Aboriginal language, and the way of inheritance is expressed in spoken language. It is only in recent years that Romanized Pinyin has been arranged in the teaching to make learning the mother tongue more convenient. It may be weaker to use the oral expression as the language inheritance alone, but through the above case, we can find that oral communication can also achieve language revival.

Another successful case of linguistic revitalization occurred in New Zealand Maori. The 1970 questionnaire survey pointed out that only 23.3% of Maori can speak fluent Maori, and they are all those over 40 years old. Less than 1% of 5 years old can speak Maori.

Therefore, the Maori people began to face the threat of extinction of the ethnic language

¹⁰ Johnson, David Cassels. "What Is Language Policy?". In *Language Policy*, 3-25. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2013.

and founded the language nest (Te Kohanga Reo) in 1982, successfully revived and inherited the Maori language.¹¹ In 1982, less than 30% of Māori young children (two to four years old) attended pre-school education. By 1991, 53% of young children had attended pre-school education after the creation of the language nest.¹² The Language Nest can train 3,000 young children who speak Maori every year.¹³ In addition, young children in the language nest have successfully developed their bilingual abilities. This successful case was based on the spontaneous cooperation of the tribe people with the family, school and government. The language nest was established and operated by the Maori people. The local language revival action is handled by local people, which is the most direct and efficient way. Taiwan also has spontaneously established language nests, which will be described in detail in the following paragraphs.

The last example is the current failure of the language policy, regarding the language policy of South Sudan to make English the national language after independence. South Sudan is the youngest nation-state and gained independence on July 2, 2011. The language situation in South Sudan is very complicated. There are 68 spoken languages in ethnic languages. According to a journal article, the author Stefano Manfredi, Mauro Tosco interviewed with the Ministry of Higher Education revealed that education in South Sudan would base on English and would be used in conjunction with Arabic or other local languages. The interview also mentioned that South Sudan planned to use the local language for education in the first three years of elementary school, but South Sudan, where ethnic languages are diverse, did not mention the exact number of local language education. It was unclear where and who teaches which language. In addition, South Sudan

¹¹ Edward Macpherson Kohu Douglas and Rahera Barrett-Douglas, *Nga Kohanga Reo: A Salvage Programme for the Maori Language* (Programme on Racism, 1983).

¹² Lisa Davies and Kirsten Nicholl, *Maori in Education: A Statistical Profile of the Position of Maori Across the New Zealand Education System* (Learning Media, Ministry of Education, 1993).

¹³ Richard A Benton, *The Maori Language: Dying or Reviving?* (ERIC, 1997).

plans to start using English in the fourth grade of elementary school. Will it completely abandon the local language in education or use the local language as a subject? The formulation of these education policies is also unclear.¹⁴ Based on the example of South Sudan, I find similarities with Taiwan. Taiwan came to Taiwan after the National Government came to Taiwan in 1945. In order to facilitate management and various political factors, language policy was the government's primary governance action at the time. Back to the example of South Sudan. After independence, in order to adapt the country to the international community, South Sudan set English as the national language. Because it has too many local languages, it is currently experiencing great language policy difficulties. Every language has its historical development, but the first characteristic of redeveloping or governing a country is "language." Now South Sudan has made English the official language of the country, but it is aimed at what language people will use as their primary tool in school, life, or work. The future of language policy development in South Sudan remains to be observed and measured.

Taiwan's Indigenous Language Policy

In chapter one, I have already introduced the historical process of Taiwan's language shift and development. In order to assess the effectiveness of Taiwan's indigenous language policy. I read academic papers or journals published by scholars on the policy of Taiwan's indigenous languages. The definition of language policy is extremely broad and complex. In order to implement the government's language policy to the people's lives, regularly review the previous policies or refer to the success or failure cases of other countries. A comprehensive assessment of whether the previously formulated policies have achieved their

¹⁴ Stefano Manfredi and Mauro Tosco, "Language uses vs. language policy: South Sudan and Juba Arabic in the Post-Independence era" (2013).

intended purpose can make the government and people's efforts more meaningful and complete.

Indigenous Language Policies Implemented by Taiwanese Government

Taiwan's aboriginal policy is basically implemented by the Council of Indigenous Peoples and other government departments. This study focuses on aboriginal language policy, so most of the policies are jointly implemented by the Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education and the Council of Indigenous Peoples jointly promoted the "Five-Year Plan for the Development of Education for Indigenous Peoples" (2016-2020). The implementation projects include the implementation of the teaching of Aboriginal Languages, the review and improvement of the admission system, the establishment of ethnic schools, and so on. To plan the "language certification system" for indigenous peoples and formulate certification methods for Indigenous Language and culture supporting teaching staff.¹⁵

The content promoted is as follows. First, Aboriginal language courses. Since September 2001, Grade 1-9 Curriculum has been implemented, which requires elementary school students to choose a language for Minnan, Hakka, and Indigenous languages, and junior high school to choose freely according to the students' wishes.¹⁶ Second, In the teaching of ethnic languages. Aboriginal language, Minnan, and Hakka are collectively called native languages. Formulate curriculum outlines, editing of subsidy textbooks, teacher training courses, training teachers, and research and development teaching evaluation models. In addition, set up a related department in the college campus, compile a phonetic symbol system, and handle local language certification. Third, Aboriginal language teaching

¹⁵ 教育部、原住民族委員會，發展原住民族教育五年中程計畫(105-109年)，（教育部綜合規劃司 2015）。

¹⁶ Hsi-nan Yeh, Hui-chen Chan, and Yuh-show Cheng, "Language use in Taiwan: Language proficiency and domain analysis," *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Humanities & Social Sciences* 49, no. 1 (2004).

materials. In addition to entrusting Professor Li to compile the "phonetic symbol system", the government also organizes annual mother tongue research work awards. Teachers' Seminar and eight cities are invited to edit the native language textbooks of 13 different ethnic groups, and then edit the indigenous language teaching materials together with the Council of Indigenous Peoples. Fourth, Aboriginal writing. In December 2005, the "Aboriginal Language Writing System" was announced to confirm the use of Roman Pinyin. Taking the ethnic group as the unit, one tone and one letter, respecting the principles of ethnic language and writing habits.¹⁷ Fifth, In terms of supporting measures. In 2001, the "Measures for Preferential Treatment for College Advancement" was published, which included aboriginal languages as conditions for preferential treatment for college admission. It was implemented in 2007, taking into account the rights of aboriginal students.¹⁸

With regard to Taiwan's Aboriginal language policy, I refer to the three former chairpeople of the Council of Indigenous People. The following are their perspectives on the preservation and inheritance of the Aboriginal language. First is the second chairman of the Council of Indigenous People, Yuhani Iskar Kraft. He regarded the mother tongue as a proof of identity and declared that "the aboriginal people refuse to learn the mother tongue, which is the most specific manifestation of not identifying with the ethnic group."¹⁹ Second is the fifth chairman of the Council of Indigenous People, Yi Jiang Ba Luer. He advocated that language is not only a communication tool and ability, but also a medium for inheriting national culture and a symbol of national dignity. Therefore, the language right is regarded as one of the basic rights of the nation. Third is the seventh chairman of the Council of Indigenous People, Dachuan Sun. He advocated that mother tongue education guarantees and

¹⁷ 教育部、原住民族委員會, 原住民族語言書寫系統, (2005).

¹⁸ 行政院原住民族委員會, 2008 全國原住民族研究論文集 (台灣: 行政院原住民族委員會, 2008).

¹⁹ 尤哈尼, "原住民族覺醒與復振," 台北: 前衛. 連結 (2002).

respects the right to survival and cultural rights, as well as the significance of slowing down the loss of aboriginal culture and raised the demand for mother-tongue education to be incorporated into the formal education system.

The government has incorporated three native languages into the primary and secondary school curriculum. It is a pity that there are too many types of Aboriginal languages, and the environment for using them is lacking. In terms of the national language test scores of Aboriginal students, the current Aboriginal language revitalization policy is not successful. Yuhani said: "The mother tongue is to be inherited, not to be taught." It shows that the education of ethnic languages over the years has fallen short of the original assumptions made by policymakers.

Through literature discussion, whether government officials or scholars point out the suggestions and perspectives of the indigenous language policy. I find that greater consideration needs to be given to the implementation of language policies. At present, Taiwan's local language promotion is still in the process of efforts. Perhaps the government and experts can discuss and formulate policy directions through the research done by scholars.

Cooperation between Taiwanese indigenous and Taiwanese government

In 2005, the Council of Indigenous Peoples worked with local governments and non-governmental organization to establish a "Language Nest" or "tribe classroom".²⁰ According to the book, the author Corson defined that "tribal classroom" means that tribal members actively create the learning environment provided by the school. Through renegotiation and rebuilding, combining the interests of schools and tribes, shape the future of tribe members.²¹

²⁰ Su-Chen Chao, "The Critical Discourse Analysis of Taiwan Indigenous Language Education Policy," *Journal of Curriculum Studies/Kecheng Yanjiu* 9, no. 2 (2014).

²¹ David Corson, *Changing education for diversity* (Open University Press Buckingham, 1998).

Taiwan established the Shanmei Tribe Classroom in Alishan in 2006. Tribal classrooms provide school tutoring and inheriting the Tsou (Cou) language and culture is the mission of the Shanmei tribal classrooms. In 2018, a total of 26 students from the Shanmei Tribe Classroom graduated from elementary school to university with different academic systems, which is the highest number of graduates from the Shanmei Tribe Classroom in the past years. The Shanmei Tribe Classroom is taught by "immersive teaching", and children are encouraged to talk with their tribe mothers in their mother tongue to improve their ability to learn ethnic languages through their daily life. Tribal classrooms combine local characteristics. Use the people, events, places and objects of the tribe to design courses and implement teaching activities. It can make learning and tribes closely combined, and also make students' school life and social life more compatible. At the same time, there are many difficulties in tribal classrooms. Including the remote geographical environment that it is not easy to ask scholars for guidance. In addition, the small number of students, low socioeconomic status, teachers' turnover rate high, and the inexperience of teachers is the dilemma faced by tribal classrooms. Another example of "Language Nest" in Taiwan. The Maori people founded Te Kohanga Reo (Language Nest) in 1982 and successfully revitalized and inherited the Maori language.²² In this successful way, Taiwan cooperated with NGO to create a language nest. Indigenous Peoples Commission of the Taipei City Government has established many language nests in Taipei for indigenous peoples of different ethnic groups. The language nest is mainly to establish an environment for learning the mother tongue. The main reason for the successful implementation of the Maori language nest is language immersion. Cummins pointed out that it takes two to three years for a person to develop conversational language proficiency. It takes five to seven years to develop academic language proficiency. Therefore, the environment for learning the mother tongue is very

²² 吉娃詩 and 叭萬, "從紐西蘭毛利族的語言巢看台灣的原住民母語教學," (台灣國際研究季刊, 2006).

important. In the language nest, you should be able to hear and use the mother tongue anytime, anywhere, just like at home. The main location of the language nest in Taiwan is now in Taipei City. Without spreading the language nest throughout Taiwan, it is easy to make the language nest in a weak position. At the same time, the lack of teachers is also the dilemma facing the current language nest.

Synthesize Summaries

Summarize the methodology in the literature. Su-Chen Chao's research method used Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, CDA to explore the structure of the indigenous language education policy presentation presented in Taiwanese society. The researchers first collected relevant literature to discuss the issues of ethnic language education policies. Aiming at the teaching of native language education, the three procedures are text analysis, process analysis and social analysis. Analyze the discourse structure and power of policy and expose the ideology and action intention behind the policy. The reason why I did not use content analysis is because many scholars use content analysis methods when studying language policy. In my research, I want to get a deeper understanding of a case study. Many content analyses can already find answers in previous scholar studies. Using in-depth interviews as my research method will be more appropriate and complete. For example, in Ching-Chung Fan's research, semi-structured interviews were formulated based on the research questions, mainly using in-depth interviews. During the research period, the researcher interviewed the interviewee three times in cooperation with the school's related activities. Try to make the information objective and complete and assist the interviewees with the relevant questions such as the interview outline, and let the interviewees explain their personal values through narrative methods.

The commonality of the indicators is that they are following the development and revitalization of the aboriginal language. According to the literatures, although there are from different countries and different cultures. They are committed to preserving their own cultural, and language is one of the important cultural products. However, there are some differences between the studies. For instance, the definition of the language policy is varied and different. Some of the scholars defined that the language policy type is top-down, which means the policy developed by some governing or authoritative person. On the contrary, other scholars believed that language policy type is bottom-up, which means the policy developed by the community or the grassroots.

These research data can make to clarify the government policy and the success and failure cases of language policy implementation. The research and the journal articles are not only focus on what government do, also the opinion and the feeling of the community people or grassroot people. Some of the research use the content analysis and some of them use the in-depth interview and observation. In my research, I am going to use a case study of in-depth interview. The interview will be the semi-structured interview, in order to let the interviewees to talk about their opinion and how they feel about the language policy of Taiwan aboriginal.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The research for this study is a one-shot case study using a semi-structure in-depth interview. In this paper, I have four research questions. First, what are the types of language policies in promoting indigenous language? Second, in terms of the indigenous language policy, how effective is the cooperation between the government and the indigenous civil organization? Third, how does self-identity agree to affect the motivation to learn the indigenous language? Fourth, how do regional differences affect motivation to learn the aboriginal native language?

I have three concepts of my research. Language ideology, linguistic human right (language legislation) and speech community. In language ideology. There are two indicators which are language practices and identity. In linguistic human right. There are three indicators which are guarantee the right, status and government regulations. In speech community. There are four indicators which are place, age, education level and language spoken regularly. Through interviews, I can measure the degree of language practice, the degree of self-identity, and the effectiveness of language policies. Before the interview, I will first ask the interviewee's personal information. Through the personal information, I can understand the interviewee's age, place of residence and education level to understand whether these are one of the factors that affect the inheritance of the native language.

My interview questions are mainly divided into four parts. The first is the interviewees' background. The second part is the interviewees' view on the government aboriginal language policy. The third part is the interviewees' perspectives on the cooperation between government and indigenous civil organization. The last part is the self-identification agree and recognition. I hope to analyze the language shift and development of the indigenous language. Since different interviewees are from different fields, they might have different

perspectives and different information. Through the in-depth interview, I can learn from the interviewees to analyze the effectiveness of Taiwan's aboriginal language policy and find out their difficulties.

Source of Data

This research will focus on a case study of Taiwanese Truku aboriginal. Due to the recent years, nearly 50% of indigenous people live in metropolises. In this study, I will interview the Truku indigenous people in Wanrong Village, Hualien and the Truku indigenous people living in Taipei City. In order to make the data collection more complete.

The aim of my study is to take Taiwanese Truku aboriginal as a case to understand Taiwan indigenous language policy. The study population is nine Truku indigenous people. In Taipei, I will interview one CEO of the Indigenous Language Research and Development Foundation, three Truku indigenous language educators, and one Truku grassroots. In Wanrong Village of Hualien, I will interview three elders in the tribe, and a chairman of the Taiwan Truku Language Development Association, he is also a principal of an elementary school. The number of samples allows me to validate the research content effectively. The members of the council of indigenous people are still in contact. I will strive to obtain the opportunity to interview the member of the council of indigenous people through the introduction of the interviewers.

Instrumentation and Date Collection

Before the interview, I needed to do previous preparation work. I wrote the interview protocol, then I contacted eleven interviewees by writing emails and three elders by telephone call. In Wanrong village, especially the elders cannot say Mandarin. Therefore, my tribe relatives and friends can be my translators. I will use the semi-structured interviews,

which means not to use the one-by-one question to restrict respondents' opinions. The interview will be designated locations by the time when following the interviewees' schedule.

The interview will all be a one-on-one personal interview. To ensure the method reliability, the interview location will be in a similar environment, such as a comfortable, cool, and quiet office or classroom and to make sure the words and phrases of interview questions are the same for each interview. In addition, in terms of ensuring validity, I must ensure that interviewees can fully understand the interview questions and make clear definitions on certain questions. Doing so allows all interviewees to have a consistent understanding of the interview questions.

Ways of Data Analysis

The method that I used to collect the data is an in-depth interview. In order to get the respondents' feelings, opinions, reactions, and understandings. The following are the steps that I use to evaluate the findings:

Establish an interview guide



Stage one:
Transcript the interview
Reading each transcript
Make note of the transcripts
Examine each transcript



Stage two:
Labeling relevant data(coding)
Category codes
Label categories
Find the connection between
category



Stage three:
Explain the finding and
discussion
Make the conclusion

Administration of the Study

First, I used Truku indigenous as the subject of the case study. I am not only a descendant of the Truku indigenous people, but also few scholars have previously focused on ethnic case studies. Therefore, with this research opportunity, I chose the Truku tribe, which is an aboriginal of my half descent, as the research subject.

Secondly, I seek the interviewees. In Wanrong village's Truku interviewees. Some of the interviewees are the stakeholders in the Truku language, others are the Truku indigenous grass-root. Through the introduction of relatives and friends, I knew the elders, seniors, and principals in Wanrong Village. Contact the schools' teachers through the principal's introduction and ask them about their willingness to be interviewed. In Taipei's Truku interviewees, due to some activities of the Truku indigenous people, I knew the Truku language educators. Also, through my mother's introduction, I asked some grass-root Truku people in Taipei their willingness to be interviewed.

Thirdly, I will analyze the context of data after collecting. I will convert each audio files to transcripts and put the transcripts into NVivo for analyzing. After that, I will describe the collected data and classify coding the data.

Finally, after I analyze the data. If I discover the data incomplete, I need to collect the data again from the original interviewees. However, it is uncertain whether the interviewees agree with the second interview, and the time is very urgent. In order to avoid the occurrence of the second interview, I must re-check the interview questions are really related to the topic before the interview. If the data are completed, I can proceed to the last step, discussion and conclusion.

DATA ANALYSIS

I approached nine interviewees through Taiwan Truku indigenous people. The total interviewees included one Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Indigenous Language Research and Development Foundation. In order to engage in the research and development of indigenous languages, in accordance with the provisions of Article 27 of the Indigenous Language Development Law, Indigenous Language Research and Development Foundation is established. The main business scope of the foundation includes the following eight items. One, study of the indigenous languages. Second, research and develop indigenous language teaching. Third, collecting materials of indigenous languages. Fourth, compile a dictionary of indigenous languages. Fifth, build a database of indigenous languages. Sixth, promote the use of indigenous languages. Seven, conduct the indigenous language proficiency certification and issue learning materials. Eight, other matters related to the research and development of indigenous languages.

One chairman of the Taiwan Truku Language Development Association, he is also a principal of an elementary school. Taiwan Truku Language Development Association is a non-profit organization. The purpose of the association is to maintain and inherit the Truku language, establish the status of the Truku language, protect the Truku language rights. Also engaged in the research, teaching experiments, education promotion, publishing and exchanges of the Truku language. To promote the development of the Truku language.

Three teachers of Truku indigenous language. Two of the teachers are teaching at National Taiwan Normal University's Indigenous Languages Taipei Learning Center. One of the teachers teaches in Dan Feng elementary school in New Taipei city.

Four Truku indigenous people. They are all Truku elders. Three of them lives in Hualien, and one of them lives in Taipei. All of the interviewees can speak Truku indigenous language fluently. Some of the shortcomings are that the young people are not interviewed.

Because younger Truku aborigine's acceptance of the interview were low and the limited time to collect data, so the age group of the people was concentrated in the middle to high age. However, some of these interviewees they mentioned actual cases of their own children, therefore it is still possible to collect the cases of young Truku people. Table 1 demonstrated the simple attributes of nine interviewees, including their age, occupation, residence, and educational level.

Table 1. Attributes of the 9 interviewees

	Age	Occupation	Residence	Educational level
A	37	CEO of Indigenous Language Research and Development Foundation	New Taipei city	PhD, Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University
B	52	chairman of the Taiwan Truku Language Development Association also known as Principal Hu	Wanrong township, Hualien	Master of Educational Administration and Management, National Dong Hwa University
C	53	Truku indigenous language teacher	New Taipei city	Master's student
D	57	Truku indigenous language teacher	Taipei city	Master's student
E	55	Truku indigenous language teacher	Taipei city	College graduate
F	82	Truku indigenous people	Wanrong Village, Wanrong Township, Hualien	Elementary school graduation
G	85	Truku indigenous people	Wanrong Village, Wanrong Township, Hualien	Below elementary school
H	88	Truku indigenous people	Wanrong Village, Wanrong Township, Hualien	Below elementary school
I	67	Truku indigenous people	Taipei city	Below elementary school

*Source: sorted by the author

In line with my research purpose, I had interviewed a total of nine interviewees. There are three steps that I analyzed the data. First, I converted the content of the interview into text files. Second, I used MAXQDA2020 to code and analyze that data. I divided the codes into four major categories. There are personal background, indigenous language policy, government-civilian cooperation, and self-awareness. The last step is to export the report. In the following section, I would use the transcript of the interviewees as a base for me to analyze the below four research questions.

1. What are the types of language policies in promoting indigenous language?
2. In terms of the indigenous language policy, how effective is the cooperation between the government and the indigenous civil organization?
3. How does self-identity agree to affect the motivation to learn the indigenous language?
4. How do regional differences affect motivation to learn the aboriginal native language?

The Types of Language Policies in Promoting Indigenous Language

According to Johnson, there several types of language policy.²³ The types of language policies in promoting indigenous language consisted of four variables, including genesis, means and goals, documentation and in law and in practice. The types of language policies are offered as a starting point and heuristic, not a definitive framework.

Firstly, the genesis of the indigenous language policy is multilevel. As Interviewee A said,

Like the Council of Indigenous Peoples, the six-year language revitalization plan was launched in two phases, for a total of twelve years. Cooperate with the local government to handle related activities, such as study, training, indigenous language nanny, and so on. The Council of Indigenous Peoples also collaborated with the Ministry of Education to edit textbooks and online dictionaries.

²³ Johnson, "What is language policy?."

This is an example of the top-down genesis, policy developed by government or authority.

However, there is an example of bottom-up genesis. According to Interviewee D,

In the 1990s, the language revitalization was done through clubs. At that time, the school did not have native language classes. For example, our Truku population was small, and we had to attain ten students to have class, so at that time we were unable to have class. It was through the club to apply for the project.

The language policy in that period was not comprehensive. Therefore, some of Truku grassroots would establish a club in a metropolis to become like a small Truku community, to have the indigenous language class or culture class. Besides, it can cohesion the relationship of Truku indigenous people in the metropolis.

Secondly, the means and goals of the policy are overt. The language policies overtly expressed in written or spoken texts. As Interviewee A mentioned the Council of Indigenous Peoples, the six-year language revitalization plan. Also, Interviewee D mentioned that from 2021, schools must list local language courses as compulsory courses. These means and goals of the policies are overt. In addition to overt goals for language revitalization learning, there are also overt goals and means for training teachers in indigenous language education. As Interviewee E said,

In 2018, the Taiwan Language Research Institute was established, and the East, West, South and North Language Center was established in the institute. The language center is responsible for cultivating in-service teachers, or teachers who will be certified in ethnic languages in the future.

Besides, as Interviewee A said,

One of the most important tasks of Indigenous Language Development Society is to take inventory and integration, to take inventory of what we have done in the past, and which language materials are suitable for us to use now. To do inventory, analysis, and integrate these scattered data.

After the Indigenous Language Development Society established, a center was established to integrate the previous language materials and to integrate the texts as overtly form. The

meaning and goals, documentations, and laws are all linked together. Because it's overtly written and spoken policy text, only then can I learn more about the principles and details of the policy through public interviews.

Third, the documentation of the policy is explicit. With the express provisions of the laws and regulations related to the rights of indigenous peoples, there will also be publicly stated texts and regulations. Especially after the National Language Development Law passed in 2018, more documents and regulations related to indigenous peoples will be officially announced.

Fourth, the policy is both in law and in practice. In the policy by law, as Interviewee A said,

We now have more and more laws related to indigenous peoples. Such as the Basic Law of Indigenous Peoples and the Education Law of Indigenous Peoples. The most obvious in the last three years is the "Law for the Development of Indigenous Languages." After the passage of the law, we have today's foundation, and it is clearly set up in the law.

Obviously, the first step is to formulate the law. After that, we will have a center organization to take inventory and integration. Therefore, in the part of in practice, as Interviewee A said,

After the passage of the Indigenous Language Development Law, there are many related new terms in the follow-up, such as the indigenous language promoters. They are very important personnel in language promotion. They are scattered in different towns and cities, in cities and in indigenous villages.

According to the interviewees we can find that in recent years, Taiwan's language policy is inseparable from "de jure" and "de facto." It will be invalid if there are only official regulations without starting implementation from the fundamentally. However, from the implementation of grassroots personnel without official government approval and support, language revitalize will be even more difficult.

This analysis of this section showed up the types of language policy. two of the four types are mixed, which are genesis and in law and in practice. It shows that recently,

Taiwan's indigenous language policies collaborate with the government and grassroots to make the policy more comprehensive.

The Effectiveness of Cooperation between Government and Indigenous Civil Organization

The cooperation between government and indigenous civil organizations is positive. I compare to three timelines, first is before the establishment of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, second is after the establishment of the Council of Indigenous Peoples and before the passage of the Language Development Law, and finally after the passage of the Language Development Law.

First, before the Council of Indigenous People was not established. As Interviewee D said,

There was no promotion of ethnic languages at all. Maybe it was, but our small populations groups have less chance. Those large indigenous groups have been promoting their native languages for a long time. The Ministry of Education will promote this kind of language policy, but the class cannot be opened if less than ten students, then we will never be able to have the Truku language classes in the metropolitan area.

In the early 1990s, although it was no longer monolingual policy, however, at that time, the policy for revitalizing the native language was relatively incomplete. Only in civil organizations and larger indigenous groups such as the Amis(阿美族) have more opportunities to open indigenous language courses and related activities. Compared with the small population of the Truku at that time, classes could not be opened for less than 10 students, so that there was no formal indigenous language course before the establishment of the Council of Indigenous People. In December 1996, the Council of Indigenous People was established. After that, the formulation and revision of the indigenous language policy was gradually improved and revised.

Second part is after the establishment of the Council of Indigenous Peoples and before the passage of the Language Development Law. As Interviewee A said,

The Council of Indigenous People has launched two phases of the six-year language revitalization plan, a total of twelve years. A lot of things have been promoted in the past twelve years. However, it is mainly to cooperate with the local government and ask the local government to assist in related activities, all must be cooperated with the local government.

After the Council of Indigenous People was established, it gradually cooperated with local governments to implement indigenous language policies. However, local governments will have different approaches based on conditions such as funding, local indigenous populations, and implementation willingness. In that period, the indigenous language policy was being implemented but still needed to be revised to strengthen its integrity.

Finally, after Language Development Law was passed in 2018. The three government agencies, the Council of Indigenous People, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Culture, are responsible for indigenous language promotion together. In addition, an Indigenous Language Research Development Foundation was also established after the Language Development law was passed. As Interviewee A said,

The role of the foundation is like the think tank of the Council of Indigenous People, and perhaps the Council of Indigenous People will need any policy planning. We are half a research institution. We research, develop, and promote, and we help think about policy improvements.

Interviewee A is a CEO of Indigenous Language Research Development Foundation, he mentioned the duties that the foundation has to do. Also, he talked about before the foundation established, there are several disadvantages. As Interviewee A said,

In the past, many civil servants in the Language Department of the council of indigenous people were not language knowledge background, and they might not be able to focus on the implementation of the language promotion plan. Now through the foundation, more professional talents have a more complete policy plan.

After 2017, the Language Development Law was passed. The central government still needs to cooperate with local governments. At the same time, a foundation has been established to allow professionals to make policy planning and implementation more complete than before.

However, through the interview. I found the indigenous people, especially the elders, they have less information about the indigenous language revitalization. As Interviewee F, Interviewee G, and Interviewee H, they are over eighty years old. Therefore, they have gone through various language policies since the era of Japanese occupation. During the Japanese occupation period and the National Government's mandatory ban on indigenous languages in Taiwan, they gradually became less aware of indigenous languages. Even now, some 70- and 80-year-old elders choose to speak Mandarin with younger generations. However, elders over 65 years old can speak indigenous languages fluently, so they are very effective promoters in revitalize the language. The government needs to put more efforts in cooperation with local people.

This analysis of this section showed up the cooperation between the government and indigenous civil organizations. Before the Council of Indigenous People established, only through the club registration plan to teach indigenous language courses. Between 1997 and 2017, the Council of Indigenous People worked with local governments. Indigenous peoples with small populations also have the opportunity to learn their own ethnic language. However, most civil servants in the language department were not language professionals, so the policy implementation is still incomplete. Finally, after 2017, the Language Development Law was passed. This makes Taiwan's indigenous language policy to have more professionals and institutions, and to have better insights into future policies. Meanwhile, it can also correct and improve previous policy deficiencies.

Self-Identity Agree to Affect the Motivation to Learn the Indigenous Language

Our self-identity, is the answer of Who am I? Personal identity is our concept of how we think of ourselves. Identity formation and evolution are impacted by a variety of internal and external factors like society, family, ethnicity, culture, location, media, interests, appearance, self-expression and life experiences and so on. Self-identity can influence one's own decisions and thoughts, including the choice of language to speak and use. According to the interviewees' data, self-identity will affect the motivation of learning ethnic languages. As Interviewee C said,

Every time my son went to school to speak indigenous languages, his classmates would ask him "what language are you speaking?" When his teacher and classmates saw that he did not look like an indigenous, they said, "You might not be an indigenous." These words gradually grew with him, and he began to think that he was not an aboriginal.

Interviewee C's child spoke indigenous languages at school, and because his classmates did not understand and the classmates looked that he did not look like an aboriginal, they refuted his identity as an aboriginal. In the end, interviewee C said that his son also began to think that he was not an aboriginal. Based on the above, we can find that the degree of self-identity is gradually declining. Originally because of the appearance factor, it was later extended to the linguistic environment and the opinions of his peers on his identity that have also affected him. After he began to disagree with the aboriginal identity, he then rejected the government's affirmative action policy for the aboriginal people. As Interviewee C said,

When he went to junior high school, I asked him to take indigenous language certification. He said, "why should I rely on the indigenous certification for extra points?" Why do I have to get extra points for such good grades?"

I used to be the same as this case. I applied to senior high school through exam-free admission, and there had an extra quota for the aboriginal students can compete with the aboriginal students after extra points. At that time, my classmates saw my grades after adding points and said: "So the aborigines can go to a good school without studying hard?" At that time, those words hurt me deeply. Gradually, I also rejected the indigenous identity like the

son of Interviewee C. The words of peers and teachers will affect students' motivation and attitude towards learning indigenous language.

However, Interviewee C has a solution to let her son accept the indigenous identity,

Later, I kept instilling him a concept that he is an indigenous. I told him that I teach an indigenous language, and I always wanted my children to learn my language (Truku indigenous language), and I did not force him because I knew that the children had their own ideas.

Interviewee C's approach is to softly educate children about the positive concepts of Truku indigenous. Self-identity is a long-term relationship, so mutual understanding is necessary.

The case of Interviewee C can be extended to family is a very important factor in self-identity agree.

Self-identity can be affected by family, as Interviewee C's case. As Interviewee A said, what language promoters must do at present is indigenous language families, allowing parents to automatically teach their children what they think is important. It is meaningless to teach through one class a week, and after class child continues to speak Mandarin. This will not change, and the language revitalization will not succeed.

If the elders or parents of the indigenous people in the family are willing to insist on speaking the indigenous language with their children, then the children will have basic listening ability, and then the level of oral expression or writing. As Interviewee F and Interviewee G, both of them have the same opinion that parents around the age of 40 basically don't use indigenous languages to communicate with their children, but the elders are not very good at Mandarin. They use indigenous languages to communicate with their grandchildren. They also hope that parents can speak indigenous languages with their children more. The elders agree that learning Truku language is necessary, and it is more convenient to communicate with the older generations.

Another practical example about using one's own Truku name can enhance self-identity agree. As Interviewee A said,

In 2010, I was a teacher of the College of Indigenous Studies at National Dong Hwa University. In the beginning, there were about half of the students who had an

indigenous name, but about 10-20% of the people who used an indigenous name. Every time in the class, I only called their indigenous name. Also, I gave them assignments to ask them the origin of their own indigenous name, they would slowly understand their naming culture. After one semester, almost 80% of students had an indigenous name, and at least 60 to 70% of the students had become accustomed to calling the indigenous name.

The identification of self-identity first starts with the name. Taking a practical example, there was an assignment in elementary school to ask the elders in the family about the origin of our Chinese name. When taking language courses, we will also use that language to name ourselves, which can deepen and accelerate our learning and self-identification in the language environment. According to Interviewee A, many of these students went on to study language or culture later. Starting from one's own name, that identification will definitely affect the motivation for learning later. In Taiwan indigenous culture, every name has its story, even for any indigenous name and vocabulary, people named it for a reason. The explanation of our name is linked to our culture. It is not taken casually, there must be a context.

This analysis of this section showed up the self-identity agree will affect the motivation to learn the Truku indigenous language. Basically, the Truku indigenous group tends to become a minority in the external environment such as campus or workplace in the city. Some of the indigenous will be unwilling or dare not to recognize their identity due to the verbal pressure of their peers, which extends to disagreement with their own identity and repel. All of these need to be cooperated by the government and the local government. At least the people in Taiwan can understand and build up a friendly environment to minority group (indigenous group). When the indigenous are recognized, the indigenous people will be more united.

Regional Differences Affect Motivation to Learn the Indigenous language

Through the interview, I found that the indigenous people in the city and in the indigenous villages have the same opportunities and sources to learn the Truku indigenous language. However, the time and process of acceptance of the indigenous language by indigenous people in different regions are different, which is similar to the third point of self-identity.

Different regions have the same opportunities and sources to learn the indigenous language according to data collection. Five interviewees are living in a metropolis. They are interviewee A, Interviewee C, Interviewee D, Interviewee E, and Interviewee I. Interviewee A, Interviewee C, Interviewee D, and Interviewee E insist to speak Truku indigenous language to their children. However, Interviewee I use basic words and sentences to speak with grandson but not speak Truku indigenous language to daughter and son.

Compared with the other four interviewees living in Hualien, Interviewee F, interviewee G and interviewee H are elders, they are more than eighty years old. They can only speak a little Mandarin, so they speak Truku indigenous language with the young generation. In addition, interviewee B can speak Mandarin and Truku indigenous language fluently. Interviewee B is a researcher, educator and promoter of Truku language. For the elders of the Truku tribe who do not speak Mandarin, he can communicate very fluently with them. For young people who are not familiar with the Truku language, he can use bilingual communication and teaching. According to the above, no matter the interviewees live in the city or village, the opportunities and sources to teach or learn Truku indigenous language are the same.

However, the time and process to accept the indigenous language by indigenous people in different regions are different. It includes several factors. First is because of the schoolwork, as interviewee D said that his daughter already passed the Intermediate level of

Indigenous Language Certification when she was in elementary school. However, she does not want to learn the Truku indigenous language now because her high school studies are under great pressure. Indigenous people who live in urban areas generally refuse to learn the Truku language when they enter school. The academic pressure in the city is more than the village, and the peers in the city campus generally speak Mandarin. Therefore, some of them might resist and reject the Truku culture and language. As Interviewee A said,

When my son was three or four years old, one day he told me that he didn't want to speak the Truku language anymore because teachers and classmates at school couldn't understand it, so he didn't want to talk about it either.

In contrast, the indigenous group in the tribe has a high degree of assembly, so the possibility and acceptance of using the language of the indigenous group is also higher than that the urban Truku indigenous people. Interviewee A said,

Back to the psychological level, in my opinion, this kind of thing is more abstract but more valuable. The psychological level breaks through, and one can stop you from doing anything you want.

Although learning the Truku language will be affected by external factors such as environment and peers, the most important thing, as mentioned by Interviewee A, will still be at the psychological level. Not only learning languages, as long as you break through your negative mind, when you do anything no one can stop you. This also goes back to the third part of self-identification agree. Indigenous people who agree with their own identity and the cultural and language values of the Truku people will want to actively learn and pass on to the next generation. Language is an intangible cultural carrier and has important value and significance.

This analysis of this section showed up the regional difference is not the factor to affect the motivation to learn the indigenous language. Initially, it was assumed that the Truku aborigines living in the village might have more motivations to learn the Truku language due to the factors such as living environment. After data collections, it was found that even in

cities because of the Civil Service Special Examination for Indigenous People or the aboriginal students who want to obtain study abroad subsidies and so on reasons. Therefore, the interview results show that the Truku people living in the city have no less motivation to learn the Truku language than the Truku people living in the tribe. The key point to affect the motivation to learn the indigenous language is the Truku indigenous people's psychological. Once you find out the value of the Truku indigenous language, you might learn the language actively and have a positive opinion on our own indigenous cultures.

Summary of Data Analysis

I use four indicators to summarize the findings. In the part of the types of language policy shows that the types of genesis and law and practice are mixed forms, and the goals and official documentation expressions are explicitly and overt. The publicity of policy also means that it has been officially recognized by the government. In addition, the policy implementation and the organization of related activities can also receive official subsidies and promotion, so that the revitalization of the indigenous languages can be effectively known by the civilians.

In the part of the Cooperation between Government and Indigenous Civil Organization, they are positive effectiveness. From the beginning of the early 1990s, before the Council of Indigenous People was established, the revitalization of indigenous languages was passive. After the establishment of the Council of Indigenous People in the late 1990s, the revitalization of indigenous languages began to be valued gradually and moved towards a form of cooperation between the central and local governments. After the recent passage of the Language Development Law, Indigenous Language Research Development Foundation was founded to use professionals to promote and revitalize indigenous languages and give more professional suggestions and good amendments.

In the part of self-identity agree, this can be affected the motivation to learn Truku indigenous language. External factors, psychological factors, and ethnic language awareness will affect self-identity.

In the last part of the regional difference, this might not be one of the factors to affect the motivation to learn the indigenous language. More than the regional difference, back to the third part, the self-identity agreement might be the one main reason for the motivation to learn the indigenous language.

CONCLUSION

Discussion of the Major Finding

Each of the research questions had empirical findings. I would use similar studies as my topic to be my decision level in order to highlight the meaning of my findings.

Discussion 1: Multi-layered Types

The finding indicated that Taiwan indigenous language policy was multi-layered types. Policies were mostly initiated by the grassroots in the late 1980s and early 1990s. From the mid-1990s to today, the central government integrated and cooperated with local governments or related organizations. Goals and documentations are both overt and explicit. In addition, the language policy was in law and in practice. According to D. C. Johnson's study, "Language policy not just products but processes, policy as a verb, not a noun"²⁴ Since of the researcher agreed that the policy should not only in law but also in practice. The indigenous policy in Taiwan should do more than just official document and law. The published text and overt goals also represent the government's attention and expectation for the revitalization of indigenous languages.

Discussion 2: The Cooperation were Positive Effective

The finding indicated that the cooperation between the government and the indigenous civil organization was mostly positive effective. With the recognition and attention of the central government, the Council of Indigenous Peoples has actively promoted the revitalization of indigenous languages in recent years. According to Yung-Bo, Hu's thesis, "The quality and performance of Aboriginal education have been significantly improved."²⁵

²⁴ Johnson, "What is language policy?."

²⁵ 胡永寶, "原住民小學執行「以民族教育為特色學校本位課程計畫」之個案研究," (2016).

However, in the formulation and implementation of policies, professionals are still required to provide professional advice and rolling amendments. In addition to the cooperation of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Culture, there are also non-governmental organizations such as the Taiwan Truku Language Development Association, the Taipei Language Nest, and even the Indigenous Language Research and Development Foundation established after the 2019 Language Development Law was passed. In addition to the central and official decision-making, there are also many language promoters on the implementation side. There are 16 indigenous groups in Taiwan, and the language promoters are scattered in different townships to implement and promote. Personnel at all levels can make the revival of indigenous languages promotes a completer and more effective factor.

Discussion 3: Self-identity Agree Affected Learning Motivation

The finding indicated that self-identity agree would affect the motivation to learn indigenous language. Self-identity is more about the current social environment and the psychological pressure from peers, resulting in some indigenous people repelling and unwilling to recognize their own identity, needless to say that they will speak indigenous language or actively promote indigenous language. In the interviews, it was found that indigenous language teachers or organizational personnel used soft persuasion in dealing with the psychological level. As Fishman's study,

In the family-family members-neighborhood-community, intergenerational mother tongue transmission is the most important factor in the recovery of language transfer. The roles of parents, grandparents and other family members have become very important.²⁶

²⁶ 吉娃詩 and 叭萬, "從紐西蘭毛利族的語言巢看台灣的原住民母語教學."

Encouragement and support from the family can not only pass on the mother tongue from generation to generation, but also enable children to understand the value of the ethnic language. Even if the value of the indigenous language of soft education will be slower to appear in effect, there are still examples of indigenous people who will be probated and start to actively promote it. That is the interviewees of this study and all those who are currently working hard to promote the revitalization of the indigenous languages.

Discussion 4: Regional Difference Did Not Affect Learning Motivation

The finding indicated that regional difference did not affect the motivation to learn indigenous language. This research question is also a hypothetical question. It was originally assumed that the indigenous people who grew up and lived in the indigenous rural environment had more opportunities to learn the indigenous language than those in the city. However, in the sample of the interviewees in this study, it can be seen that the motivation and opportunity of the indigenous people in the rural villages and cities to learn the indigenous languages are equal. After collecting data, it is found that the self-identity and psychological identity mentioned in the previous part are more influencing learning motivation. According to May's study, "Language Nest also provides opportunities for parents to develop national curriculum syllabus so that they have the right to decide their children's education."²⁷ If parents are allowed to personally participate in the educational syllabus, the parents can decide children's education, also get more understanding about it. Parents will have the responsibility and mission to teach the indigenous language, it can also enhance the family's sense of superiority over the indigenous culture and language. In addition, the indigenous people in the villages and cities will have different results in the

²⁷ Stephen May, *Language and minority rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language* (Routledge, 2012).

identity of the indigenous language because of the different living environment and work environment, leading to psychological impacts.

Conclusion and Suggestions

Taiwan's indigenous languages and other native languages were banned from the period after the Nationalist Government came to Taiwan in 1945 to the ended of martial law in 1987, causing the loss of native languages and the danger of extinction. Nowadays, Taiwan's indigenous tribes are a total of sixteen tribes, and this study focuses on interviewees who are Truku indigenous people. This is also the main limitation for my study, sixteen different indigenous languages have different methods due to factors such as population and gathering regional. This study takes the Truku indigenous and Truku language as a case study, but it is consistent with the general direction of the revitalization of Taiwan's indigenous.

Based on this study, there are some suggestions. First, all sixteen indigenous groups are not identical. If the researcher wants to research the Truku indigenous language, they can refer to some concepts from this study. However, these concepts might not suitable for all other indigenous ethnic groups. And final, this study focuses on Taiwan's indigenous language policy and it may be helpful in Austronesian language researchers and language revitalizer.

APPENDIX 1 Interview Protocol

INSTRUTIONS

Good morning(afternoon). My name is Zi Han Cai. I am a student at Wenzao University of Language in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. Now working on the term paper. The purpose of my study is to understand the effectiveness of the language policy of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan-a case study of the Truku people. Thank you for coming. This interview involves four sections. The first section I will ask about your basic background information. There is no accurate answer. I would like you to feel comfortable with saying what you really think and how you really feel. The questions in the second, third and fourth sections focus on the language policy of the indigenous peoples in Taiwan.

TAPE RECORDER INSTRUCTIONS

If it is okay with you, I will be tape-recording our conversation. The purpose of this is that I can get all the details but at the same time be able to carry on an attentive conversation with you. I assure you that all your comments will remain confidential.

Section 1

Background

- Q 1: Where are you live now?
- Q 2: How old are you?
- Q 3: What is your education level?
- Q 4: What is your current occupation?

Section 2

Government policy implementation

- Q 1: Please describe what you know about the indigenous language policy implemented by the government. (One to three items are enough)
- Q 2: Please describe your opinions or suggestions on these policies.

Section 3

Government and civil organization cooperation

- Q 1: Please talk about your process of learning or teaching the Truku indigenous language.
- Q 2: From your perspective, what are the difficulties or limitations in encouraging people to learn the Truku indigenous language?
- Q 3: Please describe what you know about the activities and courses that the local government and indigenous tribes have cooperated with for the revival of indigenous languages.

Section 4

Self-identification agree and recognition

Q 1: Please describe the connection with the aboriginal culture in your usual life, family, work and social life. For example: the degree of opportunity in your daily life to get along with indigenous people, and the degree of opportunity to participate in indigenous activities or indigenous language learning.

Q 2: Have you ever been discriminated against or stopped when using the indigenous language? If so, please describe the situation at that time.

Q 3: In daily life, which language do you use most often? (The most common definition is that the language has been used for more than six months a year)

Q 4: Are you a monolingual, bilingual or multilingual person?

Q 5: If you are a bilingual or multilingual person, which language would you use according to what circumstances?

CLOSING

Thanks for your time.

That is all the questions I have for you. Do you have any questions for me?

I hope to create a resource from the information you have shared. If you have additional ideas of how to disseminate this information, please let me know.

I will send you a copy of the confidential digitized version of your response so you can identify, and I can correct any mistakes. Meanwhile, if you are interested in what I do with all that you have shared, I can give you a copy of my research proposal.

Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX 2 Interview Consent Form



Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages

Department of International Affairs

900 Mintsu 1st Road Kaohsiung 80793,

Taiwan

Consent Form Interviews

Before accepting the interview, as some details require attention, please read the following information carefully and decide whether to participate in this interview.

Purpose of the research: In 2009, a UNESCO report pointed out that there are 6,000 languages in the world, of which 2,500 are on the verge of crisis, and Taiwan Indigenous languages are all overwhelmed and threatened with extinction. Through interviews, we can gain insights into Taiwan's Truku people's suggestions and views on the use and inheritance of the ethnic language. At the same time, we can also understand how the government's measures to revitalize the indigenous language can be improved and progressed. The ultimate goal of interviews and research is also to learn more about Taiwan indigenous and to pass on Taiwan's local culture to future generations.

What you will do in this research: If you decide to volunteer, you will be asked to participate in several interviews and will be asked several questions. With your permission, I will tape record the interviews. You will not be asked to state your name on the recording.

Time required: The interview will take approximately one hour.

Benefits: This is a chance for you to tell the story about your own experiences and feelings related to the indigenous language in Taiwan.

Participation and withdrawal: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled. You may withdraw by informing me that you no longer wish to participate (no questions will be asked). You may skip and question during the interview but continue to participate in the rest of the study.

To Contact the Researcher: if you have questions or concerns about this research, please contact: Ms. Cai, Zi-Han, phone number: (+886)976304300 and email address: czhruna@gmail.com

Agreement:

The nature and purpose of this research have been sufficiently explained and I agree to participate in this study. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without incurring any penalty.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

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The Transcripts

Date: 2020/09/02

Time: 14:00-16:00

Interviewee A: Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Indigenous Language Research and Development Foundation

Place: The office of ILRDF in Taipei

Section 1 (Background)

Q：您目前居住的地區？

A：新北市。我從小住部落大概到八歲搬到花蓮市區，就一直住著住到大學，碩士班的時候就到新竹讀書，後來都在外面讀書工作，已經住新北市五六年了。

Q：您的年齡？

A：1983 年（今年 37 歲）

Q：您的教育程度？

A：國立清華大學語言學研究所博士

Q：您目前的職業？

A：現任財團法人原住民族語言研究發展基金會執行長，太魯閣族語言復振推動工作者，從事語言推動、傳承、教學。曾任太魯閣語言發展學會秘書長

Section 2 (Policies implemented by the government)

Q：請描述您所知道政府實施的原住民語言政策。（一到三項即可）

Q：請描述您對這些政策的看法或建議。

A：國語化政策嘛，禁說方言那個時期我是沒有經歷啦，因為我 1983 年出生，但是都是聽爸爸媽媽他們在講，掛牌子的啊、罰錢的啊，或是用處罰的啊等等的太多了，但是都是聽他們講或者是看影片。現代政策最明顯的大概是名稱吧，名稱上是最大的改變，其實你在口述的時候你去訪問一些比較大概 50 歲以上，你可能有時候都還會聽到他們自己會說「我們山地人的話」怎麼樣或是我們「山地話」，那個都是當時環境造成他們會有這樣，就是像我岳母即便她是很純的阿美族，可是她自己會講“Pangcah”（阿美族族語）“Amis”（阿美族族語），可是她翻成中文的時候她不會說「阿美族語」，她會翻譯成山地話，你就可以知道他們那個年代給他們灌輸非常的強烈，就禁說方言的那個時期。那之後就是經歷一些原住民社會運動嘛，從山地人、山地山胞、平地山胞，這我有經歷過因為我在小時候就是領獎學金，就會有分山地山胞、平地山胞，其實對這沒有什麼感覺，只覺得說為什麼平地山胞只能領幾時塊？山地山胞可以領幾百塊？就覺得怎麼那麼好，但那時候對族群身份還沒有很強的認同感，所以這個部分有經歷過然後一直到其實我國小國中都不算是在原鄉，但是就是一半一半，我那個地方也是很多太魯閣族在新城鄉，我們很多都是太魯閣族或阿美族，但是那個時候對族群的概念沒有很強，一直到高中我第一次遇到排灣族，我才知道原來有這個族群。因為那個時候我們在花蓮基本上是

不會遇到除非是外來的搬到這邊才有可能遇到，所以那個時候第一次而且是學弟才發現哦！原來是排灣族的才發現說講的話聽不懂，所以我們才知道，而且那個時候的教材還是沒有那麼多，所以就是對那了解就不多。後來就正名了「原住民族」，太魯閣族我沒記錯的話應該是 2004 年正名，那時候我是在讀東華大學，我們有連署啊！為什麼要正名成太魯閣族？其實那個是身分上面，其實也回歸到你後面有提到一些自我認同會不會影響到族語學習動機？那個是一定會，等一下再講。很明顯太魯閣族文化那個時候，我們從小都是被認為山地山包泰雅族嘛，但是我印象很深刻我問我爸泰雅族是什麼？他都會說不是啊我們我們祖先叫我們 Truku。他就是說我們就是從南投來的，祖先就叫我們自己自稱 Truku 就不會自稱泰雅，後來慢慢就是做一些語言的研究然後會好奇那我們怎麼稱別人？就慢慢有一些概念。我們稱阿美族叫做”Sbnawan”稱泰雅族叫”Embgala”他都有不同的名稱，意思就是說原來我們對不同民族的稱呼是不一樣。那明顯就是自稱是 Truku，那我們就很確定是，但是為什麼那個時候要證明？他們要告訴我們原因是什麼？我們跟泰雅族有什麼不同？除了居住的環境跟語言等等的，那我覺得這個部分走過來當然你要說背後有政治因素我不可否認，可是整個族群的認同很強，當然也是因為政府願意重視、正視這個議題，所以我們後來就順利成為第 12 族，簡單講是這樣啦！不過這也是牽扯到整個族群的社會意識、集體意識跟認同都有起來，再加上一些歷史脈絡才辦法順利的證明。這些東西其實都算是政府的政策之一，但是現在還沒有講到語言政策，語言政策我覺得過去跟現在最大不同就是，可能會聽過說來到都會區的原住民啊，很多都是不敢承認在幾 10 年前那個時候。這就真的為什麼他們現在都會區原住民族人語言能力會那麼差，即便是六十歲、七十歲、八十歲他可能已經是耆老的等級但他還是不太會講，有一個很大原因是他那段時間他是不敢講、不敢承認自己是原住民會被歧視啊會有口音，很多電影、紀錄片都有，確實是這樣啊。為什麼現在會語言流失這麼嚴重？就是大環境給的那個外在的壓力，還有刻板印象那就更不用講太強大，在那段時間塑造了這樣的一個環境。相較之下回到現在，我們現在有越來越多法律跟原住民族相關的原族法、原教法，最近這 3 年最明顯就是「原住民族語言發展法」，通過之後去也才有我們今天這個基金會也在法條裡明確要設立這個基金會。這個法條之前其實已經做很多事了，在這之後在這個語言上改變非常大，我們剛剛提到說很多是刻板印象或者是說社會的歧視壓力大，現在反而也是很吊詭，也許聯合國教科文組織這個報告書也許是一個警訊，讓台灣政府也重視到，其實為什麼會那麼多國外的學者願意來台灣研究我們的語言？你會發現不管是神學院的也是還有很多國外的學者，各地的都要來這邊，太多學者都提到說台灣可能是南島民族的起源地之一，因為在這麼小一個地方就存在這麼多不

同的語言，而且是沒有辦法溝通的語言不是方言，就代表他有很重要的價值跟資產。也許是這樣的一個契機，在這一二十年再加上原住民族委員會成立之後，慢慢在推有關原住民相關的一些復振的工作。其實這都是很明確的，那在語發法通過後就更明確，因為我們成立了一個原住民族語言戶政推動的專責單位，就是我們基金會嘛！那相關還有很多後續的都是新的名字啊像是現在聽到的語推人員啊（原住民族語言推廣人員），他們會重要因為他們現在全國有一百二十個左右，他們就散居在各個不同的鄉鎮市，在都會、原鄉都有，他們就是在這個法條之下設有明確說要成立這樣的語推人員，他們其實就像是在地深耕的執行者，所以政策上面我們這邊跟原民會提供政策上面的一個方向，然後大致的方向跟執行的過程，真正執行者就是靠他們，另外一個很重要就是語推組織，這兩個是息息相關，在這樣的情況下，這幾個都是新的東西出來的。那個事實上我們看國外，比如夏威夷、毛利語他們都有一個重點，在做語言復振一定要有一個專責的單位，所以原語會算是全國的一個組織，那下面我們就是對各個語言不同的語推組織，因為做語言推動他必須真的是要有專責，因為他必須要統籌，有些語推組織人數少、區域少。像是賽夏族就集中在苗栗、東和、新竹五峰；那撒奇萊雅族又更少，他就在花蓮的馬立雲部落啊或者是撒固兒部落著這幾個地方，人口也少才 1000 人。相對有更複雜的，像是阿美族就有五個方言，從花蓮、台東到屏東；那布農族更複雜，他是從南投、花蓮、台東、高雄整個南台灣都是他們。所以在做像同樣是語推組織，他們的能量、管轄範圍跟責任就差很多，這是另外一個面臨的問題，但是至少要有一個，所以他們必須要靠哪些人幫忙？剛就提到語推人員是第一個，像布農族有郡群布農語、卡群布農語、巒群、卓群、丹群，像他們郡群就分佈在南投有一個郡群，高雄有一個郡群，台東也有一個郡群，你看剛好是一個鐵三角，他們分布那麼大然後就很明顯的語言上面不只是詞彙，他們講的句子，甚至包括文化都有可能有一點落差，所以語推組織下面就必須要結合很多的協作人員，包括語推人員，原則上那個法法條規定就是只要是原住民鄉、鎮就可以有 1 名，如果是都會區的話是該區有 1500 人以上就可以設置 1 名語推人員。語推人員現在還沒有滿，目前好像是 120 位，滿好像是 150 位或 160 位；另外的他必須還要找更多就是像現在的族語老師，他有分專職或兼職，他們都是在做這個語言推動很重要；另外的話還有我們現在也有那個沉浸式幼兒園，他們有很多教保員，我們還有族語保姆，有很多的家訪員。

這些都是很重要的協作人員，所以說因為有語言發展法過之後，讓我們這些推動語言層層的關係有更大的連結，在還沒有成立之前這些都是沒有的，沒有的情況下就有點像是

各自做各自的，可能教育部在推某個本土語言計劃，地方政府就做，以前都是以計畫的形式或委託的形式來做，變成說大家都各做各的。我們原語會很重要的一個工作就是要去盤點跟整合，把過去這些有做過的東西要把它盤點出來，哪些是適合我們現在使用要做盤點、分析，把這些散在不同地方的要做整合，這是我們今年最主要的一個工作，一開始一定要，因為我們也才剛成立半年而已，所以這個工作就是很重要。從縱向來看就是原民會、我們財團法人原住民語言發展基金會下面再跟語推組織做合作，下面又有不同的人，散在各地的執行者，就等於這是縱向。那橫向的部分就是我們去找不同的單位，去把這些同樣做語言相關工作的結合起來，但是另外一個卡在層級的就是說因為我們是財團法人，那所以我們的層級跟地方政府是不一樣的，地方政府是公家機關，地方政府、教育部、文化部、原民會，這都算是公務機關。我們跟他們層級不同，但是我們的等於是透過原民會，或者是說我們跟原民會一起跟其他的部門合作，等於是說橫向的連結。這個就是政策上面有很大改變，延伸到現在或者說未來，我們在做語言推動這一個發展的可能的一個藍圖，剛提到很多法條啊，我覺得其實你剛剛最後一個是講到自我認同，有一個很重要的就是這個，今年的8月1號原住民族日的主題就是「恢復傳統姓名」包括人名、地名、部落名。這個就是一個我們現在的語發法強調的要怎麼落實它？剛提到過去是大社會的環境嘛，就是說我們今天，像可能你的爸爸媽媽或者是一些親戚，他們根本不用去上閩南語的課，可是他馬上就能聽能說，就是基本社會營造的一個氣氛啊！他的語言環境就是打開電視，就聽到華語中文或閩南語，這樣看就是不知不覺得好像就會聽。現在很弔詭的是變成我們原住民必須要上課，可能要去透過課程、學習，反而失去可以讓他自然而然學習到的環境，所以變成說我們就必須要刻意去營造。我們在大社會裡面是小社會，各個不同的小社會，但是在資源有限情況下我們要怎麼做才能影響到其他的？這是我們要努力的課題，第一個就是透過法律地位的關係，因為我們現在是國家語言嘛，地位提升的情況之下，我們就可以提升我們的能見度，所謂能見度意思就是說會有越來越多的雙語標示啊，或者是說可能甚至有全族語的廣告、全族語的歌曲，那個都是一個能見度的提升、宣示，代表族語是我們的主體性。透過媒體的力量、推廣行銷，讓整個大社會環境重點是了解原住民族。很多刻板印象或是歧視，其實都是建立在不了解的情況下造成的，所以這個部分就是我們要友善現在的環境，友善就是要讓更多人了解我們在做什麼，了解我們說的是什麼。

Section 3 (Cooperation between government and civil society)

Q：那我就來到第二點就是想了解一下政府跟民間的合作，我有問過老師然後查文獻也發現到台北市有語言巢，可是我好像只有台北市才有比較關注在這個點上。我想問全台灣政府跟民間合作還有什麼您比較知道的？

A：請很多人論文寫語言巢的研究，我現在這位置不方便去批評，但是很多政策在國外做這成功，他有他的脈絡，有他的環境的因素。以紐西亞來說的話他是單一語言，所以當時他要推的時候，就可以整個國家一起推，雖然他是從民間由下而上發起，後來才受到他們政府的重視。那這樣語言巢的概念就是像我們今天進入到一個空間裡面，只說一種語言，沉浸在裡面 immersion school，他們的概念是這樣，那我們把這個概念引進來了，有些政策講白一點就是做半套啦！把那套引進來可是，人事時地物都跟那邊不同啊，可是我們就是把方式引進來，這有點像是我們現在很多異國料理，你會發現有些異國料理他來台灣做會失敗是因為他沒有順應台灣人的口味，所以他就是強調他們是在地，可是有時候會過酸過辣過鹹，一樣的概念有些人成功就是他就做轉型，政策上也是類似啊，也許你第一年第二年是在摸索慢慢轉變，語言政策強調就是中間一定是要滾動式修正，語言政策先有語言規劃然後執行，執行面的時候時間一定要做一個修正，因為一定會有不同的環境不同的因素造成，你不修正的話等於是說，你還是在做一樣沒有效果的東西。我也不知道什麼時候開始流行滾動式修正這個詞，的確沒有一個政策是可以用十年二十年三十年，其實就是跟因材施教的概念很像啊，沒有一個教法可以適用百百種人的。我今天用語言巢這個政策概念很好可是有那麼多族群，就不可能每個族群都適用，這樣會遇到什麼困難？第一個我們都會區，我們的族人人口已經是少了，我們發現所有的學生阿美族的最多然後泰雅族，可能其他的人可能都一個人。在開課的時候，只要有一個學生就要有一個師資去帶，他的效應就變少，這是人的問題，他沒有因為不同的族群做一些修正。第二個就是你剛剛說的語言巢在台北市，其實他是可以成功的，當然你可能看過論文大部分是說很多是弊大於利，至少目前看過來。他有一個問題就在於剛剛提到語言巢成功地方在於沈浸的時間，一天的時間早上進去我就是跟這群人，我的耆老長輩一起做任何一個工作，可能帶我去種芋頭，帶我去吃飯，他帶我煮飯，帶我去挑水，就是跟著他一直做，而且在這過程中都講本土語言。國外是長時間的沈浸，可是我們引進來過來之後很明顯的就是時間就不對等啊，怎麼可能與預期得到一樣效應？其他點很多啦，那我要特別講的意思就是說，第一個就是我們現在語言政策面臨到了都會跟原相差別，因為都會區跟原鄉形態就是很不一樣，所以你說語言巢在原鄉去推會不會成功？我不敢保證，但是現在語推人員在做的事其中一個就是在原鄉推語言巢，因為他們在原鄉有開班，他們有開那個傳習教室，其實也是一個禮拜兩小時或四小時，他就是很多的族人一起來上課，可是他不一樣的重點是他是同一批族人，同族的人一起上。他就不用在意說我要面對那麼多族群，然後我只能用我們共同的語言，所以他就可以用阿美族語當主題去講授他要講的東西，這個就是第一個都會跟原相的差別嘛。第三個就是

回到說，現在族語老師他們是在用我們共同的語言教族語，所以你就會發現說英語教育跟族語教育，英語教育推的也沒有說比族語教育久，可是他很快就成功，英語教育甚至就是請一個外籍老師，他就不會講中文啊，你必須要跟著他，可是他知道你初學者要怎麼開始，老師從最簡單的開始。所以為什麼族語教育推廣沒有成功？因為第一個當然是政府的重視，因為我們過去就是一週才 1 小時；英文可能有三、四小時，這是時數的差別。再來就是教法的问题，我預估啦現在有 80% 以上老師可能都是用在華語教族語，整堂課 40 分鐘他可能 30 分鐘講的是華語，用華語去解釋族語的一個詞是什麼東西，整節課我可能只聽到幾個詞彙。另外因為一週才一次嘛，所以他有可能下週來的時候又忘了，又要重新講一樣的東西，他就變成一直在循環，這個是回歸到剛剛那個教育的问题。再拉回來這個都會跟原鄉後就是為什麼剛剛提到族群人數很少，這是都會區在推語言的問題，都會區大部分都散居，原鄉大部分是這個部落可能就都是同一族族人，例如說太魯閣某個部落他至少可能六七成以上都是 Truku，所以他要推某個東西、課程的政策時候他就可以還是以這個為主題，包括他的客群或是學員，都是同一族的那個效果他們會不一樣；再來都會跟原鄉還有一個很大的差別，就是原鄉還有很多是說著流利族語的長輩，尤其是六十歲以上，他們還是說著很流利族語的人都還在原鄉，只是說因為工作關係，高年齡層跟低年齡層在原鄉，不過這五到十年來有慢慢改變，有很多原青都慢慢回到部落。這是一個轉變，但不可否認的是原鄉的耆老的語言能力一定比都會區的還好，這就是回到說為什麼都會區在推這個很困難？因為都會區他的長輩五十到七十歲的下來之後，三十到五十歲根本就不會講啊！所以你要怎麼期待十到三十歲這個年齡層去接，更不用講一到十歲這個年齡，等於是說都會區的大斷層就是中生代都不會講，這是都會區跟原鄉很大的差別。還有因為我們原住民在都會區算是少數，講比較不好聽是弱勢，我們從教育的環境就差很多，原鄉的環境跟都會區的教育，像我小孩之前去讀幼兒園，全園七八十人只有他一個原住民，老師就會對他很特別；我們從小跟他說你是太魯閣族跟阿美族人，可是有一陣子他回到家就說我不是太魯閣族，老師說我是原住民，因為老師對這個也不了解，但老師知道有原住民，所以就給小孩這樣教育的概念。老師對很多學生來說都是崇敬崇高的，所以老師說什麼就是什麼，基本上對老師是信任的，有時候更是大於家長；還有更負面的，我的小孩我們從小會跟他說族語，所以他去幼兒園之前其實不太會講中文，老師有時候就會跟我講說小孩子好像會自言自語，我想說自言自語也好像很正常，老師就接著說會講一些外星語，後來我就越想越不對，他去上幼稚園之後一陣子回家就不講族語，他說老師跟同學都聽不懂，老師都說我講錯，導致他很受傷。整個環境你給他這樣的情況的時候，他會壓迫他自己，他就會壓抑就不敢講或不想講；

一樣的環境回到原鄉，原鄉基本上我們族人算是多數的，可是原鄉現在的問題就是說會講族語的人對到年紀比較輕的人就會自動切換到中文，這個情況在我七、八歲的時候，三十年前就已經是這樣了，我跟阿嬤他們去部落他們都用太魯閣族語在聊天，但轉過頭來跟我：「你去幫我買檳榔。」這個情境在三十年前是這樣，三十年後還是這樣，甚至更糟的部落連族語都不講了，以講中文為主。我們在推語言復振最辛苦的是會講族語的人不講，會講流利的族語但他不跟下一代講。語言為什麼會流失，就是有斷層，小孩學語言就是模仿上一輩或上兩輩，所以今天你跟小孩講什麼話，他就只會講什麼話，除非是有外在影響，但在這樣的前提下，如果在家裡都不給孩子族語的環境，我們怎麼可能期待孩子能聽得懂，更不用期待他會說。這都是環環相扣的，目前我們想要做更多的是去改變還會說族語的人的意識，他們對族語的重視和意識。語發法通過後呢，我剛講的友善環境，還有很多措施，要讓族人相信說族語是有價值的，因為在他們那個年代，在國民政府來台那個年代，他們說族語是完全沒有價值，而且是錯誤的、被鄙視的、沒有用的，你可以想像在三、四十年前，他們必須承受這樣的壓力長大的，所以我們今天要說服他們講族語是很有價值的，對他們來講其實很不容易，因為他們內心會打架，以前逼我們不能講，現在又要我們講，那我們到底要怎麼做？那變成說我們要不斷的說服提醒他們，我們基金會現在就想要做族語家庭手冊，告訴族人為什麼要說雙語？同時說中文又說族語，實際上在學習語言過程中，學習多語言是有很多好處的，在學習能力表現都會比別人好，這都是有實驗認證的嘛，那當然更重要的是讓他們覺得學習族語是有價值有機會的，也就是說因為我會族語，我多了一項技能，讓我之後在職場更有機會找到相關工作。你看原住民特考通過了嘛，在明年（民國 110 年）開始必須要通過原住民族語認證初級才可以報考原住民特考，公費留學也是一樣，這個過程很不容易，會有人反應這樣會影響考生的權利，可是有另一派認為說族語基本的能力都不會，等於是說用原住民這個身份去參加這個考試，但跟這個身份的廉潔性很低。就像是空軍考試會限制視力跟身高，那一樣的道理為什麼原住民特考我不能限制考生要會講原住民族語？更何況我只是限制初級，其實不難，主要目的是透過這個契機讓年輕族人知道很多東西，語言跟文化是密不可分的，現在我們在翻譯的時候，有些詞彙沒辦法用中文去完整的詮釋解釋，都會跟族群的文化和歷史息息相關；等於是透過這個契機讓族人考生不會脫離甚至是透過接觸，接觸之後才知道他的好，才會進一步產生概念，所以這都是幾個政策上面滿大的改變，這都是經過很長時段的抗爭和討論才有現在的情況。我們剛提到教育環境很重要，在部落很重要的是可以常常聽、看、見到，所以現在為什麼我們要推族語文字化，就是說雙語標示族語文字化，因為我們人是視覺動物，如果我們今天走出家門看到

的很多都不是中文的廣告，都是族語的文字，聽到族語的廣播，聽到有人在講族語，其實這就是四、五十年前那個年代有的，只是沒有文字，但現在有了文字等於是說讓他更加的強化，所以這是一個環境的營造，是我們現在很強調的，這種東西不是很快影響，他可能要經過很多年，才可能造成意識的改變。你看我們的長輩是經歷多少年戒嚴時期的壓迫，所以他們要轉變是很不容易，但是現在有很多例子慢慢的已經很成功了，就是回歸到家庭，族語這種東西回到家庭還是最根本的，因為每天在跟小孩子接觸的是家長啊，今天你有機會還能夠講，那小孩子或是下一輩要做的就是輸入，因為要能說就要聽得懂，能夠知道你在講什麼，所以如果今天連輸入都不給他的時候，他怎麼可能會輸出。語推人員他們有很多工作，其中必辦的就是族語家庭，他們希望說透過這樣去影響家長，讓家長自動自發地把他覺得重要的東西教給小孩子，而不是說每次透過一週一節課來教，一週一節課結束孩子又繼續講中文這樣就沒有意義啦，這樣還是不會改變，語言復振這樣也不會成功。

Section 4 (Self-identity agree)

Q：像您剛剛說您的孩子到學校講族語的情況，確實我也懂那種壓力。我的情況是升學加分的時候受到同學的鄙視，那時候我國中用免試入學上高中，因為我沒有考族語認證所以我是加總分 10%，那時候就被我一個同學看到，他就說：「所以原住民都不用努力讀書就可以有很好的學校嗎？」那時候我也還小，沒有想要戰民族意識這塊，但內心真的很受傷，我明明很認真為什麼還要這樣被講。我不知道現在小朋友學習怎麼樣，但我大概懂那種你講另一種語言會被同學覺得你好奇怪的那種眼神，那您覺得在這種情況您有什麼看法或是做為嗎？

A：我講一個也是我小孩子的故事，那時候他大概三、四歲，有一天他就跟我說我不想講太魯閣族語了，我說為什麼？我平常都會教你，你也都會講呀。他就說反正在學校老師跟同學都聽不懂，所以我也不想講。那時候我當下聽到我也是很受傷，心裡還是想說唉還是抵不過學校同儕的那個壓力，可是我也沒有罵他，因為你跟小孩子講不說族語語言就會消失小孩根本也聽不懂，我就轉換一個角度說：「那我問你，是不是只有你會講太魯閣族語？」他說當然啊！我就說那你不是很厲害！因為你會講這個，你可以教老師，你還可以教同學，然後就換他沈默了一下，他就說：「對欸！我還有一個老師請我教他。」他意思就是說他也可以教老師，即便老師很厲害很受尊重，他也有比老師強的地方。我其實就是一句話就改變了他的自信和認同，有時候就是這樣，你要把你的弱點變成你的強項，反而變成是優勢。自從那次之後，我讓孩子到新學校或新班級，我會主動跟老師說他會講原住民族語，太魯閣族語和阿美族語，如果有機會可以讓他教同學或是老師能夠主動問他，如果老師有多元語言文化的概念，老師就會主動問他，那這幾個

老師都有做到這件事，老師在班上就會跟同學們說我的孩子今天想要來教大家原住民的語言哦，你們要一起學哦！他就教老師教同學，老師也會刻意問他很簡單的招呼語，他都會呀，所以變成說那段時間到現在他主動學習的心就很強，就是一念之間啦！如果那時候我是直接罵他，他可能只會越來越受挫。其實我覺得族語教育，包括我們，我覺得族語老師應該要去了解一些兒童心理學的東西，因為老師站在孩子的角度去想這件事情的時候，你才有辦法理解他為什麼會這樣做，更何況語言也是一樣。剛剛提到民間跟政府合作其實滿多的，我主要分為語發法通過前後。語發法通過之前很多都是各自做各自的，但確實都有在做，還是有原民會嘛，很多都是透過補助計畫或是委託計畫，像是我們現在看到的族語 e 樂園在八年前吧。因為原民會在推語言振興六年計畫推了兩期，總共十二年，一直到去年結束，然後就剛好語發法通過就有我們基金會。這十二年之間真的推了很多很多東西，但第一個主要是跟地方政府合作，請地方政府協助辦理相關活動，例如研習培訓族語保母，都必須透過地方政府，因為原民會不可能照顧到這麼細節。原民會很多都是跟教育部合作的，像是九階教材、四套教材、線上辭典，都是在那十二年，語言振興六年計畫這兩期做出來的。語發法通過之後就更完善，讓整個語言復振推動拼圖更完善，整個縱向架構更清楚，文化部也加入語言推動的責任，等於是說原民會、教育部、文化部三個地方。我們基金會的角色有點像是原民會的某個智囊團，也許原民會在政策上需要什麼規劃，我們也算是半研究機構，我們是研究、發展、推廣，我們就幫忙想政策上的改進修正。過去原民會教文處有三個科，文化科、教育科、語言科，那語言科很多公務人員他們其實不是語言背景進去的，所以他們在推語言振興六年計畫，十二年裡面很多都不是語言方面的背景。在這樣的前提下，有時候可能就打不中要害啦！可能就東看西看，東抄西抄。就變成說弄個計畫不是很完善，所以我們現在希望透過基金會這樣的機構，可以有專業的人才在政策上有更完整的規劃。在政策上即便一開始規劃好，後續還是要滾動式修正，回到執行面，在語發法通過之後很重要的語推組織、語推人員絕對是這十年二十年，最重要的語言推手。在網路科技面有族語 e 樂園，在線上自學的機會和平台，還有族語直播共學。族語直播共學的概念是假設邵族的族語老師，他在家用視訊上課，那散落在全台灣邵族學生在同一個時段都可以一起上這個老師的課，其實就是線上一起學習。因為科技的關係營造了這個平台，那過去還沒有這個平台就變成台北沒有邵族的老師，台北邵族的學生就必須修其他的本土語言，但透過直播共學的方式就讓學生更有機會學到自己的語言。這個也同時解決現在教育部規定只要有一個學生選，那個族語就要有老師教，但有些學校的校長就會說找不到老師啊，那直播共學就是一種解套的方式。金門有一個語推人員，他是阿美族的，金門原住民也不少但也

是好幾個族，金門也反應散居的太多了但是沒有老師，我們第一個直接建議就是直播共學。這也是我們近幾年在推也滿成功的，解決了偏鄉、離島還有師資不夠的問題。未來的話我們這邊有在做族語資料庫，我們收集很多語料來源是去採訪老人耆老，語推人員做紀錄把它轉寫成影片，把它收到資料庫。這些都要靠語推組織語推人員在現場執行，我們把它做後面的應用，未來還是有機會 AI 人工智慧的運用像是語音辨識，半自動逐字稿，都是可以期待。這些東西必須要有很大量語料的收錄，才有辦法有這些工作。

Q：請問您怎麼會踏入這個產業？

A：我大學是讀東華大學民族語言與傳播學系，這個是全台灣第一個民族學院也是第一個在大專院校開族語課是正式課程的。後來我碩士班也是讀跟語言相關在新竹教育大學，接著就慢慢透過研究調查學習，在這段過程中影響我的是發現語言不單純只是語言，有太多跟文化，沒有實際經歷是沒辦法實際理解為什麼語言這樣說。透過這樣的方式更加的認同，語言這種東西是從自我認同開始，自我認同是你要先有自己的族名，你才有可能認同嘛，而且每一個族名都有命名的過程和故事。慢慢的對文化興趣之後，才慢慢對語言有興趣，自我認同到文化認同，才進一步到語言認同。

Q：現在有很多都市原住民，不見得每個人都有族人的意識，那您會如何提升不是在原鄉環境下成長的族人更有族群意識和自我認同？

A：首先我覺得家庭是一個出發點，第一個父母要願意支持你認同你在你想做的事情。第二個是要有師傅引進你入門，比如說我現在在練習我的書寫，我就會自己去找幾個老師創群組，那我每天丟幾個東西，他們有空就幫我修改給我建議，語言就是不斷的在錯誤中學習。還是回到心理層面啦，我覺得這種東西越抽象但越有價值，我覺得心理層面突破了，你想做什麼人家都阻止不了你。我們現在是有很多的資源，你看像是族語 e 樂園，假設我告訴你有這個資源你可以去學，但對你來說可能沒什麼幫助，你就是知道那邊有這樣的資源可以學，可是學那個要做什麼？即使自己去學東摸西摸還是找不到方向，我覺得還是要有一個小老師帶著你。現在網路很方便，透過網路一個個介紹人，讓自己有那個環境。等於是說像現在自我營造環境就很重要，如果今天有很明確的動機要考族語認證就很好，可是很可惜現在的學生通過初級中級族語認證就好像會失去目標，很多族語學生國小都通過中級認證，之後上課都跟老師說我已經通過中級認證了啊！現在越來越這種負面的例子，我們一開始的目標不是要讓族人達到中級認證就停止了，語言一個月兩個月沒講就會忘太多了，所以我們要給學生目標。像現在有原住民族專班，裡面可以學到很多跟原住民相關的產業，可以和未來的職涯有相關性，類似這種，有目標才有辦法。我舉這個東華的例子好了，大概在民國 99 年在東華我有擔任老師，那個時候

是在原住民族學院裡面大概有四成是原住民學生，然後我進去的時候我就發現一個很奇怪的現象是我習慣進去的時候先問名字，我就發現說一個班十個裡面，第一個有族名的人，大概是一半以上，可是用族名的人大概是一兩成，我覺得很奇怪因為在這個環境是原住民族學院，從那時候開始之後的每一堂課，我都只叫族語就不叫他們漢名，然後我就發現說一個學期下來，他們好像也慢慢的認同，因為我不是只叫他們族名，我會給他們作業因為課程關係，作業就是你們要去問你們的名字是怎麼來，作業的一些內容也會跟他們說要瞭解自己的命名文化自己族群的。透過讓他們自己去摸索，去找到相關的故事，他的名字怎麼來的？他自己的部落為什麼叫這樣？就是問老人家，問他的爸爸媽媽，一個學期下來這些學生，本來是五成有族名的，變成是後來都會去問變成幾乎八九成都有族名了，而且就是至少有六七成的人，他們都變成是習慣了，本來叫小名後來都叫族名。這些人有蠻多的後來都繼續讀語言方面或文化方面，這故事只是說從自己的姓名開始叫起，那個認同絕對會影響到後面的學習動機，我覺得環繞在於說每一個名字都有他的故事，這句話很重要所以即便是一個詞彙，任何一個族名詞彙，他命名一定都有原因的。我們名字的解釋是跟我們的文化掛在一起的，他不是隨便取的，他一定是有一個脈絡。我給我的小孩一個很正面的觀念，他說族語、了解族語、了解文化是有很重要的一個價值的。這種影響他的一個認同、態度及意識不是那麼容易，但就是慢慢累積，所以他其實在雙重認同的意思就是其實他有一段時間知道自己是太魯閣族知道自己是阿美族，但是那個時候才一兩歲，他其實不是很懂，他只知道說有這個東西，他也聽不懂什麼是族，到中間老師跟他說你叫原住民，你不是太魯閣；中間他自己又問嘛，我就告訴他什麼是太魯閣族，我本來就很多太魯閣族的繪本，從小睡覺前就會拿給他看，說太魯閣族穿這樣的衣服，以前我們的祖先穿這樣、唱這樣的歌、傳統的故事、做竹筒飯，都是跟太魯閣族相關的。透過這樣他現在就非常清楚說我就是太魯閣，他認同他是太魯閣族，他也認同他是阿美族，因為暑假的時候我們都會帶他去參加豐年祭，他也知道跳舞的那個是媽媽的部落，而且他們都會講阿美語就跟我爸爸的是不一樣的，就是有會有這樣的認同，這種建立其實就是還是回到家庭。

Date: 2020/07/04

Time: 21:00-23:00

Interviewee B: Chairman of the Taiwan Truku Language Development Association also Principal Hu

Place: Wanrong Village Presbyterian Church, Wanrong Township, Hualien

Section 1 (Background)

A: 我的名字叫胡永寶，山地名字叫 Muyang Tadaw。我們 Truku 的命名是這樣，Muyang 是我的名字，Tadaw 是我爸爸的名字，這本身是我們命名的方式。

Q: 您的居著地？

A: 我本身是萬榮鄉萬榮村的人，我是本地人。我沒有離開過萬榮，從萬榮國小國中，之後高中考上花蓮師專。我是公費生，每一個山地鄉為了要確保都有在地的老師，所以有公費生制度。我就是萬榮鄉考公費生成績最高的，所以我是保障生。保障生在讀五年之後就一定要回鄉服務，回六個村的一所學校，那時候是馬遠國小，馬遠國小就是布農族學校有開缺，我就到馬遠國小服務。那個時候是 1988 年，當一年老師之後我就去當兵。當兵完之後因為馬遠國小人數減少，要超編一個老師，超編後我就到了萬榮國小六年，之後就考上主任，到瑞北國小當主任，再到阿美族的太巴塢國小當主任六年後又考上校長，所以我的服務年資有 32 年，其中當校長 16 年。

Q: 您的年齡？

A: 我今年 52 歲。

Q: 您的教育程度？

A: 學歷的部分我是東華大學的碩士，我是教育行政與管理學系的碩士。碩士班的論文是原住民教育特色。現在在讀東華大學博士班，現在是博士後，在寫論文。我博士班的論文是走向原住民的實驗教育。剛好現在實驗教育我比較 care 的是語言的部分。這就是我學歷的過程。

Q: 您的職業？

A: 我現在除了當校長之外我也兼任「國教院原住民教育議題委員」，所以現在的 108 課綱的編輯教材，有關藝文的部分是我在做審查，還有一些社會的科目，我也在做一些審查，是資訊委員也是審查委員。在族語的部分，我們成立了「台灣太魯閣族語言的發展學會」，我是創會的理事長。現在已經三年了。前兩年因為我是理事長，原民會依據原住民語言發展法，原民會明定各個族都要推動一個叫「語言推動組織」，我們簡稱語推。我們的學會剛好是太魯閣推薦我們學會作為語言推動組織，所以我本身也是語言推動組織的計畫主持人。現在目前十六族的語推組織都有。我們太魯閣的推動組織只是其中一個，那我們目前也是依照他們一些相關的指標項目來推動，等等有一些問題提到我

會再補充。這是我的個人背景。現在除了學會也還要忙語推，同時也要審查教案還有學校的論文，也確實比較累，所以看看怎麼做出更好的時間分配啦。

Section 2 (Policies implemented by the government)

Section 3 (Cooperation between government and civil society)

Section 4 (Self-identity agree)

Q：請描述您所知道政府實施的原住民語言政策。(一到三項即可)

Q：請描述您對這些政策的看法或建議。

A：其實從 1945 年國民政府來台灣，這是一個時間點，當然之前在日治時代、荷蘭那些，我們就先不談。如果要談原住民語言的這個議題，應該要從整個原住民族教育的脈絡來看，會比較清楚，因為語言教學算是教育的一環，包括文化的教育、語言的教育，他們本來就是同一個脈絡，所以在我的碩士論文裡面，我就有刻意劃分台灣從 1945 年開始，大概有幾個分類，像張佳琳教授她的分類，還有教育部在召開全國原住民族教育會議的時候，教育部也有提出把 1945 到 1988 以後有一個分類。我個人是比較欣賞 2011 年，有一個現在是國教育院周惠民教授還有國立東華大學的施正鋒教授，他們個人分類的方式我個人是覺得還滿符合主題性的，就是以站在原住民的主題性來看整個原住民教育的趨勢。那基本上這邊分類是說從 1945 年到 1987 年是所謂的「同化融合時期」，那同化融合時期裡面大概有一些重要的政策，可是呢這個同化融合時期基本上還是以同化為導向，各項的教育政策、教科書，還是把原住民的文化做一個比較粗淺的說明，比較沒有那麼在地性和主題性，還是以大中華文化、漢人文化的角度來看原住民。基本上在 1945 年到 1987 年政府雖然說他很重視原住民，包括我們的公費生制度，可是基本上政府還是希望，政府培養的公費生回到自己的家鄉學校教的時候，不要忘記是要用國語來教的。公費生還是要上所謂的中華文化的整個思想脈絡來教育部落的孩子。坦白講從那個時代開始，像我們這樣的老師，有些老師我覺得如果沒有很提醒自己，因為我們算是在那個時代的共犯。如果我們覺得在那個時代是國民政府壓迫原住民的語言文化，實際上像我們這一批（公費生）算是裡面的共犯結構。也因為是這樣，所以我個人相信像我這樣大部分的老師，如果有這種民族意識的，一定會回過頭來反省我們以前確實是被灌輸、教育那個時代的教育和想法。所以我們用既有的這種意識形態或是既有的同化教育的觀念來教孩子。基本上我們（是公費生的老師）要懂的怎麼去反省。所以這是為什麼我們會覺得很...我從事族語，我算是萬榮鄉第一個推族語的人，是在 1992 年，民國 81 年那時候還沒有所謂的教材，那時候是我在萬榮國小（當老師）。我是在教會的背景長大，我是長老教會的。我從小一直到我爸爸媽媽到教會，我們都是說族語的。我們從來不會覺得講族語是一件很可恥的事情，可是近到學校就不行，那是一個政策使然。所以從我當老師的時候我就覺得我們不應該這樣，我當老師就必須要跳脫出來。所以從 1992

年那時候我退伍（民國 80 年 8 月）就回來萬榮國小當老師，從那之後我就立志要教族語，所以那時候我是萬榮鄉第一個教族語的老師。而且我那時候教族語的時候，書寫符號還沒有很完整。所謂的書寫符號是羅馬字，而我們是兩個都教，另一個叫做「注音符號第二式」。以前我是兩個都教的，那個時候我很感謝以前我在國中師專，我覺得教會的氛圍跟養成我學到了很多。為什麼我的族語會滿好的？跟你舅舅那個年代比起來，我算是還滿會講的。那是因為我在教會背景長大，再來就是我自己很用心去學，跟幾個老牧師還有幾個校長一起學，才會這樣。從 1991 年開始在萬榮國小開始教族語。我很感謝那時候的鄉公所看到，怎麼只有我們在推（推動教族語）？後來那時候的鄉長，他去透過鄉鎮預算就每個學校都教，所以我算是起頭，那這是一個。第二個，我覺得我們的原住民不是只 Truku 在教族語，語言要伴隨著文化，語言和文化是一體的。你光有語言沒有文化的話那是空的，你光有文化...像現在很多學校都要我推民族教育啊！可是你都是用華語來教民族教育，如果你用這種沒有語言的文化教育的話也是一個浮萍，也是空的。所以這兩者一定要合在一起，你教文化一定要用自己的語言來教，你教語言一定要伴隨著文化的內容、內涵來教，來襯托出語言的這種內涵。所以那個時候我就開始教合唱團，我當老師，那時候在萬榮國小帶合唱。從那個時候開始，我們第一年我記得是（民國）80 年就是 1992 年開始，從一開始我就帶合唱團參加一般的音樂比賽，以前都是用什麼華語的歌曲像是「農家好」、「快樂的向前走」啊這樣唱，可是那一年我是用自己的歌來唱，我自己編了一個曲子，就是我們 Truku 的曲，就拿到了我們中區第一名，我們花蓮有分北區中區南區，優等的學校還要再到北區去第一次，優等的第一名才可以代表全國參加比賽。那次是很好玩，我們居然拿到花蓮縣的優等第一名。可能有很多的評審他們覺得怎麼會有人唱這種而且我們是無伴奏的（Acapella）。這個時候開始你可以知道一件事情就是我剛剛講的，我從第一個先做主題教學，我甚至以前都沒有資源，都我自己教的，從注音符號第二式到簡單的書寫符號。到 2005 年教育部才有發佈標準的書寫符號。可是我從 1992 年就開始，那時候教材是我都是用聖經，其實以前的孩子很會說，不像現在的孩子因為環境的影響，可是他們就不會寫，邊說邊寫他們才會學得快，然後我的歌我都是教族語的歌，自然他們就學得快。因為我的學校開始做之後第 2 年就好多學校開始做。第二個就是我剛剛不是在講合唱團，一樣在 1992 年在全國又拿優等，花蓮縣第一個原住民拿優等，第二年好多學校都唱他們自己的歌，很多族群意識到原來我們原住民的歌還可以拿去唱。其實我覺得那個是一個認知的差距，你看我們原住民以前對自己多沒有信心。所以從這邊可以看，如果我那一年沒有很深刻的反省我們原住民到底少了什麼，如果沒有好好去反省個人以前在當老師，原來我們是以前

所受的教教育是過敏偏狹，而有沒有站在原住民族體系，以前叫山地山胞，如果以前我沒有經過這樣的一個反思的思考，如果我沒有極力爭取帶合唱團，爭取教族語，如果我沒有那個堅持，我不知道什麼時候才會有這樣開始。我不是要標榜做這些事是從我開始，我只是認為做為一個知識份子，你既然站在這個位置，你就應該懂的去做一些更好的翻轉。那個翻轉我不破壞整個教育的體系，可是我是站在我自己可以努力的那一部分。我從我的班級來帶，從我的學校來帶，所以一直到現在我當校長也是一樣，我當主任也是一樣，我當主任都是非 Truku 的，我當主任第一年是在瑞北國小，瑞北國小是有阿美族和布農族，布農族居多。我那時候還是教布農族的合唱，我到太巴塢國小教阿美族的，人家都以為阿美族的只會唱那魯灣，沒有合唱，可是我到那邊我就把合唱的一些技巧跟想法，我試圖去做一個編曲，讓阿美族音樂也可以唱。所以我在太巴塢國小也組成合唱團，也參加比賽，所以從那時候開始我帶的地方原住民就開始做活絡了，而且我覺得也影響了好多好多的學弟、學長姊、學音樂的，可以有更多方面的發展。可以孩子透過歌謠，透過語言陪養更多的自信心。基本上這是一個脈絡，我從這邊看到我們的就是你剛剛講的語言，這是大概是「同化時期」，我的了解大概在 1945 年開始有幾個政策我覺得可以跟你來分享一下。第一個就是「新課程標準」，這個部分是應該是到民國 85 年(1996 年)，因為那個時候還沒有所謂的語言教學，那個時候更早叫做「鄉土文化」，不管你是漢人，不管你是原住民，你都要學自己的文化，可是那都聚焦在文化沒有聚焦在語言。就像我講的一樣如果教文化不用自己的語言，那是空的。以前是比較有政治性的，為教而教的感覺，為了課程設計，而且這些課程設計不是放在一般的課程。現在是 12 年國教，更早叫九年一貫，九年一貫更早叫 97，97 更早叫 64，就民國 64 年訂的課程標準。後來在 85 一個新的課程變化，把鄉土文化列為課程，可是這個課程是選修的課程，在以前禮拜六要上課，他就用禮拜六來上鄉土文化課程。那之後我覺得我也很有幸，我也有去參與編輯，那時候還是有台灣省政府教育廳，我們那時候在編所謂的「鄉土教學活動課」，這是 82 課綱。64 課綱一直到 82 的時候呢，又有一些變化，就是新增的鄉土教學活動課，實施鄉土或民族文化的課程，從政府的角度來看是一個新的課程，但是是不要忘記政府還是把鄉土教學活動課有些邊緣化。政府叫一些人去編輯課程，那個時候我也是編輯委員，那時候還沒有太魯閣族，我們還是叫泰雅族。我是花蓮第一個也是唯一一個代表，我也很高興那個時候還學習了編教材的一些原理原則。那段時間我就開始把那個泰雅族的文化的一些課程的概念整理出來，比如說諺語、技能、知識性的，還有一些傳說，我們就稍微做一些整理，編了一節第一節課到第六節，最後真正實施效果有限，因為鄉土教學活動課不是一個固定課程。它不是強迫你要上的課程，你可以上

這個課，有教材給你，可是有些學校根本就沒有時間上，我連上國語數學都來不及了，我為什麼要上這個？也就是說以前的鄉土課程是一種可有可無的課程，我們稱為邊際化的課程。再來是九年一貫的時候，就比較好一點是因為它把語言規劃成一個不固定的一個必修課程在國小，在國高中都沒有。到現在為止已經教了大概 17 年，我本身也當過本土語言輔導的領招，我們稱為本土語言輔導小組，就輔導一些老師的教學。在教材上我也是編輯委員，一到九階我都編。現在呢，我也是太魯閣族語教材編輯，我邊一到九階，再來要編九到十二階，可是我們有時候常常會檢討，一到九階我們學了 17 年，到底孩子學到了多少？

其實我們要深刻反省，我覺得還不錯就是說沒有退步，也有進步但是沒有理想中的效果。其實主要原因是第一個課堂數不夠，節數才一週一節課。第二個，老師的教學語言的問題，老師用華語來教族語。應該要用族語教，情境化的學習。是因為族語的老師不夠嗎？這也是我們要檢討的，所以我們也加強了族語老師的訓練，再來不是還有原住民族語的認證嗎？一定要達到中高級或高級你才可以當老師，可是這些人考上這些認證的要來教學也發生一些問題，因為他們不是學教育的，會講的不一定會教，所以不管是在班級的管理或者學生的對談，那個就產生一些問題，再來是你這個教材怎麼教？這些老師在處理教案的設計程序的時候出現問題，他不知道要怎麼教。老師會唸，可是要怎麼教學生和老師一樣會唸，要怎麼融會貫通劇情的變化，要怎麼教和老人家對話，出現了很大的問題。有沒有成功？我是覺得至少沒有倒退，我們的孩子還是會說。現在我們比較努力的方向是第一個增強老師在這一方的專業知能，除了他有所謂的語言專業知識，老師會語彙會說，這是一個基本的要求。第二個，我們怎麼樣增加教學專業的知識？對於這個課課本的這個學科知識要有很清楚的認知，這是一個內容知識的能力。第三個是教學專業能力，所以有很多的能力的結合。第四個是時數可不可以增加？時數能不能從一節課變成兩節課？這目前還沒有辦法克服；再來是只有國小有固定課程，國中目前我們稱為彈性課程，要不要教還是個問題，好在 108 課綱裡面特別有講你至少要有 6 學分的課程，可是得於寒暑假實施，也就是說學校要安排，但不強迫學生一定要來，可是如果你是在上課時間上的話，學生一定會上課嘛！但如果是用在寒暑假，這確實也是一個很大的問題。高中也是，高中變成一個校訂課程，他不一定要排，類似這樣的這樣的問題。好在就是「國家語言發展法」通過，通過之後呢他就明定從 110 學年度開始也是從 111 年開始，國中高中都變成固定課程，可是還是一節課，所以這個部分我就想說通過那一節課我們最主要是教語彙，怎麼運用語彙，怎麼對話？第二個，如果有些文化性的課程，我們是不是用自己的族語來教文化。第三條路，如果你本身是原住民老師，能不能

上國語課、數學課或是藝術課用一點 Truku 的話把它融合進來？我們是希望語言的教學情境是非常有彈性的，因為我們常講語言情境的應用很重要，如果我們在學校 8 個小時，我只利用那一節課來講族語，一個禮拜只上一節族語課的時候，我覺得那個效果不大。在家裡基本上爸爸媽媽的族語意識很重要，父母有沒有那個講族語的意識？現在幾乎都沒有，所以這個也是我們要去好好去做一些反省，我們怎麼樣鼓勵老人家有用族語來跟孩子對話的意識。學校的部分，我們是不是能夠開放場域，開放更多的時間讓孩子說族語，像我自己在學校，如果一下課看到孩子我都會盡量用族語跟他們講，比如說「你吃飽了沒有？」「衣服怎麼這樣穿？」「不要講話！」基本上用很簡單的字彙來跟孩子講，有時候像我們的孩子有時候聽不懂我在講什麼，我就會一直在跟他講這個是什麼，請他跟我唸，唸完後下一節課我在找他，問學生我剛剛講什麼？雖然是有一點壓力，可是我不會因為這樣而處罰他。如果可以的話我還可以幫他記點，有一些獎勵制度，學生就會很高興，這個也可以做為一種短期的行銷策略。我們也一直鼓勵原住民老師，可以的話盡量用族語和孩子說話，我想這是一個語言的這種場域，怎麼讓它更有空間去使用？語言的這個部分，我大概分三個部分，我稱為鐵三角。第一個稱為「語言的意識」，是不是每一個家長都有這樣的意識，覺得語言很重要？語言不僅是可以幫助他升學，也可以幫助他在認識多元文化上更多的利器。透過語言能夠增加他的自信心 透過語言就不會那麼害怕，變成一種優勢。我們的學生也好，我們的一般的社會的人覺得學族語是非常重要的，甚至我可以讓漢人也學習族語那叫族語意識，族語意識是最根本但也是最難的，當然你可以透過一些政策，像現在一定要考上族語初、中級才有加分，這是一個政策的鼓勵，當然一定會讓我們原住民族產生一種對原住民語言的重視，但同樣也產生一些負面的效應就是漢人怎麼看？比如說漢人想說原住民族人只要會講族語就可以加分，就會有很多很多的爭議出來。當然這個政策的推動有他一定的效應，但是當我們從不一樣的角度來看，這也是一種負面的爭議，當我們有我們的論述說為什麼要加分，這個論述是目前現在還可以被大部分的漢人朋友，大概百分之六七的漢人朋友可以理解。這是第一個語言意識，是我們每一個原住民的家庭、部落，每個人都能夠有這樣的意識的時候，推動起來就非常好，這我稱為最頂端，最重要但也是最麻煩的事。鐵三角第二個就是「語言能力」，語言能力目前包括怎麼去應用它？語彙，然後我們有一些這個語料，會不會說？簡單來講，語言能力就是聽說讀寫，甚至可以用來寫作，那我們現在就有一些寫作，就是「聽說讀寫作」。這五個我們稱為語言能力非常重要，你會聽、說、讀、寫而且你會創作，你可以寫一些文章，用族語寫文章，這個就很好了嘛！當然這是要慢慢來，像我們現在國小是希望會聽、說，到了高年級可以稍微寫一下。作文的部分大概

要高中以上，甚至老師，我們現在族語老師不見得會寫文章，老師聽、說、讀都很會，但要寫出一篇文章很困難、不容易，不過這是一定要的。這是有一個階段的，聽、說、讀、寫作，這是我所謂的語言的能力。第三個我稱為「語言的場域」，語言的利用是什麼時候去利用它？還是只有在考試的時候會講？一般生活對話有沒有用？也就是說我們能不能開放更多的時間，更多的空間，更多的場域讓他好好利用語言的能力來使用它。這是我成為鐵三角。其實我們現在語推組織也在做這些事，而且我把它變成雙向細目，雙向細目分析之後按照年度，去年我們做的就是語言能力的部分做多少？當然你做得多少就要有一些量測，就要有些評鑑、指標多少，比如我這次辦了幾場跟教師有關的這個研習？我辦了幾場語推人員在搜集語料的工作？這些計畫都要訂。基本上要把我剛剛講的那三塊，第一個「語言意識」，我們今年可以做到多少？我們這次語言意識就是到部落去面對面，開個公聽會、座談會。我們跟家長講這個重要性，我們可以怎麼做？我們這邊有什麼誘因可以讓你做？這叫語言意識，就是做個溝通。第二個「語言能力」，我們到部落去檢視，我們以教會為例，大部分 Truku 的地方，基本上長老教會的聽說讀寫做得非常好，能力是還 ok 的，相較於天主教會。天主教會會聽說，但寫就不大會，因為他們沒有被教育過書寫符號的練習，而且他們沒有寫的習慣，再來就是天主教會沒有辦這個研習，所以我們語推組織，我們學會就要辦理這樣的的角色，或是我們長老教會這邊，有關經費的部分我來提供，是不是就可以請長老教會的長老來開課，讓部落想學的人就來學。最後在「場域」，我們辦一些活動。當然這個是大的能力，底下還可以分對象，比如說兒童，我們可以辦個族語夏令營。在今年我有辦那個成年人 20 歲以上的拼音拼字比賽，可是我們今年有開會，只要是 20 歲以上的人都可以參加，那 20 歲跟 60 歲誰比較厲害？長輩比較會講，但年輕人他看得懂拼音，一下就唸出來了，可是說的能力老人家比年輕人好，得名的時候 20 歲的拿第一名，可是 60 歲比較會講話。這是在紙筆測驗的一個疏漏，可是我們現在沒有辦法考的跟國家考試院一樣，先寫這個 30% 然後還有這個口說的，第三個即席演講，如果你這樣搞的時候，沒有人會去參加。所以我們現在就是先做紙筆的品質，我把它分成三級，第一級是 20 歲到 39 歲，第二級是 40 歲到 59 歲，第三級是 60 歲以上，因為我們有題庫就可以亂數抽題，那我中文翻族語的幾題，族語翻中文的幾題，還有幾題填充題，我就可以弄出來。實際上我是希望我們的各部落的 20 歲以上的成年人能夠重視拼字、書寫符號這塊。那還不錯！明年是不是可以再做一些演說的，60 歲以上的長輩很會講，那 20 歲到 30 幾歲的能不能簡單的說故事？一樣分級分年齡層，這樣才有鑑別度，基本上我們是一直朝向這個方向來努力。回歸就說政策的重要，可是政策這個部分也關係到國家重視族語的程度。我們剛講

的第一個 1996 年的鄉土教學的活動，基本上都教文化，族語沒有放進來。到了九年一貫的課程有族語沒有錯，但是也發生課時數不夠，我們在編教材的時候忽略到文化的元素，為說而說，為聽而聽，產生了這樣的效果。第二個是老師的教學能力。108 課綱正式把語言拉進來，而且他不叫語言了，它叫語文，因為它希望把語言和文化互相結合，這件事我覺得很肯定！我覺得非常好！當然課程也有分「學習表現」也就是所謂的能力，比如學生會說一段話，自我介紹，會說故事，這個是叫學習表現。「學習內容」是把文化的區分成幾個面向，比如我在上夏天，夏天的族語是 Rbagan，如果我們把夏天加上一些我們的文化，夏天我們在做什麼？收割嘛！跟在地的文化做結合。阿美族如果講夏天，他會講豐年祭，就跟祭儀文化相結合，在我們學一些語言的時候，同時我們把文化的脈絡放進來，所以我們希望就是語言的學習是跟著在地情境化學習，這樣才有用。以前只會唸可是跟文化的連結還不夠緊密，我們希望語言跟文化的緊密性會更高，所以這是課程的設計的部分。第二個，當然課程我們也可以做一些轉化，像我剛剛講夏天、講暑假、放假，如果老師看到這個文章他也可以轉化成不一樣，講到夏天這個時候他也可以講到冬天，我們稱為課程的轉化。所以當個族語的老師不大容易啊，我常說老師必須要有 3 個底蘊，第一個是「語言能力的底蘊」第二個是「文化底蘊」，第三個「轉化」文化回應的底蘊，你必須要具備，其實這個三個底蘊我覺得不只是通用我們族語老師，一般老師也通用。比如說我們在教一些術語的時候，可能 Truku 部落看不到那些東西，像以前提到「帆船」，小朋友都聽不懂，因為沒看過，老師只是介紹帆船是靠風，然後呢？老師怎麼介紹給 Truku 的孩子？老師要知道帆船是在講什麼、問什麼問題、核心概念是什麼。帆船的核心概念是在講風力，那部落裡面有很多東西都靠風力，比如樹嘛，為什麼會動？因為有風，風的吹力嘛。這個就是一個文化的回應，最大的目的就是要跟學生的背景跟經驗相結合。你講捷運，那我們就回頭來看他要講的核心概念是什麼？交通工具。我們部落就可以說捷運很像我們的摩托車，捷運就很像我們的巴士，不過他有什麼樣的差別，老師要講也稍微講一下，這就是所謂的核心概念。我講三個文化底蘊，語言的底蘊就是族語的能力，不一樣的程度要用不一樣的方式，像我聽到老師在講：「各位同學昨天下午預約莫 3 點半」，有些小朋友可能聽不懂「約莫」，老師就可以跟小朋友說是「大約」嘛！你到都市講，都市的孩子可能懂約莫這個詞，可是你到部落來，部落的孩子怎麼可能懂約莫嘛。你的語言的這種能力要跟在地性相結合，所以這就是沒有任何的衝突的，我講的這三個底蘊，基本上是跟一般的學科是差不多，不過在族語的利用上是很重要的，你一定要講 像我們 Truku 的話也有分那種比較文言文的，有的比較簡單的。第三個有外來語，這三個老師怎麼去應用它？這三個語言的應用就不能夠太拘

泥，像我像我在當語推人員，我現在在審核學習詞表，我們常常會碰到一些老一輩的人，甚至是一些老牧師，他真的很有 Truku 語言的概念，可是我們一直跟他講我們要教孩子，我們是不是可以用比較淺顯的話來教？甚至不可以用外來語？所謂的外來語，我們很多人用日語，燈我們稱為 dinki，可是燈在我們的語言稱為什麼呢？samaw，samaw 是以前的煤油，以前在山上沒有電，所以我們 samaw，現在被引伸為電燈，轉為電燈的說法。我們在 1945 年以前，被日本統治 50 年，我們的語言已經跟日語混在一起，語言本來就是這樣，跟著時代的變遷不斷的去做一些擴充，語言不是消失而是擴充，像電燈跟煤油的功能一樣，所以他們就把煤油的族語也轉變為電燈的意思，可是有很多人都習慣在講日本話，在考試得時候，有人回答 dinki（日本話）答案不對，samaw（煤油的族語）就答對，結果造成混淆，有些人就覺得 dinki 在我們以前老人家就是這樣講啊，samaw 只有學族語的人才會啊！我們沒有學族語的就不會啊！就變成這種階級的分法，很像現在的天主教會常常會跟長老教會或是學族語的人會有一些不一樣的衝突。這個不是語言推動非常好的途徑，語言推動要融合，所以我們現在語推組織已經有一些想法，一個是並列，我問你燈是什麼？你回答 dinki 可以，samaw 也可以，不過牽涉到你怎麼寫？我們兩個並列的詞語都會教，像「花蓮」以前我們的老人家講花蓮就是 Skangki，Skangki 是以前在花蓮市有一個新港街，以前是我們以物易物非常重要的地方，那個是非常熱鬧的地方，我們原住民的從山上來，都會來這邊跟人家交換，拿山豬跟漢人換鹽巴、家裡的必需品，換好了就回山上去，像這條街叫 Skangki，所以他們就把花蓮那一代叫做 Skangki，可是到民國 100 年左右，像我們萬榮，在民國七年就有人在這邊了，從太魯閣來的，最早是你的外曾祖父啊，就是你媽媽的爸爸，再來民國十二年、民國二十年，他是有不同的那個時間點，來的時候就脫離了太魯閣國家公園那裡，來這邊就講日語，花蓮的日語叫 Kalingo，可是在秀林那邊的人還是叫 Skangki，編教材是秀林那邊的人在編輯，他們說花蓮叫 Skangki，那這邊的老人家就很反彈，又會產生語言的衝突，我的工作就是並列。我們現在做的語料語彙的搜集都很 ok，不過我們希望採並列的方式，用並列的方式的話可以讓我們語言更擴充。我們之前有新創詞，那個學會還沒成立的時候用族語講「高鐵」兩個字要講大概快十秒，我們用族語講「火車」，是「會冒煙的箱子」，那講高鐵就要講「會冒煙的箱子而且很快的」，這是原來他們的創始詞，後來因為牽涉到教孩子，我們沒有辦法教孩子這麼長的原始詞，孩子會不想學，而且語言一定會不斷的產出，像是奈米以前哪有奈米這個詞，還有新型冠狀病毒，當然我們也有一些字啦，新型冠狀病毒我們就叫瘟疫，只要是造成傳播性的疾病我們都稱為瘟疫。我們有個叫做「華裔借語直譯」，但華語直譯我們有個規定第一個字一定要大寫然後一個連結線接第

二個字，比如說奈米就寫成 Nay-mi，高鐵 Kaw-ti，當你書寫這樣的時候就知道是華裔直譯的，現在我們的書寫符號就是我們有一個規範。日本話的我們就沒有這樣的規範，因為日本話已經內化成 Truku 的常用語言，如果當你看到有大寫和連結線，你就知道這是華裔直譯。這個在書寫符號的時候一定要談到，因為要讓族語文字化，為什麼作文很重要？作文一定要有一些依據，不能說我寫我的你寫你的，還是有一些規範，比如說句點之後要怎麼去寫？字首前面一定要大寫。上次學校畢業典禮，我就是用全族語講，我唸一段族語再請五年級的學生幫我唸華語，雖然你可能會聽不懂我在講什麼，但是會有翻譯。這不是說我講好跟不好，我只是想告訴他們原住民就應該是這樣子，這是一個族語意識，我不會讓你們聽不懂，因為我有翻譯搭配 ppt。現在滿多的希望是我們能夠自發性的來去做，當然政府的政策很重要，政府的經費，政府現在根據原住民族語發展法包含文化部也有相關的經費，像我們八月份就要辦一個語言平權的研討會，其實我們在講兩個重點，第一個語言怎麼樣達到平權？其實我剛講的就是達到平權，我講我的，他翻譯，讓你都聽得懂，這是平權，因為我們原住民語言也是國家語言，比如我在立法院，我也可以用我的話來諮詢，但是我會當你聽懂就會有一個 PPT，對方用台語回答，若對方怕我聽不懂也要有預備，這就是平權，你要尊重我的語言，但是我也尊重你聽不懂的時候我要有一些讓你聽得懂的做法，平權應該是我尊重你，我也會讓你我知道我在講什麼，那如果你用台語、客家話回答也請你尊重我這種聽不懂的人，所以我們就會有口譯的 mic，那個花不少錢光花那個設備，我們會直接口譯來參加的人都會有耳 mic，有三個選項英文、中文、太魯閣族語，我們這次請鄒族阿里山的，可是來我們這邊我們聽不懂，所以我們就會提供耳 mic 有華語有太魯閣語的，讓大家知道語言平權象徵的意義。第二個我們講族語的文字化，我們學會爭取到文化部的學經費，希望透過不同族群的一些作家，請教他怎麼用族語寫文章，他可以提出寫文章必須要有什麼樣的思考脈絡才能夠寫出好的族語文章。基本上我們希望朝著這樣的方向，語言平權象徵的意義。第二個我們也希望透過一些現有的做作家來分享他們的作品，他怎麼用族語文字提升到比較有學術性的。當然這個就三個你要克服的，族語能力，族語意識，語言場域。我們在做一些翻譯的時候也會碰到一個問題就是領域會造成翻譯的不同，比如國有財產局它是管理國家現有的土地，可是翻譯者他不知道這個詞，他是按照那個字翻譯，結果他翻譯成管錢的，但是錢是財務部管的，財產局是管土地的，他是依照字來翻沒有翻到他的功能，所以我們在翻譯的過程當中就會發生這個問題，第一個是要按照那個字面翻還是要看它的功能在哪，如果把國有財產局翻成管錢的，那我們原住民有錢的問題是不是就會跑去找國有財產局的？就會發生找錯部門的問題。我們有時候在翻譯的過程都有一些非

常激烈的討論，就是你要回歸那個領域，它的目的是在講什麼，我們有時候翻譯一些字的時候也會發生這樣的問題，比如毛毛雨，如果按照字面翻的話是代表那個雨有毛，那我們的毛毛雨是指下小雨的意思，要知道那個背後的內涵。我們常講在寫作思考的時候一定要用原住民的文字來思考，而不要看華語思考，可是現在很多的做作家先寫好華語再翻族語就怪怪的。我們在翻譯和族語的應用就必須要有更多的思考，所以我為什麼要鼓勵孩子學族語，你學華語已經很厲害了，可是你能夠把族語寫成華語這樣很文言的很不容易，如果你沒有充足的華語知識，就不會把族語翻的很漂亮。語言是增加一種知識，語言的學習是增加一種優勢跟能力的，我們是一步步來做，我們先處理比較基礎的問題再來做更多的支持和鼓勵，但是我也希望不要過於強求，可能會造成反效果。基本上我還是覺得語言有他的優勢，不過我們現在很多人都對我們 Truku 族語的發展有疑慮，有疑慮是很正常的，那我也是屬於很樂觀的，像我剛剛講九年一貫教族語，正式的學校教族語到現在 17 年有沒有失敗？人家講說失敗，我覺得沒有失敗，至少我們進步的很緩慢，所以我們要把進步很緩慢的原因找出來。我們對到第一個毛利語 然後最近聖經的希伯來語，他們復振得那麼成功基本上就是圍繞在那三個點。第一個有沒有能力？如何補足聽說讀寫作文的能力？怎麼去補充老師的能力？怎麼去補足父母可以教的能力？第二個意識，我們的部落、家長、政府有沒有意識？再來就是能不能擴大場域？我們講有什麼補助、獎勵，類似這樣的一個三角很重要，這個我覺得缺一不可，當然我們可以有一些階段性的，急不得但是一定要做。

Q：那像現在學校規定一週至少一節課要學自己的母語，那在一間學校的原住民學生要選哪一族的族語？

A：現在依照學生的意願，只要一間學校有一個學生選該族族語，學校就有義務要安排老師去教。

Q：這樣教學的老師夠嗎？

A：目前確實有一些困難，像上次我們在學校，他是一個來工作的排灣族，他挑排灣族，在我們部落都是太魯閣族的，沒有人教嘛。我們會提供兩種選擇，第一種是「耆老條款」，是指學生家中的長輩阿公阿嬤會說，我們就請他的阿公阿嬤來教，那鐘點費我們還是要給阿公阿嬤，就變成家人變成老師，師徒制的概念。第二種就是能不能請他挑別的語言？如果家長很堅持我們也還是要想辦法，我們也想有沒有辦法請台東的來教，但根本就不可能嘛，那個交通費教育部是頂多給你 8000，那個交通費也是很麻煩的問題。我們就會問學生能不能有第二順位？後來那位學生認為他的太魯閣族的地方，他就改成學太魯閣族語，學校是依法尊重學生的意願。

Q：現在像英文跟中文是屬於強勢語言，在部落可能還可以回家跟老人家一起講族語，可是像我，我在都市的話就真的比較沒有那個環境。那您怎麼鼓勵這些都市原住民族人去主動學習族語？

A：我的想法就是會鼓勵像你們在都市的，如果可以的話能不能有一個所謂的語言巢。因為這個部分像是紐西蘭，還有教育上很有名的芬蘭，芬蘭這十年的教育發展是有目共睹，他們閱讀推的很好，他們是很重視母語的。英文他們還是擺在很後面的，國小一二年級一定是先講母語，然後他們下午3點以後就開始自由活動參加社團，幾乎很少去補習班，跟我們這邊就很不一樣。我的想法先撇開補習班、安親班、才藝班證，我是比較鼓勵有一個語言巢，比如說開放每天下午三點到四點，一個小時用語言巢的方式，再來就是多辦一些相關的活動，像台南就有辦「小原子夏令營」，可是做這些活動一樣我希望把語言擺在一個很重要的教學元素。原住民實驗教育我們都已經打破課程的模式，他們放很多的文化性的課程，但我們發現文化性的課程還是有很多的限制，沒辦法用全族語講。現在的實驗教育還是關注在語言，這是一般學校做不到的事情，一般的學校族語推動只有一節課，可是既然已經變成原住民的實驗學校，語言這一塊是非常看重的，而且可不可以把族語變成我們的教學語言。第二個是有些都市學校的原住民的學生比較多一點點的時候，能不能用一個專班，設立成實驗班級，因為現在原教法修正通過，可以用一個班別來做，那不見得是同一族的，只要是原住民的學生能不能變成一個班級特別加一些多元文化，比如說四個族我們也同時教四個族的語言文化，但這種方式目前沒看到，法規是有但還是回歸到教學設計，校長怎麼去看待這事？要決定這樣的課程的翻轉或者是變動老師很重要，現在實驗學校推動雖然校長可能是原住民，可是老師不見得是原住民，那即便是原住民他能不能接受這樣的改變也是一個問題，總歸老師的意識很重要。

Date: 2020/08/24

Time: 14:00-15:30

Interviewee C: Teacher of Truku indigenous language Teacher C

Place: Danfeng Elementary school in New Taipei city

Section 1 (Background)

Q：您的居著地區？

A：從小住在花蓮縣萬榮鄉見晴村，高中讀花蓮農校，18歲出社會到台北工作。18歲以前的語言用全族語，沒有國語，雖然以前學校是規定請說國語，如果沒有說國語的話就要被罰抄、罰站，但為了讓媽媽聽得懂我在講什麼所以我還是用全族語在家溝通，我爸爸還願意學國語是因為他被選為鄉民代表，他必須用國語開會，我媽媽是不願意學國語，所以我媽媽都會覺得我們用國語講話是在嫌棄她沒有讀過書，所以和我媽媽講話絕對不能用國語，我們鄉下的長輩也很多他們也都聽不懂國語。

Q：您的年齡？

A：民國 57 年次，今年 53 歲。

Q：您的教育程度？

A：目前是碩士在學生。

Section 2 (Policies implemented by the government)

Q：請描述您所知道政府實施的原住民語言政策。（一到三項即可）

Q：請描述您對這些政策的看法或建議。

A：我覺得政府一直都有在做這件事情，是看得到的。包含語言推動組織，我是從民國 98 年開始族語教學，我進來的時候他們已經實施五年族語教學。是他們實施第六年的時候我才進來的，當時當族語老師主要不是想推廣自己的族語，而是想肯定自己的族語能力好不好。那時候我已經在做幼兒園老師了，從民國 86 年開始到民國 98 年。那個時候我不知道族語已經在推廣，可能消息並沒有到那邊，那時候我住三峽，後來我民國 91 年搬過來樹林的時候，有一次是在原民中心比賽歌唱，那時候算是啟蒙我的老師問我：「你是阿美族嗎？你怎麼會唱我們太魯閣的歌？」那時候大部分都是阿美族的在報名歌唱，我又都跟阿美族的婦女混在一起，那時候我是唯一一個穿太魯閣衣服上去的，啟蒙我的老師就說我太魯閣族語講的很標準。我就跟他說我就是 Truku(太魯閣)的啊！他就說我們現在（民國 91 年左右）很缺太魯閣族語老師，我就在想為了要肯定我的族語能力，因為我從 18 歲就離開部落工作，很多的族語我可能流失了，我聽到的都是阿美族語言、閩南語、客家語，在大環境有一段時間我幾乎不講太魯閣族語了。老師就問我要不要去考族語認證？然後我聽到的第一個是語言巢，我就去參加他的語言巢，那時候我也不是很認真啦因為我還有工作，所以我都是利用禮拜天下午，然後我只去了兩次，後來要考試了我就跟老師要了一些資料，後來我就去考就真的一次考上了。從那時候我就

有信心，表示我的族語能力還在，那時候我就開始試試看，去國小，那時候有個聯合徵選，那時候我選擇三鶯區跟新莊區，那時候我只有教兩間學校。民國 98 年我第一個碰到的學生不是太魯閣族的學生，是賽得克族的學生，後來我要發課本給他早期是用九階教材，學生的爸爸看了以後說這不是我們的語言，我就向學校反應說學生的爸爸說這個不是他的語言，是不是弄錯了？要不要退掉？學校就說沒關係那個字是一樣的，你就教。我想說字哪裡有一樣？語調也不太一樣啊。好在那時候就已經有族語 e 樂園，早期還不是那麼完整，甚至裡面很多都是錯誤的，但我從中就可以學賽德克族語的語音，我就在想怎麼越來越熟悉？結果是我外婆的語言！我那時候就奮發向上，我不僅要學自己的族語我還要學我外婆的族語。從那個孩子身上我教了很多，雖然賽得克族語不是我最熟悉的語言。民國 99 年我就擴大變成開始跑 12 所學校，雖然 12 所學校不過下午是沒有學生的，我就還是回幼兒園去上班，很辛苦，但是樂在其中，幼兒園的工作我是做得很上手的，但族語這邊我已經放不掉了，我選擇放棄我十幾年幼兒園的工作，我就選擇做太魯閣族語老師。有點感動就是說，新北市這裡目前只有五個老師，這麼多的學生和學校都沒人教的時候，那誰要教？那幼兒園這邊有很多新進的年輕人，可以在幼兒園教，我就專職太魯閣族語老師。到了第三年（民國 100 年）我的學生各個開花結果，都參加朗讀比賽，最感動的還是一個從銅門來的學生，他三年級去比朗讀比賽得全國第一名，那時候我內心有更強大的力量我一定要把我的語言推出去，每一次都可以從學生開花結果中得到成就感。民國 103 年和民國 104 年我去參加族語演說比賽，我那兩年連續的第一名，更加強了我對族語的教學，不是只有我可以得名，而是我的孩子們（學生）都可以得名，當他們得名有嚐到一些成就感的時候，他們也離不開族語。政府一直都有在做，在北市大那裡族語 e 樂園開始建了很多檔案出來，很多的語音設備、族語線上還有辭典，這都是政府在為我們做的事情，我現在做專職老師第四年了。尤其是 12 年課綱進來，民國 110 年國中小學全面性的強迫要學習母語。像在 2017 年底也把我們原住民族語變成國家語言，這一路走過來不只是我們的族人，各個族群的人都在推廣自己的語言，我看到的是政府也在積極地推行，我覺得我們的語言一定有開花結果的一天，也很感謝政府的幫助。當然也是我們自己的族人爭取到，最重要的是蔡英文總統她願意推廣我們的語言，因為據我所知以前國民黨他們盡量希望統一一個語言，他們比較好治理。啊沒辦法，這樣我們的族語變成沒有了，我們現在就面臨一個滅絕的危機，像現在通婚的更慘了，比如說我的孩子他們不會講，而且還要看孩子的心理因素，像我兒子他本身長得不像原住民，每次他到學校講族語同學都問他你到底在講什麼語言？同學看他長得不像原住民就說：「你應該不是原住民喔。」這句話後來就慢慢隨著他成長，他就開始認為他

不是原住民。他小學的時候他的族語老師叫劉金花教他阿美族語，可是連劉金花老師都叫他 Payrang（閩南人），所以我兒子有一次問我：「媽媽我的名字叫 Payrang？」我說不是，我就問老師結果老師就說因為他看起來像閩南人，不像原住民。後來變本加厲他越來越排斥去上族語課，到國中一樣，我叫他去考族語認證，他說我為什麼要加分？我成績那麼好為什麼要加分？後來到了高中也是，他盡量都不去教原住民朋友。後來我一直灌輸他一個觀念，我跟他說你是原住民，我們也都用比較談諧的方式跟孩子講，他現在在原民台工作，就也遇到了他的未婚妻。我也跟他說媽媽是從原住民語教學的，我一直都很想讓我的孩子們學習我的語言。為什麼我不強迫小孩子？我覺得孩子有自己的想法，再來就是我不想和我先生起衝突，我先生是阿美族，但他是不講族語的人，他族語能力應該有，但沒有那麼流利。孩子也選擇學習阿美族語，因為阿美族人多好玩，太魯閣族語都沒有人學起來很無聊。我就尊重他們，所以他們國小六年和國中三年都學阿美族語，高中的時候我讓他們去考族語認證。現在初級族語認證是國中考高中加總分 35%，中級族語認證是高中考大學加總分 35%，所以我一直都很鼓勵我的學生去考族語認證，還有參加比賽那些獎狀學校都會算進去加分。鼓勵他們的背後是他們越練習，每一次他們說的方式就會越進步，每一次我的學生只要經過朗讀比賽的洗禮過後，升上新的一年級他們對族語的理解力變超快的！這個是我的經驗，剛開始學生對比賽是很有瓶頸的，會害怕、沒有勇氣，很多老師都說你不要再給學生二度傷害，可是這對我來講是推學生一把，這只是一個門檻而已，小孩子有些個性就是不敢，但是你要鼓勵小孩，也不要說推了一把卻嚴厲責怪小孩，這樣他們真的會不想學喔。這都要看老師怎麼去跟學生說，像我都跟我的學生說：「輸了沒有關係，不錯！我們已經走過來了，沒得名沒有關係，老師請你吃東西，明年我們再來！」從孩子身上就可以看到 rmun（勇氣），那個才是真正 Truku 不退縮的勇氣。今年開始我跑 15 間學校，因為我們現在是專職，有規定一週要二十節以上，一天最少要跑兩間學校，今年多加了一個族語遠距教學。家庭族語教學已經有三年了，家庭族語教學是家庭遠距，屬於語言巢的一部分，家庭族語教學有一個中心在北師大，那邊有一個助教，你只要打電話跟他講。我第一年的時候，每一次我都教五個學生，都用全族語教學。

Section 3 (Cooperation between government and civil society)

Q：以您的角度，您如何鼓勵都市原住民在沒有原住民的環境下學習族語？

A：可以到北市大語言巢，有一個固定的時間去報名，也可以去師大學分班。一開始不一定要去正規的語言班，可以去情境式學習，現在有很多線上教學也可以連結。其實沒有什麼好怕的，不過沒有關係啊！再來一次就好了。最重要的是我希望你可以和你媽媽做互動，最好的方式就是跟自己的媽媽。我的經驗是，我兩個兒子，大兒子現在在原民

台，去年一整年他跟我學族語，他現在族語很厲害！你現在到族語 e 樂園，線上上課現在年輕人一定學得很快！在網路上直接練習第一階第一課，很方便，你不用等老師去教，族語 e 樂園也可以線上測驗模擬考試。你回去練習絕對沒有問題！

Section 4 (Self-identity agree)

Q：曾經使用原住民族語時遭受到歧視或制止嗎？

A：就是國民政府來台實施請說國語政策的那時候，就這樣。

Q：在日常生活中，您最經常使用哪種語言？

A：還是自己的族語。我跟我先生講國語，在教書的環境都講族語。

Date: 2020/08/28

Time: 14:00-15:30

Interviewee D: Teacher of Truku indigenous language Teacher D

Place: Ketagalan Culture Center 7th floor in Taipei city

Section 1 (Background)

Q：您居著的地點？

A：我現在是住在台北市，本來在桃園，因為孩子讀書就轉到台北這裡。

Q：您是從小是在桃園嗎？

A：我民國 80 年就在桃園

Q：您今年幾歲？

A：我民國 52 年次，今年 57 歲

Q：您的教育程度是？

A：大學畢業，現在還在讀碩士班。

Q：請問您的職業？

A：我現在是北北基的族語老師，我從桃園很早期就在那邊教。我應該是說是一個文化工作者，我現在有 19 個學校在跑，桃園的最多。

Section 2 (Policies implemented by the government)

Q：第一個要問您所知道政府實施原住民族的政策？從解嚴後到今天，您認為印象比較深刻或是比較好或不好的，都可以說一下。

A：在早期我是民國 93 年考上族語認證的，從民國 90 年代就有族語認證。藉由這個族語認證，除了肯定自己以外也要讓大環境認同為什麼原住民要有加分，為什麼要被輔助。在之前民國 80 年代的話，大概是透過社團做語言的復振，那個時候學校還不能開班，像我們太魯閣族來講人口少，要達到 10 個人才可以開班，所以民國 80 年代那時候我們太魯閣族都沒辦法開班。那個時候就是透過社團報計畫，那時候政府的政策沒有很明顯，就是按照人口數多的先開班，產生一個現象就是弱勢的永遠看不到。社團開班那個效果不是非常的明顯，流動太高了。那時候我也剛接觸社團，我民國 85 年成立社團，就看到說這個族語啊沒有被重視，解嚴並不是說馬上就推行族語，他的母語的方向就是從原住民大族開始，像我們太魯閣族當初也沒有立委，我現在了解是在都會區，原住民孩子學不到母語就是會失落。原民會也是大概在民國 84 年成立的吧，有原住民委員會才會有人做這個事情，以前原民會還沒有成立的時候，根本就看不到族語的推展，或許是有啦，但是我們人口數少的族比較碰不到，那大的族很早就有啦，因為教育部會有這種語言政策的推廣，但學生人數沒有到十個人就不能開班啦，那都會區來講我們永遠開不了班。在現在的話是 ok 啦，現在 16 族都很公正、公開、公平，現

在還有個語言轉型嘛，除了認證那個是一個做法，開班的話現在是台灣有七所大學培養原住民族語學分班，學分班就是最近老師快斷層了，沒有族語老師，所以這個政策是最新的，好像是兩年前，那我自己也是剛好有機會去那邊當老師。我就很了解這個是很有需要的，離開大學的學生或是社會人士可以回來學分班學，這種學分班是類似教育協會的做法。那很多人滿重視了，現在慢慢很多走族語路線或者是當老師的就要去拿這個學分班，現在是限定 18 歲以上才能報名。有原住民族語認證中高級的話到 國外去進修政府才願意協助；還有像是公務人員，你要在原住民機構上班也是，他都定得很清楚，他有一個語發法的規定，是蠻合理的要不然你要到原住民機構上班他們都講母語，那變成是自己有中高級認證就可以去做一些原住民族人的服務。之前的話叫做「語言振興」大概也是做快十年了。社團、學校、機構都可以申請開班，統一的計畫申請，一次計劃開 150 個小時，就去經營開班內容，那我就常做，那我們可以說我有南北區，假設我們去拜託五個老師來開班，老師他願意開班的話，那計畫就是會幫他整理，那就南區、北區、兒童班、成人班，以兒童班優先，課程都是利用假日，一週六個小時好了，大概要開 25 場，像這種是在學分班之前的做法，做了大概是快十年了，他是六年一次計畫，當初是社團，現在的做法是就不透過社團，就直接透過原民局中央預算或市政府的預算，抓預算後就去找教育協會；主辦是原民局，協辦是一個廠商，把所有總預算委託他們來辦體驗活動，比如說現在辦原住民體驗式活動，用族語介紹口簧等等。再來是還有一個是認證班，因為現在剛好就講到那個民國 90 年代認證班，所以他們每一年都會讓我們去推初級認證班、中級認證班，好像當初是只有這兩個，現在的話成人班也有在鼓勵，那個是在桃園的做法，每個區域的做法不同像台北市有語言巢，語言巢十六族都分開上課，語言巢進行大概有快二十年了，台北市的語言巢是第一個，他比照紐西蘭毛利族，我看這個效果還比較好，小朋友家長會關心就帶來，因為孩子的那種語言父母親自己聽就會很難過，就會想辦法鼓勵孩子來這裡上課，一定要家長帶喔，孩子自己他不會來這裡，語言振興就是 150 個小時。之前是叫語言復振，語言復振是看人口，那時候很像是你要有提案才会有，比較屬於被動式的。到了民國 90 年代，政府鼓勵母語認證，那時候母語認證還沒有初級、中級，只有一班能力考試。我們民國 90 年代就有開課用語言復振的預算，教育部會補助。最一開始是一般能力認證，題目都還比較單純就是口說，牧師會聽你們講，像我會講但裡面參雜太多的日語。那些如果現在我們考試講日語就會扣分，講國語就是 0 分。我是民國 91 年 92 年上課，民國 93 年考族語認證，那時候成立社團有補助，社會局、原民局會補助，要把鐘點費交給從花蓮來的牧師啊，那時候當初是從花蓮來，不能不好好的招待，不然他們不來啊。我是連續三年，民國 90 年到 92 年在桃

園開課，開課以後我才有那種意識，才知也不是我都會，我會講但講出來又翻成英文的羅馬拼音嘛，那時候我不會看也不會寫，所以我才慢慢知道不是那麼簡單也不好寫，到民國 93 年我就去考族語認證。我們現有的政策到了民國 110 年，國小國中高中母語都是必修課程，大學通識課程會變為原住民太魯閣語，另外這樣開課。

Section 3 (Cooperation between government and civil society)

Q：那可以請您講一下學習和教族語的過程，有沒有遇到比較困難，因為您在都市教族語，都市的小孩可能光是學中文、英文也比較著重於國際化，所以教族語有沒有教育上的困難？

A：我先談學習族語，我們的族語能力跟部落的落差還是有，畢竟在都會，部落像耆老、老師都用母語在對話，所以我現在就是在做中學，我現在在當老師也在學母語，當老師一個很好的機會就是我可以翻書，除了我自己教書的部分那是比較單純；現在花蓮那邊一直在開課我們也沒辦法配合，因為時間、工作、家庭的因素，我的想法是反正我就自己要自學，現在的網路很方便，有時候那個像北部這邊的課程，我都會去聽課，變成是說我現在學的，上課的時候我會延伸很多我自己的一些議題，學習上我的困難是在都會區，沒有幾個老師可以互相對談，而且我們都會的老師好像會點不信任感，都市的老師能力差不多，所以我還是必須要跟部落接軌，但部落的想法可能不了解都會的這種生態，像現在有臺灣語言學會，政府鼓勵我們各族都開語言學會，我們也成立了四年了都還沒有到都市來給我們上課啊，所以我們也是在反應啊。我們有繳會費了也加入會員，全國的族語老師，都市的就沒有人重視，因為部落的太忙了，這個窗口是政府的窗口，應該是擬個計畫南中北區這樣輪流開課，可以請老師來嘛！請牧師或是老師到都會來教，可能性本來就可以但不做，部落開在假日，假日我們又更忙，我的話假日我還去大學教族語。如果是他們能夠重視都會區來開課我就很高興，都沒有開過，我們有反應啊，奇怪好像他們就不當一回事，部落就不用擔心他們本來就會講啊，但都會區沒有環境。這個語言學會的重點是老師，老師結合的語言學會，這個就是我個人目前比較希望的一件事情，也是我學習族語的困難。再來是我現在在線上教學，我今天早上還接到一個學校突然打過來，我就問他幾個幾個學生？他說三個學生。我說是不是同年級，他說沒有，一個國小二級一個國小四年級和五年級，我說這個是混齡教學，那我的重點是說混齡教學，那我一定從二年級開始，他講一句話說他們都沒有學過。像這種狀況更要不得，就是沒有學過才要分開上，學校都是分年級上，不然就是分低、中、高年級。混齡我馬上就跟學校反應，我混齡同時教四、五年級的進度很快，二年級的進度拉不上來啊。孩子一二年級什麼文字都還沒學會，英文也是，我們原住民孩子很少去讀英文的，像這種的就是教學上的困難。第二個就是教學的環境，有的現在是在圖書館，沒有一個正式的教

育場所。應該要有電腦，現在孩子喜歡用電腦，族語 e 樂園嘛，再來就是白板黑板和教室好了，或者是有一個自己的空間也都沒有關係，反正學校如果在安排是最理想。像我接觸到的是舞蹈教室，然後那個根本不是上課的地方啊，還有地下室又有蚊子，這我都看過，當然我目前我的教學場所是沒有這樣，我現在講的是我所看到的。再來是學校裡面要東跑西跑跑班，學校沒有安排一個固定的教室，第一個小時在三樓，第二個小時在四樓，最後一節再回來，就感覺到一直跑來跑去，所以這個場地的不固定。孩子我如果到他教室上課發現孩子有壓力了，因為他的老師在後面，活潑不起來啦！孩子如果跟我在一起的空間來講，我們很自然互動，我就可以跟他東扯西扯講母語部分，孩子會吸收；上課還有老師在後面，孩子都不敢開口，我們變成不能跟他講太多，講太多他也回答不起來，孩子怕出糗，孩子有這種心理障礙，那種環境我覺得不妥當，就像這種的教學環境沒有很適當這個部分，應該是要有一個太魯閣族語教室。還有一個，我們的語言在學校好像不是很被重視，所以我們原民會、教育政策也有在推廣，那學校的話就沒有把語言當作是學校的一個作業；怎麼說？我們有聯絡簿嘛，我可以在聯絡簿寫一下「下個禮拜孩子請帶家庭作業」到現在這個都沒有做到，這個是很普遍的現象。那家長一定會看聯絡簿，家長沒有看到族語那兩個字，家長不會去想那麼多，表示沒有交代啊！所以這個很重要，我是希望可以配合、參與學校的聯絡簿，這樣族語老師才会有動力。

Section 4 (Self-identity agree)

Q：請描述在您平時的生活、家庭、工作及社交等與原住民文化的廉潔情況？

A：我現在是在都會區，我是大概民國 80 年從工程師退休，退休我就去做我的工作。民國 85 年就在桃園成立了太魯閣協會，我是創會的理事長，他們找我是因為原住民在都會很多都是勞工階級了，在工廠以前很賺錢，或是在工地做工程模板鋼筋的很多，大概二十年前經濟比較好的時候，沒有人去重視母語，大部分族人都覺得我會講，我自己教自己的孩子就好了。沒錯，大人都在都會講，但是他們參雜太多的日語。二十年前我的社團老朋友都在的時候，那時候我 30 幾歲，那我接觸的都是 40 歲 50 歲 60 幾歲的老人家母語都很會講，那個時候成立社團了以後我才有機會去寫計畫。一開始有和這些老朋友去參加阿美族的豐年祭，但時間久了我自己不是很習慣那裡，我的想法是覺得那個是他們的，優點是可以去學，但沒有必要浪費時間在那裡，因為豐年祭就是一直吃喝嘛。我大概民國 90 年就看到族語的公文，語言復振的部分，可以提一些企劃。學族語的政府願意補助，那是我們透過立委，我們自己報企劃還不給我，因為我們那個是地方社團，那我們就透過立委把那個計畫呈報才有一點補助。我的工作就是因為接觸社團，我的機會就是從民國 90 年開始，校長和金牧師鼓勵我們，我們也不知道怎麼會走到這邊，我們也不是很了解啊！就提計畫就進來這個母語環境，那我到哪裡去孩子跟到哪裡啊，我

們是家庭行動。那我的工作有牽動到就是社團，社團帶動族語，我那時候就開始在走族語的路線，我的孩子跟太太，我們全家都在那邊上課，因為我是主辦單位，我還要招待來的原住民孩子家長，不好玩餒，他們來我們還要招待他們中餐，那時候我們沒有錢，那個上課不是馬上拿現金，像那個來的校長牧師他們，他們也是要拖了大概半年才拿到錢，做這種要有志工的心態喔，不是說來賺錢的。以前早期很困難，他不會馬上拿現金給我們，我們要辦活動要拍個照，我辦總時數 36 個小時大概兩三個月嘛，然後我要報成果，錢下來就是差不多半年了，那我還要招待飲料、午餐給他們，我們都很困難，在那個環境還是要這樣做。我的生活來講，民國 80 年我就退休了，大概在民國 90 年代我還在工地，我是工程師，假日也幾乎沒什麼很重要的事啦！就是有社團活動就辦，就是開始慢慢著重在族語老師那邊，我考上族語認證就是民國 93 年吧，那我民國 93 年到 98 年之間我還沒當老師啊，人數不夠不可能去當老師啊。那變都是在開班嘛，開班的時候我就去當老師。民國 93 年到 98 年我就申請企劃，就像你講的配合地方政府的政策，那剛好我有社團嘛，就用社團提企劃。等於是我在帶頭了，很多老師等於是在看我做事，因為寫企劃要有一點小技巧，那段就是我自己就是在社團充當老師的時間，因為大家都不會嘛，家長也看不懂羅馬文字。那個時候桃園考上的就是從我社團考上的 5 個老師，就是因為我開課他們就去考試喔，等於就是我帶動。到學校的時候就是民國 98 年，一直到現在 12 年，我現在在台師大教族語就是一個我很好發揮的機會。那我的家庭的話，我的孩子都是純太魯閣，我跟我老婆都是太魯閣族，我們兩個都是族語老師。我講我的女兒，因為國小母語課是必修嘛，就也有讓她去參加族語朗讀比賽，國小生最好帶，媽媽說什麼她就聽什麼，加上父母我們都是族語老師，我們帶著她看朗讀搞慢慢唸，她就會了。一般的學生家長是很累的，家長不可能教孩子，就算我錄音檔給他，他可能聽不懂。我們在教學環境會講母語，回家去就很少講母語大概都講中文，我跟我太太現在習慣了會講母語，那孩子也會聽。我的女兒的話就現在就不太想學母語，她國小就考到族語中級認證了，現在她高中她就不太想上了，她也課業壓力大，順其自然啦，她學什麼我們就配合什麼，她就接觸喔。像她的哥哥就沒有接觸，因為那個時候還沒有要求什麼族語復振，所以我看到就是工作環境還有生活要環環相扣會比較好一點，尤其是家裡啊！家裡沒有人在稍微講一下族語，全部不會看，這很正常啦。家人沒有講孩子不可能會自動把族語的書本放在桌上學。孩子的國語英文數學都來不及學了，母語永遠除非是上課的時間啦，像我們語言巢也一樣啊你不來這裡我就不知道你在家裡幹什麼，那來這邊的家長他們感受跟我一樣，不可能看嘛！那就是到教學環境，到教學環境媽媽就輕鬆了，孩子不管學不學反正來教室還是在聽，所以教學環境是很重要的。現在在家

庭就是我跟我太太用母語對話，我跟我小孩很少用母語講，孩子都是媽媽在帶的，但孩子課業壓力也大啦，根本也很少機會講到母語，就算是社會人士啦，也要上班啊不可能有時間在講母語。變成我現在在台師大這樣教兩年，學生回來上課的感觸，不學不行，到底下一代會不會繼續上母語還不一定，語言是很重要。我現在變成是專職老師，我跑19個學校，另外還有樂器的才藝，我會做口簧琴、笛子、敲木琴，我也懂民族文化習俗，歷史我都有學。我也都是不斷在充實自己，有一天母語會變得更好。一般我們在台北市太魯閣學會，辦活動開會都講母語，不講母語會被唸喔，但是我們沒有那種好習慣啦。其實來講講母語是最好，我們這邊有時候來開會的年輕人聽不懂母語，所以我們就還是會回到國語那邊。目前在都會區太魯閣族來講並沒有結合起來，如果結合幾個老師成立一個讀書會，成立太魯閣的語言會，現在是沒有辦法啦，向心力不夠，每個人的家庭時間上也很難配合，這應該是我們的一個目標啦。

Date: 2020/08/31

Time: 14:00-15:00

Interviewee E: Teacher of Truku indigenous language Teacher E

Place: Starbucks in Taipei city

Section 1 (Background)

Q：您的居住地？

A：家鄉：花蓮縣萬榮鄉萬榮村。目前居住的地區：台北市

Q：您的年齡？

A：1965 年（今年 55 歲）

Q：您的教育程度？

A：大專

Q：您目前的職業？

A：：台師大學分班太魯閣族語老師

Section 2 (Policies implemented by the government)

Q：請描述您所知道政府實施的原住民語言政策。（一到三項即可）

Q：請描述您對這些政策的看法或建議。

A：我的印象大概就是在剛開始在實習的時候就是找我們去族語認證，那個年代就是會說，但是文字部分還不太會，政府就是有一點要把我們 50 年代這個年齡拉著，因為只有在 50 年次以前的比較會說會聽，就是很像那個自己的語言。政府為了要留著這個年代的，所以說在那時候族語考試的時候容易通過，只有選擇題、是非題這的部分，再來就是會說。那個時候是在經濟比較好的年代，台灣的經濟正在起飛，大家都在忙工作嘛，沒有說把族語看得很重，我們就是覺得說在玩的，去補這個未來也沒有什麼方向。我們只有在協會，在桃園的時候是泰雅族協會，之後就變太魯閣協會；泰雅族協會是在 85 年成立的，之後就變成 2004 年的時候太魯閣族就證明了。差不多在民國 90 年的時候政府要開始把我們拉回來，把民國 40、50 年次的出生的原住民拉回來去考族語認證，那個時候我們只是在推動文化和語言這部分，可是我們只是覺得好玩而已，就是想凝聚在一起，大家能夠在一起推動我們的文化。那時候我在桃園推動歲時祭，但是族語部分我沒有很重視，所謂歲時祭我們叫感恩祭，那個時候叫祖靈祭，泰雅族叫祖靈祭，之後我們太魯閣族正名，我們叫感恩祭。那時候我們在推感恩祭，每一年都會有，我們就會包含語言、族語文化，還有祈福的儀式，所有我們產業的農產品，所有東西都會在那裡。政府拉我們回來的時候，其實他也是沒有辦法，政府也不懂但是他只是覺得說這個語言很重要一定要把它恢復，所以就把我們這四五十年次拉回來。那我推這個活動的話，我是執行者，我就一定要去考試嘛，那個時候我等於說是要做人，因為牧師耆老都很認真，我也是需要捧他們的場，之後政府不知道怎麼搞的，每一年讓我們考試，考完後去師大

上課上 36 小時之後就沒了，沒有繼續。我們還是會回到我們的工作崗位上，那時候我們覺得奇怪，怎麼沒有一系列的系統？我學這族語幹嘛？培養我們當族語老師之後呢？沒有了。結果變成說已經推動將近六、七年了 政府培養了很多老師，我們都變成流浪老師，變成說在都市裡九族將近九百多個老師都是流浪教師，可是那時候我還是脫離不了，我想走，政府還是把我們拉回來，拉回來也沒有做什麼，我要去哪裡？我的舞台在哪裡啊？你要把我們拉回來，你要給我們舞台，那時候還沒有很正常的政策出來。他又把那個資源放到協會裡面，結果我們要招生很難，等於是連哄帶騙叫都市的原住民啊，老人家過來上族語，我們也連哄帶騙了，因為我們協會辦族語課一定要 20 個人以上，很困難，36 小時 12 次的課程，不可能每一次都來 20 個，如果是三個家庭來上次課，有夫妻和兩個小孩，是不是四個，那如果我三個家庭總共十二個人，那我一定要集合五家庭，但來來去去每次來都不一樣，下次這個人又不來，還好是我們人脈很好 就這樣延續下去，那如果說二十個人能留著一個我們就很成功了，留住一個這個就是我們的根，可是還是很難說服，除非他真的沒有工作。族語文化如果有推動，第一個他家裡有錢還可以，對那個自己的文化可以投入，第二個條件是說他無路可走，他沒有技術，那他就去培養去學族語去考試，可是民國 90 年到 98 年這個中間政府沒有很好的政策，民國 90 年施行恢復語言一直到民國 98 年這中間，沒有給族語老師舞台，甚至於我也是，還好我有藝術團，我為什麼一直會能夠到現在是因為當初我有藝術團，藝術團就是培養小孩子傳統音樂、歌舞，我還要帶小朋友去比賽，然後他們就可以從中得到獎金，有公部門、公關公司會叫你去表演，那表演有收入嘛，辦了很多歲時祭活動，這個就是我們還可以生存，那我們可以在順便加減去做這個族語，變成族語是加減，從民國 90 年到民國 100 年這段期間我都是這樣。這個事情能做好是因為我們部落花蓮的耆老跟牧師說要恢復原要保存，但是執政權不在他們那裡，他們只能一直催叫立委去講，漢人教育界的不做不做的這樣，他也不懂，每次開會都推來推去，很可惜。我民國 92 年考上認證，然後就沒了，考上以後要幹嘛？結果還是沒有安排啊！沒有整個跟教育部結合，教育部做他自己，原民會也做他在自己。縣政府還說：「你找不到學生喔？那你不會去找學生？你不會挨家挨戶去找學生喔？」這什麼話？怎麼可能我們敲門叫你們來上課，我們算什麼？後來那個時候我們連太魯閣族少數民族的都已經有現成的老師，魯凱族、排灣族、太魯閣族、賽德克族都已經有老師考上認證，結果沒有舞台，結果是誰去教我們的學生？阿美族。很過份，因為我沒有民意代表去講嘛，有民意代表都是多數民族，差不多是民國 93 年一直到民國 100 年這個中間，都是阿美族在教我們的學生。有一次我也是有機會，剛好台北市原民會剛好認識我，叫我去代表台北市的原住民，那時候我是社團裡面

的負責人，他叫我代表台北市原民會去行政院去討論就是講有沒有什麼意見，跟原民會講有沒有什麼要改進的，那我就傻傻呼呼的就跑去，在那裡我又很緊張，剛好各部門都有來，有教育部、文化部都在那個現場，各部門代表一個要聽我們的意見，把意見報給原民會。這個對我印像很深啊，政府為了老百姓的立場去想，還是把我們是少數民族的拉過來，他沒叫阿美族，只叫我們少數民族山地山胞，他想聽我們的話，因為我們一直被壓嘛。那時候我很緊張啊，我就跟他講說我是太魯閣族，我覺得我們族語應該是說學生一進到國小的時候，他就選修勾選我要唸哪一族，學校就安排開班，而不是說現在我們都市有很多流浪老師，好不容易栽培我們考上認證，考上之後又讓我們去師大培訓當老師，結果呢我們沒有舞台，我們的學生都被阿美族教去。這個就是那個時候的政策，我在講民國 100 年以前。他就把我的意見提供到原民會，那時候教育部開始更改政策，從國小開始學生可以選修，即使只有一個學生也一定要上，結果我們將近一千多個各族的老師都進到學校，那個是我覺得是我一生中印象很深刻的。最近就是民國 107 年開始我們成立一個語言中心，東西南北的族語語言學習中心，然後我們又成立一個台灣語言研究院，變成說有了這個語言研究院以後，他就擴大又成立東西南北語言中心，語言中心等於就是栽培培養在職的老師，或是未來要當族語認證的老師，或是對族語有興趣為了要考大學，因為現在有個政策是說，你要考大學或未來要留學的話一定要有族語中級認證，一定要族語認證你才可以出國，政府才會會補助原住民族學生留學的生活費還有學雜費，還有你如果要在部落教書或是鄉鎮公所上班，也一定要族語認證，然後你要升官還是要跟別人拼族語認證。前陣子我去拉拉山遇到一個老師，他不是原住民，去年他去上的個學分班，考上泰雅族的中高級認證，他本來是在林口長庚上班，他說他不想，壓力太大他就跑到拉拉山去應徵老師，因為他是台大歷史系畢業的，結果有三個人跟他同競爭喔，其他兩個人都是原住民，只有他不是原住民，有一個是台大碩士，一個師大碩士，他也是台大歷史系，三個人徵選結果他入取，為什麼你知道嗎？差在什麼地方？第一個他有泰雅族族語認證，其他兩個沒有，他不是原住民結果被錄取，因為他有族語認證。第二個他去年去跟謝金水老師學一年口簧琴製作，他就在現場表演口簧琴，當然他就被錄取，他就是這兩項。在台師大的學分班那邊學 20 個學分，你就可以拿到學分班，你想當族語老師或者是說想要考試，你去那邊學就可以拿到那個證書，去參加族語認證。中高級以上人家去那邊上課，他就是去那邊學一年、兩年了，剛好有空的時候他又去找謝老師開的太魯閣族樂器班學口簧琴跟竹笛，當然不是學的很精，但是初級的，結果那個學校校長，打分數差一分兩分。回到政策，有了舞台以後之後，政府就會做了很好的政策，就變成民族知識，各個原住民 16 族都有，民族教育還有知識經濟都出來

了。未來的話做得越來越好，就變成說以前我們把族語老師當兼職嘛，現在我們變專職族語老師，以前是因為他沒有給我們舞台嘛，叫我去考在幹嘛？我去師大幹嘛？沒有未來啊！那之後開始因為我這樣提供意見以後，從國小開始一直到國中、高中，甚至後年都會變成必修課。至於幼兒開始是去年開始的，像我們台北市就有兩班，各個部落都有就是人數比較多的像花蓮也有設在萬榮國小、秀林和見晴村，一進來就是要教你有這門課就對了，除了族語以外也可以教英文，也可以教華語這部分。現在是應該是已經步上軌道，現在政策做得越來越好，只是說要把政策修的越來越完整，我們以前是把他當兼職因為沒有舞台，現在反而變成師資不夠了，因為以後就變必修國小、國中、高中都是必修課，變成要的老師量很大，那你要產生出一個老師也不是一年就可以了，老師要修課程要考認證，考的族語認證一定要高級以上。那我們現在是有希望是說有中高級就能夠教國小，高級的話就可以到國中高中去教，那我以後在台北我可能會去教國中、高中，我現在也是在台師大教學分班，我在教在職的老師或者將要考高級的老師，我們現在還可以，因為現在學校還沒有強制說一定要開這個班，到民國 111 年要強制教育部規定學校，不管是只有一個學生，一定是必修課，你如果沒有讓他上的話，他就不能畢業了，國中高中必修兩個學分，一週一節課或兩節課，如果學校請不到老師怎麼辦？我去年栽培差不多五六個，有四個考上中高級了，有兩個是很有心要去學校教，可以的話他可以往國小教，自己慢慢的提升啊。未來老師夠的話我就不用在國小教，這樣也滿好的就是以前是當兼職，現在是變成說他們很需要我們，我們是在經濟很不景氣當中變成另類的新興行業。現在我教的國小後就比較少，差不多十到十五個小時一週，國中的話就只跑一個學校，一個學校兩節，再來就是遠距教學，然後再來就到師大教，師大去年是開每一週三節，從一月到十二月沒斷過，今年的話 9 月的話我就變成要教初級還有翻譯寫作班，翻譯寫作班針對要考中高級、高級的學生，有的像中高級的他拿那個認證是以後想出國留學，可以申請公費補助。現在公費補助有加這個條件，就很多人都會回來上課，一定要上課才可以考上喔，自己看自己聽很難很難，因為我們是講方向，高級的話是對族語有興趣未來要當老師的。我的集中點就是在高中、大學，所以我現在目前在國小有一十一節，也好讓我去看一下這學生他們學的狀況，順便了解一下他們學校國小的運作，我可以把有些建議提供給中央知道我們學校是怎麼樣去推這個族語。

Section 3 (Cooperation between government and civil society)

Q：換到第二點就是可不可以請您說您學母語跟教母語的一些過程。那有沒有遇到一些困難，就是您剛不是說要鼓勵族人去學，畢竟現在很缺老師，有哪些困難或是什麼限制是你遇到的？

A：因為他們的環境，他們出門就是講華語，沒有地方可以說族語，他們大部分就是說爸爸或是媽媽其中一個是原住民，變說他的爸爸或媽媽都不會講，所以他沒有對象。在都市的話他們來學習，都是為了要考上族語認證，族語認證可以升學加分。民族意識還不太夠，其實總是有一個聲音一直引導他們要來學自己的語言跟文化，大部分聚在一起的學生假設說我講十分好了，兩分會切一下族，八分都講國語，主要是環境問題環境不太夠，然後我們也會鼓勵他除了在學校一週一節或兩節課，那我也會鼓勵他們到台北市原民會有開辦一個語言巢，例如謝老師在凱達格蘭開辦北投魯閣族語言巢，語言巢是無限於教族語，也有歌謠、打木琴、吹口簧或是樂舞也可以，這是比較多采多姿多元化的一個文化學習，不是只有語言。其實我覺得在台北市感覺到學生是說，家長跟學生可能是環境關係啦，在都市的學生他們有升學壓力，父母親都希望孩子考上好學校，很努力在栽培他們的孩子，又叫他們來凱達格蘭上語言巢是有點困難，除非是說小孩子是單親的家裡很苦，沒有時間讓孩子去補習，只好把他送到語言巢又免費嘛，等於說是老師照顧他們一個上午，比較有一點隨性的去上語言巢，讓小孩子在環境之下可以聽母語也可以說一點點，雖然不是說很有系統的，可是還是有那個環境。假設說 10 點到 12 點有兩個小時，在這兩小時時間不限年齡，從幼稚園一直到大學，從這裡的環境裡面成長，你就是沒有脫離，有語言、歌謠、樂器、音樂、樂舞都在那裡面，我一個禮拜除了正式的在學校學習族語以外，我另外還有一個課程就是去語言巢，雖然是一個禮拜學了一句，一個月就變四句了，長久以來還是會累積很多。到以後真的很有興趣還是會回來學。

Section 4 (Self-identity agree)

Q：有沒有使用族語遭受到歧視或是制止？

A：沒有

Q：那日常生活中您常用哪種語言較多？

A：中文比較多，但每天都會講族語

Q：您會根據什麼情況用哪一種語言？

A：根據人啊，在家裡的時候跟我先生講族語，小孩我也會講生活上的族語，讓他們重複聽這個單字，雖然他們不會回我族語，但我就是要給他這個環境，如果平時不跟他講這些基本的族語的話他以後還是會去學這些單字，是會比較困難的。在平時生活跟他講，他就慢慢聽的懂，如果都沒有聽過的話用學習的來講會很困難，不如就在很輕鬆的情況下給他們這個環境。我跟我先生講話一半一半，一半中文一半族語，如果不常講的話真的有時候會忘記。

Date: 2020/07/10

Time: 11:00-12:00

Interviewee F: The elder F of Truku tribe

Place: Wanrong Village, Wanrong Township, Hualien

Section 1 (Background)

Q：您的居住地？

A：花蓮縣萬榮鄉萬榮村

Q：您的年齡？

A：：民國 27 年生，今年 82 歲

Q：您的教育程度？

A：國小畢業（沒有受過日據教育所教育）

Section 2 (Policies implemented by the government)

Section 3 (Cooperation between government and civil society)

Section 4 (Self-identity agree)

Q：請描述您所知道政府實施的原住民語言政策。（一到三項即可）

Q：請描述您對這些政策的看法或建議。

A：在學校我記得是從國小三年級，一年級的時候我還不會講國語。在學校的時候和同學講母語會被老師打，老師會叫我們不要講母語，要講國語，不要講山地話，以前我們不知道，後來現在我們老了又可以講母語了。現在我孫子國小這個年紀學校還請母語老師來教，所以現在的學生都會講一點母語了，他們現在看羅馬字，像我們教會都有羅馬拼音，會用羅馬拼音拼字，有些基督教都可以去學校教羅馬拼音，現在國家很好，要知道我們自己的母語，自己的話不要忘，還是都要學自己的話，還有國家的話。

Q：那會跟小孩孫子說國語嗎？還是都說族語？

A：因為習慣了都是講國語，孫子的媽媽都跟孩子們講國語了，就習慣講國語。現在國小一年級就要到學校上族語課，我們部落國小國中高中也有族語課，現在也有比賽去講母語，我的孫子也有去比賽，得到一次第一名。

Q：奶奶國小是用國語授課嗎？

A：一開始我在國小是講母語，從三四年級開始老師不給我們講母語，要我們講國語。像四十歲左右的父母沒有習慣講母語，已經習慣講國語，都是爺爺奶奶這一輩在教小孩子母語。我們萬榮還不錯，我們用母語跟小孩子對話，小孩子還是可以用母語回答。有另一個奶奶的孫子現在大學了，從小他奶奶都教他講母語，現在他講母語很流利，跟我們老人家一樣母語很好，現在他講國語講母語都很流利，因為有這個習慣。

Date: 2020/07/04

Time: 10:00-10:30

Interviewee G: The elder G of Truku tribe

Place: Wanrong Village, Wanrong Township, Hualien

Section 1 (Background)

Q：您的居住地區？

A：花蓮縣萬榮鄉萬榮村

Q：您的教育程度？

A：以前農業社會，去學校兩天三天就在家裡照顧弟妹，沒有國小畢業。基本上都要先幫忙家裡，不會以學校為主

Q：您的年齡？

A：85 歲（民國 25 年生）

Section 2 (Policies implemented by the government)

Section 3 (Cooperation between government and civil society)

Section 4 (Self-identity agree)

Q：請描述您所知道政府實施的原住民語言政策。（一到三項即可）

Q：請描述您對這些政策的看法或建議。

A：自從回歸要講母語的時候，後來政府不是有請族語老師來教嗎，像老人家在家裡和父母這個年代的人在家都是講母語，所以說我們的孫子在我們這邊都是用母語溝通。在國民政府來台的時期不能講自己的母語啊，但現在政府恢復說要講母語，我們老人家都很高興覺得很好。國民政府來台的時期我已經沒有在讀書了，就是後來政府有個民教班，讓那個時候已經十五歲以上的人去上這個班，教他們說國語。像我們生在民國 19 年到 21 年的（現在大約 88 歲左右的人）都是受到日本統治的時期，在日據時期讀書。

Q：那像現在很多原住民族人都會到城市發展，這些都市原住民的後代因為沒有原住民的生活環境，對族語也就不熟悉不太會，如果想要鼓勵這些在都市的原住民族人及後代，您覺得要怎麼鼓勵他們去學習？

A：還是鼓勵家裡的爸爸媽媽跟小孩子說族語，如果是我的孫子們回來不落我都跟他們講族語，也因為我只會說族語比較多，還是要鼓勵長輩教後代跟小朋友自己的母語，自己的孫子可以跟我們老人家講母語很好，我們很高興！

Date: 2020/07/04

Time: 13:00-13:15

Interviewee H: The elder H of Truku tribe

Place: Wanrong Village, Wanrong Township, Hualien

Section 1 (Background)

Q：您的居住地區？

A：花蓮縣萬榮鄉萬榮村

Q：您的年齡？

A：民國 21 年出生

Q：您的教育程度？

A：日據教育所小學二年級。只讀兩年半日據教育所。國民政府就叫小孩子全部轉走，因為在國小的時候有個類似羊癲瘋的瘟疫(族語：Malalia)就沒有再復學讀國小了。

Section 2 (Policies implemented by the government)

Section 3 (Cooperation between government and civil society)

Section 4 (Self-identity agree)

Q：國民政府來台後，有被強迫要學習國語嗎？

A：就沒有去讀書了，因為當時的瘧疾就在家裡醫病。就在家照顧兄弟姐妹或小孩。

Q：阿嬤現在和孫子輩的溝通用原住民族語比較多嗎？

A：對。可是孫子在讀幼稚園的時候，老師習慣用國語，所以小孩也都習慣用國語說話。阿嬤帶孫子也就多多少少聽得懂國語，但文法是顛倒。你吃飽了嗎？吃飽了你嗎？你去哪裡？哪裡去你？

Q：阿嬤覺得對我們這些後代，要怎麼鼓勵我們去學太魯閣族語？有什麼建議或想法？

A：後面的話，跟孫子就都用族語。小孩子也聽得懂，就用族語跟他們溝通。現在學校也都有請族語老師，對你們（研究者）這個年代的小孩，學校都有聘請族語老師。小孩現在能學族語和老人家交談也都比較方便，現在這樣的教育很好。

Q：為什麼現在四十幾歲這輩都用國語？

A：因為那時候都沒有請母語老師，在學校老師也都用中文授課。

Q：所以在萬榮村的小孩也都能聽得懂族語？

A：對啊。跟老奶奶講話也都是用族語。我們和後輩講話都用族語，當地的小孩也都用族語和我們老人家對答。小孩會去查網路上母語的教學。去過哪裡？和要去哪裡？族語也是有分文法和過去式的。族語中太魯閣族語言比較難學。

Date: 2020/07/10

Time: 09:00-09:40

Interviewee I : Truku indigenous people

Place: Neihu, Taipei city

Section 1 (Background)

Q：請問您的居住地？

A：從我 13 歲開始就一直在台北了，13 歲以前在花蓮。

Q：請問您的年齡？

A：今年 67 歲（民國 42 年出生）

Q：請問您的教育程度？

A：小學三年級就沒有在讀書了，為了要照顧弟妹跟幫助家裡。

Section 2 (Policies implemented by the government)

Q：請描述您所知道政府實施的原住民語言政策。（一到三項即可）

A：戶政事務所、區公所有對地方原住民族人開辦族語教師。

Q：請描述您對這些政策的看法或建議。

A：政府辦活動都不重視我們原住民族人，都以閩南人和客家人為主，我之前有去抗議啊！後來他們就不敢了！我不喜歡山地人這樣被藐視，我們是道道地地的台灣人欸！其實我覺得我們山地人沒有用，因為太不團結了啦。

Section 3 (Cooperation between government and civil society)

Q：請談談您學習或是教授母語的過程。

A：我會跟我的孫子講族語，我的孫子也很肯學肯講。我女兒則是會聽不會講。

Q：以您的角度，鼓勵人們學習母語有哪些困難或限制？

A：沒有什麼困難。就是回到部落七八十歲的老人有些都會講國語，但都會被我阻止，老人家就是要跟晚輩講族語啊！不然這樣以後語言都會不見了。用簡單的話跟晚輩講就可以了，可以溝通就好了。

Q：請描述您所知道當地政府和原住民部落共同合作，為原住民族語復興辦理的活動及課程。

A：不清楚

Section 4 (Self-identity agree)

Q：請描述在您平時的生活、家庭、工作及社交等與原住民文化的連結情況？比如：您日常的生活與原住民族人的相處機會程度，以及參與原住民活動或母語學習的機會程度。

A：早期跟花蓮的親戚上台北工作，就會相處在一起，現在每一年都會相聚聚餐。現在的生活就比較沒有和原住民族人一起生活了，但我還是很喜歡以前跟原住民族人生活在一起，很單純沒有心機。

Q：曾經使用原住民族語言時遭受到歧視或制止嗎？如果有，請描述當時的情況。

A：在小學的時候被禁止說族語。在小學的時候說族語就會用木頭等器具被打。

歧視是有，有被漢人說是「蕃仔」。以前和原住民族人一起上班，我的朋友都被欺負得很慘，我是都會反抗，我們明明沒有做錯也沒有惹到他們，是為什麼要被看不起？我才看不起他們！以前來台北工作吃很多悶虧，加班費用漢人是 80 塊，我們原住民就只有 20 塊。以前我們山地人來台北多可憐啊！被人家輕視，沒有一點脾氣就只能吃苦了。

Q：在日常生活中，您最經常使用哪種語言？（最經常定義以一年有六個月以上都在使用該語言）

A：山地話（族語）

Q：您是屬於單一語言、雙語還是多種語言的人？

A：多種語言（國語，太魯閣族語，一點點日語，一點點阿美族語）

Q：若您是雙語或是多種語言的人，您會根據什麼情況使用哪種語言？

A：我會跟孫子說族語，跟女兒還有漢人都說國語。