EXPLORING THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE NARRATIVES OF 1949 CHINESE IMMIGRANTS TO TAIWAN

A Thesis

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This thesis explores the identity formation of 1949 Chinese immigrants to Taiwan and their descendants through the close examination of their personal experience narratives. The current population of Taiwan is the result of two major waves of immigration from the Chinese mainland: the first wave immigrating roughly 300 years ago; the second in 1949 when the Nationalist government fled to Taiwan. These two distinct populations have different cultural traditions, including food, traditional celebrations, speech patterns, and other aspects of culture. Personal experience narratives are rich vehicles for gaining insight into the identity issues highlighted by these differences. The main focus of the study is a series of personal narratives collected from a 1949 Chinese immigrant family that, as a case study, exemplify the process of the formation of generational identity. The results of the investigation suggest that the identity of first generation immigrants as non-Taiwanese is almost non-negotiable in their narratives, expressed in part by their nostalgic feelings for mainland China. This contrasts with the dynamics of fluidity and stability of the identity/identities of the second and third generation Mainlanders, reflecting a lessening of social boundaries and other social shifts in Taiwan.
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CHAPTER 1

APPROACHES TO IDENTITY STUDIES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCE
NARRATIVES: A CASE OF 1949 CHINESE IMMIGRANTS TO TAIWAN

1.1 INTRODUCTION

“We are living in grandmother’s memory,” said my aunt during one of our interviews. My family has lived in Taiwan for three generations and I myself was born and grew up in the island. Yet I still don’t identify myself as “Taiwanese.” I am a Northeasterner, like my grandmother. That is, my roots are in the northeast of the Chinese mainland. “Do not come back, find yourself a better place and stay there,” grandma used to tell me, “you do not have to come back; Taiwan is not our home.” In 2004, I came to the United States, a presumably “better place,” and suddenly my identity as a Chinese faced a crisis. “Where are you come from?” everyone wants to know. “Taiwan,” I answer. “Oh, you are Taiwanese,” people say. “No, I am Chinese from Taiwan,” I say as I try to clarify myself. However, for the majority who are not familiar with the modern history of China and Taiwan, my clarification simply causes more confusion. What my identity is and how it is determined has thus become an imminent issue for me in this foreign land. Thus, what started a personal quest for identity as an individual and more importantly, as a third generation Chinese immigrant in Taiwan, has become the subject of this thesis. As an
ethnographic case study, it explores identity formation among the 1949 Chinese immigrants and their descendents in Taiwan and its relations to the larger social and cultural structure of contemporary Taiwan through personal experience narratives—that is, stories told by people such as my grandmother about their life experiences.

The main purpose of the study is to examine the construction of generational identity within a Chinese immigrant family in the process of living in Taiwanese society. The research is based on personal experience narratives collected in Taiwan and China in October 2005, summer 2007, and July 2008 from five of my family members. The thesis is composed of five chapters: Chapter 1 serves as an introduction to the approaches of personal experience narratives and identity studies that have been done by both Western and Taiwanese scholars. Chapter 2 briefly touches upon the immigration history and cultural and political situation of contemporary Taiwan in order to provide a background understanding of the immigrant narratives. The issue of ethnicity and national identity in Taiwan (Republic of China; ROC) is complicated by the political conflict between People’s Republic of China (PRC; or “Mainland China”) and Taiwan since 1949. Therefore it is crucial to properly situate the narratives in the larger social and historical context. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the analysis of the personal experience narratives collected from the Chinese immigrant family in Taiwan. The narratives I have collected can be roughly divided into two groups. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the nostalgic narratives that relate back to the tellers’ life in Mainland China. These narratives were mainly collected from the first generation immigrants. Chapter 4 discusses the narratives concerning the experiences of encountering people of other backgrounds told by the second generation Chinese immigrants.
Due to nature of the research topic, the thesis utilizes two languages. All interviews were done in Mandarin Chinese and have been Romanized and translated into English. The Romanization used in this thesis is based on the pinyin system that is the official Romanization system of the PRC and at this writing will soon be adopted in Taiwan.

1.2 DEVELOPMENT OF IDENTITY STUDIES IN TAIWAN


Studies on ethnicity and identity began in Taiwan soon after the end of the martial law period (1949-1987). Chang Mau-kuei 張茂桂 is one the earliest Taiwanese scholars to write on the issue of relationships between Taiwan’s ethnic groups (Chang 1989, 2001, 2002, 2004). Due to the political atmosphere during the 1980s, ethnic identity and relations is still a fairly sensitive issue to broach. Chang claims that the conflict between ethnic groups in Taiwan first appeared during the seventeenth century when Han people (漢人, hanren) from Fujian province migrated to the island. Conflicts occurred between these early Han immigrants and the Aborigines (原住民, yuanzhumin). The Han
immigrants held political and economic advantage, and thus Aborigine identity was suppressed (Chang 2002, 2004). Taiwan’s ethnic relations and the transformation of identity can be divided into four stages: the first stage is Han identity against Aborigine identity. The second stage is Minnan 闽南 (Southern Fujian province) identity against Hakka people from Guangdong province. The third stage, which is the focal point of this thesis, is the local Taiwanese against the 1949 Chinese immigrants. The fourth stage is Taiwanese nationalism against Chinese nationalism (Chang 2002: 223).

Educated at the University of Arizona, Wang Fuchang 王甫昌 has studied and published on the issues of Taiwanese ethnicity since early 1990s. Specializing in the fields of ethnic relations, ethnic politics, and nationalism in contemporary Taiwan, he claims that the division between the 1949 immigrants and local Taiwanese is a political fabrication that has been enhanced by the unequal political and economic status since 1949 (Wang 1993: 75). His theory on ethnic fabrication provides a new schema for understanding identity change in Taiwan during the 1980s and 1990s. The term sida zuqun (四大族群; “four major ethnic groups”) was first officially used by former legislator of Democratic Progressive Party (民主進步黨, DDP), Lin Zhuoshui 林濁水, around 1993 to describe the population composition of Taiwan. This term has later been widely used in academia in Taiwan.

Western scholars such as Melissa Brown (Brown 2004), Murray A. Rubinstein (Rubinstein 1994, 2006), and Hill Gates (Gates 1981) have carried out studies on

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1 According to Lin Zhuoshui, the four major ethnic groups in Taiwan are Hoklo, Hakka, Aboriginal, and 1949 Chinese immigrants and their descendents. Lin is a Taiwanese politician who was called “the master of Taiwanese Independence Movement” in his early years. Over the past few years, Lin has adjusted his political position and now tends to place emphasis on the national identity of the Republic of China. He has published many books and article discussing ethnic group relationships.
Taiwanese identities from different perspectives. Their works have helped me to construct my own interpretation of identity formation among the 1949 Chinese immigrant and their descendents.

Melissa Brown illustrates the change of Taiwanese identity and suggests that the development of Taiwanese identity has gone through five stages (2004: 7-13). Below is a chart Brown proposes concerning the discussion of identity in Taiwan.

![Figure 1.1](image)

What further complicates Brown’s chart is the incipient awareness of ethnic identity among various groups in Taiwan. She places Mainlanders under the category of Han Chinese, yet Mainlanders do not necessarily share a common Han ancestry. For instance, I came across a few members of the Manchu Organization of the Republic of China (i.e. Taiwan) and they identify themselves as ethnic Manchu as well as Mainlanders. Brown’s classification and my observations suggest the fluidity of identity formation in Taiwan.

The first stage of development of Taiwanese identity Brown proposed is the era before the Japanese occupation at 1895. Brown and Chang suggest that under Qing ruling, Han people in Taiwan did not have a unified identity. Even though they distinguished themselves from the non-Han groups, there is no proof to show a unified identity among
the Han (Brown 2004, Chang 2000). The second stage is the Japanese colonial period from 1895 to 1945. The Japanese government enforced something similar to today’s ethnic classification. Except distinguishing Japanese from non-Japanese, the colonial government also drew distinctions between Hoklo and Hakka based on their “mutually unintelligible dialects and some significantly different customs” (Brown 2004: 8). In the third stage from 1945 to 1947, Brown claims that during this short period of time the Han in Taiwan assumed a unified Chinese identity. The period is followed by the martial-law rule of the Nationalist government until 1987. This was the time Mainlander identity emerged in opposition to local Taiwanese identity (Huang 1991, Chang 1993, Wang 2003, Brown, 2004). The latest stage is from the end of the martial-law period continuing into the present, which is the era in which a new Taiwanese identity has emerged.

1.3 APPROACHES TO PERSONAL EXPERIENCE NARRATIVES

Personal experience narratives began to be viewed as a folklore genre by the mid-1970s when sessions on such stories were chaired at annual meetings of the American Folklore Society. Sandra Stahl, who defines a personal narrative as “a prose narrative relating a personal experience; it is usually told in the first person, and its content is nontraditional” (1977, 1989), has been central to establishing the personal experience narrative as an oral literary genre within the folkloristics framework. She states (Stahl 1989: 12):

[Personal narratives] represent a genre that demands creativity and skill in composition and performance and a sensitive interpretive competency in response. In fact, while the personal narrative as a folklore genre builds upon traditional resources, any given example of the genre is by definition a creative text. The experiences at the base of personal narratives and the values that are expressed through them are original elements that the tellers add to the tradition of the genre when they create their stories. And, as we shall see, the allusions to common or
private reality listeners hear when such stories are told are the building blocks of literary folkloristics interpretation. Together the tradition of oral genres and the process of interpretation constitute a fundamental narrative theory, a commentary on the nature of oral literature.

I have also drawn on William Labov’s narrative theory to illustrate the structure of the Chinese immigrant narrative in Taiwan. Labov defines narrative as a way to recapitulate the past experience in temporal order (1972: 359). He proposes the six-part structure of a full-formed oral narrative and suggests that narrative can be taken as “a series of answers to underlying questions” (1972: 362-370):

1. **Abstract**—what was this about?
2. **Orientation**—who, when, what, where?
3. **Complicating action**—the what happened?
4. **Evaluation**—so what?
5. **Result or resolution**—what finally happened?
6. **Coda.**

Michael Toolan has elaborated on Labov’s account of narrative structure. Labov states that “abstract” is the sketch of a narrative and that it offers an outline for the listeners (1972: 364). Yet, Toolan claims that “abstract,” in addition to Labov’s understanding of the concept, also provides interactional ground for the speaker and the listener. He states that abstracts “often contain requests for the extended turn at talk necessary to tell a story” and “performing requesting, advertising or floor-wrestling functions” (Toolan 2001: 154). In the narratives I collected from my family, I have observed this function of abstracts in many cases.

Ochs and Capps state that “Narrative memory is shaped by the ever-present concern
for and anticipation of the future. Further, every telling of what transpired before provides a more or less coherent logic that affords an unsettling moment or affirmation of one’s consciousness of life now and anticipated” (2005: 199). They discuss the temporal sequence of personal narratives along with the explanatory sequence to explain the relations between the past/story world and present/reality (2005: 157).

I also have borrowed Barbara Allen’s idea on “context relevance” (Allen 1989: 237) as one of the characteristics of personal experience narratives. Personal experience narratives usually occur in response to the context of telling. The narratives I analyze in the following chapters demonstrate this quality of the genre.
CHAPTER 2

SITUATING THE NARRATIVES:

IMMIGRATION HISTORY AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF TAIWAN

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I provide the historical and social background in which the personal experience narratives of 1949 Chinese immigrants are situated. The complexity of identity in Taiwan is affiliated with the diverse cultural components and social and political changes of the island. By examining different aspects of Taiwanese history and social structure, I hope to enhance the exploration of immigrant narratives and the formation of the immigrant identity in the context of contemporary Taiwan.

1.2 TERMINOLOGY

Before discussing the historical and cultural background of Taiwan, I will first provide definitions of several terms frequently used in this thesis. The purpose is to clarify the common confusion on these terms and therefore allow a better understanding of the following chapters.

The term Taiwan ren 臺灣人 is usually translated as “Taiwanese,” yet it has had different meanings throughout the history of Taiwan and keeps acquiring new interpretations along with changes in the political situation. The thesis deals with
immigrant identity through their narratives and thus it is important to clearly define the term. In its broadest definition, *Taiwan ren* indicates everyone born in Taiwan and has thus acquired citizenship in the Republic of China. In the narrower sense, this term refers to a group of people whose ancestors migrated from Mainland China to Taiwan before the Second World War, despite their ethnicities. This thesis takes the narrowest definition of *Taiwan ren*. As used here, the term refers to the groups of Han people whose ancestors migrated from Southern China—mainly Fujian province—before 1945 and whose native language is Southern Fujian dialect (Li 1991). The last definition is usually used opposed to the term *waisheng ren* (外省人, “outer provinces people” or “Mainlanders”) discussed below.

*Waisheng ren* is a term used to describe the 1949 Chinese immigrants to Taiwan and their descendents. The term literally means “outer province people.” These recent immigrants are not necessarily from the same place or have the same self-identity, but have been considered as one community in opposition to the earlier populations on the island. *Waisheng ren* is a general term for these immigrant mainlanders in Taiwan despite their ethnicities and original family home, although many of them have distinct traditions and use different dialects. This term acquired a political connotation in the 1970s when the opposition movement against the Nationalist government started and the division between *waisheng ren* and Taiwanese became manifest at this period (Wang 2003: 88). In a later section, I will discuss in detail the relationship between these two groups.

In this thesis, *Taiwan ren* is used interchangeably with the term *bensheng ren* 本省人. The latter can be translated as “inner province people” or occasionally “native
Taiwanese”. The “inner province” here means Taiwan. *Bensheng ren* is defined as the group of people whose ancestors migrated to Taiwan before the end of the Second World War (Li 1991). By strict definition, it refers only to the Han people whose mother tongue is Southern Fujian dialect. Yet, some scholars claim that *bensheng ren* should include not only Han immigrants but also Hakka people who migrated from Southern China to Taiwan around the same period².

The last term that needs clarification is *xinzhumin* 新住民 (“new residents”) or *xinyimin* 新移民 (“new immigrants”). The idea of “new immigrants” is in opposition to the “old immigrants.” Thus the meaning of the term is changing whenever newcomers migrate to the country (Gong 2007: 10). The term has sometimes been used to indicate the 1949 Chinese immigrants and their descendents. Yet the new social phenomenon of transnational marriage during the past decade has brought in new groups of ethnic Chinese immigrants from Southeast Asia and Mainland China, therefore causing confusion over the definition of the term. For the purpose of this thesis, the “new immigrants” that are mentioned in the following chapters indicate the 1949 Chinese immigrants and their descendents.

### 1.3 IMMIGRATION HISTORY OF TAIWAN

Taiwan is located to the east of the Chinese mainland separated only by the Taiwan Strait. Because of its geographical position, Taiwan is fundamentally an immigrant society the population of which is largely composed of Han immigrants from Fujian

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² The definition of *bensheng ren* has been challenged in the past few years by many aboriginal and Hakka scholars such as Wu Zhuoliu 吳濁流, Pu Zhongcheng 浦忠成, Xie Shizhong 謝世忠, etc. While Hakka are considered a distinct group in Taiwan, they are not given special minority status in the PRC, and are considered as Han.
province and Guangdong province. It has a long history of migration that can be traced back to as early as the Three Kingdoms period (184 C.E.-280 C.E.), although no documented settlement was built during this period. Historical records show that the Han people from Fujian province started to trade with Taiwan aborigines during the Song Dynasty (960-1279) and had settlements along the west coast (Chen 1990: 5).

The focus of this thesis will be the most recent immigration group, waisheng ren, and its interaction with bensheng ren. In this section, I will give more detailed background on the migration histories of these two particular groups of people. There are two major immigration waves from Mainland China to Taiwan. The first wave was during the late Ming Dynasty (1560-1644) and lasted through the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). The second one happened between 1945 and 1949 when the Nationalist government lost the civil war against the Communist party on the mainland and retreated to Taiwan.

The cause of the first wave of immigration to Taiwan was the overthrow of the Ming Dynasty by the Manchus in 1644. There was much resistance to Manchu rule and the most important resistance movement was led by General Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 of the late Ming. Zheng and his army retreated to Taiwan when the Ming dynasty ended and continued the anti-Qing movement on the island. Zheng Chenggong’s regime in Taiwan (1661-1683) can be considered the initial stage of Taiwan’s modern development. Zheng brought around sixty thousand immigrants from the southern provinces to Taiwan (Chen 1990: 7). Zheng’s grandson surrendered to the Qing government in 1683. Taiwan was then officially subsumed under Manchu rule. The number of Han immigrants dropped during the early Qing Dynasty because of a ban on maritime trade. Yet due to economic
reasons, the government had to relax the prohibitions on immigration to Taiwan. The number of immigrants from Southern China increased sharply in the early nineteenth century. Unlike their predecessors, these immigrants really set down roots in Taiwan and became the ancestors of Taiwan ren. Although these immigrants were mainly Han people, they had different places of origin and had formed several communities based on their ancestral identity. The disputes and even physical conflicts between these communities occurred continuously during this early phase of settlement. Scholars who study contemporary ethnic identity in Taiwan often draw analogies between this historical phenomenon and the situation nowadays to explain the conflicts between Mainlanders and Taiwanese.

Taiwan came under Japanese occupation from 1895 to 1945. The fifty years of Japanese colonial rule deeply changed Taiwanese culture and identity. Taiwan’s population was around three million at the beginning of the occupation with most of people descendents of the Qing immigrants (Huang 1992: 175). According to Taiwanese historian Huang Xiuzheng 黃秀政, the anti-Japanese movement during this period had two phases: The first stage was armed resistance from 1895 to 1915; the second stage was political noncooperation from 1915 to 1945. The first twenty years of resistance was led by a group called Taiwan minzhuguo 臺灣民主國 (The Democratic Nation of Taiwan) and the resistance was very intense. The group claimed Chinese identity and kept very close connections with the Nationalist government in China (Huang 1992: 184). After 1920, the armed resistance to the Japanese rule basically ended but the political non-cooperation continued. Naturally, the Japanese occupation was a breeding ground for
Taiwanese nationalism.

The Republic of China restored Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan in 1945 at end of the Second World War. The Nationalist government soon assigned a chief executive, Chen Yi 陳儀, to Taiwan to establish a provincial government in the city of Taipei. The Nationalist government was welcomed by the local Taiwan people until 1947, when the 228 incident happened\(^3\). This incident agitated the oppositional relationship between the \textit{waisheng ren} and the \textit{bensheng ren}. Later in 1949, the retreating Nationalist government brought in more than one million mainlanders to Taiwan and the problems between these new immigrants and local Taiwan people became sharper and sharper.

Roughly one million \textit{waisheng ren} migrated to Taiwan with the government in 1949, and 60\% of them were soldiers (\textit{Taiwan: Fifty Years After the War}, 1995). In order to help settle these new immigrants, especially the soldiers, the government built many \textit{juancun} 眷村 (villages of the Military dependents) across the country between 1949 and 1960. Villages of the military dependents in a sense physically separated the new immigrants from mainland China and the Taiwanese, and as a result enhanced the distinctive identity of Taiwanese and Mainlanders.

\section*{1.4 FROM “MAINLANDER CONSCIOUSNESS” TO “TAIWANESE ETHNICITIES”}

As noted, the identity issue in Taiwan has continuously been a subject of controversy

\footnote{On the evening of February 27\textsuperscript{th}, 1947, six policemen of Taipei city encountered resistance while searching for smuggling activity and accidentally hurt a Taiwanese woman. The incident turned into a physical conflict between the public and the policemen the next day, February 28\textsuperscript{th}. Because the policemen represented the authority of the Republican government, the local Taiwanese people turned their anger against the mainlanders in Taiwan (\textit{waisheng ren}). The incident eventually led to large scale suppression of Taiwanese (\textit{Taiwan: Fifty Years After the War}, 1995).}
and debate. Since the early 1950s when new Chinese immigrants settled in Taiwan, the question of Chinese identity and the Taiwanese identity has been constantly raised at both the government level and among the public. Before 1987, Taiwan was under martial law due to the tensions between the Republic of China and newly-formed communist People’s Republic of China. The Nationalist government tried to impose a unified Chinese identity upon the local Taiwanese and aborigines in order to resist the political threat from across the Taiwan Strait. A unified Chinese identity seemed like a plausible idea by which the government would generate unity among the people at that time. Yet after the 228 incident, any suppression of the expression of Taiwanese identity only provoked more resistance. At the time the term *shengji yishi* 省籍意識 (“Mainlander consciousness”) was used to describe the opposition between Chinese identity and Taiwanese identity. Wang Fuchang argues that the root of such opposition is “immigrant superordination” (Wang 1993: 70). The Nationalist government and the Chinese immigrants it brought into Taiwan were only 13% of the whole population of contemporary Taiwan. The so-called *waisheng ren* were much fewer than the *bensheng ren*, yet most of them worked for the government and thus presumably acquired a higher social status than the Taiwanese. To the Taiwanese, most of the 1949 Chinese immigrants sided with the government and represented the authoritative governing force. However, to make the identity issue even more complicated, the *waisheng ren* group did not necessarily share a unified Chinese identity either. These new immigrants were forced to become a “group” by political calamity, and the sense of identification came from the recognition of the common political situation instead of common ancestry. Therefore, I would like to claim that the debate over *waisheng/bensheng* identities from the 1950s to
the 1980s is a mixture of the ethnic identity issue and the national identity issue, and thus the political discourse must be taken into consideration.

The mainstream discussion about identity after the 1990s stopped taking the *waisheng ren* and the *bensheng ren* situation as a political division. The most frequently used term current in the identity discourse is *zuqun* (族群, “ethnic groups”). Moreover, the presidential election in Taiwan at March, 2008, has given the ethnic identity debate a new turn. The elected President, Ma Yingjiu 馬英九, according to the previous definition, is a *waisheng ren*. The election result thus shows that the boundaries of ethnic identity are no longer clear-cut in contemporary Taiwan society.

1.5 CONCLUSION

Identity construction is a long and complicated process. This chapter has provided an overview on the historical and cultural background of Taiwan in order to situate the personal narratives of the 1949 Chinese immigrants in larger historical and social contexts. Taiwanese identities have been negotiated from both within the ethnic groups and without. The following chapters will discuss in detail how personal narratives within a 1949 Chinese immigrant family influence and exemplify the process of the formation of generational identity.
CHAPTER 3

SELFISH AUNT AND MONKEY SOLDIERS:
EXODUS STORIES IN CONTEXT

“There was an event. A group of anti-communist fighters fled to Korea. Korea wanted to send them back [to China], but some of them wanted to come to Taiwan and some of them wanted to go back… Then a group of fighters came to Taiwan. My mother thought that Korea is close to the Northeast, so there might be some of her family members among them. She took me and your mother to wait by the Jilong Port. She carefully looked each person who arrived by the boat to see if there were any of her family members. There was none.”

(Interview with Bai Minzhi, September 8th, 2007)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the personal narratives concerning the informants’ early life experiences in China before immigrating to Taiwan in 1949 and how these narratives were passed down from generation to generation. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the preservation of identity during the period of political turmoil through personal experience narrative. As Barbara Myerhoff states, “memory offers the opportunity not merely to recall the past but to relive it” (1992: 238). By collecting and examining these narratives, I hope to revitalize these fading memories of our elder generations. The narratives of the 1949 immigrants are marginalized in Taiwan and are frequently taken as equivalent to political discourse. The reasons for this are complicated. One is the
localization movement in the past decade. Local culture and identity are emphasized and
government policy has shifted to end of localism. Yet for the first generation of 1949
Chinese immigrants, the idea of localism was to take away their cultures and identity as
Mainlanders. Most of these people I have encountered identify with the Republic of
China as their country, but their ethnic identities are clear and vital to them and they
would not call themselves Taiwanese. The first generation arrived in Taiwan in 1949 and
most of them are elderly, if still alive. Thus, their narratives could easily be lost in the
mighty torrent of history.

The narratives I used in this chapter are from two sources: my fieldwork in Taiwan and
China, and a documentary film on a village of military dependants. I interviewed three of
my informants in October 2005, and again in September 2007. They are Li Mingzhen and
two of her daughters, Bai Jieyong and Bai Meizheng. Ms. Li was born on the second day
of the fifth lunar month in 1922 and passed away in the summer 2008. Her birthplace is
Lishu county, Jilin province, China. Along with the Nationalist government’s retreat, she
fled to Taiwan with her husband at age 27. She gave birth to five daughters and a son in
Taiwan. My interviews with Ms. Li were all done in her private residence in Taizhong
city, Taiwan. Ms. Li Mingzhen was 83 years old when I first started to record her
narrative and she was not in very good health. Therefore most of the narratives are short
and sometimes in segments. In most cases, my interviews with Ms. Li were in an
informal setting and we mainly talked about her life experiences in China. In a few
recording sessions, I asked her to tell me stories about certain topics, yet the best stories
are usually told spontaneously.

My fourth informant, Ai Wenzhe, is the only Chinese who was born and lives in
Mainland China. She is the only daughter of Li Mingzhen’s younger sister. I interviewed her in July 2008 in Beijing. I asked her specifically about the story concerning her mother and Ms. Li’s reunion after being apart for thirty years. The reason I included this narrative here is to complete the story told by one of Li’s daughters on the same topic. Ms. Ai Wenzhe was born at 1960 at Shenyang city, Liaoning province.

In order to have a better understanding of the immigrant discourse in Taiwan, I have included a few personal narrative excerpts from a recently-made documentary film on the stories of residents in a village of military dependants. The film is titled *Weizhong Mama de Juancun* (偉忠媽媽的眷村, “Weizhong’s Mother’s Village of Military Dependants”). It was released in Taiwan at June 2007. The narratives were collected from the residents of the Second Jianguo Village in Jayi city, Taiwan during the past five years. I am only using the exodus stories of the first generation immigrants from this film.

### 3.2 IMMIGRANT NARRATIVES IN CONTEXT

Personal experience narrative serves as an essential link in creating family identity within immigrants families. As Sims and Stephens state, “stories about family members and shared family experiences often communicate a sense of family identity, showing that family share a past, as well as values and beliefs that can be communicate through the family story repertoire” (2005: 45). The following narrative interaction is an excerpt from the interview with Bai Meizheng. Earlier in the interview, Ms. Bai talked about her experience of listening to her mother’s stories and the one below is the story that impressed her the most.

1. Meizheng (Mei): Okay, let me tell you the most impressive story. Grandma’s sixth
2. aunt, I think she is the sixth aunt. It is her father’s younger sister. She said this sixth
3. aunt, she has many children, but she doesn’t love her children. And she only loves
4. her dogs. Have you heard of this story?
5. Pai: Yes. But I thought it was the fifth aunt, not the sixth.
6. Mei: Anyway, there is an aunt, and then the most impressive part to me-of course, it
7. must include my own imagination of that scene-, grandma said, the river is
8. frozen, and then if you want to go, because it is winter and the river is frozen, so
9. they can pull the sleigh across the river by the carriage-horse. And don’t you forget
10. that my version of the story contains my own imagination, because grandma’s
11. stories to me, the most important part is that all the images are so vivid. And then I
12. remember grandma said that this aunt, the horse is pulling, this aunt is sitting in
13. that sleigh, and when she arrived home, our grandfather comes out to welcome his
14. younger sister. He then discovers that she is holding something that wrapped in a
15. fur coat…
16. Pai: A dog?
17. Mei: No, he saw her holding something and he thinks finally this time his sister
18. brought the children home. He didn’t expect that when she lifted up the fur, it was a
19. dog inside. Our grandfather didn’t even let her comes in to the house. He told her
20. to leave. He tells the same carriage to carry her back. ((LF))

It is interesting that my informant chose to tell the story as “the most impressive
one”. She took multiple roles in retelling her mother’s story to me, who is the interviewer
and also her niece. Through the story, the interviewee implicitly expresses her value of
being a mother and a daughter. There is a series of what I call “selfish aunt” stories that
circulate in my family and everybody tells them in various contexts. Although other
family members besides my grandmother, Li Mingzhen, also tell selfish aunt stories, these stories are always told as “grandmother’s story”. The different tellers might use various strategies to tell the stories to suit the context. Yet the ownership of these stories undoubtedly belongs to Ms. Li, the original teller of the narratives. In lines 2, 7, and 12, the narrator of the above excerpt uses reported speech to increase the credibility of the story and to “gives the hearer the illusion that the quoted speech was actually uttered as reported” (De Fina 2003: 94). The opening line of Bai Meizheng’s narrative “let me tell you the most impressive story”, serves as a marker of personal narrative performance and sets up a storytelling mode for the audience—in this case, the interviewer. This special formula, as Richard Bauman calls it, “refers to the communicative relationship between performer and audience” (1977: 21). In our case, special formulae serve more than one purpose. The narrator inserts the formulaic sentence “have you heard of this story” again after she gives the orientation to the story. I argue that the narrator uses it not only to key the performance but also to reassure the interviewer, who is her niece, that she shares the same knowledge with her about this family anecdote and furthermore, invites the interviewer to join her storytelling.

I would like to draw on Labov’s theory of oral narrative to examine the structure of the selfish aunt story (Labov 1972). The narrator starts her narrative with an orientation to the main character and the context. The orientation part of a narrative provides the setting of the story and “specifies the participants and circumstances, especially of place and time, of a narrative” (Toolan 2001: 155). In Bai Meizheng’s narrative, her introduction of the sixth aunt’s characteristics in the orientation plays the role of foreshadowing of the story’s later development. There must be a problem for a mother who loves her dogs
more than she loves her children. In addition, the narrator expects the interviewer to already know this story and thus uses the orientation as a hint of their shared knowledge. She stops in the middle of the orientation and asks the interviewer “have you heard of this story”. By doing so, the narrator invites her audience to interact with her. Evaluation is a crucial part in Labov’s diamond structure of oral narrative (Labov 1999: 233). It is the “means used to establish and sustain the point, the contextually significance and tellability, or reportability, of a story” (Toolan 2001: 157). There are multiple layers of evaluation in this narrative. The first narrator, Bai Meizheng, is giving explicit evaluation of her retelling of someone else’s story. In line 7, the narrator makes comments on her narrative by saying “of course it must include my own imagination of that scene”, and in line 10 “my version of the story contains my own imagination. The narrative itself reflects the moral stance of the characters and the narrator. “He tells her to leave” reveals his evaluation of his sister’s action. It is not an acceptable behavior to put the dogs before the children. The narrative set up the family values for the teller and the listeners. The narrator thus identifies with the values by retelling the story.

Personal narratives connect the present to the past and bring “history” into life. The stories we hear from the preceding generations sometimes are far more than just the family past but a history that is unfolded from personal perspectives. During the interviews I conducted with Ms. Bai Meizheng, I found that there is a more personal and maybe more humanistic perspective in the approach to the historical events. Ms. Li Mingzhen, at the age of nine, lived in Siping County with her family when Manchuria fell under Japanese control. It was September 18th, 1931 and the enmity between the Chinese and Japanese was near the saturation point. Yet the latter part of the narrative
below displays a dramatically different side of the war. It should be noted in advance that Chinese traditionally regard monkeys as amusing and playful creatures.

Mei: I have been thinking about these stories for the past few days. Of course grandma also told stories that are not about her families. I don’t know if you would be interested to those stories or not?

Pai: Yes. I know she usually tells two types of stories. One is about our family and the other is about historical events.

Mei: You know my memory for stories is about their detailed content, Usually I don’t clearly remember the exact characters in them, because it’s all about images when I’m listening to the stories. So when I was listening to grandma’s stories, it’s like, like there were pictures appearing in my head one after another. Like movies. It’s just like a motion picture. I’m very interested in the things like the monkey army ((LF)).

Pai: Monkey army? I’ve never heard of this one.

Mei: You’ve never heard of the monkey army! ((LF)) This was the time when the Russians came to China. The Russians came to the Northeast [China] and then, the villagers have never seen foreigners. So they said “the monkey army is here,” They were really afraid! They thought the monkey army was here, because the foreigners were all very hairy, and their appearances were quite different. ((LF)) grandma said one day there was someone rushed to tell them the monkey army was here. Said that he saw them squatting down to eat, and then after they finished, grandma said those big boys, they were playfully hanging on the trees as hanging on a horizontal bar, and the villagers thus believed that they were a monkey army. ((LF))

Pai: My goodness! I’ve never heard of this one.
Mei: I like this monkey army story very much. and I also know that grandmother told many stories about the time when Japanese came to the Northeast [China], and their relationship with Japanese. My feeling is that their relationship with the Japanese is different from the anti-Japanese complex we’ve usually heard about, because some Japanese [soldiers] were stationed nearby, it was possible that they had lots of interaction and there were some young Japanese boys in grandmother’s memory who were terribly homesick, and they really thirsted for a little bit of care from these Chinese families.

Li Mingzhen’s personal experience narratives went through different phases. Her oldest daughter, Bai Minzhi, told me during our interviews that her mother didn’t tell too many stories to her about the retreat or the family in Siping County in her younger years. Bai Minzhi believes that it is because her mother was still trying to contact the family left in China at that time. “She didn’t tell many stories,” says Bai Minzhi, “she didn’t feel the need of telling [about her family] because she didn’t know that she had already lost them.” Due to the political situation, Ms. Li gave up hope of contacting her family but the feeling of loss was so strong that the narratives were not tellable at the time (Ochs and Capps 2001: 258). Around 1990, the government of Taiwan and of China reopened the communication channel and Ms. Li finally reconnected with her relatives. Ms. Li told me many stories about her mother and her younger sisters. Those stories are full of tears and her longing for her family. John Harvey says that “often survivors, ‘just need time’. Logically, however, there is every reason to believe that it is what people do during the time after major loss that matters most” (Harvey 1996: 186). Personal narrative has a power to heal, to comfort, and eventually allows the narrators and the listeners to leave
Personal Experience Narrative on an Unexpected Event

The following narrative is a portion from my interview with Ms. Ai Wenzhe on July, 2008. The interview took place in one of my aunt’s private residence in suburban Beijing. Five people participated in this narrative event. Besides Ms. Ai Wenzhe, Bai Jieyong, and I, there were also two of my younger cousins from Taiwan. The purpose of this interview was clearly set: I wanted to learn about the reunion of my grandmother, Li Mingzhen, and her sister, Li Mingyu, who is also Ms. Ai’s mother.

1 Pai: Aunt Wenzhe, could you tell me about how the second grandaunt got in touch with grandma?

2 Wenzhe (WZ): Let me tell you, okay. One day my oldest uncle’s son, came to our house, to deliver a letter. That letter was the one your third aunt sent to China from Japan, in her friend’s name. But she didn’t know our address, so she wrote to the old home address forty years ago. I remember it was Jilin province, Lishu county, Zhongzhengtang. Is that right?

3 Jieyong (JY): I don’t remember.

4 WZ: I remember it’s Zhongzhengtang. It was probably provided by your grandma, the home address she remembered from childhood. But where can you find Zhongzhengtang in this Lishu county after forty years. No. Then according to the name, it said Li Mingyu. There was a genealogical record in the past, listing all the names. The name with the character Ming, you could check the names that contain this character. To see who is in the same generation with her, and then asked if there was anyone who knows this Li Mingyu. Ah, she didn’t write Li Mingyu, she wrote Li
Mingshan, because your grandma thought that Li Mingshan is the youngest. I mean,
because of the war, the younger one might…
Pai: have better chance.
WZ: Yes. Right, right, right, but nobody knows Li Mingshan. After many twists and
turns, they found the old mailman who worked in the post office forty years ago.
They asked him, because they opened the letter and found that it was sent from Japan.
Japan and China had just established diplomatic relations back then, so people were
interested in this thing, and would like to get it done.
Pai: Which year was it?
JY: They [PRC] started to work on unifying the country… If you got a letter from
Taiwan, you could be sentenced to death.
WZ: Yes.
JY: That was the time, the time I transferred the letter.
Pai: Which year it was?
WZ: The letter was wrote in 1980, 80. When the letter reached us, I think it took half
a year.

There was a short pause here because the narrating was interrupted by the background
conversation. Ms. Ai started her narrative with the sentence “let me tell you.” By saying
that, she set up a storytelling frame to indicate to her audience that there was a
performance about to begin (Bauman 1977). In addition to it, Ms. Ai also used this
opening sentence as consent to my request for stories. She then provided an orientation to
prepare her audiences for the narrative. There are two tellers participating in this narrative
event. The major one is Ms. Ai Wenzhe, and the minor teller Bai Jieyong acted as an
assistant who provided factual details to the narrative. The interaction between two tellers is interesting. The fact that Ms. Bai is the one who wrote the letter from Taiwan makes her the authority on this side of the narrative. Ms. Ai acknowledged Ms. Bai’s authority on the issue by asking her to provide detailed information about the address in line 7, 52, and 55. In return, Ms. Bai in line 8 disclaimed the right of telling and gave the floor back to the major narrator.

After the exchange of questions between myself and two tellers and a short pause due to the background noise, the narrator resumed the telling and brought her audiences back to the storytelling mode by repeating a small portion of story before the interruption.

32 WZ: So they found the old mailman, he said that the location of Zhongzhengtang was in such and such village now. That place is a village, they probably looked there, looked for a person who has Ming in the name. Who is in the same generation with her? No one knows Li Mingshan, so they went to Zhongzhengtang. If it was called such and such “tang” in the past, it must be a rich family. Such a rich family, there must have been someone who knew. So they kept looking. Eventually they thought that the Li family had Ming in the name. Someone knew my mother, but the one who knew her didn’t know where she was. Then a person remembered that my mother married into the Ai family in Shijiapu township, Lishu county. Shijiapu is not very far, so there was a kind person who brought this letter to Shijiapu looking for Li Mingshan. My oldest uncle’s child knew that our family had an aunt called Li Mingshan. This Li Mingshan was a younger sister of my aunt, he said, but this person had already passed away. She died, in 1959 I remember my mother said she passed away in 1959. Then my oldest uncle’s son took the letter. He felt as if he had gotten
an invaluable treasure! Then…then he read the letter. It was written by your aunt, she wrote that ‘I am Li Mingzhen’s daughter’, and then, yes, because of the names Li Mingzhen and Li Mingshan, people could make association with Li Mingyu. So it’s like that, and then, I remember that letter, let me recall the content for you…

Pai: Grandma wrote the letter, right?

WZ: No, it was written by your aunt. It said, “I’m Li Mingzhen’s daughter, my name is…”

JY: Bai Yunshang.

WZ: Bai Yunshang, and then if you got this letter, please contact me. My address is, eh, Japan, Tokyo, Xinsu county, and what else? (Turn to JY)

JY: Wudingmu.

WZ: Right, right. I don’t remember the rest. The letter was simple. It’s only few words. It said if you get this letter and if you know me, please contact me. Then my oldest uncle’s son brought this letter to our house, he brought it to our house. He came in the afternoon. My mother was still at work and I was in school. When I came home, I surprisingly found that he came. Usually he only visited us at Chinese New Year or other holidays, or during the break. They lived in a rural village and it was during the harvest season. It was a very busy time. So when we found that he came by, we were all surprised. I asked, “Why did you visit us?” And then he, he looked very delighted, and he said, “I come to visit uncle and aunt.” We felt very strange then, and, and he didn’t dare to tell my mother this at the time. So we talked, and asked him to stay for dinner. After the dinner, my, my cousin told my father about the letter. And my father became quite excited as well. Everyone felt that their facial expressions were weird.
Then my mother said, “So why are here after all? Since you are here, just tell us.” He said, “Aunt, I have something to tell you.” Because my mother had high blood pressure at that time, he was afraid that my mother would get too excited. So he said, “Aunt, let me tell you something, it’s a good thing, but please don’t get too excited. Please take a seat and I will tell you slowly.” Okay, my mother said. And he said, “Do you remember that you have an older sister called Li Mingzhen?” My mother answered yes. And he said, “She is still alive.” (Rising voice with sobbing)

WZ: At that time, we are all startled. We felt, it’s impossible, how can it be real.

Then he pulled out the letter. After reading it our whole family (choked with sobbing), made no sound, and, (pause) I can’t describe that feeling. (pause) We read the letter, we were reading and crying (pause)...

JY: They both thought the other was dead.

Although there are two tellers in this narrative event, the “co-tellership” is low because it is clear that the interview targeted Ms. Ai Wenzhe from the very beginning (Ochs and Capps 2001: 271). As Ochs and Capps state, “narrative of personal experience that emerges in formal interviews often evidence low involvement in co-telling” (2001: 26). During the interview, I intended to minimize my response and questions that might interrupt the narration.

Up to line 56, the setting of the narrative becomes clear. The narrator provided elaborate information on how the letter finally reached the right place after all the dramatic turns. This part of the narrative is a warm-up for the main scene, in which two sisters reunited. It is anticipated that a narrative about a family reunion after 30 years
separation would be a dramatic one. The narrator builds up the intensity of emotion as the story moved forward. When the protagonist Li Mingyu learned the reason of the visit at the end, the emotion of both the teller and the listeners is finally released. This strategy allows the narrator to create a dramatic ending for her audiences, although they have learned the content of the letter earlier in the narrative.

Another storytelling strategy used frequently in this narrative after line 56 is reported speech. As a narrator, Ms. Ai used reported speech to recreate the scene and “gives the hearer the illusion that the quoted speech was actually uttered as reported” (De Fina 2003: 94). One feature that differentiates Chinese language from English is that the subject can be consistently omitted. This happened in Ms. Ai’s narrative, especially when she used reported speech. In my translation, I added the subject based on the context to make the text readable in English. Yet it is noteworthy that in this particular narrative, the omission of the subject speeds up the tempo of the narrative and thus creates a sense of compactness. This linguistic device is usually employed by the narrator when telling more emotively intense stories.

**Exodus Narratives in Context**

The following two narratives are from the documentary film, *Weizhong Mama de Juancun* (“Weizhong’s Mother’s Village of Military Dependents”). Mr. Wang Weizhong is the director and producer of this recently-made documentary, in which he records the narratives of the 1949 immigrants and their families. Two narratives I borrowed in this chapter are about the tellers’ exodus experiences from China to Taiwan during wartime.

Sun Shaoqin is Mr. Wang Weizhong’s mother. She went to Taiwan with her husband and her mother-in-law at 1949 when she was 17 years old. Ms. Sun tells stories about her
early life experiences in Taiwan, adaptation into a new culture, and exodus. She lived in juancun for fifty years. In the following excerpt, Ms. Sun tells why she left for Taiwan.

1. Sun: We were not married at that time. We were engaged. Because Weizhong’s father and grandmother, his grandmother and uncle, went to our, whom Weizhong called grandfather, the sixth grandfather, went to our house. I had known uncle Wang already. They went to our house and said there is not enough time to get married. Immediately, we’re going to retreat. And we were not in any condition to get married too, because both our families were not rich, we’re just common people, so we were not in a suitable condition. Said, said the retreat is in a rush and the Communists are coming. Said that it’s about [time] to retreat, to retreat with the army, and said that he wants to take me. My mother and my father didn’t agree in the first place. My brother was in the army at that moment. He wasn’t home. They disagreed. Then uncle Wang said that if I wouldn’t go, he wouldn’t go. Then if he wouldn’t go, and the army caught him, he would be in trouble. It was called kai xiaoche [開小車, literally means “to drive small car” and it means “a military deserter” in this case.]. Said something bad will happen if he got caught. My father was a soldier before. My father knew how serious it is to desert from military duty. If you, if a soldier kai xiaoche, it’s a serious crime. So my mother said, Weizhong’s grandmother only has one son. If he refused to go with the army for my daughter, if he refused to go and committed the crime, we would feel embarrassed. As a result, they let me leave, let me leave with Weizhong’s father. So we came here. Yet the life condition here were even worse, so how could we have money for the wedding?

21. Anyhow, we were engaged in China and came here before we got married. I came to
Taiwan, and my mother spoke to me before I left. She said, even if you go to the remotest corners of the earth, you have to write to me, so I will know, my child, I will know where you are. (sobbing) So when I arrived Jiayi city, I sent a letter to Beijing immediately. My mother got my letter, in which I told her where I live. Then my brother found Qingsheng movie theater according to the address, and found the house next to it, and found me.

The following conversation is an excerpt from *Weizhong Mama de Juancun*, in which Mrs. Wang told the interviewer her exodus experience. Mrs. Wang was in her late 70s when the interviewer was done. She was a neighbor of Sun Shaoqin in the same village of military dependents.

1. Interviewer: Where are you from?
2. Wang: I’m from Beijing, Nanyuan area.
3. Interviewer: What is your family background?
4. Wang: My family is just an average family. Work from nine to five, depending on our organization.
5. Interviewer: How did you meet Mr. Wang?
6. Wang: We were, it is said that his cousin fought in the war against the Japanese, and after the victory, the victory of the Nationalist Party, he went back to Beijing. At the Nanyuan area, most of the air force soldiers rented their own place. That cousin rented the same house with my mother, they lived in the same four-section compound. After two or three years, we were all familiar with each other, and this cousin introduced us.
7. Interviewer: How long were you with him before marriage?
14. Wang: Not long, a little more than one year.
15. Interviewer: Then you got married?
17. Interviewer: Why?
18. Wang: Because he is also from Tianjin. My father is from Tianjin, so my parents agreed. So we got married. And we were going to leave after the wedding, but my mother was reluctant. She said that she would feel worried if I left after the wedding.
19. I was young. But my father say, aiya, we are all Tianjinese, no matter where we go we’ll think about going back home. They will come back in the future.
20. Interviewer: Then it took fifty years.

Shift in Topics

The following narratives were collected in a single storytelling event featuring Ms. Li Mingzhen. This informal interview was conducted in her house and lasted for about an hour. Ms. Li’s stories were narrated in an on and off manner. Sometimes there are internals in between the stories. The arrangement of the stories below corresponds to the telling sequence. I would like to use the stories to show the connection between these seemingly unrelated narratives and how the narrator shifts from one topic to the next.

1. Li: My father used to work for the Railroad Administration, there are like a maintenance department and an electric equipment department. Then he worked at—it’s in the our family genealogy—he was the director of the thermal power plant.
2. Pai: Like Hongren.
3. Li: That’s terrifying. Hongren? Hongren was not, Hongren was in water power plant.
6. He was good, he was in charge of electricity for the entire Northeast. My father was
7. only in charge of Siping county. That, the thermal power plant had to keep the boiler
8. burning, so heat and water in our place were quite convenient to use. That thing was
9. like a locomotive and there are two huge electric fans inside it—one on top and one
10. at below. It made a *honglong honglong* sound all day long. I don’t even know what
11. made that noise. We got scolded when we went there, [they] said you’d be dead if
12. you fell in it.

13. Pai: Is that why your family moved a lot?
14. Li: No, ah, that, then my father went to—Japanese took control over Hailaer and it is
15. said that the salary there is three times than here. It’s like if someone is paid 20’000
16. NTD now, if they work in Hailaer they can get 60’000 NTD.
17. Pai: That’s why he went to Hailaer?
18. Li: He said it’s like going sightseeing. One can’t stay at one place without moving
19. for the entire lifetime. So he went. At that time he stopped work in the power plant
20. and started a job in charge of the maintenance department, in railroad administration.
21. Pai: What did he do in the maintenance department?
22. Li: Dispatched trains, dispatched trains throughout the place.

This following short narrative was triggered by a Hunan travel program playing on
the television while we were having the conversation. Ms. Li was distracted for a bit and
then she told me the following incident about fleeing from the Communist army. This
narrative shows that a personal experience narrative can be triggered by the immediate
context. Even thought it is short in length, the narrative provides an example of her
exodus experience.
1. Li: I passed through Hunan province while fleeing from the Communist army. We said [to a villager] “Madam, please give us some [uncooked] rice, give us a bag of rice”, while fleeing from the Communist army in China. I was with the wife of a battalion commander, three of us, with her child and an orderly. We took, took a small boat like that [points to the television].

6. Pai: To where?

7. Li: It was in Hunan, when we were fleeing from the Communist army. To where I can’t remember.

The narrative provides some information about fleeing the Communist army to Taiwan: the situation on the road, the transportation, the route.

Then I asked Ms. Li to tell me the beginning of her trip. She showed some reluctance at this time and although I tried to elicit more about it, she obviously didn’t want to continue the topic. We both fell silent for a moment and after a short interlude, she started to tell me a series of supernatural experiences of her own about when she still lived in China. The timing of this ghost narrative was delivered is quite intriguing. The fear of ghosts could be taken as a representation of the anxiety over loss or was possibly due to social conflicts. By shifting the topic, Ms. Li projected the anxiety she experienced while apart from her family onto the supernatural experience of encountering a ghost. Scary stories always provide good entertainment to the audience and thus allow the tension to be released in disguise. Ms. Li told me a story about how her great-grandmother lost three sons at the same time. One of them was even buried in the coffin that originally prepared for her. The following excerpt from that narrative is about the oldest son of Ms. Li’s great-grandmother.
1. Pai: So what happened to your three granduncles?

2. Li: My oldest granduncle was extremely bad. There was small house near our
place used as a shelter for, probably for beggars, there were women too, one of the
women was pregnant. Once he scolded that woman and she talked back, so he
kicked, kicked her to death. Then he became a lunatic. Everyday he said that there
are people coming after him. My mother ignored him, and said he had evil heart and
thus should not be granted any attention. My father worked in Siping. It’s about 20
kilometers from Shijiapu. On Monday morning, after he [granduncle] had some
noodles, he sent his grandchild to “Go take a look, see if your second uncle has left.

3. [The grandchild] said no.

4. So he waited and waited and said, “Did he [the second uncle] leave?” [the
grandchild] said “yes.” Then he [oldest granduncle] went there [to the well] and
jumped in. My second older sister [This is actually Ms. Li’s cousin. She didn’t
distinguish the title in the original narrative], she was 11 or 12, she yelled, and
couldn’t find him. Because he wore nice clothes all the time—people like that were
called *wenming gun-er*. That second older sister said, mother, go hurry, there is
someone who wear black clothes standing by the well. But they had not seen a
shadow. So they looked for him, and he was in the well. [He]stood up, stood up in it,
and didn’t drink any water.

5. Pai: That’s strange.

6. Li: He was a bad person.

7. (pause)

8. Li: His son is the one who was hit by lightning.
24. Pai: Oh, his son is the one who was hit by lightning!

This narrative shows the narrator’s moral stance. She started the narrative stating, “My oldest granduncle was extremely bad”. That statement sets up the tone for the story and foreshadows the upcoming events. Then she moved on to the orientation to introduce the main character’s personality and behavior. By elaborating on the character’s “extremely bad” behavior, the narrator implied her disapproval to show her superiority to the character. “Narrators often shape the narrative to make their own comportment appear morally superior to that of another protagonist’ (Ochs and Capps 2001: 47).

The story is also contains moral lessons. The coda, “he was a bad person”, also serves as the narrator’s evaluation of the situation. The bad person is punished and the social values restored. The narrative corresponds to a Chinese saying *e you e bao* (惡有惡報, “evil will be recompensed with evil”). Later Ms. Li added that “his son is the one who was hit by lightning”. This additional note to the narrative serves multiple purposes. First, it adds extra flavor for the audience and this extra flavor required shared knowledge between teller and audience. So it is also an affirmation of family membership. The lightning story is about a child who yelled at his mother and is soon after hit by lightning. Filial piety is an important part of Confucianism and it is embedded in the lightning story. The story also delivers strong moral lessons.

One ghost story follows another, yet the tone of the story changes. The following story has a lighter atmosphere and provides even more entertainment to the audiences. There are less didactic elements than the above story and the characteristics of the performance were enhanced.

1. Li: My grandfather’s father had two wives. The first great-grandmother, she was, my
sixth aunt, fifth aunt. Fifth aunt is my lineal aunt, and sixth aunt is sister of, eh, sister
of my uncle who lives in Taipei, and there was also fourth aunt. First aunt, second
aunt, and third aunt were all married. She[great-grandma] lived with these three
daughters in one place, in one house, a wing of the house. One day, both of them,
three of them were all unmarried, and they were about 17 or 18. First my fourth aunt
started, my fourth aunt said, she saw, saw a shadow on the window, on the window
glass. A huge person scratching. Our window, like the one showed on television, the
bottom part is window glass and the upper part is wooden grille covered with a
paper-cut flower. So she said, “Help, help, there is a ghost, there is a ghost”
[imitating fourth aunt’s screaming voice] ((LF)). This was the sixth aunt, or other
aunts. And another kicked up a fuss and said that there really was a ghost. She
looked and said so, and then the one who didn’t see it also started to say “There is a
ghost, there is a ghost” ((LF)). My great-grandmother said “Where is the ghost?
Where is the ghost?” and she looked—three of them were crying together. And then
they saw the shadow, the window was scratched, and cracked. It used both hands
and feet to scratch. [Audiences make scared sound].
Li: They yelled, they yelled for my oldest uncle, and said, “Hurry, there is a ghost,
there is a ghost.” My oldest uncle said that you’re saying “There is ghost” all day
long. He took out a gun, we had shotgun there, so he loaded the gun but it got stuck
[hand gesture]. And it was unable to shoot. It’s like this every time, when
encountering something like this, the gun can never shoot. So it was jammed, and he
was angry, so he threw the gun away. It was late night then, so it [the ghost] was
gone. The thing was already gone. And he scolded them, “You’re all screaming for
25. nothing, crying and bustling, where is the ghost?” And at daybreak, they saw the
26. windows were all torn.
27. [the audience make scared sound again]
28. Li: It’s not necessarily a ghost. It could be an “animal”, an “animal” did mischief in
29. our area for many years. It’s the one I told you. We had a wall around our old house
30. in the countryside. And each corner had one keeper. One of them quit because there
31. was not much to do. My sixth uncle and others took turns keeping watch. My Sixth
32. uncle said that he has seen it. He said it’s not ghost, it’s a tall and black thing, loudly
33. walking alone the wall, “tongtongtong, tongtongtongtong.”

The narrator used multiple means to key the personal narrative performance such as
imitation of characters voices, paralinguistic features and gesture, and interaction with the
audience (Bauman 1977: 16-24). Reported speech is also used to recreate the original act.
At the end of the narrative, Ms. Li tried to rationalize the supernatural experience of her
aunts’ by offering an alternative explanation. The interesting thing is that she did not try
to deny the ghost experience completely; instead, she connected it to another story of
encountering a supernatural being. The animal she referred to in line 28 is actually a
supernatural being in local folk legend. She used the word “animal” and thus gave the
creature a place in the natural world. As Lloyd states in his essay, “It is supernatural not
in the sense of being unnatural or in being separate from the natural, but in the literal
sense of being the largest version of the pattern of the natural” (Lloyd 1995: 60).

3.3 CONCLUSION

There are multiple layers of the personal narratives of the first generation Chinese
immigrants to Taiwan. The stories they chose to tell express their strong identification
with the culture from which they originated. Yet these stories also give a hint of how the
tellers adapted to the new environment. Through the narratives, they not only establish
their own unique identity but also make available potential elements of identity
construction that are differentially absorbed by their family or group listeners.
CHAPTER 4

ENCOUNTERING THE OTHER:

MAINLANDER AND TAIWANESE IN PERSONAL NARRATIVES

“You know Mrs. Wu from across the street? She and her family are Taiwanese. There was one year, before the Dragon Boat Festival, I ran into her in the morning market. We were both shopping for festival food. Mrs. Wu said to me: ‘Mrs. Bai, so you Mainlanders also celebrate the Dragon Boat Festival?’ I answered: ‘Do you think Qu Yuan was Taiwanese?’”

(Ancedote told by Li Mingzhen)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The above narrative was told by my grandmother and it was repeated so many times that it became one of our standard family jokes when it comes to “Taiwanese-ness”. In this chapter, I would like to explore the narratives told by informants from one of 1949 Chinese immigrant families, especially of the second generation, that concern the experiences of encountering the cultural “other” in Taiwan (Woodward 1997). Identity construction is not only based on identification but also largely built on the distinguishability from others (Sims and Stephens 2005: 43, Woodward 1997: 35). Through a close examination of the narratives, the purpose of this chapter is to see how multiple identities are formed among second generation of Chinese immigrants in Taiwan. I would like to focus on the second generation immigrants because they are a transition point from the
unshakable Chinese identity of the 1949 immigrants to the emerging new Taiwanese identity of the third generation. These narratives offer a window to the construction of generational identity within Chinese immigrant families while it relates to the larger social context of Taiwan.

The second generation immigrants I have interviewed in Taiwan are either in their late 40s or early 50s now. They have been through Taiwan’s major political and economic transformation during the 1970s and 1980s. One of the main themes in these narratives is identity in negotiation. Although two of my informants have different life experiences due to their age differences, both of them described the construction of their identity as a changing process. When the Chinese immigrants came to Taiwan with the government at 1949, it was anticipated that they would encounter cultural differences. These differences sometimes translated into interesting narratives and sometimes these stories express the underlying tensions between mainlanders and local Taiwanese. When collecting narratives, I stimulate responses with statement like “Tell me about your early life in Taiwan” and question such as “What is the first experience you remembered of encountering Taiwanese is”. Many times such questions generate very interesting narratives but in a few cases, the informants answered only briefly and reluctantly. As Ochs and Capps have stated, “Memories of trauma are encoded by processes such as repression and dissociation that make them difficult to retrieve as coherent, verbal narratives” (2001: 258). Due to political reasons, the new immigrants were not welcome by the Taiwanese and physical conflict was not uncommon between two groups during early 1950s and 1960s. In this chapter, I will also touch upon these hidden narratives of trauma.
The narratives used in this chapter were collected from three major informants whom I closely worked with, Li Mingzhen, Bai Minzhi, and Bai Meizheng. I have done phone interviews with them since October, 2005, and face-to-face interviews in September, 2007 during a visit to Taiwan. Bai Minzhi and Bai Meizheng are daughters of Li Mingzhen, whom I introduce in chapter three. Ms. Bai Minzhi was born in 1951 in Qingshui township, Taizhong County, two years after her parents immigrated to Taiwan. She is the oldest of six children and the second generation Chinese immigrant. One of our interviews in 2007 was done in her house in Taiping city, Taizhong County, and the other one was during a family gathering in her mother’s place. Ms. Bai Minzhi told me stories about her childhood and adolescence that reflect the contemporary social and political atmosphere of Taiwan. She also told me about her mother’s stories that she remembered listening to.

Another informant, Ms. Bai Meizheng, is the fifth child in the family and is nine years younger than Ms. Bai Minzhi. Ms. Bai Meizheng was born in Fengyuan city, Taizhong County and lived there until she graduated from university. In 1984, she came to America for higher education and thus got a chance to visit her mother’s birthplace in Northeast China in 1985. Communication of any form between China and Taiwan was strictly restrained until the early 1980s, and it was almost impossible to travel to China from Taiwan directly. During one of our interviews, she told me how these experiences dramatically change her identity. As Epstein states, “Personal experience narratives are the stories from conversation and imply a particular point of view,” Ms. Bai Meizheng also told stories about encountering Taiwanese, yet her experience and perspective was quite different from her older sister (1993: 17).
4.2 NEGOTIATING IDENTITY IN NARRATIVES

For the purpose of analysis, the grouping of the narratives in this chapter is based on the topics in the stories. In a few cases, there are more than two participants in the interviews or at family gatherings. Most of the interviews are lengthy and contains several episodes. The English translation is based on my transcription of the narratives (see the appendix).

Recognition and Misrecognition of Otherness

The Dragon Boat Festival narrative I quoted at the beginning of this chapter displays an intriguing feature of identity construction in Taiwanese society, which I would like to call misrecognition of otherness. “One of the way in which defining groups becomes complicated is in members’ unwillingness to identify themselves as members of a particular group” (Sims and Stephens 2005: 43). Elaborating on Sims and Stephens’ statement, one way to establish identity is through the recognition of otherness and the reluctance to become the other. However, in the Dragon Boat Festival narrative, the recognition of otherness alone is not enough to build two separated identities. The narrative shows the common cultural element shared by both characters in the story: the Dragon Boat Festival. The Dragon Boat Festival falls on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month. The origin of this festival is in remembrance of an ancient patriotic poet, Qu Yuan, who was martyred for his political beliefs. The Festival is celebrated in both Mainland China and Taiwan. In this narrative, Mrs. Wu’s identity was not built on the recognition of the differences between Mainlander/Mrs. Bai and Taiwanese/herself. On the contrary, it was built on the misrecognition of the shared cultural elements.

To make the picture even more complicated, Mrs. Bai recognized Mrs. Wu’s
misrecognition and thus immediately put herself in a different group. Mrs. Bai established her superior status to Mrs. Wu in this conflict situation by recognizing the shared cultural elements which Mrs. Wu failed to know. She demonstrated the knowledge about Qu Yuan to Mrs. Wu when the conversation took place and again to her chosen audience when she told the narrative. Thus two separated identities in this narrative are confirmed not through the difference between Mainlanders and Taiwanese but through the misrecognition of the sharing cultural elements.

The following narrative is a conversation between Li Mingzhen and her oldest daughter Bai Minzhi, in which Li tells how her family celebrates Duanwu jie (端午節, “Dragon Boat Festival”). All the Li family members gathered together to make zongzi (粽子, “rice cakes”), a traditional food made of sticky rice and various fillings all wrapped in bamboo leaves and then boiled until the rice is fully cooked. Taiwanese celebrate the Dragon Boat Festival as well as the new immigrants, and most people eat zongzi for the celebration. Yet, Li insists that there is only one correct way of making the food, which is the way she learned from her mother. The narrative event took place in the kitchen of Li Mingzhen’s house, where Bai Minzhi and I was preparing the ingredients for zongzi under Li Mingzhen’s supervision.

1 Li Mingzhen (Li): Soak the rice [in soy sauce] for a little bit. No, don’t put the dried shrimps in it!

2 Minzhi (MZ): It [zongzi] smells better with the dried shrimps.

3 Li: Only Taiwanese put dried shrimp and peanuts in zongzi. ((turns to me)) There shouldn’t be too many ingredients in zongzi. If you’re making the salty kind: rice,
meat, and sometimes mushrooms. Too many ingredients will take away the
original flavor and you can’t taste the rice.

Pai: I see. So only meat and mushroom?

Li: Yes.

Pai: Is it the way great-grandmother used to do it?

Li: Yes. ((LF))

In the morning we would put aicao [a kind of grass for bringing good luck
and expelling the evil spirit] at the front door and we children would help your
great-grandmother to make zongzi.

The children’s job is to clean the bamboo leaves.

Pai: Like I just did. ((LF))

Li: ((laughing and nodding)) We did it much faster than you!

((pause)) Ah, it’s hard to find real aicao in Taiwan now.

From telling us the “correct” way of making the traditional food and celebrating the
Festival, Li implicitly but strongly restates her identity as a non-Taiwanese. She is
passing down her identity as Chinese to the next generation—maybe unawares—by
separating herself and her children/grandchildren from the Taiwanese through the
narrative. Ben-Amos states one aspect of the tradition is that it “implies the dynamics of
transmission of cultural heritage from generation to generation,” and teaching the
traditions by narratives even more quickly to establish the identification (1984: 117).

Identity in Negotiation

During the interviews, I have asked direct questions about the informants’ identities.
However, even the most straightforward question like “where are you from” can generate
multiple answers. The following two excerpts from the interviews display the informants’
constant negotiation of identity.

I.
1 Pai: Where are you from?
2 Meizheng (Mei): Do you mean where I feel I’m from? Or according to my household
register?
3 Pai: I don’t want you to think about it. Just tell me where you’re from.
4 Mei: I’ll say I’m Northeasterner.
5 Pai: Do you mean you’re from the same place you’re mother is from?
6 Mei: Yes. I feel that I am a Northeasterner.

II.
1 Pai: Where are you from?
2 MZ: My father is from Hebei [province] and my mother is from the Northeast.
3 Pai: What about yourself?
4 MZ: Um ((pause)). Now I will say I’m a Northeasterner.

While analyzing these narratives, I have realized that the “where are you from”
question is actually tricky if asked in Chinese. “Where are you from” is the closest but
not accurate translation of the Chinese sentence 你是哪裡人 Ni shi nali ren. In this case,
the term nali is used as a verbal question marker to ask about place. Both of my
informants were born in Taiwan but none of them claimed that they are from Taiwan.
Their responses to this question suggest that there are multiple meanings of the term nali,
and both of them take the symbolic meaning rather than the literal meaning. The “place”
they chose to identify with—no matter whether it is Hebei province or the Northeast—is
not an actual place but an inherited identity. In a later section, I will discuss hereditary identity and identity constructed through narratives. Furthermore, the context in which I asked the question is also important. As I discussed in the first chapter, politics play a heavy role in the construction of identity in Taiwan. Ethnic identity and national identity are in constant conflict. The interviews were done in Taiwan a few months before the presidential election, which usually intensifies the tension between Mainlanders like my informants and the Taiwanese. During my interview with Ms. Bai Meizheng, she talked about her experience of living abroad and how her identification shifted while in the foreign country. When the context changes, the “where are you from” question might generate a very different answer.

1 Pai: What year did you go to America?
2 Mei: It’s 1984, probably.
3 Pai: After you went to America... You feel that you’re not Taiwanese when you’re in Taiwan, does it change when you went to America?
4 Mei: You mean my feeling that I am not a Taiwanese?
5 Pai: Yes.
6 Mei: Yeah, um, it seems changed. Still, I didn’t think I am a Taiwanese, but it’s like, it became clearer that my home is in Taiwan.
7 Pai: Do you still feel this way now?
8 Mei: No, now I don’t. Unfortunately. ((LF))
9 Pai: Why?
10 Mei: I think the thing is that I visited Shenyang one year after I went to America.
11 So there was a short period of time that I felt more clearly that my home is in
Taiwan. But after I visited Shenyang, I realized that my home is not in Taiwan although it’s certainly not in Shenyang either, then ((pause)), that is to say that, I feel that my nostalgia is actually my mother’s emotion. Because she always talks about it, so it seems to become my emotion as well. Or become part of my imagination. Um, but the affection I felt when I visited Shenyang from America was much stronger than what I felt when I came back to Taiwan from America. I think it is some kind of message to me. So, to be honest, it is a pity that these few years, the feeling [of Taiwan as home] is getting thinner and thinner. There was a period of time that I felt that if I’m going to contribute myself, I’ll contribute myself to the Republic of China. That’s to say, there was a kind of national consciousness, at that age, the national consciousness was strong. Um, stronger than the ethnic consciousness, I suppose. But, after I came back to Taiwan, because of Chen Shuibian, it’s like our national consciousness is corroded, and thus the ethnic consciousness got stronger again. I feel that, I feel that the country, or the idea of country, is placed in jeopardy so that the only thing left is you, your ethnic identity. This is a split equation and now it’s on a road of retrogression.

Pai: It’s a pity.

Mei: It is a pity, yeah. So what I mean is that in our heart, there are many differences, I mean, the identity is not a single event, so at what moment, which identity becomes clearer, that is a matter of growth and decline. So, now, now there is a lot decline [of national identity]. ((LF))

In this narrative event, Ms. Bai Meizheng talked about the critical moments of her identity shift. Leaving the country was pivotal to the teller’s development of identity. Ms.
Bai Meizheng in our later conversation juxtaposed her experience of leaving Taiwan with her mother’s experience of leaving China. She claimed that after living for over a decade in America, she still felt like a foreigner. Exactly the way her mother felt after living in Taiwan for over 40 years. There are two turning points in Bai Meizheng’s narrative. The first one happened when she came to America at 1984. At this time, she identifies with her country, Republic of China, and the national identity became more vivid than the ethnic identity. Bai Meizheng described this identity shift as “a matter of growth and decline” (line 33). When one particular identity wins out due to the change of context such as political transformation or living in a foreign country, the other identity declines.

**Setting and Breaking the Boundaries**

The succeeding excerpt is an exchange of “encountering other” experiences between me and Ms. Bai Meizheng, in which we discussed our memories of unexpected encounters with Taiwanese in our early ages. This semi-formal interview took place in a restaurant near Mr. Bai Meizheng’s office and we were talking over lunch.

1 Mei: Taiwanese?! I have never felt that I’m Taiwanese. Never felt that I’m
2 Taiwanese. I always feel that we are from another place
3 Pai: Is it because of grandmother?
4 Mei: Yes. Like she said, even the backdrop of her dreams is never set up in
5 Taiwan. I guess that’s the same feeling. I think it’s because we frequently listen to
6 her stories about her hometown. She likes to talk about people, such and such
7 person left a dying person on the railroad…
8 Pai: What? I’ve never heard of this.
9 Mei: No? Well, when I listen to these stories, I always picture them in my mind.
So I feel they are so vivid. It’s so vivid that it became clearer than the reality. I believe that’s because it is accompanied by grandma’s emotion. So to me, these stories are part of my memory. Um, it’s also possible ((pause)), eh, it’s probably because we didn’t play with other kids when we were little. Grandma didn’t like us to play with them [Taiwanese kids]. She felt that they, they are different from us. It’s probably the same in your childhood, right?

Pai: Not really. I played with the neighbors. Yet grandma didn’t allow us to go inside their houses.

Mei: Yes, that is not allowed.

Pai: Never.

Mei: She didn’t encourage us to invite people to our house too. It is to say that we were separated from them.

Pai: But I remember there were some exceptions. For instance, I was allowed to go to Mrs. Huang’s house.

Mei: That is different. They are Mainlanders.

In line 1 and 2, Ms. Bai Meizheng emphasized that she is not Taiwanese by raising her voice and repeated her statement twice. She confirmed that she identified with Mainlanders and set up a boundary between her and the Taiwanese by following her mother’s rule of “don’t play with Taiwanese kids.” I would like to draw on William Labov’s oral narrative structure to analyze this narrative. This part of the conversation exchange sets up a frame for the later narrative and serves as an abstract of the story (Labov 1972: 362).

Pai: Yes.
Mei: Right. So, it is strange, I felt that when we were young, we felt that
Taiwanese…I felt that Taiwanese are strange. Their families were mysterious to
me and I didn’t know how they live their life. And then, if occasionally I went to
their house, I felt like a peeper.

Pai: And nervous.

Mei: Yes, very nervous. Sometimes when I walked into an alley, I wanted to
take a peep through their windows, you know, to see how they live. I felt that way.
Like the alley with guava trees that leads to a knitting factory. I mean, of course
now I know that is not representative of the Taiwanese. But back then, you would
have thought it was.

Pai: Yes.

Mei: That is a strange place. Another strange place is that, the place that sells pies,
that alley, there are many jiujia. [The literal translation of jiujia 酒家 could be
“tavern” or “restaurant” based on the context, yet the term in Taiwan has another
meaning. In this case, jiujia is a kind of red-light house offering entertainment for
men]. That alley was the center of jiujia and “teahouse”. Those women would
sometimes relax in a cool place outside wearing only underwear and petticoats. Is it
good to put this in your folklore research? ((LF)) I felt it’s interesting, I mean, that
kind of… You know there was a family that lived in the guava tree alley, and there
were two schizoids in their family. Grandma told me that they chained the schizoids
in the house and that was true. But when I was little, I connected that image with
Taiwanese. I almost had a feeling that they are like beasts. ((LF)) Isn’t it strange? It
feels like that they are very different, uncivilized, very poor or very crazy, almost
barbarian-like. It’s like the white people’s imagination about African aborigines. It feels extremely distant. ((LF)) It’s better not to put this in your paper.

According to Labov, there are six parts in a “fully-formed oral narrative”—abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, and coda (Toolan 2001, 152). In the abstract from above line 24, Bai Meizheng set up a theme for this conversation. The story is going to be about the boundaries between Mainlanders and Taiwanese. The abstract not only sketches the outline of the story but also “contain requests for the extended turn at talk necessary to tell a story” (Toolan 2001: 154). Though different from Toolan’s observation on conversations between friends, there was no “battle for attention” in this talk because the purpose embedded in this narrative is for me to understand more about the teller’s experience. On the contrary, I intentionally avoided taking the floor from the interviewee. In the line 15, Ms. Bai politely invited me to tell my story and offered me the floor by asking if I had the same experience. After she realized that I have no intention to tell an elaborate story, she moved on to her own.

As one might notice here, the orientation of the narrative is missing. The fact that Ms. Bai Meizheng and I are related created a common ground for our conversation. There is no need to detail the place and time of the narrative because she knows that I share the knowledge with her. Ms. Bai was born and grew up in Fengyuan city, Taizhong County, Taiwan. Fengyuan was considered the second large city in Taizhong County back to the 1970s and 1980s. There were mixed residences of Mainlander and Taiwanese, and village of military dependents for Mainlanders. Ms. Bai’s father was working for the government instead of in the military unit at that time, and therefore they lived in the mixed residence area with Taiwanese near the center of the city.
After setting up the outline for the narrative, Ms. Bai started to talk about her experience of encountering Taiwanese in her youth. She described that her early impression of Taiwanese is that “they are strange” (line 27). The otherness to her came from her distant observation of the Taiwanese neighbors. The boundaries between her and Taiwanese neighbors have multiple layers. In the factual level, she was not allowed to go to their houses. Her mother set up a boundary for her at the very beginning. Then when she finally visited their houses—accidentally or furtively—, she was shocked by witnessing a totally different set of cultural values and thus the boundary was reconfirmed. The prostitutes wearing underwear and petticoats, the parents who chained their sick children in the house, and the mysterious knitting factory full of female workers interweave the images of Taiwanese into the tellers’ memory. Ms. Bai claimed that she is fully aware now that this image does not represent Taiwanese. Yet this feeling of strangeness translated into her construction of identity.

Ms. Bai Meizheng offered both external evaluations and internal evaluations in her narrative (Labov 1972: 366). The clear external evaluations occurred in line 42-43 and line 50. At these points, the teller felt a little uncomfortable on suggesting that her early impression of Taiwanese was negative. She interrupted the flow of the narrative and asked me whether it is a good idea to “put this in your folklore research.” By asking such questions, although with a joking voice, Ms. Bai suggested her evaluation of an “appropriate” story. Another external evaluation in this narrative appears in line 34 when Ms. Bai claimed that she now knows “that is not representative of Taiwanese.” Ms. Bai used both linguistic and paralinguistic intensifiers in her narrative. She combined hand gestures and facial expressions while describing the chained children in the guava tree
alley. The scary image of the scene was therefore vividly presented to me. The evaluation on the experience of encountering the other culture was explicit at the end of the narrative and brought the narrative to its climax. Ms. Bai drew a comparison between her early perception of Taiwanese and “white people’s” initial perceptions of African aborigines. This comparison is so striking that eventually she had to withdraw from the statement a little bit by asking about the appropriateness of using the story in a paper that will supposedly be read by “white people.”

The coda of Ms. Bai Meizheng’s narrative is the last sentence. By saying “it’s better not to put this in your paper”, Ms. Bai declared her narrative was over and she was “bridging back to our present situation” (Toolan 2001: 152).

The later story is a portion from the interview with Ms. Bai Minzhi. It is also about the early experience of encountering Taiwanese in the pretty much the same area as in the above narrative. Yet Bai Minzhi’s story is much less dramatic than Ms. Bai Meizheng’s. In her account, although Mainlanders and Taiwanese belong to two distinctive groups, they had ways to ease the tension and live together in harmony.

1. Pai: What was it like when you were young?

2. Mzh: I didn’t think about these things [the issue of Taiwanese and Mainlander] as a child. Because I played with Taiwanese kids when I was little and we used Taiwanese [language]. I didn’t think about the difference between Taiwanese and Mainlanders. Then when I went to school, I always spoke both languages [Mandarin and Taiwanese] as well and it’s the same when I started working. By the time I stopped using Taiwanese—it’s only for four or five years. I almost stopped using Taiwanese completely. Before [stop using Taiwanese] I didn’t think
about Mainlander consciousness. The government is responsible for creating this
Mainlander consciousness issue.

Bai Minzhi explicitly pointed out in the above narrative that she believes the
government holds responsibility for the estrangement between Mainlanders and
Taiwanese. Ms. Bai Minzhi uses her comment on the government as a coda to her
narrative and signals the end of this part of conversation (William Labov 1972). Katriel
states that personal experience narrative “introduce the seeds of a critical perspective
toward the past” (Ben-Amos and Weissberg 1999: 112). Bai Minzhi’s story offers a
different perspective to reexamine the boundary between Mainlander and Taiwanese.

Pai: When you were little, did you specially feel that you’re a Mainlander?

MZ: No, because we were not living in a village of military dependants. People from
the village of military dependants like to emphasize that they are Mainlanders. We
resided in mixed residences of Taiwanese and Mainlanders, so I didn’t think about
it. My parents got along with Taiwanese, so there was no such problem. But some
Mainlanders, they felt separated from the Taiwanese, and then the Taiwanese took
Mainlander as…, but my mother got along with the neighbors since I was little, so
there was no problem. My mother said that we lived in Qingshui township when I
was born. Our landlord’s last name was… what is their last name? I think it was Guo.
The Guo couple felt that my parents’ economic condition was not very good.
Sometimes they didn’t even take the rent. And when they cooked something, they
always invited me to eat with them. So it feels like they were not taking us as from
the outer provinces, and we didn’t take them as Taiwanese. We got along.

Pai: What about when you went to school?
MZ: It was fine in school too. I didn’t feel it [distinction between two groups], no.

**Languages in Narrative**

The following section shows that the expression of particular identity is sometimes tied to the languages in use. Ms. Bai Minzhi uses different languages and communicative strategies to “negotiate the membership into particular social groups”, and thus allows her to break the boundaries between Mainlanders and Taiwanese at her work (De Fina 2003: 23). It is clear to the informant that the language is a means of negotiating identity in different occasions.

1 Pai: When did you start to feel that you are not Taiwanese?

2 MZ: When I started working. They are against Mainlanders. My organization is against Mainlanders.

3 Pai: Really? What organization is it?

4 MZ: The governmental farmer’s association.

5 Pai: When did you work there?

6 MZ: 1980. I was nineteen. Because it was a local farmer’s association, the basic crew was all Taiwanese. And, all the Mainlanders who worked there got in through personal relationships. That’s why people don’t welcome you. Like me, for example, I was introduced into the association because my father was the major consultant of the farmer’s association. And the people there… It’s a good thing that I can speak Taiwanese. Later [people] like Xin Zhuhong, who can’t speak Taiwanese, were considered a Mainlander. On the contrary, I was less noticed [as a Mainlander].

7 Pai: Who is Xin Zhuhong?

8 MZ: Our neighbor. She is a daughter of some official in the Nationalist Party.
She got in through relationships too. She can barely speak Taiwanese, so the way others treated her, is like, set up a clear line against her.

The meaning of this event to Ms. Bai Minzhi is that for the first time her identity as a non-Taiwanese became clear to her. This identification happened because of the language differentiation between Mainlander and Taiwanese. The language situation is complicated in Taiwan. There are many different dialects in use even among the Mainlanders, and they are not necessarily mutually comprehensible. When the government of the Nationalist Party fled to Taiwan in 1949, a language policy was enforced and standard Mandarin became the official language. However, Taiwanese is still widely used in daily life. Although the government requires their employees to speak Mandarin in the public, most of the Taiwanese communicate in their own dialects among themselves. As Ms. Bai stated in the narrative, the language ability thus became an important identity marker.

Pai: Have you been to the Northeast?

MZ: Yes, twice.

Pai: Could you tell me some your experiences of going to the Northeast?

MZ: My experiences in the Northeast. I went to the Northeast because my cousins are there, a, after I got there, it feels like that I went back home, because people on the street are all speaking the same language [in terms of accents and vocabulary].

As in Bai Meizheng’s narrative, the experience of leaving the country was a turning point in identity construction. Ms. Bai Minzhi states that she felt like she “went back home” in Shenyang city when she recognized the common linguistic features in the languages there. In the following narratives, the idea of code-switching became a major
theme both in the story and in the narrative style.

1 Pai: Do you feel that the customs of your family or the way of speaking in different
2 from other people, I mean, you said that you have many Taiwanese classmates?
3 MZ: Absolutely different!
4 Pai: When you start…
5 MZ: We have different accents and we use different vocabulary. I knew it since I was
6 little.
7 Pai: …to notice the difference?
8 MZ: Since I was little, because I can speak two languages [Taiwanese and Mandarin],
9 but there are three ways to use them. Taiwanese of course is one language plus one
10 way, but I have two ways of speaking Mandarin. The way I speak at home is totally
11 different from the way I speak at school.
12 Pai: Yes, I know what you mean.
13 MZ: Right, you have to use the school style Mandarin ((LF)). Although our
14 pronunciation is still sounded closer to standard Mandarin, it is the kind of Mandarin
15 used in school. The way we speak at home is another thing.
16 Pai: Okay.
17 MZ: It is like that we won’t say zamen (咱們, “we” in Northeastern dialect) in school,
18 but one we got home, I use zamen. It changes naturally. I will say women (我們, “we”
19 in standard Mandarin) in school, and zamen at home.
20 Pai: I see.
21 MZ: And for instance, on the outside [of school] I will say ca yige yaogao (擦一個藥
膏, “put on some ointment” in the Northeast vocabulary and sentence order), but I
won’t say that at school. I will say tuyao (塗藥, “put on some ointment” in
Taiwanese-ish Mandarin).

Pai: Yes.

MZ: ((LF)) I will use the words they know instead of our own language. It’s like this.
A, I will use them naturally. I don’t think either of them is wrong and I don’t feel I’m
changing anything. Naturally I have two ways of speaking [Mandarin].

Pai: When do you notice that you’re switching between these two styles.

MZ: I think I was more aware of it when I went to high school. That’s the time I
became aware of it, but I was doing it long before, I just didn’t think about it.

Ms. Bai Minzhi pointed out an essential identity marker in her narrative, which is
the language difference. She switched between Mandarin and Taiwanese to create
multiple layers of identity accordingly to the groups she was in.

Narratives of Ambiguous Hereditary

1. Pai: So your father was from Hebei province. Why don’t you say that you’re
2. Hebei people instead of Northeasterner? [The informant’s father is from Hebei and
3. her mother is from Northeast China]
4. MZ: Oh, because I always feel that, people are not like… Not like you carry on
5. your father’s last name. I think the issue of the origins of my family, and the
6. education, and the cultures, those are from both of the parents. So you shouldn’t
7. say you’re Hebei people, because you carry many things from your mother’s side
8. too. How can you say you’re Hebei people. So when people asked me when I was
9. little, I always said that my father was from Hebei and my mother was from the
11. Pai: I see. Then why now you say that you’re a Northeasterner?
12. MZ: Because my relationship with my father is remote. ((smile)) And I feel that
13. what I have learned from my father was very little.
15. MZ: Because he, if you asked me what he told us when we were little, I can only
16. remember the story about him fishing in the Long River [瀧河], And he told little
17. about his family, even about his mother. He has never told us about grandma, like
18. what she was like during her lifetime, the details in daily life. He has never talked
19. about it. Then, when we finally learned something about grandma, um, we are in
20. Taiwan and she was in China. My father is from Hebei province, I inherited that, but
21. I don’t feel like I inherited any other things.
22. Pai: I see.
23. MZ: Yeah, I don’t feel the Hebei part in me, so now I say I am a Northeasterner.
24. Pai: Is it because you feel closer to your mother than to your father?
25. MZ: Yes. Because you feel that you know more about Northeast than Hebei. No,
26. not just more, I know nothing about Hebei. It is to say that you have completely
27. no idea about your father’s family in China, and your father doesn’t talk bout it,
28. never. I’ve have to learn from my mother about my father’s parents. I have
29. never heard anything about my father’s parents from my father. Yes, so, as the
30. result, I feel like I learned everything from my mother, so I feel I belong to my
31. mother’s side.
The idea of inherited identity is split in two in this narrative. One side is from the father and another is from the mother. As in Ms. Bai Mizhi’s narrative, the construction of identity to her is not only about blood. Her identification with her mother is enhanced by constant communication through stories. Those family stories created a map of identity for Ms. Bai Minzhi and from there she found a place for herself. The hereditary identity becomes less important than the identity in narrative.

In the last chapter I have discussed the incoherent narratives told by Ms. Li Mingzhen concerning her lineage. During my interviews with Bai Minzhi and Bai Meizheng, I brought up this issue again. Ms. Bai Minzhi told me that her mother indeed told two different versions about her ancestry, but the stories about being Han Chinese appeared in her mother’s narratives for only a couple of years. She remembered listening to the stories of being Manchu and thus that became part of her identity. The same thing happened with Ms. Bai Meizheng, who claims to be Manchu on her mother’s side. To Bai Meizheng, being Manchu is one of the ways to differentiate herself from Taiwanese. This hereditary marker that makes her so proud certainly matters to her in the construction of her identity. In this case, whether she really has Manchu blood or not doesn’t matter. It exists in the narratives she grew up with and it is enough to contribute to the formation of an identity.

4.3 CONCLUSION

Personal experience narrative “is the epitome of folklore in that it is such an everyday, human mode of expression, yet is still a creative expression of one’s values, beliefs, and attitudes” (Sims and Stephens 2005: 167). Through the stories, Ms. Bai Minzhi and Bai Meizheng display the construction of their identity as second generation
Chinese immigrants in Taiwan. Their stories reflect the changing process of identity construction while relating to the social structure and cultural and political transformation in contemporary Taiwanese society.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis is a preliminary study of the relation between personal experience narratives and the formation of identity among 1949 Chinese immigrants to Taiwan and their descendents. Personal experience narrative, as Sims and Stephens state, is an artistic expression of the tellers’ values and attitudes, and also a special form of communication between the tellers and the listeners (2005: 167). This thesis explores different dimensions of personal experience narratives through the analysis and close examination of the narratives themselves.

The thesis is divided into five parts plus an appendix of narrative transcription and Romanization. The introduction is dedicated to the established scholarship on identity studies and personal experience narratives. This thesis drew on different theories from both Chinese and Western scholarship. I borrowed Sandra Stahl’s explanation on personal narrative as a form of folklore to situate my research on immigrant narratives in the field. Drawing on William Labov’s studies on oral narrative and Richard Bauman’s performance approach, I examined the narrative structure and performance structure of personal experience narratives. The mainstream of identity studies in Taiwan after 1990s is based on the interpretation of “the four major ethnic groups”—Hakka, Aborigines,
Taiwanese, and Mainlanders. Yet this oversimplified classification creates more problems than it answers.

In the second chapter, I have situated the narratives of 1949 Chinese immigrants in Taiwan and touched upon the immigration history and mixed cultural background of the island. It focuses on the historical background of the narratives as well as on its contemporary situation. The idea of “Taiwanese” is a changing concept. I discussed the complicated definition of Han in Taiwan and the relations between different ethnic groups. Many narratives I used for this thesis are about the relations between Taiwanese and Mainlanders, thus it was important to explore the Chinese terms that used to describe these different groups such as *bensheng ren* and *waisheng ren*.

In the third and fourth chapters, I examined the narratives of 1949 Chinese immigrants and their descendents to see how identity is expressed and negotiated in personal experience narratives. In chapter 3, I discussed the narratives of the first generation immigrants on their early life experience in China and exodus experience to Taiwan. The narrators—most of them are seniors—bring their past to the present through telling stories from their memories. Their identity is reconfirmed through the act of telling and passed down to the next generation along with the stories. I found that the identity of first generation immigrants as non-Taiwanese is almost non-negotiable in their narratives. Although they adapted into the new living environment, their narratives constantly express their nostalgic feeling for mainland China.

Chapter 4 focuses mainly on the narratives of the second generation of immigrants in Taiwan, especially those about experiences encountering different peoples and cultures. Mainlanders carried their own traditions, customs, and cultural values to Taiwan in 1949.
Confrontation between the two cultures was inevitable. For the second generation of immigrants the formation of identities is complicated by actually growing up in a multicultural environment. Through the examination of these narratives, I discussed the fluidity and stability of the second and later generations’ identity/identities, displayed by the constant negotiation of identity while interacting with other groups, mainly Taiwanese. Still, as with their parents’ generation, they identify themselves as Mainlanders. Yet this identity is more fluid than among the first generation immigrants. Unlike the first generation Mainlanders, both of my second generation informants are fluent in Taiwanese, whether they use it in daily life or not. One of my informants, Bai Minzhi, explicitly stated that her ability to speak Taiwanese allows her to be part of both groups. In one of the stories about traditional festival food, the “correct” way of making the food was negotiated through narratives between the first generation and the second generation.

Based on the implications of the case studies in this paper and research by others noted above, it is clear that a new Taiwanese identity is emerging. As the boundaries between different groups in Taiwan becomes less distinct, more stories told by elder generations that lend insight into identity construction must be collected and examined in order to understand the dynamics of the present and the possibilities of future emergence. To these ends, I intend to extend my studies of first and second generation personal experience narratives and extend this vertical line down to the third generation to examine identity transformation.

It is my hope that this study will contribute to the field of personal experience narrative and identity construction in contemporary Taiwan and also enhance the
awareness of these fading narratives of 1949 Chinese immigrants. As Stahl states, “personal experience is transformed to cultural experience through the telling of personal narratives, and folklorists document this transformation” (1989: 120).
APPENDIX

TRANSCRIPTION AND ROMANIZATION OF THE NARRATIVES
Chapter 3
1. Interview with Bai Meizheng

I.

Mei：好，我告訴你我印象最深刻的故事是什麼。姥姥有一個六姑，我想應該是她
的六姑，就是她爸爸的妹妹，她說這個六姑呢，自己生了好幾個孩子，可是她都不
愛她的孩子，然後他只愛她的狗，你有聽過這個故事嗎？

Pai：有，我有聽過，不過我記得是五姑不是六姑。

Mei：反正總之就有一個姑姑，然後我印象最深刻的，當然這一定也包含了我自己
對那個場景的幻想，姥姥就會說，那個河就結凍了，然後平常要到，就說因為冬天
到了，河結凍了，所以他們就可以直接用馬車拉著雪橇過河，然後你別忘了，我說
的這個故事一定參雜著我自己的幻想，因為姥姥說的故事對我來說最重要的部分就
是那個影像是非常非常鮮明的。然後我就記得姥姥說這個姑姑，這個馬就拉著這個
姑姑坐在雪橇裡面，然後她到家門口的時候，那個我們的姥爺就出來看他的妹妹，
發現她懷裡面是用皮裘裹著…

Pai：裹著一隻狗

Mei：沒有，他看到她裹著一個東西，就以為說終於這一次他的妹妹終於帶著孩子
來家裡了，結果沒想到那個皮草一掀開是她的狗，我們的姥爺進門都沒有讓她進，
就叫她回家去了，讓那馬車原車把她拉回去。（笑）

Mei：好，我告訴你我印象最深刻的故事是什麼。姥姥有一個六姑，我想應該是她
的六姑，就是她爸爸的妹妹，她說這個六姑呢，自己生了好幾個孩子，可是她都不
愛她的孩子，然後他只愛她的狗，你有聽過這個故事嗎？

Pai：有，我有聽過，不過我記得是五姑不是六姑。

Mei：反正總之就有一個姑姑，然後我印象最深刻的，當然這一定也包含了我自己
對那個場景的幻想，姥姥就會說，那個河就結凍了，然後平常要到，就說因為冬天
到了，河結凍了，所以他們就可以直接用馬車拉著雪橇過河，然後你別忘了，我說
的這個故事一定參雜著我自己的幻想，因為姥姥說的故事對我來說最重要的部分就
是那個影像是非常非常鮮明的。然後我就記得姥姥說這個姑姑，這個馬就拉著這個
姑姑坐在雪橇裡面，然後她到家門口的時候，那個我們的姥爺就出來看他的妹妹，
發現她懷裡面是用皮裘裹著…
Mei：我這幾天我就有在想一些這種故事啊，當然姥姥也會說一些不是她家裡面的故事，我不知道那些故事你有興趣嗎？
Pai：有，我知道她通常說兩種故事，一種是跟我們的家庭有關係的，另一種是跟歷史有關係的。
Mei：你知道我對於故事的記憶就是它詳細的內容，或是那是什麼人物我通常不是很清楚，因為我在聽故事的時候完全都是跟影像有關的。所以我在聽姥姥的這些故事，好像我的腦子裡面就會出現一幅一幅像電影一樣的圖畫。完全就是一個motion picture就對了。向猴子軍團的事情我就很有興奮。（笑）。
Pai：猴子軍團？我從來沒有聽過這個。
Mei：你沒有聽過猴子軍團！
（笑）
Mei：這個是俄國人到了中國的時候，俄國人到了東北，然後鄉下人沒有看過外國人，就說猴子軍團來了，真的他們很害怕，覺得猴子軍團來了，因為外國人身上都有很多毛啊，然後他們的長相也不太一樣。姥姥說有一天有人跑來告訴他們猴子軍團來了，就說看見他們蹲在地上吃飯，然後吃完以後，姥姥說這些大男孩，他們就很有趣味的在那個樹上像吊單槓一樣吊著玩兒，然後鄉下人就相信他們是猴子軍團。（笑）
Pai：我的天啊，這個我沒聽過。
Mei：這個猴子軍團我很喜歡，還有就是我知道姥姥會講很多關於日本人到了東北的時候，然後他們跟日本人的關係，我的感覺是他們跟日本人關係，跟我們平常聽到的那種反日的哪種情結不太一樣，因為有一些日本人就是在他們家的附近駐紮，可能跟他們之間有很多的來往，然後姥姥她的回憶裡面有一些年輕的日本男孩，他們是非常想家的，而且很渴望能夠從這些中國人的家庭裡面得到一點關懷吧。

Mei：我這幾天我就有想一些這種故事啊，當然姥姥也會說一些不是她家裡面的故事，我不知道那些故事你有興趣嗎？
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Mei：你沒有聽過猴子軍團！
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Mei：我這幾天我就有想一些這種故事啊，當然姥姥也會說一些不是她家裡面的故事，我不知道那些故事你有興趣嗎？
Pai：有，我知道她通常說兩種故事，一種是跟我們的家庭有關係的，另一種是跟歷史有關係的。
Mei：你知道我對於故事的記憶就是它詳細的內容，或是那是什麼人物我通常不是很清楚，因為我在聽故事的時候完全都是跟影像有關的。所以我在聽姥姥的這些故事，好象我的腦子裡面就會出現一幅一幅像電影一樣的圖畫。完全就是一個motion picture就對了。向猴子軍團的事情我就很有興奮。（笑）。
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（笑）
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de tā men hěn hǎi pà，jiào hòu zǐ jun1 tuān lái le，yīn wèi wài rén shēn shàng
dōu yǒu hěn duō máo ě，rán hòu tā men de zhàng xiāng yě bù tài yī yàng。láo láo shuō
yǒu yī tiān yǒu rén páo lái gāo sù tā men hòu zǐ jun1 tuān lái le，jiū shuō kān jiān tā
ten dūn zài di shàng chǐ fān，rán hòu chī wán yǐ hòu，láo láo shuō zhè xiē dà nán
hái，tā men jiū hěn yǒu xíng qù de zài nà gè shù shàng xiāng diào dàn gāng yǐ yàng diào
zhe wán ér，rán hòu xiāng xiè rén jiù xiàng xī yě bù tài yī yàng。

Pai：wǒ de tiān ěr，zhè gè wǒ méi tíng guò。
Mei：zhè gè hòu zǐ jun1 tuān wǒ hěn xǐ huān，hái yǒu jiǔ shì wǒ zhǐ dào láo láo huì
jiāng hěn duō guān yú rì běn rén dào le dōng běi de shí hou，rán hòu tā men gěn rì běn
rén de guān xi，wǒ de gān jiào shì tā men gěn rì běn rén guān xi，gěn wǒ men pǐng
cháng tīng diào de nà zhòng fān rì de nà zhòng qīng jiè bù tài yī yàng，yīn wèi yǒu yī xiě
rì běn rén jiù shì zài tā men jiā de fū jīn zhū zā，kě néng gěn tā men zhī jiān yǒu hěn
duō de lái wǎng，rán hòu láo láo tā de huì yì lǐ miàn yǒu yī xiě nián qīng de rì běn nán
hái，tā men shì fēi cháng xiāng jiā de，ér qiē hěn kě wǎng néng gòu cóng zhè xiē
zhòng guó rén de jiā tīng lǐ miàn dé dào yī diǎn guān huái ba。

2. Interview with Ms. Ai Wenzhe and Bai Jieyong
Pai：我想知道那個，上次你跟我說那個二姨姥，怎麼跟姥姥聯絡上的。
WZ：我跟你講，好，就是，有一天我大爺的兒子，來我家，送了一封信，那封信
就是你馬姨從日本，以朋友的名義寄到中國大陸，可是他不知道我們家地址，就寫
到四十年前那個老家的地址。我記得叫，吉林省梨樹縣中正堂，對不對？
JY：我記不得。
WZ：我記得叫中正堂，就是你姥姥可能提供，幼年時想到的這個家裡住址，但是
四十年後這個梨樹縣你上哪兒去找到中正堂，沒有，然後就根據這個名字，因為寫
得李名玉嘛，過去有家譜，按名字的，名字這個，名字裡頭有名字的這個人去查，
誰跟她是同輩兒的人，然後就問有沒有認識這個李名玉的，那她不是寫得李名玉，
而是寫得李名珊，因為你姥姥覺得是，只有李名珊是最年輕的一個，所以我說，因
為戰亂嘛，小的會…
Pai：最有可能找到。
WZ：最有可能，對對對，可是沒有人認識李名珊，最後就幾經周折，就找到四十年
前的那個郵局的老郵遞員，就問他，因為他們就把信拆開，一看，這個是從日本
寄過來的，那時候中日剛建交，大家就對這個事情，就是，很感興趣兒，而且也願
意把這個事情辦成。
Pai：這哪一年的事情？
JY：那時候就開始搞統戰…以前接到臺灣同胞的信，這要打死啊。
WZ：對。
JY：就是那個時候，轉信的時候。
Pai：這哪一年啊？
WZ：寫信大概是，八零年，八零年，這封信轉到我們家手裡大概是，半年左右的
時間，然後就找到一個老的郵遞員，他就說，中正堂這個位置大概就是現在某某
村，某某公，我們那地方是一個村，大概就上那兒去找，然後一找就找這個範名字兒，誰跟她是同輩兒，沒有人認識李名珊，然後就想，就說，在中正堂，過去叫什麼一個堂，都是一個大戶人家，這麼大戶的一個人家，誰認識這戶人家呢？就找啊找，最後就想裡來說，範名字兒的，有認識我媽媽的，然後認識我媽的，又找不到我媽在哪兒，然後就想說我媽嫁到，那個梨樹縣那個石家埔去了，然後嫁給一個姓艾的人家，然後就，梨樹，那個石家埔不是很遠嘛，然後有，就有好心，就把這封信送到石家埔去，就問誰認識李名珊，可是我大爺家的孩子就知道我們家，我從前有個姨叫李名珊，但是，他說，這李名珊好像就是我二嬸兒的一個妹妹，然後說那這李名珊在哪裡，說這人已經不在了。她在，五九年，我記得我聽我媽講是五九年的時候，就沒有了。然後我大爺的孩子就拿了這封信，真的是覺得好像如獲至寶一樣...

WZ：然後，然後他就看那裡頭的字，因為當時你馬姨寫的是，馬姨寫的是，我是李名珍的女兒，然後，對，因為有李名珍，還有李名珊，大家都能想到李名玉，所以就這樣子，然後就，我記得那封信，我給你讀一下，回憶一下當時情況喔。

Pai：這是姥姥寫的信，對吧？

WZ：不是，馬姨寫的。對，說我是李名珍的女兒，我叫...

JY：白雲裳。

WZ：叫白雲裳，然後那個，如果你能收到封信的話就跟我聯絡，我的地址是，ㄜ，日本東京都，新宿縣，然後還有什麼？

JY：五丁目。

WZ：對對，然後就記不得了，就是，這封信很簡單，就是幾個字，也就是說，如果你能看到這封信，如果你認識我的話，就跟我聯絡就好了，然後我大爺的兒子就把這封信就帶到我們家，帶到我們家，他那天來的時候是下午，我媽沒下班，我也沒放學，那我回來的時候，突然間就發現我大爺的兒子在我們家，因為他一般來我們家的時候都是，逢年過節啊，或者是有休息的什麼時候，因為農村嘛，它是農忙的時候，秋收的時候，就很忙，就容易出來人，可是我們突然間發現他來就嚇一跳，說這，怎麼來了？然後他就，臉就特別高興，然後就說，我就來看看二叔二嬸兒，然後當時那個 (pause)，然後當時，也沒敢告訴我媽這個事情，然後就聊一聊，然後就寒暄一下，然後就留吃飯，吃完飯之後就是，我，我的表哥，就把這個事情跟我爸說了，然後我爸，就也很興奮，就是大家就覺得眼神怪怪的喔，然後我媽就說你到底有什麼事兒，你來了你快說，然後他就說，二嬸兒啊，我有件事兒跟你說啊，因為我媽那時候兒血壓高，他怕我媽激動，他就說，二嬸兒啊我跟你說件事兒，是好事兒，然後你別太激動，你坐著慢慢兒我跟你講喔，好，我媽說你講，然後說你記得你有個姊姊叫李名珍嗎？我媽說記得呀，說她還活著 (rising tone) (pause)，當時這一下子啊 (sobbing)，我們就所有人都(choke with sobs)，沒有聲音，就在，(pause) 說不出來那種感覺。然後我們就看這信，一邊看一邊哭，(pause)

JY：因為那時候互相都以為死了。

WZ：對對，因為，因為從前的時候嘛，我姥姥活著的時候，就有人給算，算掛
嘛，算命，就說，誒，我姥姥就說，你看，我有六，五個孩子，兩個兒子三個女
兒，就現在，就不知道去向，你看，就說，她到底死還是沒死，就心裡想知道，然
後，人家就算說，那個女兒，說那個女兒沒死，說在哪兒呢？說那不知道，然後姥姥
就，就一線希望，就說女兒沒死，可是文化大革命的時候，就要，戶口登記嘛，
你們家幾口人，你有幾個孩子，登到李名珍的時候，我媽媽就寫去向不明，因為不
知道她去哪裡，然後人家跟姥姥就說，唉呀，你不要這樣寫，你說這們寫去向不
明，那麼，那個時候都不准，大家都是，怕有海外關係，或者是怕怎麼怎麼樣，你
這一去向不明沒有底兒的話，人家就懷疑，(overlapping----捷：會有人來調查。)
你，你總是個嫌疑人，總是這樣子，然後姥姥就不肯，就有人勸大舅，我的大舅就
說，就寫個死掉了，我姥姥說不行，我已經算過，人家說沒死，我不能說我女兒
死，然後就一直，在我們家這個檔案裡頭，我媽，檔案裡就寫了一個去向不明，就
是因為這個去向不明，我們家受了很多牽連，文化大革命那個時候，就說，你家如
果有，出身不好，有海外關係，這都是一條罪狀，也就說白了，你就，你就是被人
監視的對象，然後尤其寫的去向不明，然後大概，我們家原來，就是，不是很窮
啦，就是有一個小收音機，然後你只要聽廣播，那時候家裡人聽廣播，你得，娛樂
的東西，就是京劇樣版戲嘛，然後別人家從你這兒一過一聽你家聽這個，就給你去
匯報去了，說他們家聽京劇，跟臺灣有連，那時候只要有臺灣親戚，比有美國
親戚還嚴重，因為你想，中國人不可能有外國親戚啊對不對，所以他就懷疑你就是
在台灣，然後又，又，我媽原來就是挺好，善談的就說，我的姊姊從前是國民
黨，所以大家就覺得，那你就是台灣特務，所以我們就受很多這個，我大哥，你大
舅啊，從前大學考到北京大學工程物理系，就是搞原子彈設計的，就是因為我們家
檔案裡頭，一個是出現不好的，一個是你有海外關係，因為你不傑出她在哪兒，
只要她不在中國，她肯定在海外，在海外就說不來是哪兒，然後就沒讓他讀這個大
學。(short pause)然後，當時，回頭講這個說，然後說，我媽看到這封信之後，就
一直念一直念，就覺得怎麼可能啊，就跟我們，就問我們說有可能嗎？我說說不
定，那我們也要試一試嘛，然後大家也都挺興奮，覺得，突然間，我媽找到這個姊
姊，然後，第二天我們就寫封信，就按那個地址說我是誰誰誰，然後，就介紹一下
情況說，沒說李名珊，沒提李名珊的的事兒，就說我是李明玉，然後我是李名珍的妹
妹，然後說，那個，我現在的地址是什麼什麼什麼，然後信就悠走了，大概半個
月，那時候一封信大概要半個月，一個月以後又回一封信，就是，三姊妹寫過來，
悠過來，但就是你姥姥的信，我媽看了這封信之後啊，幾乎是兩天都沒閉眼
（sobbing），每天晚上就摟著她信。

Pai：wǒ xiàng zhī dào nà gè ，shàng ci nǐ gěn wò shuō nà gè ěr yí lǎo ，zēn me gěn lǎo lǎo
lián luò shàng de 。
WZ：wǒ gěn nǐ jiāng ，hǎo ，jiū shì ，yǒu yī yǐ tiān wǒ dà yè de ér zǐ ，lái wǒ jiā ，sòng
le yī fēng xīn ，nà fēng xīn jiù shì nǐ mà yì cóng rì běn ，yī péng yǒu de míng yì jí dāo
zhòng guó dà lù ，kě shì tā bù zhī dào wǒ men jiā de zhī ，jiù xiè dào si shì nián qián nà
gè lǎo jiā de dì zhǐ 。wǒ jí de jiào ，jí lín shèng lǐ shù xiàn zhōng zhēng tǎng ，duì bù
duì?

JY: wǒ jiǔ bú dé

WZ: wǒ jiù dé jiào zhōng zhèng táng, jiù shì nǐ lǎo lǎo kē nèng tǐ gòng, yòu nián shì xiǎng dào de zhè gè jiā lǐ zhù zhǐ, dàn shì si shí nián hòu zhè gè lǐ shù xiàn nǐ shǎng nà ěr qù zhào dào zhòng zhèng táng, méi yǒu, rán hòu jiù gèn jù zhè gè mìng zi, yǐn wéi xiě dé lǐ mìng yǔ ma, guò qù yǒu jiā pǔ, ān mìng zì de, mìng zì zhè gè, mìng zì lǐ tòu yǒu mìng zì de zhè gè rèn qù chá, shuí gèn tā shì tóng běi ěr de rèn, rán hòu jiù wèn yǒu méi yǒu rèn zǐ zhè gè lǐ mìng yǔ de, nà tā bù shì xiě dé lǐ mìng yǔ, ār shì xiě dé lǐ mìng shān, yǐn wéi nǐ lǎo lǎo jiào dào de shì, zhī yǒu lǐ mìng shān shì zui nián qǐng de yī gè, suǒ yǐ wǒ shūō, yǐn wéi zhàn luàn ma, xiǎo de hui...

Pai: zui yǒu kè nèng zhào dào

WZ: zui yǒu kè nèng, dui dui dui, kě shì měi yǒu rèn rèn shǐ lǐ mìng shān, zui hòu jiǔ jí jīng zhōu shé, jiù zhào dào si shí nián qián de nà gè yǒu jú de lǎo yòu di yuán, jiù wèn tā, yǐn wéi tā men jiú bā xìn chǎi kāi, yī kān, zhè gè shì cóng rì bèn ji guò lái de, nà shì hòu zhòng rì gāng jiān jiāo, dà jiā jiù dui zhè gè shì qíng, jiù shì, hěn gān xíng qù ěr, ěr qù yè yuán yì bā zhè gè shì qíng bān chéng.

Pai: zhè nà yī nián de shì qíng?

JY: nā shì hòu jiǔ kǎi shǐ gāo tōng zhàn … yí qián jiē dào tái wān tóng bāo de xin, zhè yào dā sǐ ā.

WZ: duì

JY: jiǔ shì nà gè shí hòu, zhuān xīn de shí hòu

Pai: zhè nà yī nián ā?

WZ: xiě xīn dā gāi shì, bǎ líng nián, bǎ líng nián, zhè fēng xīn zhuǎn dào wǒ men jiā shòu lǐ dà gāi shì, bān nián zuò yòu de shí jiān, rán hòu jiǔ zhào dào yī gè lǎo de yòu di yuán, tā jiù shuō, zhōng zhèng táng zhè gè wèi zhì dā gāi jiǔ shì xiān zài móu móu cūn, móu móu gōng, wǒ men nà dì fǎng shì yī gě cūn, dà gāi jiǔ shàng nà ěr qù zhào, rán hòu yī zhào jiǔ zhào zhè gè fān mìng zi ěr, shuí gèn tā shì tóng běi ěr, méi yǒu rèn rèn shǐ lǐ mìng shān, rán hòu jiǔ xiāng, jiǔ shuō, zāi zhōng zhèng táng, guò qù jiāo shí me yī gè táng, dòu shí yī gè dà hù rèn jiā, zhè me dà hù de yī gè rèn jiā, shuí rèn shǐ zhè hù rèn jiā ne? jiǔ zhào ā zhāo, zui hòu jiǔ xiāng lǐ lái shuō, fān mìng zi ěr de, yòu rèn shǐ wǒ mā mā de, rán hòu rèn shǐ wǒ mā de, yòu zhāo bū dào wǒ mā zài nà ěr, rán hòu jiǔ xiāng shuō wǒ mā jiā dào, nà gè lǐ shù xiàn nà gè shì jiā pǔ qū le, rán hòu jiā ěr yī gě xīng ài de rèn jiā, rán hòu jiǔ, lǐ shù, nà gè shí jiā pǔ bú shì hén yuán ma, rán hòu yǒu, jiǔ yǒu háo xīn, jiǔ bā zhè fēng xīn sòng dào shí jiā pǔ qū, jiǔ wèn shuō shuí rèn shǐ lǐ mìng shān, kě shì wǒ dà yé jiā de hái zǐ jiǔ zhī dào wǒ men jiā, wǒ cóng qián yǒu gè yì jiāo lǐ mìng shān, dàn shì, tā shuō, ěi zhè lǐ mìng shān hào xiāng jiǔ shí wǒ ěr shēn ěr de yī gè méi méi, rán hòu shuō, nà zhè lǐ mìng shān zài nà lǐ, shuō zhè rèn yī jīng bù zài le, tā zài, wǔ jiǔ nián, wǒ jí de wǒ tīng wǒ mā jiāng shí wǔ jiǔ nián de shí hòu, jiǔ méi yǒu le, rán hòu wǒ dà yé de hái zǐ jiǔ ná le zhè fēng xīn, zhēn de shī jiāo de hǎo xiāng rú huò zhì bāo yì yàng...
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měi de fàng xuè ，nà wò huí lái de shí hòu ，tū rán jiān jiǔ fā xiān wò dà yè de ěr zài wò men jiā ，yīn wèi tā yī bàn lái wò men jiā de shì hòu dòu shì ，fēng nián guò jiē ě ，huò zhě shì yōu xiū xī de shì me shì hòu ，yīn wèi nóng cūn ma ，tā shì nóng máng de shí hòu ，qiū shòu de shí hòu ，jiù hēn máng ，jiù bù róng yì chū lái rén ，kē shì wò men tū rán jiān fā xiān tā lái jiù xià yī tiào ，shuò ěi ，ní zén me lái le ？rán hòu tā jiù ，lián shàng jiù tè bié gāo xíng ，rán hòu jiù shuò ，wò jiù lái kān kān ér shū ěr shēn ěr ，nà wò men jiù jiào de hén qí guài ，rán hòu dāng shí nà gè （pause） ，rán hòu dāng shí ，yě méi gān gào sù wò mā zhè gè shì qíng ，rán hòu jiù liào yī liào ，rán hòu jiù hán xuān yī xià ，rán hòu jiù liù chǐ fān ，chī wán fān zhī hòu jiù shì ，wò ，wò de biāo gē ，jiù bā zhè gè shì qíng gèn wò bā shuò le ，rán hòu wò bā ，jiù yē hēn xíng fēn ，jiù shì dà jiù jiào de yān shēn ér guǎi guǎi de wò ，rán hòu wò mǎ jiù shuò nǐ dào dī yōu shì me shì ér ，nǐ lái le nǐ kuài shuò ，rán hòu tā jiù shuò ，ěr shēn ér ě ，wò yǒu jiàn shì ér gèn nǐ shuò ě ，yīn wèi wò mǎ nà shí hòu ér xuè yā gāo ，tā pà wò mǎ jī dōng ，tā jiù shuò ，ěr shēn ér ě wò gèn nǐ shuò jiàn shì ér ，shì hào shì ér ，rán hòu nǐ bié tài jī dōng ，nǐ zuò zhe màn màn ér wò gèn nǐ jiāng wǒ ，hào ，wò mǎ shuò nǐ jiāng ，rán hòu shuò nǐ jì dé nǐ yóu gè zì zì jiào lí míng zhēn ma ？wò mǎ shuò jì dé ya ，shuò tā hái huò zhe （rising tone）（pause），dāng shì zhè yī xià zǐ ě （sobbing），wò men jiù suǒ yǒu de rén ，jiù ，jiù jīng tān le ，rán hòu jiù jiào dé ，bú kě néng ，zhēn de jià de ，rán hòu tā jiù bā xìn ná chū lái ，kàn wán zhī hòu wò men quán jiā rén dòu （choke with sobs），měi yōu shèng yǐn ，jiù zài ）（pause） shuò bù chū lái nà zhōng gān jiāo 。rán hòu wò men jiù kān zhè xìn ，yī biān kān yī biān kū ），(pause)

JY：yīn wèi nà shí hòu hù xiāng dòu yì wéi sǐ le 。

WZ：duì duì duì ，yīn wèi ，yīn wèi cóng qián de shì hòu ma ，wǒ lǎo lǎo huó zhe de
shí hòu，jiù yǒu rén gěi suàn，suàn guā ma，suàn míng，jiù shuō，ēi，wǒ lāo lāo jiù shuō，nǐ kān，wǒ yǒu liù，wǔ gè hái zǐ，liǎng gè ér zǐ sān gè nǚ ér，kě shì xiān zài wǒ yǒu yī gè nǚ ér ā，yī jīng bīng gū le，jiào lǐ míng shān bǐng gū le，wǒ hái yǒu yī gè dā nǚ ér，jiù xiān zài，jiù bù zhī dào qù xiǎng，nǐ kān，jiù shuō，tā dào dǐ sì hái shí méi sì，jiù xīn lǐ xiǎng zhào dào，rán hòu，rén jiā jiù suān shuō，nà gè nǚ ér，shuō nà gè nǚ ér méi sì，shuō zài nà ér ne？shuō nà bù zhī dào，rán hòu lāo lāo jiù，jiù yī xīn xiàng wàng，jiù shuō nǚ ér méi sì，kě shì wén huà dā gè míng de shí hòu，jiù yào，hū kǒu dēng jí ma，nǐ men jiā jí kōu rén，nǐ yǒu jī gè hái zǐ，dēng dào lǐ míng zhēn de shí hòu，wǒ mā mā jiù xiè qù xiǎng bù míng，yīn wéi bù zhī dào tā qù nà lǐ，rán hòu rén jiā gēn lāo lāo jiù shuō，ài ya，nǐ bù yào zhè yàng xiè，ní shuō zhè yàng xiè qù xiǎng bù míng，nà me，nà gè shí hòu dōu bū zhūn，dà jiā dōu shì，pā yǒu hái wāi guān xī，huò zhè shì pā zěn me zèn me yàng，nǐ zhè yī qǐ xiǎng bù míng méi yǒu dī èr de huà，rén jiā jiù huái yī，(overlapping----jié：hui yǒu rén lái diào chà）nǐ，nǐ zōng shì gē xián yī rén，zhòng shì zhè yàng zǐ，rán hòu lāo lāo jiù bù kēn，jiù yǒu rén quǎn dā jiù，wǒ de dà jiù jiù shuō，jiù xiè gè sì diào le，wǒ lāo lāo shuō bù háng，wǒ yī jīng suān guò，rén jiā shuō méi sì，wǒ bù néng shuō wǒ nǚ ér sì，rán hòu jiù yī zhǐ，zài wǒ men jiā zhè gè dāng ān lǐ tòu，wǒ mā，dàng ān lǐ jiù xiè le yī qǐ xiǎng bù míng，jiù shì yīn wéi zhè gù qǐ xiǎng bù míng，wǒ men jiā shòu le hén duō qiān lián，wén huà dā gè míng nà gè shí hòu，jiù shì，nǐ jiā rú guō yǒu，chū shēn bù hào，yǒu hái wāi guān xī，zhè dōu shì yī tiáo zuì zhuāng，yě jiù shuō bái le，nǐ jiù，nǐ jiù shì běi rén jiān shì de dui xiāng，rán hòu yǒu xī qǐ diē de qǔ xiāng bù míng，rán hòu dà gài，wǒ men jiā yuán lái，jiù shì，bù shì hěn qióng lá，jiù shì yǒu yī gè xiǎo shǒu yīn jī，rán hòu nǐ zhī yào tíng guāng bō，nǐ shí hòu jiā lǐ rén tíng guāng bō，nǐ dí，yú lè de dōng xī，jiù shì jīng jù yáng bān xí ma，rán hòu bié rén jiā cóng nǐ zěn ěr yī guō yī tíng nǐ jiā tíng zhè gè，jiù gěi nǐ qǔ hui bāo qu le，shuō tā men jiā zài tòu tíng dí tái，gēn tái wān yǒu lián，nà shí hòu zhī yào yǒu tái wān qīn qī，bǐ yǒu méi guō qín qī hǎi yán zhòng，yīn wéi nǐ xiāng，zhōng guō rén bù kě néng yǒu wài guō qín qī ě dui bù dui，suǒ yǐ tā jiù huái yī nǐ jiù shì zài tái wān，rán hòu yǒu yī yǒu wǒ mā yuán lái jiù shì tíng hǎo，shān tán de jiù shuō，wǒ de zǐ，zǐ cóng qián shì guō mín dāng，suǒ yǐ dà jiù jiāo de，nà nǐ jiù shì tái wān tè wù，suǒ yǐ wǒ men jiù shòu hén duō zhè gè，wǒ dà gè，nǐ dà jiù ā，cóng qián dà xué kāo dào bēi jīng dà xué gōng chéng wú lí xi，jiù shì gēi yuán zǐ dàn shè ji de，jiù shì yīn wéi wǒ men jiā dāng ān lǐ tòu，yī gè shì chū shēn xiǎn bù hào de，yī gè shì nǐ yǒu hǎi wāi guān xī，yīn wéi nǐ shuō bù chū lǐ lài zāi nà ēr，zhī yào tā bù zái zhōng guō，tā kěn dīng zài hǎi wǎi，zài hǎi wài jiù shuō bù lái shī nà ēr，rán hòu jiù méi ràng tā dú zhè gè dà xué。  
(short pause)  
rán hòu，dāng shì，huì tòu jiāng zhè gè shuō，rán hòu shuō，wǒ mā kǎn dào zhè fēng xīn zhī hòu，jiù yī zhī nián yī zhí nián，jiù jiāo de zēn me kě néng ā，jiù gēn wǒ men，jiù wén wǒ men shuō yī kě néng ma？wǒ shuō shuō bù dīng，nà wǒ men yě yào shì yī shì shī ma，rán hòu dà jiā yě dōu tíng xìng fēn，jiāo dé，tū rán jiān，wǒ mā zhào dào zhè gè zǐ zǐ，rán hòu，dì èr tiān wǒ men jiù xiè fēng
xin，jiù àn nà gè dì zhǐ shuō wǒ shì shuǐ shuǐ，rán hòu，jiù jiè shào yī xià qīng kuàng shuō，měi shuō lǐ míng shān，měi tī lǐ míng shān de shì ér，jiù shuō wǒ shì lǐ míng yǔ，rán hòu wǒ shì lǐ míng zhēn de měi měi，rán hòu shuō，nà gè，wǒ xiǎn zài de dì zhǐ shì méi shì méi shì méi，rán hòu xìn jiù yǒu zōu le，dā gài bān gè yuè，nà shì hòu yǒu yī fēng xīn dà gài yào bàn gè yuè，yī gè yuè yī hòu yǒu yī fēng xīn，jiù shì，sān zī xiè guò lái，yī yóu guò lái，dàn jiù shì nǐ láo láo de xīn，wǒ mǎ kàn le zhè fēng xīn zhī hòu ā，jí hū shì liàng tiān dōu méi hé yǎn（sobbing），měi tiān wăn shàng jiù lòu zhe tā xīn。

3. Interview with Li Mingzhen
I.
Li：我父親從前在鐵路局，就是機務段機器段那種的，那他後來是在那個，族譜上
有寫啊，那個，火力發電廠的廠長啊。
Pai：跟宏仁一樣?
Li：那可怕，宏仁，宏仁不是ㄟ，宏仁是水力發電場。他們那個才厲害，全東北電
業網他都管啊。我父親就是管四平的，那個，火力發電廠就是一直不停的燒鍋爐
嘛，所以我們那兒暖氣、水，都用的方便嘛，那個東西像個火車頭似的哈，在那個
一高一低那個大風扇裡頭，上面一半下面一半，轟隆轟隆整天，也不知道什麼東西
響，我們小時候去看都挨罵，說掉下去就死了。
Pai：所以你們才搬來搬去喔?
Li：沒有，啊，那個，後來他就到那個，人家海拉爾就被日本人接收了，就說薪水
拿到三倍ㄟ，像現在人家拿兩萬嘛，他就可以拿到六萬。
Pai：所以才去海拉爾?
Li：他說就去遊覽遊覽嘛，在家也是，總不能一輩子一個地方沒運動，他就去了。
那時候就不管發電廠啦，就管那個機務段嘛，管火車的。
Pai：機務段是什麼?
Li：就是管調動火車嘛，就是有人調度火車經過他們那裡這樣。

Li：wǒ fù qīn cóng qián zài tiě lù jú，jiù shì jī wù duàn diàn qì duàn nà zhǒng de，nà
tā hòu lái shì zài nà gè，nà gè，huò li fā diàn chǎng de zhǎng zhāng ā。
Pai：gēn hóng rén yī yàng?
Li：nà kě pà，hóng rén，hóng rén bù shì ㄟ，hóng rén shì shuǐ shuǐ lǐ fā diàn chǎng。tā
men nà gè cái lǐ hǎi，quán dōng bèi diàn yè wǎng tā dōu guǎn ā。wǒ fù qīn jiù shì guǎn
si píng de，nà gè，huò li fā diàn chǎng jiù shì yī zhī bù tǐng de shǎo guǒ lú ma，suǒ yī
wǒ men nà ěr nuǎn qí，shūi，dōu yòng de fāng biān ma，nà gè dōng xī xiàng gè huǒ
chē tóu sì de hǎ，zài nà gè yī gāo yī dī nà gè dā fēng shān lǐ tóu，shàng miàn yī bān xià
miàn yī bān，hóng lóng hóng lóng zhēng tiān，yī bù zhī dào shì méi dōng xī xiàng，
wǒ men xiǎo shì hòu qù kān dōu āi mà，shuō diào xià qù jiù sì le。
Pai：suǒ yī nǐ men cái bān lái bān quán wǒ?
Li： méi yǒu ，ā ，nà gè ，hòu lái tā jiù dào nà gè ，rén jiā hǎi là ěr jiù bèi rén rèn jiě shǒu le ，jiù shuō xīn shuí ná dào sān bèi ，xiàng xiàn zài rén jiā ná liǎng wàn ma ，tā jiù kě yǐ ná dào liú wàn 。

Pai： suǒ yǐ cǎi qù hǎi là ěr ？
Li： tā shuō jiù qù yǒu lǎn yǒu lǎn ma ，zài jiā yě shì ，zǒng bú néng yǐ bǐ zǐ yī gè dì fāng méi yùn dòng ，tā jiù qù le nà shì hòu jiù guǎn fā diàn chǎng lá ，jiù guǎn nà gè jī wù duàn ma ，guǎn huò chéng de 。
Pai： jī wù duàn shì shí me ？
Li： jiù shì guǎn diào dòng huǒ chē ma ，jiù shì yǒu rén diào dù huǒ chē jǐng guò tā men nà lǐ zhè yàng 。

II.
Li： 我逃難的時候經過湖南，說太太，給我們點兒米，給我們一包米，就在大陸逃難的時候啊，跟一個營長太太，我們三個人，跟他的孩子，還有一個小的勤務兵，就坐，坐那小船。
Pai： 去哪兒 ？
Li： 逃難，逃到湖南的時候吧，不記到了。

Li： wǒ táo nán de shí hòu jǐng guò hú nán ，shuō tài tài ，gěi wǒ men diān ér mǐ ，gěi wǒ men yī bāo mǐ ，jiù zài dà lǐ táo nán de shí hòu ，gěi yī gè yǐ yǐng zhǎng tái tài ，wǒ men sān gè rén ，gěi tā de hái zǐ ，hái yǒu yī gè xiǎo de qín wù bīng ，jiù zuò ，zuò nà xiǎo chuán 。
Pai： qù nǎ ér ？
Li： táo nán ，táo dào hú nán de shí hòu ba ，bú jì dào le 。

III.
Li： 我姥爺的爸爸有兩個老婆嘛，那個大的二奶，他就是，我六姑，五姑，五姑是我的親姑姑，六姑是那個的親姊姊，台北的那個親姊姊，還一個四姑，啊三姑二姑大姑都嫁了，他帶著三個女兒在一個地方住，一個房子，一個廂房啊，有一天就說，他兩個，三個都沒嫁嘛，都還十七八歲嘛，就先是我四姑就開始了，我四姑說，就見到，看到那窗戶上，玻璃上一個影子，好大一個人就抓嘛，我們那窗戶，你看電視裡，那下邊整片窗戶玻璃嘛，上邊就那格子的嘛，做各種花的那個糊紙的嘛，啊就說不好啦不好啦 (imitating 四姑’s voice of screaming)，有鬼啊有鬼啊((LF)) 這是六姑看到的嘛是哪姑，另外一個就跟到鬨，說真的有鬼，看看就講，然後那個沒看到的也跟著講，有鬼有鬼((LF)) ，我那二奶說哪裡有鬼哪裡有鬼，一看，三個哭成一團哪，就看到那個影子了，把那窗戶扒的，都裂了，兩腳兩手都扒嘛。

((大家發出讚嘆聲 ))
Li： 就喊，就喊我大爺，說快點啊，有鬼啊有鬼啊，我大爺說，一天到晚都有鬼有鬼，他就把那個槍哪，我們那兒有散彈槍，就拉開，ㄎㄚ住 (gesture)，然後就打不下去，每次都這樣，要遇到那個事情，絕對打不出去槍，就ㄎㄚ到，ㄎㄚ到他就很氣，就把槍甩了他就說，那時候，就到後半夜了嘛，沒有了嘛就，那東西就沒有
了，沒有了他就罵，趕快歇息，你們都瞎叫，又哭又鬧的，哪有鬼？天亮才看都抓破了。

((Everyone aiyei))

Li：那不一定是鬼，是動物，我們那個動物在那兒作怪好多年，就我跟你講那個，後來那個，我們哪不是鄉下老房子有個砲台啊，一個牆角一個在那兒打更的嘛，就一個打更的不做了，家裡沒什麼事嘛，我六叔他們幾個輪流嘛，我六叔說，他說他看到，他說不是鬼，他說就是黑黑一個高高的，順著那牆邊兒，咚咚咚走，咚咚咚走。

Li：wǒ lāo yé de bā bā yòu liàng gè lǎo pò ma ，nà gè dà de èr nái ，tā jiǔ shí ，wǒ liù gū ，wù gū shì wǒ de qīn gū gū ，liù gū shì nà gè de qīn zǐ zǐ ，tái bēi de nà gè qīn zǐ zǐ ，hái yī gè sī gū ，ā sān gū èr gū dà gū dōu jià le ，tā dāi zhe sān gè nǚ ér zài yī gè dì fāng zhù ，yī gè xiǎng fāng ā ，yòu yī tiān jiù shuō ，tā liǎng gè ，sān gè dōu méi jià ma ，dōu hái shí qǐ bā suì ma ，jiù xiān shì wǒ sì gū jiǔ kāi shì le ，wǒ sì gū shuō ，jiù jiān dào ，kàn dào nà chuāng hú shàng ，bō lǐ shāng yī gè yīng zǐ ，hāo dà yī gè rén jiù zhū ma ，wǒ men nà chuāng hú ，nǐ kān diàn shì lǐ ，nà xiá biān zhēng pīn chuāng hú bō lǐ ma ，shāng biān jiù nà gè zǐ de ma ，zuò gè zhōng huá de nà gè hú zhī de ma ，ā jiù shuō bú hǎo lá bú hǎo lá （imitating si gū 's voice of screaming） ，yǒu guì à yòu guì à ((LF) ) zhē shì liǔ gū kàn dào de ma shì nà gū ，líng wài yī gè jiǔ gèn dào qǐ xiǎng ，shuō zhēn de yǒu guì ，kàn kàn jiǔ jiàng ，rán hòu nà gè méi kàn dào de yě gèn zhe jiàng ，yǒu guì yǒu guì ((LF) ) ，wǒ nà èr nà shuō nà lǐ yǒu guì nà lǐ yǒu guì ，yī kān ，sān gè kū chéng yī tuán nà ，jiù kàn dào nà gè yīng zǐ le ，bā nà chuāng hú bā de ，dōu liè le ，liǎng jiāo jiāo shòu dōu bā ma 。

((dà jiā fā chǔ zàn tān shēng ))

Li：jiù hān ，jiù hān wǒ dà yè ，shuō kuài diǎn dā ，yǒu guì ā yǒu guì ā ，wǒ dà yè shuō ，yī tiān dào wàn dōu yǒu guì yǒu guì ，tā jiù bā nà gè qiáng nà ，wǒ men nà èr yǒu sān dàn qiāng ，jiù là kāi ，ㄎㄚ zhuō （ gesture），rán hòu jiù dà bù pà ，mèi cì dōu zhè yàng ，yào yú dào nà gè shì qīng ，jiù duì dà bù chǔ qù qiāng ，jiù ㄎㄚ dào ，ㄎㄚ dào tā jiǔ hěn qí ，jiù bá qiáng shuāi le tā jiù shuō ，nà shì hòu ，jiù dào hòu bān yè le le ma ，mèi yōu le ma jiǔ ，nà dōng xī jiù měi yōu le ，mèi yōu le tā jiǔ mà ，gǎn kuài xiè xǐ ，nǐ men dōu xiǎ jiào ，yǒu kǔ yòu náo de ，nà yǒu guì ？tiān liǎng cái kàn dōu zhú pò le 。

((Everyone aiyei))

Li：nà bú yī dìng shì guì ，shì dōng wù ，wǒ men nà gè dòng wù zài nà ér zuò guǎi hào duō nián ，jiù wǒ gèn nǐ jiāng nà gè ，hòu lái nà gè ，wǒ men nà bú shì xīăng xiăo lăo făng zǐ yǒu gè páo tái ā ，yī gè qiáng jiāo yī gè zài nà èr dà gēng de ma ，jiù yī gè dà gēng de bù zuò le ，jiā lǐ méi shì me shì ma ，wǒ liú shū tā men jì gè lún liú ma ，wǒ liū shū shuō ，tā shuō tā kàn dào ，tā shuō bú shì guì ，tā shuō jiù shì hēi hēi yī gè gāo gāo de ，shūn zhe nà qiáng biăn ér ，dōng dōng dōng zòu ，dōng dōng dōng dōng zòu 。

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IV.

Pai：你說你三個爺爺怎麼樣？
Li：我那大爺壞的要命，他，那個，我們離我們那兒很近有個小房兒啊讓住，大概也是那個流浪的來的那些個，也有太太，人家那個懷孕了，他罵人家，人家跟他回嘴，他給踢的，踢死了，他自己就變瘋子啦，天天說，那個人要來抓我，我媽都不理他，說這麼壞心啊，還理他，他那個，我父親在四平上班嘛，石家園就二十多公里嘛，他就禮拜一早上，他就，吃麵條兒嘛，他就讓他的孩子，去看看，看看妳二叔走了沒有，說沒走，就等等等，說二叔走了沒有，走了，到那兒就跳下去了。那個二姊啊，他比我，十一二歲吧，就喊，找就找不到，因為他是個那個，一天到晚穿的好好好的，那個時候叫文明棍兒啊，(laugh)那个二姊就說了，媽媽，妳快去，有一些穿黑衣服的就在井邊兒上，一開門也沒看到有影子，就找嘛，就真的在井裡，站起來，站著站到裡頭，沒喝水。

Pai：奇怪。
Li：壞人嘛。

Pai：nǐ shuō nǐ sān gè yè yé zěn me yàng ？
Li：wǒ nà dà yé yè huài de yào mìng，tā，nà gè，wǒ men lǐ wǒ men nà ēr hěn jìn yǒu
gè xiāo fāng ěr ā ràng zhù，dà gài yè shì nà gè liú làng de lái de nà xiě gè，yě yǒu
tài tài，rén jiā nà gè huái yün le，tā mā rēn jiā，rēn jiā gēn tā huí zuǐ，tā gēi tī
de，tī sī le，tā zǐ jī jiù biān fēng zì là，tiān tiān shuō，nà gè rēn yào lái zhū
wǒ，wǒ mā dōu bú lǐ tā，shuō zhè me huài xiān ā，hái lǐ tā，tā nà gè，wǒ fū
qīn zài sī píng shàng bān ma，shì jīā pǔ jiù èr shì duō gōng lǐ ma，tā jiù lǐ bài yī
zǎo shāng，tā jiù，chī miàn tiáo ěr rēn jiā shě de tā de hǎi zǐ，qū kān kān，
kān kān nà ēr shū zōu le méi yǒu，shuō méi zōu，jiù děng děng děng，shuō ěr
shū zōu le méi yǒu，zōu le，dāo nà ēr jiù tiào xià qù le，nà gè ěr zǐ ā，tā bǐ
wǒ，shì yī ěr suì bā，jiù hǎn，zhǎo jiù zhǎo bù dào le，yīn wéi tā shì gè nà
gè，yī tiān dào wǎn chuān de hǎo hào de，nà gè shì hòu jiāo wén míng gùn ěr ā，
(laugh) nà gè ěr zǐ jiù shuō le，mā mā，nāi kuài qù，yǒu yī xiē chuān hēi yī fú de
jiù zài jīng biān ěr shàng，yī kāi mén yě méi kān dào yǒu yīng zì，jiù zhǎo ma，
jiù zhēn de zài jīng lǐ，zhàn qī lái，zhàn zhe zhàn dào lǐ tóu，méi hē shuǐ。

Pai：qí guài。
Li：huài rèn ma。

((pause))
Li：tā de ěr zǐ jiù bèi lèi dà de nà gè。
Pai：wǒ，tā de ěr zǐ jiù bèi lèi dà！

4. Narratives from Weizhong Mama de Juancun
孫紹琴：那時候我們也沒有結婚，因為訂了，因為那個偉忠的爸爸，奶奶，他奶奶啊跟他叔叔，都到我們那個，偉忠的就叫爺爺，就六爺爺，就到我們家去，那會兒我跟王伯伯認識了，就到我們家去，說結婚也來不及，馬上要撤退了啊，條件也沒有那個結婚的條件，因為我們兩家的生活都不是很好，普通人家的生活，所以也沒有那個條件啊，說什麼，就說現在撤退很急，說共產黨要來了，說你們那個意思，就要撤退了，要跟著軍隊撤退，就說要帶我走，那我本來我母親我父親都不答應的，那我哥那會兒還在軍隊，他不在家，就說不答應我來，不答應我來然後就盡講，那意思就是，王伯伯那邊就說，我不來他也不來，那不來的話，要抓回去的話，就好像說是，就很麻煩，那會兒就說開小車兒嘛，叫開小車，都叫開小車了，說好像就說抓回去會怎麼樣，那會兒向我父親說過一句話，說不管你走道天崖海角，你要想著給我寫信，我好知道，孩子，我知道你在哪兒親，我臨走的時候兒我母親說過一句話，說不管你走道天崖海角，你要想著給我寫信，我好知道，孩子，我知道你在哪兒，（sobbing），所以我到了嘉義，我就馬上往北京寫信，我媽就接到我的信，我就告訴他我在什麼什麼地方，那我哥哥就憑著信，我好知道，孩子，我知道你在哪兒（(sobbing)），我哥哥就憑著這個地址，找到臺灣，找到慶昇電影院，找到隔壁那個房子，找到我。

sūn shào qín：nà shí hòu wǒ wèn yě méi yǒu jié hūn，yīn wèi dìng le le，yīn wèi nà gè wèi zhòng de bā bā，nài nài，tā nái nái ā gēn tā shū shū，dōu dào wǒ men nà gè wèi zhòng de jiù jiào yě yě，jiù liù yě yě，jiù dào wǒ men jiā qū，nà hú ér wǒ gēn wàng bó bō rèn shì le，jiù dào wǒ men jiā qū，shūo jiē hūn yě lái bǔ jí，mà shǎng yào chè tui le ē，tiáo jiàn yě méi yǒu nà gè jiē hūn de tiáo jiàn，yīn wèi wǒ men liàng jiā de shèng huò dōu bù shì hén hào，pǔ tōng rēn jiā de shēng huò，suǒ yǐ yě méi yǒu nà gè tiáo jiàn ē，shūo shī me，jiù shūo xiān zài chè tui hén jí，shūo gōng chǎn dāng yào lái le，shūo nǐ men nà gè yì sǐ，jiù yào chè tui le yě，yáo gēn zhē jun1 dui chè tui，jiù shūo yǎo dài wǒ zǒu，nà wǒ běn lái wǒ mǔ qīn wǒ fù qīn dōu bù dà yǐng de nà wǒ gē nà hù ér hái zài jun1 dui tā bù zài jiā jiù shūo bù dà yǐng wǒ lái bū dā yǐng wǒ lái rán hòu jiù jìng jiāng nà yì jiù shī wàng bó bō nà biān jiù shūo wǒ bù lái tā yě bù lái nà bù lái de huà yào zuò hú qū de huà jiù hǎo xiàng shū shì jiù hén má fān nà hù ér jiù shūo kāi xiào chē ér ma jiāo kāi xiào chē dōu jiào kāi xiào chē le shūo hǎo xiàng jiù shūo zhū huí qù de huí zài méi yāng nà hù ér xiàng wǒ fù qīn yě shì jun1 rén yě shì cóng qián yě shì jun1 rén hǎo xiàng wǒ fù qīn jiù zhī dào zhè gè lǐ hǎi jiù shì lín zhēn tuō táo le nǐ nà gè yào nǐ zhè dāng bīng de kāi xiào chē zhè shì zuì hěn dà de shì ba jiù jiāng wǒ mù qīn jiù jiāng nà yì sǐ wèi zhōng tā bā bā yě jiù shì tā nái nái jiù zhē me yì gē ér zǐ wǒ mù qīn jiù xiāng rén jiā yī ér zì wěi
le wǒ nǐ ér bù zǒu，tā bù zǒu，tā fàn le fǎ，shuō wǒ men duì rén jiā yě bù hǎo yì sī，jié guò zhè yòng zǐ cái ràng wǒ lí kāi，cái ràng wǒ gēn wěi zhōng de bā bā，wǒ men jiù guò lāi le，guò lāi，lái dào zhè ér，xiàng bù dào zhè ér de shēng huò gēng zào gāo，gēng bù hǎo guò，nà lǐ hài yǒu qiàn shuō jié hūn zěn me yǎng ne，fān zhēng jiù dēng yǔ shí zài dà lù dìng le hūn，měi jié hūn jiù lāi le，wǒ jiù shí lāi dào tài wǎn，nà hui ér wǒ mǔ qīn，wǒ lín zōu de shì hòu ér wǒ mǔ qīn shuō guò yì jū huà，shuō bù quàn nǐ zōu dào tiān yá hái jiāo，nǐ yào xiǎng zhe gěi wǒ xiē xīn，wǒ hǎo zhī dào，hái zǐ，wǒ zhī dào nǐ zài nǐ ér，(sobbing)，suǒ yǐ wǒ dào le jiā yì，wǒ jiù mǎ shàng wǎng bèi jīng xiě xīn，wǒ mǎ jiù jī dào wǒ de xīn，wǒ jiù gào sù tā wǒ zài shì me shí me di fāng，nà wǒ gē gě jiù pīng zhè zhě gě zhě di zhī，zhǎo dào tái wǎn，zhǎo dào qīng shēng diàn yǐng yuàn，zhǎo dào gé bì nà gě fāng zǐ，zhǎo dào wǒ。

II．

Interviewer: 您是哪兒人哪？
Wang: 我是北京，南苑的。

Interviewer: 您家裡面背景是怎麼樣？
Wang: 家裡也是普通人家啦，就是上下班的，靠人吃飯的那樣。

Interviewer: 那您那時候怎們會碰上王伯伯？
Wang: 我們是，就是說，他的哥哥，他的堂哥，跟日本抗戰，打勝利了就國民黨勝利了就回到北京了，回到北京，南苑他們，很多空軍的都自己租房子，那堂哥租的房子跟我媽媽住一院兒，住在一個院子裡頭，結果住在一個院子裡頭，他這個堂哥就是，慢慢兩三年我們都熟了嘛，就是他堂哥介紹的你知道吧。

Interviewer: 您相處多久才結婚的？
Wang: 我們相處沒多久，一年多一點。

Interviewer: 就結婚了。
Wang: 嗯。

Interviewer: 因為什麼呢？
Wang: 因為他也是天津人嘛，我父親也是天津人，所以就是家裡家長都願意啊，就結婚了，說結了婚要走，我母親不太願意，說好像結了婚就要走了，好像不放心，很小，結果我爸爸爸就講說，唉呀，都是天津人了，走到哪兒還是想著回家，將來他們還會回來。

Interviewer: 結果一來就五十年。
Wang: 五十年。信都不通了。

Interviewer: nín shì nǎ ér rén nǎ？
Wang: wǒ shì běi jīng，nán yuàn de。

Interviewer: nín jiā liàn biè jīng shì zěn me yáng？
Wang: jiā li yě shí pù tōng rén jiā là，jiù shí shǎng xià bān de，kào rén chǐ fān de nà yàng。

Interviewer: nà nín nà shí hòu zěn me hui pèng shàng wáng bó bó？
Wang: wǒ men shì，jiù shì shuō，tā de gē gē，tā de táng gē，gěn rì bēn kàng
zhàn，dā shèng lì le jiù guó mín dǎo běi jīng le，huì dào běi jīng，nán yuàn tā men，hěn duō kōng jù de dōu zǐ jǐ zhǎng fāng zǐ，nà táng gě zū de fǎng zī gèn wǒ mǎ zhú yǐ yuán ěr，zhū zài yǐ gē yuán zī lǐ tóu，jié guò zhù zài yǐ gē yuán zī lǐ tóu tā zhè gě táng gě jiù shì màn màn liǎng sān nián wǒ men dòu shù le ma，jiù shì tā táng gě jiè shào de nǐ zhī dào ba。

Interviewer: nín xiàng chú duō jiǔ cái jié hūn de?
Wang: wǒ men xiàng chú méi duō jiǔ，yī nián dōu yī dìǎn。

Interviewer: jiù jié hūn le。
Wang: èn。

Interviewer: yīn wéi shí me ne?
Wang: yīn wéi tā yě shì tān jīn rén ma，nà wǒ fù qín yě shì tiān jīn rén，suǒ yǐ jiù shì jiā lǐ jiā zhǎng dōu yuàn yī ěr jiù hūn le，shuō jiù le hūn yào zōu，wǒ mǔ qín bù tài yuán yī，shuò hǎo xiāng jié le hūn jiù yào zōu le，hǎo xiāng bù fāng xīn，hěn xiāo，jié guò wǒ bā bā jiǔ jiāng shuō，āi ya，dōu shì tiān jīn rén le，zōu dào nà èr hái shì xiǎng zhe huí jiā，jiāng lái tā men hái huí lái。

Interviewer: jié guò yī lái jiù wǔ shí nián。
Wang: wǔ shí nián。xīn dōu bù tōng le。

Chapter 4
1. Family gathering: Li Mingzhen and Bai Minzhi

Li: bǎ nuò mǐ pào yī pào，bié，bú yào fàng xiā mǐ！

Minzhi (MZ): yǒu xiā mǐ bǐ jiào xiāng。
Li: tài wān rén cái wàng zōng zī lǐ fāng xiā mǐ gēn huā shēng。((Speaks to me))zōng zī lǐ bū néng fāng tài duō dòng xī，yào shì bāo jiǎn de；jiù shì nuò mǐ，ròu；yǒu shì hòu fāng yī diǎn ér xiāng gū。fāng tài duō dòng xī jiù chī bù dào tā yuán lái nà，nà mǐ shí me wèi ér le。
Pai: zhǐ dào。jiù fàng ròu gēn xiāng gū？Li: ě。
Pai: tài lǎo lǎo yǐ qián yě zhè yàng ā？Li: ě。((LF)) wǒ men zǎo shàng qǐ chuāng jiù bā ài cǎo chā zài mén kǒu wǒ men xiǎo hǎi ér jiù bāng nǎi tài lǎo lǎo bāo zōng zī xiǎo hái ér de gōng zuò jiù shī shuā zōng yě。
Pai: xiàng wǒ gāng cǎi nà yàng。((LF))
Li: (nodding))wǒ men kuài duō lá！
(pause ě)，xiàn zài tái wān mǎi bù dào zhēn de ài cǎo le。

2. Interview with Bai Meizhen and Bai Minzhi

I.
Mei: nǐ shì yuē wǒ jué de wǒ shì nǎ lǐ rén ma？hái shì wǒ de hù jí shàng xiě wǒ shì nǎ lǐ rén？
Pai: bú yào kǎo lǜ，nǎi shì nǎ lǐ rén？
Mei: wǒ jiù shì hui jiāng wǒ shì dōng běi rén。
Pai: suǒ yǐ nǎi jiù shì jiāo de nǎi shì lǎo lǎo nà lǐ lái de rén。
Mei: duì，wǒ jiù shì jiāo de wǒ shì dōng běi rén。

II.
Pai: nǐ shì nǎ lǐ rén？
MZ: wǒ bā bà shì hē běi rén，wǒ mā mā shì dōng běi。
Pai: nǐ ne？
MZ: ēn ((pause)) xiàn zài wǒ huì shuō wǒ shì dōng běi rén。

3. Interview with Bai Meizhen
Pai: nǐ shì nǎ yīn qù Měi guó de？
Mei: wǒ shì yī qiān yī bàn，chà bù duō。
Pai：妳去到美國之後，就是這個，妳在台灣的時候覺得自己不是臺灣人這個事情，到美國有沒有什麼改變？
Mei：覺得自己不是臺灣人喔？
Pai：嗯。
Mei：有，呃，好像會，我還是不覺得自己是臺灣人，但是好像就會覺得，比較清楚感覺自己的家是在台灣。
Pai：妳現在還這樣覺得嗎？
Mei：我現在又不這樣覺得了。
Pai：為什麼？(overlapping—Mei：很不幸的是)(laughter)
Mei：我覺得這個事情是這樣子，因為我去了美國一年多之後就去了瀋陽，所以我有很短暫的一段時間，好像比較清楚的覺得我的家是在台灣，但是我去了瀋陽之後我就發現，原來我的家不是在台灣，但是我的家顯然也不是在瀋陽，那(pause)，這個東西，就是說，這個，這種我覺得這個對家鄉的懷念畢竟還是姥姥的感覺，然後但是因為他常常在說，所以好像也變成了我的感覺，或是我的幻想的一部份。呃，但是我從美國回到臺灣的感受，跟我從美國去了瀋陽的感受，竟然有這麼強烈的不同，我覺得這個，好像它對我來說，是某一種message吧。所以(pause)，但是說實在的，就是說，我還是覺得，很可惜我覺得這些年來，這個感覺越來越淡了。
因為曾經有過一陣子，我比較感覺到好像如果我想要貢獻一點我自己的力量的話，我是會貢獻在，我比較覺得是中華民國吧。就是說，好像有一種國家的意識是比較，就是說在那個年紀，國家的意識是很強烈的，呃，勝過了那個民族的意識吧，但是，回到臺灣來以後，就是因為陳水扁的關係，好像我們的國家意識一直不斷的被腐蝕，以致於民族意識又變的很強烈。我覺得，我覺得這個，我覺得對於國家的，就是國家的這件事情好像，這個，岌岌可危，以致於剩下的就只有你的，就是指有你的民族認同嘛。這是一個分裂的方程式啊。它在走一條回頭路啊。
Pai：很可惜。
Mei：很可惜啊，所以(pause)，對啊。所以我的意思是說，我們的心中有很多不同的，就是這個identity不是一個單一的事情嘛，那，在什麼時刻，什麼樣的identity變得比較清晰，這個，就是說這個是一個，覺得這是一種消長的事情。所以，現在(laughter)，現在有很多消。
Pai：nà shí nà yì nián qù měi guó de ？
Mei：wǒ shì yī jiù bā sì nián bàn ，chà bù duō 。
Pai：nà qù dào měi guó zhī hòu ，jiù shì zhē gè ，nǎi zài tái wān de shí hòu jiào dé zì jǐ bú shì tái wān rén zhē gè shì qíng ，dào měi guó yǒu méi yǒu shí me gǎi biàn ？
Mei：jiào dé zì jǐ bù shì tái wān rén wǒ ？
Pai：èn 。
Mei：yǒu ，è ，hào xiǎng huì ，wǒ hái shì bú jiāo dé zì jì shì tái wān rén ，dān shì hǎo xiǎng jiù huì jiāo dé ，bǐ jiāo qǐng chū gǎn jiāo zì jǐ de jiā shì zài tái wān 。
Pai：nǎi xiǎn zài hǎi zhě yàng jiāo dé ma ？
Mei：wǒ xiàn zài yǒu bú zhě yàng jiāo dé le 。
Pai：wéi shí me ？(overlapping—Mei：hěn bú xíng de shì ) (laughter)
Mei：我叫这她事情她年轻，因为我们要让事情真实，他较强烈的不同时，是在趁杨
是实在趁杨，wǒ rì wǒ wǒ hěn duān zàn de yī duān shǐ jiān，hào xiāng
bǐ jiào qǐng chū de jiào de wǒ de jiā shì zài tài wān，dàn shì wǒ qù le chèn yáng zhì hòu
wǒ jiù fā xiān，yuán lái wǒ de jiā bù shì zài tài wān，dàn shì wǒ de jiā xiān rán yě bǔ
shì zài chèn yáng，nà（pause），zhè gè dòng xī，jiù shì shuō，zhè gè，zhè zhòng wǒ
jiào de zhè gè dui jiā xiāng de huái nián bǐ jīng hái shì lǎo lǎo de gǎn jiāo，rán hòu dàn
shì yīn wěi tā cháng cháng zài shuō，suǒ yǐ hào xiàng yě biàn chéng le wǒ de gǎn
jiāo，huò shì wǒ de huàn xiàng de yī bū fēn．e，dàn shì wǒ cóng méi guó huí dào tài
wān de gǎn shòu，gēn wǒ cóng méi guó qù le chèn yáng de gǎn shòu，jīng rán yǒu zhè
me qiáng liè de bù tóng，wǒ jiào de zhè gè，hào xiāng tā dui wǒ lài shuō，shí móu yǐ
zhòng messengeba．suǒ yǐ（pause），dàn shì shuō shì zài de jiù shì shuō，wǒ hái shì
jiào de shuō，hěn kě xī wǒ jiào de zhè xiè nián lái，zhè gè gǎn jiāo yuè lái yuè dàn
le．yīn wěi cèng jīng yǒu guò yī zhèn zǐ，wǒ bǐ jiào gǎn jiāo dào hào xiāng rú guò wǒ
xiǎng yào gōng xiàn yī diǎn wǒ jì de liǎng de huà，wǒ shì huí gōng xiàn zài，wǒ
bǐ jiào jiāo de zhì zhòng huá mín mín guó ba．jiù shì shuō，hào xiāng yǒu yī zhòng guó jiā
de yí shì shì bǐ jiào，jiù shì shuō zài nà gè nián jì，guó jiā de yí shì shì hěn qiáng liè
de，e，shèng guò le nà gè mín zú de yì shì ba，dàn shì hui dào tài wān lái yī hòu，
jiù shì yīn wěi chén shuǐ biàn de guān xi，hào xiāng wǒ men de guò jiā yí shì yī zhī bù
duàn de bèi fù shì，yì zhì yú mín zú yī shì yī wǒ biàn de hěn qiáng liè．wǒ jiào de，wǒ
jiào de zhè gè，wǒ jiào de dui yú guò jiā de，jiù shì guó jiā de zhè jiàn shì qíng hào
xiāng，zhè gè，jí jī kě wèi，yì zhì yú shèng xià de jiǔ zhī yǒu nǐ de，jiù shì zhǐ yǒu
nǐ de mín zú rèn tóng má．zhè shì yī gè fèn liè de fāng chéng shì zhè zài zài zǒu yī tiáo
huí tóu lù．
Pai：hěn kě xī．

Mei：hěn kě xī，suǒ yǐ（pause），duì ā．suǒ yǐ wǒ de yī sī shí shuō，wǒ men de
xin zhòng yǒu hěn duān bù tóng de，jiù shì zhè gè identitybú shì yī gè dān yī de shì qíng
ma，nà，zài shì me shì kě，shì me yáng de identitybián de bi jiào qǐng xī，zhè gè，
jiù shì shuō zhè gè shì yǐ gè，jiào de zhè shì yī zhòng xiǎo zhǎng de shì qíng．suǒ yǐ，
xiān zài（laughter），xiān zài yǒu hěn duō xiāo．

4. Interview with Bai Meizheng

I.

Mei：臺灣人？！我從來沒有覺得自己是臺灣人。從來不曾感覺到自己是臺灣人，
從來就是覺得我們就是外地人。
Pai：這個顯然是跟姥姥有關，對不對？
MZ：對。就像他說的，他連作夢也不曾夢到那個背景是在臺灣的。就是那種感覺
吧。我想因為我們常常聽到他講大陸的故事，他很喜歡講人哪，誰把誰搬到鐵路上
去等死啊。
Pai：這個我沒聽過。

Mei：沒聽過啊！就是，我聽故事的時候，是完全配上一幅圖，那種感覺很鮮明
吧，那個鮮明的程度，甚至比看見的這個 reality 還鮮明，那我覺得是因為它配上
了姥姥的情感吧，所以就覺得，就覺得，好像它就是我的記憶一樣的那種感覺，臺
灣，嗯，而且我們可能（pause），呃，可能我們小時候也很少跟別人一起玩吧，姥姥
不喜歡我們跟人家一起玩啊。他覺得他們，覺得他們跟我們不一樣，你們小時候
大概也是這樣子吧。
Mei：我們小時候沒有啦，我們小時候玩啊，鄰居都玩兒。可是姥姥不准我們去他
們家。
Pai：對，不准我們去人家家。
Mei：從來不准去。
Pai：呃，也不是特別鼓勵別人到我們家來，就是我們跟他們是隔開的就對了。
Mei：可是有一些又可以，譬如說黃奶奶家就可以去。
Pai：可是有一些又可以，譬如說黃奶奶家就可以去。
Mei：那不一樣啊。他們是外省人。

Mei：tái wān rén ？！wǒ cóng lái méi yǒu jiào de zì jǐ shí tái wān rén 。cóng lái bú
céng gǎn jiào dào zì jǐ shí tái wān rén 。cóng lái jiù shì jiào dé wǒ men jiù shì wài di
rén 。
Pai：zhè gè xiān rán shì gèn lǎo lǎo yǒu guān xi ，duì bú duì ？
MZ：duì 。jiù xiāng tā shuō de ，tā lián zuò mèng yě bù céng mèng dào nà gè bèi jīng
shì zài tái wān ba 。wǒ xiàng yǐn wèi wǒ men cháng
cháng yǐn dào tā jiāng dà lù de gù shì ，tā hěn xī huān jiāng rěn nǎ ，shuí bā shuí bān
dào tiě shàng qu déng sì ā 。
Pai：zhè gè wǒ méi tīng guò 。
Mei：méi tīng guò ā ！jiù shì ，wǒ tīng gù shì de shí hòu ，shí wān quán pèi shàng yī
fū tú ，nà gè gǎn jiào hěn xiān míng ba ，nà gè xiān míng de chéng dù ，shēn zhī bǐ kàn
jiàn de zhè gè realityhái xiān míng ，nà wǒ jiào dé shì yǐn wèi tā pèi shàng le lǎo lǎo de
qīng gàn ba ，suǒ yǐ jiù jiào dé ，jiù jiào dé ，hǎo xiàng tā jiù shì wǒ de jì yī yī yáng de
nà zhòng gǎn jiào ，tái wān ，èn ，ér qiě wǒ men kě néng （pause）e ，kě néng wǒ
men xiǎo shì hòu yě hěn shǎo gèn bié rén yǐ qǐ wán ba ，lǎo lǎo bú xī huān wǒ men gěn
rén jiā yī qǐ wán ā 。tā jiào dé tā men ，jiào dé tā men gěn wǒ men bī yī yīng ，ní men
xiǎo shì hòu dà gài yě shì zhè yáng zì ba 。
Pai：wǒ men xiǎo shì hòu méi yǒu lǎ ，wǒ men xiǎo shì hòu wán ā ，lín jū dòu wán
ér 。kě shì láo lǎo bú zhǔn wǒ men qù tā men jiā 。
Mei：duì ，bú zhǔn wǒ men qù rén jiā jiā 。
Pai：cóng lái bú zhǔn qù 。
Mei：e ，yě bù shì tè bié gǔ lì bié rén dào wǒ men jiā lái ，jiù shì wǒ men gěn tā men
shì gě kāi de jiù duì le 。
Pai：kě shì yǒu yī xiē yǒu kě yǐ ，pí rú shuō huáng nái nái jiā jiù kě yǐ qù 。
Mei：nà bú yī yàng ā 。tā men shì wài shèng rén 。
II.
Pai：對 。
Mei：對啊，所以，很奇怪喔，所以我覺得我們小時候對於那個，就是說，臺灣人，覺得他們很奇怪。覺得他們的家庭很神秘，然後不知道他們是怎麼過的，然後偶爾如果去了人家家的話，會覺得好像一個偷窺狂一樣。
Pai：覺得很緊張。
Mei：對，很緊張，有時候走到小巷子裡面，就會想要偷從人家的窗戶裡面往裡面看一看，看看他們是怎麼生活的。對吧，我覺得就是這種感覺，像以前那個芭樂樹那邊那個織毛衣的巷子有沒有。就是我當然知道，不，就是說那個不是臺灣人的代表。但是小時候你會以為就是。
Pai：嗯。
Mei：很奇怪喔，就是他們，這個地方，還有一個地方，就是賣那個，金鈴派店的那個巷子，因為那裡有很多酒家嘛，對不對。
Mei：然後我覺得然很有趣，就是說，那個芭樂樹那邊，有他們家，有兩個精神分裂症的人，然後姥姥都會說他們用鐵鍊把他們綁在家裡啊什麼，是真的。但我想小時候的感覺就是把那個，跟臺灣人連在一起了，就是他們怎麼，好像有一種，幾乎感覺他們像是野獸一樣的。(laugh)很詭異喔，覺得他們就是很不一樣，覺得他們很不文明，很貧窮，或是很瘋狂，很野蠻，就是覺得，好像從前白人對非洲的那個土著的幻想一樣吧，就是覺得距離非常的遙遠(laughter)，最好不要把這個寫在你的paper上。
Pai：duì。
Mei：rán hòu wǒ jiào dé rán hên yǒu qù ，jiù shì shuō ，nà zhòng ，nà gè bā lè shù nà biān ，yōu tā men jiā ，yōu liáng gè jīng shén fèn liè zhēng de rèn ，rán hòu lāo lāo dōu hui shuō tā men yǒng tiè lián bā tā men bāng zài jiā lǐ à shì me ，shì zhēn de 。dān shì ，wǒ xiǎo shì hòu de gān jiào jiù shì bā nà gè ，gēn tài wān rèn lián zài yī qǐ le ，jiù shì tā men zèn me ，hào xiāng yǒu yī zhòng ，jí hū gān jiào tā men xiǎng shì yě shòu yī yàng de 。( laugh ) hěn guì yī wǒ，jiào dé tā men jiē shì hěn bù yī yàng ，jiào dé tā men hěn bù wén míng ，hēn pǐn qióng ，huò shì hěn fēng kuáng ，hěn yē mán，jiù shì jiāo de ，hào xiāng cóng qián bái rèn dui fēi zhōu de nà gè tū zhe huàn xiǎng yī yàng ba ，jiù shì jiāo de jù lǐ fēi cháng de yào yuǎn (laughter)，zui hǎo bù yào bǎ zhē gè xiè zài nǐ de paper shàng 。

5. Interview with Bai Minzhi
I.
Pai：小時候呢。妳小時候呢？
MZ：很小的時候沒有去想這些事情，因為我小時候都跟臺灣小孩玩，所以都說一口臺灣話，就沒有再去想省籍的事情。然後我讀書的時候，也是一直兩種語言一直講，一直到我工作的時候都一直講，所以我真正已經不太說台語的時候，應該是這四五年的事情，是差不多沒有再說台語了，然後之前我都沒在再想這個省籍的問題，省籍問題通通是政府搞出來的。

Pai：小時候呢。妳小時候呢？
MZ：hěn xiǎo de shì hòu méi yǒu qù xiǎng zhè xiē shì qīng ，yīn wéi wǒ xiǎo shì hòu dōu gèn tài wān xiǎo hái wán ，suǒ yǐ dōu shuō yī kǒu tài wān huà ，jiù méi yǒu zài qù xiǎng shēng jì de shì qīng 。rán hòu wǒ dú shū de shì hòu ，yě shì yī zhī liàng zhōng yú yán yī zhi jiāng ，yī zhì dào wǒ gōng zuò de shì hòu dōu yī zhī jiāng ，suǒ yǐ wǒ zhēn zhēng yī jīng bù tài shuō tái yú de shì hòu ，yǐng gāi shì zhě sì wù nián de shì qīng ，shì chà bù duō méi yǒu zài shuō tái yú le ，rán hòu zhī qián wǒ dōu méi zài zāi xiǎng zhè gè shēng jì de wèn tí，shēng jì wén tí tōng tōng zhè shì zhēng fù gāo chǔ lái de。

II. 
Pai：就是妳在小的時候，妳自己沒有特別覺得是外省人？
MZ：沒有，因為我們住的不是眷村嘛，眷村的的人就特別想要強調自己是外省人，我們是住在一般的百姓的人家裡頭，所以沒有這樣想過。媽媽跟爸爸都根本省籍的人處得很好，所以根本沒有這個問題。像有些外省人，他們就會覺得跟本省人好像分開，然後本省人會覺得外省人…，可是我從小都是聽鄰居跟媽媽處的很好，所以沒有這個問題，像從前住，住，我剛生的時候，姥姥說我們住在清水人家，人家清水的那家人家，姓…，姓什麼？然後，好像姓郭吧，然後他們就都覺得那個姥姥跟姥爺環境不好，他們有時候房租還不要。然後他們煮飯，煮東西都還會叫我過去吃這樣子哦。所以好像人家沒有把我們當成外省來的，我們也沒有把他們當成是本省人。相處很好。
Pai：唸書的時候呢？
MZ：唸書的時候，就覺得也不會，都不會。

Pai： jiù shì nài zài xiǎo de shǐ hòu，nǎi zǐ jǐ méi yǒu tè bié jiào dé shì wài shěng rén？
MZ： méi yǒu，yǐn wèi wǒ men zhù de bù shì juàn cùn ma，juàn cùn de de rén jiù tè bié xiǎng yào qiáng diào zì jǐ shì wài shěng rén，wǒ men shì zhù zài yī bān de bǎi xīng de rén jiā lì tóu，suǒ yǐ méi yǒu zhè yàng xiǎng guò。mā mā gèn bā bā dōu gèn běn shēng jí de rén chū dé hěn hǎo，suǒ yǐ gèn běn méi yǒu zhè gè wèn tí。xiàng yǒu xiě wài shèng rén，tā men jiù hui jiào dé gèn běn shēng rén hào xiǎng fēn kāi，rán hòu běn shēng rén huì jiào dé wài shèng rén …，kě shì wǒ cóng xiǎo dōu shì tīng lín jū gèn mā mā chū de hěn hǎo，suǒ yǐ méi yǒu zhè gè wèn tí，xiàng cóng qián zhù，zhù，wǒ gǎng shēng de shǐ hòu，lǎo lǎo shuō wǒ men zhù zài qīng shuǐ rén jiā，réng jiā qīng shuǐ de nà jiā rén jiā，xìng …，xìng shì méi？rán hòu，hǎo xiàng xìng guò bā，rán hòu tā men jiù dōu jiào dé nà gè lǎo gèn běn rén xǐng jǐng bù hǎo，tā men yǒu shì hòu fāng zǔ dōu hái bù yào。rán hòu tā men zhù fàn，zhù dòng xī dōu tài huì jiào wǒ guò qù chī zhè yàng zǐ ě。suǒ yǐ hǎo xiàng rén jiā méi yǒu bā wǒ men dāng chéng wài shèng lái de，wǒ men yě méi yǒu bā tā men dāng chéng shì běn shěng rén。xiàng chū hěn hǎo。

Pai： nián shǔ de shǐ hòu ne？
MZ： nián shǔ de shǐ hòu，jiù jiào dé yě bù huì，dōu bù huì。

III.

Pai： 所以是從什麼時候開始覺得是，就是你覺得自己不是台灣人。
MZ： 去工作的時候，因為他們排外，我的機關排外。

Pai： 是嗎？妳在什麼機關？
MZ： 在省農會。

Pai： 那是什麼時候？
MZ： 民國六十九年，我已經十九歲了，然後他們因為是地方的農民團體，所以他
們的基本成員全都是本省籍的人嘛，所有進去工作的外省人，都是藉由一種關係搞
進去的，所以在那裡人家不太歡迎你這樣子。像我是因為，爸爸在當農會輔導課
長，他把我介紹進去，然後裡面的人，還好我會說台語，像我後來，辛竹紅他們
家，他們不會說台語的進去，人家都覺得，比較覺得她是外省人。反而我還不太會
被人家注意到。

Pai： 辛竹紅是誰？
MZ： 辛曉琪的姊姊。

Pai： 喔，就是咱們鄰居。

MZ： ㄟ，他也是黨部的那個組長的女兒這樣子。他也是用關係進去的，啊他幾乎
不會說台語，所以他們對他就很，就是，界線畫得很清楚這樣子。

Pai： suǒ yǐ shì cóng shí me shǐ hòu kāi shǐ jiào dé shì，jiù shì nǎi jiào dé zì jǐ bù shì tái
wàn rén。
MZ： qù gōng zuò de shǐ hòu，yǐn wèi tā men pái wài，wǒ de jī guān pái wài。
Pai：你有沒有覺得，好像家裡，家裡的，譬如說習慣啊，還是，說話的方式

Pai：可不可以告訴我一些你在東北的經驗。

MZ：我在東北的經驗喔，我就是去到東北，因為表哥表妹在那邊嘛，啊去了以後就覺得，好像回家這樣子，因為滿街的人都講一樣的話。

Pai：你有沒有覺得，好像家裡，家裡的，譬如說習慣啊，還是，說話的方式

Pai：開始意識到這個事情？

IV.

Pai：你有去過東北嗎？

MZ：有，去兩次。

Pai：開始意識到這個事情？

V.

Pai：你有沒有覺得，好像家裡，家裡的，譬如說習慣啊，還是，說話的方式

Pai：開始意識到這個事情？

MZ：從小就知道。(加強語氣)因為我會說兩種語言，可是有三種方式。台語當然就是一種語言加一種方式，可是國語我有兩種方式，就是我在家講的方式，跟去學
校講的方式，是完全兩種不同的話啊。

Pai：對，我明白你在說什麼。

MZ：對啊，上學就說成一種學校的國語嘛，雖然我們講起來比較字正腔圓一點，
但是還是學校的國語，可是回家就是另外一個調調這樣子。

Pai：喔。

MZ：想我們去學校絕對不會說咱們咱們，可是回家就會變咱們，就是回
來學校就會說我們，可是一回來就會變咱們。

Pai：嗯。

MZ：然後，然後在外面就會說，譬如說，會說塗一個藥膏幹嘛的，但是在學校就
不會說，會說塗藥這樣子。

Pai：喲。

MZ：(laugh) 就是用了他們知道的話，不會用我們家的話，這樣子。阿會很自然
的用，不會覺得自己在回<br>變這樣子，就是很自然的用了兩種方<br>式。

Pai：你是什麼時候知道，其實你有兩種方式。

MZ：比較深切的知道的時候應該是在高中的時候。但是知道我自己有這<br>樣子，可是之前也在這樣子講，但是沒有在想。

Pai：nǐ yóu méi yào jiào dé，hào xiàng jiā lǐ，jiǎ lǐ de，pí rú shuō xí guān，hái shì，hái shì shuō huà de fāng shì ā zhè xiē shì qīng，gèn bié rén，nǐ shuō nǐ yōu hěn duō tài wán tóng xué，gèn bié rén de jiā lǐ bù dà yī yàng。

MZ：jué duì bú yī yàng ā。(jiā qiáng yǔ qì)

Pai：nǐ shì，jiù shì shí hòu kāi shì …

MZ：qiāng diào bù yī yàng yòng zì yě bù yī yàng，wǒ cóng xiǎo jiù zhī dào。

Pai：kāi shǐ yì shì dào zhě gè shì qǐng？

MZ：cóng xiǎo jiù zhī dào。(jiā qiáng yǔ qì) yǐn wéi wǒ huí shuō liàng zhōng yú yán，kē shì yóu sǎn zhōng fāng shì。tái yǔ dāng rán jiù shì yī zhōng yú yán jiā yī zhōng fāng shì，kē shì guó yǔ wǒ yōu liàng zhōng fāng shì，jiù shì wǒ zài jiā jiāng de fāng shì，gēn qù xué xiào jiāng de fāng shì，shì wán quán liàng zhōng bù tóng de huà ā。

Pai：duì，wǒ míng bái nǐ zài shuō shí me。

MZ：cóng dā，shàng xué jiù shuō chéng yī zhōng xué xiào de guó yǔ ma，suī rán wǒ men jiāng qí lái bì jiào zì zhèng qiáng yuán yì diǎn，dàn shì hái shì xué xiào de guó yǔ，kē shì huí jiā jiū shì líng wài yī gè diào diào zhè yàng zì。

Pai：wǒ。

MZ：xiǎng wǒ men qù xué xiào jiù duì bù huí shuō zán men zán men，kē shì huí jiā jiū biàn zán men，hēn zi rán de zhūǎn bián。rán hòu qù xué xiào jiù huí shuō wǒ men，kē shì yī huí lái jiù biàn zán men。

Pai：èn。

MZ：rán hòu，rán hòu zài wài miàn jiù huí shuō，pí rú shuō，huí shuō cā yī gè yào
高幹嘛的，反正我在學校就不好說，會說不過要這樣。

Pai：唔。

MZ：（laugh）就是你念的那樣，把會說的告訴我，不會說的要這樣。

Pai：你熟悉我們的活動，其實有兩種方式。

MZ：把你家的過去的事，你家的過去的事，你家的過去的事，你家的過去的事，你家的過去的事，你家的過去的事。

Pai：嗯嗯。那為什麼現在你說你是東北人？

MZ：因為我現在跟我爸比較遠。

(laugh)

MZ：然後我覺得我跟我爸學到的東西很少。

Pai：唔。

MZ：因為他，你叫我想他小時候跟他說些什麼，我也只是想起他在羅河邊抓魚的事情，然後他對他的家人的敘述也很少。甚至於對奶奶的敘述都很少，他都沒有說過奶奶，就是生前有些什麼，生活細節，他從來都沒有說過。然後。我們認識奶奶的時候就是我們已經在台灣，奶奶在大陸，我父親是河北人，我繼承了他的籍貫，可是我就不覺得我有傳承到任何他家裡面的事情。

Pai：嗯。

MZ：對，不感覺到我有河北的部分，所以我就會說我現在是東北人。

Pai：喔。（laugh）可能跟姥姥說的多有關係。跟姥姥比較親哪。

MZ：對啊，因為你覺得你知道的東北，多過你知道的河北，不是只有多過，河北根本沒有了解，一點了解，就是你對你父親家裡的事情完全不知道，然後父親也不說他父親的事情，從來不說，只有聽姥姥說，爸爸的父親跟母親，從來沒有聽，從爸爸的口裡聽過他說他自己的父母親，對，所以，到後來我就覺得所有事情都是從媽媽那兒聽來的，所以我覺得我是媽媽這邊的人。

Pai：jiù shì nǐ bā bā shì hé běi rén ma ，wéi shí me nǐ bù shuō nǐ shì hé běi rén nǐ shuō nǐ shì dōng běi rén ？

MZ：wǒ，yīn wèi wǒ yī zhī jiào dé ，rén bìng bù shuō ，xiàng nǐ xìng shì me shì yīn wèi nǐ bā bā xìng shì me ，nǐ jiù xìng shì me ，wǒ jiào dé nà gè jí guǎn de wèn tí ，nǐ de suǒ dé dào de nà xì jìáo yù ，gēn nà xiē ，wén huà ，hào xiàng shì lái zì fù mǔ
liǎng rén ma , suǒ yī nǐ bú yīng gāi shuō nǐ shì hé běi rén , yīn wèi nǐ shēn shāng yǒu
hèn duō nǐ mǔ qīn de dōng xī , nǐ zěn me kě yǐ shuō nǐ shì hé běi rén , suǒ yī wǒ xiǎo
shì hòu yǐ lǜ rén jiā wèn wǒ , wǒ dōu shuō wǒ bā shì hé běi , wò mā shì dōng běi 。
Pai : èn èn 。nà wèi shí me xiān zài nǐ shuō nǐ shì dōng běi rén ?
MZ : yīn wèi wò xiǎn zài gēn wǒ bā bǐ jiào yuán 。
(laugh)
MZ : rán hòu wǒ jiào dé wǒ gēn wǒ bā xué dào de dōng xī hěn shǎo 。
Pai : èn 。
MZ : yīn wèi tā , nǐ jiào wǒ xiāng tā xiǎo shì hòu gēn wǒ men shuō xiē shì me , wǒ yě
zhī shì xiǎng qǐ tā zài lǒng hé biàn zhū yǔ de shì qíng , rán hòu tā dui tā de jiā rén de xù
shū yě hěn shǎo 。shēn zhī yǔ dui nǎi nǎi de xū shù dōu hěn shǎo , tā dōu méi yǒu shuō
guò nǎi nǎi , jiù shì shēng qián yǒu xiē shì me , shēng huó xì jiē , tā công lái dōu méi
yǒu shuō guò 。rán hòu wǒ men rén shí nǎi nǎi de shì hòu jiù shì wǒ men yǐ jīng zài
táí wān , nǎi nǎi zài dà lù , wǒ fù qīn shì hé běi rén , wǒ jì chéng le tā de jī guǎn , kě
shì wǒ jiù bú jiào dé wǒ yǒu chuán chéng dào rén hé tā jiā lí miàn de shì qíng 。
Pai : èn 。
MZ : duì , bú gān jiào dào wǒ yě hé běi de bù fèn , suǒ yī wǒ jiù huì shuō wǒ xiǎn zài
shì dōng běi rén 。
Pai : wǒ 。( laugh ) kě néng gēn lǎo lǎo shuō de duǒ yǒu guān xī gēn lǎo lǎo bǐ jiào
qīn nǎ 。
MZ : duì à , yīn wèi nǐ jiào dé nǐ zhī dào de dōng běi , duǒ guò nǐ zhī dào de hé běi ,
bú shì zhī yǒu duǒ guò , hé běi gēn běn méi yǒu le jiē , yī diǎn le jiē , jiǔ shì nǐ dui nǐ
fū qīn jiā lǐ de shì qíng wán quán bú zhī dào , rán hòu fū qīn yě bú shuō tā fū qīn de shì
qíng , cóng lái bú shuō , zhī yǒu tíng láo láo shuō , mǎ mā shuō guò , bà bà de fū qīn
gēn mǔ qīn , cóng lái méi yǒu tíng , cóng bà bà de kǒu lǐ tíng guò tā shuō tā zì jǐ de fū
mǔ qīn , duì , suǒ yǐ , dào hòu lái wǒ jiù jiào dé suǒ yǒu shì qíng dōu shì chóng mā mā
nà èr tíng lái de , suǒ yī wǒ jiào dé wǒ shì mā mā zhè biàn de rén 。

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