These Are Not Just Words:

Religious Language of Daoist Temples in Taiwan

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines lexical and phonetic variations between Daigi, Hakka, and Modern Standard Chinese elements as used in two Daoist temples of southern Taiwan, the Daode Yuan (DDY) and Yimin Miao (YMM) in Kaohsiung, Taiwan, which form linguistic repertoires from which religious communities construct language variants called religiolects. Specific variations in the use of these repertoires appear to be linked to specific religious thought processes. Among my results, one finds that phonetic features of Daigi and Hakka appear linked to the use of language in religious contexts at the DDY and YMM, especially such that alterations in pronunciation, which would otherwise be inappropriate, are linked to speakers of the religiolects processing and producing religious thought in ways they otherwise would not. For example, what would normally be pronounced [tʰe la ɪ] *internal to one's body* would be archaicized as [tʰe lue], from frequent contact with [lue tan] *inner alchemy*; this leads to reinforced conception of the inner body as sacred space. One also finds that semantic features of lexical items received sacralized contours in overt and non-overt ways, such that lexical items that would otherwise be irreligious become religious in nature; e.g., instances of the appearance of 道, especially in binomial items, would be resolved or parsed by reference to the sacred meaning of the word (such as the [to] in [tsui to tsui], which normally means *having its source in*, coming to be associated with 道 as *path from sacred font*).

Dedicated to

my wonderful, brilliant, loving, inspiring, exuberant daughters,

Alessandra Natamon Alyssa Jackson

and

Sarah Lucia Nacha Jackson

and

my loving wife,

Audrey Sukanit Wanich

and

the rest of my amazing family, in particular:

my mother,

Maria Teresa Rosalba Jackson, née Auriemma

and my father,

Russell Wayne Jackson

and my maternal grandparents,

Maria Grazia Granata and Raffaele Auriemma

and my paternal grandparents,

Paul V. Jackson, Jr. and Bonnie Jackson

all of whom I cannot praise highly nor thank profusely enough.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Premise and Questions

In the beginning of the fall of 2011, having arrived in Kaohsiung, Taiwan for a scant couple of weeks, the religious culture of the city was already exploding before me. Literally, of course: it seemed that not a day went by without the clattering report of firecrackers at some temple within earshot of the busy thoroughfare near which I lived. When the settling-in was completed and the time for fieldwork had arrived, finding the first point of ingress into my research on Taiwanese religious language was no more difficult than following the blasts. A few short minutes of walking later, I turned a corner and there it was: the umpteenth temple celebration I had witnessed, by now charmingly familiar in its characteristics: the throng gathered outside watching a theatrical performance practitioners hustling in and out of the doors flanking the central entrance, people of all ages and professions busily offering prayers before incense burners and deities, the clouds of sweet and cindery smoke, the easy familiarity with which temple volunteers divided up labor and socialized with practitioners, the droning and pacific hum of chanting, the brilliance of embroidered banners and flags and pennants, the dragon pillars, the walls and ceiling and roofs with no space left bereft of god or classical scene or calligraphy, the functionaries kneeling before richly garbed statues singing their addresses into a microphones, the pangs and silky tones of traditional instruments, and the overall sense of controlled chaos, or, perhaps more accurately, a chaos which one becomes so enamored with as to find it exalting rather than disconcerting. This assault on the senses, perhaps jarring at first experience, was by now welcome and pleasant to my aesthetic senses. Best of all, however, was the chorus of voices crowding in from all directions. Already, someone I knew: one of the two security

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guards which watched the building I lived in. I started a conversation about the ferocity of the festivities. As we shifted to talking about the theatrical performance there, soon we were talking about the singular beauty of the Daigi language, which I had found to be a well-liked topic by many people of his approximate age in the community. At one point, in the guise of the devil's advocate, I told him, "Well, you know, some people think that to have one national language is a good thing, and since so many people speak Chinese in the world, why not abandon the others to their fate?" Impassioned, he fired back, "Abandon Daigi! To lose all its flavor, its expressiveness, all of it untranslatable into Chinese!" I pursed, "Well, they're just words, right? One way or another, the meaning is there." His reply I noted carefully. He swept his hand over the crowd and said, "These are not just words! This is who we are. All that you hear would be *destroyed* if we were forced to used Chinese."

Taiwanese religious practice is one that enjoys a multilingual environment; practitioners have access to, with ranging degrees of fluency, two or more of the languages among Modern Standard Chinese, Daigi, Hakka, English (as an international *lingua franca*), and Japanese (among the very elderly, unless as, with English, as a *lingua franca*). In particular, the presence of Sinitic languages, in competition with Austronesian languages of the aboriginal peoples who settled the island far before the Sinitic peoples, is particularly strong. Language, as presented herein, is not a system of differing ciphers (individual 'languages' or 'dialects') that have a one-to-one, isometric relationship with one another or have some underlying, pure, meaning. Instead, the process of translation, of transference between languages involves acts of interpretation and alteration, even the most subtle of which may cause wide deviations in meaning, and therefore religious thought and practice. The Daoism in Taiwan – which this paper focuses on – is generally centered on either temple-bound activity or on practices localized around semiprofessional functionaries, and involves (among

other things): participation in ritual and festivals, mantic practices, generation of good will from deities, requests for favors, engaging of religious scripture, and charitable works.

The goal of this dissertation then, by performing an ethnographic study at the Daode Yuan 道德院 (DDY) and Baozhong Yimin Miao 褒忠義民廟 (YMM) in Kaohsiung 高雄, Taiwan, is to examines lexical and phonetic variations between Daigi, Hakka, and Modern Standard Chinese elements as used in these two Daoist temples of southern Taiwan, which form linguistic repertoires from which religious communities construct language variants called religiolects, such that specific variations in the use of these repertoires appear to be linked to specific religious thought processes. This work examines how phonetic features of archaic and formalized Daigi 臺語 and Hakka appear linked to the use of language in religious contexts at the DDY and YMM, especially such that alterations in pronunciation, which would otherwise be inappropriate, dispose speakers of the religiolects to process and produce religious thought in ways they otherwise would not. For example, in a religiolect based on Daigi, what would normally be pronounced [tʰe la ɪ] *internal to one's body* would be archaicized as [tʰe lue], from frequent contact with [lue tan] *inner alchemy*; this leads to reinforced conception of the inner body as sacred space. This work also examines semantic features of lexical items which have received sacralized contours in overt and non-overt ways, such that lexical items that would otherwise be irreligious become religious in nature. e.g., instances of the appearance of 道, especially in binomial items, would be resolved or parsed by reference to the sacred meaning of the word (such as the [to] in [tsui to tsui], which normally means *having its source in*, coming to be associated with 道 as *path from sacred font*).

1.2 Definitions: Religion and Religious Language

Religion is a perilous word, laden with baggage, delineated with shifting, hazy boundaries, and sensitive to cultural context; we are all aware of this. My definition begins with Rodney Starke's definition of religion as "any socially organized pattern of beliefs and practices concerning ultimate meaning that assumes the existence of the supernatural."[1] As this definition interprets religion as a social phenomenon, the definition is particularly useful when considering that language, the interpretive lens employed in this work, is in large part a social phenomenon. The second aspect of this definition is Paul Tillich's famous and wonderfully concise definition of religion as "ultimate concern" (contextually, religion "is the experienced ultimacy of being and meaning. It is the realm of ultimate concern").[2] This aspect is selected because it focuses on a powerful and integral component of human religiosity. The word "concern" encompasses relationships, connections, interest, engagement, disquietude, worry, bearing: all of these describe a complex of emotive roles played by religion. The third and final aspect draws on Talal Asad's historical perspectivist point that "there cannot be a universal definition of religion ... because that definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes," which is to say that while we can attempt to approach an understanding of religion from our own cultural context, such a cultural context is not interlaced in the concept of religion (or its analogues) within other cultures. That is to say: It would be correct to speak in terms of "religions" rather than a single entity of "religion" as a complex. This spectrum definition, in fact, is not to be considered a "universal" definition, but merely one that is both provisional and theoretically useful in the

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[1] Stark R, Iannaccone. "A supply-side reinterpretation of the 'secularization' of Europe," *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion* 33:3 (1994): 230–52 (232).

[2] Tillich, Paul. *Systematic Theology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951. 212.

analysis of linguistic phenomena in Southern Taiwan. In summary, religion is any socially organized pattern of beliefs and practices concerning ultimate meaning that assumes the existence of the supernatural, or that which is of ultimate concern, as determined by sociocultural context.

Put simply, religious language is language used to bind a community together as they pursue culturally-specific ultimate concerns in relation with the supernatural. Religious language must be understood, however, as a social language variety, or *sociolect*. A *sociolect* is an accumulation of interconnected idiolects, a group-dependent set of similarities in language usage. This implies that the sociolect "…share[s] more similarities within a group than between groups."[3] The sociolect forms an operational subunit, *a language within a language*, in a putative inventory of linguistic tools available to any one speaker. These subunits might be thought of as domain-specific sublanguages that are related to many others through common parentage and recognizably similar form, yet remain distinct in lexical inventory, formulaic structures, construction of dispositions, patterns of usage, and historical development.

Language pervades social life, as it is the principal vehicle for the transmission of cultural knowledge. It is also the primary means by which humans gain access to the contents of others' minds. It is implicated in most of the phenomena that lie at the core of social psychology: attitudinal change, social perception, personal identity, social interaction, intergroup bias and stereotyping, attribution, and so on. Just as language use pervades social life, the elements of social life (including religion) constitute an intrinsic part of the way language is used. How participants define their social situations, their perceptions of what

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[3] Louwerse, Max. "Semantic Variation in Idiolect and Sociolect: Corpus Linguistic Evidence from Literary Texts." *Computers and the Humanities* 38 (2004): 207-221 (208).

others know, think and believe, and the claims they make about their own and others' identities will affect the form and content of their language use. The import of the above lies in that these acts shape the language use of those exposed, in turn altering modes of religious practice and thought.

Religious language use involves a heightened awareness of language along with heightened awareness of that which one may consider religious, and so it offers scholars insight into that awareness and, by extension, its linguistic, conceptual and social consequences.[4] These consequences are integral to shaping the details of one's religious worldviews, serving to highlight how speakers of different languages bring deviations in conceptual and social expectations to bear when attempting to form a common ground with members outside of the religious community. Given that "the semiotic properties of religious language commonly help make present what would otherwise, in the course of ordinary experience, be absent or imperceptible, or make that absence presupposable by virtue of the special means used to overcome it," one may come to understand religious language varieties (*religiolects*) as a special category of sociolect.[5] In this sense, a religiolect is a sociolect structured *around* a religious community, the language of which bears properties inherent to the religious system of that community.

1.3 Methodology

Qualitative methods were used to collect data on religiolects at two temples in Kaohsiung, located in southern Taiwan. I acted as a participant-observer and employed

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[4] Keane, Webb. "The evidence of the senses and the materiality of religion." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14.1 (April 2008): S110–S127 (S120).

[5] *Ibid.*

semi-structured interviews to collect lexical data, using both of those techniques in addition to recording natural language in order to collect phonetic data.

The first paradigm adopted was to collect naturally occurring language data by simple observation. The data is spontaneous: it reflects what the speaker says rather than what they think they would say, displays how a speaker reacts to a natural situation rather than a contrived one, has real-world consequences, and is generally rich in pragmatic structures. The disadvantages are that natural speech in the required parameters may not often occur, the proficiency of the speaker is difficult to control, collecting and analyzing data is time-consuming, the use of recording equipment may be intrusive, and restrictions on recording equipment requires reliance on imperfect human memory. Most of these disadvantages can be mitigated simply by investing more time in collecting and processing the data. Also problematic is the "observer's paradox": when people are being observed, they may be incapable or unwilling to produce natural data. One way to mitigate this problem is to redirect the informants' attention to reduce their self-consciousness during direct interaction with the researcher. Another way to mitigate is to record data unobtrusively (but not undetectably; that would be unethical). This was the primary method used to collect the needed phonetic data.

The participant-observation paradigm was also employed, where the researcher becomes immersed in the social context of the subject group. This method was used to participate in temple life to such an extent that presence will not simply be that of a researcher. To achieve this goal, I was involved in the community for a lengthy period of time and took on a role in the community in order to gain background knowledge and form trustful relationships. This involved participating in charitable works of these two temples, social interaction with members on temple grounds, and participation in rituals and festivals.

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The key to successful participant observation is to free oneself as much as possible from the filter of one's own cultural experience, which requires cultural relativism, knowledge about possible cultural differences, and sensitivity and objectivity in perceiving others. Though it was certainly limited, such cultural experience was gained on a preliminary research trip from August 2009 to February 2010.

Yet another paradigm used was the semi-structured interview. This interview employs a general structure, known beforehand to the interviewer. During the interview, the interviewer selects questions spontaneously based on information gained during prior interactions as well as answered supplied during the interview itself, making no attempt to employ a regular interview pattern, so as to avoid the format being circulated to possible future interviewees, thereby reducing the chance of pre-planned answers. The interviewer extends questions by using prompts, probes, and follow-ups. The purpose of such interviews is to understand the experience of Taiwanese functionaries and practitioners of Daoism, as well as the meaning they make of their experience. The interviewer aims to gain access to the interviewee's world in order to perceive, learn, and understand the meaning of religion and language from the interviewee's perspective. In compliance with requirements set by the Arizona State University Institutional Review Board, data was recorded in such a way as to render it impossible to connect the collected data to the particular individual whence it came, thereby protecting participant identity. There are disadvantages to the semi-structured interview; for example, the responses given by the interviewees being structured by preceding contributions by the interviewer. Furthermore, there is a tension between naturalness and consistency: the more natural the interview process, the less consistent results are likely to be between interviewees. In addition, interviewees need not be truthful, nor must they provide unbiased information. I will use a combination of these three

qualitative methods to "triangulate" my data, in order to mitigate the disadvantages of one method by the employment of the others.[6]

The semi-structured interview lasted, on average, between thirty minutes and an hour. The initial portion of the interview was designed to cull demographic data, and so is relatively straightforward, with questions such as "Where were you raised?" or "What is your educational background?" and "What languages do you know, and how well?" These questions were recorded without identifying information, such as home addresses, birthdates, personal names, graduating class and majors, and the like. The questions were designed to determine particularities in the language use of the interviewee. For example, it would be relevant if a Daigi speaker were raised in a Hakka household, or in a predominantly Hakka-speaking area. The second portion of the interview was designed to provide open-ended questions. The first questions in this portion aim to determine how the interviewee uses language in various contexts (e.g. "Do you speak Daigi at home? Here at the temple? How about to foreigners, tourists, or outsiders?"), and what kind of meta-linguistic understanding the interviewee has ("Is Daigi a language? Is it separate from MSC?[7] Why is there a difference in colloquial pronunciation and literary pronunciation of Daigi?"). Then, the interview moves on to questions regarding the perception of language as religious, as well as the conscious efforts the interviewee makes to change the patterns of language usage in religious settings ("Are there any particular words or topics that you feel come up frequently in the course of the ritual process/religious instruction sessions? Can you give me some examples of when these come up outside of the temple? What do you think it means to be religious? What is religion? How can you tell if someone if beginning to speak

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[6] Patton, M. Q. *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990.

[7] In interviews, called Guoyu 國語, or "the National Language," the local term for MSC.

religiously/on a religious topic?"). The bulk of the interviews are dedicated to lexical data collection, but wherever there were any reasonable openings to pursue lines of questions that reveal religious conceptual and sacred spatial frameworks, they were followed ("You said that 天[tʰiⁿ] and 天[tʰiɛn] both indicate the same *word*, but have different *flavors*. What do you mean by this?"). The interview connects to linguistic data by elucidating emic notions of lexical roles in religious contexts; this is an attempt to gather semantic data about religiolects. The keys to making the interview successful were to avoid leading questions, listening closely, probing when necessary but maintaining balance between open-ended natural responses and focused questioning, judging responses well, and avoiding insensitive questions.

1.4 Data Set

The data set consisted of oral language used in two situations by religious functionaries of the DDY and YMM: ritual and didactic situations. I define functionaries as religious specialists who "produce" religious activity rather than merely "consume" it (the latter being *practitioners*). I selected functionaries because these figures have the most frequent contact with religious language use, but are not generally raised in a situation in which there is no divide between religious and nonreligious language use (i.e., they generally acquire a general language first, then later in life receive accretions which form a religiolect). The practitioners may have too casual a contact with religiolects to fully course in the language variety instead of merely receiving its partial influence. Greater fluency in the religiolect results in more opportunity to display the phonetic and lexical features which constitute the bulk of the data. I define ritual situations according to Bell's spectrum definition of ritual-like activities: those activities with high degrees of formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule-

governance, sacral symbolism, and performance.[8] Didactic situations are those in which functionaries advise or instruct members of the religious community in any capacity. The rationale for selecting these two situations is that these are situations with the highest degree of religious language use, and the two assume different interlocutors, which may be important for comparative purposes.

The aspects of language that I focused on in order to find spatial and conceptual structures in religious language varieties are phonetic features of spoken language and semantics of lexical inventories. Phonetic variation marks boundaries between religious language varieties because it indicates belongingness to certain social identities, attempts to archaicize language in order to conform to a perceived traditional standard, attempts to formalize language which marks ritual-like behavior, and attempts to sacralize language by differentiating it from nonreligious language use. The communities represent themselves as marked by distancing themselves from the prestige language of education and government in Taiwan, instead favoring Daigi and Hakka as languages of identity and tradition. This markedness, and the social contexts that give rise to it, elucidates spatial and conceptual structures; the phonetic features I looked for were those that varied from known standards of Daigi, Hakka, and MSC.

Lexical features semantically and philosophically indicate salient features that flesh out a religious language variety. The variance in meanings of lexical items for members within and without a religious language community elucidate spatial and conceptual structures important to that community. The lexical items I focused on are those words which DDY and YMM community members perceive to be marked or unusual in some way,

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[8] Bell, Catherine. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 138-170.

relative to nonreligious language. The peculiar or marked forms/uses of religious language are constructed in such a way as to suggest, often in only the most implicit ways, that they involve entities or modes of agency that are considered by practitioners to be consequentially distinct from more 'ordinary' experience or situated across some sort of ontological divide from something understood as a more everyday 'here and now.' By 'ontological divide,' I mean that practitioners understand the difference to be a qualitative one, as between kinds of things, rather than, for example, simple spatial distance. I also focused on special semantic ranges of those lexical items. For example, I examined the semantic reach of 天 (celestial, heaven) as a religious locus within the DDY and YMM religiolects as opposed to, for example, an outsider understanding of 天 as an atmospheric locus.

The data reveals, among other things, focal points of concern in the linguistic communities of these temples, on the assumption that there is a relationship between frequent appearance in a linguistic corpus and salience of concern (either generated or demonstrated) for concepts, in a religious domain, to the practitioners. The semantic categories form networks of associated terms, the use of which activates and reinforces pathways of thought within their semantic fields. In different Sinitic languages, individual lexical items may have different semantic relationships, be related by sound to different oral representations, and may enjoy different relationships to written logographs (which themselves have semantic elements and 'genetic' relationships with one another).[9] In addition, the particular religiocultural situation may give rise to idiosyncratic semantic fields.

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[9] This may be by imagined genealogy, folk history, etymological study, and more, all enmeshed in complex systems of lexical understanding y actual users of the language. For an example of Sinitic logograph genealogy, see Harbaugh, R. *Chinese Characters: A Genealogy and Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. As for the term "logograph": the term "character" (from "[that which is] carved"), while very much in common use, fetishizes the decorative appearance of the written word in Sinitic languages. Logograph simply means "written image of the word," and most accurately represents the *zi* 字.

The relationships between lexical items, their sounds, their visual representations, and the semantic categories they find themselves in, and related lexical items they call to the practitioners' minds deserve further consideration and study.

1.5 Language and Religious Studies

Humans make choices (many not at the forefront of consciousness) according to the social reality they live in. This dictates how they act and think. Religion, as one of the most powerful, deeply felt, and influential forces in human society that has shaped human economic, community, and political life, is a motivator for those choices, providing a framework to interpret human experiences. The power of religion lies, in part, in the resources it provides toward the creation and shaping of meaningfully connected individual and communal lives. Religious thought and behavior are, fundamentally, categories for understanding social action because they express and affirm the emotional bonds of shared meaningful experience and individuals' social belongingness.

To better understand how religion relates to and shapes social realities, the field of religious studies strives comprehensively to understand and interpret the processes by which the individuals and traditions that constitute religions and cultures instantiate themselves. This dissertation attempts to add to the current understanding by showing how the relationship between the sociolinguistic choices humans make can be related to, or in some way mirror, religious choices. This study attempts to do so through its aim of understanding how language relates to Chinese religious thought, and consequently Chinese religious practices, beliefs, concepts, and understandings. The study of language is an obvious choice for scholars to use when attempting to reach this goal because both religion and language are eminently social phenomena and can be related to each other through their social

components. From a sociological standpoint, religion and language can be brought to terms with one another to "…facilitate the reflexive exploration of moral-existential frameworks of religious meaning in view of… socio-cultural tensions, problems and contradictions."[10] Religious studies scholars currently do not employ a comprehensive linguistic approach to investigate religiosity; such a state of affairs deserves, at least, a reexamination.

Language, a set of complex systems that operate in concert, exists as a useful entity due to social convention, which is to say that language is vivified by a particular group of human beings. This group then communally "decides" how to use language, and how language itself works; otherwise, there would be no common medium for idiolects (the individual language system of a human at a particular point in time, or the person-dependent idiosyncrasies of language use within the parameters of a broader language) to interact meaningfully with one another.[11]

One reason that linguistics is important to the study of religion is the close relation between language use, shared meaning representation, and culture. A cultural meaning system, such as religion, consists of a "large, diversified pool of shared ideas, values, beliefs and causal knowledge, coherently organized in a network of interrelations, that constrain the meanings people construct and the inferences they draw."[12] Because language is so deeply implicated in communication, it plays a pivotal role in allowing new shared meanings to be constructed, which replace or modify existing social representations as people communicate

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[10] Lalonde, M. P. "On the moral-existential facet of religious studies today." *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 26.1 (March 1997): 25-43.

[11] I placed "decide" in scare quotes because an initial framework of language is forced on an individual when he or she has gained the cognitive capacity to understand language. It is when one has acquired some faculties of reason, metacognition, and metalinguistic knowledge that one can make conscious decisions about language.

[12] Krauss, Robert M. and Chi-Yue Chiu. "Language and Social Behavior." In *Handbook of Social Psychology* (4th ed.), Vol. 2., edited by D. Gilbert, S. Fiske & G. Lindsey, 41-88. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998.

and negotiate the meaning of their collective experience. Language is an effective means of activating culturally-patterned cognitions because of its role in expressing and creating shared meanings and social representations. In language use, participants make some contents of their minds accessible to others. To accomplish this task, they must formulate linguistic representations of private cognitions, and in formulating such representations, they take their co-participant's knowledge and perspectives and the communication context into account.[13] Shared meanings are constructed through collaborative effort, and these joint efforts result in the transformation of participants' private thoughts into shared cognitions. Common knowledge and shared linguistic representations established in communication then affect conversationalists' subsequent cognition. Transmission is a pivotal component of religion. A silent and intransmissible religious system does not survive simply as a semiotic or cultural system until it is made transmissible, and so even religious systems that claim to privilege internal mental states or ineffable experiences must have some transmission pathway to inform practitioners and initiate the proper practices to attain such states. The more widespread and long-lasting of these religious systems exist not only by chance, but because of factors, including linguistic choices, which preserve and transmit these systems.[14]

Language is "means by which we describe our experience," or a "means of communication of ideas."[15] Such definitions privilege the aspect of language that allows transmission of information. Language is a fundamentally coherent, yet ever-mutating and

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[13] Krauss, Robert M. and Chi-Yue Chiu. "Language and Social Behavior." In *Handbook of Social Psychology* (4th ed.), Vol. 2., edited by D. Gilbert, S. Fiske & G. Lindsey, 41-88. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998.

[14] Paul Allen Jackson, "Apocalypse Now*:* Internal Structures for the Propagation and Survival of a Fifth Century Daoist Apocalyptic Text, the *Taishang dongyuan shenzhou jing*." M.A. thesis, Indiana University – Bloomington, 2-5.

[15] Langacker, Ronald. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, vol. 2*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991, 294-295. Sussman, Gerald and Guy Steele. "CONSTRAINTS - A Language for Expressing Almost-Hierarchical Descriptions." *Artificial Intelligence* 14 (1980), 1-39: 3.

diverging, system of signs; these signs are units that bridge a gap between either some kind of visual or aural input (such as pictures or voices) and a mental association removed from the immediacy of that input. While language is often defined by linguists in terms of intelligibility between populations of speakers as well as power relations supporting and supported by a language, surely the most fascinating aspect of language is more fundamental.[16] Language allows for a series of rare abilities in living beings: semiotics, communication, and culture.[17]

What makes religiosity possible is precisely the above. Semiotics allows for an abstract connection to form, given an organized series of rules of use, between the sign and an ontology; in having access to representational thought, humans are able to create and maintain systems of thought such as those involved in religiosity.[18] Without the ability to escape the immediacy of thought involved in survival, there is no way to postulate, and therefore act upon, notions of supernatural forces, issues of life and death, and the creation of ethical systems, of all which are hallmarks in the spectrum of religious thought and behavior. Communication is the capacity to "[share] … information between people on different levels of awareness and control"; fundamental to this notion is the idea of communication as action and cooperation.[19] It stands to reason that religion, if one takes it

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[16] Campbell, Lyle and Mauricio Mixco. *Glossary of Historical Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007: 91-92.

[17] It is certainly arguable that other living beings communicate, such as the *Apis mellifera* (Schneider, Stanley J. Stamps, and N. Gary. "The vibration dance of the honey bee. I. Communication regulating foraging on two time scales." *Animal Behaviour* 34:2 (1986): 377-385) or Tobacco plants (Karban et al. "Communication between plants: induced resistance in wild tobacco plants following clipping of neighboring sagebrush." *Oecologia* 125:1 (2000): 66-71), or have semiotic understanding, such as primates (Persson, Thomas. *Pictorial Primates: A Search for Iconic Abilities in Great Apes*. Lund: Lund University Cognitive Studies, 2008) in rudimentary forms; however, human beings are thus far the only known living being to have done so to a truly remarkable degree.

[18] Campbell, Lyle and Mauricio Mixco. *Glossary of Historical Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007: 91-92.

[19] Allwood, J. "Tvärkulturell kommunikation." *Papers in Anthropological Linguistics* 12 (1985): 3.

as a social system, must in some way be governed by the communication between the agents that adopt it. Culture is often treated "as its own logical system of representational knowledge, located in the individual mind, and existing independent of language", a notion rendered as "cultural homogeneity" (in that all members of a cultural group share in it).[20] However, this traditionalist view is not adopted in this paper; instead, culture should be thought of here as a "recurrent and habitual systems of dispositions and expectations".[21] Culture, then, from a sociocultural standpoint, "is seen to reside in the meanings and shapes that [one's] linguistic resources have accumulated from [one's] past uses and with which [one] approach[es] and work[s] through [one's] communicative activities."[22] For this reason, language is an immensely important component of religious thought and practice, but one that often taken for granted.

This work adopts some key notions from an iteration of the theory of linguistic relativity. This theory, the progeny of the ill-fated Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, adopts the notion that the "…structure of a human being's language influences the manner in which he understands reality and behaves with respect to it", *in certain domains*, such as spatial and social domains (e.g., one analysis finds that "…within a single developmental trajectory, young children … are integrating … socially normative knowledge of the canonical use of artifacts with their … capacity for schematizing spatial relations.").[23] While the "deterministic" version of this theory, which makes claims to the effect that the absence or

[20] Hall, J.K. *Teaching and Researching Language and Culture (2nd edition)*. New York: Pearson ESL, 2011: 11.

[21] Duranti, Alessandro. *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997: 45.

[22] Hall, J.K. *Teaching and Researching Language and Culture (2nd edition)*. New York: Pearson ESL, 2011: 16.

[23] Zhu, Zhifang. "Linguistic Relativity and Cultural Communication." *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 34:2 (2002): 162. Sinha, Chris and K. de Lopéz. "Language, culture and the embodiment of spatial cognition." *Cognitive Linguistics* 11-1/2 (2000): 17-41 (31).

presence of grammatical forms and lexical items completely determines the availability of notions related thereto to a speaker of a particular language, is largely untenable, the "affective" version is still holding water.[24] The affective version of the theory of linguistic relativity holds that there are certain domains in which language encoding draws, channels, or emphasizes particular modalities of thought by means of the habitual linguistic encoding employed by that language. This paper operates on the assumption that religious thought and behavior are in some manner channeled or constrained by the linguistic choices of practitioners. In this case, that Sinitic languages used in southern Taiwan reveal something about the religious concerns, thought systems, and the behaviors of Daoist practitioners.

One must be careful here: to claim that one *cannot* think in a certain way, or have a certain framework of thought, because of one's language, would be to fundamentally violate the notion that language is something humans universally share, and that all humans are capable of thinking by and large about the same things. The general capacity for language is something that all persons share in their being human, just as all humans share the capacity for thought of fundamentally the same character. *However*, language is the only way in which humans can *do* something with thought (that is to say, the only way in which humans approach that which is culturally significant); language allows one to transcend the immediacy of thought designed for survival. I argue that once humans work with thought, to have dialogues or to describe events, for example, the properties of a particular language come into play. From the standpoint of the Language of Thought Hypothesis, all language is fundamentally the same at the most basic level of representations and symbolic systems

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[24] "Deterministic" and "Affective" replace the value-laden terms "Strong" and "Weak."

inherent to the structure of the brain.[25] The arguments made in this work, however, are about the transformation of those representational systems into operational ones. Vygotsky, whose contributions to child development are still well-received today, makes the argument that language first arises as a social communication tool (based on mimicry) and later becomes internalized by a process that allows the child to think in that same language through inner speech. Under this system, speaking has thus developed in two concatenated processes: that of social communication (the first practical application of language for the child) and the line of inner speech (by which the child mediates and regulates their activity through interactions with their own thoughts). The child's thoughts, in turn, are mediated by the semiotics system of the language's inner speech.[26] The semiotic system of every language is founded on a particular metaphysical standpoint, one which prioritizes elements proscribed by the grammatical structure and lexical history of the language. For religious systems, all of this means that while religious thought may be fundamentally similar in underlying structure, when that same religious thought is brought to bear in social situations (such as cultural transmission) and in pragmatic operations of thought, language will imprint itself in the modalities of thought involved.

Whorf's scholarship brought linguistic relativism two important conclusions: "Firstly, there are different metaphysics underlying different languages. Secondly, despite the difference in metaphysics, different languages are equally valid in describing the observable phenomena of the universe."[27] These metaphysics bring about ways in which societies

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[25] Aydede, Murat. "The Language of Thought Hypothesis." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2010 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.). http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2010/entries/language-thought/

[26] Santrock, J. *A Topical Approach To Life-Span Development*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004: 200-225.

[27] Zhu, Zhifang. "Linguistic Relativity and Cultural Communication." *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 34:2 (2002): 164.

communally decide to construct meaning, which facets of reality societies perceive, interpret, and render salient, all without hindering their ability to describe that same reality. There cannot be a society whose language precludes certain modalities of thought, but there can be a society that *focuses* on certain modalities of thought; this is part and parcel of the richness of human culture. One might even postulate that there must be a reason for the advent of the many languages of human civilization; evolution would have otherwise led humans speaking one particular language to have a reproductive advantage over the others. And yet speakers of different languages do not think of one as a mere encoding of the other; such a fact is common knowledge in translation theory, where the impossibility of translation without interpretation is well-known (that is to say, "a translation [is] a receptor language text that interpretively resembl[es] the original"; the nature of the interpretation is up to the translator).[28] When speaking of religious systems, the problem of the existence of different languages and language change must be considered, as the nature of the modalities of thought, and therefore practice, associated with the religious systems change through interpretative processes that shifting between different language communities.

Based on the scholarship presented above, in practical terms, I argue that different languages affect linguistic representations in the minds of the agents that use those languages, while leaving the underlying nonlinguistic representations in the original substrate, representational, form.

I argue that humans are invariably multivocal creatures; in being said to speak "a language" they in fact have access to a complex variety of *multilects*, each keyed to a domain of experience; a certain social situation; a certain historical context; and available to a certain

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[28] Gutt, Ernst-August. "Translation as Interlingual Interpretive Use" in *The Translation Studies Reader* edited by Lawrence Venuti. London: Routledge, 2000: 376.

degree of mastery. In fact, I argue that two persons cannot truly be said to operate in the same language unless it be that their linguistic repertoires are fully intelligible, and approaching one-to-one congruity of meaning, between those two agents. Of course, in common parlance the idea of "language" will not change, but it is undoubtedly true that the linguistic reality for any speaker is vastly more complex than assumed without application of thought on or attention to the subject. If one speaks in technical jargon to another who is not familiar with it, it may as well be a foreign language for all the effect it will have; if one speaks in terms that bear one meaning to the speaker but another to the listener, likewise a confusion will result analogous to the process of being exposed to an unfamiliar language as it commonly understood. The interpretation and translation processes of religious language, in such a light, and especially when involving the use of languages of antiquity and multiple modern languages (as is the case in this study), becomes immensely important to the human endeavor, inasmuch as human beings view religious behavior and thought as important.

The field of religious studies, at present, treats language as peripheral to, or at best symptomatic of, religious thought and practice. With a study focused on Chinese language embedded and enmeshed with Chinese religion, which has a millennial span of development, an affective presence among a very high percentage of the world's population, and a cultural presence that is among the world's most potent, I hope to provide a step towards demonstrating that language is instrumental in enacting and deciding religious thought and practice.

1.6 Scholarship Relevant to Proposed Dissertation Topic

Scholarship from the fields of theology and logical positivism, applied linguistics, sociology of religion and language, and philosophy of language contribute to the theoretical

framework of this work, which is centered on religious language. However, the approaches in this work largely employ elements of the last three fields because the purview of the first is today largely constrained to theological scholarship and unsuitable for this study.

1.6.1 Logical Positivism Versus Theological Positions on Religious Language

The first body of scholarship which I examined on religious language is framed around a protracted debate between logical positivists and theologians (mostly Christian) about whether religious language was valid. Logical positivism is an intellectual stance wherein one assumes that valid architecture of thought must employ a coherent system of reason or logic.[29] Logical positivists hold that all knowledge must be based on objective information available to the senses and subject to empirical, falsifiable experimental verification. Logical positivism argues that because God (or a set of deities, or the supernatural) is not objectively real, religious language has no referent and thus can only be understood, rationally, as nonsense. Theologians respond that one cannot employ the above criteria to the transcendental, and that logical positivists err in trying to pigeonhole God into terms meant for the natural sciences, which God is not subject to the laws of. This body of scholarship, today largely confined to theological scholarship, argues about truth-claims, and is thus outside of the purview of religious studies. As such, I will not engage it except to provide contextual information about the academic study of religion and language in a literature review. I merely mention it for the purpose of stating that I am aware of it, but do not find it applicable to the present study.

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[29] Uebel, Thomas. "Vienna Circle". *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2011 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.). http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/vienna-circle/

1.6.2 Applied Linguistics

      Applied linguistics identifies, investigates, and attempts to resolve real-world problems related to language, such as how to determine language planning policy or how to create machine translations. Much of the work on the relationship between religions and language has been done by the translation of sacred texts into various languages. Past research also identified the linguistic consequences of the spread of various religions, particularly with respect to choice of ritual language and orthographic systems. The field also reviews patterns and practices of language use historically characteristic of different religious traditions, examines the linguistic consequences of linkages between regionally prominent languages and dialects and religious practice in diverse international locations, and investigates the relationships between immigration and language maintenance and shift in religious domains. Applied linguistics is useful as it combines the scientific bent of linguistics (in this sense, linguistics is characterized by discovering units of analysis of language that can be subject to testing in order to understand the structure, organization, and common features of language) with an acknowledgement and engagement of social factors. However, it privileges linguistic information as an abstract, disembodied entity removed from its social context, and tends to be less theoretical and abstract. Applied linguistics isolates language from power relations. The field also privileges empirical science as the only valid method of acquiring knowledge, instead of one among many. While that may be good for a scientific field, new theoretical approaches do not often come to light. Applying the methods of this field to a qualitative case-study such can be problematic because the field under-relies on first-person reports and data; the field is practical, aimed at making its research useful to such paradigms as social work and missionary activity. To mitigate these problems, I will employ first-person ethnographic data and the philosophical method of humanist traditions.

1.6.2 Sociology of Religion and Language

At the intersection of the sociology of religion and the sociology of language is an interdisciplinary subfield: the sociology of religion *and* language. The confluence of these fields understands languages to be interacting in complex, but orderly, ways with religion. This subfield assumes that religions regularly have languages associated with them, and applies the model of the sociology of language to study sociological implications of language and religion. The field accepts an inevitable link between the spread of religion and the spread of language.[30] The subfield is useful to my study because, like the sociology of language, it involves studying the effects of language on society and vice versa,[31] and assumes that languages are as organic, and inextricably lashed to, as the societies that gave rise to them. In this way, I can demonstrate a link between religiolects and religious thought and practice. The subfield also assumes that patterns of language usage are the result of choices made by the members of society. This is useful because I hope to demonstrate that religiolects do not merely reflect but actually create religious conceptions. The sociology of religion and language also adopts the two central concerns attributed to the sociology of religion: determining the role and significance of religion in society and studying the beliefs and practices of particular groups and societies. In the pursuit of these tasks, the discipline

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[30] Omoniyi, Tope and Joshua Fishman, Eds. *Explorations in the sociology of language and religion*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2006: 3. The presence of Spanish and English on one hand and Catholicism and Protestantism on the other in Latin America, Africa and Asia illustrate this link. The process has further gained momentum under the more politically correct tag of 'globalization.' Similarly, throughout history, human migration has altered the cultural texture of societies to create new tensions around issues of language and identity. In a substantial number of cases, religion has been equally implicated. The Exodus and the Hijra in ancient times and refugees in contemporary times readily come to mind. There are evidences of competition and conflict between religious groups in the same way that there is conflict and competition between ethnolinguistic groups.

[31] Here I will use the term interchangeably with "sociolinguistics", though sometimes one term refers to one "direction" of the interaction.

covers various issues of interest including secularization, ideology, solidarity, identity, diversity and the impact of globalization on religious practice.

One of the obstacles that confronts interdisciplinary research, like the sociology of religion and language, is how to harmoniously manage and integrate the delicate interface between two or more theoretical traditions such that a critical paradigm of analysis is established, while also mitigating the weaknesses of each field.

Some sociologists of religion and language adopt, as sociolinguists do, social activism in attempting to support the underrepresented or suppressed social strata while simultaneously employing a sociological perspective that reflects the power of the dominant. These attempts impede objectivity, resulting in skewed results. To avoid this issue, this work adopts a theoretically and methodologically neutral stance, from the point of view of power relations and social justice. Sociolinguists also assume the existence of underlying social categories, and attributes linguistic difference to the difference in those social categories; instead, this work looks at how language creates social categories by altering religious cognition.

Another weakness of the subfield is its adoption of a social science paradigm from the sociology of religion, which places too great an emphasis on treating religion as quantifiable rather than qualitative; as a discrete organization rather than a system of beliefs and practices. To counteract this problem, this work employs qualitative methods in the study of religion while giving equal weight to religion as an organization and as a system of beliefs and practices. In addition, the sociology of religion tends to be an insular field, with few theoretical contributions to and from scholarship outside of the specialized circles that constitute the field. This work takes a broader approach by integrating a number of fields to engage religious studies scholarship.

1.6.3 Philosophy of language.

Works that deal with the construction of conceptual and spatial frameworks are generally from the field of the philosophy of language. The main problems the field addresses are the nature of meaning, how language is used, language cognition, and the relationship between language and reality. Philosophers of language try to understand what speakers and listeners do with language in communication and how it is used socially. They also attempt to understand how language relates to the minds of both the speaker was and the interpreter, such as the grounds for successful translation of words into other words. This dissertation accepts the arguments of philosophers of language that language schematizes space, and provides a systematic framework to describe space by selecting certain aspects of a referent scene while neglecting the others. In other words, language calls attention to particular things, states, qualities, distinctions in the world and ignores others. Over repeated experience, the selective attention encouraged by language can become habitual, so that it seems as if language is no longer involved and affects the way space is schematized.[32] From the standpoint of linguistic relativity, general properties of language invite language-learners to construct new forms of cognitive organization, allowing them to extract invariants and to participate in particular forms of reasoning. Language-specific properties partially transform our representations, thereby leading to particular patterns in language and cognitive development. Each language filters and channels the flow of information, inviting the language learner to construct a particular system of categories and to organize information according to its mold. Not only language, but also perception and conception, schematize space and the things in it. If the functionaries at the DDY and YMM

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[32] Freksa, C., C. Habel, and K. Wender, Eds. *Spatial Cognition: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Representing and Processing Spatial Knowledge.* Berlin: Springer, 1998: 157.

employ religiolects, the arguments made by philosophers of language support the hypothesis that the existence of these languages creates spatial frameworks. Because this work addresses how community members elucidate conceptual structures key to that community, this field is significant because of its arguments that language may determine, regulate, or influence the construction of and access to conceptual frameworks. It may be argued, then, that language shifts in the religiolects at the DDY and YMM can be used to elucidate whether the community creates a conceptual framework which separates its members from non-members, and how that framework is created. The problem with the philosophy of language is that it is disembodied and introspective, too reliant on intuition instead of field-collected data I aim to mitigate that problem by relying on data collection; in addition, I wish to anchor arguments based on philosophy of language in discourses from the two above fields, so as avoid the "disembodied" and "introspective" nature of the field.

1.7 Daoist Language

In common parlance, certainly, there is no recognized entity which can be described as a "Daoist language." At least, not in the sense that English is a language or Swahili is a language. Indeed, in common parlance, it is also the case that so-called "dialects" are not languages either; speakers of Italian, for example, mostly do not recognize that Neapolitan, Sabino, and Venetian are Italo-Dalmatian *languages*, and not simple, corrupt variations of Italian. This is because of the perfectly normal disjunction between the layman's understanding of a concept and the scholar's technical language brought about by education and research. I believe it is useful and valid to think of a religiolect, as defined above, where the dissimilarity between itself and the other languages used in other contexts surrounding the religiolect is not readily known, or even conceived of. In the case of Daoist religiolects,

items of lexicon acquire new meaning, entirely new items of lexicon exist which hardly function outside of the religiolect, grammar is archaicized (and therefore becomes a hybridized language arising from a number of premodern languages and modern languages ostensibly derived from them), and pronunciation is altered due to complex factors such as the interaction between languages otherwise in use, literary and colloquial pronunciation systems (which are entirely different in Daigi, for example), and the construed relationship between written and oral forms of Sinitic languages. Daoist language I will take as a provisional construct to be a religious language variety, or religiolect, used by Daoists; in this case study, I will look at the religiolect(s) of two religious communities in southern Taiwan.

As for selection of a particular case study, why not engage, for example, a Buddhist religiolect in southern Taiwan, instead of a Daoist one? The most important reason is that Daoism is the only major native religion of the Sinitic civilization. Normally, when speaking of Sinitic religions, Buddhism and Confucianism are mentioned in the same breath. Confucianism is, arguably, not a religion in the way that it is presented in many introductions to religions around the world. While it is true that the philosophies of Confucius figured very prominently in Sinitic thought, and still do, the *religious* paradigm, wherein Confucius is actually "worshipped" bears no more relation to a separate religion than any other localized manifestation of popular religion. In the Sinitic civilization, the veneration of Confucius as a religious practice is no different from the multitude of local religious traditions which center on the veneration of local, geographically bounded deities, apotheosized heroic figures, and figures from a number of Sinitic mythological systems. To give Confucianism a special place apart from what is otherwise often called "Chinese folk religion," or some variant thereof, is the result of mistakes made many generations of scholarship ago. Confucianism not being a major religious tradition has nothing to do with it not matching the Judeo-Christian model

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of religion (for there is assuredly religious practice centered on the figure of Confucius), but simply a matter of (in my opinion) improperly extracting it from the milieu of "folk religion." The idea of a religion of Confucianism, the tenets of which center the philosophical writings of Confucius, is as erroneous as claiming a religious tradition from adherence to the writings of Greek philosophers such as Aristotle or Epicurus. However, the idea of a religion of Confucianism centered on the veneration of Confucius in a fashion analogous to the veneration of Guan Gong, Cai Shen, or Huang Di, is correct; it is just accorded undue position in scholarship as separate and above the phenomena of veneration of the multitude of other deities, perhaps because of attention paid to Confucius by Sinitic literati. Either the religion of Confucianism is part of "Chinese folk religion" or the other veneration practices deserve their own names and categories as well. Confucian philosophies from works such as the Analects stand on their own merits as integral to Sinitic thought. Buddhism, as is well known, originated in an Indian civilization, and was imported into the Sinitic world, centuries after its inception, as a foreign religion. On the other hand, Daoism arose from within the Chinese civilization and thus operated from the beginning in Sinitic languages, instead of having undergone a process of translation from Indo-European languages (a process which resulted in vast amounts of translation errors). Because I am arguing that language affects cognition, the language system in which the religion arose is important because the thought patterns of the home language system imprint themselves on the religious thought that arose in that language system.

One of the concerns of Daoism is a strong concern for patterns. The Dao itself, in the guise of a kind of celestial respiration, courses through, vivifies, and innervates all; the ebbs and flows of the Dao manifest themselves in all manner of natural patterns. Those with the capacity to interpret natural patterns (which is to say those whose wisdom, gnosis, or

affinity to the natural order of the Dao enable them perceive its motions) are ostensibly able to draw from them such information as legitimating signs to indicate the approval of the current rulers, how to proceed against inimical peoples, or if one is to bear male offspring; in other words, they are to obtain information about the operation of the natural world, which includes humanity and all of its doings. Sinitic logographs, according to tradition, are derived from these natural patterns; it takes no great deal of imagination to see how logographs could be compared to them. For some Daoist communities (such as the Lingbao 靈寶 ['Numinous Treasure'] Daoists), the original *qi* 氣, or vivifying pneuma, which arose in the distant eons past when the cosmos were newly formed concretized to form celestial precursors to human written (i.e. Sinitic) language. This script was described as pulsating with energy, causing resonant vibrations which had action analogous to the intermingling of *yin* and *yang*: the creation and sustenance of the natural laws of the universe and everything in it.[33]

Human scripts are, in fact, regarded as a devolution from original, pure script. As examples of religious linguistic phenomena in some currents of Daoism, one may find Celestial Script (*tianshu* 天書), of which the Jade Logographs (*yuzi* 玉字), and pseudo-Sanskrit are examples. They are given ritualized use for negotiating relationships of power, and for use as apotropaic devices. Celestial script is the divine writing, modeled on the fundamental patterns of reality, of which Sinitic logographs are the mortal analogue. Jade Logographs are the primary form of celestial script in the Lingbao corpus; these logographs coalesced from primal *qi* before the universe in its present form came into being, and their

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[33] *Taishang Dongxuan Lingbao Zhutian Neiyin Ziran Yuzi* 太上洞玄靈寶諸天內音自然玉字 The Inner Sounds of the Self-Created Jade Logographs of all the various Heavens, of the Most High Penetratingly Mysterious Numinous Treasure)

harmonic resonance was responsible for the creation of the universe. Pseudo-Sanskrit

describes the seemingly nonsensical words that appeared after the influx of Buddhism into

China whereby the Chinese attempted to exoticize, or render powerful, the written word by

making language appear to be Brahmā nic (Buddhist texts, in the early stages of their arrival

in China, bore terms transliterated from the languages in which the texts were written,

loading Buddhist texts with many strange-sounding Sinified Sanskrit terms). The above

exemplify the tendency in Daoist religious language to recall the origins of the manifested

universe as it pulsated into being through the action of the Dao; language is linked to these

primal patterns through a chain of devolution from an original pure point to which Daoists

ostensibly seek to return to. Religious thought may be tied to the structure of logographs as

representations of oral language, assuming that oral language may be said to be linked, in the

literate speaker's conceptualizations, to the logographs, and thus informs the production of

the oral language.[34]

According to Hsieh Shu-wei, there are three major points to be understood about

the religious significance of Celestial Script-like phenomena in Daoist traditions. First, in

many traditions, speech always precedes writing, cosmically and anthropologically as well as

historically. In societies in which transcendence is not wholly personified nor

anthropomorphically conceived, the primal word of truth is also an oral one. For example, in

some Abrahamic traditions, certain words such as the Ten Commandments are conceived of

as deriving directly from God's Word. Another example lies in the India's holy words, where

certain sounds (*sabda*) are seen by Hindus as channels of the divine energy of creation.

However, in the Sinitic conception, the idea of *wen* (described below: pattern, written

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[34] Jackson, Paul A. "Ideas in Daoism Relative to the Environment". In *Nature, the Environment, and Climate Change in East Asia*, edited by Carmen Meinert. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

language) precedes the spoken word and has always kept its cosmogonic power. *Wen* reveals the deep structures of the universe, by homology between natural patterns and universal patterns. Written language provides a frame for the sacred, to mediate knowledge of truths and to have moving or transforming power. Part of the status of the written word of religious text lays the common perception of writing as possessing an inherent magical power. Sinitic writing originated in an environment of magic (that of the divination by means of oracle bones); these roots were never entirely forgotten. For the Sinitic religious communities, writing has been and still is a magical and awesome thing.[35]

Second is the relationship between religious significance and comprehensibility of the writing. It is a common assumption that language is a means of transferring information, and in religious cases information about doctrine and ritual, but for Daoism, the religious import of Celestial Script is not a function of its intelligibility; in fact, there is an inverse relationship between the two. As Hsieh points out, "Celestial Writing, therefore, not only indicates a verbal and humanly articulated reality, but also has metaphysical overtones and carries a sense of the *mysterium tremendum*."[36] The linguistic *inaccessibility* is what produces the coherence of the text. The incomprehensibility of this category of writing is not nonsensical. The actual designs on the talismans are inspired by and based on recognizable patterns known to Sinitic peoples, with clear similarities to stylized and archaic forms of actual written Sinitic language. The common cloud-like forms which are pervasive in the designs of these linguistic phenomena are suggestive of the primordial *qi* within which the Celestial

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[35] Hsieh Shu-wei. "Writing from Heaven: Celestial Writing in Six Dynasties Daoism." PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2005: 423-4.

[36] Hsieh Shu-wei. "Writing from Heaven: Celestial Writing in Six Dynasties Daoism." PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2005: 425.

Script were said to be generated. This script system "simultaneously suggest[s] meaning and def[ies] comprehension."[37]

Third, in many traditions, the idea of the primordial word of power is linked to the power of scripture itself.[38] However, in Daoism, accounts of the origin of the world ascribe the cosmogonic act to Celestial Script instead of the spoken word. The primary home of Celestial Script is in the inchoate, primordial cosmic genesis. Ontologically, reality arises from the primordial pneuma, of which Celestial Script coalesces before all else. Deities, who were formed from the resonances and concretions of pneuma much later, were able to exert their divine power to translate and transmit lesser forms of this language to humanity. Humanity is thereby able to participate in some form of that ultimate and primal reality. Celestial writing is therefore not just text given by a god (such a paradigm is common in Sinitic religion) and written down by humans as a means of preserving the divine word. It is the primordial pneuma itself, the creative power of cosmogenesis, the potentiality to vivify reality, and, recursively, the process of transmission itself which the deities used to give the Celestial Script to humanity. Daoist Celestial Script represents the effort to conserve and convey the power of the origins of reality in their exact original power.[39]

From Daoism's precursors in Han dynasty religion, Daoism has inherited a concern with the reading of visible and hidden patterns in nature that attest to the workings of the Dao. As with the patterns discerned in the cracks produced by placing heated implements on

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[37] Hsieh Shu-wei. "Writing from Heaven: Celestial Writing in Six Dynasties Daoism." PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2005: 427.

[38] For example, in Rabbinic Judaism, one finds discussions of the pre-existence of the divine word of scripture. The Vedas ascribe power deriving from magico-religious language in the power of oral language, which then filters into written scriptural texts. The Qur'an of Islam was dictated to Muhammad as the word of God spoken by an angel.

[39] Hsieh Shu-wei. "Writing from Heaven: Celestial Writing in Six Dynasties Daoism." PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2005: 428-9.

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Shang dynasty oracle bones, Sinitic peoples have long been about interpreting natural patterns. These patterns, when found in other places in nature, are interpreted as expressions of the operation of the Dao by means of transformations of *qi*. The operational undercurrent of *qi* is perceptible in the myriad workings of nature: the brilliant branches of lightning, the colourful veins in jade, the networked movements of the astral bodies, or efflorescent floral growths. Natural patterns, when analyzed by wise and sagely persons, reveal moments in the constant flux of reality that can be used to reveal hidden knowledge or knowledge of future events. There is a particular concern with the movement of celestial bodies: the patterns of the movement of these bodies, obtained by astrological calculations, especially related to one's time and date of birth, are vital to divinatory efforts aimed at determining the nature and extent of one's life fortune. Daoist functionaries employ ritual and visualization practices to travel in the yawning void between the stars, using the stars both as navigational aids and waypoints in their journeys to commune with the higher entities closer to the Dao. The networks of stars and one's journeys through them in ritual and visualization replicate natural patterns such as the Eight Trigrams 八卦, which represent moments in the transition between y*in* and *yang* forces.[40]

Just as Sinitic court officials used to interpret natural patterns as legitimating signs from Heaven to indicate the approval of the current rulers, such as those found in the famous *River Chart* 河圖 and *Luo Document* 洛書,[41] which constitute dynastic treasure imbued with symbolic capital, Daoists today still routinely engage in practices centered around

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[40] Jackson, Paul A. "Ideas in Daoism Relative to the Environment". In *Nature, the Environment, and Climate Change in East Asia*, edited by Carmen Meinert. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

[41] The [Yellow] River Chart and the Luo [River] Document are patterns, found on the back of a mythological beast, revealing secret workings of the cosmos and are said to be bestowed as a token of celestial favor for the ruling house; these are also quite possibly precious stones bearing unique markings which became heirlooms of the ruling houses.

interpretations of patterns. Sinitic logographs, according to other traditions, are closely related to these very patterns; it is also easy to imagine how logographs could be compared to them. For some Daoist communities (such as the Lingbao ['Numinous Treasure'] Daoists), the original *qi* that arose in the distant eons past when the cosmos were newly formed concretised to form celestial precursors to human written (i.e. Sinitic) language. To reiterate an earlier point human scripts are, in fact, regarded as devolved from the pure script of the original. Texts and the written word itself are both imbued with and governed by the natural patterns of *qi* that reflect the operation of the Dao. In this way, the natural world that is under observation of Daoists and textuality itself, as both written and spoken language (as spoken language is but a controlled emanation of *qi* as human breath), are closely interrelated. The very fullness of nature is an analogue to sacred text, and, because the Dao interpenetrates all aspects of reality, textuality is itself sacralized.[42]

One of the fundamental underpinnings of Sinitic thought, the Five Phases system (a form of which was already developed in the Western Zhou period [1046–771 BCE]), is also predicated on the understanding of the interpenetration, influence, and transformation of five aspects of reality (once translated as 'elements', now 'phases' because they indicate a moment of transformation from one point to another in a cycle): fire, water, wood, metal, and earth. Sinitic thought is thoroughly informed, even today, by Five Phases theory; Daoist thought is no exception. In fact, Five Phases thought is another way for patterns to be conceptualized and recognized in the natural world. As such, this system is incorporated into conceptualizations of how language works, especially with regard to the relationship between language as an abstract entity and the written word. Literomancers, specialists who focus on

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[42] Jackson, Paul A. "Ideas in Daoism Relative to the Environment". In *Nature, the Environment, and Climate Change in East Asia*, edited by Carmen Meinert. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

auspicious characteristics of and divination based on the components of logographs, for example, assign values to segments of logographs (particularly in one's name) to see if the very written structure of these logographs can provide information of a divinatory, and therefore religious, value.[43] As another example, medical concerns in Daoism are directed to understanding how *qi*, governed by different Phases, interact with one another in cycles of mutual support and destruction. This associative thought is linked to the idea of homology between microcosm and macrocosm, where the structure of the universe is mirrored, much like regressive pictures of fractals, in smaller loci within themselves. For example, the Sinitic imperium is modelled after the celestial government in the heavens, just as the human body is envisioned as a tiny realm unto its own, populated by spiritual bureaucrats who govern corporeal populations, soldiers, and demons resident within the universe of the body. This homology is important for Sinitic understandings of the relationship between one's own body, the body politic, and the body of the cosmos (i.e. nature and the environment): all are enmeshed one in the other, and found one nested in the other.[44] Of course, because written language, and therefore all human language, can be derived either from devolutions of powerful astral cosmogonic protoscripts or from crude impressions of the forms of natural patterns such as those founds in the night sky, and because Daoism is greatly concerned with these patterns and their interactions, the idea of homology between microcosm and macrocosm are further linked by means of textuality and language. The interaction between language and outer reality is much more of a natural phenomenon than a man-made one,

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[43] Literomancy here refers to the practices known as 測字, 拆字, 破字, or 相字.

[44] Jackson, Paul A. "Ideas in Daoism Relative to the Environment". In *Nature, the Environment, and Climate Change in East Asia*, edited by Carmen Meinert. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

and so written language, at least, becomes a religious concern. Arguably, spoken language bears some representational correlation to written language.

In many Sinitic languages, the very word for culture, *wen* 文, fundamentally denotes 'patterns' and is intimately linked to literacy (in fact, it is also used to mean 'language'). The logograph for scripture or classical text, *jing* 經, exploits a textual metaphor (the fundamental meaning of *jing*, as in *Daodejing* 道德經 is the 'warp' of a woven textile), such that scriptures are understood to form the mainstays of very fabric of reality. Texts and the written word itself are both imbued with and governed by the natural patterns of the *qi* that reflect the operation of the Dao. In this way, the cosmos and textuality itself, as both written and spoken language (in the tradition, spoken language is but a controlled emanation of *qi* as human breath), are closely interrelated.[45]

The Sinitic logographic writing system is fairly rare among the world's extant written languages in that it uses components that convey both sound and meaning simultaneously. We can conceive this language as being in two dimensions: rather than using sound to convey meaning by attempting to solely represent a moment in the oral production of language. The semantic load of the logographs gives rise to a system of mutual correlations and representations between the logographs and the words they represent, instead of a more usual system whereby the oral language informs the unidirectional written language. This interdependent system which, for the literate, connects semantic load-bearing graphic components to words causes a system of associations that would not otherwise have arisen.

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[45] Jackson, Paul A. "Ideas in Daoism Relative to the Environment". In *Nature, the Environment, and Climate Change in East Asia*, edited by Carmen Meinert. Leiden: Brill, 2013. Cf. Bokenkamp, Stephen. "Time After Time: Taoist Apocalyptic History and the Founding of the Tang Dynasty." *Asia Minor (third series)* 7 (1994): 59–88. Cf. also Chen Pan. *Gu chenwei yantao ji qi shulu jieti* 古讖緯研討及其書錄解題 [*Studies and Bibliographic Notes on the Ancient Apocryphal Texts*]. Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1993., and Kamitsuka Yoshiko. *Rikuchō dokyō shisō no kenkyū* 六朝道教思想の研究 [Studies on Taoist thought in the Six Dynasties]. Tokyo: Sō bunsha, 1999.

These associations relate logograph components into families. In addition to legitimate

relationships between words that may not have otherwise been phonetically obvious, this

system of relationships makes for all manner of folk etymologies, mantic associations,

emotive impacts, and affective conjectures. These systems of associations reinforce the

tendency of Sinitic speakers to think of language in terms of syllables, and therefore in terms

of semantic logographs, rather than phonemes. In fact, it has been argued that "Chinese

adults literate only in Chinese logographs [can] not add or delete individual consonants in

spoken Chinese words."[46] As speech is not conceived of as a sequence of discrete segments,

which is indirectly but powerfully related to both sound and meaning[47] (the aspects of

language that we are normally aware of), the logographic conception of language is a natural

recourse in the language processing of literate Sinitic speakers. Though logographs do have

phonetic components, the "…so-called phonetic radicals suggest phonemic segmentation

only in a constrained and implicit way, as do rhyming words, speech errors, and minimal

pairs. Exposure to such examples is evidently not sufficient for most people to develop a

segmental conception of language that makes possible more explicit manipulations."[48]

Parsing of language remains on the semantic syllable level; for religious language, the

implications are powerful. Every syllable is associated with meaning, and meanings get

caught up in a network of associations with other meanings from surrounding, associated, or

remembered logographs, forming a complex network of conceptions, such as words with the

same phonetic structure as those presented above. In the religious domain, these

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[46] Read et al. "The ability to manipulate speech sounds depends on knowing alphabetic writing." *Cognition* 24 (1986): 31-44 (32).

[47] This references the concept of *phonemic segmentation*.

[48] Read et al. "The ability to manipulate speech sounds depends on knowing alphabetic writing." *Cognition* 24 (1986): 31-44 (42).

conceptions constantly reinforce and mutate one another in ways that are not obvious to those used to phonetic writing systems and phonemic segmentation.

The phenomena of written language at play in this study are connected, more so than one might think, to the oral language used in religious situations. The perceived semantic content, structure, and "genetic" relationships between logographs comes into play during any speech-act, provided the practitioner enjoys any degree of literacy (in the cases presented in this study, literacy is all but universal). According to Ong, when speaking of psychodynamics of orality, orally-based thought has a number of characteristics which differentiate it from literate thought; these, however, are also characteristics of religious language, and appear connected to literate thought in the Sinitic languages observed. The characteristics of oral thought are as follows: A.) Oral thought is additive rather than subordinative: one would tend to see a decrease in elaborate grammar, but rather a simplified conveyance of meaning that looks to pragmatics; B.) Oral thought is aggregative rather than analytic: one would see the use of mnemonic devices to facilitate memorization and oral transmission as well as the use of formulaicized utterances or lexical items; C.) Oral thought is redundant or copious: because an oral product vanishes the moment it is perceived, redundancy keeps the mind focused on the content of the speech act; D.) Oral thought is conservative or traditionalist: this is an mechanism to conserve the energy requiring in maintaining and conveying information; E.) Oral thought is close to the human lifeworld: a lack of literacy forces one to stick to matters of immediate concern; F.) Oral thought is agonistically toned: because orality focuses on matters of immediate concern, oral literature tends to focus on conflict; G.) Oral thought is empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced: this implies a communal identification with the norm, and there is less personal disengagement; H.) Oral thought is homeostatic: oral literature exists in a present

which sloughs off memories which have lost present relevance; and finally, I.) Oral thought is situational rather than abstract: oral literature remains focused on concreteness or the here-and-now.[49] The oral religious language observed in this study acts as a text unto itself, which is to say that the oral language, in the imagination of the practitioner, is never divorced from the written word.

P. G. L. Chiew (2006) shows that language is 'more than merely statistical choice or a medium for speaking and writing.' Rather, 'it provides us an experience of the world and is an indicator of ways of thinking and acting.' This argument is particularly relevant because Chiew argues that 'language is inextricably linked to religion because language, like religion, is by and large a shaper of behavior and cultures. *Both language and religion define the characteristics of civilizations*' (emphasis added).[50]

I provisionally assume that language mediates and structures thought. As explained by Huang,[51] "…a language is *systematically structured*. As a consequence, … human beings perceive the world as structure. … [B]ecause there are many different human languages, there are many different representations of the World out there. In other words, there are many different world-realities structured in different languages *by* and *for* different groups of people. These different world-realities we call *culture*. Notice that while there is, theoretically speaking, an outside World, there is no "Reality" *out there* because all realities are constructs in [human] minds. … Human perception is *conventionalized*, or structured, by language." The previous passage indicates that the use of religious language structures one's religious

[49] Ong, Walter. *Orality and Literacy*. New York: Methuen, 1982: 36-57.

[50] Chiew, P. G. L. "Language Use and Religious Practice." In *Explorations in the Sociology of Language and Religion*, edited by Omoniyi, Tope and Joshua A. Fisher, 213-236. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2006.

[51] Huang, C. "Language Revitalization and Identity Politics: An Examination of Siraya Reclamation in Taiwan." PhD Diss., University of Florida, 2010.

conceptualizations and social understandings, a certain way. The topic of this dissertation is important because, in aiming to understand how language determines Chinese religious thought, and consequently Chinese religious practices, beliefs, concepts, and understandings, it will lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the individuals, traditions, and deep intersections that constitute religions and cultures which have shaped, and continue to shape, personal and collective identity.

1.7.1 An Example of Daoist Religious Language

Jade Logographs, mentioned above, constitute an example of Daoist religious language in use in a particular textual tradition, the Lingbao corpus. As with the case studies presented in later chapters, the language of the scriptures in connection with the Jade Logographs can be thought of as belonging to a religious language variety; language is used in unexpected ways that would be difficult to gloss without initiation into the language community itself. Here, the language is concerned with demonstrating power. The scripture containing these Jade Logographs is named 太上洞玄靈寶諸天內音自然玉字, or *The Inner Sounds of the Self-Created Jade Logographs of all the various Heavens, of the Most High Penetratingly Mysterious Numinous Treasure*. The Jade Logographs purportedly came into existence *ab aeterno*; they are spontaneously self-created and predate the intercession of the divine power of any deity. In fact, their creation myth rests on the fact that they congealed from pneuma of "Flying Mystery" at the beginning of every *kalpa*-cycle[52]. This scripture, dictated by the August Being of Heavenly Perfection, or Heavenly Worthy, describes in detail the properties

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[52] Hsieh Shu-wei. "Writing from Heaven: Celestial Writing in Six Dynasties Daoism." PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2005: 342. This refers to a set of 5 *kalpas*: 龍漢 *longhan,* 延康 *yankang,* 赤明 *chiming,* 開皇 *kaihuang,* and 上皇 *shanghuang.*

of the Jade Logographs. They are described as the font of power in the universe, the creators of absolutely everything, and that which infused numinous essence into that which required it. The Jade Logographs themselves are written down, being ostensibly transmitted by the Heavenly Worthy. They number 256, organized into four groups of 64, each group associated with a Thearch of the East, South, West, or North. The logographs of each group are further associated with 8 Heavens, making a total of 32 Heavens with 8 Jade Logographs per Heaven. In form, the Jade Logographs resemble Sinitic seal script logographs, save for the fact that these Jade Logographs have no concrete referent. They are made to look exotic and mystical, they have no actual meaning. Due to their subtle, complex nature, they can "neither be accessible nor be read by ordinary mortal beings, [nor by] lower-ranking gods and transcendents.[53]" Instead, mortals must rely on intermediary translation and glossing. The August One explains:

> 靈書八會，字無正形…難可尋詳…[54]
>
> *As for [this] numinous script of the Eight Assemblies, the Jade Logographs lack a correct form…[and so] it is difficult to seek out their interpretation…*

The Jade Character's form is so numinous as to be incomprehensible. The "correct form" is another way of saying "comprehensible shape." They are patterns beyond the comprehension of the base, something like to the way these very letters one reads here are beyond the cognition of our primate cousins. It is difficult *for us* to interpret them; *he* is quite capable, and for this reason is able to provide an Early Middle Chinese gloss for each character.

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[53] Hsieh Shu-wei. "Writing from Heaven: Celestial Writing in Six Dynasties Daoism." PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2005: 342.

[54] Lingbao #7, Zhengtong Daozang 3.2a5 (Zhonghua Daozang 220a)

Jade Logographs must be glossed to be enunciated by mortals (for those of less

spiritual refinement do not possess the numinous qualities necessary to comprehend the Jade

Logographs, whose mystic characteristics require a great measure of attainment).

Importantly, the August One details the *talismanic quality* of the Jade Logographs. Since the

Jade Logographs are so ineffable, they must be glossed not only so that mortals might be

able to pronounce and write the Jade Logographs (thus gaining control over a portion of

their subtle power), but also so that when the gloss-logographs are used to create poems,

their verbalization will function as an incantation.

In essence, each character can be used as a talisman to obtain certain divine effects.

For example, the Jade Logographs for the ɣwɛn miajŋ kuawŋ kʰiajŋ [h55] Heaven:

…正旦朱書上一字，向東服之，則萬神侍衛，威制十方。又以立春日朱書第
二字，向東服之，八年神龍為使。又以五月五日，七月七日，朱書第三，第
四，第五，第六四字，向南服之百日，北帝削死籍，三界度仙品。又以夏至
日朱書第七，第八二字，向南服之百日，面有玉光，萬神安鎮，結神。[56]

If one should write the first character in vermillion on New Year's Day, to then face East and ingest

it, then the myriad spirits would serve and protect him, and in his might he would control the ten

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[55] Xuan Ming Gong Qing 玄明恭慶, according to Pulleyblank's reconstructed pronunciation (whose form is based on the IPA). The rationale for my displaying the name of this Heaven in reconstructed Early Middle Chinese is that the names of the 32 heavens were constructed using logographs of no actual descriptive significance. Rather, the logographs represented common transliteration sounds that translation teams adopted when translating Sanskrit texts. The "nonsense" character composition of the names of the Heavens exoticized those Heavens; they were foreign-sounding and mysterious, since Sanskrit was closely tied (in the contemporary Chinese mind) to the "Hidden Language of the Great Brahma", tbe supposed celestial language the Jade Logographs comprised. It is important to note that these writing did not have any meaning in Sanskrit or similar languages. See Bokenkamp, Stephen. "Taoism and Literature." *Taoist Resources* 3.1 (1991): 57-72 for an in-depth look at one such "pseudo-Sanskrit" term.

[56] Lingbao #7, Zhengtong Daozang 2.5b1 (Zhonghua Daozang 214b-c). I have omitted two logographs (antepenultimate and preantepenultimate) as per suggestion of Wang Ka, as indicated by his footnote: "These two logographs not found in the Dunhuang manuscripts. Suspect later addition."

directions. Furthermore, if on the Vernal Equinox one should write the second character in

vermillion, to then face east and ingest it, then for eight years spirit-dragons would act as his

servants. Still further, if on the fifth day of the fifth month or the seventh day of the seventh month

one should write the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth logographs in vermillion, to then face east and

ingest them for one hundred days, the Thearch of the North would then efface [his name] from the

Register of Death, and in the World of Three [Components]⁵⁷ he would cross over to the state of

Transcendence. Even further, if one should write the seventh and eight logographs in vermillion on

the Summer Solstice, to then face South and consume them for one hundred days, a jade effulgence

would radiate from the surface [of his form], and the myriad spirits would be pacified and subdued,

and he would be enmeshed with numen.

Along with those of the mǔ gik dəm dʑiajh⁵⁸ Heaven:

…登齋行道之日，朱書上六字，向王服之，則聲參太極，氣入神霄，上帝遙

唱，計日成仙。又以雞鳴時朱書其下二字，服之而嚥雲牙，百日面有光精，

五府充溢，舉形鍊仙，九祖出幽夜，更生人中，功滿克得駕乘三素之軿，遊

宴紫微之宮也。⁵⁹

If one should write the first six logographs in vermillion on a day in which one partakes in fasting

and practicing the Dao, to then face the [direction of the] ruling phase and ingest it, then one's voice

will join with that [of the Transcendents] of the Grand Bourne. His pneuma would enter the

spiritual empyrean. The Supreme Thearch would call out from afar, and reckon the very day of [the

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⁵⁷ It seems to me that rather than the knee-jerk translation of the three Buddhist realms of Desire, Form, and Formlessness 欲 色 無色, here we might be better served by the Brahmanic *bhuvanatraya*, "the earth, the atmosphere, and the heavens." That is, the ingester of the talisman still exists in one of the three Buddhist *trailokya*.

⁵⁸ The Wuji Tanshi Heaven 無極曇誓天, Lingbao #7, Zhengtong Daozang 2.11a (Zhonghua Daozang 216b-c)

⁵⁹ Lingbao #7, Zhengtong Daozang 2.11a9-b4, (Zhonghua Daozang 216b-c)

incantator's] transcendental metamorphosis. If one should write the following two logographs in

vermillion at the time when the chickens crow, to then ingest them and swallow cloud-sprouts, for one

hundred days the surface [of his form] will possess an effulgent essence. His Five Archives[60] would

be full to overflowing. His physical body would be offered up so that he may be forged into a

Transcendent. Nine generations of his ancestors would be expelled from the [Hell of] Tenebrous

Night, to be born anew in the midst of men. He would be so full of merit as to be able to obtain a

carriage to ride up into the Three Immaculates[61], to then wander carefree through the Palace of

Purple Subtlety.

As one can see, these effects are not necessarily apotropaic in nature. Each Heaven's octet of

unglossed Jade Logographs will have wildly varying effects. The Jade Logographs form an

integral part of the cosmology introduced by the Lingbao scriptures. The writer of the

scriptures invested much of the power of the Jade Logographs in their creation myth. It was

not an uncommon idea that "earliest" should be "best"; the text that claims it was created

before others is understood to be closer to the quintessence of the truth. That which comes

later is polluted, diluted, or skewed. In the same way, though other texts depicting different

cosmologies declare the ultimate truth of their contents, later texts can reveal that they are, in

fact, of more ancient, more veracious, or of more supreme provenance than their

predecessors. The Jade Logographs come from nothing else; they are the first, the most old,

the originators. One is led to believe that one is not dealing with any intermediary or

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[60] It is all too tempting to equate this to the Six Archives, the "somatic repositories of vitalizing fluids that we know as the gall bladder, the stomach, the bladder, the 'three ducts' (of stomach and bladder), and the larger and smaller intestines" as described by Schafer in footnote 101 of Schafer, E. "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void.'" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41 (1981): 377–415 (403).

[61] Again referencing Schafer, E. "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void.'" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 41 (1981): 377–415 (footnote 117, pg. 407): "The Three Immaculates are visible as the purple auroral colors of the morning sky in spring – white, yellow, and purple." Hence, I say they represent the upper reaches of the empyrean.

intercessor; one can course with the most supreme originators of all in existence. There is no need for the intervention of deities. The text that reveals the primacy of the Jade Logographs and divulges methods of their use makes a statement about the primacy of the written word. The Jade Logographs, being a sort of *primum movens*, were beyond the creative abilities of gods, divine beings, transcendents, or really anything that might identify itself as *ego*. They were a part of a natural process (since they we created "self-so" or "themselves-ingly" 自然), independent of any entity-enacted causative process. It was a great innovation for the Jin culture of the time; nothing higher than the text itself; no gods to adore, spirits to venerate, perfected to revere, or transcendents to exalt. This might bring to mind works of Buddhist Perfection of Wisdom *prajñā pā ramitā* literature, which held the text itself in most high esteem. The veneration of said texts, in fact, was encouraged by virtue of the great merit one might accumulate from doing so.[62]

In the Daoist tradition, a written entity related to logographs, often translated as talismans, were referred to as *fu* 符. A talisman is effectual by dint of semiotic properties which connect it to a religious force. *Fu* are something like contracts with the laws of nature. As Anna Seidel points out, "The original meaning of *fu*, tally, is well known. It is the [material upon] which contracts were written. The *fu* consisted of two split halves…and each…party kept one [part] as guarantee.[63]" The two halves fitting together indicated the

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[62] Conze, Edward. *Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines and Its Verse Summary*. New Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1994, The Lord says to Ś akra: "Greater would be the merit…who would recite the Perfection of Wisdom, study it, spread, demonstrate, expound, and repeat it…; who would copy it, and preserve and store away the copy – so that the good *dharma* might last long…Greater would be the merit of the devotee who [copies and studies the Perfection of Wisdom]…compared with…that of all beings in a great trichiliocosm [if they] should… become… human and each build Stupas [of the seven precious jewels to store the Buddha's relics]," pgs. 107-8.

[63] Seidel, Anna. "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha." In *Tantric and Taoist Studies*, edited by Michel Strickmann, 291-371 (310). Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1983.

authenticity of the document. Similarly, military orders requiring maneuvers involving a certain number of troops were authenticated via this method; this ensured that a Field Marshal would have the authority of the *de facto* Commander-In-Chief, namely the head of the civil government, to proceed with the activities necessary for the waging of war. The *fu* was later used by sovereigns to record pledges of fealty from their underlings. An obvious element of the religious nature of the *fu* contracts was that the oaths accompanied their issue.[64] Eventually, the ruler used *fu* as contracts *with heaven* to ensure that the mandate to rule would be upheld, both by himself and the divine powers-that-be. The concept of ritual reciprocity, whereby Heaven "verified" the contractual stipulations of the talisman through the transmission of mundanely inimitable portents, forms the foundation for the effectiveness of *fu* in the sense of talismans. That the divine realm verifies its "end of the deal" (i.e. the ruling family maintains sovereignty if they provide equitable and virtuous rule) is the underlying principle for use of *fu*, as a talisman, to obtain supernatural powers.

The talismanic *fu* were to have indicated a contractual agreement between undersigned parties. It was a binding document. Heaven did not withdraw a mandate of rule capriciously; misrule, misconduct, or other ill traits in the dynastic government resulted in the withdrawal. Then, he who wrote a talisman of the type given in the *Inner Sounds of the Various Heavens*, the Jade Logographs, formulated a binding contract that could not be broken by the "other party." The writer of the talisman had to write the talisman in full exactitude, paying careful attention to a maze of whorls and twists and weaving lines. The talismans had to be written at a certain time, in a certain manner, by people who had performed certain actions (many times, a ritual purification). The "other party" then fulfilled

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[64] Seidel, Anna. "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha." In *Tantric and Taoist Studies*, edited by Michel Strickmann, 291-371 (311). Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1983.

the contract by providing or enacting the supermundane effects described. The contract, in this case, was kept not a specific entity, but by the very nature of existence, much like a natural law. If one upends an open vessel of liquid, the liquid will pour out of it. This is not the function of a divine being, but rather a property of natural laws. The universe in which we exist is such that there is no other possible outcome; the water is *forced* to pour. In the same way, the Jade Logographs used as *fu* are *forced* to generate the results enumerated in the scriptures. Those who create them are in control of a great power. Since the talismans unerringly result in their divine results, the creators of the talismans have unerring, unlimited access to the same divine results. Though this is not by virtue of some internal measure of spiritual power of the human who creates the talisman, this person nonetheless is in control of the otherworldly results.

In the examples of Jade Logographs and *Fu*-talismans, one finds examples of language meant to serve particular religious and linguistic communities in ways that made them distinct from the greater social language communities that connected those members to the other members of their greater cultural sphere. Though the religious language communities of the Jade Logographs and *Fu*-talismans operated in Sinitic languages and the written standards which deviated from the spoken languages (grapholects), and so are related to Sinitic (and other) languages through common parentage and recognizably similar form, the practitioners which produced and accessed the textual phenomena operate in languages which yet remain distinct in lexical inventory, formulaic structures, construction of dispositions, patterns of usage, and historical development.

CHAPTER 2: SPATIAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS OF THE RELIGIOLECTS OF THE DAODE YUAN AND THE BAOZHONG YIMIN MIAO

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the associations phonetic and lexical elements, drawn from the full descriptions of the DDY and YMM religiolects in the Appendices, have with altered spatial and conceptual frameworks for the users of those lects.

2.2 Dictito

The religiolects of the Daode Yuan and the Baozhong Yimin Miao consist of elements of a linguistic repertoire used by religious community members, which take Daigi, Hakka, and MSC lects as primary contributors to their grammar, lexicon, and pronunciation (with situational variances). In addition, the religiolects are subject to the subtle, yet certainly present, influences of less pervasive and salient languages, such as English, Japanese, and even the languages of the aborigines. The religiolects, or the linguistic repertoires of religious systems or religious groups, have elements that alter conceptual and spatial frameworks from those who use other lects.

In this chapter, I present some ways the religiolects of the DDY and the YMM are linked with spatial and conceptual frameworks, which I interpret from interviews and participant observation sessions, as explained in the discussion on methodology in chapter 1, drawing on the phonetic and lexical data presented, for the interested, in the Appendices. Before doing so, I will briefly address what I mean by spatial and conceptual framework. I take a spatial framework to mean the mental space one uses to perceive, imagine, and orient oneself in physical space, in the observable outside world. I take a conceptual framework to

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be a range of assumptions, knowledge structures, principles, and worldviews which holds together ideas and concepts (in this case, ideas and concepts relating to the religious domain of thought). A conceptual framework is that which is necessary for the interpretation of elements of a conceptual system, the mental organization of a conceptual system, and a necessary precondition for sharing elements of a conceptual system in any social space. I hold that conceptual knowledge in any domain cannot be separated from the framework in which concepts are organized in relation to one another and to other conceptual systems, such that meaning is derived from the relationship between concepts and the framework they are found in. In short, a conceptual framework is the mental structure of one's thought in a particular domain: in this case, religion.

While the Appendices present a more complete picture of the elements of the religiolects themselves, this chapter focuses on the elements of the religiolects which, when used, are salient examples of producing or altering conceptual and spatial frameworks. As with the linguistic data in the Appendices, the qualitative interpretations, analyses, and discussions presented below, are based on anthropological fieldwork, representing what I found to be in contrast with the surrounding language communities, and so the spatial and conceptual frameworks of those surrounding communities. I preface the analysis by noting that my findings represent frameworks which are *not* a result of the social, cultural, or religious context, but a result of the use of the religiolects themselves: these results contrast with that which I encountered in similar contexts but using elements of other lects.

Below, each example consists of the phrase I expected to find, given the standard lect repertoires of the area. Then there is the phrase as recorded, with some kind of variation. Then I highlight the variation. Then I discuss the context of the utterance in detail,

and finally offer an interpretation.

1. Phrase as expected:

打醮愛接近正神奇。

da31 zeu55 oi55 jiab2 kiun55 zang55 siin11 ki11.

"During the rite, you should draw closer; it will be more efficacious."

Phrase as recorded:

打醮愛接近正神神。

da31 zeu55 oi55 jiab2 kiun55 zang55 siin11 siin11.

Date/Time: 5-9-12, 11:15. Participant observation; interaction with YMM functionary;

YMM grounds, central hall.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. Siin11 ki11 神奇, "efficacious", was substituted for siin11 siin11 神神, which means

something closer to "wondrous".

Context

This phrase was uttered when nearing the completion of a short instructional segment on

ritual practice for a handful of layperson prospective participants, roughly 30 minutes before

a rite was set to begin. This segment was meant to be heard by any other laypeople who

wished to know about the ritual procedure to come. Some may have been expected not to

understand Hakka, as this phrase was preceded and followed by Daigi utterances as well,

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sometimes giving redundant information. The production of this utterance took place in the main central hall. The speaker was an functionary in mid to late 30s actively involved in ritual and festival preparations from a logistical standpoint. The emotional tone of the utterance was one of eagerness to be helpful and of slight nervousness. The preceding segments were at times repetitive, perhaps to ensure the listeners were on the same page, and following the phrase utterances became more fluid in terms of prosody. The listeners questioned the speaker was as to why proximity affected efficaciousness.

Interpretation

This variation was observed three other times, at 15:00 on 5-9-12, 12:10 on 5-24-12 and 10:30 on 3-20-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was speaking in a general context of the religious community in crisis. Subsequent utterances in the immediate vicinity showed an increase in references to and lexicon use of virtues such as loyalty and self-possession. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between spatial lexicon related to "approaching" and spiritual power.

2. Phrase as expected:

忠心係轉得勝單一个路。

zung24 xim24 he55 zon31 ded2 siin55 dan24 id2 ge55 lu55.

"Loyalty is the only road to obtaining victory."

Phrase as recorded:

忠心係轉得勝利唯一个路。

zung24 xim24 he55 zon31 ded2 siin55 li55 vi11 id2 ge55 lu55.

Date/Time: 3-20-12, 14:20. Participant observation; speech by YMM functionary; YMM grounds, central hall.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. The item ded2 siin55 得勝, "obtaining victory", was substituted for the longer ded2 siin55 li55 得勝利, which means the same thing but resembles MSC usage. In addition, dan24 id2 單一, "only" was replaced with a more MSC-style vi11 id2 唯一.

Context

This phrase was uttered when explaining a morality story related to the mythological narrative of the temple itself. This segment was meant for the ears of a single listener, who had engaged in conversation with the speaker was about the history of the temple. The listener was roughly the same age as the speaker was and appeared to have a full command of Hakka. The production of this utterance took place in corner of the main central hall closest to the incense offering donation station set up at the side of the hall, near the entrance door. The speaker was an middle-aged functionary who was occasionally to quite frequently present for normal temple operations during the afternoons and evenings. The emotional tone of the utterance was convivial and elucidatory without being affecting pretense. This phrase was in the middle of a rather lengthy conversation, nearer neither to the beginning nor the end by any significant margin. The listener had frequently questioned

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the speaker for further details about that which was being explained, as though that which was being spoken of were distantly and imperfectly remembered by the listener.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 9:30 on 6-10-12 and 14:40 on 4-19-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was giving moral instruction using a parable from the narrative of the creation of the temple, specifically relating mental strength with moral virtue. Subsequent utterances in the immediate vicinity showed an increase in references to hard work, determination, and strength (not merely physical strength, but strength of willpower). In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between MSC-style variations in lexicon, uttered as Hakka, and hard work, action, straightforwardness, and strength.

3. Phrase as expected:

先佬籤仔收好。

sien24 lau24 qiam24 e31 su24 ho31.

"First, put away the divination slips."

Phrase as recorded:

先佬神籤杖收好。

sien24 lau24 siin11 qiam24 cong31 e31 su24 ho31.

Date/Time: 6-7-12, 16:05. Personal communication with YMM functionary; Kaohsiung, Taiwan, central hall reception area.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. The simple noun qiam24 籤, "divination slips", was replaced with the more complex siin11 qiam24 cong31 神籤杖, "spiritual divination-slip-pillars".

Context

This phrase was uttered at the beginning of a short explanation of divination and mantic practices. This segment was meant to instruct two laypersons who had come in inquiring about asking questions of a divinatory nature to the central deity Yimin Ye. Though this kind of exchange frequently occurred in Daigi, this temple being found firmly within the city of Kaohsiung in an area where many speak Daigi despite the high Hakka population in the immediate vicinity. The production of this utterance took place in the temple reception area at the fore of the main central hall, immediately visible upon entering the main hall from the right front doorway after having scaled the central steps. The speaker was a middle-aged functionary and was frequently active in temple activities. The emotional tone of the utterance was kind and elucidating. This portion of the subsequent conversation set up a calm and meticulous explanation of the divination process. This being the beginning of a linguistic exchange, no listener yet interrupted or questioned the speaker.

Interpretation

This variation was observed three other times, at 16:40 on 3-31-12, 11:35 on 4-10-12, and 13:10 on 4-23-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was explaining divinatory practices before the practitioner engaged in them. Subsequent utterances in the immediate vicinity showed an increase in lexical shift towards the more complex variant and speech related to contestation, where the interlocutors questioned the efficacy of practices. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between an increase in lexical shift towards the more complex variant and speech related to contestation, where the interlocutors questioned the efficacy of practices, as well as terms from practices in popular Sinitic religion.

4. Phrase as expected:

誦忒咧，佬經文闔起來。

xiung55 ted2 le2, lau24 gin24 vun11 hap55 hi31 loi11.

"When finished reciting, close the scripture"

Phrase as recorded:

吟忒咧，佬道經闔起來。

ngim11 ted2 le2, lau24 to55 gin24 hap55 hi31 loi11.

Date/Time: 4-28-12, 10:45. Personal communication with YMM functionary; Kaohsiung, Taiwan, temple office.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. The verb xiung55 誦, "recite aloud", was replaced with the seldom seen rare variant ngim11 吟, "chant".

Context

This phrase was uttered when nearing the completion of a short instructional segment on scripture recitation. This segment was meant to instruct all of those present who were going to participate in ritual practices throughout the year. There were none present who would not have been expected not to understand Hakka, though there are templegoers who do not. The production of this utterance took place in the temple administrative office adjacent to the main central hall. The speaker was an elder functionary commonly involved in hands-on aspects of ritual and festival preparations. The emotional tone of the utterance was frank and didactic. The preceding segments did not seem to be overburdened with meticulous details, instead focusing on main points of the ritual procedure. No listener interrupted or questioned the speaker.

Interpretation

This variation was observed four other times, at 10:15 on 4-23-12, 11:40 on 6-10-12, 15:50 on 6-9-12, and 9:50 on 6-6-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was speaking about scripture recitation or ritual practice involving the written word. Subsequent utterances

showed an increase shifts of lexical meaning to energeticism, pragmaticism, and interpretations of martial ideals. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between the substitution of a rather rare term for chanting and the religious concept of martial vigor among the Hakka community.

5. Phrase as expected:

你曉得尋出正確个宮廟無？

ngi11 hiau31 ded2 qim11 cud2 ziin55 kog2 ge55 giung24 meu55 mo11?

"Did you find the right temple?"

Phrase as recorded:

你曉得尋出正確个道廟無？

ngi11 hiau31 ded2 qim11 cud2 ziin55 kog2 ge55 to55 meu55 mo11?

Date/Time: 3-20-12, 11:35. Participant observation; interaction with YMM functionary; YMM grounds, front steps leading to central hall.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. The usual word for temple, giung24 meu55 宮廟, was replaced with to55 meu55 道廟, or "Temple of the Dao".

Context

This phrase was uttered as a casual conversational greeting to a lay relative newcomer to the

temple community. This segment was meant to cultivate a positive social relationship with the speaker by being helpful in offering information and assistance. The speaker knew the listener did not understand Hakka well, preferring Daigi, but seemed to allow it to slip his mind during the conversation. The production of this utterance took place on the lowest part of the front steps of the temple, adjacent to a small area where vehicles were parked. The speaker was a younger functionary who did not appear frequently at the temple, yet was well-known. The emotional tone of the utterance was concerned and solicitous. The following segments focused on the putative locations of another temple in the Meinung region, a rural community and famed Hakka enclave. The listener made light-hearted replies, joking with the interlocutor.

Interpretation

This variation was observed three other times, at 10:20 on 5-24-12, 12:05 on 5-9-12, and 15:30 on 6-7-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was initiating conversation and speaking to a relative outsider to the community. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in connecting the term Dao to justice and fairness by means of a common compound which uses the same logograph, gung24 to55 公道, to then further tie religious practice to martial defense of justice. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between the use of a specific term for Daoist temple instead of a general popular-religion term for temple, and the activation of metaphorical frames connecting martial practice, competition, and moral speech.

6. Phrase as expected:

偓做得悋你捲手做麼个？

ngai2 zo55 ded2 lau24 ngi11 ten55 su31 zo55 ma31 ge55?

"What is it that I can help you do?"

Phrase as recorded:

本人做得悋你捲手做麼个？

bun31 ngin11 zo55 ded2 lau24 ngi11 ten55 su31 zo55 ma31 ge55?

Date/Time: 4-19-12, 10:10. Participant observation; interaction with YMM functionary;

YMM grounds, temple office.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. The common first person pronoun ngai2 偓 was replaced by the formal classical-

style bun31 ngin11 本人, "this person".

Context

This phrase was uttered when a layperson and templegoer at another temple was inquiring

about ritual preparation procedures at this temple. This segment was directed at the one

layperson directly when the listener found it unclear what was needed. There were none

present who would not have been expected not to understand Hakka, though there are

templegoers who do not. The production of this utterance took place in the temple

administrative office adjacent to the main centrall hall. The speaker was an elder functionary

commonly commonly involved in most aspects of temple and ritual administration. The

emotional tone of the utterance was nearly exasperated and nearly querulous. The preceding segments were mostly directed at giving rather vague answers and attempting to clarify what the listener was asking of the speaker. The listener did not engage in conversation for much longer upon hearing this phrase.

Interpretation

This variation was observed four other times, at 10:00 on 3-20-12, 12:55 on 5-12-12, 9:15 on 5-9-12, and 11:00 on 3-20-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was attempting to help another member of the religious community practice ritual preparation, generally aiming discussion at the need for ritual and its role in the survival or health of the community. Subsequent utterances in the immediate vicinity showed an increase in classicalized speech, particularly in terms of lexicon selection. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between classical-style pronouns and discursive focus on that which needs to be done for survival of either the community or society, without particular reference to humility.

7. Phrase as expected:

恁久無擎筆了, 擎筆愛懶尸, 這下正知差。

an31 giu31 mo11 kia11 bid2 le24, kia11 bid2 oi55 lan24 sii24, ia31 ha55 zang55 di24 ca24.

"After having not written by hand for a long time, if you approach it as though one ought to be lazy, this is something we know is not correct."

Phrase as recorded:

恁久無擎筆了，擎筆愛懶尸，這下正知差。

an31 giu31 mo11 tɕia11 bid2 le24, tɕia11 bid2 oi55 lwan24 sii24, ia31 ha55 zang55 di24 ca24.

Date/Time: 4-25-12, 15:50. Personal communication with YMM functionary; Kaohsiung, Taiwan, temple market area.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. Kia11 擎, to grasp and raise with one's hand, becomes tɕia11. Lan24 懶, lazy, becomes lwan24.

Context

This phrase was uttered during a short instructional segment on calligraphy, in a discussion about writing by hand as opposed to the modern tendency to use computer-assisted writing such as typing. This segment was part of a conversation between two speakers, though one was of an elevated social status within the temple hierarchy and thus took a didactic tone. Both speakers understood and spoke Hakka well, though at other times used Daigi with one another, and especially so with other lay visitors to the temple. The production of this utterance took place in the temple market area which began right before the main central steps leading to the central hall. The speaker was an elder functionary known for erudition and classical knowledge, especially of poetry and literature. The emotional tone of the

utterance was supercilious and somewhat defensive. The preceding segments focused on examples from premodern events and texts which extolled the virtues of Chinese writing, especially focusing on the connection between one's handwriting with a brush and one's moral character and personality. The listener argued rationally but without heatedness, approaching the interlocutor respectfully.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 14:40 on 4-23-12 and 15:15 on 5-18-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was discussing forms of writing. Subsequent utterances in the immediate vicinity showed an increase in emotional reaction. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between the substitution of [k] for [tɕ] and [l] for [lʷ] and the emotional connection to premodern virtues associated with the moral system of the religious community.

8. Phrase as expected:

這位个神像盡靚。

lia31 vi55 ge55 siin11 xiong55 ziin24 jiang24.

"This deity statue is quite striking."

Phrase as recorded:

這位个神像盡靚。

lia31 ui55 ge55 siin11 xiong55 ziin24 kiang24.

Date/Time: 5-9-12, 12:20. Participant observation; interaction with YMM functionary; YMM grounds, central hall.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. Jiang24 靓, beautiful or striking, becomes kiang24.

Context

This phrase was uttered as a standalone utterance to no particular interlocutor (yet it was clearly meant to be heard). This segment was meant to indicate the admiration the speaker had for the temple community and in particular those who had furnished or constructed it, during the performance of a ritual. As there was no clear interlocutor, it is unclear whether the speaker expected a Hakka speaker to be able to hear and understand the phrase. The phrase was issued as a polite social convention. The production of this utterance took place in the the main centrall hall before one of the side statues auxiliary to the central deity. The speaker was a functionary who had newly joined the temple community, having just moved to the area from Hsinchu in the north of the island. The emotional tone of the utterance was one of polite awe and curiosity. The preceding and following were similar statements, but made at lengthy intervals after slow perusal of the temple grounds. No listener interrupted or questioned the speaker.

Interpretation

This variation was observed three other times, at 10:45 on 6-9-12, 11:50 on 5-5-12, and 13:10 on 4-25-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was similarly engaged in

admiration of ritual practice. Subsequent utterances in the immediate vicinity showed an increase in phonetic wordplay later used to help dissect concepts. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between the phonetic alteration of jiang24 to relate it to kiang24, meaning "light", and explanations of the need for spiritual staunchness to counteract inappropriate levity.

9. Phrase as expected:

道教就盡像倻个命共樣。

to55 gau55 ciu55 cin55 ciong55 ngai2 ge55 miang55 kiung55 yong55.

"Daoism seems to be encompassing my whole life."

Phrase as recorded:

道教就盡像倻个命共樣。

to55 giau55 ciu55 cin55 ciong55 ngai2 ge55 miang55 kung55 yong55.

Date/Time: 4-25-12, 11:00. Personal communication with YMM functionary; Kaohsiung, Taiwan, offering-burning area before central hall.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. Gau55 教, teaching, becomes giau55. Kiung55 共, collectively, becomes kung55.

Context

This phrase was uttered as part of a conversation in which the speaker was sharing life

experiences with moral lessons for the listener. This segment was meant to preface moral instruction for those present by explaining how the speaker came about her study of Daoism and why it was useful in the modern world. Most of the listeners were Hakka speakers, though one listener was a young Daigi speaker, and a listener translated into Daigi for that person. The production of this utterance took place in the offerings-burning furnace before the main central hall, accessible from the stairs on the outside of the hall. The speaker was an functionary commonly involved in financial administration as well as the well-being of functionaries and laypersons alike. The emotional tone of the utterance was lively and engaging. The following segments were mostly concerned with moral arguments and moral stories from Daoist scriptural and folk tradition. Listeners participated in the conversation with appropriate discourse.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 14:15 on 5-5-12 and 12:35 on 5-15-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker used life experiences to share moral lessons with the listener, by using spatial metaphors; these form part of a lexicon network in which lexicon become phonetically related to spatial terms. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in overlaying sacrality on existing physical conceptions of space. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between the transformation of gau55 教, teaching, to giau55 橋, bridge, and kiung55 共, collectively, to kung55 間, "space", and the space occupied by the Hakka community as a whole being understood as a sacred locus.

10. Phrase as expected:

接近榮譽係一個盡好个事情。

jiab2 kiun55 iung11 i55 he55 yid2 ge55 cin55 ho31 ge55 sii55 qin11.

"Drawing near to honor[able living] is a good thing."

Phrase as recorded:

接近榮譽係一個盡好个事情。

jiab2 kiun55 rung11 i55 he55 yid2 ge55 cin55 hao31 ge55 sii55 qing11.

Date/Time: 3-31-12, 10:45. Participant observation; interaction with YMM functionary;

YMM grounds, temple market area before front steps.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. Iung11 i55 榮譽, "honor", is replaced by rung11 i55. In addition, ho31 好 "good"

is replaced by hao31. Finally, sii55 qin11 事情 "circumstance" is replaced by sii55 qing11.

Context

This phrase was uttered when nearing the beginning of a ritual segment during rehearsal-type

preparations for a festival. This segment was meant to remind all of those present who were

going to participate in ritual practices about the significance of ritual performance beyond

the cultural artistry of the performance. There may have been those who did not understand

Hakka present, but the listeners were in actuality a smaller circle than the general milling

crowd present during the preparations. The production of this utterance took place in the

temple market area which began right before the main central steps leading to the central hall. The speaker was an elder functionary commonly involved in hands-on aspects of ritual and festival preparations. The emotional tone of the utterance was one of good-natured instruction, as to peers. The preceding and following segments were focused on the moral import of ritual practice. No listener the speaker, though some asked for repetition of some points.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 9:50 on 3-20-12 and 15:50 on 5-5-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker discussed the importance or significance of ritual practice in terms of projection of power. Subsequent utterances in the immediate vicinity showed an increase in MSC phonetic elements, which appeared in association with conceptions of power. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between terms for honor, good, and circumstance receiving MSC-style pronunciation alterations and the idea that ritual efficacy extended the strength of the community, not just in terms of simple survival but also in terms of being able to help the larger community to defend itself from outside influences (political more than military, in this case).

11. Phrase as expected:

倕會教你仰般做。

ngai2 voi55 gau24 ngi11 ngiong31 ban24 zo55.

"I can show you what to do."

Phrase as recorded:

偓會教你仰般做。

ngai2 voi55 giau24 ngi11 ngiong31 ban24 zuo55.

Date/Time: 5-5-12, 14:15. Participant observation; interaction with YMM functionary;

YMM grounds, side hall adjacent to central hall.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. Gau24 教, "teaching", is replaced by giau24. In addition, zo55 做 "do" is replaced

by zuo55.

Context

This phrase was uttered when the speaker observed that the listener was at a loss as to the

preparing ritual tables for a festival. This segment was meant to instruct just one person, a

generation younger than the speaker, in a practical matter related to the ritual process. The

speaker was assumed the listener would be able to understand Hakka imperfectly, and thus

spoke slowly and clearly. The production of this utterance took place in a side hall

commonly used to feed guests, practitioners, and fucntionaries, adjacent to the main central

hall. The speaker was a middle-aged functionary who had been involved with the temple for

several years, and had practical experience. The emotional tone of the utterance was

solicitious and helpful. The subsequent utterances were rich in spatial and procedural details,

without touching on ritual significance. In the subsequent instructional discussion, the

listener asked for clarifications, but the first utterance was not interrupted.

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Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 16:00 on 5-17-12 and 11:40 on 6-10-12.

When the variation appeared, the speaker was in a one-to-one didactic situation involving a

religious practice. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in MSC-style pronunciation

variations and the establishment of a power hierarchy placing the speaker in the role of a

teacher, a role which would later be maintained in subsequent interactions. In terms of the

repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between MSC-style

pronunciation variation, where giau24 standing in for gau24 " teaching" also sounded like

"skill" 巧, along with zuo4 standing in for zo55, and the notions of power, especially in

relationships between spiritual student and teacher.

12. Phrase as expected:

你使人聽起來奮發打拚, 當好當好!

ngi11 sii31 ngin11 tang24 hi31 loi11 fun55 fad2 da31 biang55, dong24 ho31 dong24 ho31!

"You inspire others into action when they hear you, how great!"

Phrase as recorded:

你使人聽起來奮發打拚, 當好當好!

ngi11 sii31 ngin11 ting24 hi31 lai11 fun55 fad2 da31 biang55, dong24 ho31 dong24 ho31!

Date/Time: 4-23-12, 9:30. Personal communication with YMM functionary; Kaohsiung, Taiwan, temple office.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. Tang24 聽, "listen", is replaced by ting24. In addition, loi11 來 "come" is replaced by lai11.

Context

This phrase was uttered, ostensibly, in admiration for the elocutionary skill and commanding presence of the listener, who had just finished giving a moral lesson. Given that the listener had just finished speaking in Hakka, the listener certainly would have been expected to understand Hakka. The production of this utterance took place in the temple administrative office adjacent to the main central hall. The speaker was a younger, in the late 20s or early 30s, functionary who was an infrequent participant in temple activities. The emotional tone of the utterance was flattering and meant to convey awe. No utterances from the same speaker followed or preceded this utterance. The listener id not interrupt or question the speaker.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 12:25 on 4-28-12 and 17:00 on 5-12-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was involved in praising the listener, who had just finished giving some kind of religious instruction. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in discourse about the historical narrative which supports the founding of the temple. In

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terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between MSC-style phonetic variations from a Hakka-style phonetic standard and the supporting of a segment of instructive discourse with further examples from the historical narrative which the temple community draws from to justify its existence.

13. Phrase as expected:

你曉得連看無？

ngi11 hiau31 ded2 lien11 kon55 mo11?

"Can you give it another look?"

Phrase as recorded:

你曉得連看無？

ngi11 xiau31 ded2 lien11 kan55 mo11?

Date/Time: 3-31-12, 16:00. Participant observation; interaction with YMM functionary; YMM grounds, central hall, reception area.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. Hiau31 曉, know, is replaced by xiau31. In addition, kon55 看 is replaced by kan55.

Context

This phrase was uttered when the speaker had completed a portion of the preparations for a ritual. This segment was meant to solicit help from a group of elder functionaries. There were none present who would not have been expected not to understand Hakka. The production of this utterance took place in the reception area of the main central hall, before the right-hand entrance doors as one faces the central altar. The speaker was a functionary frequently helping with temple maintenance. The emotional tone of the utterance was cautious and respectful. The preceding segments had been similar requests for help and to check on the speaker's progress. No listener interrupted or questioned the speaker.

Interpretation

This variation was observed three other times, at 11:15 on 4-25-12, 14:50 on 6-10-12, and 9:40 on 5-12-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker sought help, advice, or instruction in a ritual matter. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in discussions involving morality, hardship, and dealing with hardship. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between hiau31 曉, know, being replaced by xiau31, in addition to kon55 看, see, being replaced by kan55, and concepts of self-sufficiency in dealing with hardships.

14. Phrase as expected:

政治局勢複雜，但是有一下台灣身分真重要。

tsìng-tī kioˈk-sè hoˈk-tsaˈp, tān-sī ū tsiˈt-ē Tâi-uân sin-pun tsin tiōng-iàu.

"The political situation is complicated, but having a Taiwanese identity is important. "

Phrase as recorded:

政治情況複雜，但是有一下台灣身分真重要。

tsìng-tī kioˈk-sè hoˈk-tsaˈp, tān-sī ū tsiˈt-ē Tâi-uân sin-pun tsin tiō ng-iàu.

Date/Time: 4-2-12, 13:10. Personal communication with DDY functionary; open pavilion before the main entrance to the temple's central hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. Kioˈk-sè 局勢 "situation" becomes MSC-ized as 情況 tsîng-hóng.

Context

This phrase was uttered in the open space before the entrance to the main central hall of the temple, between the lake at the temple itself. This phrase was uttered on an occasion when a lay visitor from the mainland asked about political involvement by religious groups in Taiwan, and the emotional consequences of religious practice with political ramifications. This segment was meant to instruct a guest and also to offer an opinion to another local layperson. This phrase was expected to have been understood both listeners, who had interacted with the speaker in Daigi before. The speaker was a higher-level functionary of the unordained branch, an elder with high social standing. The emotional tone instructive yet unassuming. There was no interruption; in fact, respectful silence was observed ostensibly to give the speaker was a favorable impression and to allow the speaker to continue. The

preceding and subsequent linguistic productions related to the intersection of the actions of religious organizations and politics.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 10:05 on 3-24-12 and 9:40 on 5-14-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was instructing lay practitioners about religious topics with political ramifications. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in discourse about morality and the connection between emotivity, politics, and religion. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between MSC-ization of otherwise Daigi-related repertoire in religious discourse and discourse relating morality and politics.

15. Phrase as expected:

每一次我參加儀式攏會學到新的物件。

muí tsit tshù guá tsham-ka gî-sik lóng ē oʹh-tò sin ê miʹh-kiā nn.

"Each time I participate in a ritual, I learn something new."

Phrase as recorded:

每一次我參加法事大儀等等儀攏會學到新的物件。

muí tsit tshù guá tsham-ka huat-sū tā i-gî tíng-tíng lóng ē oʹh-tò sin ê miʹh-kiā nn.

Date/Time: 5-8-12, 10:35. Participant observation; interaction with DDY functionary; DDY grounds, guest reception area to the right of main central hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. Gî-sik 儀式 "ritual" is replaced by a generally Buddhist term huat-sū 法事, in addition to tā i-gî 大儀 (a more vulgar term for ritual, or a specific kind of rite inappropriate in this context) and the infrequent tíng-tíng 等等 "etc.".

Context

This phrase was uttered in the guest reception area near the adminstrative offices of the temple, to the right of the main hall as one looks at the central altar from the entrance. This phrase was uttered as the functionaries were practicing preparing for a rite by going over the steps. This segment was meant to express the speaker's idea of the utility of practicing preparing for rituals, emphasizing tangible benefits to wisdom, especially gnostic wisdom. This phrase was expected to have been understood the listener, who had interacted using Daigi before. The speaker was a mid-level unordained functionary. The emotional tone pleased and unhurried. There was a brief interruption asking the speaker to clarify if the kind of ritual mattered. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions were separated in time with this utterance by a few minutes, since the functionaries busily moved from area to area to review complex preparations, but the other utterances related to practical concerns in managing the ritual process.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 11:15 on 6-1-12 and 14:55 on 4-3-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker made arguments that ritual practice improved one's wisdom and other non-analytical mental capacities. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in holistic and wisdom-related speech as opposed to analytical, knowledge-related speech. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between more specific terms for ritual as well as vulgar lexicon (in the sense of being in opposition to classicalized speech) and instruction in improving intuitive apprehension of spiritual truths.

16. Phrase as expected:

我毋是真確定，我干能臆臆的。

guá m̄-sī tsin khak-tīng, guá kan ē-dáng ioh-ioh ê.

"I don't know for sure; I can only guess."

Phrase as recorded:

我毋是真確定，我干能猜想。

guá m̄-sī tsin khak-tīng, guá kan ē-dáng tshai-sióng.

Date/Time: 3-28-12, 14:50. Personal communication with DDY functionary; administrative office of temple, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. The phrase ioh-ioh ê 臆臆的 "guess" is replaced by the MSC-ized tshai-sióng 猜想 "guess".

Context

This phrase was uttered in the administrative office of the temple, to the right of the central hall, by an uncovered hallway serving as a general staging point for functionaries and for receiving visitors. This phrase was uttered when the speaker was asked about a prior high-level functionary's doctrinal positions. This segment was meant to answer a question posed by the listener. This phrase was expected to have been understood anyone within earshot, as no visitors were present who would have not been expected to understand. The speaker was a high-level elder ordained functionary. The emotional tone nearly perplexed but not defensive in any way. There was no interruption during the utterance. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions polite inquiries about the lineage of the highest temple functionaries.

Interpretation

This variation was observed four other times, at 10:35 on 4-17-12, 13:10 on 3-30-12, 12:05 on 5-6-12 and 18:20 on 6-12-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker elaborated on doctrinal points from a perceived point of expertise in the subject matter. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in the replacement of standard common Daigi lexical elements for MSC-style lexical elements (meaning, MSC lexicon pronounced in Daigi). In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between the

replacement of ioh-ioh ê 臆臆的 with tshai-sióng 猜想 and official religious doctrine of the order which runs the temple.

17. Phrase as expected:

愛是無邊的海洋。

ài sī bô-pin ê hái-iûnn.

"Love is a boundless ocean."

Phrase as recorded:

愛是浩瀚的海。

ài sī hō-hān ê hái.

Date/Time: 3-27-12, 17:55. Participant observation; interaction with DDY functionary; DDY grounds, guest reception area to the right of main central hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. The word bô-pin 無邊 "boundless" is replaced by hō-hān 浩瀚 "vast", while the common hái-iûnn 海洋 "ocean" was replaced by one of its components, hái 海 "ocean".

Context

This phrase was uttered in the guest reception area near the adminstrative offices of the temple, to the right of the main hall as one looks at the central altar from the entrance, by

the door to the interior administration offices. This phrase was uttered when the speaker heard another unordained practitioner offer a longer synopsis of a doctrinal lesson. This segment was meant to to offer a synopsis of a short doctrinal lessons by the functionaries responsible for teaching unordained functionaries. This phrase was expected to have been understood all functionaries, though a visitor nearby who was speaking to another functionary in MSC would have been expected not to understand. The speaker was a younger ordained functionary commonly advising laypersons. The emotional tone remonstrative in a playful way. There was no interruption in the utterance, though the utterance itself was an interruption of another person's speech. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions were flowery and ornate renditions of doctrinal concepts.

Interpretation

This variation was observed three other times, at 11:15 on 5-2-12, 11:55 on 6-14-12, and 9:05 on 4-12-12; the term hō -hā n 浩瀚 has appeared in other contexts as a substitute for "boundless," and was explained as such, and not merely as a different term for "vast". The term took on an further semantic burden as a poetic term which was taken as a standard term in this context, in reference to the term being used in a lecture by the abbess of the temple. When the variation appeared, the speaker synthesized religious information having just heard an explanation, in order to further explain it to a third party. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in lexicon which was perceived as nonreligious in other contexts, some demonstrated to lect users as having a "deeper meaning" or semantic intensification, which compelled lect users to interpret the terms with reference to the DDY

religious thought system. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between hō-hān 浩瀚 and explanations of doctrine.

18. Phrase as expected:

咱的勞動成果是安寧，毋是光榮。

lán ê lô-tō ng sîng-kó sī an-lîng, m̄ sī kong-îng.

"The fruit of our labor is tranquility, not glory."

Phrase as recorded:

咱的勞動成果是安寧，毋是榮譽。

lán ê lô-tō ng sîng-kó sī an-lîng, m̄ sī îng-ū .

Date/Time: 5-8-12, 13:40. Participant observation; interaction with DDY functionary; DDY grounds, guest reception area to the right of main central hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. The common kong-îng 光榮 "glory and honor" is replaced by the rare îng-ū 榮譽 "honor".

Context

This phrase was uttered in the guest reception area near the adminstrative offices of the temple, to the right of the main hall as one looks at the central altar from the entrance, by

the door to the interior administration offices. This phrase was uttered during a ritualized

discussion about the need for religious organizations in modern society. This segment was

meant to offer the speaker's opinion. This phrase was expected to have been understood

only the immediate listener, as many within earshot were not speakers of Daigi, or not very

fluent. The speaker was an elder unordained functionary, speaking in a didactic way to a

younger unordained functionary. The emotional tone somewhat irritated. There was no

interruption to the speaker's utterance. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions

were persuasive arguements aimed at changing the viewpoint of the listener.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 15:50 on 3-24-12 and 13:00 on 3-25-12.

When this kind of variation appeared, the speaker engaged in ritualized or formulaic speech,

repeated in segments many times in different contexts. The term îng-ū 榮譽 was explained

to members of the linguistic community who were unfamiliar with it, as the term might be

expected to be read but not to appear in the standard spoken word. Subsequent utterances in

the immediate vicinity showed an increase in shifts from common meanings to meanings

more specific to the temple community contexts, while formulaic terms are brought into the

living language with renewed parsing and attention to meaning. In terms of the repertoire of

the religiolect, this variation shows an association between the replacement of kong-îng 光榮

"glory and honor" with îng-ū 榮譽 "honor" and discussions of the place religious

organizations have in an increasingly modernized world.

19. Phrase as expected:

阮希望帶來和平以及保護人人。

guán hi-bō ng tuà-lâi hô-pîng í-ki ' p pó-hō o lîn-lîn.

"We hope to bring peace and to protect the people."

Phrase as recorded:

阮希望帶來和平與保護人人。

guán hi-bō ng tuà-lâi hô-pîng ú pó-hō o lîn-lîn.

Date/Time: 4-3-12, 10:20. Personal communication with DDY functionary; open pavilion before the main entrance to the temple's central hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. The word í-ki ' p 以及, a conjunctive, is replaced by the classicalized ú 與 "and, together with".

Context

This phrase was uttered in the open space before the entrance to the main central hall of the temple, between the lake at the temple itself, at the very edge of the temple complex limits as marked by a barrier preventing vehicular access. This phrase was uttered at the end of a short rite of blessing performed on a vehicle. This segment was meant to ritually complete a blessing rite with some phrases about the aims and methods of the religious practices of the

DDY. This phrase was expected to have been understood the listeners, who were local

residents of Kaohsiung. The speaker was an elder high-level functionary.

The emotional tone formulaic and traditionalized. There was no interruption to the

utterance. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions part of a ritualized discourse,

which were not expected to be responded to as part of a standard conversation.

Interpretation

This variation was observed three other times, at 13:40 on 5-22-12, 12:55 on 5-26-12, and

9:35 on 4-17-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was nearing or had just

completed the end of a ritual practice outside of the temple buildings themselves. The lect

user community tended to think of that space as sacred for a time, observed by increase in

ritual behavior usually performed within the temple itself. Subsequent utterances showed an

increase in sacralization space just by using religiolect elements in a particular location. In

terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between

replacing í-kiʾp 以及 with ú 與 and sacralization of exterior space.

20. Phrase as expected:

佇寺廟的大殿內底有真多尊的神明，不過猶有更多佇其他的區域。

tī sī-biō ê tāi-tiān lāi-té ū tsin te tsun ê sîn-bîng, put-kò iáu-ū kenn-te tī kî-thann ê khu-hiʾp.

"In the main hall of the temple, there are many gods, but there are many more in the other areas."

Phrase as recorded:

佇道廟的中殿內底有好多尊的神明，不過猶有更多佇其他的區域。

tī tō-biō ê tiong-tiān lāi-té ū hó te tsun ê sîn-bîng, put-kò iáu-ū kenn-te tī kî-thann ê khu-hi'p.

Date/Time: 3-24-12, 17:30. Personal communication with DDY functionary; main central hall, DDY temple, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Lexical. The common term for temple, sī-biō 寺廟, was replaced by the idiosyncratic tō-biō 道廟 "temple of the Dao". Main hall, tāi-tiān 大殿, was replaced by tiong-tiān 中殿 "central hall". Finally, "many" tsin te 真多 was replaced by ungrammatical hó-te 好多.

Context

This phrase was uttered in the main central hall of the temple, before the rightmost altar of the central hall, by the guet reception desk. This phrase was uttered after a layperson listener remarked on the excellent upkeep of the deity images. This segment was meant to encourage the listener to visit the other parts of the temple complex, particularly the multistoried rear halls. This phrase was expected to have been understood the listener but not a number of other laypersons, who were MSC speakers. The speaker was a younger ordained functionary temporarily manning the guest reception desk in the main central hall. The emotional tone

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friendly and encouraging. There was no interruption to the utterance. There were no preceding and subsequent linguistic productions by the speaker to this listener.

Interpretation

This variation was observed four other times, at 17:30 on 5-22-12, 13:30 on 4-14-12, 14:25 on 5-10-12, and 14:20 on 5-26-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker spoke after linguistic productions related to praising or complimenting, and focused on the centrality of Daoism the paradigmatic Sinitic religion. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in focusing on perceptual centers and axes. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between the usage of tō-biō 道廟 and tiong-tiā n 中殿 and the notion of "centrality" being strengthened compared to a common Taiwanese perception of being on a regional and even global periphery.

21. Phrase as expected:
山有山坡，而溪水的流順山坡流。
suann ū suann-pho, jî khe-tsuí ê liû-sū n suann-pho lâu a.
"Mountains have slopes, and the streams run down the slopes."

Phrase as recorded:
山有山坡，而溪水的流順山坡流。
suann ū suann-pho, ē r khe-tsuí de liû-sū n suann-pho lâu a.

Date/Time: 3-22-12, 16:35. Personal communication with DDY functionary; open pavilion before the main entrance to the temple's central hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. The conjunctive jî 而 was pronounced as MSC ē r, as was the subordinator 的 ê pronounced as MSC de.

Context

This phrase was uttered in the open space before the entrance to the main central hall of the temple, between the lake at the temple itself, on the rightmost section leading away from the temple complex. This phrase was uttered as an analogy explaining the natural operation of magico-religious principles, such as the operation of *de* 德. This segment was meant to teach the listeners using a simple example they could understand, in order to relate to more difficult material. This phrase was expected to have been understood by the five laypeople present. The speaker was a middle-aged ordained functionary. The emotional tone was one of eagerness and connection to the listeners. There was an interruption to the utterance, right before it was complete, asking that it be repeated.

The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions were explanations of religious concepts using real-world analogies and applications.

Interpretation

This variation was observed three other times, at 10:15 on 3-27-12, 13:10 on 4-29-12, and 10:00 on 5-10-12. When the variation appeared, which was primarily textualized language,

the speaker used analogies to explain religious principles while rendering the space around her a more rigid sacred space, as observed by the change in behavior of surrounding practitioners. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in textualized speech - that is to say, speech which imitates the language and cadence of classical religious texts - renders ritual and instructive space into a formalized religious space, governing a more rigid behavior by practitioners, and throws sacred space into relief. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between grammar particles being read in MSC pronunciations and the construction of analogies which at the same time constructed sacred space.

22. Phrase as expected:

有真多所在我會使寫書，但是遮上平靜的。

ū tsin te sóo-tsāi guá ē-sài siá tsu, tān-sī tsia siō ng pîng-tsī ng ê.

"There are many places I can go to write a book, but here is the most peaceful."

Phrase as recorded:

有真多所在我會使寫書，但是遮上平靜的。

ū tsin te sóo-tsāi guá ē-sài siá tsu, tān-sī tsia tsiō ng pîng-tsī ng ê.

Date/Time: 5-8-12, 16:25. Participant observation; interaction with DDY functionary; DDY grounds, final floor of the rear halls in the DDY temple complex, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. The superlative siṓ ng 上 was pronounced tsiṓ ng.

Context

This phrase was uttered just outside of the topmost of the rear halls of the temple complex, near the spot where those entering would leave their footwear before entering.

This phrase was uttered by a speaker explaining the reason for spending so much time in this part of the temple complex of late. This segment was meant to teach something about the creative and inspirational process with regards to religious writing. This phrase was expected to have been understood by the listener. The speaker was a younger, unordained functionary. The emotional tone contemplative and subdued. There was no interruption to the utterance. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions were part of a relaxed conversation in which the speaker took on the role of inspirational teacher.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 11:35 on 3-22-12 and 12:20 on 5-26-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker explained practical ritual, such as removing shoes before entering sacred space, to lay practitioners, at a liminal space between sacred space and profane space. Subsequent utterances showed an increase lexicon associated with space which changed pronunciation from colloquial to literary pronunciation, which occurred in reference to sacred space itself and highlighted sacrality. In terms of the repertoire of the

religiolect, this variation shows an association between a variation in the pronunciation of the superlative siōng 上 and the near presence of sacred space.

23. Phrase as expected:

今仔日烏雲真多，但是沒落雨乎。

kin-á-jiʹt oo-hûn tsin te, tānn-sī buʹt loʹh-hōo honnh.

"There are many rainclouds here today, but it hasn't rained."

Phrase as recorded:

今仔日烏雲真多，但是沒下雨乎。

kin-á-jiʹt oo-hûn tsin te, tānn-sī buʹt hā -hōo honnh.

Date/Time: 5-26-12, 11:10. Personal communication with DDY functionary; guest reception area to the right of main central hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. The phrase loʹh-hōo 落雨, to rain, was replaced by the MSC-ized and ungrammatical luò-hōo, "rain", with the first syllable entirely in MSC.

Context

This phrase was uttered in the guest reception area near the adminstrative offices of the temple, to the right of the main hall as one looks at the central altar from the entrance..

This phrase was uttered as a preface to a ritual situation, in which the functionaries were making final preparations for a ritual blessing. This segment was meant to assuage the listener's worries that the ritual would not be efficacious. This phrase was expected to have been understood the listener, who was a local and a native speaker of Daigi. The speaker was a high-ranking ordained functionary. The emotional tone conciliatory and jovial.

There was a brief interruption at the very beginning of the utterance, which the speaker patiently listened to then repeated herself. The subsequent linguistic productions were part of the ritual itself.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 14:20 on 4-17-12 and 9:00 on 5-22-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was easing a listener's worries about a religious problem. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in attempts to close a familiarity gap between the speakers from within the linguistic community and newcomers. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between substitution of MSC elements in Daigi bisyallbic words and assuaging the listener's worries that the ritual would not be efficacious.

24. Phrase as expected:

名譽、尊敬、品德，遮的攏是高尚的品性，不過攏毋是上重要的。仁慈、憐憫、佮和平較重要。

bîng-ū , tsun-tsìng, phín-tik, tsia-ê lóng sī   ko-sióng ê phín-hìng, put-kò lóng m̄ sī   siōng tiōng-iàu ê. lîn-tsû, lîn-bín, ā -kah hô-pîng khah tiōng-iàu.

"Honor, respect, virtue: all of these are noble attributes, but are not the most important. Kindness and compassion and peace are more important."

Phrase as recorded:

名譽、尊敬、品德，遮的攏是高尚的品性，不過攏毋是上重要的。仁慈、憐憫、佮和平較重要。

mîa-ū , tsun-tsìng, phín-tik, tsia-ê lóng sī   ko-sióng ê phín-hìng, put-kò lóng m̄ sī   siōng zhōngyào ê. lîn-tsû, lîn-bín, ā -kah hô-pîng khah zhōngyào.

Date/Time: 3-25-12, 10:10. Participant observation; interaction with DDY functionary; DDY grounds, main central hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. The word bîng-ū 名譽 "honor" was pronounced with the colloquial pronunciation of mîa-ū . The word tiōng-iàu 重要 "important", in both instances, was pronounced as MSC zhōngyào.

Context

This phrase was uttered in the main central hall of the temple complex, in the rear left by the

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exit doors. This phrase was uttered when a listener asked the speaker was about the basic principles of this temple's ethical system. This segment was meant to instructor a number of listeners in a simple, efficient manner.This phrase was expected to have been understood by at least some of the listeners, though the speaker could not have known for certain that they all could have understood Daigi. The speaker was an elder ordained functionary. The emotional tone didactic and orderly. There was no interruption; the listeners respectfully waiting during a longer discourse. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions were aimed at elaborating an ethical and religious thought system.

Interpretation

This variation was observed three other times, at 16:40 on 5-8-12, 11:05 on 6-2-12, and 13:50 on 5-22-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker enumerated doctrines in a simplified or easy-to-relate-to manner. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in de-archaicized pronunciations which linked abstract religiosity to real-world practices and phenomena. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between unusually placed colloquial pronunciations (where literary pronunciations would have been correct in the standard repertoires) and simplified listing of doctrines.

25. Phrase as expected:

阮佇遮的食物攏是素食，不過也真好食! 來，閣多食一寡!

guán tī tsia ê si˙t-bu˙t lóng sī sòo-si˙t, put-kò iā tsin hó-tsia˙h! lâi, koh te tsia˙h tsi˙t-kuá!

"Everything we eat here is vegetarian food, but it is nonetheless delicious! Here, have some more!"

Phrase as recorded:

阮佇遮的食物攏是素食，不過也真好食! 來，閣多食一寡!

guán tī tsia ê si˙t-bu˙t lóng sī sòo-tsia˙h, put-kò iā tsin hó-tsia˙h! lâi, koh te tsia˙h tsi˙t-kuá!

Date/Time: 6-15-12, 15:10. Personal communication with DDY functionary; kitchen area in the rear right of the temple, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. The word sòo-si˙t 素食, "vegetarian food", took on a vulgar pronunciation of sòo-tsia˙h.

Context

This phrase was uttered in the kitchen area of the temple complex, where vegetarian meals are cooked to feed functionaries and lay visitors alike. This phrase was uttered to begin explaining the rationale behind the dietary philosophy of the temple. This segment was meant to make the listener feel welcome while simultaneously offering explanation.

This phrase was not necessarily expected to have been understood by the listener; the utterance was generated more slowly and clearly. The speaker was an elderly unordained functionary who routinely prepared meals. The emotional tone friendly and welcoming. There was no interruption to the utterance. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions as conversational and light as they were instructive.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 10:10 on 6-14-12 and 10:55 on 4-12-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was discussing dietary habits related to Daoism. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in colloquial Daigi elements helping listeners feels visibly more relaxed. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between the vulgar pronunciation of sòo-si ˈt 素食 and discussions about tranquility, especially as regards the aggressive pneuma stirred up by meat consumption.

26. Phrase as expected:

體驗儀式比單純的觀它也是讀冊擱較好。

thé-giā m gî-sik pí tan-sûn ê kuàn tā iā -sī tha ˈk-tsheh koh khah hó.

"It is better to experience the ritual than to just observe it, or just read about it."

Phrase as recorded:

體驗儀式比單純的觀它也是讀冊擱較好。

thí-giā m î-sik pí tan-sûn ê kuàn tā iā -sī tha ˈ k-tsheh koh khah hó.

Date/Time: 6-14-12, 15:20. Personal communication with DDY functionary; main central hall, DDY temple, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. The word thé-giā m 體驗, "to (bodily) experience", was pronounced thí-giā m, while gî-sik 儀式, "rite", became î-sik.

Context

This phrase was uttered in the main central hall of the temple, standing before the central altar, facing an audience and away from the altar. This phrase was uttered as a preface to a ritual for the benefit of the listener who was visiting from out of town, explaining the immediate benefits of the ritual as well as the transcendence of the practices at the DDY. This segment was meant to instruct the listener as well as tell the audience about the listener. This phrase was expected to have been understood the entire audience. The speaker was a high-ranking ordained functionary. The emotional tone neutral and respectful. There was no interruption, other than a few mere sussurations by the audience, the nature of which was not uncommon during such linguistic productions. The subsequent linguistic productions were part of the ritual process itself.

Interpretation

This variation was observed two other times, at 15:15 on 3-30-12 and 16:40 on 4-12-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker engaged a visitor from outside of the linguistic

community in the context of a ritual. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in discussion about the ritual process, making ritual seem more immediately relevant instead of abstract. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between the pronunciation of thé-giām 體驗 as thí-giām and gî-sik 儀式 as î-sik, and the idea that ritual is not just a cultural tradition but an active, living force.

27. Phrase as expected:

上重要的是幫忙散赤的人以及遐的無法度幫助自己的人。

siōng tiōng-iàu ê sī bang-mâng sàn-tshiah ê lâng, í-kiʼp hia-ê bô-huat-tōo pang-tsōo tsū-kí ê lâng.

"What matters most is helping the poor, and those who cannot help themselves."

Phrase as recorded:

上重要的是幫忙散赤的人以及遐的無法度幫助自己的人。

siōng tiōng-iàu ê sī bang-mâng sàn-tshiah ê lâng, í-kiʼp hia-ê bô-huat-tōo pang-tsōo zìjǐ ê lîn.

Date/Time: 4-18-12, 10:55. Participant observation; interaction with DDY functionary; DDY grounds, open pavilion before the main entrance to the temple's central hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of variation

Phonetic. The word tsū-kí 自己, "oneself", became as the MSC zìjǐ. In addition, the second 人 "person, one who" acquired a literary pronunciation of lîn.

Context

This phrase was uttered in the open space before the entrance to the main central hall of the temple, between the lake at the temple itself, on the rightmost section leading away from the temple complex. This phrase was uttered to instruct a visitor about the operational goals of the temple. This phrase was expected to have been understood by the listener, a layperson from a rural area not far from Kaohsiung. The speaker was a middle-aged unordained functionary. The emotional tone was free and pleasant. There was no interruption to the utterance. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions aimed at clarifying various doctrinal, practice, and religious thought positions held by the temple community.

Interpretation

This variation was observed four other times, at 11:20 on 3-24-12, 12:45 on 5-14-12, 10:00 on 6-3-12, and 14:10 on 5-26-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker discussed goals or the future. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in discussing the social goals of the temple, such as providing immediate tangible relief to the poor. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between MSC-ized and literary pronunciations of colloquial Daigi elements and discussion of future goals imagined to be shared by the linguistic community.

28. Phrase as expected:

先生的精神病重甲強強欲化去

sian-sinn ê tsing-sîn pē nn tā ng kah kiō ng-kiō ng-beh hua khì.

"The teacher's spiritual malady is grave enough to bring him near death."

Phrase as recorded:

先生的精神病重甲強強欲化去

sian-sinn ê tsing-shen pē nn tā ng kah kiō ng-kiō ng-beh hua khì.

Date/Time: 5-22-12, 17:30. Participant observation; interaction of layperson with DDY functionary; DDY grounds, final floor of the rear halls in the DDY temple complex, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of Variation:

Phonetic. The sîn component of tsing-sîn was pronounced as MSC shen.

Context:

This phrase was uttered in the open space before the entrance to the upper rear hall of the temple, outside of the hall itself but on the liminal section on the right, just outside the doorway leading in. This phrase was uttered to inform the listener about the consequences of inattention to spiritual lessons, even among the educated. This phrase was expected to have been understood by the listener, a layperson from the next large port city south of

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Kaohsiung. The speaker was a middle-aged ordained functionary. The emotional tone was stentorian. There was no interruption to the utterance. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions aimed at narrating various misfortunes.

Interpretation: The variation was observed two other times, at 12:30 on 5-22-12 and 16:30 on 4-14-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker discussed spiritual vitality in the context of its eventual or present loss due to some oversight or flaw in an individual being spoken of, other than the self. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in discourse about amelioration of deficiencies in knowledge. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between an MSC variation in an otherwise Daigi-drawn pronunciation and discussion of spiritual failing, perhaps drawing the idea of spiritual failing from domains associated with MSC pronunciations.

29. Phrase as expected:

靈魂磨甲真光。

lîng-hôn buâ kah tsin kng.

"[Her] soul was polished to the point of brilliance."

Phrase as recorded:

ling-hun buâ kah tsin kng.

Date/Time: 5-10-12, 9:40. Personal communication with DDY functionary; open pavilion before the main entrance to the temple's central hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Explanation of Variation:

Phonetic. Soul, lîng-hôn, was pronounced like MSC ling-hun.

Context:

This phrase was uttered in the open space before the entrance to the main central hall of the temple, between the lake at the temple, very nearly at the border of the lake itself. This phrase was uttered to recount, in hagiographic style, the biography of an ordained functionary, out of earshot of any of the ordained functionaries. This phrase was expected to have been understood by the listener, another unordained functionary from Kaohsiung. The speaker was a younger unordained functionary. The emotional tone was nearly secretive, and respectful. There was no interruption to the utterance. The preceding and subsequent linguistic productions constructed a bipgraphical narrative.

Interpretation: The variation was observed two other times, at 10:15 on 5-10-12 and 18:50 on 5-26-12. When the variation appeared, the speaker was speaking about the qualities or virtues of another templegoer. Subsequent utterances showed an increase in praising or commendatory terminology. In terms of the repertoire of the religiolect, this variation shows an association between utilization of MSC vocabulary and pronunciation where Daigi substitutes exist and constructing a hagiography-style laudatory narrative about another person's life, especially when seen as showing spiritual leadership.

CHAPTER 3 – LINGUISTIC AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXT OF TAIWAN

3.1 Political Situation in Historical Context

Taiwan was "discovered" by Portuguese sailors in 1517 CE, and given the name "Ilha Formosa" ("Beautiful Island"), a fairly common name for insular Portuguese discoveries at that time, such that several other islands off the coast of Africa and Asia bore the same name. However, "Formosa" has survived to this day as a recognized name for Taiwan among Euro-American nations.

Of course, Taiwan was populated before Europeans made contact with the island, a fact that is not unexpected given the island's proximity to the Chinese mainland and its place in the Pacific, where island-dwelling peoples have settled and lived for centuries. In fact, Taiwan has been populated by Austronesian peoples for centuries; remnants of these peoples still survive today and are collectively termed "Aborigines 原住民". Archaeological evidence of various Paleolithic cultures from between 15,000 and 5,000 years ago have been

found in Taiwan, and are congruent in many ways with contemporary cultures from mainland China; in fact, the Taiwan Strait, which separates Taiwan from the mainland, was almost certainly exposed until about 10,000 years ago, forming a land bridge across which Austronesian cultures from the Chinese coast easily crossed onto Taiwan.[65] These Austronesian language speakers are theorized to have spread from Taiwan into the Pacific islands, with evidence, for example, from congruence in lexicon and grammar between current Taiwan aborigines and Pacific islander peoples.[66] Given that it appears clear that the greatest genealogical diversity is found among the aboriginal languages of Taiwan, and the least diversity among the islands of the Pacific, there is support for a theory of dispersal of the Austronesian language family from Taiwan or China into the Pacific island. Though no ancestral culture on the mainland has been found, there are features to suggest continued contact between Taiwanese aboriginal cultures in the Neolithic and Chinese mainland cultures.[67] Today, Taiwanese aborigines make up approximately 2 percent of the total population, and are divided by the government into 14 officially recognized tribes, all of which inhabit the mountainous center of Taiwan or the sparsely populated eastern coast.

Though Taiwan enjoys a very close proximity to the Asian continent, it was settled by non-Austronesian continental peoples relatively recently. Taiwan was long used as a refuge for pirates who raided the southern and eastern Chinese coasts, and was considered beyond the pale of civilization by most of the governments of the Chinese mainland until

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[65] Jiao, Tianlong. *The Neolithic of Southeast China: Cultural Transformation and Regional Interaction on the Coast*. Amherst: Cambria Press, 2007: 89–90.

[66] Chaliand, Gérard, Michael Jan, and Jean-Pierre Rageau. *Atlas Historique des Migrations*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994, and Greenhill, S.J., Blust. R, & Gray, R.D. "The Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database: From Bioinformatics to Lexomics." *Evolutionary Bioinformatics*, 4 (2008): 271-283.

[67] Huang, Shihchiang. "Tapenkeng Site". *Encyclopedia of Taiwan*, 2009. http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=1172

the 17th century. The Dutch attempted to colonize Taiwan beginning in 1623 with the construction of Fort Zeelandia on an islet near what is now the city of Tainan. Initially intended as a base of operations for trade with Japan, the Dutch became increasingly interesting in developing the island colony, to the point of driving out, by force of arms, a Spanish presence in the north which had been established in 1626 at what is now the city of Keelung. The Dutch envisioned Taiwan as part of a long-term plan to destabilize and possibly eradicate Spanish presence in Asia, and so Taiwan served as an extension of Batavia (in modern Indonesia), the staging point for these aims. In particular, the Dutch needed to gain access to the source of the spice trade, from which they had been cut off by the Spanish during the course of the conflicts between the Netherlands and Spain of the 17th century. Taiwan's convenient proximity to mainland China and Japan was another reason for the selection of Taiwan; the Pescadores islands had been thought of first, but the Dutch were warned against violating the territorial sovereignty of the Chinese Empire. The Dutch presence, which had worked aboriginal groups against one another while expanding its colonial holdings in Taiwan, also developed schools to teach Romanized script systems for aboriginal languages, and, as was common for European colonial powers, to spread Christianity. Though the Dutch, under the organization of the Dutch East India Company, exploited the lucrative local deer population to sell hides to the Japanese, and oversaw the cultivation of sugarcane and rice, their presence was not strong enough to survive for a long term.

In 1662, the Ming 明 dynasty loyalist Koxinga 國姓爺, finding the Chinese mainland overrun by the Manchu who, having broken through the Shanhai Pass 山海關 of the Great Wall defensive system, established the succeeding Qing 清 dynasty and set about conquering

China, decided to consolidate his power by retreating to Taiwan. Koxinga's troops invaded

Taiwan and defeated the Dutch East India Company, captured Fort Zeelandia, and

established the Kingdom of Tungning 東寧王國 as a center of resistance against the Qing.

In 1683, the Qing navy was victorious against Tungning forces, and secured the capitulation

of Koxinga's forces. Taiwan was perceived, in large part, as a small and undesirable region

that would add nothing to the Chinese Empire, which was thought of as bounded by

mountains, rivers, and seas. When Taiwan first fell into Qing hands, there were fewer than

10,000 people of Sinitic descent living there. It was not made into a province until 1885 CE,

having been ruled as a prefecture of Fujian 福建 province prior that that, and governed

from Taipei 台北 in the north. While immigration to Taiwan was at first restricted by the

government, in order to prevent immigrants from leaving their families on the mainland and

their religious duties to the shades of their ancestors behind, these restrictions were

eventually lifted, and by 1811 there were more than two million people of Sinitic descent

living in Taiwan. Intermarriage with aborigines was common, especially in the initial wave of

immigrants who were fleeing a war-weary Fujian province, but eventually Han immigrants

from Fujian and Guangdong and Hakka immigrants swelled in. The immigrants maintained

a sense of identity and place from the province whence they came, and so made Taiwan

difficult to govern for the Qing, due to frequent unrest and conflict. In addition, Taiwan's

geography made it susceptible to foreign invasion: the British invaded Keelung in 1840

(during the Opium War) and the French invaded in 1884. In 1874, the Japanese government

used an incident of the killing of some shipwrecked mariners by Taiwanese aborigines to

send a punitive force to southern Taiwan, and to have claims over the Ryūkyū islands

acknowledged, which may be considered a series of stepping-stones to Taiwan itself. In

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1895, subsequent to the defeat of the Chinese in the First Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan was ceded to Japan, already having between 2.5 to 3 million inhabitants, the vast majority of which were Han and Hakka Chinese.

Japan made every attempt to fully integrate Taiwan into its empire. Naturally, at first, armed resistance to the Japanese was high. The local elite of Taiwan attempted to create a Republic of Formosa in order to better organize a resistance, with the possibility of foreign aid, upon the signing of the treaty in which China ceded Taiwan. The Republic was quickly disbanded due to looting and chaos in the wake of the departure of Qing governance. Japanese troops quickly restored order and put an end to major armed resistance (almost all of it being eradicated by 1902). Those living in Taiwan were given two years to either accept Japanese rule or to leave Taiwan entirely. The last major battle between the Japanese and Taiwanese supporting Chinese nationalism was fought in 1915. The following period was one of integration, wherein the Japanese colonial government began social engineering proceedings to assimilate Taiwan as an extension of the Japanese home islands. The Taiwanese were, therefore, educated in Japanese, subject to Japanese nationalism programs, and introduced to the same democratization and participation in Japanese representative government as any other body of Japanese citizens. Upon the commencement of second Sino-Japanese war in 1937, Japan increasingly pressed a policy of creating a Taiwanese society completely integrated as subjects of the Japanese emperor, with nationalistic feelings leading to full support of the Japanese war effort in East Asia. In addition to encouraging Japanese dress, Japanese architecture, service in the Japanese military, and conversion to Shintoism, the Japanese government expanded the use of the Japanese language in Taiwan, and even put measures in place to have Taiwanese convert their names to a Japanese-style nomenclature. Laws were being put in place to have the Taiwanese attain access to the

Japanese Diet, thereby making it theoretically possible for a Taiwanese person to become Premier. This state of affairs was abruptly cut of in 1945, with the end of World War II. Under the terms of Japan's surrender, Taiwan was to be ceded to the Republic of China as governed by the Kuomintang (KMT). This was conceived of as a return of Taiwan to its rightful governance, even though Taiwan was lost by the Qing; as such, it was conceived, among the major global military powers at the end of the World War II, that Taiwan was fundamentally Sinitic in culture, and so that Japan's efforts to render Taiwanese into Japanese citizens, culturally, had not yet succeeded.

Unlike the relationship that Japan had with other colonial holdings and occupied territory in East Asia, Japan's relationship with Taiwan had largely been viewed in a positive light: Japan had brought widespread education, infrastructure, economic development, and democratization to Taiwan, and the governance was focused on integration into Japanese citizenship rather than exploitation of natural resources or repression. When the KMT gained control of Taiwan in 1945, the KMT was perceived by many (especially those not motivated by Chinese nationalism) to be more repressive and corrupt than the Japanese, and therefore less desirable. A long-running civil war in China between Republican forces and Communist forces resulted in the withdrawal of the KMT to Taiwan in 1949, while the Communist government assumed control of the mainland of China. The Republican government fled Nanjing, along with some two million mainlanders from the government sector, the military, and the business community. The population of Taiwan thereby increased to an estimated 7.7 million inhabitants.[68] The sudden shift of speakers of Modern Standard Chinese (MSC), coupled with the military, economic, and governmental power of

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[68] *1972-2001: Statistical yearbook of the Republic of China,* 2002. Taipei: 2002.

said group, precipitated a sudden shift in the dynamics of language use in Taiwan. While

Japanese had been the dominant language of military, economic, and governmental power

for the previous fifty years, the original substrate of Sinitic languages from Fujian (today

referred to largely as Southern Min languages) and the Hakka Sinitic languages had not been

lost; that is because the Japanese had *encouraged*, but not *forced*, the acquisition of Japanese.

Therefore, Japanese was a language of prestige but not a compulsory sole language, given

that the population of Japanese as administrators were far outnumbered by the Sinitic

peoples living in Taiwan (in fact, it is difficult to eradicate language use in such a fashion,

though the Japanese were in the process of transforming Taiwan into a fully Japanese

society, and may have been successful given enough time). In 1949, with the sudden influx

of millions of speakers (we may estimate a minimum figure of some 30% of the total

population) of MSC and the forced installation of government services, education, and mass

media in MSC, there was a situation of sudden tension between MSC, Japanese, Southern

Min, and Hakka. As the government of the Republic of China increasingly consolidated its

power, the other Sinitic languages, long in use in Taiwan, were repressed. Under the guise of

protecting itself from communist infiltration, the ROC government enacted fearfully strict

measures to maintain control over the government. By rendering any form of political

dissent illegal, including publication of dissident political materials or holding political

meetings outside of the auspices of the ruling KMT party, the ROC government rendered

itself inimical to a population which was becoming more and more aware of free

democracies and democratization movements elsewhere in the world. The unrest caused by

the repressive and heavy-handed governance by the ROC resulted in the declaration of

martial law, which enforced an ever more repressive style of governance with military force.

Martial law was lifted in the late 1980s; since that time, opposition parties have been

permitted to exist. The largest of these is the pro-independence and pro-Taiwanese-identity DPP (Democratic Progressive Party), which is popularly perceived as countering the pro-status-quo and pro-Chinese-identity KMT.

The civil war between the Republic of China and the communist People's Republic of China (PRC) has resulted in a difficult sociopolitical situation for Taiwan. Due to the initial unwillingness of major Western powers to recognize the legitimacy of a communist government on the Chinese mainland, the Republic of China at first (post-World War II) enjoyed recognition as the sole legal government of all of China, though *de facto* the Republic remained in governance of Taiwan only. However, in 1971, the United Nations passed a resolution which stripped the Republic of its seat as "China" in the UN, and granting the seat to the duly appointed representatives of the PRC, owing to the PRC's growth and establishment of political and administrative power over the Chinese mainland. This move was a watershed moment in which international acceptance of the PRC as a legitimate government was publicly acknowledged. From the beginning, the PRC had adopted, and still adopts, a "One China" policy, by which it proclaims itself sovereign over Taiwan and all other lands the state perceives as historically belonging to the various iterations of the Sinitic governments which preceded it, while simultaneously opposing any move by the international community to, tacitly or otherwise, recognize the ROC as the legitimate government of any polity, be it China itself or an independent Taiwan. Given the power of the PRC in the international arena, the Republic of China has great difficulty in conducting the affairs sovereign states normally conduct, such as diplomatic and trade relations with other polities or participation in international agreements and events. With only a handful of small states recognizing the ROC and with the support of the United States, which recognizes the One China policy but opposes a military resolution to the question of

governing Taiwan, the Taiwanese invest a great deal of economic, social, and cultural capital in the negotiation and construction of their identity. The Taiwanese find themselves currently hounded by a very powerful PRC government in the international arena, for whom the refusal to surrender rights over Taiwan is a matter of national security and national pride, yet tacitly supported by the international community (at least, many Euro-American polities), the polities of which maintain embassies in all but name with Taiwan (in the guise of "cultural and economic offices", which provide consular services). It is clear that the Sinitic civilizations' grip on Taiwan is today enormously strong; the key remains to resolve how Sinitic culture integrates and relates Taiwan with the rest of the world.

3.2 Linguistic Identity in Taiwan

The groups of language speakers all give their voice to the discussion of the identity of Taiwan. The name of the island itself, apart from the Portuguese-bestowed moniker of "beautiful (island)" or "(Ilha) Formosa", was probably first recorded by the Dutch, in reference to a coastal islet upon which their Fort Zeelandia was constructed, called by the Siraya people (then living around modern Tainan, on the southern part of Taiwan) "Tayouan", which was then applied by synecdoche to the whole insular landmass. This term has led to the modern Taiwan 台灣/臺灣, which might be analyzed (deferring, of course, to the phonetic similarity with the purported Siraya toponym) in semantic terms as "cove-strewn platform", an idea which strikes a 'peripheral' chord: Taiwan may have been thought of as a remote staging point, not a "central" location as is traditional for places of importance to the Sinitic civilizations (for example, the Zhongyuan 中原 or "Central Plains", the cradle

of Sinitic civilization, or Zhongdu 中都 or "Central Capital", the capital of the Jurchen Jin dynasty).

3.3 Aboriginal Civilization in Taiwan

With the recent increased promotion of aboriginal culture in Taiwan by the government (to attract tourism revenue and to promote a sense of cultural uniqueness in Taiwan to be advertised geared towards the international community), the government and scholars have brought forth arguments that Taiwanese culture has been distinct from Sinitic civilization from the start of human inhabitation of the island. Thought it may be true that Sinitic civilization pushed into Taiwan from the mainland, even displacing original Austronesian cultures on the mainland while doing so, Taiwan has a claim to the same cultural distinction from China as that enjoyed by the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Madagascar, Polynesia, and Oceania.[69] The Austronesian peoples have long been subject to cultural pressure from continental peoples, and, later, the European and Japanese colonial powers. The majority of the cultural pressure came from the incorporation of Taiwan into a wider global economy by the European powers and subsequently the Ming, Qing, and Japanese regimes. Because the aboriginal groups have never been homogenous in Taiwan, some resisted these pressures while others acceded, in order to achieve economic gain and the ability to leverage power over neighboring aboriginal groups.[70] The colonial powers had,

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[69] Hill, Catherine, Soares, Pedro & Mormina, Maru, et al. "A Mitochondrial Stratigraphy for Island Southeast Asia." *American Journal of Human Genetics* 291 (2007):1735–1737, and Bird, Michael I, Hope, Geoffrey & Taylor, David. "Populating PEP II: the dispersal of humans and agriculture through Austral-Asia and Oceania." *Quaternary International* 118–19(2004): 145–63.

[70] Blusse, Leonard & Everts, Natalie. *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society — A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources Vol. I & Vol. II*. Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2000, 77-8.

in addition, enacted policies of "civilization," which increased during each successive regime: these policies were aimed at converting aboriginal culture to one more congruent with, if not identical to, the culture of the colonial power. Much of the history of aboriginal presence in Taiwan comes from the distorted lenses of the advancing colonial powers which occupied Taiwan in succession: the Netherlands, Spain, China of the Ming and Qing dynasties, Japan, and the Republic of China. Each may be thought of to be inimical to the aboriginal groups as a whole, treating them as uncivilized or subhuman occupants of lands which might have been otherwise fruitfully used. With that in mind, the colonial powers sought to control or eradicate, by what means they could, the aboriginal presence, in order to make Taiwan more livable for their own immigrating populations or to make Taiwanese resources readily exploitable.

During the early Sinitic phase of colonization, aboriginal acculturation and assimilation lead to such practices as the removal of ethnic markers which had distinguished the ethnic groups of Taiwan, such as dietary customs and clothing.[71] As aboriginal culture adapted to norms of the Sinitic migrants, it adopted Confucian norms and the linguistic hegemony of the languages of the Sinitic civilization. During the Japanese colonial period and the subsequent takeover by the KMT, aboriginal culture was further reduced by means of policies that exploited Social Darwinist principles, such as directed education and alteration or imposition of genealogical customs (for example, aboriginal tribes in Taiwan cannot obtain official recognition from the ROC government unless they provide such items

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[71] Brown, Melissa J. *Is Taiwan Chinese? : The Impact of Culture, Power and Migration on Changing Identities.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, 38-50.

of evidence as member genealogies and evidence of continued linguistic identity).[72]

Population pressure from Sinitic populations shifted aboriginal populations away from the western plains and into the central mountains and eastern coasts; in relative isolation, aboriginal culture retained some resilience and are today subject to revitalization thanks to modern multicultural policies of the ROC government.

As the ROC acceded to power, the government nationalized Modern Standard Chinese as the official language. As with the push for Japanese language made by the Japanese colonial government, the push to have the polity speak one language placed an enormous strain on the indigenous languages of the Taiwanese aborigines. In order to have access to education, political power, and economic capital (including access to work), the aboriginal peoples needed to become conversant in the state language; this lead to a reduction in the use of their own languages. Over generations, indigenous language use became severely reduced to the point of becoming endangered. With the loss of linguistic identity, cultural identity began to recede as well. In the modern day, the trend is beginning to be reversed, but the reversal process is greatly aided by attaining official recognition by the state as distinct tribe.

The cultural identity being lost by the aboriginal groups of Taiwan is significantly different from the so-called "Confucian" Sinitic culture. Structurally, the aborigines mainly lived in stationary village sites surrounded by defensive walls of bamboo, with southern Taiwan being more populated than elsewhere (a trend today reversed, for example); these villages were probably housed no more than 1,500 people, and were surrounded by smaller

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[72] Harrison, Henrietta. "Changing Nationalities, Changing Ethnicities: Taiwan Indigenous Villages in the Years after 1946." In *In Search of the Hunters and Their Tribes: Studies in the History and Culture of the Taiwan Indigenous People* edited by David Faure, 60-67. Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2001.

satellite villages.[73] The concept of property was often communal, especially in terms of

consumable resources. The aborigines hunted herds of spotted deer and related ungulates

which are today mostly eradicated from Taiwan, and they conducted light millet farming.

Sugar and rice were grown as well, but mostly for use in preparing alcoholic beverages; there

was not a strong focus on large-scale agriculture, which would have supported a large

sedentary population amenable to class and professional specialization.[74] Many of the

aboriginal peoples lived in matrilineal or matrifocal societies. It at least one tribe, men

married into a woman's family after a courtship period during which the woman was free to

reject as many men as she wished before marriage. Couples entered into marriage in their

mid-thirties, when a man would no longer be expected to display martial prowess or fight.

For the Siraya people, marriage not occurring until the mid-thirties was in essence a

requirement, to allow for the father of the bride to gracefully cede his position as leading

male of the household when his daughter's husband would move into his home. The arrival

of the Dutch Reformed Church in the 17th century brought missionaries who, with

conversion, brought an end to these cultural paradigms which did not conform to Protestant

Christian customs. The younger members of Siriyan society saw the acceptance of Dutch

marriage customs as a means of attain power before they otherwise would be able to; of

course, accepting Protestantism entailed a simultaneous acceptance of Dutch language and

other customs, as social and trade intercourse with the Dutch was required to effectuate and

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[73] Kang, Peter (2003). "A Brief Note on the Possible Factors Contributing to the Large Village Size of the Siraya in the Early Seventeenth Century." In *Around and About Formosa*, edited by Leonard Blusse, 111-27 (111-17). Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2003.

[74] Shepherd, John R. *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600–1800*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993: 29-34.

maintain the cultural changes.[75] In addition, the cultural exchange from trade and other contact with outsiders challenged the traditional gender-related division of labor for the Taiwanese aborigines: women sowed, cooked, and farmed, while men hunted and engaged in warfare.

For the aborigines, the arrival of the Dutch was to signal the first major challenge to aboriginal territorial and cultural integrity. The Dutch were able, thanks to technological superiority, to subjugate the strongest of regional villages in the Siraya area; the Dutch victory brought a spate of peace offerings from other nearby villages, many of which were outside the Siraya area, which had been growing increasingly resistant to Dutch encroachment. This was the beginning of Dutch consolidation over large parts of Taiwan; this consolidation brought an end to centuries of inter-village warfare, and brought a period of irreversible cultural change.[76] This new period of peace allowed the Dutch to construct schools and churches, which aimed, under the guise of "civilizing", to acculturate and convert the indigenous population to Dutch sociocultural modalities.[77] Dutch schools, aided by the missionaries who had learned the language well, taught a Romanized script which transcribed the Siraya language, based at least in part on Ecclesiastical Latin and Dutch phonetic renditions of Siraya.[78]

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[75] Shepherd, John Robert. *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th Century Siraya*. Arlington VA: The American Anthropological Association, 1995: 61-5.

[76] Blusse, Leonard & Everts, Natalie. *The Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society — A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources Vol. I & Vol. II*. Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2000: 11-20.

[77] Shepherd, John Robert. *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th Century Siraya*. Arlington VA: The American Anthropological Association, 1995: 66.

[78] Shepherd, John Robert. *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th Century Siraya*. Arlington VA: The American Anthropological Association, 1995: 66-8.

When the Ming remnant faction under Koxinga, driven out the Qing, transferred to Taiwan, the Dutch were summarily ousted. This powerful Sinitic group immediately set about building alliances, collecting taxes and erecting aboriginal schools, where Taiwan's aborigines were first formally introduced to the Confucian classics, Sinitic thought, and Sinitic writing systems.[79] The impact of the Dutch, as the first strong colonizing presence on Taiwan which made efforts to change the aboriginal culture, was by then already deeply ingrained in aboriginal society. For example, in the 19th and 20th centuries, European explorers documented being welcomed as kin by the Taiwanese aborigines, who thought they were returning Dutch.[80] The era of Sinitic control over Taiwan was characterized by a marked increase in the Sinitic population of the island, and continued social unrest caused by the tension between the rapidly increasing Sinitic population, the aboriginal population, and the contrast between the narratives of displacement and creations of a new home among the Sinitic populations on Taiwan. In addition, this era is witness to the piecemeal transfer of large amounts of land from the aborigines to the Sinitic people, and the nearly complete acculturation of the aborigines to of the western plains to Sinitic customs, while some others may have been pushed into the central mountains and eastern coastland. When the Qing were able to exert political control over Taiwan, and enter into a two-century period of rule over the island, the population of Sinitic people on the island increased even more dramatically, the perception of which may have been intensified by the increased acculturation of the aborigines to Sinitic culture. Qing authorities kept to a largely "hands-off" style of governance in Taiwan, seeing little practical value in the expenditure of

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[79] Shepherd, John Robert. *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion among the 17th Century Siraya.* Arlington VA: The American Anthropological Association, 1995: 92-103.

[80] Pickering, W.A. *Pioneering In Formosa.* London: Hurst and Blackett, 1898: 116-118.

resources necessary to fully integrate Taiwan into the Chinese empire. Qing authorities were content to provide basic necessities for citizens, collect taxes, and maintain garrisons strong enough to put down rebellions. Acculturation was kept to a relatively low rate, preferring instead to pursue policies, such as a certain degree of respect for aboriginal land rights, was designed to keep aboriginal populations content and free from feeling the need to engage in armed rebellion. Nonetheless, Taiwan was notorious for the frequency of uprisings being fomented.

After Japan was granted control of Taiwan, tribal life changed rapidly as many of the traditional structures were replaced by a military power which was more interested in a hand-on approach of governance. The new colonial structure was one in which the government was determined to define and locate indigenous people within the framework of a new, multi-ethnic empire.[81] At first, the Japanese engaged in military suppression campaigns, designed to pacify rebellions which understandably occur after forced transfers of government power. The Japanese also engaged in anthropological study of the aborigines, in order to both satisfy curiosity at home of the makeup of the new empire and to provide social and cultural information useful to the eventual transformation of aboriginal society into Japanese society.[82] Given than aborigines were now being integrated into a Japanese society, those who wished to improve their status needed to acquire an education, and this meant acquiring Japanese language skills and concomitant cultural attitudes. The traditional aboriginal society, which had focused on intertribal warfare and martial prowess for power and status, was by this point practically eradicated. Those who learned to speak Japanese,

[81] Kleeman, Faye Yuan. *Under An Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and The South*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003: 19.

[82] Matsuda, Kyoko. "Ino Kanori's 'History' of Taiwan: Colonial ethnology, the civilizing mission and struggles for survival in East Asia." *History and Anthropology* 14.2 (2003):179–96 (181).

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work with the Japanese colonial government, and follow Japanese social norms became better suited to lead villages. The Japanese encouraged aborigines to maintain traditional costumes and selected customs that were not considered detrimental to Japanese society, but invested much time and money in efforts to eliminate traditions deemed unsavory by Japanese culture, such as tattooing.[83] By the 1930s, as Japan's empire was reaching its zenith, the Japanese colonial government began a political socialization program designed to impose Japanese customs, rituals, and an identity as loyal Japanese citizens upon the Taiwanese aborigines. Before the end of World War II, the Japanese Empire saw Taiwanese aborigines voluntarily conscripted into its army. As with the Sinitic population of Taiwan, the Japanese left a relatively favorable impression upon the aborigines.

Upon the arrival of the KMT government, an authoritarian form of government was installed, and shortly thereafter Taiwan sees a number of political socialization programs aimed at nationalizing residents of Taiwan as citizens of a Sinitic nation. KMT policies further aimed at eradicating past Japanese influence.[84] The KMT pursued highly centralized cultural policies. The KMT aim was to create a strong national Chinese cultural identity, as defined by the state, at the expense of local cultures.[85] The KMT government soon replaced Japanese village schools in aboriginal villages with ROC schools. The schools emphasized acquisition of Chinese language, imprinting of Chinese history, and ROC citizenship; all of these educational policies worked to reverse analogous cultural work done by the prior Japanese colonial government. In 1951, a major political socialization campaign was

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[83] Simon, Scott. "Formosa's First Nations and the Japanese: from Colonial Rule to Postcolonial Resistance." *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* (2006, Jan 4th). http://www.japanfocus.org/-Scott-Simon/1565

[84] Wilson, Richard W. *Learning To Be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan.* Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1970.

[85] Phillips, Steven. *Between Assimilation and Independence: The Taiwanese Encounter Nationalist China, 1945–1950.* Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 2003: 47-8, 140-1.

launched to have aborigines adopt Sinitic customs. A 1953 government report on mountain areas stated that the government's aims were chiefly to promote Modern Standard Chinese in order to strengthen the sense of ROC nationalism among the aborigines.[86] However, when martial law was lifted, the newly elected KMT government supported many bills that had been promoted by aboriginal groups. The tenth amendment to the ROC Constitution stipulates that the government should protect and preserve aboriginal culture and language, and grants aborigines a theoretical equal access to politics. During the period of political liberalization, opposition activists seized upon the image of the aborigine as a means to directly challenge the KMT's official narrative of Taiwan as a historical part of China.[87] In fact, the aboriginal narrative of subjection to foreign colonial rulers was seized upon by the Sinitic peoples of the opposition, using it to portray themselves as similarly imposed upon by the ROC government, which had arrived by force of arms and the numerical advantage conferred by the émigrés fleeing mainland China upon their losses to the Communists.[88]

For centuries, Taiwan's aboriginal peoples experienced economic competition and military conflict with colonizers. With each colonizing power, policies by the centralized government of the colonists were almost always designed to foster language shift *away* from aboriginal languages. Cultural assimilation with the colonizers' home culture, as well as continued contact with the colonizers through trade, intermarriage and other intercultural processes, have resulted in varying degrees of language death and loss of original cultural

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[86] Harrison, Henrietta. "Clothing and Power on the Periphery of Empire: The Costumes of the Indigenous People of Taiwan." *Positions* 11.2 (2003): 331–60 (351).

[87] Brown, Melissa J. *Is Taiwan Chinese? : The Impact of Culture, Power and Migration on Changing Identities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004: 23-9.

[88] Edmondson, Robert. "The February 28 Incident and National Identity." In *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan*, edited by Stephane Corcuff, 32-42. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002.

identity among the aboriginal peoples of Taiwan. For example, of the approximately 26 known languages of the Taiwanese aborigines, at least ten are extinct, five more are expected to be soon, and several are to some degree endangered.[89] In all cases, a revitalization movement and government support by the current ROC government, or even the international scholarly community, will be required to halt or reverse the trends of language death. All of these aboriginal languages are of particular significance owing to their putative position as derived from one or more ancestral languages of the entire Austronesian language family, which spans a vast area in the Pacific.[90] While it is not necessary to defend maintenance of endangered languages in this work, it cannot escape the reader that the loss of these languages would deal a severe blow to understanding how a major branch of human language evolved and functions, not to mention working towards solving latent problems of perception of cultural illegitimacy and lack of social mobility among the Taiwanese aborigines.

There are three general narratives of Taiwanese ethnic change, when considering the aboriginal population. The first holds that Sinitic migration from Fujian and Guangdong in the 17th century pushed aboriginal populations from the western plains into the central mountains and eastern plains, where they still reside today.[91] This theory has been largely discounted by contemporary research, which shows that the aboriginal peoples of the central mountains demonstrate physiology, material cultures and customs that have been adapted

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[89] Zeitoun, Elizabeth & Yu. "The Formosan Language Archive: Linguistic Analysis and Language Processing." *Computational Linguistics and Chinese Language Processing* 10.2 (2005):167–200 (167).

[90] Blust, Robert. "Subgrouping, Circularity and Extinction: Some Issues in Austronesian Comparative Linguistics." In *Selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, edited by E. Zeitoun & P.J.K Li, 31–94. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1999.

[91] Shepherd, John R. *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600–1800*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993.

for life at higher elevations; such would suggest that their transition there has not been recent. Linguistic and archaeological evidence also suggests there has been island-wide migration of indigenous peoples for over 3,000 years, so advent of plains-dwelling aborigines to the central mountains probably occurred much longer ago, and with just as much frequency as mountain-dwellers moving the plains. The second theory holds that aborigines from the western plains intermarried with immigrating Sinitic peoples between the 17th and 19th centuries, whereby those aborigines in the plains were completely sinicized, as has often happened with numerically inferior peoples in close contact or sharing territory with the Sinitic civilizations.[92] The third theory, based on modern anthropological studies, holds that a hybrid culture emerged in the western plains based on mutual cultural exchange between the plains aborigines and the immigrating Sinitic peoples. The latter is a stronger argument in the vein of creating a separate Taiwanese cultural identity, which is still important to the state building strategy of the government of Taiwan.[93] At present, increased political and public attention is being paid to the rights and social issues of the Taiwanese aborigines. A resurgence in ethnic pride and development of aboriginal culture continues to this day, exemplified by the increased popularity of aboriginal music among the Taiwanese and greater public interest in aboriginal culture. Nonetheless, there is still an internal push for cultural assimilation, as some elements of aboriginal society see assimilation as the quickest means to economic and political prosperity.

3.4 Sinitic Civilization in Taiwan

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[92] Lamley, Harry J. "Subethnic Rivalry in the Ch'ing Period." In *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society*, edited by Emily Martin Ahern and Hill Gates, 283–88. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981: 282.

[93] Brown, Melissa J. *Is Taiwan Chinese? : The Impact of Culture, Power and Migration on Changing Identities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Sinitic migration to Taiwan was rather limited, but nonetheless represented a gradual and large shift in the population demographics of Taiwan. As a political entity, the island of Taiwan was, prior to the building of Spanish and Dutch fortifications and outposts, essentially wilderness. Political control of land in Taiwan should rightly be said to be in the hands of the aboriginal peoples residing there, but these small tribal entities enjoyed little to no international recognition, and thus do not figure strongly in historical accounts of the larger and stronger civilizations that commonly comprise modern historical narratives (impeded, particularly, by the aliteracy of the aboriginal civilizations and the devaluation of oral history). Therefore, polities like the Sinitic imperial governments, the Japanese, or the Koreans gave little consideration to Taiwan being legitimately populated by a governed and civilized people with whom one could have polity-level relations. This being the case, Sinitic emigration to Taiwan was not a controlled phenomenon but rather a pioneer, frontiersman sort of endeavor, and in some cases a phenomenon of flight from unfavorable conditions on the mainland. There being practically no society-level support from the mainland, Sinitic peoples emigrating to Taiwan essentially vanished, largely left alone to construct a new life according to what means they provided themselves, in whatever social and political organization best suited them.

A small portion of the early Sinitic presence may have been pirates, shipwreck victims, low-volume barterers, and fishermen; these populations would have largely kept to coastal areas and were probably temporary, due to the lack of easily exploitable resources and the hostility and strong presence of aboriginal populations. There were no long-term communities with any kind of established presence. The Sinitic populations were, by all accounts, quite insignificant in terms of percentage of the total makeup of the island, and with little capacity to influence the culture of the island. In most accounts of Taiwan, one

finds a large gap in accounting for the populations of the island between the prehistoric narrative of aboriginal migration to Taiwan and the records the Dutch explorers and colonizers on the 16th century. Nonetheless, the presence of Sinitic peoples and the largely vague awareness of Taiwan in the mainland Sinitic civilizations form the roots of modern Taiwanese culture.

Under Dutch rule, the population of Taiwan was predominantly aboriginal. The first significant influx of Sinitic migrants from coastal Fujian came during the Dutch rule, during which merchants and traders from the mainland Chinese coast sought to purchase hunting licenses from the Dutch (to take advantage of the large roaming deer populations for example) or hide out in aboriginal villages to escape the Qing authorities. At this point, the languages of Taiwan are Austronesian, with Dutch being the language of colonial administration, trade, and arguably as a *lingua franca*, given widespread Dutch proselytizing, education, conversion of aboriginal languages to Romanized script, and the operation of a network of tribal alliances and inimical relationships which the Dutch exploited and manipulated in their own favor. Most of the Sinitic immigrants were young single males who were discouraged from staying on the island often referred to by the Sinitic peoples on the mainland as "The Gate of Hell" for its reputation in taking the lives of sailors and explorers. In fact, Taiwan was an uncertain place, a place outside of maps and the social imaginaire.[94]

Koxinga landed an invasion and occupation force in Taiwan at Lu'ermen 鹿耳門. In less than a year, he captured the Dutch Fort Provintia and laid siege to Fort Zeelandia. With no external help coming, the Dutch governor Frederick Coyett, negotiated a treaty with Koxinga. According to the terms of the treaty, the Dutch surrendered Fort Zeelandia and

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[94] Keliher, Macabe. *Out of China or Yu Yonghe's Tales of Formosa: A History of 17th Century Taiwan*. Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2003: 32.

left all the goods and property of the Dutch East India Company (effectively, the force of governance of the Dutch contingent) behind.[95] In return, all Dutch officials, soldiers and civilians left with their personal belongings and supplies unharmed, and were allowed passage to Dutch Batavia (present-day Jakarta, Indonesia). This ended the 38 years of Dutch colonial rule on Taiwan.

Koxinga shortly realized that developing his forces in Taiwan into a large enough threat to unseat the Qing would not be achievable quickly. Therefore, Koxinga was forced to develop Taiwan into a proper seat of power for the southern Ming loyalist movement. Though this was to have been a temporary arrangement, with the goal of reconquering mainland China, in practical terms it was known that such a difficult task would require considerably more military and political strength than was then held. Koxinga instituted a Ming-style administration, the first Chinese governance in Taiwan, to replace the Dutch system of government previously used in Taiwan. This system of government was divided into six departments: civil service, revenue, rites, war, punishment, and public works; as an analogue to the standard Sinitic governance system, the administration intended to assume the Sinitic status of citizens or to Sinify them.[96] Koxinga was careful in symbolic nomenclature, making it clear that his government was not a new polity based on the Ming but rather a governmental outpost or colony of the Ming itself, even though the Ming was effectively obliterated. This meant that government divisions were called *guan* 官 ("Office")

[95] Bullard, Monte R. "Koxinga-Dutch Treaty (1662)." Appendix 1 in "Strait Talk: Avoiding a Nuclear War Between the U.S. and China over Taiwan." Unpublished manuscript. Monterey Institute of International Studies. http://cns.miis.edu/straittalk/strait_talk.pdf

[96] Lin A. & Keating J. *Island in the Stream.* Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2008.

and not *bu* 部 ("Department").[97] The island of Taiwan itself, previously called Formosa by the Europeans, was also renamed by Koxinga to Dong Du 東都, or "Eastern Capital", though this name was later changed by his son, Zheng Jing 鄭經, to Dong Ning 東寧, or "Peace in the East".[98] The title of Koxinga (Guoxingye 國性爺 "Patriarch of the Imperial Surname") was one that Zheng himself used during his lifetime to emphasize his status as a supporter of the deposed Ming house, and hence it was also a declaration of ongoing support to the Ming dynasty.[99]

The most immediate problem Koxinga faced after the successful invasion of Taiwan was the problem of food supply. Taiwan's aboriginal population certainly generated enough food to feed themselves and to generate tradable some food. It is estimated that prior to Koxinga's invasion the population of Taiwan was no greater than 100,000 people, including the small contingent of Dutch administrators, soldiers, and missionaries. Koxinga's troops and civil official population which transferred to Taiwan is estimated to be 30,000 at minimum.[100] To address the food problem, Koxinga conceived of a hybrid administration, in which Taiwan became a military outpost and peripheral province simultaneously. The soldiers, who constituted the bulk of Koxinga's contingent, served in the secondary role of farmer when not assigned active duty in a guard battalion. To successfully implement this policy to develop Taiwan into a self-sufficient island from which to mount a counter-invasion to oust the Qing from the mainland, a series of land and taxation policies were

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[97] Wills, John E., Jr. "The Seventeenth-century Transformation: Taiwan under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Rubinstein, Murray A., 84–106. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

[98] Lin A. & Keating J. *Island in the Stream.* Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2008.

[99] Wills, John E., Jr. *Mountain of Fame: Portraits in Chinese History.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994: 225.

[100] Lin A. & Keating J. *Island in the Stream.* Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2008.

established to encourage the expansion and cultivation of fertile lands for increased food production capabilities.[101] The considerable lands held by the former Dutch administrators were immediately seized by Koxinga and ownership distributed amongst his trusted staff and relatives to be rented out to farmers. Koxinga then went about properly developing other farmlands in the south and claiming, clearing, cultivating aboriginal lands to the east in a process that was alienating but also viewed as necessary.[102] To further encourage expansion into new farmlands, a policy of varying taxation was implemented wherein fertile land newly claimed for Koxinga's administration would be taxed at a much lower rate than those reclaimed from the Dutch, which was considered "official land."[103] This policy was successful in clearing out new agricultural spaces and in generating significant new food sources. In terms of economic relations with the aborigines, the Dutch had previously maintained a monopoly of trade of certain goods with the aboriginal tribes across Taiwan. This monopoly of trade was not only maintained under the Zheng regime, but was actively turned into a tribute system of exploitation of the native tribes to aid in international trade.[104] The increased economic pressure coincided with Zheng policies of direct cultural change designed to Sinify the aboriginal populations.

Following the death of Koxinga in 1662 due to what was most likely malaria (sources named it a fit of madness over the news of the cruel death of his father at the hands of Qing forces), his son Zheng Jing 鄭經 took over Koxinga's domain in Taiwan (by then safely

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[101] Wills, John E., Jr. "The Seventeenth-century Transformation: Taiwan under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Rubinstein, Murray A., 84–106. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

[102] Lin A. & Keating J. *Island in the Stream*. Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2008.

[103] Wills, John E., Jr. "The Seventeenth-century Transformation: Taiwan under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Rubinstein, Murray A., 84–106. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

[104] Wills, John E., Jr. "The Seventeenth-century Transformation: Taiwan under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Rubinstein, Murray A., 84–106. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

referred to as the Zheng regime). Zheng Jing led the remaining 7,000 Ming loyalist troops,

scattered along coastal areas on the mainland, to Taiwan.[105] While Koxinga vigorously

pursued the policy of Ming loyalism until his death, Zheng Jing attempted to reconcile

peacefully with the Qing by travelling to the Qing capital and bidding for Taiwan to become

an autonomous state. The Qing were willing to accept this state of affairs, especially because

Taiwan had never been considered part of the Sinitic domain, under the condition that this

new Zheng state would be a tributary state. To accept Qing suzerainty, Zheng would have to

accept compulsory Manchu hair style for his entire state, and offer regular tributes of

currency and soldiers.[106] Zheng Jing refused. Zheng Jing engaged in raids of coastal areas, to

weaken the Qing, stir up discontent, and to seize food and other stores which were still not

plentiful in Taiwan. In response, the Qing made themselves willing to relocate all of the

southern coastal towns and ports that had been the targets of raids by the Zheng fleet, a

form of scorched-earth policy intended to starve out the Ming loyalists. To a large extent,

the effort backfired: from 1662 to 1664 six major waves of immigration occurred from the

coastal areas to Taiwan due to the severe hardships incurred from the Qing relocation

policy.[107] In a move to take advantage of this Qing misstep, Zheng Jing promoted

immigration to Taiwan by promising the opportunity for free land cultivation in eastern

Taiwan (which needed to be developed, regardless) and land ownership for peasants in

exchange for compulsory military service by all males in case the island should need to be

defended against Qing invaders; this represents a softening of Koxinga's original "military

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[105] Lin A. & Keating J. *Island in the Stream*. Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2008.

[106] Wills, John E., Jr. "The Seventeenth-century Transformation: Taiwan under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Rubinstein, Murray A., 84–106. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

[107] Wills, John E., Jr. "The Seventeenth-century Transformation: Taiwan under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Rubinstein, Murray A., 84–106. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

colony" policy. During the immigration waves, many previous Ming government officials, in total about 1,000 literati, also moved to Taiwan, fleeing Qing persecution.[108] The move both strengthened the health of Taiwanese society by shoring up the base levels of educated persons and represented an influx of literary Chinese language and the capacity to produce literature and other written language phenomena on Taiwan itself.

The Zheng regime in Taiwan quickly established Sinitic schools for Zheng citizens and also for aboriginals, when it became apparent that Taiwan would need to be developed as a long-term polity. The schools were to supply candidates for civil service exams, and so propagated forms of classical and literary Chinese; there was no mass compulsory education system for the citizenry, and so the majority of Sinitic citizens of Taiwan simply spoke the Sinitic language of their ancestral homeland. There was a concerted effort to break Dutch and aboriginal religious, language, and other cultural influences, and to promote Sinitic socio-cultural hegemony. The Zheng regime aggressively pursued the further expansion of towns and farmland into the south and east of Taiwan.[109] Socio-cultural change was realized by the eventual closure of all European and Christian schools and churches in Taiwan, the opening of Confucian temples and the institution of the Confucian civil service exams to coincide with the implementation of the Confucian education system.[110]

Zheng Jing died in 1681 with no legitimate heir; the lack of a clear succession precipitated a succession crisis, with rifts in the civil government and the military. The Qing capitalized on this period of weakness by sending a fleet to the Penghu islands, and thereby

[108] Wills, John E., Jr. "The Seventeenth-century Transformation: Taiwan under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Rubinstein, Murray A., 84–106. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

[109] Wills, John E., Jr. "The Seventeenth-century Transformation: Taiwan under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Rubinstein, Murray A., 84–106. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

[110] Wills, John E., Jr. "The Seventeenth-century Transformation: Taiwan under the Dutch and the Cheng Regime." In *Taiwan: A New History*, edited by Rubinstein, Murray A., 84–106. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

achieved the destruction of the Zheng regime's naval power along with a significant number of troops. Following the victory, the Qing sent an invasion force, which the Zheng regime was no longer able to repel, and secured the capitulation of Zheng Keshuang 鄭克塽, the nominal ruler, imposed by threat of force. The Zheng regime was incorporated into the Qing empire as a part of Fujian province, which lay just across the strait from Taiwan.

The Qing government governed Taiwan passively, under the impression that too strong a hand would merely encourage rebellions to arise or be housed there. First, the government attempted to cement Taiwan's status as a peripheral region by refusing to consider it an independent province and by largely leaving it out of official maps of the empire. Second, it implemented a series of policies to isolate Taiwan politically. In the beginning of Qing rule, most of Taiwan was under the control of Shi Lang 施琅, the admiral which destroyed the Zheng regime's fleet. In fact, it was Shi Lang who campaigned to have Taiwan recognized as Qing territory, because many in the government felt the maintenance of Taiwan would become an economic burden. Shi Lang seized most of the land in southern Taiwan, and instituted policies that deliberately aimed to isolate Taiwan from the rest of the Qing empire: coastal provinces were forbidden to interact with Taiwan, and people coming from inland provinces were disallowed to bring their families with them, effectively preventing them from making any permanent foothold in Taiwan. His policies were implemented to increase his personal wealth through usury and exploitation, which became so shameless the Qing Court was forced to censure him.

Qing rule was marked by a relatively rapid growth in population (almost entirely Sinitic), despite population control measures. Large numbers of immigrants from Fujian arrived in Taiwan, as well as Hakka immigrants (mostly from Hakka areas around

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Guangdong), so speakers of Min and Hakka languages constituted the overwhelming majority of the Sinitic presence in Taiwan, the latter of which was easily the minority group (today, roughly 15-20 percent of the Sinitic population in Taiwan is of Hakka ancestry). Hakka immigration during Qing rule occurred mostly during the latter half of the Qing presence. The earliest significant immigration to Taiwan by Hakka was by the troops of Liu Guoxuan 劉國軒, a Ming loyalist commander. Many of this contingent were sent back to their home regions on the mainland after the capitulation of the Zheng regime.

During the early days of Qing rule, the government issued a directive to restrict immigration; among the laws was one that placed an additional restriction to Hakka people in their settlement to Taiwan because southern China, whence came the Hakka to Taiwan, was frequented and influenced by pirates, and with rebellious populations, they should be denied passage to Taiwan. Such a directive meant that the Hakka going to Taiwan had to do so through illegal means. Only a few got through as illegal immigrants and they separated into enclaves across different regions of Taiwan. Most of the Hakka settled on the western plains of Taiwan, and many Hakka enclaves were assimilated by the Min-speaking Sinitic peoples or simply dispersed naturally into those populations.

The traditional narrative holds that the first people to settle in Taiwan were inhabitants of Quanzhou 泉州, a port city in Fujian, whose trade was in maritime activities, and as such they lived in coastal cities. The next greatest source of immigrants was Zhangzhou 漳州, a river city also in Fujian, who occupied other important areas outside of Taiwanese harbors. These immigrants from Quanzhou and Zhangzhou became the Min-speaking ethnic group that dominated Taiwan's economic activities. After these immigrants had established themselves, the Hakka people arrived and occupied areas near the coast that

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were otherwise unused or areas that were further inland, farther from the profitable areas of the populated harbors. Having begun in an unfavorable situation in Taiwan, the Hakka never acquired the same strength and status that other Sinitic peoples attained. This may be partially true, but one must also consider that immigrants from Quanzhou and Zhangzhou lived in areas in which the kind of economic activities to which they were already adapted could be undertaken anew. Similarly, as the Hakka people had lived in mountainous areas and had learned terraced farming techniques, they had already adapted to living in mountainous areas away from bodies of water, and so readily moved to similar areas in Taiwan.

As a rule, most of the Hakka people immigrated to Taiwan later than other Sinitic peoples, and also in smaller numbers. They settled in hilly regions between urban areas of the plains controlled by other Sinitic peoples and the deeper mountains and the eastern part of Taiwan where aborigines lived. Hakka were able to successfully drain marshlands and develop mountain slopes into terraced farmlands, as well as utilize what water sources could be found in the mountains. The Hakka people are generally characterized as industrious and unafraid of hardship in historical accounts of Taiwan. It may also be said that the Hakka would, as any group, move around due to such factors as overpopulation, exploration of new living situation, the diminishing of influence in region, the departure of family members, warfare, natural disasters and shifts in geography or the technology to exploit it. Hakka communities tended to move as a group and, especially in cases where their communities were in relatively isolated mountainous regions, they were also relatively inaccessible and therefore lacked the opportunity to interact and assimilate with other cultures. This may be a reason why their traditional customs and language were preserved so

well. After a few hundred, the Hakka of Taiwan evolved a distinct culture and set of dialects, some of which are losing or have lost mutual intelligibility with mainland Hakka.

A few communities persevered in retaining Hakka culture. The main areas of Hakka concentration in Taiwan include: Pingtung 屏東, Neipu 內埔, Meinong 美濃, Changhua 彰化, Yunlin 雲林, Nantou 南投, Fongyuan 豐原, Miaoli 苗栗, Hsinchu 新竹, the Taipei basin, and the southern half of Taoyuan 桃源. Population pressure due to conflict with other Sinitic peoples forced a number of communities to move inland, and eventually dispersed to the eastern coast cities of Hualien 花蓮 and Taitung 台東.

The period of Qing rule was also marked by notoriety for fomenting rebellions. There were more than a hundred rebellions during the early Qing reign. The frequency of the uprisings is evoked by the common saying, "Every three years an uprising; every five years a rebellion" (三年小反, 五年大亂).[111] For example, in 1721, a rebellion led by Zhu Yigui 朱一貴 captured Tainan 台南 and briefly established a government.

The Sinitic population of Taiwan grew from 100,000 at the beginning of Qing rule to roughly 2,500,000. The aboriginal population at best did not grow, though most estimates find that it shrank beneath the 100,000 estimated present at the end of Dutch rule. However, at least in the beginning, the population saw hybridization between Sinitic and aboriginal, owing to early policies preventing anyone other than single males to come to Taiwan from the mainland. Those males then married aboriginal women; though the Sinitic culture was dominant (given that it was the culture of government and economy), it is disingenuous to

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[111]Kao Ming-shih 高明士. *Zhanhou Taiwan de lishi xue yanjiu* 戰後臺灣的歷史學研究 [Historical Research on Post-War Taiwan]: 1945-2000. Taipei: Guoli Taiwan Daxue Chuban Zhongxin 國立臺灣大學出版中心, 2004: 112.

think that in such situations the family would have been unaffected by aboriginal culture and language.

After decades of Qing rule, the Sinitic population grew a desire to open up new land for cultivation. The government commensurately encouraged the expansion of Han migration to other areas of Taiwan, which mitigated the prior effects of the policies intended to discourage the settling of Taiwan. The increase in population in turn encouraged the Qing government to grant full province status to the island. The Sinitic peoples successfully settled the fertile western plains of Taiwan, transforming the landscape to the agricultural fields and strong urban centers found on the mainland. Taiwan had a strong agricultural sector in the economy; Taiwan was able to develop a strong trade with the coastal provinces of the mainland. The development of its trading ports would prove important to the economic future of Taiwan.

In terms of later rebellions, the Lin Shuangwen 林爽文 rebellion, important to the Hakka narrative and central to one of the temples studied in this work, occurred during the late 1786 to 1788. Lin, who was an immigrant from Zhangzhou 漳州, had come to Taiwan with his father in the 1770s. He was involved in a secret society called the Heaven and Earth Society (天地會), which was involved in seditious activities and connected to latent Ming loyalism and restorationism. Lin Shuangwen then organized the society members in a revolt in an attempt to free his father, who had been captured by Qing authorities on suspicious of fomenting rebellion. There was initial success in pushing government forces out of Lin's home base in Zhanghua 彰化; his allies did likewise in Danshui 淡水. By this point, the fighting was activating the old feuds; this brought rival populations, including the Hakka, on behalf of the government. Eventually, the Qing government sent sufficient force to restore

order. Lin Shuangwen was executed and the Heaven and Earth Society was dispersed, but there was no way to eliminate ill-will between the local networks which had fought on opposing sides. Especially with the case of the Hakka, it widened the social gulf between linguistic communities, encouraging community isolation. Though they never again were serious to push out the government or encompass the whole island, rebellions continued sporadically for most of the 19th century, only started coming to an end in the 1860s.

The Qing implemented three main policies for governing Taiwan. The first policy was to restrict the qualification and number of migrants who were allowed to cross the Taiwan strait and settle in Taiwan, in order to prevent population growth. Population growth needed to be restricted because the Qing court viewed the maintenance of Taiwan as a costly affair; the more people living there, the greater the burden to the empire and the less oversight and control the Qing would be able to have (given Taiwan's relative remoteness). The second policy was to restrict Sinitic peoples from entering the central mountainous area, which was mainly settled by aboriginal peoples. This policy was to prevent conflict between Qing citizens and the aborigines over which the Qing had nominal control. The third was to apply different tax policies for Sinitic and aboriginal people. For the Sinitic people, the government sold farming rights to urban businessmen. These rights-owners would then rent out portions of their land to tenant farmers from the mainland (initially, single males only). Given the great number of immigrants (even with the restrictions to immigration), demand for land was high, and therefore rents were also high, and the tenant farmers were not able to amass sufficient wealth to escape their socioeconomic situation. As for aborigines, the government recognized aboriginal rights to land, but a tax upon those lands was also imposed. The tax was not paid directly by the aborigines, but rather by merchants who bought the right to collect taxes for themselves; this, of course, led to extraordinary usury.

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The merchants used their taxing rights to impose large debt burdens on aboriginal population, to then seize their lands as payment. In addition, the merchants could force the aboriginal populations into *corvée* labor. As far as the Qing government was concerned, it was a good arrangement, since it generated tax revenues, kept landowners and merchants content, and simultaneously suppressed the bulk of the residents of Taiwan, which may have constituted a threat if otherwise allowed to prosper.

The Sinitic people frequently illegally occupied aboriginal land or conducted illegal business with the aboriginal peoples; conflicts thereby arose. The Qing government was not interested in managing these affairs, preferring to leave the resolution of issues in the hands of citizens while acting as a nominal supplier of services and tax collectors. The government simply drew up borders and declared the mountainous center to be aboriginal land, so the two groups would be officially segregated. In legal disputes which were unavoidably brought before Qing authorities, the government tended to favor the Sinitic side, by declaring that aboriginal ignorance of Qing law (steeped, of course, in centuries of Sinitic cultural tradition) would be no defense for its violation, so when conflicts arose the aborigines tended to be judged unfairly. Accordingly, indigenous land was often taken. Inter-marriage with aboriginal women was also used as a pretext for Sinitic males to seize aboriginal land. Many Sinitic people crossed the mountainous regional borders to farm and to conduct business, further increasing tensions. From the Qing standpoint, a territory in conflict with itself is less likely to unify in order to launch an uprising, so as long as taxes and resources could be collected at minimal cost, there was no incentive to ameliorate the situation. The increase of Sinitic dominance in Taiwan continued until reaching a head in 1890, when the Governor of Taiwan declared that the "savages" of Taiwan were subdued, as part of a broad action by the

Qing government against southern aboriginal tribes in China.[112] At this time, the aboriginal peoples can be said to have been effectively marginalized in Taiwan; the vast majority of cultural and linguistic presence was assuredly Sinitic.

During 1884-1885, the Sino-French War affected Taiwan; the French destroyed some shore batteries at the northern port of Keelung, shortly occupied it, and carried out a partial blockade of several Taiwanese ports. The Qing, becoming aware of the strategic importance of Taiwan in the regional arena, began trying to rapidly develop Taiwan. In 1885, Taiwan became a full province, and Liu Mingchuan 劉銘傳 was appointed as the governor. Immigration restrictions were lifted. He tightened the famously lax government control. He implemented land reform and simplified land management, which purportedly resulted in a threefold increase in tax revenues for the government. Now that the Qing government would benefit from peace and stability, Liu implemented policies to ensure more equitable treatment of the aborigines by developing the mountainous regions. The modernization of Taiwan was his main achievement. He encouraged the use of machinery and built a defense infrastructure. He also improved the road, rail, and postal systems. In 1895, soon after his reforms, Taiwan was ceded to Japan.

By the time the Japanese presence arrived in Taiwan, the Sinitic presence in Taiwan was constituted largely of Min-speaking immigrants from Fujian as well as Hakka from southern China. These populations spoke languages which were mutually unintelligible, and so lived mostly in separate communities. As segregated peoples, there were many opportunities for conflict, misunderstanding, and competition for resources and land. By far, the largest immigration (numerically) to Taiwan happened during the Qing rule, under

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[112] "Tientsin Literary and Debating Society." *The Chinese Times, Volume 4*, Jan. 11th 1890: 24.

Japanese colonial rule, the Sinitic immigration to Taiwan was halted (as there was certainly little intercourse between the two empire, with the bad blood generated by war).

3.5 Japanese Civilization in Taiwan

Japanese influx into Taiwan commenced upon the cession of Taiwan to the Japanese empire under the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895). The Japanese presence began as an administrative and military one. Any initial Japanese presence would be greatly outnumbered by the Sinitic population, which would constitute the bulk of this colony's citizenry. The Japanese brought soldiers to garrison defenses and to put down uprisings, merchant marine and naval staff to see to the vital maritime operations of the island, civil officials to manage government operations and infrastructure, and civil engineers to develop the island. The influx of Japanese culture, however, was not immediate: the Japanese did not quickly resolve the question of what exactly the status of Taiwan should be relative to the Japanese Empire, such that two years after the first Japanese troops arrived as occupation forces, the Japanese Diet debated whether to sell Taiwan to France. At this time, Taiwan was still governed by a military governor, not a civil one, and the colonial government's emphasis can be said to have been on putting down rebellions. A civil governor who did not implement carrot-and-stick policies was not appointed until the third decade of Japanese rule.

Japanese treatment of Taiwan was divided into two governing philosophies. The first - the operating philosophy of the early years - held that the residents of Taiwan were too dissimilar to those of the Japanese home islands, and so must be governed as the British governed their colonies: under a whole new set of laws, which were different from those on home soil. The second held that the residents of Taiwan were similar enough to the Japanese

to allow Taiwan to be transformed to a real and proper Japanese territory, eventually being no different from any other of the Japanese home islands. The majority of the colonial period was spent under the second philosophy, beginning in 1918-19; prior to this the government had acted mainly to ensure social stability and to prevent rebellion enough for the successful extraction of resources and economic development of the island. The new policy, termed Dō ka 同化 or Integration, was aimed at educating the Taiwanese in the rights and responsibilities of full Japanese citizenship and imparting the language skills to do so; eventually the goal would be to have all Taiwanese persons speaking Japanese as their primary language. A formal public school system was instituted for the first time by the Japanese, and educators were sent to begin bringing Japanese language and culture to Taiwan en masse.

The eruption of the second Sino-Japanese War of 1937 brought about the final phase of the Japanese government of Taiwan, the Kō minka Movement 皇民化運動 ("Transformation into Citizens of the Empire"), which sought to fully accomplish the goal of assimilating Taiwan as part of Japan proper. Due to the rise of militarism in Japan in the late 1930s, Taiwan's governor was again a military officer instead of a civil official. With Japan mobilizing its economy for war, it needed resources and manpower from Taiwan. To this end, the government needed the full cooperation of the Taiwanese citizenry; therefore, the Taiwanese people needed to be rendered fully Japanese, culturally and socially, as quickly as possible. All other social programs were banned in light of the Kō minka Movement. Between 1936 and 1940, government sought to build Japanese identity amongst the populace, while the later years from 1941 to 1945 focused on encouraging Taiwanese to participate in the war effort. As part of the movement, the government began to strongly

encourage locals to speak the Japanese language, wear Japanese clothing, live in Japanese-style houses, and convert to Shintoism. In 1940, laws were also passed advocating the adoption of Japanese names, which had been largely optional before. The government aimed its later efforts at having the Taiwanese volunteer for the Imperial Japanese military, and finally ordered a full scale draft in 1945. Laws were made to grant Taiwanese membership in the Japanese Diet, which would qualify a Taiwanese to become the premier of Japan, and thus rendered Taiwan a fully Japanese region, though social barriers would still have to be overcome. This final period of Japanese rule ended with the end of World War II, when Taiwan was ceded to China.

The penetration of Japanese culture during this period was extremely concentrated; for a time, adults spoke both a Sinitic tongue and Japanese, or even being conversant almost entirely in Japanese. There are still a number of elders today, having grown up during the final phases of Japanese governance, who are able to speak Japanese quite fluently. The period of Japanese rule was also largely viewed in a positive light by many Taiwanese, who viewed the following period of ROC rule as relatively repressive. This has led to acceptance of Japanese language and culture in Taiwan, and to open cultural and linguistic exchange in the modern day; this attitude has led to Japanese tourism in Taiwan, and even to Taiwan being viewed as a favorable retirement location for Japanese citizens. Japanese continues to enjoy a strong presence among the languages of Taiwan.

3.6 Modern Taiwan in the Era of Globalization

The cession of Taiwan to the Republic of China marks a new phase in the history of cultural and linguistic shifts in Taiwan. In an increasingly globalized world, Taiwan has been subject to trickles and waves of immigration from Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, the

Philippines, Europe, and the Americas, along with continued interaction with mainland China (facilitated in recent years by some degree of political cooperation between the PRC and the ROC, which allows for commerce, trade, and citizens to travel between the two polities). These populations, called "Taiwanese New Residents 台灣新住民" either immigrate with their families or intermarry with local Sinitic peoples. (Because aborigines are generally in a significantly economically disadvantaged position, and the new immigrants' primary motivation for immigration is generally economic.) The influx of new languages continually changes the cultural landscape of a polity that is already heavily invested in developing at least four languages for use by a majority of their citizenry; with these new linguistic communities come the usual paradigms of marginalization, misunderstanding, and problems integrating into a new society.

The end of World War II saw the advent of English coming into vogue as a global lingua franca; modern Taiwan has, like many Asian countries, heavily invested in educating its citizenry in the use of English. This is mainly for purposes of international business and access to the international scientific community, which conducts much of its operation in English. The advent of the internet has also muddied the waters, so to speak, by granting citizens easy access to English-language materials and content. The same holds true for Taiwanese access to internet forums and materials, and therefore the script and political viewpoints, from mainland China. These two global languages are having a powerful effect on Taiwanese culture and language. English has immersed Taiwan in a decentralized, global culture rooted in Euro-American cultural hegemony, but which has developed universal and flexible characteristics (because English is no longer a language owned just by native speakers, but by all those who appropriate it); as English becomes understood and used in Taiwan, the idioms and other characteristics of the language alter the linguistic landscape of

the Sinitic languages already present. The spread of English around the globe is, arguably, also causing English to grow increasingly culturally neutral; while British colonialism laid the foundation for English over much of the world, English today is a product of an emerging world culture, very much attributable to the influence of the United States as well, but conceptually based on a far greater degree of cross-talk and linguistic transculturation.[113] In academic and scientific communities, where creative language is minimized and formal English usage is prevalent, one is allowed entry into Euro-American culture as a whole and Euro-American cultural values in general. The Modern Standard Chinese of mainland China introduces a number of elements: simplified script (contrasting to the so-called traditional script of Taiwan), the use of which has political connotations and loss of semantic content in the logographs; regionalism and Sinitic languages from a broader swath of Sinitic languages, contrasting the Fujian-based Min languages and the Hakka languages of Taiwan; new idioms and neologisms coined by mainland internet culture to, among other things, bypass censorship; and, the cultural and sociopolitical accretions of language accumulated by the mainland Chinese by having to operate in a radically different political environment than the Taiwanese had been for over half a century.

3.7 Languages of Taiwan: Aboriginal Languages

The aboriginal languages of Taiwan are collectively known as the Formosan languages. Taiwan is a likely candidate for the ancestral seat of the Austronesian language family: according to linguist Robert Blust, the Formosan languages form nine of its ten

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[113] Peters, Pam. *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

principal branches,[114] while the one remaining principal branch contains nearly 1,200 Malayo-Polynesian languages found outside of Taiwan.[115] It may be said that a broad consensus has coalesced around the conclusion that the Austronesian languages originated in Taiwan.[116] The classification of Formosan has not yet been decided upon, but most schemes address Tsou, Rukai, Puyuma, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Ketagalan, Kavalan, Amis, Thao, and Siraya as major languages.[117] The Formosan languages may be distantly related to the Sino-Tibetan family.[118]

The Austronesian languages describe a wide variety of languages, and so broad characterizations are difficult to make. The internal structure of the Austronesian language family is complex. The family consists of many similar and closely related languages with large numbers of dialect continua, making it difficult to recognize boundaries between branches. However, it is clear that the greatest genealogical diversity is found among the Formosan languages of Taiwan, and the least diversity among the islands of the Pacific,

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[114] Blust, Robert. "Subgrouping, Circularity and Extinction: Some Issues in Austronesian Comparative Linguistics." In *Selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, edited by E. Zeitoun & P.J.K Li, 31–94. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1999.

[115] Diamond, Jared M. "Taiwan's gift to the world". *Nature* 403 (February 2000): 709–710.

[116] Fox, James J. "Current Developments in Comparative Austronesian Studies." Paper presented at the Symposium Austronesia Pascasarjana Linguististik dan Kajian Budaya, Universitas Udayana, Bali, August 19-20, 2004.

[117] Blust, Robert. "Subgrouping, Circularity and Extinction: Some Issues in Austronesian Comparative Linguistics." In *Selected papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, edited by E. Zeitoun & P.J.K Li, 31–94. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1999. Li, Paul Jen-kuei. "The Internal Relationships of Formosan Languages." Paper presented at the Tenth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Puerto Princesa City, Palawan, Philippines, January 17-20, 2006. Ross, Malcolm & Andrew Pawley. "Austronesian Historical Linguistics and Culture History." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 425–459.

[118] Van Driem, George. "Sino-Austronesian vs. Sino-Caucasian, Sino-Bodic vs. Sino-Tibetan, and Tibeto-Burman as Default Theory." In Contemporary Issues in Nepalese Linguistics, edited by Yogendra Prasada Yadava, Govinda Bhattarai, Ram Raj Lohani, Balaram Prasain and Krishna Parajuli, 285-338. Kathmandu: Linguistic Society of Nepal, 2005: 304.

supporting a dispersal of the family from Taiwan or mainland China.[119] However, some generalizations are possible. Austronesian languages can be said to be characterized by grammatical systems that seem to have been originally agglutinative. Verb roots tend to be uninflected, sentences can lack any active element, divisions between parts of speech tend to be less marked, and utterances tend to be terse or abrupt. Base words or roots are often bisyllabic (which may at least provide a superficial area of familiarity for interaction with Modern Standard Chinese, which has many bisyllabic lexical units). Affixes are semantic modifiers or grammatical modifiers. Verbal and nominal systems are complex. Possessive pronouns generally vary according to the characteristic of the object of possession. Reduplication seems to be a common feature, often indicating plurality. Changes in social register are reflected in grammatical changes. Word order tends to be VSO or VOS (which contrasted strongly with Japanese, for example, which places the verbs at the end of phrases). Some Austronesian languages use counting systems other than base-ten, such as Bam, which uses a base-four counting system. Most Austronesian languages have highly restrictive phonotactics, with a generally small numbers of phonemes and predominantly consonant-vowel syllables.

Austronesian script tends to be derived from the Roman alphabet used by the missionaries who contacted them as the first representatives of script-using peoples, though Arabic and Indian script systems have also been adapted. There are very few examples of native Austronesian script. The lack of written records dampens modern academic knowledge of extinct Formosan languages and of the evolution of extant languages, and also

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[119] Dyen, Isidore. "A Lexicostatistical Classification of the Austronesian Languages." *International Journal of American Linguistics* Memoir 19 (1965).

deprives Formosan language speakers of a literary heritage, which are perceived by the surrounding dominant Sinitic cultures as a significant cultural achievement.

Most classification systems list the Formosan languages, which is to say the languages of the Taiwanese aborigines, as comprising the majority of the major branches of the Austronesian family. The Malayo-Polynesian languages comprise the extra-Formosan branch, and account for nearly a fifth of the number of the world's extant languages (the estimates vary due to the difficulty in finding a consensus for dividing languages from dialects, as mentioned above, and include such diverse languages as Hawaiian, Maori, Malagasy, Malay, Tok Pisin, Nauruan, Balinese, Tagalog, and Tahitian), some 1200 languages.

The Formosan languages altogether share perhaps 200,000 speakers in modern Taiwan, with most of the fluent speakers being the elderly of their respective linguistic communities. The political situation in Taiwan brought Roman script from Christian missionaries (with the inevitable translational and cultural assumptions of the missionaries' home languages), Sinitic languages from the Fujian and Hakka immigrants, and Japanese from the Japanese colonial period, the latter two groups of which have been languages of prestige, government, economy, and education. Today, while elders are still able to speak their mother tongues fluently, the young cannot. Thankfully, an aboriginal cultural and linguistic revitalization movement is now flourishing in Taiwan, with support from the government, Taiwanese society at large, and a rise in academic interest. However, the Formosan languages are still in danger of extinction, as a result of migration of the young to the cities for work and the prevalence of Modern Standard Chinese in everyday life, as a result of participating in mainstream Taiwanese culture. With lack of usage comes lack of

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linguistic innovation, and the languages subsequently have difficulties adapting to new cultural and technological situations.

3.8 Languages of Taiwan: Daigi

Prior to the arrival of the ROC contingent and the departure of the Japanese, the primary language of the Sinitic peoples of Taiwan was a group of languages from the Fujian area. These languages are today often called Min, Southern Min (Min Nan 閩南), Hokkien, Quanzhou-Zhangzhou, Hō-ló-oē (from a Fujianese ethnonym 福佬話), or Taiwanese (台語 or Tâi-oân-oē 台灣話). In this work, I call the languages in question *Daigi* (because Taiwanese does not have an agreed-upon standardized romanization yet, I am deriving Daigi from Tâi-gí), from the native pronunciation of Taiwanese "台語". Daigi has evolved from its original language of the Fujian homeland to some extent, but more importantly has been appropriated as a language of local pride, culture, historical awareness, resistance to perceived political oppression from mainlanders, and unique Taiwanese identity. The prestige variant of Daigi comes from Tainan (Tâi-lâm), a short 45 minutes north of Kaohsiung, the port city which is the focus of this study. Outside of Taiwan, the Amoy or Xiamen 廈門 variant is considered the prestige variant. Both Amoy and Daigi are based on a mixture of Quanzhou and Zhangzhou variants, which is one of the reasons Southern Min languages are sometimes called Quanzhou-Zhangzhou.

Daigi is popularly described as a dialect of Chinese; it is indeed in the Sino-Tibetan family. Daigi has characteristics which render it closer to Middle Chinese (the language of the Qieyun 切韻 of 601 CE) than most of the other extant Sinitic languages. Daigi has more consonants than Modern Standard Chinese. Daigi recognizes a contrast in aspirated,

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unaspirated and voiced consonants, whereas MSC recognizes no voicing contrast. Daigi has labial initial consonants. Daigi retains the consonant finals [-m, -p, -t, -k] from Middle Chinese which MSC has lost. As a tonal language, Daigi has eight tones, with five proper tonal contours (some of the traditionally labeled tonal categories split out the so-called "entering tones 入聲", which are characterized simply by the presence of plosive consonant finals. There are no Daigi labiodentals, unlike with MSC. Some syllables may end with glottal stops. Vowels may be contrasted by nasalization. Daigi allows velar nasal initials and apical or retroflex vowel medials (e.g. *pn̄g*: rice, foodstuff). There are extensive tone sandhi rules in Daigi, which adds a particular layer of difficulty for non-native speakers wishing to acquired the language. Roughly three-quarters to ninety percent of the Daigi lexicon has cognates in other Sinitic languages; some of these, of course, are false cognates or have different lexical categories. Pronouns are collectivized through nasalization of the vowels. The first personal plural pronouns include a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. Daigi is an analytical language; the arrangement of words in a sentence are important to their meaning, while time and plurality are almost never indicated by inflection. Daigi has a greater incidence of monosyllabic lexical items than MSC, which is lexically mostly bisyllabic. Generally, Daigi is an SVO language, though the order can be overridden by the requirement of topic-prominence. As with more archaic forms of Sinitic language, Daigi serializes verb phrases and infrequently nominalizes; there is no grammatical tense.

Daigi also has a system of coexisting colloquial 白 and literary 文 pronunciations of lexical items. Among the apparently cognate-less words of the colloquial pronunciation are many basic words with properties that contrast with similar-meaning words in the literary pronunciation, which more clearly derive from Sinitic languages. Often the former group

lacks a standard logographic written representation, and the words are variously considered colloquial, intimate, vulgar, uncultured, or more concrete in meaning than the literary counterpart. The literary counterpart, derived from a mismatch between the language of education and elite discourse and the language of the people governed, is used in personal names, place names, and in formal reading situations. Some examples include *lâng* (*Taiwanlang*: a person from Taiwan) and *jîn* (人, person, abstract; cf. MSC *ren* 人); *cha-bó͘* (查某, woman) and *lú-jîn* (女人, lady, in courtly terms; cf. MSC *nü-ren* 女人). This contrast in colloquial and literary pronunciations is ubiquitous, nearly giving speakers of Daigi a lexical diglossia. Daigi also has a number of loanwords from Japanese, few in number but in frequent use because of their appearance in popular culture, such as the words for motorcycle and bread (in Japanese, itself a loanword from Portuguese).

Daigi script has not been standardized to a level accepted by all speakers, but the government of Taiwan has made inroads by attempting selecting phonetic transcription and logograph-based writing systems; as of 2007 are presenting these in Daigi language courses in the national compulsory education system.[120] The Romanized phonetic transcription is derived from the Presbyterian missionary-designed Pe̍h-ō e-jī system, and is known as Tai-lo. The logographic system is useful because of its attempt to connect Daigi to Modern Standard Chinese and the written languages of premodern texts. However, a number of Daigi words have no logographic equivalent (about 15 percent),[121] and there is still no agreement on a number of logographic representations for Daigi words for which there is

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[120] *San, Taiwan Minnan Yu* 參、臺灣閩南語 [Three, Taiwanese Minnan]. Unpublished manuscript. *National Languages Committee.* ROC Ministry of Education.
http://www.edu.tw/files/bulletin/M0001/300iongji_960523.pdf

[121] Lin, Alvin. "Writing Taiwanese: The Development of Modern Written Taiwanese." *Sino-Platonic Papers* 89 (1999): 1-45.

reason to believe correspondence exists between logographs and a Daigi lexical unit. In many cases, when writing Daigi using logographs phonetically, the use of logographs is entirely unrelated to the original meaning of the phrase. While most Daigi morphemes have standard designated logographs, they are not always etymologically or phono-semantically related. Similar-sounding, similar-meaning or rare characters are commonly borrowed or substituted to represent a particular lexical unit. The Bopomofo phonetic transcription is sometimes used in a Romanized transcriptions' stead.

3.9 Languages of Taiwan: Hakka

The Hakka people are descended from residents of the Central Plains of northern China (particularly Henan 河南 and Shaanxi 陝西), who migrated to the far south in times of crisis. As such, Hakka retains features of and similarities to northern Sinitic languages, from which Modern Standard Chinese derives. Hakka languages also borrowed features and vocabulary items from languages in southern China with whom the later migrants had contact. For example, there is a degree of shared vocabulary between Hakka and the Min languages of Fujian. The Hakka languages are also conservative in retaining features of Middle Chinese.

Hakka consonants enjoy an aspiration contrast. Hakka syllables are constructed from an initial, medial vowel with optional glide, and ending. The initials and finals may be null, but finals may also be constructed, as in Daigi, with the series [-m, -n, -ŋ , -p, -t, -k], which are found in Middle Chinese. As a Sinitic tonal language, Hakka has four tones (similar to MSC), unless counting the so-called "checked" or entering 入 tones, which describe syllables ending in the [-p, -t, -k] series. There is a small level of tone sandhi, roughly equivalent in

amount and character to that found in MSC. The inventory of consonants is slightly

expanded compared to MSC. Hakka allows a [-v] initial, unlike either of the two other major

Sinitic languages in Taiwan. While having kept a larger inventory of monosyllabic words

from the earlier Sinitic languages from which it evolved, Hakka does not have nearly as many

as Daigi. Like Daigi, Hakka speakers refer to speaking as 講 rather than the 說 of MSC.

Hakka is an SVO language. Hakka pronouns hold the same tonal patterns throughout their

dialect continua, an unusual feature for Sinitic languages, and are cognate with MSC

pronouns at least in the first and second person. Another often cited conspicuous feature of

Hakka is the series of aspirated stops and affricates which correspond to Middle Chinese

voiced stops and affricates.[122] Hakka lacks the front rounded vowel of [y], which is present in

many other Sinitic languages. As with MSC and Daigi, Hakka has a nominalizing suffix, in

the form of [e].

As for orthography, Hakka relies mostly on the logographs of MSC, especially since

cognates are more readily found. However, Romanized phonetic orthographies are available,

having been constructed by missionary groups.

3.10 Languages of Taiwan: Modern Standard Chinese

Modern Standard Chinese, popularly termed "Mandarin" or "Mandarin Chinese,"[123]

is a complex of languages that is one of the best known representatives of the Sino-Tibetan

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[122] Hashimoto, Mantaro J. *The Hakka Dialect: A Linguistic Study of its Phonology, Syntax and Lexicon.* Cambridge University Press, Jun 10, 2010: 439.

[123] I avoid the term Mandarin because the word is a holdover from imperial Chinese times, when Europeans made contact with the Sinitic civilization, used to describe the *koine* used by "those who command" (*mandarim*, government officials, from a Portuguese word ultimately derived from the Sanskrit *mantri* "advisor"): *guanhua* 官話, "the speech of civil officials". This language was a mishmash of Chinese Central Plains languages (as codified in the 1324 CE *Phonology of the Central Plains* 中原音韻 rime tables), languages around Nanjing and later of northeastern Sinitic languages, relied on literary Chinese 文言, and was used primarily for written

language family, and is spoken by more people than any other language on earth.

One of the major misconceptions about Chinese is that there is only one Chinese language, with a number of "dialects" spoken throughout China and in overseas Chinese communities. This is erroneous. The so-called dialects, such as Cantonese (Yue) and Gan, are actually and undeniably separate Sinitic languages. These languages are not mutually intelligible with one another and often cannot be written with the logographic "character" system of MSC without serious modifications. MSC is the language of education and government in the People's Republic of China, and for many years was so for the Republic of China as well (the latter has opened up to a "mother tongue" movement, and so recognizes and teaches Daigi officially).

MSC is a tonal, isolating, SVO language. There is a low morpheme-per-word ratio in MSC, and does not use any inflections to indicate grammatical relationships, but may still form compound words or may change the meanings of individual words with derivational morphemes, either of which processes gives more than one morpheme per word. The phoneme inventory of MSC consists of about two dozen consonants, of which only [n], [ŋ], and under certain circumstances [ɻ] can occur in the syllable coda, whereas all consonants but [ŋ] may occur as syllable onsets. MSC features an aspiration contrast between consonants, but not a voicing contrast. There are about half a dozen vowels, some of which form diphthongs. MSC syllables have the maximal form CGVC^T, where the first C is the initial consonant; G is one of the glides /j w ɥ/; V is a vowel (or diphthong); the second C is a coda, /n ŋ ɻ/ (if diphthongs like ou, ai are analyzed as V) or /n ŋ ɻ j w/ (if not); and ^{T} is

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communication; there were no native speakers of "Mandarin." The Baihua ("Vernacular") Movement caused literary Chinese to be replaced by the transcription of actual spoken speech from the 1920s on, while the standard spoken Sinitic language adopted by the government of China was one based on the standard Beijing language, as decided by the Chinese National Language Unification Commission which finally settled on the standard in 1932. The latter are termed "Modern Standard Chinese.'"

the tone. MSC has four or five tones, depending on the acceptance of the sharp, brief, and lax "neutral" tone, which is often simply interpreted as an elision or acceleration of a tone normally assigned, or may be considered a simple unstressed syllable. Tones and vowels are equally important in creating meaningful morphemes, which is to say that erring in tonal production is tantamount to selecting incorrect vowels for a desired syllable. MSC morphemes consist almost always of a single syllable; there is a very high degree of incidence of homonymy, with many words being minimal pairs with respect to tone. There is a small amount of tone sandhi.

MSC is a topic-prominent language, meaning that SVO order can be overrode by the placement of a semantic topic at the beginning of a phrase, even if grammatically the topic is an object. MSC is also a pro-drop language: pronouns are implied, and therefore frequently omitted, as are assumed subjects. MSC has no tense, but is rather marked for aspect and incorporates markers of modality. The stacking order of modifying clauses is opposed to that of English; MSC embeds modifiers with markers of subordination (which are also often implied) in the head-final paradigm as opposed to the head-initial. Modifiers precede the words they modify. Verbs are serialized or concatenated, and may be complemented by other verbs to indicate a result and direction. Coverbs that take noun phrases express many of the relationships that are expressed using prepositions in English. MSC employs a classifier system whereby a classifying particle must stand between a numeral and that which is enumerated, or between a demonstrative and its noun. MSC adjectives are stative verbs. MSC also bears a number of exclamatory particles, essentially written onomatopoeias for various nonlexical vocalizations which supply emotive or interpretive information, and are often not a grammatical necessity. Given that MSC is not an inflecting language, most of the syntactic work is done by word order and by a number of grammatical particles, often

termed "empty words 虛字" in the native classification because of their lack of actual semantic content. Pronouns are unremarkable save for the lack of gender specificity in the spoken third person pronouns (the written forms differ), and that premodern pronouns consisted of a variety of honorifics and humilifics.

The written language differs enough from the oral MSC that it may be safely considered a variant, a grapholect or "written language". The MSC writing is one of the few extant logographic scripts in the modern world. Most often named "characters" (after their appearance as inscription, engraving, or decoration meant to be carved into stone), these are sometimes erroneous referred to as pictographs or ideographs. However, these are not writings with "pictures" or representations of ideas, but rather are written representations of words themselves, hence: "logograph."[124] MSC logographs each represent a single syllable, and each generally comprise one concept to a family of related concepts. Logographs are organized in dictionaries according to a radical, or common "root" component, and stroke count, which accounts for the number of traditional brush strokes it would take to formally write the logograph out. Logographs bear some small amount of phonetic information, or some form of semantic content, or a combination of the two (the latter being most frequently the case); this state of affairs renders the acquisition of written MSC particularly onerous and time-consuming. However, because MSC is a highly descriptive language in terms of neologisms, because MSC does not rely on former foreign prestige languages to supply roots for words (such as Greek and Latin supply for English scientific vocabulary, for example). As such, you have such words as 全校第一名專業生 "First (Ranked) Graduate of the Entire Campus" for "Valedictorian" (and thus, no requirement to know the Latin *vale*

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[124] From *lógos* (word, speech) and *graphḗ* (writing).

"farewell" and *dicere* "to say" which supplies "one who says farewell" after the tradition that top students give the final address to their graduating class). MSC words are in many cases bisyllabic, and thus are represented by two logographs, though in premodern times written Sinitic (often called Literary Chinese or Classical Chinese, with the two sometimes being distinct from each other) was monosyllabic; the phenomenon of increased bisyllabic words is accounted for by a putative increase in the homonymy of MSC compared to premodern times, where monosyllabic words would have been sufficiently phonetically distinct to not require supplementary description from additional morphemes. In premodern times, written and spoken Sinitic were entirely divergent, the written language being known as Wenyan 文言 or "Literary Language", with different rules of grammar and vocabulary.

The modern MSC logographs derive from mantic writings on ox scapulae and turtle plastrons from the Shang dynasty (circa 1600 BCE - 1046 BCE), which evolved into memorials on bronze ware of a subsequent era, and finally was converted for use with ink and brush media and changed through the centuries to their modern forms. Dozens of script styles throughout history have complicated the written language, which bears (according to varying estimates), between 45,000 and 200,000 individual logographs. Only roughly 3,000 to 8,000 are required knowledge for modern fluency in written MSC, however.

3.11 Languages of Taiwan: Japanese

Japanese, despite having developed in such close proximity to the Sino-Tibetan languages, exhibits a not accidental typological insularity. Japanese may either be classified as a Japonic language, of which it is the paradigmatic language, or as an Altaic language, which would render it related to such languages as Turkish and Mongolian.

Japanese is an agglutinating, synthetic language, meaning that, unlike the Sinitic

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languages, Japanese forms words by joining morphemes together and has a high degree of inflection. An affix typically represents one unit of meaning (such as "past tense" or "subordination," etc.), and bound morphemes are expressed by affixes (and not by internal changes of the root of the word, or changes in stress or tone). Affixes do not become fused with others, and do not change form conditioned by others. Japanese has a high morpheme-per-word ratio, unlike MSC. There are few irregular verbs; Japanese verbs are conjugated in regular forms, primarily for tense and voice. Adjectives as a grammatical class do not exist, being replaced by adjectival verbs. As with English, interrogative sense is conveying by a rising tone at the end of a phrase, a system which cannot work in a tonal language, or by the addition of a sentence-final interrogative particle. Negation is conveyed by inflecting the verbs, whereas MSC negation is supplied by independent negation words. Japanese syntactic word order is SOV. Phonetically, Japanese has a pure vowel system (meaning that there is a total absence of diphthongs or triphthongs) with 5 vowels, with phonemic long and short vowel lengths. Japanese is a mora-timed language, meaning that the duration of every mora is equal; a mora is "[s]omething of which a long syllable consists of two and a short syllable consists of one,"[125] and so indicates a unit of timing in the language. Japanese phonotactics are relatively simple: a mora may consist of a vowel, a consonant and a vowel, a glide and a vowel, a consonant and a glide and a vowel, or the [-n] consonant. Consonants may be geminated. The inventory of consonants is roughly 13. Japanese has significantly fewer consonants and vowels than the Sinitic languages of Taiwan. Japanese also bears the feature of pitch-accent, which uses pitch to give prominence to a syllable within a word; this is a

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[125] McCawley, J.D. "What is a tone language?" In *Tone*, edited by V.A. Fromkin, 113-31. New York: Academic Press, 1968.

feature shared with English, which features pitch-accent to a much lesser extent. Particles mark the grammatical function of words. The topic-comment feature of the Sinitic languages is also present in Japanese. Japanese is a topic-prominent language; the topic of the sentence tends to be made the subject. Subject, objects, or pronouns may be dropped if obvious from context. As with the Sinitic languages, phrase-final particles are used to convey emotional information. Nouns are unmarked for number, gender, or aspect. To indicate plurality, numbers with concomitant classifiers may be used. Japanese retains a complex system of honorific grammar. Honorifics are largely constrained to pronoun usage in the Sinitic languages of Taiwan, or in word choice. A large portion of Japanese vocabulary is borrowed from the Sinitic languages, though the two language families are entirely unrelated typologically, due to the huge impact of the Sinitic civilization in East Asia. Some words have also been borrowed from European languages, especially scientific and technical terms, beginning with the Meiji Restoration period (1868 CE - 1912 CE).

Japanese writing makes extensive use of Sinitic logographs, with minor variations, and incorporates them into a dual moraic script system. The writing system entered Japan in the 5th century CE; at first, the Japanese wrote in Classical Chinese, though as soon as the 7th century there was writing in the Japanese language using logographs. In Japanese, logographs are known to have multiple readings according to their use and function. On'yomi音読みreadings are Sino-Japanese readings, divided into Go-on 呉音 from Sinitic pronunciation of 5ᵗʰ and 6ᵗʰ centuries, Kan-on 漢音 of the 7th to 9ᵗʰ centuries, Tō -on 唐音 of 9ᵗʰ century to 1868 CE. The Kun'yomi 訓読み readings are native Japanese readings. Due to ambiguities in possible readings, it is not uncommon to find phonetic moraic subtitles next to kanji to give their proper pronunciation in context. The complementary phonetic

moraic script systems exist to represent either native words (*hiragana*) or foreign words (*katakana*), but are design to represent sound in exactly the same way, and consist of representations of 51 morae. The logographic *kanji* system contains a large number of logographs, the precise number of which, like with MSC, is difficult to define. Large dictionaries contain more than 50,000 logographs, but roughly 3,000 are in common use, and roughly 11,000 are encoded Japanese Industrial Standards for *kanji*.[126] Numerals can be either logographic or in the Arabic numeral set. As with MSC, prior to 1900, written and spoken Japanese were entirely divergent, the written language being known as Bungo 文語 or "Literary Language," with different rules of grammar and vocabulary.

3.12 Brief Overview of Language Situation

Taiwan is a staunchly multilingual society. MSC is perhaps the most prestigious and most utilized language at present; ever since the arrival of the ROC on the island, MSC has been the language of government, the military, education, and economic power. For many years, it was the sole official language, though that situation is no longer the case. Daigi, along with its earlier relatives in the Min language family, has been the language of the majority of Sinitic residents of Taiwan for generations. The process initiated by the ROC to replace Daigi with MSC as the language of Taiwan was not in place long enough to eliminate Daigi as a native language spoken at home. Thanks to political pressures, a mother tongue revitalization movement has brought Daigi back into the political and prestige language arena. Though elders, residents of rural areas, and southerners are more likely to speak Daigi, there is little danger at present of Daigi being supplanted or removed from Taiwan as a living

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[126] JIS X 0213 encodes 11,233.

language. Hakka also enjoys a strong presence after facing similar pressures to those felt by Daigi, compounded by the fact that ethnic Hakka residents of Taiwan are estimated to not have numbered more than a fifth of the total population. Hakka faced a serious challenge from MSC and Daigi, but the same language revitalization movement that brought a resurgence of Daigi also brought to public eye the need to preserve Hakka. In addition, close-knit Hakka communities actively sought to preserve their linguistic heritage. To preserve and revitalize Hakka, the language is being taught in Hakka communities and a relatively new national Hakka television station occupies a prominent position on Taiwanese airways. Japanese, the language of the Japanese colonial period, does not suffer a negative stigma in Taiwan as it does in other polities previously occupied by the Japanese Empire. For a time, a large segment of population was educated in Japanese and encouraged to use it in daily life, with the ultimate goal of Taiwan becoming a fully Japanese island. There are elders today who still speak the Japanese learned during their schoolchild days, though this number is fast diminishing. Japanese has had an impact on Daigi, at least, through extended contact between the two languages on Taiwan. Due to the modern positive relationship between Japan and Taiwan, Japanese is one of the most frequently taught foreign languages in Taiwan. Finally, English has becoming more prominent as a foreign language in Taiwan, due to the widespread acceptance of English as a global language of international relations, trade, science, and technology. English language training is part of the curriculum of Taiwanese compulsory education; English has a prominent place in the supplementary education system (補習班); there is a small segment of expatriate English speakers living in Taiwan; and, most tourism information is presented in English.

3.13 Religion in Taiwan

The majority of the Taiwanese population practice Buddhism, Daoism, or a combination of the two.[127] This work will be focusing on religion in Kaohsiung, southern Taiwan, as case studies emblematic of the greater religious situation in Taiwan.

Daoism, a Sinitic religion, has a strong hold in southern Taiwan. To reduce complex arguments to a stereotypical extreme, religion in the Sinitic civilizations has been presented among non-experts as a canonical example of the differences in the understanding of the category of "religion" in different parts of the world. The notion of religion in the so-called Western civilizations bears with it particular concepts that construct it, such as prophetic founding figures, sacred texts as fonts of legitimacy and doctrine, commitment to monoreligiosity, focus on individual relationship to religion, emphasis on monotheism, emphasis on the afterlife, central authorities whose role it is to interpret and thereby change the transmitted traditions, and conceptual space reserved for credence in the religious system. On the other hand, Sinitic religion is described as pragmatic, focused on this-worldly benefits, amorphous or decentralized, "superstitious," collectivistic, polytheistic, and focused on practice without a proportional regard to understanding the ostensible reasons, doctrines, or philosophies behind said practice. Of course, many of these can be said to be born of popular understandings of religion and broad civilization-level differences, both promulgated by groups with specific agendas and contextualized according to particular historical circumstances (such as European Christian missionaries or Chinese Confucian scholars) that were at odds with what might be termed the academic enterprise of modern scholarship: ideally, one that attempts to find objective truths, complex realities, and systems of

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[127] It is important to remember, however, that the distinction between the two religions may be one foisted on practitioners by outside observers. That is to say, a practitioner often does not see their religious practice as belonging to two different religious traditions, no more than a Catholic sees the same issue in going to two different churches which venerate two different saints.

knowledge for the benefit of all mankind. For example, calling Sinitic religion "orthopraxic,"

is surely a simplification, given that the notion of belief is central to accepting a topic as a

legitimate subject of discourse in the first place.[128] Similarly, calling Western religion

"orthodoxic" implies that one does not change one's behavior much in light of the teachings

of one's religious system, instead conceptualized religious belief in the domain of the mind

alone.[129]

The very idea of "religion" is one that, as Asad points out, is bound up as a historical

product of discursive processes, and this is one that is strongly tied to language communities.

The Latin *religio* gives a snapshot of an early point along the historical discursive process: the

strong, venerative binds which tie the living to the dead in a relationship of awe and

honor.[130] This idea of veneration gives rise to, and transforms, many "Western" notions of

religion, notions that did not develop in the same way in the Sinitic civilization. Perhaps it is

better to say that "religion" in China can be thought of in terms of conceptual analogues to

religions of the Indo-European language communities, but one that is not commensurate in

many ways.

In examining the language of religion in the modern West versus medieval China, for

example, one finds that "…[u]nderlying the metaphors in which even the most apparently

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[128] That is to say, one has to have certain baseline assumptions about the world in order to accept certain practices as possible. On the subject of Pu Songling's 蒲松齡(1640-1715) *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異, for example, the reception of the work centered "on the very issue of belief, namely the legitimacy of ghosts as a subject matter of discourse." As a work that centers on the supernatural and assumes a religious thought system as a basis for accepting the work, it is closely tied to religious thought. Luo Hui, "The Ghost of *Liaozhai*: Pu Songling's Ghostlore and its History of Reception." Ph.D. Diss., University of Toronto, 2009: 15.

[129] Though of course these are extreme caricatures of more nuanced arguments, the distinction still crops up in today's introductory world religions textbooks, for example, or simply must be addressed in order to be stamped out, as Stephen Feuchtwang does in The Anthropology of Religion, Charisma, and Ghosts: Chinese Lessons for Adequate Theory (Walter de Gruyter: 2010), p. 54.

[130] Often one sees *religio* interpreted as "to bind anew" from *re-* "again" and *ligare* "to bind"; however, *re-* also functioned as an intensifier, as with *remanere* "to remain (situated)", from *re-* + *manere* ("to stay"). Therefore, I interpret *religio* as "strongly bind".

neutral descriptive statements about religions are couched will be found implications that silently but powerfully determine the questions we ask and the assumptions we make about the nature of religions."[131] Something as seemingly innocuous as metaphorizing religion as an organic entity (when speaking of the "growth" of a religious tradition, for example, carries, if unlooked-for, nigh-unfelt implications: we "…imagine them not only as entities, but as entities of particular kinds: autonomous agents going about the business of fulfilling their developmental teleology; living beings that completely transform ingested substances into parts of themselves unrecognizable from other parts; and clearly demarcated, sharply bounded, and holistically and functionally hyperorganized life-forms, every component of which shares the same fundamental essence as every other part."[132] In times of early contact between the European and Sinitic civilizations, the imposition of categories such as "god(s)", "beliefs," and "prayer" onto what Europeans observed as Sinitic religion, caused later generations of natives to *adopt* those concepts as "religious," rather than being reflective of native conceptualization and mental demarcations.[133]

Sinitic religion is described by Goossaert as: "all-encompassing, not exclusive. It embraces all forms of religious practice, whether personal (meditation, salvation techniques, body techniques including martial arts, access to knowledge and revelation through possession and spirit-writing) or group (worship of local saints or ancestors, death rituals), which are all grounded in Chinese cosmology. It includes ancient sacrificial religion,

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[131] Campany, Robert Ford. "On the Very Idea of Religions (in the modern West and in Early Medieval China)," *History of Religions* 42 (2003): 287-319 (289).

[132] Campany, Robert Ford. "On the Very Idea of Religions (in the modern West and in Early Medieval China)," *History of Religions* 42 (2003): 287-319 (296).

[133] Fan Lizhu 范麗珠. "Xifang zongjiao lilun xia Zhongguo zongjiao yanjiu de kunnan 西方宗教理論下中國宗教研究的困境" [Difficulties in Research on Chinese Religion Under Western Religious Theory], *Journal of Nanjing University (Philosophy, Humanities, and Social Sciences)* 2 (2009): 92-101 (96).

Confucianism which continued it, Taoism and Buddhism, as well as the sectarian movements that were formed later. The most common form was the worshipping community with a temple, dedicated to a local saint: this kind of community was not Confucian, Buddhist or Taoist but linked to all three. Chinese religion existed but did not have a name because it did not have an overarching church structure or dogmatic authority. It brought together all forms of China's religious life, with the exception of certain religions of foreign origin which, because they required exclusive membership and claimed a monopoly of the truth, could not be included: these were the three monotheisms, Islam, Judaism and Christianity."[134] The kinds of incongruities between religious concepts in our language communities, as demonstrated above, renders even more important the linguistic approach to religious studies. The languages used to engage Sinitic religions, even though they are within the sphere of the Sinitic language families, nonetheless create systematic incommensurabilities in proportion to the differences between the languages themselves. While the differences in the Indo-European languages and the Sinitic languages may give rise to greater differences in conceptions of religion, the smaller differences between Sinitic languages are nonetheless perilous in the fact that the differences are assumed to be so small as to be irrelevant or even nonexistent. However, even small initial deviations at a point of origin can lead to large deviations at the target.

The import of the above lies in the unfortunate relegation of a vast swath of religious practice in the Sinitic civilization to categories of miscellanea with such names as "popular religion," "folk religion," or "Chinese religion" when these systems of religiosity do not conform to a stereotypically "Western" conception of single, bounded religious traditions

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[134] Goossaert, Vincent. "The Concept of Religion in China and the West." *Diogenes* 205 (2005): 13–20 (13-14).

with central authorities, original and unchanging scriptures, orthodox beliefs and practices, and founding figures. Consigning these religious traditions to a catch-all vessel of miscellanea has a series of unintended negative consequences, which may be useful to consider if one wishes to place Daoism in a proper context of the religious situation in Taiwan. In these terms are implied fragmentation, the lack of power that comes with decentralization, a lack of historical grounding and connection to tradition, lack of educated and elite tradition to sustain the intellectual life of the tradition, inferiority to "single" religious traditions commonly in the roll of "world religions," a lack of identity, and many more. The terms have, in some cases, of course, filtered into the consciousness of the very practitioners of those traditions; considering oneself a practitioner of a stigmatized religion is to stigmatize the self. In the populations observed in this study, at least, there appeared to be a strong sense of self-identification with Daoism, even though the religious traditions in question may traditionally be classified by scholars as popular religion; the sense appears to be, according to practitioners in the religious communities I studied and in other religious communities, that unless a Sinitic religious tradition is explicitly Buddhist, it is Daoist. I follow this emic notion of religion in my interpretation of the religiosity I have encountered.

While necessarily oversimplifying, it will suffice to say that Daoism is a complex of religious traditions that originated in China, and which has ties to Sinitic philosophy and intellectual epistemology from the infancy of Sinitic civilization. In populations of adherents to Sinitic religious traditions in southern Taiwan, Daoism is closely related to, even conflated with, Sinitic popular religion (as understood by scholars): the innumerable so-called shamanistic traditions, mediumistic traditions, and folk traditions that either blend the religions mentioned above or do not neatly fit into those categories. I have selected to narrow my focus to Daoism because of its enmeshment with Sinitic civilization, of which

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Taiwan is an inheritor and participant. Daoism is among the world's most well-known, influential, and culturally productive; the religious traditions of southern Taiwan are no exception to this tradition.

Daoism is a rich and vibrant religion that is practiced today in various forms, but one that also has been around for many centuries. For the purpose of this study, I take the position that Daoism began as a religious movement in 142 CE with the Tianshi Dao 天師道, and was based on a number of intellectual and philosophical traditions that had been in accretion in the Sinitic civilization prior to that point. However, Daoism has since spread and intermingled with Sinitic culture to such an extent that "Daoism" is no longer necessarily restricted to the descendants of Tianshi Dao; thus, a great number of folk religious systems in China might well be classified as Daoist based on iconography, popular perception, content and presentation of scriptures, philosophical standpoint concerning the Dao, and other criteria. In other words, in order to avoid confusion amidst a number of arguments on the nature of Daoism versus other forms of Sinitic religiosity, I take the stance that Sinitic religion that is not expressly and solely Buddhist, Muslim, or Christian can at least reasonably, if not accurately, be called "Daoist." In this paper, I distance myself from the notion that the "popular religious behavior" in the Sinitic civilization is not real or pure "Daoism," and that Daoism is restricted to a) an elite, or b) a specialized group of religious functionaries, such as the *daoshi* 道士 living in a specialized religious complex, or those that have received registers. This point is, of course, arguable; perhaps it is just as useful to call Daoism by the name "Sinitic religion" and leave it at that, though in this text Daoism is instead subsumed into the category of Sinitic religion.

Daoism in Taiwan is generally centered on either temple-bound activity or on practices localized around itinerant, semiprofessional functionaries. In the first case, which is the focus of this paper, temples (*gong* 宮, *guan* 觀, *dian* 殿, *yuan* 院, *ci* 祠) serve as the primary and immovable locus of practice. Temples house a principal *shen* 神(deity or divinity) and a number of ancillary deities, some nearly equal in stature to the main one. Temple organizations, generally comprised of elders and volunteers, maintain the temple, invite or keep on the premises religious functionaries, organize events, and manage religious practice by the practitioners. Practitioners come to the temple to engage in veneration (*baibai* 拜拜) through offering incense, burning of representative spirit money, donation of actual currency, or donations of concrete objects such as fruit or pre-made offering baskets. These practices are often mingled with requests for some boon, or to turn aside some ill circumstance; particular deities have certain domains as their own province; e.g. those that seek to pass the college entrance exams would be especially solicitious towards Wenchang 文昌 (a deity of culture and literature), while those having trouble conceiving may call on Zhusheng Niangniang 註生娘娘 (a deity of fertility). One may come to have a blessing ceremony performed (such as on one's vehicle, to avoid accidents, or on one's own person, to stave off illness). In addition, one finds divinatory practices: casting divination blocks (*ba-bueh* 擲筊) and drawing divination stalks (*qian* 籤), both aimed at providing advice on how to proceed with thorny issues. Finally, there are regular festivals and rituals, often celebrating the birthdates or anniversaries of installation of the deities in the temples, or to have the deities emerge in a ritual process to emulate an inspection tour of the territory over which they have jurisdiction. During this time, temple organizations arrange for other temple groups and lay practitioners to visit and participate in the festivities, often in the form of

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ritual visitation by other deities accompanied by ceremonial flair and music from the social

imagination of the imperial eras, mass offerings, scriptural chanting, fireworks, and feasting.

The main difference between the above-described Daoism and Buddhism in Taiwan

is less sharp than one might be predisposed to believe. A large part of Buddhist practice in

Taiwan is centered on devotional practice described in the paragraph above, save for the fact

that the divinities one enters into congress with are known to be Buddhist: e.g., Mañjuśrī

文殊師利菩薩, Guanyin 觀音菩薩, Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛, Maitreya 彌勒菩薩, and

Kṣitigarbha 地藏菩薩.[135] However, Buddism is also known for its focus on peace,

compassion, especially as expressed in charitable donations and social work, and for the

strength of major Buddhist organizations in Taiwan, the most notable of which are the

Dharma Drum Mountain (Fa Gu Shan 法鼓山), Fo Guang Shan (佛光山, Buddha's Light

Mountain), and the Tzu Chi Foundation (慈濟基金會, Compassionate Relief Foundation).

These organizations are well known and generally enjoy the admiration of the populace, and

practice what may be termed Humanistic Buddhism. Humanistic Buddhism focuses on

engaging society at large to help face social issues, instead of focusing on devotional practice,

ritual, or the cultivation of a monastic class dedicated to resolving the problem of suffering

which keeps humans in the eternal cycle of death and rebirth. The large Buddhist

organizations mentioned above have richly furnished central temple complexes which also

serve as administrative centers for the charitable works they engage in; these complexes are

the targets of pilgrimage and religious tourism. These organizations sponsor universities,

hospitals, and disaster relief efforts. Many members of these organizations are members of

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[135] Even without formal instruction, it is not difficult to spot the foreign-sounding names of the divinities, nor
their characteristic titles of "bodhisattva 菩薩" or "buddha 佛[陀]."

the middle class that benefitted from the Taiwanese economic boom; as wealth gives leisure time, these members of the middle class turned to the Buddhist organizations to give meaning to their lives.[136] Outside of Humanistic Buddhism, smaller Buddhist temples are as ubiquitous as Daoist temples, and offer the same services: divination, incense and offerings given to obtain benefits, participation in festivals, and the social benefits of participating in community activities and small-scale social work. The majority of active members of these temples are the elderly, whose leisure time to pursue religious work is granted by their retirement from the labor force. In Taiwan, the monastic orders of Buddhist temples are more salient in the population imagination than the Daoist religious functionaries, and perhaps enjoy a greater perception of legitimacy and organizational strength. Buddhist practitioners overwhelmingly engage in religious practice that is traditionally outside of the purview of Buddhism *sensu stricto*, but this in way causes one to not be identified as "Buddhist", both as a mark of self-identification and by Taiwanese society at large. Buddhists seek to promote Buddhist ethical principles in Taiwanese society, most noticeably by "leading by example" and by direct advertisement of said values without a proselytizing component. Buddhism, like Daoism, is not removed from Taiwanese society, but rather occupies a significant portion of Taiwanese cultural expression, in terms of art, ethical thought, architecture, traditional music, and cuisine. There are Taiwanese Buddhists that choose to engage in vegetarianism as a religious lifestyle choice, as a form of devotional practice. It appears to be much more common to encounter Buddhist practice (such as sutra chanting) in MSC than in Daigi, however, because of the high concentration of Buddhist leadership which came from mainland China with the ROC.

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[136] Madsen, Richard. "Democracy's Dharma: Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan." Review by Scott Pacey. *The China Journal*, No. 60, 203-205 (203). Chicago: University of Chicago press, July 2008.

Chapter II, Article 13 of the Constitution of the Republic of China guarantees freedom of religion to all of its citizens, while Article 7 guarantees equality of all citizens before the law regardless of religious affiliation. Therefore, Taiwan hosts many other religious groups, though none are so numerous as Daoism and Buddhism. Christianity has a visible presence on the island, being especially population with the aboriginal populations, migrant worker populations, and is gaining ground with working-class Taiwanese. Christianity has a long history in Taiwan, having entered Taiwan with the Dutch missionaries, prior to the inroads of the Sinitic civilization. However, during Koxinga's reign, Christianity was virtually eradicated, but returned in the 19th century, with the arrival of Dominicans to spread Christianity anew. Christianity appears to be traditionally stronger in the south, where the Dominicans first arrived, and where the first Catholic diocese of Taiwan (in Kaohsiung, upon Taiwan's detachment from the Diocese of Amoy, in mainland China) was set up. Christian groups provide for social welfare by running hospitals, educational facilities such as universities, and charitable works foundations. Christianity accounts for a relatively small percentage of the population, roughly 3 percent to 10 percent of the total population, by most estimates.[137] Four of the five presidents of the ROC since the ROC's arrival in Taiwan have been Christian, though, as with many politicians, they visited Daoist temples, Buddhist temples, and other religious sites important to the Taiwanese. Islam also has a presence in Taiwan, though a relatively small one, at less than 1% of the population (even considering migrant workers from Muslim nations such as Indonesia); there is a Grand Mosque in Taipei which may be considered the largest and most

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[137] For example, the CIA estimates the total Christian population to be roughly 4.5% (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tw.html#People).

influential of the island. Other religions include Tenrikyo 天理教, Lord of the Universe Church 天帝教, I-Guan Tao 一貫道, and Baháʼí.

3.14 Why Taiwan?

For the purposes of this study, Taiwan is a particularly suitable location, because of its presence at intersections between major languages in a strongly multilingual society. Taiwan hosts Modern Standard Chinese, Daigi, Hakka, Japanese, and English as major languages in use by the overwhelming majority of the populace, many having comfortable ability, at least passively, in two or three of those languages. On top of that, there is a small original substrate of Austronesian and languages of the Tai-Kadai family over which at least Daigi is layered, and which is undergoing a preservation and revitalization process.[138] The religious situation is complex; freedom of religion allows, at least nominally, any religious ideas to take root and propagate. Such ideas carry with them intellectual and linguistic baggage from the civilizations in which the religions arose and spread from. Daoism, the major native Sinitic religion, contends with Buddhism, a religion foreign to China but part of Sinitic religiosity for so long as to be an indivisible part of Sinitic religious culture. These two complexes of traditions are overlaid on intricate and deep-rooted local religious processes, all wedded to linguistic communities, spread out from them, and intermingling with others to create new forms of reasoning, religious thought, practice, and means of using language to mediate these processes. A history of many cultures and peoples gives Taiwan a powerful

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[138] Sakai, Toru 酒井亨. *Tan Thàm-kiû HŌ-LÓ Tâi-gí Tiong-kan Ê Hui Hàn-gí Gí-sû -- Lô-má-jī Siá-su Siá-huat Ê Tsìng-tong-sìng* Tan 探求 HŌ -LÓ 台語中間Ê 非漢語語詞--羅馬字寫書寫法Ê 正當性 [Seeking Non-Sinitic Words in Taiwanese - Legitimacy in the Written Roman Alphabet]. Paper presented at the Tâi-uân Lô-má-jī Kàu-ha̍k Kap Gián-kiù Kok-tsè Ha̍k-su̍t Gián-thó-huē 台灣羅馬字教學KAP研究國際學術研討會 [International Conference on the Roman Alphabet Education in Taiwan] in Taitung Normal Institute 台東師範學院, July 14th 2002.

complexity. Add to this the phenomenon of globalization, the influx of English and Japanese, with Christianity and Shintoism, New Religious Movements, migrant workers, global media, and recent open interaction with mainland China and the concomitant religious ideas from this interaction, and Taiwan demonstrates the clear potential for the creation of new and interesting approaches to language and religion.

CHAPTER 4: THE DAODE YUAN AND THE YIMIN MIAO

4.1 Selection of the Dao De Yuan and Yimin Miao

The Daode Yuan 道德院 (Sanctuary of the Dao and the De), built in 1960 in its current location, lies on the lower slope of a small mountainous hill system known as Lion Mountain 獅山 (or 獅子山), also known as Linnei Mountain 林內山, on the shore of Golden Lion Lake 金獅湖 in the Sanmin District 三民區 of Kaohsiung 高雄, Taiwan.

The Kaohsiung Baozhong Yimin Miao 高雄褒忠義民廟 (Kaohsiung Temple of the Dutiful, Commended for Loyalty), built in 1977 in a heavily urbanized part of the Sanmin district of Kaohsiung, lies near the intersection of two major roads, amidst apartment buildings, and near a city park.

The Daode Yuan and the Yimin Miao were selected as case studies because of their presence at intersections between major languages in a strongly multilingual region. Taiwan hosts Modern Standard Chinese, Daigi, Hakka, English, and some Japanese as major

languages in use by the overwhelming majority of the populace, many having comfortable ability, at least passively, in two or three of those languages. On top of that, there is a small original substrate of Austronesian and Tai-Kradai languages over which at least Daigi is layered, and which is undergoing a preservation and revitalization process.[139] Practitioners and functionaries at the Daode Yuan favor Daigi, while those at the Yimin Miao favor Hakka, neither being the language of government and education, and therefore power, but both being important languages of identity, tradition, cultural affinity, and social cohesion. The complexity of the linguistic situation on the ground, the richness of the linguistic choices, the complexity of the linguistic boundaries, makes the Daode Yuan and Yimin Miao amenable to the study of the interaction between social elements of religion and language. The linguistic and social complexities make salient the distinct conceptual and spatial frameworks I wish to examine because there are so many opportunities for humans to make the linguistic choices which create those frameworks. As the language situations of these two temples will be discussed in the subsequent chapter, this chapter presents the history, background, deities, structure, rituals, scriptures, and functionaries of both temples.

4.2 Background: Daoism in Taiwan

The Daode Yuan and Yimin Miao exist in an environment largely favorable to Daoism, because of the combination of Sinitic culture and uninterrupted religious freedom. Since the 63rd Celestial Master, Zhang Enfu 張恩溥, arrived in Taiwan in 1949 the number

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[139] Sakai, Toru 酒井亨. *Tan Thàm-kiû HÖ-LÓ Tâi-gí Tiong-kan Ê Hui Hàn-gí Gí-sû -- Lô-má-jī Siá-su Siá-huat Ê Tsìng-tong-sìng* Tan 探求 HÖ -LÓ 台語中間Ê 非漢語語詞--羅馬字寫書寫法Ê 正當性 [Seeking Non-Sinitic Words in Taiwanese - Legitimacy in the Written Roman Alphabet]. Paper presented at the Tâi-uân Lô-má-jī Kàu-ha̍k Kap Gián-kiù Kok-tsè Ha̍k-su̍t Gián-thó-huē 台灣羅馬字教學KAP 研究國際學術研討會 [International Conference on the Roman Alphabet Education in Taiwan] in Taitung Normal Institute 台東師範學院, July 14th 2002.

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of Daoist practitioners in Taiwan has increased significantly. In 1951, Zhang founded the Taiwan Daoist Association 台灣省道教會; in 1966, the General Association of Chinese Daoism 中華道教總會 was founded.[140] According to estimates, about 70 to 80 percent of Taiwanese religious practitioners consider themselves Daoist adherents.[141] Such estimates are complicated by the fact that Daoism is not an exclusive religious system, and that popular (mis)conceptions of what Daoism is may place their self-determined status at odds with the understanding of scholars and religious functionaries. Officially, there are roughly 9,000 Daoist temples in Taiwan, but their actual number may be considered much larger, because unofficial Daoist halls rarely register with the government, due to land ownership constraints; however, government recognition does not necessarily determine whether a Daoist temple is "authentic" or not according to practitioners. Scholars estimate that there are around 20,000 official and unofficial Daoist temples in Taiwan.[142]

Early Taiwanese Daoism began as an offshoot of the Daoisms of Fujian and Guangdong, passed down by the Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) lineage of Mt. Longhu 龍虎山 of Jiangxi 江西. The Zhengyi traditions survive in many of the ritual programs of Daoist temples today. Another major form of Daoism which survives in the modern world, Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Reality) teachings were primarily transmitted to Taiwan after 1987, when Taiwanese martial law was lifted and when Taiwanese citizens were first permitted to travel to mainland China to visit relatives. Quanzhen spread into Taiwan

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[140] General Association of Chinese Daoism official website, (http://chinesetaoism.taoservice.org/main.php?page=about), accessed September 15th, 2012.

[141] Ho, Wanli. "Daoist Nuns in Taiwan: A Case Study of the Daode Yuan." *Journal of Daoist Studies* 2 (2009): 137-164 (138-139).

[142] Ho, Wanli. "Daoist Nuns in Taiwan: A Case Study of the Daode Yuan." *Journal of Daoist Studies* 2 (2009): 137-164 (138-139).

through a conscious learning process rather than being transplanted naturally through

immigration.[143] Both of these traditions will be discussed below. In particular, the

Benevolent and Sagely Temple of Nantou 南投慈聖宮 began to transmit and emphasize

Quanzhen ritual practices in Taiwan after its members studied them in mainland China. The

Daode Yuan enjoys the use of a productive amalgam of Zhengyi and Quanzhen traditions

(discussed below), though being mostly affiliated with Zhengyi in their ritual program (and,

therefore, in their relations with the outside world). The Yimin Miao practices a devotional

type of Daoism, with rituals performed either by invited functionaries or by members of

their administrative committee.

4.2.1 Zhengyi and Quanzhen.

The Daode Yuan draws from Zhengyi and Quanzhen veins. The two traditions do

not vary greatly from one another, save for the emphasis on internal alchemy practices of the

Quanzhen School, and that most of the modern rituals of Daoist temples in use today derive

from the Zhengyi School.

The Zhengyi School is linked to the very foundations of Daoism, when, according to

tradition, in 142 CE Lord Lao 老君 bestowed the Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox

Unity 正一盟威 to Zhang Daoling 張道領. According to the Xiang'er 想爾 commentary to

the Daode Jing 道德經, "the One is the Dao" 一者道也;[144] thus was the concept of unity,

singularity, and wholeness tied to the Dao. Zhang's contemporaries referred to his teaching

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[143] Zheng, Yije 鄭義潔."*Zongjiao yinyue de yizhi yu chuancheng – yi Nantou Cisheng gong Quanzhen Dao weili*"
宗教音樂的移植與傳承—以南投「慈聖宮」全真道為例 [Migration and Transmission of Religious Music
- Using the Quanzhen Daoist Cisheng Temple of Nantou as an Example]. M. A. Thesis, Chinese Cultural
University, Taipei, 2004: ii.

[144] Bokenkamp, Stephen. *Early Taoist Scriptures*. Berkeley: University of California Press (1997): 89.

as the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice 五斗米道, while during the Six Dynasties the southern Taoists called it the Way of the Celestial Masters or Tianshi Dao 天師道. Thus, the designations of Tianshi or Celestial Masters and Orthodox Unity or Zhengyi all refer to the Zhengyi tradition. The Celestial Masters, leaders who inherited their role in a lineage from Zhang Daoling himself, resided on Mount Longhu in Jiangxi. After the mid-Tang period, they frequently received imperial appointments, and Daoist functionaries traveled to Mount Longhu to obtain transmissions of methods and registers. After the Yuan dynasty had vanquished the Southern Song, Khublai Khan (r. 1260-94) acknowledged the claim of Zhang Daoling's descendants to the title Celestial Master, and from the thirty-sixth generation onward they were granted the right to act as the leaders of Taoism in Jiangnan. From the end of the Ming, the Zhengyi School gradually declined. During the Qing dynasty, relations between the court and Zhengyi came to an end. Thus, Zhengyi teachings could only be handed down among the populace, and its religious activities were no longer supported in any way by the government.

In the last twenty years, after an interruption of more than half a century, Zhengyi is now active again and enjoys government support in Mainland China and in Taiwan. The residence of the Celestial Master at Mount Longhu has been renovated and a young Daoist priests are being educated to reconstitute a strong Zhengyi institution. The Celestial Master heads Zhengyi Daoism and is considered to be the religious leader (either of Daoism or of Zhengyi, depending on the level of government support). Though Mount Longhu later lost its power to actually control the other Daoist mountains and oversee regional Daoist offices, the Celestial Master continued to be commonly regarded as the Zhengyi spiritual leader, and is still revered as such today.

Another feature of Zhengyi is the institution of conferring registers when becoming a functionary. Registers serve as proof of the continued transmission of Daoist schools, and people studying the Dao were considered as ordained priests only after they were conferred registers. These were divided into grades; different grades expressed different degrees of familiarity with Zhengyi practices and rites. The registers were meant to guarantee the authority of the functionaries, who would have obtained their learning from an authentic spiritual lineage, and to maintain a strong organizational structure. Zhengyi regarded Laozi 老子, the putative author of the Daode Jing, as the ancestor of its teaching, but developed its own corpus of scriptures and writings. The Ming Daoist Canon, the Zhengtong Daozang 正統道藏 records altogether thirty-one works under the heading of Orthodox Unity. The main religious practices of the Teaching of Orthodox Unity are the performance of *zhai* 齋 (Retreats) and *jiao* 醮 (Offering) rituals, as well as the use of talismans 符 and registers 錄. The liturgy also integrates popular customs and culture, and can be performed in local dialects; this feature is taken advantage of at the Daode Yuan. Zhengyi priests can leave their families and live in temples, or they may also stay with their families. For instance, at the Daode Yuan, both varieties of functionary exist, though the female priests do leave the home to become permanent monastic figures. Zhengyi practitioners are usually allowed to eat meat and abstain from it only when they perform rituals, but the Daode Yuan priests do not eat meat, while the other functionaries do, but abstain during religious practice and during designated feast days and vegetarian days.[145]

Quanzhen is today the main official branch of Daoism in mainland China. While Quanzhen doctrines do not radically differ from those of other Daoist schools, Quanzhen is

[145] Pregadio, Fabrizio. *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, s.v. *Zhengyi*. London: Routledge, 2008.

known for the celibate life of its functionaries and and their communal mode of life. Quanzhen was founded by a charismatic preacher, Wang Zhe 王喆, an inner alchemy practitioner who lived as a hermit in the Zhongnan mountains 終南山 of Shaanxi 陝西 and reportedly was guided by popular transcendents 仙. The formal foundation of Quanzhen is traditionally associated with the setting up of five lay associations 會 that were later to support the movement. During its first decades, Quanzhen had no official existence; its physical institutions were not recognized by the state and many functionaries were not ordained Daoists. As the Quanzhen teachings quickly became popular, adepts were often invited into formal temples and monasteries. In the Yuan dynasty, Quanzhen became the official form of Daoism, and most existing temples converted to it. Quanzhen developed rapidly, backed by an autonomous organization, led by a patriarch who nominated a religious administration that did not answer to government control. This autonomy allowed Quanzhen to thrive during a time of chaos, and to raise funds on a nationwide scale for religious works, the most spectacular of which is the compilation of the largest-ever Daoist Canon between 1237 and 1244, the Treasure Canon of the Arcane Metropolis 玄都寶藏. During the Ming period, Quanzhen saw the end of its state-declared autonomy. The Quanzhen clergy and institutions were integrated into the religious bureaucracy whose head was the Celestial Master of the Zhengyi order. Quanzhen ascetic training drew admiration from most Daoists: its status was acknowledged even in such Zhengyi texts.[146] Quanzhen ushered in changes to long-established practices. One of these is the closure of Daoist institutions that had become hereditary, each functionary adopting a disciple from his kin. A

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[146] For example, the Ten Guidelines for the Daoist Community 道門十規 and the Jade Fascicles of Great Clarity on the Ultimate Way of the Celestial Sovereign 天皇至道太清玉冊.

number of movements predicated on offering instruction to all made Quanzhen inroads much simpler. These movements rejected or modified the traditional ordination procedures, which usually limited the number of disciples of each master to one. Quanzhen amplified this renewal with the founding of lay associations for the practice of inner alchemy, and by admitting novices of all ages and social classes. Even in later Quanzhen systems, all applicants were considered, and the selection was based not on bribery but on individual will and endurance. This entailed very harsh trials. Uniquely Quanzhen texts do not number very many in the Daoist Canon; there are sixty Quanzhen works, excepting those claiming Quanzhen descent but belonging to the Southern Lineage 南宗 of inner alchemy. Modern Quanzhen ritual, with the exception of the daily morning and evening services in temples, and the monastic ordination, does not differ much from non-Quanzhen ritual. The major departure is the Quanzhen musical style, which emphasizes Buddhist-influenced choral recitations 誦經. The most prestigious part of Quanzhen pedagogy, and one of the reasons that Daode Yuan priests now engage in Quanzhen practices, is self-cultivation. Quanzhen disciples were given alchemical poems to meditate on to achieve a spiritual understanding or gnosis. Quanzhen education also developed specific techniques to help its adepts concentrate on self-cultivation. One was the Enclosure 環堵, which involved meditation in a cell for a long period of time, helping adepts to sever links with the mundane world. Quanzhen also developed a communal practice of alchemical meditation.[147]

4.3 History of the Daode Yuan.

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[147] Pregadio, Fabrizio. *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, s.v. *Quanzhen*. London: Routledge, 2008.

The life of the Daode Yuan began in January of 1955. The gilded statues of the Most High Ancestor of the Dao 太上道祖 and the Grand Thearchs of the Three Offices 三官大帝 from the temple of the Celestial Lord 天公 in the the Gupo 姑婆 township of what was then Kaohsiung County gave their numen 靈 (a process used to create new temples, by which the spiritual efficacy of an existing set of deities is shunted off to a new set of images or statues, those being then used to set up the new temple) to an altar set up at the Temple for the Preservation of Peace 保安宮 of Dagang 大港.

Guo Cangying 郭藏應 (an Orthodox Unity Daoist priest, born Guo Tengfang 郭騰芳, 1923 - 1998) led his followers to begin a Daoist teaching and religious activity center at the Temple for the Preservation of Peace. In November of 1958, the activity transferred to a new location on Bade First Road 八德一路, where they continued to promulgate Daoist teachings. The temple, as it currently stands, is built on land acquired via donations accumulated since 1955, under the direction of Guo Cangying. In 1960, new land was given to the temple by the practitioners; on October 14, ground was broken for the construction of the final iteration of this temple, with building completed on November 17. In 1966, a patron by the name of Chen Sunkuan 陳孫款, mother of Chen Qiqing 陳啟清 (a local influential figure), donated 500 *ping* of land, in addition to other contributions from other worshippers, allowed the construction of a new temple. On November 12, there was groundbreaking, where the prior building was torn down and a new set of halls, a rear and an anterior, were built. In 1966, the temple also saw its first major ritual, the Grand Ritual Gathering for Merit 功德大法會. In 1975, Guo Cangying founded a charitable works association attached to the Daode Yuan; this organization lives on today as the volunteer

arm of the temple, whose role will be discussed below. In 1976, May, the Hall of Boundless

Sageliness 無極聖殿 and the Hall of Supreme Sageliness 太聖殿 were built, along with

temple administration offices on the flanks, and drum and bell towers. The rear hall's Hall of

Myriad Divinities and Collected Primes 萬神總元殿, also known as the Treasured Hall of

the Three Pure Ones and the Jade Emperor of the Sagely Realm 三清聖境玉皇寶殿, were

completed in November of 1983. These additions constitute its current form. The Daode

Yuan, a large temple complex considering the dense urban area it is built in, is constructed

on more than 1,400 *ping* (roughly 50,500 square feet), and houses the School of the Perfected

Lotus of the Grand Monad 太乙真蓮宗; this school was founded in this same temple in

1976. It is constructed as a sanctuary or institute 院, rather than the more common

monastery 觀, temple 廟, or palatial temple 宮, to emphasize its original mission: to promote

the study of orthodox Daoism.

4.4 History of the Yimin Miao.

In the 51st year of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign of the Qing 清 dynasty, a man of

Zhanghua 彰化 by the name of Lin Shuangwen 林爽文 incited an anti-Qing rebellion

movement in Taiwan. He set up a government, attempted to form diplomatic alliances, and

underwent the process of founding a new dynasty in accord with the heavens 天. He

accumulated a significant amount of power and military strength, while the Qing court was

unable to oppose this move from the mainland. Loyalist forces, then, attempted to wait out

the rebellion in strongholds and defensible strategic points (such as Lugang 鹿港) until the

Qing could mobilize a response. Lin Shuangwen's subordinates were reputedly undisciplined

and cruel, so that areas under his control became subject to sprees of pillaging, violence directed against civilians, and other war crimes, such that the populace was made to suffer much more than under the rule of the Qing.

In Xinbu 新埔, a local leader by the name of Chen Ziyun 陳紫雲 answered the Provincial Governor 巡撫[148] Li Shengzhuang 李生椿 and District Magistrate 知縣[149] Sun Rangzhi's 孫讓之 call for help. Chen Ziyun gathered local militia forces under his banner to counter the rebellion. In a few days, a force comprised of Hakka fighters numbering some one thousand three hundred strong coalesced into an "Army of the Dutiful 義民軍," a volunteer and egalitarian militia force. This force held out on its own against the rebels until a force of approximately one hundred thousand soldiers, sent by the Qing loyalist and Governor-General 總督[150] of Shaanxi and Gansu, landed in Lugang in the 52nd year of Qianlong. Upon their landing, the combined loyalists were able to encircle and destroy the rebels. By the 53rd year, the rebellion was crushed.

During the course of the rebellion, the Army of the Dutiful fought in hundreds of large engagements and small skirmishes while traveling throughout northern and central Taiwan. Those that died in combat could not receive a proper burial according to the religious traditions of the Hakka; their comrades were instead forced by the exigencies of war to leave allied corpses in the open air and in the wilderness. Respected gentlemen of Xinbu such as Lin Xiankun 林先坤 Liu Chaozhen 劉朝珍 Chen Zipin 陳資聘 Dai Yuanjiu 戴元玖 Chen Ziyun 陳資雲, and other surviving members of the former Army of the

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[148] Hucker, Charles. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985: 255.

[149] Hucker, Charles. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985: 158.

[150] Hucker, Charles. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985: 534.

Dutiful, undertook the task of scouring the countryside for the remains of any of their comrades which they could find, ending up with the remains of over two hundred men. These were loaded onto oxcarts, with the intent of having them buried in a plot of land in Hukou 湖口 village. However, during the process of transporting them, the oxen suddenly stopped at Fangliao 枋寮, south of Xinbu; the oxen would go no farther, no matter what means of prodding them along their drivers used. The accompanying procession postulated that this sudden interruption of their progress could indicate that it was the will of heaven that the bones be buried in the place the oxen stopped. Therefore, they raised additional funds and purchase a plot of land on the sloping land near the road upon which to build a cemetery. The cemetery was over three *jia* 甲 in size (some two hundred and fifty thousand square feet, or nearly six acres),[151] and was largely donated by Dai Yuanjiu 戴元玖 of Hukou. The year after its construction, a temple was built in front of it, called the Temple of the Dutiful 義民廟, in recognition of the service and loyalty of those that fought for the emperor.

The Qing Court was so moved by the help given by the Army of the Dutiful in putting down the rebellion that he awarded the temple three titles of distinction, inscribed on large, ornamental, horizontally-inscribed wooden placards donated by the Qing court to the temple. These placards read: "Dutiful and Courageous 義勇," "Harboring Loyalty 懷忠," and "Commended for Loyalty 褒忠." This is the reason that the temple which stands today is also nicknamed the "Pavilion of Those Commended for Loyalty 褒忠亭."

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[151] One *jia* 甲 is equal to ten *fen* 分, one *fen* is equal to 293.4 *ping* 坪.

In the 21st year of the reign of Guangxu 光緒 of Qing (1894 CE), when the Japanese occupied Taiwan, locals resisted Japanese rule, an unfortunate consequence of which was the destruction by fire of the original Temple of the Dutiful, to point of being left a nigh-unsalvageable burned-out husk of a building. Lost in the fire, in addition to the temple itself, were prized cultural artifacts, religious artwork, and ritual implements. To redress this onerous loss, in the 25th year of the reign of Guangxu (1898 CE), administrators such as Xu Jingyun 徐景雲, Zhang Kunhe 張坤和, and Fu Wanfu 傅萬福 negotiated with the Japanese colonial authorities to obtain permission to rebuild the temple. This was to be accomplished by the use of donations. After obtaining more than twenty-five thousand Japanese Yen, a five-year project to rebuild the temple was undertaken. This temple underwent major repairs and renovations in the 52nd year of the Republic of China.

The Temple of the Dutiful of Fangliao is today a major Hakka religious center and a meeting place for Hakka leaders. In Taiwan, in terms of visitation and religious observance by practitioners, it is second only to the Temple of the Celestial Audience 朝天宮 of Beigang 北港. There are about twenty temples that have branched off from this original and central temple; one of these is the Temple of the Dutiful of Kaohsiung 高雄義民廟. There are also deity emplacements 神位 for Father Dutiful 義民爺 (the embodiment of the collective dead of the Army of the Dutiful, in apotheosis) in many temples in Hakka villages and population centers as well as some Hakka family shrines. The Black Banner of the Dutiful has become a mainstay on the right-hand side of altars, the flag being a replica of the signaling flag used by Army of the Dutiful during wartime maneuvers to indicate a command to advance (today used as a prayer flag and an auspicious item used to pray for fortune, and instrumental in the process of creating a branch temple from the original Fangliao structure.

This Black Banner is used in yearly rituals, being circumambulated around the temple. While this ritual component is not often seen at other Hakka temples, it has begun to take root in Hakka communities outside of Taiwan, possibly spurred by the profound impressions of witnessing the ritual take place at the Temple of the Dutiful, as performed by practitioners perceived as being deeply devout. In addition, members of the Hakka community that enter the military service often visit the Temple of the Dutiful to pray for fortune and peace, and so Father Dutiful has become a patron deity of military personnel. The Temple of the Dutiful and its branches are very important to the religious and cultural life of the Hakka community.

The life of the Temple of the Dutiful of Kaohsiung began in the 35th year (1946) of the Republic of China, when Lin Rangcai 林讓才 commenced the procedure for creating a branch temple when he requested incense and banners of the Temple of the Dutiful of Fangliao. The temple was founded across from the Kaohsiung central train station, at the entrance of today's Huanan 華南 road. The temple was consecrated to the spirits of the families in the township, and was treated as a center of worship by the Hakka who had come to Kaohsiung from Taoyuan 桃園, Hsinchu, and Miaoli. The congregation of practitioners gradually grew larger. In the 37th year (1948) of the Republic, the city of Kaohsiung began implementing an urban development plan which called for the widening of main roads; unfortunately, the Temple of the Dutiful would have to be moved to make room for the new infrastructure. Community leaders, including Wu Xinxi 吳辛喜, Chen Gengren 陳庚仁, and Zhang Anqing 張安清, proposed a reconstruction project, to have the temple rebuilt on the eastern side of its current location, with the help of funds and material collected by over three hundred practitioners. This new instantiation of the temple was

named the Pavilion of Those Commended for Loyalty, and was considered a flourishing

success by community members. However, the environs soon became too crowded, as the

city developed and large buildings crowded the temple on all sides, obstructing the temple's

line of sight. In conjunction with the city council, the practitioners decided to move the

temple yet again, farther from the city center, to its present location in the Sanmin district of

the city, not far from the intersection of the major roads of Dachang 大昌 and Juemin 覺民.

In the 62nd year (1973) of the Republic of China, construction began, and was completed in

the 66th year (1977). The temple has since not been expanded or further built upon, though

during the period of construction which shifted the temple to its current location, the temple

was renamed the Temple of the Dutiful of Kaohsiung, the name the temple had when it was

first built by the central railroad station.

The temple services a large number of Hakka practitioners; most of those are Hakka

people originating from the major Hakka population centers of Hsinchu and Miaoli, though

some others come from Taichung and Meinong.[152] However, the population of practitioners

and visitors is by no means limited to Hakka; in fact, it should not be surprising that there

are far more casual practitioners who are not Hakka, given that the city of Kaohsiung houses

relatively few Hakka.[153] The Sanmin district, wherein the temple if located, however, has a

percentage of citizens of Hakka descent as high as 40 percent of the total population of

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[152] Hakka immigration occurred in three waves: the Northern Wave, in Taoyuan, Hsinchu, and Miaoli; the Central Wave, in Taichung; and, the Southern Wave, in Meinung and parts of Pintung.

[153] It must be remarked that the former County of Kaoshiung 高雄縣 was merged with former Kaohsiung City 高雄市 in December of 2010, resulting in an increase in land area in the city from roughly 60 square miles to roughly 1,140 square miles. This new Special Municipality of Kaohsiung now incorporates former Hakka towns, including Meinong 美濃 and Liugui 六龜. When speaking of Kaohsiung City, generally one does not mean the Special Municipality; the distinction is maintained in this work.

Hakka in Kaohsiung, which itself has a Hakka population of between 2 percent and 10 percent.[154]

4.5 Doctrine

The Daode Yuan, as its name hints at, was premised on the idea that the concepts of Dao and De should be central to its religious operations. The Dao, the core concept of Daoism, is an operational force behind phenomenological and ontological reality, a matrix upon which reality is manifested, that which has always been and whose fluxes and changes create and govern the universe. De, often translated as "virtue" or "power," "…refers to a characteristic of the sage that both results in good actions and confers authority."[155] These two concepts were meant to be used as centerpieces in a set of roles that included widespread charitable works (especially in providing succor for the particularly needy, such as disaster victims, the severely ill, or the extremely poor), both general and religious education (particularly in Daoist concepts and practices), cultivation of talent among the populace, promulgating Daoism, and promoting a Daoist research culture (with focus on Daoist history, literature, and religion in academia). In fact, in keeping with policies established by Guo Cangying, the Daode Yuan leadership avoids all Buddhist-inspired rituals and texts, opting to maintain a solely Daoist culture. However, the temple administration actively pursues a policy of religious tolerance and understanding, which is viewed as promoting peace. The Daode Yuan functionaries do participate in rituals at Buddhist and other temples, in order to promote this interreligious cooperation. The focus on solely

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[154] As of 2009, the former County of Kaohsiung (today's Special Municipality of Kaohsiung) had a population of about 16% Hakka; this included the Meinung township, which had greater than a 60% Hakka population.

[155] Pregadio, Fabrizio. *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, s.v. *De*. London: Routledge, 2008.

Daoism differs from the position of many temples in Taiwan, which maintain a hybrid of Buddhism and Daoism in their religious cultures, especially because the two sets of traditions tend to be perceived as congruous and nonexclusive. The temple also houses a committee for Daoist scripture compilation and publication; the temple is able to financially sponsor such publications, in addition to providing the textual expertise of the resident Daoists. Finally, the Daode Yuan adopts an atypically expansive policy, with noninvasive proselytization efforts in order to gain new converts, volunteers, and supporters. There are currently over two thousand registered members of the lay volunteer organization and regular practitioners, with a far greater number of occasional visitors or festival participants.[156] The expenditure of financial, material, and personnel resources in the area of expansion is notable, and deemed important for the long-term well-being of the temple and its various social outreach programs, which are supported by donations.

Converts and volunteers are given basic instruction in Daoist thought and practice before making a commitment to the temple. According to a document entitled "Introduction to conversion to the True Lotus of the Grand Monad School of the Daode Yuan 高雄道德院道教太乙真蓮宗皈依簡啟" (2008), converts are instructed that in converting one's goal is to promote orthodox Daoism, to purify one's heart, to popularize Daoist concepts (such as the Three Mainstays and Five Principles, the Five Relationships and the Eight Virtues 三綱五常, 五倫八德) and cultivate them oneself.[157] One strives to hold to the

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[156] I hesitate to provide a numerical estimate, without having conducted any proper counts of such practitioners and visitors.

[157] These are traditional and premodern ways of conceptualizing human relationships and ethics. The Three Mainstays are the accord between sovereign and subject, between father and son, and between husband and wife. The Five Principles are humaneness, duty, ritual propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness. The Five Relationships are the closeness between father and son, duty between sovereign and subject, propriety between husband and wife, order between elder and younger, and trust between friends. The Eight Virtues are filial piety, respect for elders, loyalty, trustworthiness, ritual propriety, duty, integrity, and conscientiousness.

Three Precious Reverences (The Dao, Precious Reverence of Jade Clarity 玉清道寶尊, Scriptures, Precious Reverences of Superior Clarity 上清經寶尊, and [Religious] Masters, Precious Reverences of Supreme Clarity 太清師寶尊), to be live a life in pursuit of saintly grace, truth, goodness, beauty, peace, harmony, happiness, health, and long life. Conversion allows believers to live long lives in this world; when the time comes to depart the world, one's primal numinous essence 元靈 will be sent by the Celestial Worthy of the Grand Monad, according to one's sincerity, morality, and conduct, to the Hall of Azure Efflorescence in the Easternmost Reaches 東極清華宮, where one's lotus-transformation-body 蓮花化身 will suffer neither calamity nor death, rather enjoying plenitude of fortune, a prosperous life, and other fruits of the Dao, whereafter one can gradually practice and attain ascent to the realms of the Three Pure Ones. To be qualified, one must be willing to voluntarily be, primarily, a practitioner of Daoism. New converts are to attend mandatory courses in fundamental doctrine and ethics in the 3rd floor of the rear hall in the Hall of Myriad Divinities and Collected Primes and 2nd floor in the Tranquility and Cultivation Chamber of the Dao of the School of the True Lotus of the Grand Monad 太乙真蓮宗靜修道場, of the Daode Yuan; clothing, religious materials, and vegetarian lunches are provided by the temple. By declaring intent to convert one also vows to: eliminate all distress, accumulate good karmic fruits 善業, pacify one's true nature 真性, avoid calamities and resolve difficulties, eradicate Mara 魔障,[158] increase fortune and wisdom, cultivate knowledge of the Scripture of the Three Jewels 三寶經, recite the Most High 太上 scriptures daily, revere the Dao and succor all living beings. For further education

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[158] This name, a Buddhist figure, is a figurative term referring to evil demonic influences.

in inner alchemy exercises, circulation of *qi*, meditations, Daoist rituals, longevity practices, Daoist texts, and Daoist doctrines, one is encouraged to attend classes offered on those topics twice a week.

The Daode Yuan considers itself a follower of "orthodox" Daoism, as opposed to having created a new religious system or hybridization (a claim not eschewed by many temples). This orthodoxy rests in the Zhengyi ritual program followed by the Daoist priests at the temple.

The Yimin Miao is focused on three main facets: to tend to the religious needs of Hakka people in Kaohsiung (all while welcoming all others, who in fact number in the majority), to celebrate traditional Hakka festivals in conjunction with traditional Taiwanese festivals, and to honor the memory of the Hakka war dead of Lin Shuangwen's rebellion (and, by extension, the memory of all Hakka war dead who fought and died for the state or a loyal cause). Abstract ethical concepts do not receive the direct attention given by, for example, the Daode Yuan: practitioners do not take courses in Daoist principles or text readings. However, the functionaries of the Yimin Miao, being in frequent contact with one another at the temple, do informally discuss such matters, and are considered fonts of information for practitioners, questioners, and passers-by. The ethical system that operates in the background of the religious functions at the Yimin Miao involve the search for peace even while honoring those who have died in war and cultivating an attitude of respect towards deities and the dead. In seeking these, members of the Yimin Miao religious community attempt to foster a sense of community while preserving their Hakka identity in a place where they have ever been in the minority; this sense of community involvement and contribution form lynchpins of the Yimin Miao's ethics. The Hakka community identifies itself as Daoist, inasmuch as they do not consider themselves Buddhist, yet adherents of

"Chinese religion" (which is to say, they are not converts to more recent foreign religions such as Christianity). The temple administration also promotes religious understanding and tolerance, and as such do include Buddhist rituals and ritual specialists in their yearly ritual program. At this temple, as with others, it is no conflict to treat such Buddhist religiosity as so closely related to Daoism as to be functionally undistinguishable, or to take it as a form of Daoism entirely. The Yimin Miao also dedicates itself to charitable works, but not on the same level at the Daode Yuan; such is to be expected from any temple whose aims are founded, foremost, in religious services for an ethnic minority population. Additionally, the Yimin Miao can be said to foster traditional ethics of loyalty and service, as much of the religious rhetoric of the temple is directed to the original sacrifices that spawned it, and analogues to those sacrifices.

4.6 Educational Mission

As for research and education, the Daode Yuan administrators address a perceived problem: that many practitioners of Daoism focus on the folks beliefs of a disparate set of Chinese traditional religions and systems, and so have misunderstandings about Daoism which are promulgated with substance-less theoretical foundations. The Daode Yuan aims to clarify its form of orthodox Daoism and educate the people in it, in order to maintain a coherent religious knowledge system that is congruent with historical Daoism. To this end, the temple hosts academic conferences and other academic activities, in order to promote research by newer generations of scholars; this is to prevent the fossilization of knowledge about Daoism and to refresh Daoism in the minds of younger students. The temple also hosts one-day workshops for schoolchildren, to promote Daoist studies in easy-to-understand, non-mystifying ways. The value of education is recognized in maintaining a

cultural system such as Daoism, as the educated can give reasoned interpretations and knowledge about Daoism to those who do not know, or those who hold conflicting or confused views. The temple has also set up a variety of institutes and seminars, dedicated to the study of particular facets of Daoist thought or practice. These include the Institute for Cultivation of the True Dao of the Three Purities 三清真道修練院, the Daoist Studies Academy for the Cultivation of Perfection 修真道學院, and an oratory training class. These are run with the help of university professors, Daoist Senior Priests 道長, and other scholars of Daoism, in order to promote Daoist studies for both students and interested persons from all walks of life, with topics such as Daoist thought, Zhengyi rituals, Quanzhen doctrine, and martial arts; the courses offered usually last one year. The Daode Yuan is well-known in Taiwan among related temples and religious organizations for such programs. In 1997, the temple hosted its first Religious and Spiritual Reform Seminar, with scholars and Ph.D. students from around the country, which was organized around issues of religion and popular spiritual beliefs; this annual seminar has continued until the present, and furthers the goals of disentangling Daoism from folk traditions or misconceptions, while simultaneously supporting modern academia and education. On the other hand, the Yimin Miao does not have a direct educational mission; in fact, the Yimin Miao administration does not seek to directly interfere with their practitioner's understanding of religion or religious concepts. Instead, the focus is on using Daoism as an assumed framework for community integration and togetherness. Daoist rituals are a means of ensuring cooperative spirit in the Hakka community, and a means to maintain and propagate traditional culture. The idea is to maintain distinctiveness while at the same time welcoming the participation of non-Hakka neighbors.

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4.7 Charity Mission

In the domain of charitable works, the temple aims to provide both spiritual and material relief. The charitable organization of the temple has more than two thousand members who donate at least $3.40 US per month; these are used, along with sizeable donations from other temples and entities, to fund the temple's aid projects. The charitable organization makes use of volunteer functionaries to organize and carry out administration and projects. The Daode Yuan has given roughly 180 million New Taiwan Dollars (NTD) in charitable aid in a five year sequence, from 2005 to 2010; this represents the greatest amount of financial aid among the religious organizations in Kahsiung. The Daode Yuan donates money to the families of disaster victims, along with food and funerary supplies, such as the September 21, 1999 earthquake, the Taozhi floods of 2001, or disasters abroad, such as the tsunami in Indonesia of 2004. The temple also maintains long-term commitments to paying for tuition, fees, and meals for more than three thousand elementary and middle-school students. Over one hundred area schools have been given meal aid. The Daode Yuan has also furnished aid for registration or administrative fees amounting to several million NTD. More than one million NTD in scholarships were granted in the year 2010. In addition, there is aid given to the three lowest categories of low-income households, occurring six or more times a year, which ends up providing relief to more than one thousand area households.

The Yimin Miao also engages in charitable activity, but on a smaller scale; this gives the charitable activities more of a regional impact. Financial aid and foodstuffs are given to the poor in the region in high proportion to the income of the temple. The temple also supports Hakka educational and cultural programs. The administrative committee collaborates with other branches of the original Temple of the Dutiful in order to coordinate

charitable activities of greater impact across Taiwan. On a popular level, the temple is perceived as being a strong contributor to the welfare of the Hakka community in Kaohsiung, both through spiritual and material support.

4.8 Religious Services and Ritual

The Daode Yuan operates as a standard temple of its kind might: by providing ritual services, hosting and participating in large-scale religious festivals (with participants in the hundreds or thousands), granting practitioners space to venerate deities by offering incense, assisting in divinations and mantic practices, and other religious services. The temple hosts many large ritual gatherings 法會. This is in part due to the large congregation and volunteers, but also stems from the temple's desire to assume a high-profile role in the Kaohsiung community and the Taiwanese arena. Ritual programs are constructed around events that require religious relief, such as inclement weather patterns and natural disasters. For example, ritual gatherings are held during periods when the rains do not allow for positive agricultural outcomes, especially because so much of the local economy depends of successful agriculture. Ritual gatherings are also held when typhoons strike or threaten to strike. In 2009, to succor the victims of the Morakot typhoon, the Daode Yuan united with 186 Daoist temples in Taiwan, and enacted a ritual program on September 4th, at the Compliant and Worthy Temple 順賢宮 in Neimen 內門 (Kaohsiung county). In a typical fashion for such events, high-profile figures were present, by invitation, such as the county governor, the mayor of Kaohsiung, and the mayor of Fengshan 鳳山; with such persons present, the ritual program proceeded to pray for the peaceful ascent of those struck down by the typhoon to heaven, for relief of the living victims' sorrow, and the formulaic

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"harmonious winds and compliant rains 風調雨順, peace in the state and tranquility among the populace 國泰民安". Another example of a large ritual program appeared during the H1N1 scare of 2009. On November 12 of that same year, in Taichung 台中, the Daode Yuan performed a seven-day ritual to expel pestilence demons and plague-related calamities, to confer general blessings of health to the populace, and to restore the economy damaged by the H1N1 effects. The Daode Yuan hosted the 2012 opening ceremonies for the World Taoist Day festival 道教節世界慶典. The World Taoist Day is a month-long event for Daoists to strengthen their ties to other Daoists within the global community and to promote Daoist culture. The event is hosted by a number of participating institutions on a rotating basis, and includes Daoists from East Asian, European, and Asian Pacific nations. The World Taoist Day events externally center on large communal rituals, feasts, the exchange of gifts, visitation of religious sites, and networking with civil officials. Internally, the events promote coordination between a number of regional Daoisms. The participant representatives of Daoist movements from other regions discuss issues of mutual advantage and interest, to then couple these with commitments of time and money to achieve a common goal. Social works and charity may thus be coordinated, strengthening the image of Daoists everywhere, and mutual resources may be used to expand Daoist presence in locations where it would otherwise be difficult (such as Europe, where Daoism has a nominal, but growing, presence). The Daode Yuan ritual calendar is as follows:

1. 1st day of the 1st solar month: Grand Ritual Gathering for Conversion 皈依大法會

2. 1st day of the 1st lunar month: Birthday of the Celestial Worthy of Primal Commencement 元始天尊聖誕

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3. 9th day of the 1st lunar month: Birthdays of the Great Celestial Worthy, the Jade August One, and the Lofty and Superior Thearch of the Arcane Vault

   玉皇大天尊聖誕 玄穹高上帝聖誕

4. 15th day of the 1st lunar month: Birthday of the Grand Thearch of Purple Tenuity, the Official of Heaven, Bestower of Fortune, 1st order, of the Superior Prime

   上元一品賜福天官紫微大帝聖誕

5. 15th day of 2nd lunar month: Birthday of the Most High Ancestral in the Dao 太上道祖聖誕 and Pure Offering of the Two Courts for Wishing Lanterns, of the Numinous Treasure Tradition 靈寶祝燈二朝清醮

6. 15th day of the 7th lunar month: Birthday of the Grand Thearch of the Pure Void, the Official of Earth, Forgiver of Sin, 2nd order, of the Central Prime

   中元二品赦罪地官清虛大帝聖誕

7. 9th lunar month: Divine Descent of the Saintly Brilliance of the Astral Lords of the Southern and Northern Dippers 南北斗星君聖光神駕降臨

8. 15th day of the 10th lunar month: Birthday of the Grand Thearch of Penetrating *Yin*, the Official of Water, Emancipator from Distress, 3rd order, of the Lower Prime

   下元三官解厄水官洞陰大帝聖誕

9. 11th day of the 11th lunar month: Birthdays of the Grand Thearch of Azure Efflorescence of the Easternmost Reaches and the Salvific Celestial Worthy of the Grand Monad 東極青華大帝聖誕 太乙救苦天尊聖誕.

Though the actual number of rituals performed by the Daode Yuan functionaries is significantly higher than the fixed list of yearly rituals (the occasional rituals vary from year to

year, according to the prevalence of natural disasters and invitations by other religious organizations), the first ritual of the ritual year is among the most important to the Daode Yuan. The Conversion gathering formally invests a new group of converts, and thus members of the temple able to proselytize, teach about Daoism, and participate in ritual functions throughout the year. The other rituals, which are mostly celebrations of deities' birthdays, are less significant but nonetheless well-attended. As mentioned above, their ritual form follows ritual standards codified by the Zhengyi tradition. Example of ritual form for these kinds of Daoist rituals will be introduced below, in reference to the rituals of the Yimin Miao. The ritual formats are similar in many ways, and practitioners (who often venerate at more than one temple) have no trouble adapting to the changes in details of the rituals from one venue to the next.

The Yimin Miao offers standard religious services for a temple of its kind: a place to venerate the gods with incense and offerings, and a place to perform mantic rituals or to ask for advice on spiritual matters (which is provided by members of the administrative committee). The Yimin Miao ritual calendar is as follows:

1. 13th day of 1st month: Offerings to the Celestial Mother of Beigang

   北港天上聖母娘娘進香

2. 14th and 15th days of 1st month: Celebration of Installation of the New Year Lord

   安奉太歲星君

3. 2nd day of 2nd month: Birthday of the Upright Deity of Fortune and Virtue

   福德正神聖誕千秋

4. 19th day of 2nd month: Birthday of Guanyin 觀世音菩薩佛辰千秋

5. 20th day of 3rd month: Birthday of Lady Lifebringer 註生娘娘聖誕千秋

6. 23rd day of 3rd month: Birthday of the Celestial Mother 天上聖母娘娘聖誕千秋

7. 19th day of 6th month: Commemoration of the Enlightenment of Guanyin
   觀世音菩薩得道紀念千秋

8. 19th day of 7th month: Birthday of the Current Year
   Lord值年太歲星君統一聖誕千秋

9. 20th day of 7th month: Corpulent Pig Competition of the Zhongyuan Ghost Festival
   慶讚中元肥豬比賽

10. 15th day of 8th month: Commemoration of the Upright Deity of Fortune and Virtue
    福德正神紀念千秋

11. 19th day of 9th month: Commemoration of Guanyin's Departure from Home
    觀世音菩薩出家紀念千秋

12. 9th day of 11th month: Offering to the Temple of the Dutiful of Fangliao in Hsinchu
    新竹枋寮義民廟進香

13. 20th day of 11th month: Birthday of Father Dutiful 義民爺公聖誕千秋

14. 24th day of 12th month: Thanksgiving to the Current Year Lord 謝值年太歲星君

At the Yimin Miao, one of the most important ritual activities is the so-called "Corpulent Pig Competition 肥豬比賽", on the 20th day of the 7th lunar month (during the Festival of the Dutiful 義民節); another minor corpulent pig ritual is held on the 12th day of the 11th lunar month (during the commemoration of the installation of Father Dutiful 義民爺安坐日 at the temple); however, this last ritual is not a "competition": there is no weighing of the pigs to determine the largest. Instead, at that rite, there is a Grand Cock Competition 大公雞比賽. The Corpulent Pig Competition, also called Divine Pig

Competition 神豬比賽, is an extremely popular event, with thousands turning up to watch and partake.

The Zhongyuan 中元 ("Central Prime") festival is another important festival for the Yimin Miao. Zhongyuan, also known as the Ghost Month 鬼月 or Ghost festival, celebrates the desire to charitably feed and give succor to wandering ghosts and denizens of the hells. In the Kaohsiung Hakka community, the festival is arranged by organizing committees from four areas: 1.) from the train station south to Xiaogang 小港; 2.) north of the train station, Gushan 鼓山, Nanzi 楠梓, and Zuoying 左營; 3) the Wanzi 灣仔 and Baozhu Alley 寶珠溝 of the Sanmin district; 4) Fengshan 鳳山, Renwu 仁武, and Niaosong 鳥鬆; therefore, there is much interlinguistic intercourse between temples in these areas. The rites are analogous to those of the Hsinchu Temple of the Dutiful, save for some simplifying variations due to the Kaohsiung branch being located in a dense urban area with much less open space available. As an example of Hakka ritual, at the Hsinchu temple, celebration begins on the 18th day of the 7th lunar month, with the Welcoming of the Dipper Lantern 迎斗燈. On the 19th, Father Dutiful is invited to perform an inspection circuit 繞境, where the deity is carried by the practitioners in a palanquin in an area surrounding the temple; that night, there are cultural theatrical performances by lantern-light, and processions of flags, gongs, and drums. At 10 in the morning on the 20th, there is a ritual performance within the main courtyard of the temple itself. At 5 in the evening there is a ritual cleansing 淨孤筵, which concludes at 11 in the evening. There are three days of classical theater performances 平安戲 ("pacifying plays"), which are a form of communal blessing, and the distribution of glutinous rice balls (known by a Japanese loanword, *mo'aji*, from the Japanese *mochi* 麻糬)

and sweet rice gruel 糖粥 (from a longstanding tradition of making this gruel daily to provide food assistance to the poverty-stricken) to anyone who would come partake.

The Universal Salvation 普渡 rites are ubiquitous in Taiwan during the Ghost Month, but it is nonetheless an important rite at the Temple of the Dutiful, and almost always attracts large crowds during its performance. At this temple, the rites have the added significance of honoring the loyalty of the Hakka war dead from the Lin Shuangwen rebellion, in addition to being aimed at the traditional groups of lonely souls and hungry ghosts who have no other source of sacrifice or veneration. The rites begin on the night of the 19th, at the *zi* 子 hour (11 p.m. to 1 a.m.); invited priests lead the practitioners in sending memorials to heaven. These contain the goals, time, and content of the ritual, to be made clear to the appropriate divisions of heaven according to the proper bureaucratic procedure. Then, the priests invoke blessings by the Grand Gentleman Father 大士爺, and other initiatory ceremonies, for which a white cock, white duck, mirror, and blade are necessary. The cock's crest is cut off with the knife, and its blood allowed to spill onto the mirror, and the mirror is brought before the face of the deity. Grand Gentleman Father is a ghost-king 鬼王, one *zhang* 丈 two *chi* 尺[159] tall, who is supposed to govern the distribution of goods offered during the Ghost Festival so that the ghostly recipients do not fight amongst themselves for it; the strife and struggle would cause negative repercussions to the living nearby. Upon the end of the ceremony, practitioners partake in a feast of offered pigs and sheep. At 9 the next morning, officiants perform the main rites: they read the Prayers 祝文,

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[159] Roughly 365 centimeters.

perform the Three Offerings rite 三獻禮, until noon, when the Midday Offerings 獻午供 is performed. The Prayer usually follows the following format, and is read in Hakka:

"On this day the XXth of the XXth month of the XXth year of the Republic of China, the Head of the Administrative Committee of the Kaohsiung Temple of the Dutiful, XXX, leads the committee and believers in this ritual, and says before Father Dutiful: Father Dutiful, Guard the people; may all undertakings enjoy prosperity; may heroic sacrifices and the martyrdom of the loyal render service unto the nation, render peaceful the home, and earn the adoration of the people, so that each year they will not be forgotten. Happily we come across a festival; reverentially we offer a luxurious feast; we appeal for blessings; may the believers be blessed and protected; may auspiciousness ever come forth to us. Please partake of this sacrifice."

The Three Offerings procedure is as follows: the officiants beat the temple drums thrice, strike the temple bell thrice, then have the major music begin, and finally have the minor music begin. Officiants take their places in the ritual space, while the practitioners are already present in the audience. Then, the officiants undergo purification rites. They burn incense and bring down the deities that are to receive veneration. To show respect, they give the traditional raised-and-clasped-hands *yi* 揖 greeting thrice. They perform an obeisance series thrice. An obeisance series proceeds as follows: kneel, bring one's head low toward the ground (the "kowtow" or *koushou* 叩首) three times, then stand again. When the obeisance series is complete, one is to burn more incense and offer libations. Officiants gather incense and kneel before the altar, raising the incense three times, then burn the incense, offer more libations, *koushou* three times, then stand anew. Then they may begin the sacrificial rites. All kneel before Father Dutiful and his entourage of lesser deities; they offer libations and

symbolic wealth goods. They proceed to *koushou* three times. They read the Prayers (the form of which is given above) and repeat the *koushou* thrice. They pour libations, give food offerings, then perform the secondary sacrificial rites. Again, they kneel before Father Dutiful and his entourage; offer libations and symbolic wealth goods, and *koushou* thrice again. Officiants and practitioners then share the sacrificial feast items, and the officiants return to their places, to burn paper money and the Prayers (this act sends them to heaven). Officiants send off the deities with three obeisance series. The ritual ends, and food is distributed.

The offerings include pigs, ducks, geese, fish, squid, chickens, pickled eggs, duck eggs, and *dougan* 豆幹. In the afternoon, the Zhongyuan rites for giving succor to the wandering ghosts are performed, and a competition is held for the largest pigs and sheep, mentioned above, called the Grand Competition of Divine Pigs and Divine Sheep 神豬神羊大賽. For this event, which will be a feast as well, the temple organizing committee provides thousands of *jin* 斤[160] of rice, oil, salt, sugar, and vinegar, as well as household goods; these are matched by contributions from practitioners. Until nighttime, there are puppetry 布袋戲 and other traditional theater performances such as *gezai* 歌仔戲, during which time the feast continues; anyone may participate in it; it is considered a form of blessing to do so. Though the Kaohsiung temple lacks certain elements present in the Hsinchu temple, such as the consumption of the sweet rice gruel, the Hakka participation and zeal are not appreciably lessened; the difference lies in the vastly increased participation of the speakers of Daigi in Kaohsiung. Particularly in the area of the pig and sheep raising competitions, practitioners still throng to these rites. At the close of the rite, the statue of the

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[160] One *jin* is equal to 600 grams in Taiwan.

Grand Gentleman Father is burned, another feast is held, and the ritual comes to a close. The pigs and sheep are given to those who raised them, who them cut them into pieces to distribute to friends and family. Other food is brought to the needy to provide them with free meals. This is considered a fitting tribute to the sacrifice of the Hakka war dead who are memorialized during the Ghost Festival rites.

The 12th day of the 11th lunar month is Father Dutiful's birthday celebration; there is a Cock Competition leading up to that day, much in the style of the Divine Pig Competition above; in fact, Divine Pigs are again part of the offering sacrifices, but this time they are not weighed for competition. The rites start at 9 in the morning and last until noon; as with the pigs, the cocks are taken back home by those who raised them, and shared with friends and family.

4.9 Scriptures

Though a great number of Daoist scriptures is read at the Daode Yuan, important ones include the Daode Jing 道德經, the Most High Chapters on Action and Response 太上感應篇,[161] the Scripture of the Receptive Talisman 陰符經,[162] and the Scripture on Concentration and Observation 定觀經.[163] The Daoist Recitations 道教課誦本 used by the temple includes the Three Reliances 三皈依, the Purifications淨心神咒, 淨口神咒, 淨身神咒, 安土地神咒, 淨天地神咒 the Offerings 祝香神咒, 焚香啟奏, the Effulgences

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[161] This, as with the subsequent scriptures in this section, were described by functionaries upon my request. A Southern Song work on moral and immoral conduct. Put all together, the texts used by the communitiy described in this section come to a length of some 60 pages.

[162] A Northern Wei work on internal alchemy.

[163] A scripture on meditative techniques.

金光神咒,[164] the Scripture of Purity 清靜經, the Declarations of Miluo 彌羅誥, the Good

Affinities 善好緣,[165] the Wondrous Scripture of the Heart Seal of the Jade Thearch

玉皇心印妙經, the Minor Aperture of Heaven 小開天, the Prayer for Peace and Search for

Fortune 祈安求福, the Offering of the Lamps 獻燈, the Treasure Appellations of the Three

Officials 三官寶號, the Purification of the Altar 淨壇咒,[166] the Treasured Declarations

寶誥, the Wondrous Scripture of the Savior from Suffering and Defender of One's Person

of the Great Unity 太一救苦護身妙經,[167] the Self-Generating and Awesome in Brilliance

Celestial Worthy 威光自在天尊, the Esoteric Incantations 玄蘊咒, the Text of Repentance

懺悔文, the Text of Vows 發願文, the Wondrous Scripture for Resolving Greivances and

Uprooting Sins Spoken by the Most High Lord of the Dao 太上道君說解冤拔罪妙經,[168]

and the Measurelessly Celestial Worthy Who Ferries Men 度人無量天尊.

The Yimin Miao does not overtly rely on scriptures for use by a body of

practitioners, but functionaries do use ritual manuals in the performance of yearly rituals,

and Hakka offering Prayers 祝文 are created for a number of those rituals, to be read by

members of the administrative committee. A common ritual handbook for the Yimin Miao

is the Morning, Noon, and Evening Rituals of the Arcane Gate of Daoism

道教玄門早午晚課儀式. Practitioners are welcome to recite scriptures as part of a

devotional practice; such texts have included the Most High Scripture of Clarity and

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[164] These are incantations meant to highlight moral and spiritual positions held by the community.

[165] These scriptures highlight elements of the community belief system.

[166] This is a text for use in creating ritual space.
[167] This is an apotropaic scripture.

[168] These are practical scriptures for countering sin.

Tranquility 太上清靜經, the Great Clarity Perfected Scripture of Primal Dao 太清元道真經, and the Scripture of the Five Dippers 五斗經. Though there is no dedicated perusal library for practitioners, observed on temple grounds were such Daoist texts as the Precious Sign Scripture of the Three Officials Dictated by the Celestial Worthy of Primal Commencement 元始天尊說三官寶號經, the Scripture of Severity of Merit of the Precepts of the Three Primes of the Most High Penetratingly Arcane Numinous Treasure 太上洞玄靈寶三元品戒功德輕重經, the Wondrous Scripture for Eradication of Sin of the Precepts of the Three Primes of the Most High Penetratingly Arcane Lady Blue 太上太玄女青三元品誠拔罪妙經, the Perfected Scripture of Fortune and Longevity of the Wondrous Foundation of the Most High Penetratingly Divine Three Primes 太上洞神三元妙本福壽真經, and the Precious Scripture of the Jade Pivot 玉樞寶經.

4.10 International and Regional Presence

One difference between the Daode Yuan and other temples of its size is the level of regional and international exposure the Daode Yuan pursues. The temple has been quite successful in maintaining relationships, fostered by exchanges of donations and mutual visitation by functionaries, with temples all over Taiwan, in Mainland China, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Indonesia, and other regions. Daoists are invited to Taiwan to collaborate in the performance of rituals; these rituals may be political in nature, as with a ritual in July of 2004 in Kaohsiung's Sizihwan 西子灣 waterfront, the aim of which was to secure peace in Taiwan and peace in cross-strait relations.[169] The functionaries travel on a

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[169] Ho, Wanli. "Daoist Nuns in Taiwan: A Case Study of the Daode Yuan." *Journal of Daoist Studies* 2 (2009): 137-164 (151-152).

regular basis in pilgrimages to temples in Taiwan as well as mainland China. These pilgrimages not only serve a religious function, but also stimulate mutual concord between Daoists otherwise separated by the difficult cross-straits political situation. During the pilgrimages, the functionaries are able to observe and discuss differences between practices and levels of social involvement with the local populace. In addition, during pilgrimages to the mainland, the priests of the Daode Yuan learn strategies to train and support the younger generation, to increase the ranks of priests who have left the home for the monastic life, and to generate support for the preservation and transmission of Daoist culture, such as Daoist instrumental music. In discussing doctrines, Daoist thought, and performing ritual, the Daode Yuan priests foster communication and coordination, which is becoming increasingly important in a globalized world where information is becoming more freely accessible.

In order to promote cultural exchange between nations (the goal would be to promote peace and understand between peoples of all nations), the Daode Yuan has hosted many academic conferences and talks with Daoists on Mainland China. For example, on January 6th, 2009, the Daode Yuan hosted the Cross-Strait Daode Jing and Daoism Cultural Conference at National Sun Yat-sen University 國立中山大學 in Kaohsiung, with 20 mainland scholars and experts presenting, and with conference proceedings published. The topics included discussions of the message of the Daode Jing, the types of Daoism presented in the Daode Jing, later generations of Daoists engaging in "nourishing life 養生" practices in order to "return to one's natural state 返璞歸真," and portions of the Daode Jing related to Inner Alchemy 內丹. To further promote research and study of Daoism, the temple gives research materials, books, scriptures, pamphlets, access to their research library, and lunch to researchers and interested persons, all free of charge.

The Yimin Miao has a strong regional role in the Taiwanese Hakka community. As one of the largest Hakka temples in a non-Hakka-majority region of southern Taiwan, the Yimin Miao is one of the most omnipresent contributors and coordinators of religious and cultural events. In addition, the temple freely contributes financial and material resources to ritual gatherings at Hakka and other temples throughout Taiwan. The temple even has ties with Hakka populations, and therefore religious organizations, on Mainland China, especially in Mei county 梅縣 and Heyuan 河源 city of Guangdong. Members of the adminstrative committee of the Yimin Miao have visited ancestral Hakka lands in mainland China in an official capacity as temple personnel, and maintain relations with important temples on the mainland. The ties created by these exchanges have fostered a sense of mutual cross-strait cooperation and a crucial link to ancestral culture, which the Hakka of Taiwan are adamant about not losing.

4.11 Media

The Daode Yuan professionally records its ritual activities and publishes them, in addition to theses and dissertations related to Daoism; however, the Yimin Miao has no publication activities, though they do collaborate with the Taiwanese Hakka Television Station 客家電視台 to furnish cultural programs or to act as cultural consultants. The multimedia presentations of many rituals at the Daode Yuan include such works as the 2008 Grand Ritual Gathering of the Most High Deep Kindness, Transformation of the Kalpas, Protection of the World, Blessing of the People, and Prayer for Peace with Invocation to Astral Deities 太上覃恩化劫護國佑民祈安禮斗大法會 and 2009 Grand Ritual Gathering of the Most High Deep Kindness, Conferral of Power of the Celestial Master in the Sixty-

Fourth Generation Celestial Master Zhang Yuanxian, Transcended and Returned to Heaven Indicating His Attainment of the Dao and Transformation into Perfection 太上覃恩嗣漢天師 府六十四代張源先天師仙逝回天繳旨得道成真大法會. These are in printed form, CDs, or in DVDs. Publication activities of the Daode Yuan encompass anything deemed related to Daoism. For example, in 2005, the temple published a cross-straits Daoist music collection. It also released CDs of the Daode Yuan Orchestra, the Benevolent Sageliness Temple of Caotun's True Dao Orchestra 草屯慈聖宮全真道樂團, the Mount Qingcheng Daoist Orchestra 青城山道樂團, the Azure Ram Temple of Chengdu's Daoist Orchestra 成都青羊宮道樂團, the Daoist Orchestra of the Celestial Masters of Mount Longhu, 龍虎山天師府道樂團, and the Daoist Martial Arts Orchestra of Mount Wudang 武當山道教武術音樂團. All in all, the multifaceted role of the Daode Yuan combines a heavy emphasis on social services with a classic religious offering equal to most, if not all, temples of its size in Taiwan.

4.12 Functionaries

The Daode Yuan, though led by functionaries who have received Zhengyi registers, engages in some Quanzhen practices. Though the Daode Yuan houses its own school, which attempts to draw from all existing Daoist traditions, the functionaries there identify with Quanzhen as well. One line of reasoning is the fact that the functionaries have formally left their natal families to lead the life of monastics at the Daode Yuan, even if they may still receive support from their families. Given that Zhengyi priests in Taiwan do not have this characteristic, the functionaries do not consider themselves as fully belonging to the Zhengyi category. Zhengyi priests also form a putative class of professional religious men whose lives

have a "secular" component, whereas the Daode Yuan priests live on the grounds of the temple and form a permanent staff. In addition, the Daode Yuan priests practice Inner Alchemy 內丹, also called the Alchemical Way or 丹道; with the female priests, the practices are aimed at attaining a genderless state of union with the Dao by such practices as Beheading the Red Dragon 斬赤龍, a practice which permanently stops the menstrual cycle, which is deemed detrimental as a loss of the life force 氣 in the blood. Because the inner alchemy practices involve manipulation of *yin* 陰 forces, the female Daoist priests have an advantage over their male counterparts, due to the female surfeit of *yin* in their natural state, and to the relative ease with which women reach a state of tranquility and concentration required for the meditative practices of inner alchemy.[170] Daode Yuan priests undertake the inner alchemy practices, in the form of meditations, for three hours a day. These individual meditations are called Maintaining Tranquility 守靜, consisting of breathing exercises, recitations of deity names, attainment of nonattachment within and without 不守內不守外, exercising control over one's thoughts, entering a state of void and nothingness 虛無, and the cessation of sexual desire, in addition to esoteric practices meant only for priests.[171] In addition, there are physical exercises to maintain the fitness of the body, performed for about fifteen minutes.

Religious functionaries at this temple are of two varieties. The first consists of the resident female Daoist priests 女道士 (sometimes called "nuns"), who engage in Orthodox

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[170] *Yin* is associated with femininity, moisture, tranquility, darkness, valleys, receptiveness; these qualities are also stereotypically associated with women. The Daode Jing contains a number of homologies between the Dao and *yin*; *yin* has been historically associated with Daoist thought.

[171] Ho, Wanli. "Daoist Nuns in Taiwan: A Case Study of the Daode Yuan." *Journal of Daoist Studies* 2 (2009): 137-164 (150-151).

Unity ritual practices at the temple (especially in terms of public ritual functions), while performing Complete Perfection 全真 self-cultivation practices in private. The Daode Yuan priests not only visit Quanzhen temples often, but also tend to practice internal alchemy. The amalgamated form of Daoism of the Daode Yuan includes practices of celibacy and internal alchemy that derive directly from Quanzhen, but this Daoism also draws heavily upon the rituals of the Zhengyi School. They also spend a significant amount of time engaged in educational activities directed at practitioners coming to the Daode Yuan, and to training the next set of functionaries. In manner, the priests are approachable; they make an effort to place no social liminality between themselves and any other person at the temple, though they are certainly treated with the respect due religious functionaries, regardless. While they do not actively encourage the use of titles, they will not refuse their use. They will dress simply when not in ritual situations and generally will approach any practitioner or visitor in an open and compassionate manner. At any given time, if asked, the priests are likely to speak of their concern for promulgating the Dao and relieving the suffering of others. The priestesses receive a salary from the temple, but may also receive support from their birth families (though not from private lay sponsors). The temple has no male priests, save for those invited to perform communal rituals during large celebrations and festivals; those priests are not affiliated with the temple, however.

The second set of functionaries consists of volunteers of the temple's charitable organization; these ever-present volunteers maintain the temple grounds and perform operations associated with the pragmatic upkeep of the temple, such as cooking, handling donations, moving goods to and from the temple grounds, setting up public festivals, and

cleaning.[172] These activities are led by female Daoist priests, though the priests necessarily have less time to spend, given their time spent in self-cultivation, educational, and ritual practices. The volunteers support the temple with donations of time, money, and skill (such as videography, or cooking). In addition, they provide what spiritual support they feel competent in providing, even directing practitioners to consult lay experts (referred to as "teacher 老師") on Daoism for advice. Importantly, both sets of functionaries resort to offering what may be externally considered as "nonreligious" advice: pursuing nonritual solutions to real problems, such as offering brief psychological counseling instead of a divination, for example. These are supplemented with "religious" advice, such as finding ways to cultivate Daoist values and to do good deeds for others, which provides both spiritual relief and generates social capital. The functionaries are generally happy to help those from other religious backgrounds who cannot otherwise get the help they need.

Both sets of functionaries wear navy blue pants and either a white shirt with a Daode Yuan logo or a traditional *tangshan* 唐衫 shirt, often with dark shoes. There are no restrictions on hairstyles. In ritual situations, the female Daoist priests wear embroidered yellow robes and matching coronal headpieces, with imagery associated with premodern Chinese religion or Daoism specifically: cranes, dragons, swirling clouds and *qi*-vapors, symbolic astral diagrams, haloed pagoda-like structures, and the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate 太極圖. When not engaged in ritual but when attending festivals or other official functions, the female Daoist priests may also wear black robes with matching hats, which are

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[172] Ho, Wanli. "Daoist Nuns in Taiwan: A Case Study of the Daode Yuan." *Journal of Daoist Studies* 2 (2009): 137-164 (140).

cylindrical at the base, rectangular at the top, fold upon themselves to present a compressed, flat surface.

At the Yimin Miao, the situation is quite different. There are no permanent professional religious functionaries. Instead, there is an administrative committee 管理委員會, comprised of some 90 members. These members are generally elders of the Hakka community of the Sanmin district of Kaohsiung. The administrative organization, among its other roles, is responsible for maintaining the temple, handling the financial transactions of the temple, administering its charity programs, coordinating yearly ritual activities, assists practitioners in their religious devotions or questions, and provides ritual officiants from among its members. During rituals, then, there are two kinds of functionaries. Some are invited religious functionaries, usually religious professionals of some kind, either from other temples or those who do not have a fixed temple but still can be hired out. Others are selected from the administrative organization of the temple, by the casting of mantic blocks. Each prospective officiant undergoes a series of castings; the more consecutive positive results (the so-called Sagely 聖杯 result) obtained, the greater the position of responsibility conferred, with each member having the responsibility of casting. The titles include: Plenary Furnace Master 總正爐主, Plenary Vice Furnace Master 總副爐主, Furnace Master 爐主, Chief of the Assembly 主會, Chief of the Sacrifice 主醮, Chief of the Altar 主壇, Chief of Universal Salvation 主普, Manager 經理, and Head Gentleman 首士.

Given that the Yimin Miao is registered and self-identifies as a Daoist temple, even with the presence of Guanyin and the occasional invitation of Buddhist functionaries, it is reasonable to also classify that temple as Daoist; therefore, the functionaries drawn from the

administrative committee can be said to be Daoist functionaries, at least as far as they see themselves and as the community perceives them to be. Though they receive no ordination or formal religious professional training, they nonetheless have access to cultural and traditional resources as they learn the proper ritual structures, behavioral praxis, and religious language from prior generations of practitioners and acting functionaries. During normal operating hours, these functionaries dress as any other citizen of their same social group: slacks, polo shirts, leather shoes, t-shirts, baseball caps, dresses, skirts or business suits are all acceptable attire. During ritual functions to which they have been invited, functionaries wear a combination of light blue top (usually a polo shirt, some with temple logos) and a navy blue or black bottom (usually slacks). During ritual functions for which the functionaries are also the primary officiants, over the garb described above they wear a traditional embroidered black frock jacket with frog buttons and optional red sash and nametag, and royal blue embroidered full-length skirt-like lower clothing, with slits running along the full length of the left and right sides of the garment. Hierarchy is not strictly observed outside of ritual functions, instead placing a greater value on collaborative spirit, though those higher in the hierarchy of the administrative committee *do* enjoy greater responsibilities and increased duties.

4.13 Physical Location, Structure, and Deities Venerated.

The Daode Yuan sits on the western side of a mountain associated with the Chen 辰 (seated 辰兼乙, and related to the sun's rising in the east and setting in the west) earthly branch 地支, facing west-northwest, giving an imposing and vivacious appearance. It sits

between a large Buddhist temple to its south, the Temple of Preservation of Peace 保安宮,
and a park surrounding it on its other sides (apart from the lake on which shores it sits). The
temple architecture is of the Huanan 華南, or Southern Chinese, style. In terms of
geomantic positioning, it was built to sit entirely on an auspicious side the mountain, at an
egress point for flourishing *qi* 氣. In the Five Phases system 五行, it is associated with Earth
土, and therefore the color yellow and the center; these are auspicious in that they are
associated with fertility of the soil, the Yellow Thearch, and the point from which all
directions make reference to and return to. The rear hall is built in three floors, which
represent the Three Realms 三才 of Heaven, Earth, and Mankind. The rear hall is built on
the rising slopes of the mountain, the outer hall on level ground, and the front hall is near
the lakeshore; this represents Daoist control over the Three Realms of Heaven, Earth, and
Water (not the 三才, but rather that which is governed by the Three Officials 三官),
ostensibly in accordance with the natural configuration of the numina 靈.

Though this work does not concern deities venerated at the DDY, I wish to provide
a simple list of the figures found at the temple merely for descriptive purposes.[173] The central
deities venerated in this temple are the Most High Ancestor in the Dao 太上道祖 (who
holds the central place in the front hall) and the Salvific Celestial Worthy of the Grand
Monad 太乙救苦天尊 (who has a place in a separate outer hall). The former is As with
many temples of this kind, the full panoply of deities venerated is a sight larger. Beginning
with the rear hall, third floor, one finds: the Supreme Revered Divinities of the Boundless

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[173] For more information, see: Daode Yuan, ed.. *1997 nian Taiwan qingnian zongjiao yu xinling gaige yantao
hui lunwen ji* 1997 年台灣青年宗教學者宗教與心靈改革研討會論文集 [Papers Presented at the 1997
Conference for Taiwanese Young Scholars of Religion and Spiritual Revolution]. Gaoxiong:
Gaoxiong Daode yuan, 1997.

Realms 無極界至高無上之尊神, namely, the Treasured Pearls of the Dao, Boundless Primogenitors, Arcane Superior Sages, Celestial Kings of Primal Origin, Great Heavenly Worthies 無極始祖玄玄上聖元始天王大天尊之道寶珠, the Three Pure Ones, Ancestral in the Dao 三清道祖; The Most Revered Jade Emperor of the Great Ultimate Realm, the Superior Thearch, Leader of the Assembled Sages, Divinities, and Transcendents 太極界至尊玉皇上帝統領群聖神仙; The Salvific Celestial Worthy of the Grand Monad 太乙救苦天尊; the Twelve Disciples 十二門人; the Great Thearch of Long Life of the Southernmost Reaches 南極長生大帝; and the Great Thearch of Purple Tenuity of the Northernmost Reaches 北極紫微大帝. The center of this hall's floor, one of the most important areas of the temple complex in terms of loftiness of divinities, is called the Palace of Jade Clarity 玉清宮; the right side (facing the back wall) is the Palace of Supreme Clarity 太清宮; the left side is the Palace of Superior Clarity 上清宮. On the right wing, one finds the Palace of the Southernmost Reaches 南極宮, while the left wing bears the Palace of the Northernmost Reaches 北極宮.

The second floor houses what is called the Daoist Studies Institute for the Cultivation of Truth 修真道學院, while a sign within reads "Treasured Hall of Efflorescent Effulgence 華光寶殿". In this rear hall's second floor, one finds Xuan Yuan, the Yellow Thearch, Ancestor of the People 民族始祖軒轅黃帝, the Father of the Nation (Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙) 國父, and the First President Jiang (Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石) 先總統 蔣公. The latter two are treated as figures of respect rather than divinities, but one may burn incense in their remembrance; their veneration may be considered part of the civil religion in

Taiwan. The rear hall's first floor (which bears the name of the entire temple complex, the Sanctuary of the Dao and De of Kaohsiung 高雄道德院) does not bear divinities, but on its right side there is a preaching practice area for disciples to study the Dao 善信學道講習場, while on the left side one finds a sacred space for tranquility and cultivation of austerities, called the Tranquility and Cultivation Chamber of the Dao of the School of the True Lotus of the Grand Monad; this was opened in 1976.

To the right of the rear hall (facing it), there is a smaller and separate building which contains a large gilded statue 金身 of the Salvific Celestial Worthy of the Grand Monad, seated atop nine-headed lion. The building containing it is called the Hall of the Grand Monad 太乙殿. A separate pathway, on the right side of the entire temple complex, runs through a gate that remains locked for most of the year, upon which one finds an arch which reads "School of the True Lotus of the Grand Monad."

The front hall, the Sagely Hall of the Supreme Ultimate 太極聖殿, contains the Most High Ancestor of the Dao 太上道祖 as its central figure, flanked by the Most Sagely First Teacher 至聖先師 on the right (as one faces the deities), and the Great Champion Guan-yin 觀音大士 on the left. These three are arrayed on the back wall as main deities. The right wing, the Hall of the Ancestral Master 祖師殿, in the Hall of Cultivating Truth 養真堂, one finds the Transcendent Noble of the Southernmost Reaches 南極仙翁, the Ancestral Master, Founder of the School 開宗祖師, and pictures of lineage masters associated with the leaders of the temple. The left wing, labeled with the inscription "Doing Good Is The Greatest Joy" 為善最樂, one finds a Guanyin 觀音 statue along with a statue of the patroness who granted a large amount of land to the temple, Chen Sunkuan 陳孫款.

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In addition, on this floor, one finds the Grand Thearchs of the Three Offices 三官大帝, the Astral Lords of the Southern and Northern Dippers 南北斗星君, the Celestial Master of the Grand Method 大法天師, the Superior Thearch of the Arcane Heavens 玄天上帝, the Thearchical Lord, Entrusted to Bless 孚佑帝君, the Sagely Mother Above the Heavens 天上聖母, and arrays of accompanying divinities in their retinues, spirit soldiers, and more. In the front hall's second floor, there are two halls of lanterns on the right and left sides, the Celestial Worthy Astral Grandmother 斗姆天尊, and other divinities.

The Yimin Miao is located near the intersection of the Dachang and Juemin roads in the Sanmin district of Kaohsiung. It occupies a portion of a city block surrounded by tall apartment buildings and a small city park, and sits before a large parking lot, which is owned by the temple and is rented out in the evening to market stalls, thus furnishing the area with a small night market and generating an income. The temple itself is built above another building which houses small commercial enterprises and some offices, with an imposing stone staircase and façade leading up to the main entrance. There is a furnace to burn paper money to the right of the staircase and a small pavilion to its left. The main entrance bears an electronic scrolling marquee with announcement, in the fashion of some modernized temples in Taiwan. The temple has *xieshan*-style 歇山 roofing, decorated with the standard panoply of guardian figures and deities. There is one main hall, with an open courtyard, and three deities venerated therein. The courtyard rafters are full of donated placards engraved with messages reinforcing martial themes. Ancillary decorations in this hall are replete with divine soldiery. A side hall on the right-hand side (facing the main deity) contains a smaller shrine (the "protection room 護室"), the administrative offices, and the incense distribution

center. The left-hand side contains a hall for entertaining guests and for members of the administrative committee to engage in temple business. By the front entrance, there are two desks at which administrative committee members sit, and acts as a reception desk and socialization area for committee members. All visitors and practitioners direct themselves there. There are two hallways leading to the rear of the temple. The rear of the temple, which has an outdoor terrace, features model landscapes furnished with representations of Hakka warriors and deities associated with pacific celestial realms. Restrooms and cooking areas are accessible from this terrace.

Most of the Hakka religious activity in Kaohsiung is concentrated in the Yancheng 鹽埕 and Sanmin districts, including the famous Aozidi 凹仔底 area; the Yimin Miao is congruent with that pattern, and so is not located in an unexpected area. The Temple of the Dutiful of Kaohsiung is located in the Sanmin district, which has a relatively high concentration of Hakka speakers, though the Hakka are heavily outnumbered by speakers of Daigi. As with many other Hakka temples, the Yimin Miao is, by self-identification, a Daoist temple. The array of deities venerated within is often explained by reference to the diverse and wandering background of the ancestors of the Hakka in Taiwan today; these ancestors brought with them the veneration of many deities from the various locations in which they all lived (mostly in the southern regions of mainland China). This may be referred to at times as a form of polytheism, though such a term can have negative connotations to the average practitioner; instead, most see it as standard Daoism, though none seem to use the term "orthodox", which is favored by the Daode Yuan. The chief deities of the Yimin Miao are generally deities associated with a particular geographic region or location, and, in Taiwan, reckoned as follows: Mazu 媽祖, the Kings of the Three Mountains 三山國王, and Father

Dutiful 義民爺. The Kings of the Three Mountains are deities of Jiexi County 揭西縣, Guangdong 廣東, in Mainland China: Jin Mountain 巾山, Ming Mountain 獨山, and Du Mountain 獨山, in order of loftiness. Many speakers of Daigi see the Kings of the Three Mountains as protector deities of the Hakka; however, two-thirds of the Hakka areas in Taiwan do not have temples with the Kings of the Three Mountains featured in them. Another important figure is the Lord of the Soil 土地公, sometimes nicknamed "Old Uncle 伯公" by the Hakka. The latter name, not common among other Sinitic groups which also venerate Lords of the Soil, is explained as a means of reckoning the deity as part of one's own family, especially important for a people that have a myth of wandering as an important part of their identity. In agricultural areas, the veneration of Shennong 神農 is important, as famers have ever been expected, in Sinitic civilizations, to provide the economic strength of the polity; it is to be expected, then, that the Divine Farmer be asked for protection from droughts, ravages of insects, floods, and other natural disasters. However, this figure is not present in the Kaohsiung iteration of the Temple of the Dutiful. In addition, memorial tablets and stelae for the dead are venerated, in special shrines that do not have the status of "temple"; the dead, however, are routinely venerated at the Yimin Miao. A host of other deities exists, which differ from place to place, to cover the standard domains of Daoist deities: those who deal with crops, illnesses, exams, soldiers, marriage, and the like. There are numerous folk festivals, which again differ from place to place, but which regularly throughout the year; these are listed below. Optional religious celebrations can occur on the first and fifteenth days of every lunar month which involve burning of incense and lighting of firecrackers in the vicinity of shrines, temples, and other locations of deity altars; these events are not organized by the Yimin Miao proper, but may still be observed by the lay

population of practitioners nearby. As an example of yearly Hakka rituals, in some regions, every nineteenth day of the second, sixth, and ninth month there is a festival for women to celebrate Guanyin's 觀音 birthday, consignment to religion, and attainment of enlightenment; this set of rituals has been adopted at the Yimin Miao.

Venerated in the temple are Chen Ziyun and over two hundred other named among the Dutiful 義人, who are depicted at the rear of the temple. The central deity at the temple is Father Dutiful, who is the central of the deities at the main courtyard. Also venerated in the central courtyard are the Sagely Mother Above the Heavens and Guanyin. Though the temple is registered as a Daoist temple, the presence of Guanyin is the result of the temple being situated in a Min area, as that deity does not, according to members of the Yimin Miao community, play a strong role in typical Hakka non-Buddhist temples. Finally, the temple pantheon includes the Upright Deity of Fortune and Virtue 福德正神, the Year Deity 太歲, Lady Lifebringer 註生娘娘. The many plaques at the entrance to the main courtyard may also be considered objects of special religious value, as they invariably commend loyalty and its ancillary virtues (such as trustworthiness), and so inculcate respect toward these virtues, especial in martial contexts.

4.14 Leadership

The Daode Yuan is currently headed by the abbess Weng Taiming 翁太明, who has taken the title "Great Lineage Master of the Grand Monad of the Three Purities 三清太乙大宗師," though within the temple she is often addressed simply as Lineage Master 宗師. She was born in Tainan 台南, in the Tucheng 土成 area. She began going to the Daode Yuan regularly as a third-grader, to give offerings. In 1971, she began instruction

in the Dao, reading the Daodejing 道德經 and Yijing 易經 attentively, to gain an understanding of the ethical systems and doctrines of Daoism. In 1974, she graduated with a degree international trade; this same year, she "left the home 出家" (became a monastic). She was ordained in 1976, being given the Scriptural Register of the Administrator of Merit of the Three and the Five 三五都功經錄 of the Zhengyi school, and became an abbess in 1986. In 1987 she became the Daoist head priest proper (正式道長), and the first female Daoist priest on the isle of Taiwan; that same year, she became lineage-master 宗師 of the School of the True Lotus of the Grand Monad. In 1995, she was granted the Superior Clarity of the Three Caverns Scriptural Register of the Five Thunders 上清三洞五雷經錄 from the Zhengyi school, the highest attainable register in Zhengyi for someone not a member of the line of Zhang Daoling.[174]

Weng Taiming is reputedly appropriately strict with the priests under her authority, in order to enforce the vows of renunciant life and to ensure cultivation practices, ethical standards, levels of knowledge about Daoism, and correct ritual practices are meticulously followed. The leadership of the temple is symbolically vested almost entirely in Weng Taiming, though there is much delegation of responsibility; in this fashion, the activities of the temple are smoothly carried out, though the Lineage Master makes all decisions of import; these are usually followed without visible argument or alternate recourse. Volunteer functionaries do not have the same standards as priests to follow; they are expected to participate in a training session on the first day of the new year, and are encouraged to

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[174] The Jade Standards of the Celestial Altar 天壇玉錄, a Zhengyi ritual scripture for transmitting sacred registers, classifies the Superior Clarity of the Three Caverns Scriptural Register of the Five Thunders as conferring a grade 3 rank, surpassed only by the conferral of the Grand Cavernous Scriptural Register of the Three Caverns 三洞大洞經錄.

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participate in weekly educational sessions, which many find useful regardless, in the faculties of performing their duties. Practitioners and visitors are welcomed by the Daode Yuan leadership. While volunteers and registered participants of the Daode Yuan number around 3,000 (estimate), many more come from the Kaohsiung region to participate in rituals, offer material donations (such as foodstuffs and incense), receive blessings, pray before the deities, engage in mantic practices, seek advice on personal matters, seek material aid, help with temple maintenance, participate in festivals and feasts, socialize, or visit as tourists. All are treated with respect and warmth. Generally, Weng Taiming is viewed as a maternal figure, in terms of authority and compassion.

The Yimin Miao is headed by an administrative committee, which in turn is led by a selected member of that committee. The administrative committee is quite large, consisting of more than 90 active members, and shares many of the leadership responsibilities at the temple. The head of the committee is regularly selected anew, to give members a chance to share in the responsibility of caring for the religious and cultural needs of the Hakka community. Given that most of the temple's religious activity involves the performance of communal rituals for the Hakka community, there is less of a need for a definitive and semi-permanent hierarchical head to determine moral, ethical, and philosophical lines of inquiry to be pursued by the Yimin Miao's members. Since these religious concepts do not have to be treated in a unified fashion, or even overly coherent (so long as they do not cause any conflict, they are perfectly tolerable), individual members and practitioners are free to work out religious thought systems for themselves. Of course, the administrative committee operates under a set of baseline assumptions, which are mutually understood and not often the subject of direct discussion. The temple is also influenced by the original temple to bear

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its name, the Fangliao temple; being a branch of that temple, the Yimin Miao of Kaohsiung coordinates administrative duties with the home temple.

CHAPTER 5 - RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE VARIETIES

5.1 On Religiolects

The purpose of this chapter is to describe basic phonetic and lexical features of what I describe as the 'religiolects' of two Daoist religious communities in Southern Taiwan. These features form part of a 'linguistic repertoire' of two 'lects'. The first section will introduce the concept of the linguistic repertoire approach, compare religiolects to sociolects, and delineate and defend how I use the term "religiolect." The second section will present the features of the linguistic repertoire of the DDY religiolect. The third section will present the features of the linguistic repertoire of the YMM religiolect. The fourth section will present the semantic domains of religious lexicon in both religiolects.

5.2 Identifying a Religiolect

Benjamin Hary describes a religiolect as "a language variety with its own history and development, and which is used by a religious community."[175] To examine this definition piece by piece, one must first define "language variety." Then, one must discuss "history and development", and then "use by a religious community." In Chapter 1, I wrote of a religiolect as a "sociolect structured around a religious community, the language of which bears properties inherent to the religious system of that community." I propose a religiolect as the lect of a religious system or particularly of a religious group. Or, in other words, a sociolectal language variety with religion as the unifying feature of its speakers. Similarly, one should consider what is meant by "sociolect," "religious community," and "religious system." One must ask how one may determine whether a religiolect exists, and how to draw a boundary between a religiolect and the surrounding language varieties. We determine how a religiolect exists by first considering how one determines that *any* language variety exists.

5.3 Sociolects as 'Lects'

A sociolect refers to "a variety of a language used by a particular social group or class," from the classical Latin *socio-* (ultimately "companion, associate") with the above described "lect." According to Alleyne, "[t]he term *sociolect* is coined by analogy with *dialect* and *idiolect*, the former referring to geographical variation of language, the second to some corpus of speech or speech habits identifiable with an individual. [Alleyne uses] sociolect to refer to the language material of a social group or class which may serve as a 'marker' of that group or class."[176] Levin describes a sociolect as "[t]he total set of shared features of

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[175] Hary, Benjamin. *Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt.* Hardback edition. Leiden: Brill, 2009: 12.

[176] Alleyne, Marvin. "Communication and Politics in Jamaica." *Caribbean Studies* 3.2 (July 1963): 22-61.

'contrived speech' of the regional idiolects...."[177] The term sociolect has been established as being able to reference the particular lect of a small professional group. Sociolects involve both passive acquisition of particular communicative practices through association with a local community, as well as active learning and choice among speech or writing forms to demonstrate identification with particular groups.[178] A review in *Language* describes a book as ."..written in a highly academic sociolect of German which makes rich use of embedding devices, some sentences being over a page long." In the prior example, the author implies that the German is comprehensible to others knowing the "standard German" lect, but that it differs in *distinct characteristics* such as the particular prevalence of grammatical embedding. The degree of difference between the German academic lect in question and other lects is very minor in degree, but nonetheless separate and distinct.[179]

A common perception is that there is a difference in kind between a full-fledged "language" and any number of other "lects." A lect, a term usually visible as a morpheme (e.g. *acrolect, basilect, mesolect, dialect, sociolect, grapholect, idiolects*), is often used interchangeably with "language variety." There is a misperception that primary entities known as languages exist as centralized structures from which other, lesser, entities branch forth While the former are perceived as valid entities, the latter can, to variable degrees, be dismissed, denied existence, denied use, and denied prestige. Outside of scholarly circles, for example, a common perception persists that linguistic units known as *dialects* are subordinate to

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[177] Levin, N. B. in *Rep. 16th Ann. Round Table Meeting on Ling. & Lang. Stud.*, edited by Charles Kreidler. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1965: 116.

[178] Durrell, Martin. "Sociolect." In *Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society*, edited by Ulrich Ammon, et al. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004: 200–205.

[179] Clyne, M.G. "Sprache soziologisch gesehen, I: Strategien sprachbezogenen Denkens innerhalb und im Umkreis der Soziologie by Fritz Schütze [On Sociological Language: Strategies of Language-Related Thought Within and Around Sociology]." *Language* 54.1 (1978): 226-230 (227).

languages, that they are merely variations of languages, that they are distortions of a standard, or incorrect, or reserved for "lower" uses, whatever the sociocultural perception of "lower" may be to a group of speakers.

The difference between languages and other lects, however, is not an objective one. Instead, the difference lies in the social appreciation given to certain modes of communication. Every lect which is today referred to as a language originates from what was once a simple lect defined in terms of geography, referring to the particular locality in which the lect is spoken, and a social group, namely the people that speak it. While a language is spoken, and thereupon regulated, by the dominant, educated, power-controlled, culturally elite, networks of interconnected lects exist in and around these same languages. For example, a prestige language of the Anatolian Peninsula under the rule of the Ottoman Empire during its zenith of power was Ottoman Turkish, a "mixture" of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian elements. Ottoman Turkish was largely unintelligible to speakers of *kaba Türkçe* or "Rough Turkish", which forms the basis for the modern Turkish of today. Nevertheless, at one time, those with power, wealth, and education used Ottoman Turkish, even though most people in the Anatolian Peninsula did and could not use it.[180] Ottoman Turkish was a central entity from which a branch sprung, and was differentiated by a diminutive adjective. The perception was that there was a "proper" Turkish and a "rough" (i.e. derivative) *version* of it. Modern Turkish is the prestige language of Turkey today, and is standardized by the education system, promulgated by government and mass media, but it is no more or less a lect than *kaba Türkçe* under Ottoman rule; similarly, Ottoman Turkish is no more or less a lect now *in terms of structural facts*. The only difference is in social perception and usage, not

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[180] Özsoy, A. Sumru and Eser E. Taylan (eds.). *Türkçe'nin ağızları çalıştayı bildirileri* [Workshop on the dialects of Turkish]. Instanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2000.

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any structural or linguistic fact. If languages were at one time lects without the backing of education, wealth, and political power, then the difference between languages and lects is a difference of degree, not of kind.

5.4 Lects are Separable from One Another by Degrees

A difference of degree does not have a known prerequisite quantum in order to be considered a separate lect. The conception of idiolects is that all human beings capable of communication have a unique and idiosyncratic lect which varies by a degree, *no matter how small*, from the idiolects of all other human beings. Idiolects may be thought of as linguistic fingerprints, to some extent. It is a fact that no two people have the exact same linguistic competence and linguistic inventory, contrary to popular perception.[181]

If no two people have the same idiolect, how is communication possible? Avoiding what may be more profitably discussed elsewhere, it is sufficient to say that the degree of difference between the idiolects of two people living in similar circumstances, such as location, social class, ethnic group, occupation, and period of time etc. have idiolects which share many features. That is to say, the degree of difference between idiolects of people in similar circumstances is smaller than people living removed by time, political boundaries, social class circumstances, and the like. Those people that can imagine themselves to be understood by those around them, and imagine that they understand those around them, are

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[181] An example of the refinement of the understanding of idiolects and the application of that knowledge is the field of forensic linguistics (see Aston University's Centre for Forensic Linguistics http://www.forensiclinguistics.net/cfl_fl.html, for an example of an instantiation of that field). Seemingly small variations in language are extremely important and have profound consequences while being otherwise seemingly unimportant. For example, information from the source listed above declares that "[l]inguists... have a considerable interest in the language of police (and other) interviews of witnesses... and suspects. ... There is interest in the language of lawyers and witnesses and the effectiveness of linguistic strategies in examination-in-chief and cross-examination. Susan Ehrlich, for example, analyses the language of rape trials observing differential use in the active voices of the prosecution contrasting with the passive voices of the defence, exemplified with 'as we were talking our pants were undone.' "

commonly thought of a speaking the same language. Now, we know indisputably that humans have the capacity to know and use more than one language. It is also the case, then, that humans have the capacity to know and use more than one lect. However, humans do not have to have the *metalinguistic understanding* to realize that they are speaking more than one lect. That is to say, a speaker of a lect does not have to have the capability to critically assess one's own language usage patterns, nor to have any manner of technical understanding of language from the perspective of a linguist as a professional scholar of language: it is as sufficient to use lects successfully without analyzing their possible components and relations to other lects as it is to breathe successfully without the slightest awareness of the lung action, muscles, nerves, and cognitive processes involved.

5.5 Unlike 'Languages,' Lects are Separable from One Another by Small *or* Large Degrees

The most salient characteristic that the average person has to determine whether one is using the same lect as another person is *intelligibility*. It is fairly clear to a speaker that imagines oneself to be speaking a standard Dutch that, when speaking to another speaker that imagines oneself to be using standard Italian, they are speaking to someone using a different lect. The interlocutors have starkly different ranges of phonemes, items of lexicon, and syntactical structures; thereby they can quickly determine, by means of failed attempts at making themselves understood to one another outside of simple gestures, that they "speak different languages." However, there are times when the differences between linguistic inventories such as phonology, lexicon, and syntax is not so stark; however, the decrease in the degree of difference does not in any way obviate the fact that different lects are being used.

An uneducated, elderly speaker of Neapolitan at the turn of the 21ˢᵗ century would have been thought in most cases to have been speaking a lect that was recognizably similar to Italian; however, another elderly speaker of Venetian, using another recognizably Italian-related lect, could easily have had something of a difficult time engaging in discourse with the former, but it would have been nothing near the impossibility of the Dutch and Italian couple above.[182] To give a few examples, phonologically, unlike in Italian, Venetian presents an interdental voiceless fricative, a velar nasal in word finals, lacks geminate consonants, and drops the vocalic ending in the masculine singular, whereas Neapolitan transforms almost all Italian unstressed vowels to unrounded mid-central vowels, presents a more dentalized alveolar plosive, a voiced velar fricative, rhotacizes a number of alveolar plosives, and geminates consonants in initial as well as medial positions. This is enough to make the interlocutors strain to catch other's speech sounds. Grammatically, Venetian employs clitic pronouns, conveys gender and number via the articles, incorporates a special interrogative verbal form with attached pronouns, and subordinate clauses are introduced with additional relational elements, whereas Neapolitan has an additional neuter gender, marks gender and number by alteration of stressed vowels, has solely vocalic articles, geminates initial consonants according a complex system of triggers, and employs the remote past tense to a much greater degree. Lexicon varies a fair amount between the two: Venetian has words from contact with neighboring French, in addition to words from long contact between the long-existing and powerful maritime trading realm of Venice, which colonized the eastern shores of the Adriatic and dealt with Greeks and Ottomans regularly, while Neapolitan has a strong Spanish influence from its time under Aragonese and Spanish Bourbon rule, in

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[182] This and subsequent discussion thanks to Dr. Michele Auriemma, personal communication, May 15ᵗʰ 2013.

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addition to the natural deviations in lexicon from being divided geographically, culturally, and politically for centuries. The Venetian *A torghene e no metarghene el mucio cala*[183] would bring confusion for the *metarghene*, even if the phonological rules transforming *torghene* to *tuglienne* and *mucio* to *muzzielle* are apparent after some time spent in discourse. *Fiòi e nissòi, no iè mai massa*[184] confounds for *nissòi*, otherwise *linzule*, and *massa*, otherwise *abbastanze*, even if one can expect the listener to make out that *fiòi* works out to *figlie*. Conversely, the Neapolitan won't get far in conveying meaning if in *Vuje site 'a mamma d' 'e rrepassatore,*[185] the listener doesn't know that *rrepassatore* means "trickster" or "cheat", or in *bella pareglia fóssemo a fá 'ammore,*[186] *pareglia* means "couple." Lexicon alone is a great source of disparity between the lects, even if the vast majority of fundamental words could be worked out in short order (which, in practice, they cannot be). The sentiment is illustrated by the wonderful example of David Moser's, writing about the difficulties of acquiring Chinese: "A non-native speaker of English reading an article with the headline 'JACUZZIS FOUND EFFECTIVE IN TREATING PHLEBITIS' is not going to get very far if they don't know the words 'jacuzzi' or 'phlebitis'." With variances in lexicon, there are serious issues in negotiating intelligibility.

Lects can vary to even lesser degrees. For example, a modern younger speaker of Southern American English, observed by a speaker of American English from Michigan, would have distinctive linguistic features, such as pronunciation marked by such characteristics as a merger of [ɛ] and [ɪ] before nasal consonants, the monophthongization of [a ɪ] to [aː], the merger of [ɔ r] and [ɑ r], grammar marked by such

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[183] Cf. Italian *Togliendo e non aggiungendo, il mucchio cala*, "[By] adding and not removing, the pile grows smaller."

[184] Cf. Italian *Figli e lenzuola, non sono mai troppi*, "[As for] sons and bedsheets, there are never enough [of them]."

[185] Cf. Italian *Lei è la madre di chi inganna*, "You are the mother of tricksters."

[186] Cf. Italian *Bella coppia saremmo, facendo l'amore*, "A nice couple we'd make, were we to make love."

characteristics as the use of the second person plural contraction *y'all*, a zero copula in the second and third persons, the use of double modals (e.g. *might could*), and lexical features such as the use of *yonder* to mean "over there", *reckon* to mean *think*, and *goober* for *peanut*. However, the degrees of difference are such that a northern speaker of American English would not have a difficult time interpreting *Mah folks live way over yonder* as *My family members/parents live all the way over there*, or *You might could say he's ornery* as *You might say he's hard to get along with.*[187]

Lects with nearly identical phonologies and grammatical systems are nonetheless separate lects; a difference in degree, not kind, separates lects, and so long as a difference exists, the magnitude of difference is immaterial (unlike with a term like "language", where the difference *is* material: the degree of difference must, as a rule, be sufficient to render mutual intelligibility impossible without the acquisition by one or both interlocutors of additional linguistic prowess). The Oxford English Dictionary gives the definition of *lect* as "terminal element," < <u>dialect</u> n., used to designate a regional or social variety within a language as in <u>idiolect</u> n.; also used in forming a number of technical terms in linguistics, as acrolect, basilect, isolect, sociolect, etc. (see quots.). *Hence (without hyphen) as n., a social variety of a language or dialect.*" (Emphasis added). A sociolect or social dialect is a variety of language associated with a social group such as a socioeconomic class, an ethnic group, an age group, etc, and is a matter perception of a social group.[188] The amount of social varieties of language

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[187] "...[A] Southern American English speaker has no difficulty in communicating with, say, an English speaker from Michigan. The Southern and Midwestern variets of English do differ in terms of phonology..., vocabulary..., and grammar. But these differences are not significant enough to cause major problems in communication." Shin, Sarah. *Bilingualism and Schools in Society: Language, Identity, and Policy*. New York: Routledge 2012: 49.

[188] Wolfram, Walt. "Social varieties of American English." In *Language in the USA: Themes for the Twenty-first Century*, edited by E. Finegan and J.R. Rickford, 58-73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

vary as greatly as the amount of social groupings human beings are part of. For example, an English speaker who has had aquaintance with the sea, either by physically sailing on a vessel or by reading and study on the subject, may easily be said to possess command of "nautical language" (a *nautilect*), which would enable one to make sense of such units as "*Having called all hands, we close-reefed the topsails and trysail, furled the courses and jib, set the fore-top-mast staysail, and brought her up nearly to her course, with the weather braces hauled in a little, to ease her*"[189], "*I am afraid I'm brought by the lee this time*", "*if you had just luffed up on his quarter, when you saw me laying athwart his hawse*", or "*spread a little more canvas*."[190] The common view would be that the speaker of the above examples is undoubtedly speaking English. The language variety in use, however, places the speaker unmistakeably in the role of a mariner (a narrow and specific social group within the group of hypothetical speakers of English), mostly by use of a specific lexicon, and so the speaker is using a specifiable lect. The lexicon not only covers technical terms for items and procedures specific to sailing (such as terms for portions of a ship's rigging or the mechanics of sailing in the direction wind is coming from), but then gets drawn into other aspects of life: *coming athwart one's hawse* then gets metaphorically extended from "moving to expose a ship's broadside to the rear of another ship along that ship's keel's axis" to the equivalent of "interfere with"; *spreading a little more canvas* gets metaphorically extended from "increasing the number of sails open to the wind" to "hurry up, go faster"; *brought by the lee* gets metaphorically extended from "to be situated downwind from" to "being at a disadvantage, to be trapped." The lect is describable by treating its lexicon as the lexicon

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[189] Dana, Richard Henry. *Two Years Before the Mast.* Fairford, UK: Echo Library, 2007: 17.

[190] Cf. Conrad, Greaney M. *Language and Narrative.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002: xxi. "There is a certain territorial pride in Conrad's scornful critique of those ignorant landlubbers who toy carelessly with the sailor's linguistic tools. Conrad sees nautical language as a precision instrument earmarked for a specific purpose and not to be tampered with by amateurs."

varies from the commonalities of the imagined lects around it ("standard English" or what have you).

Variations at the level of lexicon are often thought of, in popular imagination, as unimportant, minor variations or even in disparaging terms. Jargon, the corpus of technical terms used in a particular field or profession, is associated with obscurantism and exclusivism, though it is designed for precision; slang, used for informal speech in certain social settings, is associated with lower social class than the "standard" lect and a misuse of register, though it is used as a means of connecting with peers and strengthening social bonds within a group; argot, a form of secret language meant to prevent outsiders' to one's social group from understanding conversations, are associated with criminals or people with something to hide, though privacy is a dearly regarded notion in modern Euro-American civilization. As much as it is true that the variations above are mostly on the level of lexicon, these variations are nonetheless lects.[191]

Small-scale variation in the linguistic elements of the religiolects below, when compared to surrounding lects, is extremely important. The most well-known iteration of the idea that minor variations have major effects in the outcomes of complex systems is known as chaos theory. Van Der Hejden explains that Chaos theory deals with "what in technical language is called 'sensitive dependence on initial conditions' or 'deterministic chaos', the fact that small causes can have large effects."[192] The analogy is that the tie between meaning and particular linguistic form is the "initial condition" for which there is a lack of precision (in no small part caused by the Translation Fallacy, ."..the concept that

[191] Meecham, Marjorie and Janie Rees-Miller. "Language in social contexts." In *Contemporary Linguistics*, edited by W. O'Grady, J. Archibald, M. Aronoff and J. Rees-Miller, 537-590. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001.

[192] Van Der Heijden, Gert. "Butterfly Effect." In *Encyclopedia of Nonlinear Science*, edited by Alwyn Scott, 84-86 (84). London: Routledge, 2006.

essentially no word, phrase, text or speech in one language can be reliably translated into another language without loss, addition or other change of meaning"), resulting in complex outcomes in religious thought and practice.

Small-scale variation is more crucial than one might suppose; examples from the physical world are not difficult to find. Tiny variations in solar luminosity greatly affect the Earth's climate.[193] Similarly, small variations in genetic code account for vast differences between species.[194]

Indeed, chaos theory has also been applied to the operation of language. Language is a complex of systems which can be characterized to varying degrees by the following features: they are dynamic, complex, nonlinear, chaotic, unpredictable, sensitive to initial conditions, open, self-organizing, feedback sensitive, and adaptive.[195] These features render the comparison between chaotic systems in nature and linguistic systems comparable; for example, Buffer notes that"Chomsky's lasting contribution may be an implication inherent in his transformational grammar, the implication that language is nonlinear and discontinuous."[196] Language, as a social phenomenon, is eminently a nondeterministic system, and so amenable to the argument that the extraction of meaning from language occurs in complex, unpredictable ways. The conventional view of translation is that the correspondence between words in two different languages is similar enough that one can

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[193] Committee on the Effects of Solar Variability on Earth's Climate; Space Studies Board; Division on Engineering and Physical Science; National Research Council. "The Effects of Solar Variability on Earth's Climate: A Workshop Report." Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2012.

[194] Barak, Tanyeri, Kenneth Y. Kwan, Angeliki Louvi, Veysi Demirbilek, Sayrap Saygi, Beyhan Tüysüz, Murim Choi et al. "Recessive LAMC3 Mutations Cause Malformations of Occipital Cortical Development." *Nature Genetics* 43, no.6 (2011): 590-596.

[195] Larsen-Freeman, Diane. "Chaos/Complexity Science and Second Language Acquistion." *Applied Linguistics* 18, no. 2 (1997): 141-165 (142).

[196] Bruffee, Kenneth. "Getting Started." In *Territory of Language: Linguistics, Stylistics, and the Teaching of Composition*, edited by Donald McQuade. Champaign, Ill: NCTE, 1963: 103.

easily predict meaning in a target language by reference to the meaning in a source language. However, this is not so.

Language is dynamic in that it changes with time. Language is complex in that it comprises a large number of components (language users) and each component is interdependent on the others, so that the behavior of the whole emerges out of the interaction of the subsystems. Language is nonlinear in that linguistic output is not directly proportional to input. Language is a system in which the effect is disproportionate to the cause. Languages are unpredictable in that they exhibit sensitive dependence on initial conditions, meaning that a slight change in initial conditions can have vast implications for future behavior.[197]

The behavior of systems with different initial conditions, no matter how similar, diverges exponentially as time passes. By analogy, lects with minor differences in the linguistic forms and processes from which meaning is created end up with divergences in meaning at an unpredictable scale. Language is an open system in that it continually interacts with its environment by receiving linguistic information (the knowledge, experiences, and cumulative historical linguistic practices of language users, which drives the system to continual change) and generating new linguistic output, thus increasing in order and complexity (language variation according to temporal, spatial, and sociological factors). Language is self-organizing in that the ability to use language cooperatively ("speak the same language," "to make oneself understood") arises spontaneously out of the local interactions between language users (as components of the system). Language is feedback-sensitive in that language users receive corrective influences from their language-using experiences, and

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[197] Reigel, David. "Positive Feedback Loops in Second Language Learning." M.A. Thesis, Portland State University, 2005: 14.

change their patterns of language use based on those experiences. Language is adaptive in that it is actuated by interacting language users, collectively forming an integrated whole, which together are able to respond to linguistic changes or changes in the interacting language users themselves.

Because of the sensitive dependence of meaning as it is linked to linguistic form, minor variations in linguistic form can cause variation of unpredictable scale in resultant meaning. That is to say, then, that what appear to be even minor variations between lects can and do have important repercussions.

5.6 Syntax Is Not the Most Important Marker to Distinguish One Lect from Another

Syntax is not the most important feature in determining heterogeneity of lects. While one may aphoristically say that "grammar is the soul of a language," lects are just as validly termed distinct having no more than lexical differences, or lexicosemantic differences, or phonetic differences, or syntactic differences, because no one element of those just listed is responsible for conveying meaning, nor for rendering a lect more or less intelligible compared to another. For example, Korean and Japanese are typologically quite similar in terms of syntax. Lexically, the two are substantially dissimilar.[198] The two languages are unarguably mutually unintelligible. In terms of salient characteristics of separate lects,

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[198] Cf. Kim, Roger, Mary Dalrymple, Ronald M. Kaplan, and Tracy Holloway King. "Porting Grammars Between Typological Similar Languages: Japanese to Korean." *Proceedings of the 17th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*. Singapore: Colips Publications, October 2003. "Typologically similar but not necessarily genetically related languages are those that not only admit of similar f-structures, as LFG theory suggests is the case with all languages, but also have similar c-structure to f-structure mappings. Whether or not Japanese and Korean are genetically related ... , Japanese and Korean are typologically similar in at least the following ways: they both are verb final and more generally head final, have relatively free word order, use postpositions to mark grammatical functions, and exhibit rampant pro-drop. ... We found that many rules of the Japanese grammar could be used without modification in the Korean grammar. ... Unlike the majority of annotated c-structure rules, the lexical items differ significantly between Japanese and Korean, and the lexicon needed substantial modification in the grammar porting. ... With only two man-months of effort, we found that major parts of the Japanese LFG grammar could be carried over unchanged into a grammar of Korean."

Japanese and Korean are conceived of as separate "languages", with syntax being similar yet being different in terms of lexical typology.

Lexical typology is concerned with the "characteristic ways in which language [...] packages semantic material into words", and so is of paramount importance in conveying meaning.[199] From the standpoint of lexical typology, a number of questions factor strongly into considerations of religious meaning as it changes between two or more lects. What meanings can(not) be encoded as single word in different languages? What distinctions are made in lexical systems for encoding a particular cognitive domain and what factors underlie them?[200] What different meanings can be expressed by one and the same lexeme or by lexemes synchronically and historically derived from each other (polysemy, semantic shifts etc.)?[201] What do we know when we know the meanings of words? How can word meanings be decomposed into more basic primitives? How are these primitives encoded or left unencoded grammatically?[202]

Meaning is crucial to one of the main enterprises of linguistic acts, which is the conveyance of information. Lewis, for example, argues that meaning is eminently important in of language teaching pedagogy, more so than grammar.[203] By emphasizing lexico-semantic knowledge over drill-forged grammatical correctness, Lewis' approach focuses on communicative success instead of adherence to an arbitrary standard. Lewis talks about the

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[199] Lehrer, A. "A Theory of Vocabulary Structure: Retrospectives and Prospectives." In *Thirty Years of Linguistic Evolution. Studies in Honour of René Dirvén on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by M. Putz, 243-256. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1992: 249.

[200] These questions concern the subdomain of Onomasiology.

[201] These questions concern the subdomain of Semasiology.

[202] These questions concern the subdomain of Lexical Semantics.

[203] Lewis, Michael. *The Lexical Approach*. Hove, England: Language Teaching Publications, 1993.

concept of *lexis,* in refernce to linguistic units larger than the single word, "such as polywords (e.g., by the way, catch up with, etc.), fixed and free collocations (the fixed ones similar to the polywords, while the free ones are words that are most likely to co-occur in infinitely creative ways), institutionalized expressions (i.e., whole utterances whose pragmatic import depends entirely on the features of the speech event in which they occur) in short, both creatively associated lexical items and formulaic, or frozen, unanalyzable chunks."[204]

The idea espoused in the above work is that a major structural property of language, as it is learned by children, is the appearance of whole, unanalyzed chunks of language, which are learned to be used in appropriate contexts before the children learn to use a grammatical system. Native speakers are then able to rely on many thousands of these ready-made chunks of language, of which discrete vocabulary items are a subset. These chunks themselves package meaning. Differences in the discrete lexical items are just as important in distinguishing lects from one another as differences in syntax. Meaning can be packaged in different ways, as with English *blush* and Italian *arrossire*, which package the same idiosyncratic content of the 'reddening of cheeks' in different ways. On the surface, the meaning of the two words is the same, but in fact these two lexical items have different meanings which are not immediately apparent. As Coppock shows, ."..*arrossire* is conceptualized as an externally caused change of state verb, and *blush* is conceptualized as an internally caused verb.... Moreover, *blush* and *arrossire* have different aspectual processes: in English, one can blush *for ten minutes*, but not *in ten minutes*; in Italian, the reverse holds. Thus, in English, *blush* describes an *activity*... while in Italian, *arrossire* describes an *accomplishment*."[205]

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[204] Nemoianu, Anca M. "Review: The Lexical Approach, Michael Lewis (1993), Hove, England: Language Teaching Publications." *Teaching English as a Foreign Language Electronic Journal* 1.2 (August 1994).

[205] Coppock, Elizabeth. "The Logical and Empirical Foundations of Baker's Paradox" PhD diss., Stanford University, 2008: 39-40.

Without strong metalinguistic abilities, speakers only realize the difference implicitly, without understanding the variance between the two languages caused by the translation between lects. The application of such packaging in religious conceptions appears in the translation between lects. In the Bible for example, Matthew 5:39 was rendered in the King James Version as: "But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Someone reading that phrase and attempting to live by it may easily think, given the meaning of "smite", that the text is encouraging one to allow oneself and family to have violence inflicted upon them without retribution. However, the Greek verb commonly translated (for the "original" biblical text is not a monolithic document, but rather a number of versions and recensions) into English for "smite" is ῥαπίζει [rapizei], which packages the meaning of slapping someone to cause embarassment or provocation. Sensitive to this issue, newer editions of the Bible render the translation differently, such as the New International Version (2011)'s "But I tell you, do not resist an evil person. If anyone slaps you on the right cheek, turn to them the other cheek also." *Smite* is taken to include, as a default meaning, powerful, physical, possibly life-threatening violence; *slap* is a much much lighter offense. A similar misunderstanding arises in teaching Daoism when the Chinese *wuwei* is translated as "inaction", and so interpreted as *literally doing nothing* during the course of important moments in one's life. As a simple function of the different lexical semantic packaging, one's actions can and do change drastically and measurably in the real world. What is important here is lexical differences distinguish between lects even when syntactic differences are minor or even not present.

5.7 Languages are Lects which have Undergone Special Social and Political Processes

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The lects commonly thought of as languages have undergone a process of standardization. A lect, or a combination of them, is selected and developed. The lect selected generally has a great deal of social and political significance, being recognized as prestigious by the community. Next, some kind of organized body (academia, for example) codifies the lect by producing dictionaries and grammars. These provide standards, defining what is correct and incorrect. The decisions made by these organizations are generally used and accepted by the community. The selected lect becomes elaborated to function in particular socially prestigious uses, such as use in government, education, business, and scientific discourse in the community. The lect becomes accepted by society as a language, to then serve as a unifying agent within a community, a marker of differentiation from other communities, or both.

5.8 Use of the Term 'Religiolect'

The term "religiolect" is one of a number created with the -lect component. The most common compound created with lect as a component is "dialect," from the Greek $\delta\iota\alpha$- "through, across", and $\lambda\acute{\varepsilon}\gamma\varepsilon\iota\nu$ "to speak", and attested since the 16th century in English. The "idiolect" was coined in 1948 as "the totality of the possible utterances of one speaker at one time in using a language to interact with one other speaker" from $\ddot{\iota}\delta\iota o\varsigma$ "own, personal, private."[206] Stewart, in 1965, writes, "I will refer to this topmost dialect in the local sociolinguistic hierarchy as *acrolect* (from *acro-* 'apex' plus *-lect* as in *dialect*). In most cases what is meant by 'Standard' English is either acrolect or something close to it. At the other

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[206] Bloch, B. "A Set of Postulates for Phonemic Analysis." *Language* 24.1: 3-46 (7).

extreme is a kind of speech which I refer to hereafter as *basilect* (from *basi-* 'bottom')."[207] In 1979, Bailey provides several examples: "In this case, the creole becomes a satellite (*satellect* or *acolutholect*) to the established language (*matrilect*)"; " The matrilect serves as the *acrolect* in the continuum at one end, while the *basilect*..will be separated from the acrolect by a graded (systematic) series of *mesolects*"; "An *isolect* has been defined by me elsewhere as a form of speech different from its isolectal correlate"; "I have suggested *paralect* to denote folk creations from the related systems (e.g. middle Arabic, Punti, Slavish)."[208]

The religiolect approach allows us to approach language as a tool for construction and maintenance of religiosity, language as an instrument oriented by the interests of speakers, and language as a human activity among others with which it interacts. Language, like religion, has meaning in its public context. This approach allows us to overcome the idea that linguistic behavior is primarily communication which occurs between two or more persons; speakers must be recognized as having developed socially into their modes of religious thought and practice, at least in part, because of their language. This approach takes into account "the 'linguistic work' through which religious meaning comes into being, which also involves motives, networks of social relations, interests, economic conditions, and historically specified needs of the speakers."[209]

As Ponzio argues, "[n]ot only language, but all cultural phenomena may be viewed as communicative phenomena based on sign systems. Nonverbal communication in cultural systems such as religions may then be placed alongside verbal communication. Cultural facts

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[207] Stewart, W.A. in *Social Dialects and Language Learning*, edited by R. Shuy. Champaign: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964: 15.

[208] Bailey, C.-J. N. "Introduction to Southern State Phonetics." *University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics III* 39 (1969): 57-63.

[209] Petrilli, Susan and A. Ponzio. *Semiotics Unbounded: Interpretive Routes through the Open Network of Signs*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005: 305.

which are traditionally not thought of as linguistic phenomena may be approached and understood as messages assembled on the basis of codes. The linguistic approach allows us to consider how the use of language - a particular lect - incorporates a great deal of cultural background knowledge into the construction of the ideas which are linguistically represented. Part of this background knowledge is recognition of the conditions in which religious thought and practice are possible. In addition, this approach makes use of the display of evaluative, affective, and epistemic orientations in discourse to make explicit the ways in which other dimensions of interaction can be resources for the construction of such aspects as sociocultural identity and religious thought."[210] The traditional scholarly view is that religious conceptions are as housed primarily within an individual mind, so that the only possible relationship between religious conceptions and language use is for language to reflect an individual's internal mental state. While an individual speaker's religious thought is certainly an important element, religious thought must enter the social world via *some* form of discourse. Accounts that locate religious thought inside the mind may discount the social ground on which those thoughts are built, articulared, and altered.

This follows Mannheim and Tedlock's view of culture as emergent through dialogical processes; that is, culture is produced as speakers draw on multiple voices and texts in every utterance.[211] I agree with Llamas and Vatt, who argue that "[t]he traditional forms of linguistic approaches have been valuable for documenting large-scale sociolinguistic trends; they are often less effective in capturing the more nuanced and flexible kinds of conceptual relations that arise in local contexts. This analytic gap points to the importance of ethnography [in a religiolinguistic approach'. Linguistic ethnographers have repeatedly

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[210] Ponzio, Augusto. *Signs, Dialogue, and Ideology*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 1993: 52.

[211] Bakhtin, M.M. *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

demonstrated that language users often orient to local identity categories rather than to the analyst's sociological categories and that the former frequently provide a better empirical account of linguistic practice."[212] Religiolects are intermeshed with ideological structures, for associations between language and thought are rooted in cultural beliefs and values – that is, ideologies – about the sorts of speakers who produce particular sorts of language. As argued by Bucholtz and Hall, "Any given linguistic construction [of religious thought] may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and unconscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and deeply rooted in the religious system of the linguistic community."[213] The religiolect approach allows us to account for constant shifting of religious meaning as linguistic interaction unfolds across discourse contexts, either as a result of individual action, or intersubjectively distributed among several social actors.

5.9 Comparing Sociolects to Religiolects; Religiolects as Lects of Religious Communities

To qualify as a sociolect, there need be no minimum requirement for the size of the social group using it, nor of that group's relative cultural strength, so long as there are features to identify the lect. Fortunately, with even every idiolect different from every other, such features are almost always to be found. A religiolect may also be conceived of as a sociolect: the social group using the lect is, then, a religious community. That being the case, speaking of lects becomes a matter of describing them, not so much of discussing their

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[212] Llamas, Carmen, and Dominic James Landon Watt. *Language and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010: 20.

[213] Bucholtz, M., and Hall, K. "Locating Identity in Language." In *Language and Identities*, edited by C. Llamas & D. Watt, 18-28. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010: 22.

existence. Any social group can be said to use a lect peculiar to that social group, no matter how small the degree of deviation from the lects around it.

The idea that religiolects are the lects particular to religious communities is not unknown: Ugwueye and Ezenwa-Ohaeto have argued that "[s]cientific and archeological discoveries are expressed in language, political and historical thoughts are expressed in language. Every kind of idea or feeling is given through the medium of language. Most natural, religious ideas are also represented in language. As a result, religion has developed its own register and consequently it has generated some peculiar 'text-variety' ... . The effect is that any single religious organization forms a speech community with its own [linguistic markers]."[214] Not only are religiolects known for their own linguistic markers, but, from a theological standpoint, "...some elements of relationship exist between language and religion. Acquiring a religion involves to some extent learning a new vocabulary and syntax. It would be impossible to acquire a religion without the medium of language. Because what is said may particularly condition what can be thought, the use of such speech patterns will have subtle psychological effects on the speakers, tending to limit what can be named and hence what can be thought."[215]

Ugwueye and Ezenwa-Ohaeto argue that "[t]he tie that exists between language and religion is such that enables language to be used for intra-group communication within religious settings. In this context, language functions to help maintain conformity to religious values, beliefs and ritual practices." This is only possible if the religiolects differ in some way from those outside of the religious community.

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[214] Ugwueye, E. and N Ezenwa-Ohaeto. "Religious Language: Problems and Meanings." Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities, 12.1 (2011): 173-187.

[215] *ibid.*, 176.

One example of the importance of understanding religiolects is described by Ugwueye and Ezenwa-Ohaeto: "[o]ne major observable problem with religious language lies with the phenomenon of language change. Language change/shift can make traditional language incomprehensible to the later ages. So also the change in the meanings of the religious expressions which can be obvious not minding the retaining of the meaningfulness of the statements but now a different meaning from its original denotation. In such situations, the later generations may be unaware that their understanding of a religious text might be quite different from that of their forebears. Citing Crapo's instances in the King James translation of 2 Thessalonians 5:22 "Abstain from all appearance of evil", the word 'appearance' was intended to signify "to come to view." Thus, the admonition meant "avoid evil when it first appears." Crapo further observes that "to 21st century readers however, the English sentence still seems quite 'outward semblance of' and to mistake the meaning of the sentence as "don't even behave in a way that might appear evil".[216] In this example, the authors point out a common argument in Christian theology: the issues raised by the translation of religious scripture into English (or any other current language). As language changes over time, meaning changes. As languages differ from place to place, culture to culture, meaning changes. Meaning is absolutely, indisputably crucial to the human religious experience; all religious traditions must be transmittable in some form from person to person, unless they are to die out in the first iteration. That being so, meaning must be extracted from practice, experience, doctrine, thought, scriptures, lectures, sermons, etc. Meaning, when having to be conveyed between different languages, is subject to problems

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[216] *ibid.* 174-175.

which are well-documented in translation theory: translation is an act of interpretation, and no two languages can have an isometric relationship with one another.

Because differences between lects and languages are merely of degree and not of kind, meaning translated between lects are subject to the same problem. In the examples above, the authors wish to convey an issue that arises between religious writers using a lect of the past with modern readers having to interpret that past lect into their own modern lect. That the difference between the lects is perhaps small in degree to the layperson does not obviate the problem nor lessen its impact; it merely renders the problem subtle and difficult to detect. A modern speaker may be perfectly unaware that 'appearance of evil' does not mean what the writers intended it to mean, and in fact 'appearance' demonstrably exists, in its outward structural form, in exactly the same way as it did when the text was written. However, the mismatch in meanings creates an altogether different religious experience. This was only an example; the text is, of course, riddled with such examples, all of which are subtle and minor in appearance but important in overall impact and substance, especially collectively. In the example above, the lects were separated by time; lects are separable from other lects according to many other criteria, such as social grouping, without being divorced temporally. Lects coexisting in the same time period are nonetheless different, and thus must be subject to translation. People using different lects do not have to have any metalinguistic awareness at all to use different lects. Above, literalists may interpret 'avoid the appearance of evil' as 'there is no real moral standpoint on evil offered by this religious system, so long as one gives no visible sign of evil for others to observe.' A great many will use that interpretation in good faith, without the awareness that translating one lect to another caused a mismatch in meaning; mistaking the meaning causes that mistake to spread as religious practice is carried out as a social exercise, views being shared with one other about doctrine

and beliefs. If the goal of religious studies is to understand the human enterprise of religion, then surely it cannot be argued that variances between lects are unimportant.

The tie between religious conceptions and language is also illustrated by Ugwueye and Ezenwa-Ohaeto: "Those within a faith community have their own way of using languages; their own religious language can only really be understood by being a part of the language game. Religious language derives its meaning from the fact that while its concepts may not clearly describe objects in the world the way they are, they do have a set of definitions which is accepted by its users. In this way, religious language can be seen as adapting to how [one's] view of the world changes."[217] For example, something as simple as *courage* may be parsed as a moral characteristic, in accordance with a particular interpretation of religious practice, rather than a martial characteristic. The above referenced "language game" is meant to recall Wittgenstein's eponymous conception, which address the muplicity of uses of language and the fluidity of language, as opposed to a picture of language as a fixed entity.

5.10 Illustrative Example: Jewish Religiolects and Benor's Concept of the Linguistic Repertoire

As mentioned above, Benjamin Hary has profitably used the term "religiolect" to mean "a language variety with its own history and development, which is used by a religious community."[218] In his work, he describes the Jewish religiolect phenomenon, with Hebrew and Aramaic elements coming into the superstructures of languages surrounding Jewish

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[217] *ibid.* 185.

[218] Hary, Benjamin. *Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt*. Hardback edition. Leiden: Brill, 2009: 12.

communities. He also argues that, in the discussion of religiolects, it is better to use the "term *variety* or *language variety* rather than *language*."[219] In this work, I use *lect* instead of *language variety*. A lect is another sociolinguistic term for "language variety," without the implications of primacy and meaning of "language" as well as the implication that a "variety" is a branch of a standard "language." In fact, Hary cites Gold and Prager as having "used the term *lect*: 'In order to see the objects of our inquiry arranged in a continuum, we choose to speak of *lects*, which we do not arrange in any rank of preference ... We collect data as we find it in any Jewish lect, *even those whose distinguishing marks appear to be few*."[220] (Emphasis added).

Benor introduces the idea of the "ethnolinguistic repertoire" in her discussions of Jewish ethnolects. Given that Benor clearly does not intend the approach to be limited to ethnolects, but rather to be applicable to lects in general, using ethnolects as an example from her own particular field of study, I use the term "linguistic repertoire" in much the same way. She argues that, "[r]ather than characterizing ethnic group members as speakers or non-speakers of their group's ethnolect, researchers can see them as making selective use of an ethnically distinct linguistic repertoire."[221] Benor describes a "distinctively Jewish linguistic repertoire as the linguistic features Jews have access to that distinguish their speech or writing from that of local non-Jews. *This repertoire could be limited to the addition of a few words* from Hebrew or another language, or it could be as extensive as a mostly distinct grammar and lexicon." (Emphasis added).

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[219] *ibid.*

[220] Prager, Leonard. Checklist of English Names of Jewish Lects. *Jewish Language Review* 6 (*1986*): 225-236 (225), cited in footnote 16 in Hary, Benjamin. *Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt.* Hardback edition. Leiden: Brill, 2009: 12.

[221] Benor, S. "Ethnolinguistic Repertoire: Shifting the Analytic Focus in Language and Ethnicity." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 14/2 (2010): 159–183 (165).

According to the linguistic repertoire approach, "speakers are seen as using linguistic variation – *consciously or subconsciously* – to align themselves with some people and distinguish themselves from others. The social meaning of language is not fixed; it changes according to context, and it is negotiated in interactions, partly based on contrast or distinction. In the ethnolinguistic repertoire approach, the work of alignment and distinction is done through the variable use of what I call 'distinctive linguistic features,' *any elements of language that are marked as distinct from language used in other groups (whether or not speakers are aware of them)....*" (Emphases added). The key notions here are that members of a language community do not have to be aware of accessing this repertoire, and that any element which makes a lect distinct from another is a suitable candidate for addition to the linguistic repertoire in question. The elements may be systematic or sporadic morphosyntactic, semantic, phonological, prosodic, lexical, or discourse-related.

In summary, the idea of the linguistic repertoire is that instead of thinking of clearly delineated entities called 'languages' that people either do or do not speak, one ought rather to think that people make use of a broad array of linguistic elements as time, circumstances, and the people themselves change. In other words, lects (such as "languages" and "dialects") then become *linguistic toolboxes* from which speakers may choose to draw from (to what extent and how much depending entirely on the speaker), rather than homogenous systems employed in their entirety by speakers; they are a "pool of resources from which members of a speech community draw the linguistic tools they need."

Benor argues that "Jews in any given time and place make selective use of their distinctive repertoire, in combination with the repertoires used by non-Jews, as they construct their identity. [The notion of the linguistic repertoire] allows us to stop seeing the speech and writing used in any given Jewish community as a bounded system, renders the

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controversy about language vs. dialect irrelevant, and allows the use of more or less distinct language by any Jew or non-Jew."[222] The comparison may profitably be made between the religiolects I present below and the Jewish religiolects spoken of by Benor: the Daoist temple communities make use of a distinctive repertoire, to an extent and in a context selected by each speaker and bounded by how the speakers imagine the extent of the religious community, regardless of how distinct the repertoire is from the surrounding communities. Certainly, it will be true that the religiolect of an abbess, who spends most of her time using language in the context of religious thought and practice, will be more distinct from the surrounding lects than that of the functionaries that do not live on the temples grounds and have lives apart from the religious communities. However, either speaker nonetheless uses the repertoire of the religiolect.

Benor further argues that "[l]anguage (along with other socio-cultural practices) enables people to perform and perceive broad social dimensions like ethnicity, social class, age, gender, etc., as well as membership in more localized social networks and communities of practice. Through individuals' selective deployment of the stylistic resources available to them, mediated by ideologies about language and social categories, they are able to align themselves with some people and distinguish themselves from others." People use language practices in the manners just described in day to day life, often without conscious awareness of it. One may use elements of an ethnolect in the presence of other members of the same ethnicity; one may use markers of social class depending on the company (speech will almost always differ in stadium stands during a sporting event from that used in a physician's exam room); one may use slang terms around friends in their early adulthood that one would avoid

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[222] Benor, Sarah Bunin. "Toward a New Understanding of Jewish Language in the Twenty-First Century." *Religion Compass* 2, no. 6 (2008): 1062-1080 (1068).

to speak to elderly friends; one may use sexually inappropriate language around friends of one gender that one would blush to use around friends of the other; similarly, one will speak in distinct ways when 'talking shop' with a colleague from work that may easily be difficult to follow for outsiders. Daoist communities similarly speak in distinct ways ("selectively deploying their stylistic resources"), for example having distinct histories and networks of meaning attached to words that still are employed in other language communities, or using words with greater frequency, or favoring archaic pronunciations. Their ideologies about language and social categories do not have to be congruent with that of outside observers; regardless of metalinguistic knowledge, these communities still employ a distinct religiolinguistic repertoire. Benor argues that "[b]ecause the ethnolinguistic repertoire approach emphasizes individuals' selective use of linguistic features, it might be seen as arguing for complete agency over sociolinguistic variation. I see this not as an *a priori* assumption but rather as an empirical question. The approach proposed here sees individuals as making selective use of a distinctive repertoire, but it makes no claims as to the consciousness surrounding that selective use. Certainly many individuals are not aware of how their speech differs from that of non-group members."

The linguistic repertoire of the Daoist temple communities below aligns the communities with other Daoists, with practitioners of Chinese religions, with people who have religious concerns in general, with politically active southern Taiwanese, with ideologies of speakers of Daigi, with the cultural acheivements of the historical Sinitic civilization, and a whole constellation of other complex social alignments. As Benor illustrates, "Similarly, individual Jews have access to an array of stylistic resources, including a distinctively Jewish repertoire, and they deploy various combinations of these stylistic resources as they position themselves in relation to other Jews and non-Jews. When speaking to a Christian neighbor,

for example, they might use only those distinctively Jewish features that they are not aware of. They might use more salient features when speaking to some Jews, even more when speaking to Jews who are versed in rabbinic texts, and even more when speaking about rabbinic texts. Through their selective use of this stylistic repertoire (in combination with dress, actions, etc.), they can present themselves not only as Jews but also as certain types of Jews." This behavior is certainly not unique to Jews, but rather illustrative of a phenomenon that is generalizable to any social group, such as the Daoist communities using the repertoires described below.

Perhaps most useful among Benor's contributions is that the repertoire approach allows us to see religious language communities in a new light. Religiolects are not to be thought of as bounded entities, but as complexes of fluid, variable, and porous linguistic practices: "The theoretical construct of ethnolinguistic repertoire enables us to resolve a nagging contradiction that pervades research on language and ethnicity, as well as sociolinguistic variation more generally: how to talk about distinctive ways of speaking and still account for the variation and fluidity that characterize them. Using the notion that a group has a distinctive linguistic repertoire, we have no need to classify individuals as speakers or non-speakers of a particular language variety." I support this approach; there is no need to classify someone as a speaker of a Daoist religiolect. Instead, I say that a speaker makes *use* of the repertoire of a Daoist religiolect, in varying degrees.

5.11 How Other Religious Language Compendia Handle Entries Which Are Not Obviously Religious

Religious lexicon can include items that are not easily or immediately identifiable as "religious." However, the religious and linguistic communities which use these lexical items

have separate semantic spaces for religious and nonreligious uses of the same words. Entries can be understood or used as religious because of how they are used, or their cultural and doctrinal context. The compilation of a religious lexicon must take into account theories of what "religious" means and how the religious operates for a given linguistic community.

For example, below I include terms from "A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms: With Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index."[223] The introductory material tells us that religious terms included the "special and peculiar use of numerous ordinary Chinese terms," and that many Chinese terms are employed approximately to connote imported ideas, as the Chinese translators understood them (often imperfectly), from the Sanskrit from which the canon was being translated. The translators "...*invented different terms; and, even when the same term was finally adopted, its connotation varied, sometimes widely, from the Chinese term or phrase as normally used by the Chinese.* For instance, kleś a undoubtedly has a meaning in Sanskrit similar to that of 煩惱, i. e. affliction, distress, trouble. In Buddhism affliction (or, as it may be understood from Chinese, the afflicters, distressers, troublers) means the passions and illusions; and consequently *fan-nao* in Buddhist phraseology has acquired this technical connotation of the passions and illusions. ... Consequent partly on this *use of ordinary terms, even a well-educated Chinese without a knowledge of the technical equivalents finds himself unable to understand their implications*" (Emphases added).

Some examples of the religious lexicon included in this work are:

買 To buy, purchase.

解 To unloose, let go, release, untie, disentangle, explain, expound

[223] Hodous, Lewis and William E. Soothill. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms: With Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index.* Second Edition. London: Routledge, 2003.

講 To talk, explain, preach, discourse.

白 White, pure, clear; make clear, inform.

有餘說 Something further to say, incomplete explanation.

言句 Sentences.

喪 Mourning. To lose; destroy.

會 Meet, assemble, collect, associate, unite; assembly, company; communicate; comprehend, skilled in, can, will; a time, moment.

椽 Rafters.

楊 Willow; aspen, poplar, arbutus; syphilis.

Even though the above terms are not obviously Buddhist terms, they become so in a larger context the authors are taking as a Buddhist linguistic space. Similarly, this chapter also bears entries which do not immediately appear religious, but are still taken as such in the context of the religious community by the community itself.

In the Daoist dictionary called the Daojiao Xiao Cidian 道教小辞典 (Minor Dictionary of Daoism), the authors limit their comments on the fit of entries to, "本辞典共选收道教方面词目凡1406条" ("This dictionary includes, altogether, 1406 selected lexical entries related to aspects of Daoism").[224] The lexicon includes items without obvious religious meaning, but which the communities nonetheless use as religious terms in certain contexts:

一 Oneness,

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[224] Zhong, Zhaopeng 钟肇鹏. *Daojiao xiao cidian* 道教小辞典 [Minor Dictionary of Daoism]. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2010.

自然 Nature, Natural

清靜 Pure and Tranquil

生 Live, Life, Arise, Generate

意 Intent, Will

To be sure, the entries listed above are given their proper meaning in Daoist contexts, but it does not change the fact that those items of lexicon have common, mundane, everyday usages *as their primary meaning*.

In the 2009 work, *Historical Dictionary of Islam*, the introductory material includes:[225] "All religions are hard to explain, but few seem to be as difficult as Islam. Indeed, the more it is explained — and it is explained a lot nowadays — the less it seems to be understood. There are various reasons for this, aside from any inherent complexities. One of the most pertinent is that Islam is undergoing considerable flux at present, swayed by various currents whose adherents hold different views, from the modernists and reformers, to the traditionalists and conservatives, to the fundamentalists and Islamists. And each differs in its interpretation of the traditions, precepts, and even sometimes facts, let alone just what one should believe and do as a practicing Muslim. Then there is the problem of vocabulary, most of it in Arabic, the meaning of which is difficult to convey to outsiders and not always entirely grasped even by Muslims." The religious lexicon, then, is subject to much interpretation, thanks in part to the abundance of 'sects' and the semantic loads of the entries themselves, a number of which, again, do not appear religious at first blush:

Carrion - "Dead" meat, which it is unlawful to eat.

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[225] Adamec, Ludwig W. *Historical Dictionary of Islam*. 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009.

Coffee - A beverage that was introduced into Yemen from Abyssinia and came to be widely accepted in the Ottoman empire. It was first the beverage of Sufi fraternities, who drank it as part of their ceremonies, and eventually coffee houses (*buyut al-qahwah*) were established in major towns and even in Istanbul, in spite of 'ulama' opposition.

Concealment - In Shi'ite Islam, discretion or concealment (*taqiyya* or *kitman*) is permitted under compulsion, threat, or fear of injury. The Koran allows denial of faith as long as one keeps believing in one's heart.

Music - Music and musicians have an ambivalent status in much of the Islamic world. Music is frowned upon by theologians of most schools of jurisprudence and by members of the newly emergent Islamist movement. Although not expressly forbidden (*haram*) in the Koran, music is considered reprehensible (*makruh*).

As the above example also shows, items from a larger lexicon can be members of a specialized religious lexicon, depending on the context. The religious lexicon that I show elements of below also has items from a larger lexicon, but those items are nonetheless religious by virtue of their special usage by the religious community.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

6.1 Recapitulation

One of the intents of this dissertation has been to introduce the reader to some new ways of thinking about language. Languages are often imagined as monolithic, bounded entities with clear and standardized usages, practices, and content. In an abstract sense, especially in terms of mass education, mass media, and other like contexts, it is, in fact, useful to think of the notion of fixing language to a standard, in order to more efficiently obtain particular outcomes, such as creating citizens who can interact with each other effectively, or to better inform and govern a people. It is in the interest of such goals that the popular idea of monolithic language is maintained, but it cannot be thought that such a concept is free of ideological baggage. As I have presented in chapter 5, there are not so much languages as continua of lects, elements of which individuals use and discard as time and situations change.

These continua form ever-changing idiolects, or individual-person-dependent language varieties. Individuals with similar ranges of shared contexts throughout their lives - places of residence, idiolects of family members, socioeconomic circumstances, manner of education, exposure to media, etc. - show more similarities in language use than those in different contexts. Group-dependent or community-based similarities in language use, understood as clusters of similar idiolects, can be thought of as sociolects. A certain

community will share more similarities in language use within that community than without it. The lect continua of idiolect and sociolect are built out of linguistic codes, elements of which the individual selects from, with each new iteration, the production of a linguistic act. The linguistic codes combine to form meaning-bearing language: as linguistic elements change, so too does the meaning which the concatenation of elements bears. Complexes of meaning are one of the elements which constitute culture.

Religious language production uses the generation of linguistic codes to attempt to create new complexes of ultimate meaning, or ultimate concern (which I take to be inherent to the religious enterprise, per my earlier definition of religion). Religious language will often deviate from currently accepted linguistic codes as part of the meaning generation process; the deviation highlights the sacral character of the linguistic act. The deviation gradually becomes the norm of a linguistic community, eventually leaving room for fresh deviations, sometimes creating new religious language communities, and thus language varieties, altogether. Frustration in the lack of shared-ness of experience can causes the generation of new religiolects.

Religiolects have a number of salient functions: to encode language to make religious concepts more accessible to members of a linguistic community, to be useful in the religious practices and meaning systems of the religious community, and to convey dispositions. Religiolects are able to consolidate the interpretation of religiosity, affect language users' attitudes to that which is outside the language community, and frame linguistic worldviews for those within the language community, in relation to other language communities, and in reference to the components of life experience that are of interest to the community members.

For the purposes of this study, the linguistic community which uses a religiolect is one in which the members view themselves as belonging to a Daoist temple community. They engage in ritual activity, social work in the local community, represent themselves as a cohesive templegoer community to other such communities, and engage Daoism, however they understand what Daoism is. The communication situations looked at in this study are of ritual and didactic language use. The religiolect is used to filter experience, interpret it, and evaluate it; this process helps to create a certain image of the experienceable world. The religiolect will make salient key elements of reality over others. In turn, that which is made more salient helps to construct a system of norms and values cherished by the linguistic community, such as what attitudes should be held toward death, what one should do to obtain happiness, how one explains unhappiness, what good is knowledge, how one acquires wisdom, what should be valued, how much one should adhere to rules and regulations, whether there is a defined conception of good and evil, etc. In analyzing the elements of religiolects, in this work I take the position of listing as much lexical and phonological information I can (as seen in the appendix materials) and discuss their function; so long as there is a relationship to religiosity, I can thus include elements which may also be found in other lects (though not as a whole body), because lects invariably permeate one another. I am not identifying an isolated and autonomous sociolect, but rather providing elements of a repertoire that may be used to greater or lesser extents.

Religious language is used not only to convey information about ultimate meaning or ultimate concern, but it is also used to persuade, command, express emotional disposition, change a status, to promote and maintain social contacts, and to communicate one's identity. Religious language can define a social situation by placing one in the social context of a religious group, and thus causing one's language to access a pool of authority associated with

that group. A member of a religious and linguistic community communicates one's own identity in relation to the listener, to other putative groups, and defines the modality in which language itself is being used. As such, we can understand a religiolect as a social tool, through which the speaker makes social connections with other people and every linguistic act communicates information as well as forms a connection between the speaker was and the listener by communicating information about the speaker's identity. Sociolinguistic choices, conscious or not, unavoidably communicate social or identity information whether we realize it or not, and whether or not we are consciously aware that we are always interpreting such social or identity information from the sociolinguistic choices of others.

In fact, language does not have to communicate much surface information at all; in common phenomena like formulaic language, ritual language, and small talk, the linguistic act focuses on conveying something other than plain information. For example, the lingustic act can be primarily for showing the speaker was as being someone who is aware of the social rituals of the society in which they speaks, and willing to adhere to them. Religiolects, like other lects, establish identity, and shape others' views of the nature and consequence of linguistic acts produced with them. At the very least it shows membership in an identity group, much like one may discern through one's language use information about one's social class, educational background, geographical areas in which one has spent formative time, age group, professional affiliation, and the like. Indeed, one cannot communicate using language without disclosing at least some information about one's identity. When testing or maintaining intergroup boundaries, language can be used as a mechanism for divergence, by rendering salient the differences between the community one belongs to and that of one's interlocutor, or as a mechanism for convergence, whereby to create a social bond with a language user, and to show harmony and congeniality towards that person, one may use

language to render less salient the differences between oneself and another person. A speaker is able to choose from the various linguistic choices available to him, knowing that the listener will read these choices as identity markers, even though most of these choices are taken on an unconscious level.

One of the most fundamentally defining characteristics of any social group, indeed any community, is shared language. We have been conditioned to notice the starkest contrasts between linguistic communities, such as the language elements shared by members of different nations. Even regionalisms, age-related slang, and professional jargon may be familiar characteristics even to laymen. However, subtler differences do exist between the pools of linguistic elements used by members of smaller and smaller subgroups within larger, more distinct linguistic communities. It is often the case that if one cannot speak the language of one of the larger groups just mentioned, then one cannot truly be part of that group. It is much the same with any community: there are linguistic elements that constitute fundamental identity markers for membership in said group. The loss of a separate linguistic identity is accompanied by a subsequent loss of cultural power.

The idea of a 'language' gives a more conventionalized list of elements to select, though no one person adheres strictly to the standard. It may easily be argued that while, on the one hand, standardization of language improves many aspects of life in a large society, the same standardization disrupts cultural processes, means of negotiating identity and social cohesion, historical narratives and one's sense of place in human history, whole bodies of literature and art, as well as the worldviews, thought processes, conceptual frameworks contained in the myriad elements of different lects on the other. If we are to rely on the eradication of differences from a perceived or created standard, we run the risk of disrupting, and even effacing, the cultural and intellectual sovereignty of individuals,

communities, societies, and ethnicities, because the repertoires of different lects are tied to different networks of meaning and have different 'meanings' themselves - all of which may be congruent or confluent to some degree but never fully identical. In these differences between repertoires of lects lie the differences in religious concepts and spatial frameworks.

6.2 Findings

Please see Appendices for detailed data.

6.2.1 Phonetic Elements of Spatial Frameworks of the DDY Religiolect

For the phonetic elements of spatial frameworks in the DDY religiolect: Phonetic changes in bisyllabic lexicon occurs where one syllable associated with space changes pronunciation from colloquial to literary pronunciation, which occurs either in reference to sacred space itself or to the mapping from the spatial domain to another domain in a metaphor, which also highlights sacrality. In most cases, it is the mapping of a metaphor and the sacrality of discourse, and not a reference to sacred space in itself. Networks of lexicon which are homophonous with spatial terms are rather weakly activated, yet showing co-occurrence and association patterns. Textualized speech - that is to say, speech which imitates the language and cadence of classical religious texts - renders ritual and instructive space into a formalized religious space, governing a more rigid behavior by practitioners, and throws sacred space into relief.

6.2.2 Lexical Elements of Spatial Frameworks in the DDY Religiolect

For the lexical elements of spatial frameworks in the DDY religiolect: The spatial lexicon used in the religiolect draws users to focus on absolute orientation in space. "Above"

is for moral and spiritual value, but the converse direction is not for the opposite idea, but rather for the locus of that which can help through the social mission of the DDY. The notion of "centrality" is strengthened compared to a common Taiwanese perception of being on a regional and even global periphery. Lexicon emphasizes continuity of sacred space into what would otherwise be profane space. There is a decreased reliance on human body terminology, where otherwise such references are spatially appropriate (for example, the "caudal" 尾 end of something). Semantic networks of association appear to focus on associations which are mostly related to positive spiritual development. The lect user community sacralizes space just by using the lect in a particular location; when using lect elements outside of the religiolect, the perception of sacred space also drops. There is a fairly wide variety of spatial terms which lect users make use of, many of which are simply spatial metaphors mapped onto other domains. Spatial lexicon includes those found in several proverbs or aphorisms. Spatial terms have different connotations within the religiolect and without it, mostly associated with overt teachings by the DDY functionaries relative to tranquility, peacefulness, and following Daoist teachings.

6.2.3 Phonetic Elements of Conceptual Frameworks in the DDY Religiolect

For the phonetic elements of conceptual frameworks in the DDY religiolect: Pronunciation substitutions can occur with some regularity, accompanying certain religious conceptualization phenomena, such as the discussion of fundamental concepts or addressing social work as part of the DDY mission. De-archaicized pronunciations link abstract religiosity to real-world practices and phenomena. Substitutions between MSC and Daigi tend to follow broader categories, such as familiarity of the audience and potential stressfulness. Homophonic networks of association are stronger with lexicon related to

religious concepts that with spatial terms. Phonetic changes caused scriptural meaning to seem more immediately relevant, instead of abstract, users to feel more connected to the idea of cyclicality, users to be more tranquil and harmonious (by their own judgment), and increased the focus on the transcendence of meaning in religious doctrines. Colloquial Daigi elements had users feeling more relaxed, literary Daigi elements had users feeling more erudite, and MSC elements had users feeling more serious.

6.2.4 Lexical Elements of Conceptual Frameworks in the DDY Religiolect

For the lexical elements of conceptual frameworks in the DDY religiolect: Lexicon meaning shifts from common meanings to meanings more specific to the temple community contexts, while formulaic terms are brought into the living language with renewed parsing and attention to meaning. A number of metaphorical frames are activated more frequently, such as Opportunities are Open Paths and The Mind is a Body. Semantic networks of meaning causes complex interweaving patterns between items of lexicon, many focusing on some element of what might be termed the supernatural. For lexicon which was perceived as nonreligious in other contexts, some demonstrated to lect users a "deeper meaning" or semantic intensification, which compelled lect users to interpret the terms with reference to the DDY religious thought system while others shift away from immediate, pragmatic use to symbolic, transcendent use. Lexicon used in Daigi contexts versus MSC contexts have different conceptual connotations, those in Daigi contexts being more holistic and related to wisdom while those in MSC contexts being more analytical and related to knowledge or education. Lexicon causes lect users to pay more attention to certain aspects of experience, especially emotiveness, specificity, and morality.

6.2.5 Phonetic Elements of Spatial Frameworks in the YMM Religiolect

For the phonetic elements of spatial frameworks in the YMM religiolect: Phonetic changes in bisyllabic lexicon occurs where one syllable associated with space changes pronunciation from Hakka to Daigi pronunciation, which occurs either in reference to sacred space itself or to the mapping from the spatial domain to another domain in a metaphor, which also highlights sacrality. The focus lies with actual conceptions of space rather than metaphors. Networks of lexicon which are homophonous with spatial terms are activated more strongly than in the DDY religiolect. The spatial terms form associations mostly with one other item of lexicon, unlike the rather more even distribution of the DDY religiolect. Single Hakka units of lexicon tend to overlay sacrality on existing physical conceptions of space, rather than, for example, conceptualizing new sacred loci. There is more focus on the space occupied by the Hakka community as a whole, with the YMM community as a subset of that group.

6.2.6 Lexical Elements of Spatial Frameworks in the YMM Religiolect

For the lexical elements of spatial frameworks in the YMM religiolect: Lexicon schematizes space in terms of place within an imagined space in the martial narrative of the militia fighters the YMM was built to memorialize, and also sacred space is fluid and inexact. Semantic networks which include spatial terms focus on festival- and ritual-related activities, as well as verbs of action. Religion-associated conceptions activated by spatial lexicon focuses on the responsive of the community to crisis and long-term distress, especially by appealing to paradigmatic virtues of determination and loyalty. Spatial terms found in nonreligious lexicon tend to relate to hard work, action, straightforwardness, and strength.

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Religious spatial lexicon, as identified by lect users, can be found in more proverbs and aphorisms, and involve hierarchies and competition. Connotations of written spatial terms focus on the Hakka Diaspora, scriptural space, practicality, and martial moral virtues.

6.2.7 Phonetic Elements of Conceptual Frameworks in the YMM Religiolect

For the phonetic elements of conceptual frameworks in the YMM religiolect: In terms of conceptual frameworks, substitutions of phonetic elements appear in contexts focusing on historical narrative, political sensitivity, emotional reaction, and the presence of members of the Hakka community (we must remember that the YMM is surrounded by Daigi lect communities). Networks of terms homophonous with religious conceptual lexicon played an important role not only by activating different groups of terms but also in wordplay, which was used to dissect religious concepts. There is not as prominent an overt doctrinal traditional at the YMM, unlike at the DDY. Many terms in these networks involved morality and tangible nouns or terms involving hardship and means of dealing with hardship. Connotations of the use of Hakka elements focus on martiality, honesty, and strength. Connotations of the use of Daigi elements focus on emotivity and social cohesion. Connotations of the use of MSC elements focus on power.

6.2.8 Lexical Elements of Conceptual Frameworks in the YMM Religiolect

For the lexical elements of conceptual frameworks in the YMM religiolect: Lexicon used in the religiolect tends to shift meaning, or perception of meaning, toward energeticism, pragmaticism, and interpretations of martial ideals. Lexicon activates some metaphor frames more strongly, such as Competition is War and Words are Weapons. Networks of semantic

association ritual and other religious practice terms to profane terms of contestation and terms from practices of popular Sinitic religion. Some terms which on the surface appear nonreligious shift away from immediate, pragmatic use to symbolic, transcendent use, and demonstrate to lect users a "deeper meaning" or semantic intensification, which compels lect users to interpret the terms with reference to the YMM religious thought system. Connotations of Hakka lexical elements focus on that which needs to be done for survival (of a community or society). Users of the YMM religiolect focus on certain aspects of experience, particularly stoicness, martiality, pragmatism, and virtue.

6.2.9 Systematicity

This dissertation is the result of two case studies performed largely over the course of a year. The findings in chapters 2 and the Appendices - the elements of the religiolect themselves and how elements tied to the changes in spatial and conceptual frameworks relative to religion - were not systematic in nature, which is to say they did not occur with predictable regularity. On the contrary, they appeared occasionally and in very specific idiosyncratic contexts. The elements of lects which were selected by lect users are part of an organized, rule-governed language such as may be taught by a national education system with grammar textbooks, but rather exists as a repertoire which lect users choose to create dynamic idiolects which changed from moment to moment, context to context. Generalizations apply not to all items, but only those that I found legitimately able to summarize. Though I have summarized some trends in the findings above, the multitude of complex details themselves are far more interesting and far more important. These details, taken as a whole, form series of micro-contexts in which lect users find themselves sharing experiences, traits, values, and histories as codified in the language practices themselves,

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while creating dynamic representations and new networks of association which guide thought along different paths. At these junctures between perceived standardized lects, lect users take control of their religious realities through small variations which ripple and intermingle and interact to create new religious thought and practice. Linguistic activities within the temple communities articulate religious practices in a wider social context; localized meaning-making activity, through the use of the religiolect, negotiate with linguistic practices in the wider social context to pass by largely unnoticed yet with important effects. These effects, though small, concatenate over time to produce larger effects, such as emotional dispositions to the contents of scriptures or the textualized language of rituals. Emotional dispositions in turn affect action, and action is a core of religious processes in these temple communities.

6.3 Possible Errors and Future Research

In this section I discuss some possible sources of error and future directions for research.

6.3.1 Possible Errors

There are several possible sources of error in this study. First, it is possible that I had insufficient time to enter the two temple communities long enough to engage in participant observation as a full participant. If so, I may have been exposed to behaviors and instances of linguistic production which were unnatural, thereby skewing my data. Second, it may be possible that I had insufficient mastery of Daigi and/or Hakka. If so, I may have interpreted lexical or phonetic data incorrectly. Third, my reliance on handwritten notes instead of recording equipment, supplemented by memory immediately following fieldwork sessions,

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for a large part of my data may have resulted in unintentional omissions or misinterpretations of live linguistic production. Fourth, the semi-structured interviews may have been unintentionally leading, as may have been casual conversation. Fifth, I stored all data in way that renders identification impossible to a specific individual, may have had me unintentionally confuse linguistic data produced by one person with linguistic data produced by another. Sixth, confirmation bias may have led me to find data to fit a preconceived hypothesis. Seventh, the study may have been too limited by looking for only phonetic and lexical data. Eighth, the study may have been too broad in not looking for particular linguistic markers from a narrow list. Ninth, given that this was a case study, results might only apply to the specific time and group of people in question, and might not be applicable in other contexts or with other communities. Tenth, I did not set up experiments to generate empirical data on linguistic relativity, instead relying on a quantitative analysis. Eleventh, the distance between my residence and the research site was great enough to require significant travel time, so that I could not conduct research for short instances. Twelfth, not all sources in each linguistic community where available at all times during the research periods, so that interactions and other dynamics affecting language use may have been altered. Thirteenth, if members of the linguistic community were reticent at any time, and I was unaware of it, their omission of natural language use may have skewed results. Fourteenth, I did not utilize self-reports of language use, relying instead on actual language use, and so may have missed out on some emic understandings of language use, as well as other linguistic and paralinguistic behaviors. Fifteenth, because I can only record the language use of a smaller number of individuals at one time, small sample size at any one time may have caused linguistic outlier artifacts, though this would be mitigated by repeated exposure at other times and/or with other individuals. Sixteenth, any gender imbalance in the linguistic community would have

skewed gender-related language usage, even if I noticed no significant gender differences. Seventeeth, I relied only on religious language use and religious communities, instead of other language-use contexts.

6.3.2 Future Research Possibilities

There are a number of avenues of future directions for this research. First is to conduct an analogous study in another culture and religion, ideally far removed from southern Taiwan and Daoism, to see how religiolects behave elsewhere. Second is to spend more time in the temple communities I did study, to better integrate and thus to be better acquainted with language use patterns. Third is to attempt to get permission for digital recording of language data or to use a team of researchers instead of undertaking the study alone. Fourth is to use standardized interviews in some cases and semi-structured interviews in other cases. Fifth is to include other aspects of the lects of the DDY and YMM, such as prosodic markers and syntax. Sixth is to narrow the study by looking only for particular linguistic phenomena. Seventh is to perform similar case studies at other temples in southern Taiwan, in rural areas, and of other religious affiliations to see how language patterns vary (if they do) in those communities. Eighth is to perform analogous studies between the groups I studied for this dissertation and other religious groups in Taiwan. Ninth is to perform a religious language survey along the length and breadth of Taiwan to compile broader spectra of data. Tenth is to study in more detail the lects in southern Taiwan, particularly in Kaohsiung proper and perhaps nearby Hakka communities such as Meinung. Eleventh is to design experimental methods to test for presence and effects of linguistic relativity, using quantitative methods as well as qualitative ones. Twelfth would be to have the case studies performed by researchers within the cultures in question, with full native competencies in

the Hakka, Daigi, and MSC, and ideally from the temple communities themselves, to see if linguistic production varied from that used around a foreign researcher (and inevitably in some way an outsider) such as myself. Thirteenth would be to study larger communities simultaneously, perhaps using a team of ethnographers instead of just one; ethnographic fieldwork is the preferred method in this scenario because, though imperfect, gives the best change at producing natural language data and allows the researcher to gain an intimate understanding of the enmeshment between cultural and linguistic elements. Fourteenth, the scope of future research should systematically examine the interplay between language, identity and culture, such as the extent to which speakers of the Daigi and Hakka lects identify with different aspects of Daigi and Hakka culture, or the extent to which individuals identifying as members of Daigi and Hakka culture who do not speak their respective lects identify themselves as Taiwanese or Hakka. Fifteenth, future studies could examine groups and compare amongst them throughout East Asia, such as Sinitic communities in Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam, Malaysia, Japan, or Korea.

6.4 Return to Research Question

In this section I wish to return to address my research question.

As I wrote in the beginning of chapter 1, the goal of this dissertation is, by performing an ethnographic study at the Daode Yuan 道德院 (DDY) and Baozhong Yimin Miao 褒忠義民廟 (YMM) in Kaohsiung 高雄, Taiwan, is to examines lexical and phonetic variations between Daigi, Hakka, and Modern Standard Chinese elements as used in these two Daoist temples of southern Taiwan, which form linguistic repertoires from which

religious communities construct language variants called religiolects, such that specific variations in the use of these repertoires appear to be linked to specific religious thought processes. This work examined how phonetic features of Daigi 臺語 and Hakka appear linked to the use of language in religious contexts at the DDY and YMM, especially such that alterations in pronunciation, which would otherwise be inappropriate, dispose speakers of the religiolects to process and produce religious thought in ways they otherwise would not. This work also examined the appearance and use of lexicon which contrasted with lects outside of the DDY and YMM temple community contexts for the same. In chapter 2 and the Appendices, I presented the association between many lect elements and a variety of relatively small-scale changes in spatial and conceptual frameworks of religious thought.

Do, then, the functionaries I described use religiolects? In chapter 2, I described phonetic and lexical features of lects at these temple communities which were distinct from other lects and which took religion as the unifying feature of its speakers. These features developed thanks to the unique cultural-linguistic situation of those communities: their embedded-ness in a heavily multilingual society, their reference to and use of the pre-modern languages many Daoist scriptures are written in, the ethnic composition of their practitioners, their heritage, their appeal to historical tradition for authority, and their deep connection to legitimate forms of Daoism, which in turn supplies them with a repertoire of religious lexicon and idioms, have all uniquely shaped their lects into what may be called their religiolects. Their lects set them apart from other language communities, of which they may also be members (exclusivity is not a feature of language communities). The features of these lects have associations with changes in spatial and conceptual frameworks of religious thought. These lect repertoire demonstrated co-occurrence with a great many alterations to religious thought and perception, when compared to the use of other lects in the same or

similar contexts. Even the relatively small variations, taken as a whole, have larger effects as perceptions and thoughts rely on each other (and previous incarnations of each other) to construct an understanding of a religious system of thought. Seemingly small variations can have unpredictable, lasting consequences.

6.5 Contributions and Implications

In this section, I'd like to close with a few thoughts on the contributions and implications of this dissertation.

6.5.1 Contributions, Part 1

This dissertation participates in the discussions between fields of religious studies and linguistics. Given the poor interaction between these two major fields in the past, I hope to have provided inspiration for new connections and avenues of research between the two fields beyond simple, superficial analysis of religious language. The anthropological linguistics approach used here is an excellent method for providing qualitative language data about religious thought and practice; this qualitative approach is a good way to compliment more restrictive empirical approaches which necessarily prioritize larger linguistic variations.

6.5.2 Contributions, Part 2

This work makes the claim that changes in language are related to changes in thought. It must be noted that it would be premature to consider this dissertation as *evidence* for the validity of linguistic relativity; such a move would require empirical, quantitative experiments. However, this dissertation does enter the conversation on the topic.

6.5.3 Contributions, Part 3

Currently, there is a pervasive notion that for variations in language to be significant, they must rather large variations. However, I have shown that even the small variations found in the religiolects at the DDY and YMM have quite a large complex of effects, which, taken as a whole, have significant impacts on religious thought and practice. Variations compound and multiply, so that small variations become larger down the line. Subtle differences are yet important to consider. The microcontexts in which language choices are made offer clues about important variations in religious thought from person to person, from moment to moment. Religious thought is perpetually in transition, even in just minute ways.

6.5.4 Contributions, Part 4

This work has given some grounding to the claim that implications of language choice should be considered more important than they commonly are today, especially in the field of religious studies. There is no one-to-one relationship between any two lects; any change is still a change, and can have impacts which are difficult to notice unless sought ought.

6.5.5 Contributions, Part 5

This dissertation has developed (but not coined) the concept of the religiolect, the linguistic repertoire of the lect of a religious system or particularly of a religious group. A lect is simply a variety of language which is distinguishable from another variety. Such fine

distinctions between lects are useful to construct a more complex, nuanced picture of linguistic reality than that of the unitary idealized "language." Likewise, religious thought and practice are fragmented, complex, and constantly changing. The idea of the idiolect ties in closely with idiosyncratic notions of religiosity that are, for the sake of convenience (but not necessarily accuracy or correctness), lumped together under broad terms such as "Buddhism." Just as humans are multilexical - meaning that they have access to the repertoires of many lects and switch between them mostly effortlessly - they also have complex conceptual frameworks of religious thought.

6.5.6 Contributions, Part 6

The particularities of the religiolects themselves have value for the scholar interested in religious thought and practice in Taiwan. Though there are scholars who do not hold that the religious systems of the DDY and the YMM are Daoism, there are powerful indicators of emic understandings of both communities as being Daoist, both inside the community itself and by recognition of other communities (many of which are unquestionably Daoist, such as participated in the World Taoist Day celebrations in Kaohsiung, acknowledging the DDY as equals and fully Daoist). Chapter 4 describes religious lexicon of both communities, which can be a starting point for further research with other religious groups which use Sinitic languages, and even for comparison with other language communities and other religious traditions. Religious lexicon can also highlight salient point of concern for the communities in question, as well as potential problem areas for translating religious concerns from one lect to another.

6.5.7 Contributions, Part 7

An aim of this dissertation has been to show that from a theoretical standpoint, a more unified linguistics approach to religious studies, which the field currently lacks (save for some brief forays in religious sociolinguistics), would provide a rich field in which to find new fertile soil. The significance of linguistics lies in its systematic attempt to uncover and account for the differences between languages of the world. This systematic search mirrors one of the great and overarching goals of religious studies: to account for the wide variety of religious behavior in the world. One can at least begin by saying that religion, like language, is a social phenomenon, and language interacts with any cognitive action regarding religion, any intellectual processing, any perception, and any production of religiosity. I argue, therefore, that linguistics is a natural tool to help us understand what religion is, what it does, what it is for, and other larger questions the field of religious studies asks of itself.

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APPENDIX A

CHAPTER 2 SUPPLEMENTAL DATA AND INTERPRETATION

Appendix A - Chapter 2 Supplemental

This appendix provides additional information about the religiolects of the DDY and YMM as compiled from fieldwork data in 2011-2012.

1. **Daode Yuan**

First, I will present findings from the Daode Yuan temple community, beginning with spatial frameworks and moving on to conceptual frameworks.

1.1. Spatial Frameworks

Below, I present the spatial frameworks of thought affected by the use of the religiolect of the DDY. I will begin with the phonetic elements affecting spatial frameworks and continue with the lexical elements affecting spatial frameworks at the DDY.

1.1.1. **Phonetic Elements**

In this section, I discuss some ways in which phonetic elements of the DDY religiolect affected spatial frameworks.

1.1.1.1. In this section, I present some observed phonetic changes which lead to apparent reinforcement in 1) the perception of space as sacred, 2) redefinition of ritual spaces, or 3) sacralization of metaphorical space. Most of these refer to the use of a literary pronunciation where a vulgar pronunciation would be commonly used.

1.1.1.1.1.　東西南北 tang-sai-lâm-pak : pok. When 北 north appears as pok, this phrase meaning "east, west, south, and north" (i.e. the cardinal directions taken to represent "all around, everywhere"), the space referred to is sacralized.

1.1.1.1.2.　送上山 sàng-tsiūnn-suann : siōng. In converting to siōng, this phrase, which literally means "send [one] up the mountain" and refers to interring one's remains in a grave in the mountains, sacralizes the mountain[s] referred to.

1.1.1.1.3.　上水 tshiūnn-tsuí : siōng. Meaning "[drawing] up water", from such places as a well, appears with water sources on temple or other sacred grounds.

1.1.1.1.4.　上崎 tsiūnn-kiā : siōng. Meaning "[moving] uphill", used in metaphor for moral discipline resulting in spiritual attainment.

1.1.1.1.5.　上市 tsiūnn-tshī : siōng. Meaning "to go on the market", when used in instruction on morality, the idea of the market itself becomes one of spiritual exchange, and the ideal is someplace metaphorically "higher".

1.1.1.1.6.　上車 tsiūnn-tshia : siōng. Meaning "to get on a vehicle", the vehicle itself conducts one to or within sacred space.

1.1.1.1.7.　上山看山勢，入門看人意。Tsiūnn suann khuànn suann-sì, jïp-mn̂g khuànn lâng ì. A proverb meaning "when climbing a mountain, observe its topography; when going in a door, observe people's intentions", or pay attention to the context one finds

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oneself in. When elements (even the entire proverb) have literary Daigi pronunciation, the space one is in is sacred space.

1.1.1.1.8.   上場 tsiūnn-tiûnn : siōng. Meaning "to take the stage", this refers to space in which ritual is practiced.

1.1.1.1.9.   下面 ē-bīn : hā. Meaning "the subsequent", that which is enumerated is sacralized.

1.1.1.1.10. 下落 hē-lȯh : hā. Meaning "place, whereabouts", refers to supernatural locations or location of supernatural entities.

1.1.1.1.11. 下性命 hē-sènn-miā /hē-sìnn-miā : hā. Meaning "to exert oneself to the utmost", one's life itself is sacralized by using it in a context of spiritual cultivation.

1.1.1.1.12. 下輩 ē-puè : hā. Meaning "of a later generation" (i.e. humilific term for younger, lower in social status), this is a humilific when comparing oneself to those of higher spiritual attainment.

1.1.1.1.13. 中部 tiong-pōo : zhōngbù. Meaning "central [sector]", the conversion to MSC phonetic elements comes when reinforcing the authoritative, powerful nature of an element in the celestial bureaucracy.

1.1.1.1.14. 中央 tiong-iong : zhōngyāng. Meaning "center", the conversion to MSC elements refers to centrality of power or effectiveness of teachings.

1.1.1.1.15. 國內 kok-lāi : luē . Meaning "within [this] country", the state

itself becomes sacralized.

1.1.1.1.16. 內外 lāi-guā : luē . Meaning "within and without", refers to the

self as a religious locus for spiritual practice.

1.1.1.1.17. 內山 lāi-suann : luē . Meaning "in the mountains", the

mountains being referred to a rendered as sacred.

1.1.1.1.18. 體內 thé-lāi : luē . Meaning "within the body", the body itself is

is a locus for the practice of inner alchemy, as well as a cosmic

landscape.

1.1.1.1.19. 北方 pak-hong : pok. Meaning "the north", referring to temples

or other sacred space farther north in Taiwan.

1.1.1.1.20. 後來 āu--lâi : hiō . Meaning "after [a period of time]", this

appears when indicating time after a ritual or festival.

1.1.1.1.21. 後日 āu-jït/āu-lït : hiō . Meaning "day(s) after", this appears

when indicating time after a ritual or festival.

1.1.1.1.22. 後斗 āu-táu : hiō . Meaning "rear [portion]", used to indicate

posterior space of sacred places.

1.1.1.1.23. 後出世 āu-tshut-sì : hiō . Meaning "the next life", used in

context of discussing doctrine of rebirth.

1.1.1.1.24. 後悔 hiō -hué : hō o. Meaning "regret", used to refer to

aftereffects in metaphorical temporal space, in the context of making

a decision to live counter to sound religious principles.

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1.1.1.1.25. 隨後 suî-ā u : hiō . Meaning "after", refers to metaphorical

temporal space "behind" (the future, in the time metaphors of this

and related lects).

1.1.1.1.26. 存後步 tshûn-ā u-pō o : hiō . Meaning "to create a path behind",

or to have a plan thought out for in case things go wrong, used in

situations where the functionaries are planning logistics for festivals,

ritual, travel, or any combination.

1.1.1.1.27. 今後 kim-ā u : hiō . Meaning "after now, after this point",

referring to ritual time, with the spatial time metaphor "behind".

1.1.1.1.28. 外口 guā -kháu : guē . Meaning "outside, outer", used to refer to

space outside of a ritual area.

1.1.1.1.29. 外位 guā -uī : guē . Meaning "[place] without", used to refer to

place outside of a sacred area.

1.1.1.1.30. 外文 guā -bûn : guē . Meaning "foreign language", used to refer

to foreign languages connected to religion, most notably Sanskrit.

1.1.1.1.31. 外界 guā -kài : guē . Meaning "outside world" or "external",

refers to uncivilized areas, especially as mentioned in sacred

scripture.

1.1.1.1.32. 對外 tuì-guā : guē . Meaning "external, foreign", used to refer to

outsider religious communities (usually not Sinitic ones).

1.1.1.1.33. 東風 tang-hong: tong. Meaning "east wind", refers to springtime gusts, and therefore spring itself. Used to stand in for pleasant religious events of early spring, from the spring festival onwards.

1.1.1.1.34. 其次 kî-tshù : qícì. Meaning "next", in MSC pronunciation, used to refer to subsequent points of doctrine or ritual process.

1.1.1.1.35. 無空 bô-khang : khong. Literally "without a breach", meaning "not beneficial, not advantageous",

1.1.1.1.36. 好空 hó-khang : khong. Literally "a good breach", meaning "good opportunity", used in doctrinal explanation.

1.1.1.1.37. 空頭 khang-thâu : khong. Literally "empty head", indicating something which exists only in name but not in substance, or which has no functional effectiveness, refers to religious abstractions which have little practical utility in the real world.

1.1.1.1.38. 創空 tshòng-khang : khong. Literally "founding a vacuity", meaning plotting, scheming, or defrauding, means to conspire to do harm by religious charlatanry, such as falsely impersonating a medium.

1.1.1.1.39. 空虛 khang-hi : khong. Meaning "emptiness, void", refers to sacred, pregnant, generative vacuities in scriptural cosmology.

1.1.1.1.40. 謙虛 khiam-hi : hu. Literally "modest and vacuous", meaning simply modest (as with the MSC metaphor 虛心 "void-hearted" for

"modest"), used for the wise, the spiritually accomplished, the religiously knowledgeable.

1.1.1.1.41.　上 "Above," when in a vulgar pronunciation context the pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to orientation in sacred space, cosmological position of the celestial breaucracy, and metaphorical moral goodness.

1.1.1.1.42.　下 "Below", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to proximity of the sacred, or ritual movement.

1.1.1.1.43.　中 "Center", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to fixed sacred space within which one moves.

1.1.1.1.44.　內 "Within", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to inner alchemy, meditation and other cultivation practices, as well as the interior of religious halls (bearing altars).

1.1.1.1.45.　北 "North", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to astral space.

1.1.1.1.46.　後 "Behind," when in a vulgar pronunciation context the pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to spatial temporal metaphors, especially in the context of progress in the process of spiritual cultivation.

1.1.1.1.47. 外 "Outside", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the

pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to that which is outside

the religious community, or heterodoxy.

1.1.1.1.48. 東 "East", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the

pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to the perceived

orientation of the greater Taiwanese Daoist sacred space in relation

to main centers in mainland China.

1.1.1.1.49. 空 "Empty", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the

pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to pregnant emptiness

which has the incipient creative power of the Dao.

1.1.1.1.50. 虛 "Void", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the

pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to abstract doctrines

from scriptures or supernatural locations.

1.1.1.1.51. 西 "West", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the

pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to ideas connected to

Buddhism.

1.1.1.1.52. 遠 "Distant", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the

pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to distance in [proper]

understanding of doctrine.

1.1.1.1.53. 間 "Space", when in a vulgar pronunciation context the

pronunciation appears literary, it often refers to ritual space.

1.1.1.2. In this section, I present some terms which are homophonous with

common spatial terms and which form part of networks of association

with those terms, appearing together or appearing connected in the minds of religiolect speakers. These terms appear to be activated together, the topmost of the list more often than those below. In the religiolect, elements appearing in networks of association are found either through interviews or observing word play, poetic use of language, or increased frequency of linked appearance. That these words or logographs are in associative networks in the religiolect mean that they are subject to being conceptually grouped, in contrast with lects surrounding the religiolect.

1.1.1.2.1.　With 上 siōng "above":

  1.1.1.2.1.1. 象/像 "image"

  1.1.1.2.1.2. 剩 "remain"

  1.1.1.2.1.3. 尚 "still"

  1.1.1.2.1.4. 誦 "recite"

1.1.1.2.2.　With 上 tsiūnn "above":

  1.1.1.2.2.1. 癢 "itch"

1.1.1.2.3.　With 下 hā "below":

  1.1.1.2.3.1. 夏 "summer"

1.1.1.2.4.　With 下 ē "below":

  1.1.1.2.4.1. 會使 "can, possible, able" (first half)

  1.1.1.2.4.2. 會當 "can, possible, able" (first half)

1.1.1.2.5.　With 中 tiong "center":

  1.1.1.2.5.1. 忠 "loyal:

1.1.1.2.5.2. 張 "sheet, spread"

1.1.1.2.6.　With 位 uī :

　1.1.1.2.6.1. 所謂 "so-called" (second half)

　1.1.1.2.6.2. 無所謂 "indifferent" (last third)

　1.1.1.2.6.3. 為何 "why" (first half)

　1.1.1.2.6.4. 緯 "weft"

1.1.1.2.7.　With 內 luē "inner":

　1.1.1.2.7.1. 鑢 "polishing tool"

1.1.1.2.8.　With 內 lāi "inner":

　1.1.1.2.8.1. 利 "advantage"

　1.1.1.2.8.2. 信賴 "trust, rely on" (second half)

1.1.1.2.9.　With 北 pok "north":

　1.1.1.2.9.1. 卜 "divination"

　1.1.1.2.9.2. 剝 "peel"

　1.1.1.2.9.3. 暴 "violent"

　1.1.1.2.9.4. 駁 "variegated"

　1.1.1.2.9.5. 噗 (onomatopoeia: the sound of clapping, or heartbeats)

1.1.1.2.10.　With 北 pak "north":

　1.1.1.2.10.1.　　剝 "peel"

　1.1.1.2.10.2.　　腹 "abdomen"

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1.1.1.2.10.3. 幅 "roll"

1.1.1.2.11. With 南 lâm "south":

1.1.1.2.11.1. 男 "male"

1.1.1.2.11.2. 淋 "drench, pour"

1.1.1.2.11.3. 籃 "basket"

1.1.1.2.11.4. 藍 "blue"

1.1.1.2.12. With 後 hiō "behind, after":

1.1.1.2.12.1. 王后 "queen" (second half)

1.1.1.2.12.2. 皇后 "empress" (second half)

1.1.1.2.12.3. 天后 "Celestial Empress" (second half)

1.1.1.2.13. With 後 hō o "behind, after":

1.1.1.2.13.1. 戶 "household"

1.1.1.2.13.2. 雨 "rain"

1.1.1.2.13.3. 護 "protect"

1.1.1.2.13.4. 忠厚 "loyal and considerate" (second half)

1.1.1.2.14. With 東 tong "east":

1.1.1.2.14.1. 當 "upright, facing" (also used in grammatical

function words)

1.1.1.2.14.2. 冬 "winter"

1.1.1.2.15. With 東 tang "east":

1.1.1.2.15.1. 冬 "winter"

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1.1.1.2.15.2.   當 "upright, facing" (also used in grammatical

function words)

1.1.1.2.16. With 次 tshù "next":

1.1.1.2.16.1.   厝 "lay in place"

1.1.1.2.16.2.   處 "place, locus"

1.1.1.2.16.3.   趣 "interesting"

1.1.1.2.17. With 空 khong "empty":

1.1.1.2.17.1.   悾 "sincere"

1.1.1.2.17.2.   框 "frame"

1.1.1.2.17.3.   康 "healthy"

1.1.1.2.18. With 空 khòng "empty":

1.1.1.2.18.1.   抗 "resist"

1.1.1.2.18.2.   控 "control"

1.1.1.2.18.3.   曠 "vast"

1.1.1.2.19. With 虛 hu "void":

1.1.1.2.19.1.   撫 "stroke"

1.1.1.2.20. With 虛 hi "void":

1.1.1.2.20.1.   希 "hope"

1.1.1.2.20.2.   嬉 "amusement"

1.1.1.2.20.3.   稀 "rare"

1.1.1.2.20.4.   犧 "sacrifice"

1.1.1.2.21. With 西 sai "west":

    1.1.1.2.21.1.   師 "master, teacher"

    1.1.1.2.21.2.   獅 "lion"

    1.1.1.2.21.3.   私 "private"

1.1.1.2.22. With 遠 uán "distant":

    1.1.1.2.22.1.   玩 "fun"

    1.1.1.2.22.2.   腕 "wrist"

1.1.1.2.23. With 間 kan "space":

    1.1.1.2.23.1.   乾 (principle symbolic of heaven)

    1.1.1.2.23.2.   姦 "defile"

    1.1.1.2.23.3.   艱 "hardship"

1.1.1.2.24. With 間 king "space":

    1.1.1.2.24.1.   庚 (one of the Heavenly Stems of the calendrical

        system)

    1.1.1.2.24.2.   經 "scripture"

    1.1.1.2.24.3.   供 "supply"

    1.1.1.2.24.4.   宮 "temple (hall)"

    1.1.1.2.24.5.   京 "capital"

1.1.1.3. In this section, I present elements of the religiolect which appear when

    language production becomes "textualized", or matching in the literary

style, cadence, vocabulary, or grammar elements reminiscent of scriptures and other premodern texts.

1.1.1.3.1.　於 î: When this general locative word is used, space is thought of in a more rigorously structured fashion, with special attention place to boundaries between sacred and profane space, and well as ritually significant areas.

1.1.1.3.2.　在 tsāi: When this locative verb, meaning "to be [at]", is used, one's sense of personal place in a sacred space schema is heightened.

1.1.1.3.3.　後 hiō /hō o: When "behind" or "after" appears, there is more attention to temporal metaphors.

1.1.1.3.4.　前 tsiân: When "in front of" or "before" is used, there is more attention to temporal metaphors.

1.1.1.3.5.　上 siō ng: When "above" is used, there is increased attention to hierarchy or supernatural beings and their locations.

1.1.1.3.6.　下 hā : When "below" appears, there is more attention to the physical location of the DDY relative to other religious communities.

1.1.1.3.7.　中 tiong: When "in the middle [of]" is used, it is to draw attention to one's progress in a religiously significant process.

1.1.1.3.8.　內 luē : When "within" is used, it draws attention to formulaic language such as prayer and scripture readings.

1.1.1.3.9.　外 guē : When "without" is used, it draws attention to the world

outside of the community, such as it may be helped through the

work of the community.

1.1.1.3.10.　右 iū : When "right" appears, it is in reference to the placement

of items, such as deity statues, within a sacred space.

1.1.1.3.11.　左 tsó: When "left" appears, it is in reference to the placement of

items, such as deity statues, within a sacred space.

1.1.1.3.12.　對 tuì: When "facing" appears, it draws attention to

straightforwardness, such as in approaching challenges directly.

1.1.1.3.13.　方 hong: When "place" appears, it draws attention not only to

sacred space but also to the idea of sacralizing space outside of

current sacred space (not formally, but rather through the spread of

the Dao by means of good works).

1.1.1.3.14.　自 tsū : When "from" appears, it draws one into a premodern

mental space, bringing one closer to scriptures themselves so as to

be able to better understand and practice them.

1.1.1.3.15.　焉 iàn: When the anaphoric locative meaning "at that place"

appears, it indicates formalization, many times associated with

imparting doctrine or the religious import of that which might

otherwise appear mundane on the surface.

1.1.2.　**Lexical Elements**

In the next few sections, I present some ways lexical elements affect spatial

frameworks in the DDY.

1.1.2.1. In this section, I present some effects lexemes have on the schematization of space in the DDY religiolect, such as which metaphorical frames are activated, how habitual thought about space is reshaped, and how space is schematized differently within the religiolect.

    1.1.2.1.1. Cardinal directions (east, south, west, north, and center): There is an increased focus on absolute orientation in space instead of relative orientation.

    1.1.2.1.2. 上 "Above": There is an increased focus on "up" being more worthy, activating the Importance is Superiority metaphorical frame.

    1.1.2.1.3. 下 "Below": Conversely, there is no focus on "down" being unworthy, but rather on being in a difficult position due to circumstances which the religious community attempts to help with.

    1.1.2.1.4. 中 "Center" : While activating the metaphorical frames Importance is Centrality, Central is Important, and Central is True, the notions of center and periphery intermingle. They occupy enmeshed conceptual spaces because of the centrality of the Dao in the religious community and the religious community as sanctuary of the Dao mingle with the notions of Taiwan as occupying a peripheral position to the center of power in the Sinitic civilization, as well as the south occupying a peripheral position relative to the northern capital and surrounding areas.

    1.1.2.1.5. 內 "Inner": While activating the metaphorical frame of Importance is Interiority, central ideas which are activate are that

that which is within is protected and sacred, and is a center from which protection and sacrality can emanate. In addition, "within" is the locus for the commingling of the body and the cosmos, as well as the location for alchemical practices for lengthening life. Finally, within is the locus for scripture: readings take place in sheltered areas and are meant to be internalized.

1.1.2.1.6.   外 "Outer": With the appearance of "outside", focus shifts to nature as a locus of inspiration as well as to asterisms, especially as part of discussion of historical cultivation practices.

1.1.2.1.7.   空 "Empty": With the use of this lexeme, focus shifts to emptiness as a religious concept in other religions, especially Buddhism; it is associated with abstract philosophizing which detracts from focus on having an impact in the world by doing social work.

1.1.2.1.8.   虛 "Void": Contrary to the above, "void" activates notions of spirituality of the exotic loci in which high deities live and associated practices to obtain longevity.

1.1.2.1.9.   間 "Space": Thinking of space leads to thinking of ritual fields, and ritual fields as an metaphor for the cosmos (through the idea of homology between macrocosm and microcosm, where a ritual space on temple grounds is analogized to the microcosm of the body). Space is also a textual word, for discussion of scripture.

1.1.2.1.10. Lexicon for reference objects and reference frames for orientation in space, as well as lexicon for the construction of concepts of space, focuses on proximity to imagined sacred centers and salience as overtly religious terminology.

1.1.2.1.11. Terminology relating to borders is more prevalent in larger scales of space, appearing as demarcations between sacred (efficacious) and profane (needing improvement).

1.1.2.1.12. Spatial axes are formulated around horizontal and vertical focal lines outside of overtly sacred space, especially in places where main axes are not oriented along cardinal directions.

1.1.2.1.13. There is a lesser than usual amount of reference to the human body as an axis of orientation.

1.1.2.1.14. Lexicon gives greater than necessary sufficiency of information, meaning that more information than necessary is given for one's orientation in space (for example, in giving directions to move oneself or objects from one place to another).

1.1.2.1.15. Outside of the idea of legal control of the temple land, buildings, and physical property, lexicon emphasizes continuity of sacred space into what would otherwise be profane space (especially by the actions and influence of the temple community members). This occurs on a smaller, more immediate scale - within the immediate vicinity of the temple, for example. In addition, there is continuity between (but not conflation of) the sacred spaces of all religious traditions.

1.1.2.1.16. In the short term, there is increased focus on the metaphorical frame "Longterm Purposeful Change is a Journey"; the process of achieving spiritual progress in metaphorized as a physical journey.

1.1.2.1.17. There is increased focus on the metaphorical frame "Progress is Backward Movement". While spiritual progress is a journey, it is backwards movement due to the use of 後 hiō /hō o "behind" for the temporal "after".

1.1.2.1.18. In the long term, there is a decreased use of the metaphorical frame "The End of Action is the End of the Path", because religious activity, discipline, and progress are cyclical, mirroring the longest cosmological cycles.

1.1.2.1.19. There is increased use of the metaphorical frame Knowing What will Happen Is Seeing Where You are Going, because spiritual progress is envisioned as movement along a continuum.

1.1.2.1.20. Increase use of the metaphorical frame "Difficulties are Impediments to Travel", because spiritual progress in Daoism ultimately relates to the Dao itself as "path".

1.1.2.1.21. Increased use of the metaphorical frame "Harming Yourself is Getting Lost", again because of the metaphorical relation of the Dao to one of its fundamental meanings as "Path".

1.1.2.1.22. With a decrease of the use of the human body as an axis for orientation in space, there is a decrease in the use of body part ('eye', 'head', etc.) terminology, even the common Daigi lexeme 頭 thâu.

1.1.2.1.23. There is an increased appearance of the use of environmental landmarks (such as the names of mountains) for orientation in space, possibly connected to an increased focus on nature and the natural landscape.

1.1.2.1.24. While there is an overall increase in focus on abstract relational notions (such as 'surface' and 'interior'), there is an overall decrease in focus on abstract spatial notions (such as 'interval' and 'direction').

1.1.2.2. In this section, I present lexemes which are in semantic networks of association with spatial terms. These lexemes appear together or appear connected in the minds of DDY religiolect users more than with surrounding lect users. These lexemes activate concepts within their basic semantic ranges together, mutually reinforcing connections with one another and channeling respective conceptualizations together.

1.1.2.2.1. With 上 / 上 tsiūnn:

1.1.2.2.1.1. 望 bōng "gaze"

1.1.2.2.1.2. 貴 kuì "precious"

1.1.2.2.1.3. 修 siu "cultivate"

1.1.2.2.1.4. 觀 kuan "observe"

1.1.2.2.2. With 下 hā / ē:

1.1.2.2.2.1. 斷 tuān "cut"

1.1.2.2.2.2. 流 liû "flow"

1.1.2.2.2.3. 命 bīng "fate, life"

1.1.2.2.2.4. 保 pó "protect"

1.1.2.2.3.　　With 中 tiong:

1.1.2.2.3.1. 善 siā n "[morally] good"

1.1.2.2.3.2. 靈 lîng "numinous"

1.1.2.2.3.3. 首 siú "head"

1.1.2.2.3.4. 安 an "peace"

1.1.2.2.4.　　With 位 uī :

1.1.2.2.4.1. 救 kiù "save"

1.1.2.2.4.2. 座 tsō "seat"

1.1.2.2.4.3. 形 hîng "form"

1.1.2.2.4.4. 持 tshî "maintain"

1.1.2.2.5.　　With 內 luē / lā i:

1.1.2.2.5.1. 新 sin "new"

1.1.2.2.5.2. 傳 thuân "transfer, pass on"

1.1.2.2.5.3. 利 lī "benefit"

1.1.2.2.6.　　With 北 pok / pak:

1.1.2.2.6.1. 極 kı̆k "utmost"

1.1.2.2.6.2. 奇 kî "wondrous"

1.1.2.2.6.3. 夢 bō ng "dream"

1.1.2.2.6.4. 舊 kiū "old"

1.1.2.2.7.　With 南 lâm:

    1.1.2.2.7.1. 產 sán "produce"

    1.1.2.2.7.2. 運 ūn "shift, move"

    1.1.2.2.7.3. 靜 tsīng "tranquil"

1.1.2.2.8.　With 後 hiō / hōo:

    1.1.2.2.8.1. 聖 sìng "sacred"

    1.1.2.2.8.2. 消 siau "vanish, eliminate"

    1.1.2.2.8.3. 趙 tiō "surpass"

1.1.2.2.9.　With 東 tong / tang:

    1.1.2.2.9.1. 順 sūn "comply, follow"

    1.1.2.2.9.2. 示 sī "reveal"

    1.1.2.2.9.3. 始 sú "commence"

1.1.2.2.10.　With 次 tshù:

    1.1.2.2.10.1.　　客 khik "guest"

    1.1.2.2.10.2.　　滿 buán "complete, full"

    1.1.2.2.10.3.　　象 siōng "form, imitation"

1.1.2.2.11.　With 空 khong / khòng:

    1.1.2.2.11.1.　　智 tì "wisdom"

1.1.2.2.12.　With 虛 hu / hi:

    1.1.2.2.12.1.　　古 kóo "ancient"

1.1.2.2.12.2.　　　精 tsing "essence"

1.1.2.2.12.3.　　　威 ui "power"

1.1.2.2.13.　With 西 sai:

1.1.2.2.13.1.　　　廣 kóng "broad"

1.1.2.2.13.2.　　　源 guân "font"

1.1.2.2.13.3.　　　浪 lō ng "wave"

1.1.2.2.14.　With 遠 uán:

1.1.2.2.14.1.　　　志 tsì "will"

1.1.2.2.14.2.　　　永 íng eternal"

1.1.2.2.15.　With 間 kan / king:

1.1.2.2.15.1.　　　慢 bā n "slow"

1.1.2.2.15.2.　　　宜 gî "proper"

1.1.2.3.　In this section I present religion-associated conceptions that are
activated with the use of literary Daigi spatial term elements in the DDY
religiolect.

1.1.2.3.1.　Group: The locale where the community finds itself (the temple
itself as well as the body of functionaries as they travel for ritual and
festivals) is increasingly sacralized. There is a greater focus on
reinforced group identity and of shared heritage. The temple
increasingly becomes not only a physical locale but also a symbolic
locale.

1.1.2.3.2.   Authority: There is an increase in the tension between

conceptions of authority or authenticity as emanating from an

educated elite occupying a conceptually high space versus

conceptions of authority or authenticity arising from local grassroots

participation in religiously-affiliated social work.

1.1.2.3.3.   Centrality: There is an increase in the tension between

conceptions of the DDY as a religious center versus Taiwanese

Daoism occupying a peripheral space.

1.1.2.3.4.   Social Space: There is an increase in the focus on the

composition and extent of social space tied to religiosity, and how

fluid or porous that social space is.

1.1.2.3.5.   Ambiguity: There is an overall decrease in ambiguous language.

1.1.2.3.6.   Meaning: Space itself becomes conceptualized as something that

is invested with meaning and value by religious work (and not

something has can inherently have meaning and value).

1.1.2.3.7.   Transitory Space: There an increase in the focus on indistinct

areas of defective knowledge humanity has, empirical science and

progress notwithstanding. In addition, this is tied to the idea that the

religious community and the imagined space it occupies is not

securely in the world. At the same time, the unseen supernatural

realm is increasingly relevant in ritual and scriptural contexts.

1.1.2.3.8.   Mythical Space: Local areas and known topographies become

conceptually enmeshed with symbolic mythical space and sacred

geography one reads about in scripture or gets taught by other

functionaries. This conception is not just in the immediate area of the DDY but extends throughout Taiwan.

1.1.2.3.9.   Ritual Space: There is an reinforcement of the space evoked being thought of as ritual or performative space.

1.1.2.3.10. Scriptural Space / What is bounded textual space (conception of outside world / temple space as analogous to a text)

1.1.2.3.11. Calendrical Space: Time, analogized to space by metaphors, sees an increased focus on repetition and cyclicality. The seasons become areas of focus.

1.1.2.3.12. Systematicity: Space becomes thought of as organized based on premodern systems, with particular attention to geomancy, sexagenary cycles and their presence in space by analogy, and

1.1.2.3.13. Corporeal Space: There is an increase in the conception of the human body as a cosmos unto itself, along with an increase in the conception of the homology between the corporeal microcosm and universal macrocosm.

1.1.2.3.14. Living space: There is an increase in the conception of space as having some metaphorical biological qualities, as though space may be thought of as alive, growing, responding to stimuli, symbiotic with humanity, and the like.

1.1.2.3.15. Formlessness: In the context of abstract scriptural doctrine, there is an increase in the focus of the essential formlessness of the Dao, and hence that formlessness is something to philosophically aspire to understand.

1.1.2.4. In this section I present lexical items, of a seemingly mundane or "nonreligious" nature, which have DDY religiolect users think of space differently than surrounding lect users. These spatial-related lexical items bring practitioners to spatial thought frameworks in 2.1.2.1 and 2.1.2.3.

1.1.2.4.1.　上 "Above"

1.1.2.4.2.　上帝 Siōng-tè "High Thearch"

1.1.2.4.3.　上頭仔 siōng-thâu-á "Earliest, Foremost"

1.1.2.4.4.　上水 tshiūnn-tsuí "Water drawn up [from a lower source]"

1.1.2.4.5.　上崎 tsiūnn-kiā "Uphill"

1.1.2.4.6.　皇上 hông-siōng [Term of address for the emperor]

1.1.2.4.7.　以上 í-siōng [The amount which was mentioned and/or more, the aforementioned]

1.1.2.4.8.　下 "Below"

1.1.2.4.9.　下暗 e-àm "Night"

1.1.2.4.10.　下顎 ē-kok "Chin"

1.1.2.4.11.　下輩 ē-puè [Of a lower generation, younger one. A humilific term]

1.1.2.4.12.　下底 ē-té "Below, Under, Underground"

1.1.2.4.13.　下水 hā-suí "Organ[s]"

1.1.2.4.14.　下落 hē-loh "Fall"

1.1.2.4.15.　下垂 hā-suî "Hang down"

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1.1.2.4.16. 以下 í-hā [The amount which was mentioned and/or more, that

which is below]

1.1.2.4.17. 創下 tshòng-hā "Establish"

1.1.2.4.18. 中 "Center"

1.1.2.4.19. 不中用 put-tiòng-iōng "Unusable"

1.1.2.4.20. 中意 tìng-ì [To do as one wishes]

1.1.2.4.21. 中和 tiong-hô "Counteract"

1.1.2.4.22. 中央 tiong-ng "Central"

1.1.2.4.23. 中心 tiong-sim "Center"

1.1.2.4.24. 中等 tiong-tíng "Middle [class, rank]"

1.1.2.4.25. 夢中 bāng-tiong "In one's dreams"

1.1.2.4.26. 空中 khong-tiong "In the sky"

1.1.2.4.27. 中文 tiong-bûn "[Written] Chinese"

1.1.2.4.28. 中藥 tiong-ioh "Chinese Traditional Medicine"

1.1.2.4.29. 中性 tiong-sìng "Neutral"

1.1.2.4.30. 位 "Position"

1.1.2.4.31. 原位 guân-uī "Original position"

1.1.2.4.32. 到位 kàu-uī "Arriving at the destination"

1.1.2.4.33. 方位 hong-uī "Direction"

1.1.2.4.34. 空位 khang-uī "Empty space"

1.1.2.4.35. 內 "Within"

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1.1.2.4.36. 內山 lāi-suann "In the mountains"

1.1.2.4.37. 內底 lāi-té "Inside"

1.1.2.4.38. 內才 lāi-tsâi "Personal strength"

1.1.2.4.39. 內心 luē-sim "Interior"

1.1.2.4.40. 內情 luē-tsîng [The actual facts of a situation, the actual truth

about something]

1.1.2.4.41. 市內 tshī-lāi "Within the city"

1.1.2.4.42. 內在 luē-tsāi "Intrinsic, innate"

1.1.2.4.43. 北 "North"

1.1.2.4.44. 上北 tsiūnn-pak "Going up north"

1.1.2.4.45. 南 "South"

1.1.2.4.46. 落南 loh-lâm "Going down south"

1.1.2.4.47. 後 "Behind, After"

1.1.2.4.48. 後來 āu--lâi "Afterwards, that which is to come"

1.1.2.4.49. 後尾 āu-bué "Rear, Tail end"

1.1.2.4.50. 後代 āu-tāi "Later era, posterity"

1.1.2.4.51. 以後 í-āu "After"

1.1.2.4.52. 家後 ke-āu "Wife"

1.1.2.4.53. 過後 kuè-āu "After having done [something]"

1.1.2.4.54. 了後 liáu-āu "After [a completed action]"

1.1.2.4.55. 事後 sū-āu "After the fact"

1.1.2.4.56. 前後 tsîng-ā u "Before and behind, Before and after,

　　　　Successively"

1.1.2.4.57. 後果 hiō -kó "Results, consequences"

1.1.2.4.58. 外 "Outer"

1.1.2.4.59. 外人 guā -lâng "Outsider"

1.1.2.4.60. 外文 guā -bûn "Foreign language"

1.1.2.4.61. 海外 hái-guā "Foreign"

1.1.2.4.62. 外界 guā -kài "Outside world, that which is outside a certain

　　　　area"

1.1.2.4.63. 外流 guā -lâu "Flow out"

1.1.2.4.64. 外貌 guā -mā u "Appearance"

1.1.2.4.65. 外表 guā -piáu "External appearance"

1.1.2.4.66. 東 "East"

1.1.2.4.67. 次 "Next"

1.1.2.4.68. 層次 tsân-tshù "Phase, stage"

1.1.2.4.69. 次要 tshù-iàu "Secondary"

1.1.2.4.70. 空 "Empty"

1.1.2.4.71. 空地 khàng-tē "Vacant land"

1.1.2.4.72. 空間 khong-kan "Space"

1.1.2.4.73. 虛 "Void"

1.1.2.4.74. 空虛 khang-hi "Void"

1.1.2.4.75. 西 "West"

1.1.2.4.76. 西方 se-hong "Western"

1.1.2.4.77. 西藥 se-ioh "Western medicine"

1.1.2.4.78. 西洋 se-iûnn "[of] the West [and its civilization]"

1.1.2.4.79. 西天 se-thian "Western Paradise"

1.1.2.4.80. 遠 "Distant"

1.1.2.4.81. 深遠 tshim-uán "Far-reaching"

1.1.2.4.82. 遠見 uán-kiàn "Vision"

1.1.2.4.83. 遠景 uán-kíng "Long-term view, prospects"

1.1.2.4.84. 間 "Space"

1.1.2.4.85. 世間 sè-kan "World"

1.1.2.4.86. 中間 tiong-kan "Intermediate"

1.1.2.4.87. 夜間 iā-kan "Nighttime"

1.1.2.5. In this section, I present spatial terms and idioms of a more readily discernible (by lect users themselves) as religious or related to religious thought. These terms and idioms appeared directly in didactic or ritual situations, and were co-opted in other forms of language use as well. In appearing outside of didactic and ritual situations, DDY religiolect users were able to tie these lexical items in to the terms as they were previously encountered in religious contexts, activating networks of religious meaning even as terms were used outside of the religious context.

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1.1.2.5.1.　一分一, 二分二 tsi̍t hun tsi̍t, nn̄g hun nn̄g "to be

straightforward"

1.1.2.5.2.　揣東揣西 tshuē tang tshuē sai "To search everywhere"

1.1.2.5.3.　先禮後兵 sian lé hiō ping "First diplomacy, then weaponry"

1.1.2.5.4.　近廟欺神 kīn biō khi sîn "Those who live near temples mock

the gods"

1.1.2.5.5.　馬耳東風 má ní tong hong "The east wind in a horse's ear (i.e.

pearls before swine)"

1.1.2.5.6.　上好 siōng hó "Great, Superior"

1.1.2.5.7.　上加 siōng-ke "The most, the best"

1.1.2.5.8.　上濟 siōng tsē "The most, the utmost"

1.1.2.5.9.　上等 siōng-tíng "High(est) [in rank, type, quality]"

1.1.2.5.10. 上目 tsiūnn-ba̍k "To be in one's good graces, to be in favor"

1.1.2.5.11. 海上 hái-siōng "On the water['s edge]"

1.1.2.5.12. 路上 lō͘o-siōng "On the road"

1.1.2.5.13. 世上 sè-siōng "In the world"

1.1.2.5.14. 身上 sin-siōng "On the body"

1.1.2.5.15. 上場 tsiūnn-tiûnn "On the [ritual] field"

1.1.2.5.16. 下跤 ē-kha "Underneath, Lower"

1.1.2.5.17. 下司 ē-si "Subordinate"

1.1.2.5.18. 下瘋 hā-siau "Useless, Incapable [person]"

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1.1.2.5.19. 下性命 hē -sènn-miā "

1.1.2.5.20. 地下 tē -hā "Underground"

1.1.2.5.21. 天下 thian-hā "All Under Heaven, Everywhere"

1.1.2.5.22. 大下 tuā -ē "Exertion"

1.1.2.5.23. 下降 hā -kàng "Drop, Decline"

1.1.2.5.24. 上下 siō ng-hā "Up and Down, Above and Below"

1.1.2.5.25. 中立 tiong-lïp "Neutral"

1.1.2.5.26. 中止 tiong-tsí "Cease, Suspend"

1.1.2.5.27. 中正 tiong-tsìng "Fair and upright"

1.1.2.5.28. 之中 tsi-tiong "In the middle [of]"

1.1.2.5.29. 靈位 lîng-uī "Memorial tablet"

1.1.2.5.30. 讓位 niū -uī "Yield"

1.1.2.5.31. 神位 sîn-uī "Spirit tablet"

1.1.2.5.32. 知位 tsai-uī "To know a place"

1.1.2.5.33. 大位 tuā -uī "Most important [rank, position]"

1.1.2.5.34. 位置 uī -tì "Position, Place"

1.1.2.5.35. 內行 lā i-hâng "Expert"

1.1.2.5.36. 內傷 lā i-siong "Internal injury"

1.1.2.5.37. 內地 lā i-tē "Inland"

1.1.2.5.38. 境內 kíng-lā i "Domestic, Within boundaries"

1.1.2.5.39. 內野 lā i-iá "Uncultivated, Wild"

1.1.2.5.40. 體內 thé-lā i "Within the body"

1.1.2.5.41. 後頭 ā u-thâu "Outside"

1.1.2.5.42. 隨後 suî-ā u "Soon after"

1.1.2.5.43. 幕後 bō o-ā u "Behind the scenes"

1.1.2.5.44. 外外 guā -guā "Indifferent, Uninvolved"

1.1.2.5.45. 外口 guā -kháu "Exterior"

1.1.2.5.46. 外觀 guā -kuan "Viewed from the outside"

1.1.2.5.47. 意外 ì-guā "Unexpected"

1.1.2.5.48. 外形 guā -hîng "Shape, form"

1.1.2.5.49. 外野 guā -iá "Uncultivated, Wild"

1.1.2.5.50. 外用 guā -iō ng "External use"

1.1.2.5.51. 外力 guā -li̍k "External force"

1.1.2.5.52. 外在 guā -tsā i "External, Extrinsic"

1.1.2.5.53. 此外 tshú-guā "Moreover, In addition"

1.1.2.5.54. 對外 tuì-guā "[Pertaining to] outside, [Pertaining to] foreign

[affairs]"

1.1.2.5.55. 想東想西 siū nn-tang-siū nn-sai "Letting one's imagination run

wild"

1.1.2.5.56. 名次 miâ-tshù "Ranking, Position"

1.1.2.5.57. 好空 hó-khang "Good opportunity"

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1.1.2.5.58. 創空 tshòng-khang "Plotting"

1.1.2.5.59. 空白 khàng-pe̍h "Blank space"

1.1.2.5.60. 空氣 khong-khì "Air, atmosphere"

1.1.2.5.61. 細空毋補，大空叫苦。Sè khang m̄ póo, tuā khang kiò-khóo. "If issues are not resolved when they are small, by the time they become big issues there will be a great deal of trouble"

1.1.2.5.62. 一耳空入，一耳空出。Tsi̍t hīnn-khang ji̍p, tsi̍t hīnn-khang tshut. "In one ear, out the other"

1.1.2.5.63. 變空 pìnn-khang "To engage in mischief or trickery"

1.1.2.5.64. 虛華 hi-hua "Unrealistic, Impractical"

1.1.2.5.65. 虛弱 hi-jio̍k "Weak"

1.1.2.5.66. 西式 se-sik "Western-style"

1.1.2.5.67. 東倒西歪 tang-tó-sai-uai "The East upside-down and the West crooked, Everything in disorder".

1.1.2.5.68. 永遠 íng-uán "Eternal"

1.1.2.5.69. 疏遠 soo-uán "Alienation"

1.1.2.5.70. 遙遠 iâu-uán "Remote"

1.1.2.5.71. 深遠 tshim-uán "Far-reaching"

1.1.2.5.72. 遠離 uán-lī "Distant"

1.1.2.5.73. 陰間 im-kan "Nether world"

1.1.2.5.74. 空間 khong-kan "Space"

1.1.2.5.75. 人間 jîn-kan "The Human realm"

1.1.2.5.76. 之間 tsi-kan "Among, Between"

1.1.2.6. In this section I present basic connotations of spatial terms encountered in written language in the DDY religiolect versus surrounding lects. These connotations appear to direct the thought of lect users to the subjects mentioned, or are mentioned in conjunction with those subjects more frequently.

1.1.2.6.1.   上 "Above"

1.1.2.6.1.1. Religiolect: Attainment

1.1.2.6.1.2. Surrouding Lects: Superiority

1.1.2.6.2.   下 "Below"

1.1.2.6.2.1. Religiolect: Proximity

1.1.2.6.2.2. Surrouding Lects: Inferiority

1.1.2.6.3.   中 "Center"

1.1.2.6.3.1. Religiolect: Peacefulness, Smoothness

1.1.2.6.3.2. Surrouding Lects: Culture

1.1.2.6.4.   位 "Position"

1.1.2.6.4.1. Religiolect: Attainment: Physical Position

1.1.2.6.4.2. Surrouding Lects: Rank

1.1.2.6.5.   內 "Inner"

1.1.2.6.5.1. Religiolect: Attainment: Tranquility

1.1.2.6.5.2. Surrouding Lects: Safety

1.1.2.6.6. 北 "North"

    1.1.2.6.6.1. Religiolect: Culture

    1.1.2.6.6.2. Surrouding Lects: Power

1.1.2.6.7. 南 "South"

    1.1.2.6.7.1. Religiolect: Spirituality

    1.1.2.6.7.2. Surrouding Lects: Tradition

1.1.2.6.8. 後 "Behind"

    1.1.2.6.8.1. Religiolect: Continuity

    1.1.2.6.8.2. Surrouding Lects: Physical Position

1.1.2.6.9. 外 "Outer"

    1.1.2.6.9.1. Religiolect: Heterodox

    1.1.2.6.9.2. Surrouding Lects: Foreign

1.1.2.6.10. 東 "East"

    1.1.2.6.10.1. Religiolect: Periphery

    1.1.2.6.10.2. Surrouding Lects: Intelligence

1.1.2.6.11. 次 "Next"

    1.1.2.6.11.1. Religiolect: Secondary

    1.1.2.6.11.2. Surrouding Lects: Next in Sequence

1.1.2.6.12. 空 "Empty"

    1.1.2.6.12.1. Religiolect: Educated, Literate

    1.1.2.6.12.2. Surrouding Lects: Air, Space

1.1.2.6.13. 虛 "Void"

1.1.2.6.13.1.   Religiolect: Divinity

1.1.2.6.13.2.   Surrouding Lects: That Which is not Useful

1.1.2.6.14. 西 "West"

1.1.2.6.14.1.   Religiolect: Calm

1.1.2.6.14.2.   Surrouding Lects: Striving

1.1.2.6.15. 遠 "Distant"

1.1.2.6.15.1.   Religiolect: Determination

1.1.2.6.15.2.   Surrouding Lects: Physical Distance

1.1.2.6.16. 間 "Space"

1.1.2.6.16.1.   Religiolect: Ritual Space

1.1.2.6.16.2.   Surrouding Lects: Time

1.2. **Conceptual Frameworks**

Below, I present the religious conceptual frameworks of thought affected by the use
of the religiolect of the DDY. I will begin with the phonetic elements affecting
conceptual frameworks and continue with the lexical elements affecting conceptual
frameworks at the DDY.

1.2.1. **Phonetic Elements**

In this section, I discuss some ways in which phonetic elements of the DDY
religiolect affected conceptual frameworks.

1.2.1.1. The acquisition of a full literary pronunciation of Daigi, used mostly for
reading scriptures aloud, is a learned process. In this process, even after
formal learning is complete, there are times when substitution errors
occur. These errors do not appear systematically but rather occasionally

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and in certain contexts, such as switching from reading scripture to other kinds of religious language production. I present here some of the phonetic transformations from Chapter 4, and what they mean for the construction of conceptual frameworks.

1.2.1.1.1.   In this section I present phonetic transformations from vernacular Daigi 白 elements to literary Daigi 文 elements.

    1.2.1.1.1.1. Substitution of [-ik] for [-it] (Example: 室): Appeared in contexts of social work, especially providing food for the indigent.

    1.2.1.1.1.2. Substitution of [s-] for [ɕ-] (Example: 司): Appeared in contexts of increasingly controlled definition of terms, or paying greater attention to the meaning and impact of language.

    1.2.1.1.1.3. Substitution of [-iaʔ] for [-ik] (Example: 亦): Appeared in contexts of nihilistic void, or spatial abstractions.

    1.2.1.1.1.4. Substitution of [-ək] for [-ak] (Example: 濁): Appeared in contexts of discussion supernatural entities and allegories they may represent.

    1.2.1.1.1.5. Substitution of [-ẽ] for [-iŋ] (Example: 爭): Appeared in contexts of learning basic ritual practices in the yearly ritual calendar.

1.2.1.1.1.6. Substitution of [-in] for [-iŋ] (Example: 逞): Appeared in

contexts of interpretation of scriptures where difficult language

obfuscates meaning.

1.2.1.1.1.7. Substitution of [-iŋ] for [-iə ŋ] (Example: 拱): Appeared in

contexts of placing the DDY in a proper historical context.

1.2.1.1.1.8. Substitution of [-iʔ] for [-ik] (Example: 籠): Appeared in

contexts of diminution of focus on the religiosity of social

work undertaken by the temple community.

1.2.1.1.1.9. Substitution of [-ĩ] for [-ian] (Example: 衍): Appeared in

contexts of learning basic ritual practices in the yearly ritual

calendar.

1.2.1.1.1.10.   Substitution of [n-] for [l-] (Example: 年): Appeared

in contexts of discussion supernatural entities and allegories

they may represent.

1.2.1.1.1.11.   Substitution of [kh-] for [h-] (Example: 吸):

Appeared in contexts of fundamental concepts in Daoism,

such as the DDY interpretation of the meaning of the Dao

itself.

1.2.1.1.1.12.   Substitution of [-eʔ] for [-iat] (Example: 屑):

Appeared in contexts of increased focus on the religiosity of

social work undertaken by the temple community.

1.2.1.1.1.13.　　　Substitution of [-ai] for [-i] (Example: 侍): Appeared

in contexts of placing the DDY in a proper historical context.

1.2.1.1.1.14.　　　Substitution of [-at] for [-it] (Example: 虱): Appeared

in contexts of focus on social work and aiding the poor.

1.2.1.1.2.　In this section, I present specific phonetic substitutions I

witnessed which were examples of de-archaicized pronunciation (i.e.

literary Daigi to vernacular Daigi phonetic elements) or substitutions

from Daigi elements to MSC elements.

1.2.1.1.2.1. 教訓 (kàu-hùn --> kà): give moral instruction, discipline.

Focus on outside provenance of teachings.

1.2.1.1.2.2. 博大 (kóng-tā i --> tuā): broad, extensive. Focus on efficacy

of the DDY practices.

1.2.1.1.2.3. 法會 (huat-huē --> huì (MSC)): ritual assembly. Appeared in

ritualized addresses to temple community audience after ritual

or during festival proceedings.

1.2.1.1.2.4. 徒弟 (tôo-tē --> tī) disciple. Focus on describing

individuals who were members of a different community

whose values were somewhat opposed to the DDY.

1.2.1.1.2.5. 受傷 (著傷 tioh-siong --> siunn): suffer injury. Focus on

physical injury.

1.2.1.1.2.6. 真理 (tsin-lí --> zhē n (MSC)): truth. Focus on outside

provenance of teachings.

1.2.1.1.2.7. 傳承 (thuân-sîng --> sîn): pass on, continued tradition.

1.2.1.1.2.8. 邪神 (siâ-sîn --> shén (MSC)): nefarious spirit, evil spirit.

Appeared in readings of ritual text.

1.2.1.1.2.9. 善良 (siā n-liông --> liáng (MSC)): (morally) good. Focus on

ritual efficacy.

1.2.1.1.2.10. 解釋，解說 (kái-sik, kái-sueh --> ké): explain,

interpret, resolve, comment. Focus on the variety of existing

interpretations which are available.

1.2.1.1.2.11. 集香 (tsïp-hiong --> hiunn): gathering up incense

stick which are in the process of burning and have been ritually

offered.

1.2.1.1.2.12. 壽 (siū --> shòu (MSC)): longevity. Appeared in

readings of ritual text.

1.2.1.1.2.13. 乾淨 (清潔 tshing-kiat --> tshinn): clean, pure. Focus

on cleanliness of physical grounds

1.2.1.1.2.14. 安置 (an-tì --> uann): install, seat, enthrone. Focus

on deities being installed in a temple in the same district.

1.2.1.1.2.15. 安寧 (an-lîng --> uann): peace, free of turmoil or war.

Focus on local turmoil.

1.2.1.1.2.16. 派 (phài --> pài (MSC)): school, vein, sect, division.

Focus on outside provenance of teachings.

1.2.1.1.2.17.　　　宗教 (tsong-kàu --> kà): religion. Focus on recent interpretations of doctrine.

1.2.1.1.2.18.　　　肉體 (bah-thé --> hi̍k): corporeal body, flesh-bearing body. Appeared during ritualize extemporaneous speech addressing audience, in context of importance of tending to basic needs before more advanced spiritual needs.

1.2.1.1.2.19.　　　特別 (ti̍k-pia̍t --> pa̍t): special, particular. Focus on the need for cooperation between religious traditions in the modern world.

1.2.1.1.2.20.　　　教書 (should be 教冊 kà-tsheh, but was 教書 kàu-tsu): teach, instruct on doctrine. Focus on outside provenance of teachings.

1.2.1.1.2.21.　　　辛苦 (sin-khóo --> k ǔ (MSC)): bitter suffering. In context of government response to victims of natural disaster.

1.2.1.1.2.22.　　　主殿 (tsú-tiā n --> zh ǔ (MSC)): main palatial hall (at a temple complex). Appeared after comparison to mainland temples.

1.2.1.1.2.23.　　　神明 (sîn-bîng --> bîn): spirit, deity, divinity. Focus on immediacy of deities and the benefits to be obtained from participating in rituals.

1.2.1.1.2.24.　　　思想 (su-sióng --> si): thought. Focus on outside provenance of teachings.

1.2.1.1.2.25. 認識 (should be 捌 bat, but MSC-style līn-sik): knowledge, understanding, cognition. Focus on knowledge already gained by the temple community.

1.2.1.1.2.26. 宮觀 (宮廟 king-biō --> MSC-style miō): temple. Appeared after comparison to mainland temples.

1.2.1.2. I present here the phonetic transformations which were not specifically linked to archaicization processes, and what they mean for the construction of conceptual frameworks.

1.2.1.2.1. In this section I present the phonetic transformations from MSC elements to Daigi elements.

1.2.1.2.1.1. Substitution of [-ɥœ] for [-iəʔ] (Example: 略). Appeared in contexts understood to be very familiar to intended audience.

1.2.1.2.1.2. Substitution of [-ɤ] for [-uaʔ]/[-iat] (Example: 熱). Appeared in potentially stressful contexts.

1.2.1.2.1.3. Substitution of [x-], [h-] for [ʔ-]/[ɥ-] (Example: 話). Appeared when subject matter may have been considered difficult to grasp.

1.2.1.2.1.4. Substitution of [-jaŋ] for [-aŋ] (Example: 江). Appeared in contexts understood to be very familiar to intended audience.

1.2.1.2.1.5. Substitution of [-weɪ] for [-e] (Example: 退). Appeared when subject matter may have been considered difficult to grasp.

1.2.1.2.1.6. Substitution of [-wa ɪ] for [-wa]/[-we] (Example: 外).

Appeared when subject matter may have been considered

difficult to grasp.

1.2.1.2.1.7. Substitution of [tɕ-] for [k-] (Example: 經). Appeared in

potentially stressful contexts.

1.2.1.2.1.8. Substitution of [-j a ŋ] for [-iu] (Example: 量). Appeared in

potentially stressful contexts.

1.2.1.2.1.9. Substitution of [-u] for [-ə k] (Example: 速). Appeared in

contexts understood to be very familiar to intended audience.

1.2.1.2.1.10.   Substitution of [-e ɪ] for [-ak] (Example: 北).

Appeared in discussion of doctrine relating to social work.

1.2.1.2.1.11.   Substitution of [-w a ŋ] for [-ə ŋ] (Example: 皇).

Appeared in discussion of doctrine relating to social work.

1.2.1.2.1.12.   Substitution of [-wə n] for [-un] (Example: 輪).

Appeared in potentially stressful contexts.

1.2.1.2.1.13.   Substitution of [ʐ-], [ɻ-] for [dz-] (Example: 人) / [l-]

(Example: 日). Appeared in contexts understood to be very

familiar to intended audience.

1.2.1.2.1.14.   Substitution of [th-] for [tsh-] (Example: 田).

Appeared in potentially stressful contexts.

1.2.1.2.1.15.   Substitution of [-wä] for [-ue] (Example: 話).

Appeared in discussion of doctrine relating to social work.

1.2.1.2.1.16.   Substitution of [-ä] for [-wa] (Example: 大).

Appeared in contexts understood to be very familiar to

intended audience.

1.2.1.2.1.17.   Substitution of [tʂʰ-] for [t-] (Example: 場).

Appeared in discussion of doctrine relating to social work.

1.2.1.2.2.   In this section, I present phonetic transformations from Daigi

elements to MSC elements.

1.2.1.2.2.1. Substitution of [Øw-] for [Ҷ-] (Example: 援). Appeared in

discussions which could be construed as political, such as

issues of social justice and income inequality.

1.2.1.2.2.2. Substitution of [-ai] for [-eɪ] (Example: 眉). Appeared in

contexts of tangible gain, such as money or food.

1.2.1.2.2.3. Substitution of [-aɪ̃] for [-aɪ] (Example: 歹). Appeared in

contexts of strong emotions.

1.2.1.2.2.4. Substitution of [-ĩ] for [-i] (Example: 鼻). Appeared in

discussions which could be construed as political, such as

issues of social justice and income inequality.

1.2.1.2.2.5. Substitution of [ŋ] for [ɕ-][-iaŋ] (Example: 向). Appeared in

discussions which could be construed as political, such as

issues of social justice and income inequality.

1.2.1.2.2.6. Substitution of [-ue] for [-weɪ] (Example: 回). Appeared in

contexts of tangible gain, such as money or food.

1.2.1.2.2.7. Substitution of [s-] for [ʂ-] (Example: 獅). Appeared in

contexts of tangible gain, such as money or food.

1.2.1.2.2.8. Substitution of [-ik] for [-w ɔ] (Example: 伯). Appeared in

contexts of strong emotions.

1.2.1.2.2.9. Substitution of [s-] for [tsʰ-] (Example: 賜). Appeared in

discussions which could be construed as political, such as

issues of social justice and income inequality.

1.2.1.2.2.10.   Substitution of [-i] for [-e ɪ] (Example: 悲).

Appeared in the context of explaining ritual practices.

1.2.1.2.2.11.   Substitution of [-ə ŋ] for [-ɤ ŋ] (Example: 鳳).

Appeared in the context of explaining ritual practices.

1.2.1.2.2.12.   Substitution of [-ui] for [-i] (Example: 氣). Appeared

in the context of explaining ritual practices.

1.2.1.2.2.13.   Substitution of [pʰ-] for [p-] (Example: 抱).

Appeared in contexts of strong emotions.

1.2.1.2.2.14.   Substitution of [-i] for [-ɿ] (Example: 字). Appeared

in discussions which could be construed as political, such as

issues of social justice and income inequality.

1.2.1.2.2.15.   Substitution of [-ia] for [-iŋ] (Example: 名).

Appeared in the context of explaining ritual practices.

1.2.1.2.2.16.   Substitution of [ɕ-] for [tʂʰ-] (Example: 禪).

Appeared in contexts of tangible gain, such as money or food.

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1.2.1.2.3.   In this section, I present phonetic transformations from literary Daigi 文 elements to vernacular Daigi 白 elements.

1.2.1.2.3.1.   Substitution of [-it] for [-at] (Example: 虱). Appeared in contexts audiences would be expected to find very familiar.

1.2.1.2.3.2.   Substitution of [-ik] for [-aʔ] (Example: 百). Appeared in contexts of discussing kindness and compassion.

1.2.1.2.3.3.   Substitution of [-ap] for [-aʔ] (Example: 卡). Appeared in contexts audiences would be expected to find very familiar.

1.2.1.2.3.4.   Substitution of [-ə] for [-au] (Example: 毛). Appeared in contexts audiences would be expected to find very familiar.

1.2.1.2.3.5.   Substitution of [h-] for [p-] (Example: 分). Appeared in scripture reading or quotation following a less formal address.

1.2.1.2.3.6.   Substitution of [-ian] for [-iŋ] (Example: 千). Appeared in contexts of discussing kindness and compassion.

1.2.1.2.3.7.   Substitution of [-ə] for [-e] (Example: 坐). Appeared in contexts audiences would be expected to find very familiar.

1.2.1.2.3.8.   Substitution of [-iək] for [-ak] (Example: 六). Appeared in discussion of hierarchy.

1.2.1.2.3.9.   Substitution of [-uai] for [-ui] (Example: 懷). Appeared in discussion of community togetherness.

1.2.1.2.3.10.	Substitution of [h-] for [ph-] (Example: 帆).

Appeared in scripture reading or quotation following a less

formal address.

1.2.1.2.3.11.	Substitution of [-an] for [-uã] (Example: 山).

Appeared in scripture reading or quotation following a less

formal address.

1.2.1.2.3.12.	Substitution of [-ui] for [-ue] (Example: 吹).

Appeared in contexts of discussing kindness and compassion.

1.2.1.2.3.13.	Substitution of [-am] for [-iam] (Example: 岩).

Appeared in contexts of discussing kindness and compassion.

1.2.1.2.3.14.	Substitution of [n-] for [l-] (Example: 老). Appeared

in contexts audiences would be expected to find very familiar.

1.2.1.2.3.15.	Substitution of [-uai] for [-ue] (Example: 快).

Appeared in discussion of community togetherness.

1.2.1.2.3.16.	Substitution of [ts-] for [tsh-] (Example: 在).

Appeared in scripture reading or quotation following a less

formal address.

1.2.1.2.3.17.	Substitution of [-ã] for [-e] (Example: 碼). Appeared

in contexts audiences would be expected to find very familiar.

1.2.1.2.3.18.	Substitution of [g-] for [ŋ -] (Example: 院). Appeared

in contexts of discussing kindness and compassion.

1.2.1.2.3.19.　　　Substitution of [-ə k] for [-ə ʔ] (Example: 各).

Appeared in contexts audiences would be expected to find very familiar.

1.2.1.3. In this section, I present some terms which are homophonous with common religious terms and which form part of networks of association with those terms, appearing together or appearing connected in the minds of religiolect speakers. These terms appear to be activated together, the topmost of the list more often than those below. In the religiolect, elements appearing in networks of association are found either through interviews or observing word play, poetic use of language, or increased frequency of linked appearance. That these words or logographs are in associative networks in the religiolect mean that they are subject to being conceptually grouped, in contrast with lects surrounding the religiolect.

1.2.1.3.1.　原 guân "Original"

1.2.1.3.1.1. 元 "Prime"

1.2.1.3.1.2. 頑 "Stubborn"

1.2.1.3.1.3. 源 "Source"

1.2.1.3.2.　制 tsè "Regulate"

1.2.1.3.2.1. 祭 "Ritual"

1.2.1.3.2.2. 債 "Debt"

1.2.1.3.2.3. 濟 "Give Aid"

1.2.1.3.2.4. 際 "Boundary"

1.2.1.3.3.　送 sòng "See Off"

　　1.2.1.3.3.1. 喪 "Lose"

1.2.1.3.4.　欽 khim "Cherish"

　　1.2.1.3.4.1. 襟 "Respect"

1.2.1.3.5.　堂 tông "(Primary) Hall"

　　1.2.1.3.5.1. 同 "Same"

　　1.2.1.3.5.2. 童 "Child"

　　1.2.1.3.5.3. 桐 "Wood-oil Tree"

　　1.2.1.3.5.4. 唐 "Tang [Dynasty]"

1.2.1.3.6.　堂 tn̂g "Primary" Hall

　　1.2.1.3.6.1. 長 "Elder, Lengthy"

　　1.2.1.3.6.2. 唐 "In Vain"

1.2.1.3.7.　童 tông "Child"

　　1.2.1.3.7.1. 同 "Same"

　　1.2.1.3.7.2. 堂 "(Primary) Hall"

　　1.2.1.3.7.3. 桐 "Wood-oil Tree"

　　1.2.1.3.7.4. 唐 "Tang [Dynasty]"

1.2.1.3.8.　合 ha̍h "Join"

　　1.2.1.3.8.1. 協 "Cooperate"

1.2.1.3.9.　合 kah "Join"

1.2.1.3.9.1. 較 "Comparatively"

1.2.1.3.9.2. 甲 "(First)"

1.2.1.3.10. 內 luē "Within"

1.2.1.3.10.1. 銳 "Acute"

1.2.1.3.11. 內 lāi "Within"

1.2.1.3.11.1. 利 "Advantage"

1.2.1.3.12. 慧 huī "Intelligent"

1.2.1.3.12.1. 惠 "Beneficial"

1.2.1.3.13. 真 tsin "True"

1.2.1.3.13.1. 升 "Ascent"

1.2.1.3.13.2. 珍 "Treasure"

1.2.1.3.13.3. 津 "Ford"

1.2.1.3.14. 輩 puè "Life"

1.2.1.3.14.1. 背 "Back"

1.2.1.3.14.2. 貝 "Money"

1.2.1.3.15. 牛 gû "Cow"

1.2.1.3.15.1. 漁 "To Fish"

1.2.1.3.15.2. 愚 "Foolish"

1.2.1.3.15.3. 魚 "Fish"

1.2.1.3.16. 重 tāng "Heavy"

1.2.1.3.16.1.　　動 "Move"

1.2.1.3.17.　法 huat "Method"

1.2.1.3.17.1.　　發 "Emit"

1.2.1.3.18.　陰 im "(One of the two binary principles)"

1.2.1.3.18.1.　　音 "Sound"

1.2.1.3.19.　烈 lia̍t "Example"

1.2.1.3.19.1.　　熱 "Heat"

1.2.1.3.20.　准 tsún "Allow"

1.2.1.3.20.1.　　準 "Standard"

1.2.1.3.20.2.　　撙 "Reduce"

1.2.1.3.21.　定 tīng "Determine"

1.2.1.3.21.1.　　訂 "Conclude"

1.2.1.3.21.2.　　錠 "Ingot"

1.2.1.3.22.　發 huat "Emit"

1.2.1.3.22.1.　　法 "Method"

1.2.1.3.23.　發 puh "Emit"

1.2.1.3.23.1.　　普 "Popular"

1.2.1.3.24.　修 siu "Cultivate"

1.2.1.3.24.1.　　收 "Receive"

1.2.1.3.24.2.　　羞 "Shy"

1.2.1.3.25. 述 su̍t "Tell"

    1.2.1.3.25.1.   術 "Technique"

1.2.1.3.26. 說 suat "Say"

    1.2.1.3.26.1.   雪 "Snow"

    1.2.1.3.26.2.   刷 "Brush"

1.2.1.3.27. 仙 sian "Transcendent"

    1.2.1.3.27.1.   身 "Body"

    1.2.1.3.27.2.   先 "Former"

1.2.1.3.28. 誡 kài "Prohibition"

    1.2.1.3.28.1.   蓋 "Cover"

    1.2.1.3.28.2.   概 "General"

    1.2.1.3.28.3.   戒 "Admonish"

    1.2.1.3.28.4.   界 "(Spatial) Extent"

1.2.1.3.29. 誓 tsuā "Vow"

    1.2.1.3.29.1.   逝 "Pass"

1.2.1.3.30. 羊 iông "Sheep"

    1.2.1.3.30.1.   陽 "(One of the two binary principles)"

    1.2.1.3.30.2.   容 "Appearance"

    1.2.1.3.30.3.   庸 "Ordinary"

    1.2.1.3.30.4.   融 "Blend"

1.2.1.3.30.5.　　　洋 "Foreign"

1.2.1.3.30.6.　　　楊 "Poplar"

1.2.1.3.30.7.　　　揚 "Hoist"

1.2.1.3.31. 羊 iûnn "Sheep"

1.2.1.3.31.1.　　　洋 "Foreign"

1.2.1.3.31.2.　　　陽 "(One of the two binary principles)"

1.2.1.3.32. 洪 hông "Great"

1.2.1.3.32.1.　　　紅 "Red"

1.2.1.3.32.2.　　　防 "Guard Against"

1.2.1.3.32.3.　　　逢 "Chance Upon"

1.2.1.3.32.4.　　　煌 "Brilliant"

1.2.1.3.32.5.　　　弘 "Great"

1.2.1.3.32.6.　　　黃 "Yellow"

1.2.1.3.32.7.　　　宏 "Great"

1.2.1.3.32.8.　　　皇 "August"

1.2.1.3.32.9.　　　蓬 "Luxuriant (Growth)"

1.2.1.3.33. 本 pńg "Fundamental"

1.2.1.3.33.1.　　　榜 "Notice"

1.2.1.3.34. 本 pún "Volume"

1.2.1.3.34.1.　　　扁 "Flat (Object)"

1.2.1.3.35. 凝 gîng "Congeal"

    1.2.1.3.35.1.   迎 "Welcome"

    1.2.1.3.35.2.   龍 "Dragon"

1.2.1.3.36. 光 kong "Effulgent"

    1.2.1.3.36.1.   公 "Public"

    1.2.1.3.36.2.   工 "Work"

    1.2.1.3.36.3.   功 "Achievement"

    1.2.1.3.36.4.   剛 "Strong"

    1.2.1.3.36.5.   綱 "Main, Strongest Element"

1.2.1.3.37. 光 kng "Effulgent"

    1.2.1.3.37.1.   扛 "Raise Aloft"

1.2.1.3.38. 機 ki "Mechanism"

    1.2.1.3.38.1.   支 "Support"

    1.2.1.3.38.2.   枝 "Branch"

    1.2.1.3.38.3.   乩 "To Divine"

    1.2.1.3.38.4.   基 "Foundation"

    1.2.1.3.38.5.   居 "Reside"

    1.2.1.3.38.6.   車 "Vehicle"

1.2.1.3.39. 機 kui "Mechanism"

    1.2.1.3.39.1.   規 "Rule"

1.2.1.3.39.2.　　　歸 "Return"

1.2.1.3.40.　維 uî "Hold Together"

1.2.1.3.40.1.　　　圍 "Encircle"

1.2.1.3.40.2.　　　為 "To Act As"

1.2.1.3.40.3.　　　遺 "Leave Behind"

1.2.1.3.40.4.　　　危 "Danger"

1.2.1.3.40.5.　　　違 "Violate"

1.2.1.3.41.　少 siáu "Few"

1.2.1.3.41.1.　　　小 "Small"

1.2.1.3.41.2.　　　瘑 "Headache"

1.2.1.3.42.　司 sai "Take Charge"

1.2.1.3.42.1.　　　獅 "Lion"

1.2.1.3.42.2.　　　挃 "Shake"

1.2.1.3.42.3.　　　師 "Master"

1.2.1.3.42.4.　　　西 "West"

1.2.1.3.42.5.　　　私 "Private"

1.2.1.3.43.　司 su "Take Charge"

1.2.1.3.43.1.　　　思 "Thought"

1.2.1.3.43.2.　　　書 "Documents"

1.2.1.3.43.3.　　　師 "Master"

1.2.1.3.43.4.   舒 "Unfold"

1.2.1.3.43.5.   需 "Require"

1.2.1.3.43.6.   須 "To Have to"

1.2.1.3.44. 華 hua "Sinitic"

    1.2.1.3.44.1.   花 "Flower"

    1.2.1.3.44.2.   化 "Change"

1.2.1.3.45. 訓 hùn "Instruction"

    1.2.1.3.45.1.   憤 "Indignant Anger"

1.2.1.4. In this section I present changes in the conceptual framework of DDY religiolect users which came from the pronunciation alterations from the reading of the text described in chapter 4. Each subheading represents a different effect which the phonetic transformation caused.

    1.2.1.4.1.   Caused the scripture's meaning to seem more immediately relevant, instead of abstract.

      1.2.1.4.1.1. 廣 gǹg / gòng | kńg/kóng *

      1.2.1.4.1.2. 淨 ziān (seen practically only in theater terminology, the coarse or violent figure 大淨) / zīng | tsīng *

      1.2.1.4.1.3. 大 dua / dāi | tuā/tāi/ta *

      1.2.1.4.1.4. 各 gōrh / gōk | koh/kok *

      1.2.1.4.1.5. 有 ū / iù | ū /iú *

      1.2.1.4.1.6. 精 zin – zian / zing | tsiann-tsinn/tsing *

1.2.1.4.1.7. 急 gī p | kip *

1.2.1.4.1.8. 隊 dū i | tuī *

1.2.1.4.1.9. 利 lā i / lī | lā i/lī *

1.2.1.4.1.10. 驅 ku | khu *

1.2.1.4.1.11. 慈 zǔ | tsû *

1.2.1.4.1.12. 尋 siǎ m / sǐ m | siâm / sîm *

1.2.1.4.1.13. 青 cen-cin / cing | tshenn-tshinn/tshing *

1.2.1.4.1.14. 邪 siǎ | siâ *

1.2.1.4.1.15. 守 ziù / siù | tsiú/siú *

1.2.1.4.2. Caused conceptual connection to idea of cyclicality.

1.2.1.4.2.1. 真 zin | tsin *

1.2.1.4.2.2. 變 bin / bian | pìnn/piàn *

1.2.1.4.2.3. 妄 bhòng (meaning absurd, unreasonable, or presumptuous)

| bō ng *

1.2.1.4.2.4. 內 lā i / luē | lā i/luē *

1.2.1.4.2.5. 應 in / ing or ing | ìn/ing-ìng *

1.2.1.4.2.6. 法 huā t | huat *

1.2.1.4.2.7. 外 ghuā / ghuē | guā / guē *

1.2.1.4.2.8. 赤 (no entry) | tshiah / tshik *

1.2.1.4.2.9. 舌 zih / siat (very infrequent) | tsïh/siảt *

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1.2.1.4.2.10.　　　寧 when in MSC this is read níng, then in Daigi it is read lǐ ng; when in MSC this is read nìng, then in Daigi it is read lī ng. | lîng *

1.2.1.4.2.11.　　　中 ding / diong and diong | tìng/tiong-tiòng *

1.2.1.4.2.12.　　　君 gun | kun *

1.2.1.4.2.13.　　　久 gù / giù | kú/ kiú *

1.2.1.4.2.14.　　　嶽 hǔ n / ǔ n (白 is most common) | ga̍k *

1.2.1.4.2.15.　　　玄 hiǎ n | hiân *

1.2.1.4.2.16.　　　得 dī t / dī k | tit/tik *

1.2.1.4.2.17.　　　安 (both 文言 pronunciations) an or àn (the latter is solely for kinship terminology) | uann / an *

1.2.1.4.2.18.　　　餘 ǐ or ǔ | î / û *

1.2.1.4.3.　Caused lect users to be more accepting, possess equanimity, acting in harmony.

1.2.1.4.3.1. 備 bī | pī *

1.2.1.4.3.2. 令 lī ng | lī ng *

1.2.1.4.3.3. 萬 bhā n | bā n *

1.2.1.4.3.4. 方 hng – bng (bng is a cognominal pronunciation) / hong | hng-png / hong *

1.2.1.4.3.5. 鎮 din | tìn *

1.2.1.4.3.6. 星 cen or cin / sing | san-tshenn-tshinn/sing *

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1.2.1.4.3.7. 誦 siōng | siōng *

1.2.1.4.3.8. 白 beh / bik (文 is exceedingly rare, used in tiny fraction of

set phrases) | peȟ/ piȟk *

1.2.1.4.3.9. 弟 dī / dē | tī / tē *

1.2.1.4.3.10. 天 tin/tian | thinn/thian *

1.2.1.4.3.11. 位 ūi | uī *

1.2.1.4.3.12. 丹 dan | tan *

1.2.1.4.3.13. 心 sim | sim *

1.2.1.4.3.14. 寶 bòr | pó *

1.2.1.4.3.15. 種 zìng or zing / ziòng or ziong (few examples

remain of the latter) | tsíng-tsìng/tsióng-tsiòng *

1.2.1.4.3.16. 神 sǐn | sîn *

1.2.1.4.3.17. 永 ìng | íng *

1.2.1.4.3.18. 武 bhù | bú *

1.2.1.4.3.19. 慰 ui | uì *

1.2.1.4.3.20. 庭 diǎn / dǐng | tiânn/ tîng *

1.2.1.4.3.21. 明 miǎ or bhǐn or bhěn or mǎ | bîn-mê-miâ /

bîng *

1.2.1.4.3.22. 官 guan / guan | kuann/kuan *

1.2.1.4.4. Increased focus on transcendence of meaning in religious

doctrines.

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1.2.1.4.4.1. 卻 kiō k | khiok *

1.2.1.4.4.2. 苦 kò | khóo/ /ku *

1.2.1.4.4.3. 氣 kui / ki | khuì/ khì *

1.2.1.4.4.4. 我 ghuà / ngò | guá/ ngóo *

1.2.1.4.4.5. 乙 ī t (as it is the second of the ten celestial stems, it carries

the meaning of "2nd") | it *

1.2.1.4.4.6. 捕 bò | póo *

1.2.1.4.4.7. 王 ǒ ng | ông *

1.2.1.4.4.8. 左 zòr | tsó *

1.2.1.4.4.9. 元 ghuǎ n | guân *

1.2.1.4.4.10. 福 bā k (more often used in place names) / hō k

(more commonly used) | hok *

1.2.1.4.4.11. 存 cǔ n / zǔ n | tsûn *

1.2.1.4.4.12. 思 su (common) / si (uncommon, just used in certain

literary situations) | si/su *

1.2.1.4.5. Increased focus on seeking transcendence.

1.2.1.4.5.1. 倫 lǔ n | lûn *

1.2.1.4.5.2. 朱 zu | tsu *

1.2.1.4.5.3. 尊 zun | tsun *

1.2.1.4.5.4. 智 di | tì *

1.2.1.4.5.5. 右 iū (文 pronunciation) | iū *

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1.2.1.4.5.6. 敬 ging | king *

1.2.1.4.5.7. 保 bòr | pó *

1.2.1.4.6. Increased focus on the importance of making offerings, deities, and mantic practices.

1.2.1.4.6.1. 道 dō r | tō *

1.2.1.4.6.2. 救 giu | kiù/ *

1.2.1.4.6.3. 台 dă i | tâi *

1.2.1.4.6.4. 慧 hū i or huē | huē -huī *

1.2.1.4.6.5. 始 sì | sí/ sú *

1.2.1.4.6.6. 亨 hiàng | hing *

1.2.1.5. In this section I present emotive qualities associated with various pronunciation sources for the religiolect elements of the DDY, as drawn from observation of language use during the course of fieldwork as well as interviews.

1.2.1.5.1. When using pronunciation elements drawn from vernacular Daigi, the following qualities were evoked:

1.2.1.5.1.1. At ease: This refers to feeling less restrained.

1.2.1.5.1.2. Free: This refers to perceived expressiveness of the lect.

1.2.1.5.1.3. Common Sense: This refers to associating with understanding and judging situations with spiritual intuition, as opposed to the learned knowledge of the educated.

1.2.1.5.1.4. Welcoming: This refers to feeling friendly and surrounded by friends.

1.2.1.5.1.5. Belonging: This refers to the sense of being part of a community.

1.2.1.5.1.6. Engrossing: This refers to the capacity for the lect elements to express nuance or poetic truth.

1.2.1.5.1.7. Motivated: This refers to feeling associated with the determination of the ideal common working man.

1.2.1.5.1.8. Tranquil: This refers to an uncomplicated, quiet life, especially in context of retirement.

1.2.1.5.1.9. Active: This refers to the understanding of the lect as ever-changing.

1.2.1.5.1.10. Unassuming: This refers to a superficial feeling of humility.

1.2.1.5.2. When using pronunciation elements drawn from literary forms of Daigi, the following qualities were evoked:

1.2.1.5.2.1. Authentic: This refers to the idea that the literary pronunciation is more archaic and therefore more genuine.

1.2.1.5.2.2. Centered: This refers to how stable these lect elements feel.

1.2.1.5.2.3. Compassionate: This refers to the social focus of the rituals performed with literary Daigi elements.

1.2.1.5.2.4. Reliability: This refers to the perceived unchanging nature of these pronunciations.

1.2.1.5.2.5. Expansive: This refers to the connection between these elements and impactful philosophical discourse.

1.2.1.5.2.6. Intelligent: This refers to the perceived educated nature of people using literary pronunciations for scripture reading.

1.2.1.5.2.7. Graceful: This refers to lect elements being perceived as aesthetically pleasing, or euphonious.

1.2.1.5.2.8. Critical: This refers to the productive criticism of religious, philosophical concepts.

1.2.1.5.2.9. Terse: This refers to the lect elements feeling too abbreviated.

1.2.1.5.2.10. Guarded: This refers to being more careful so as to not make mistakes.

1.2.1.5.2.11. Restrained: This refers to feeling unable to express oneself fully.

1.2.1.5.2.12. Calculated: This refers to resorting to logic more than emotion.

1.2.1.5.3. When using pronunciation elements drawn from MSC, the following qualities were evoked:

1.2.1.5.3.1. Harmonious: This refers to the idea of social stability.

1.2.1.5.3.2. Respectful: This refers to a kind of neutrality in the feel of the language, which confers a feeling that one is being respectful (as opposed to overly impassioned).

1.2.1.5.3.3. Honest: This refers to perceived truthfulness as an intrinsic element of lect element use.

1.2.1.5.3.4. Loyalty: This refers to general obedience in a hierarchy.

1.2.1.5.3.5. Energized: This refers to the perception of liveliness in MSC lect element use.

1.2.1.5.3.6. Antagonistic: This refers to the idea that MSC use is antagonistic relative to Daigi element use.

1.2.1.5.3.7. Pushy: This refers to heavy-handedness, especially in contexts of political power.

1.2.1.5.3.8. Serious: This refers to perceived lack of flippancy or humor.

1.2.2. **Lexical Elements**

In this section, I discuss some ways in which the use of lexical elements of the DDY religiolect affected conceptual frameworks.

1.2.2.1. In this section, I discuss religious lexicon used in the DDY religiolect, particularly how the lexical items are perceived differently within the lexicon, shifting thought patterns of the lect users compared to those not using the lect.

1.2.2.1.1. 壽 siū "longevity": shifts away from a generic auspicious term for personal long life to a concept of social longevity (longevity of humanity in the long term).

1.2.2.1.2. 教條 kàu-tiâu "creed, doctrine, dogma": shifts away from focus on categorization and differences between doctrines of different groups to focus on how religious thought may be synthesized and even only be provisionally true or useful depending on personal and historical contexts.

1.2.2.1.3. 陰間 im-kan "the realm of the shades, the nether realms": shifts away from imagining actual locus to focusing on metaphor of the life of the poor.

1.2.2.1.4. 技術 ki-su̍t "technique, skill, ability": shifts away from technical skills with modern technology to efficacious teaching.

1.2.2.1.5. 聖像 sìng-siō ng "religious icon": shifts awy from simple representation of divinities to complex placeholder metaphors for what useful lessons may be learned from deity stories.

1.2.2.1.6. 跪下 kuī -pài (跪拜) "kneel": shifts away from act of submission or obeisance to unformity and stability.

1.2.2.1.7. 安置 an-tì "install, seat, enthrone": shifts away from setting and preparing for use to inducting.

1.2.2.1.8. 送給/寄到 tsī ng-sàng (贈送)/ kià 寄 "to give, to send": shifts away from social gift-giving setting to notion of selfless giving, through which all society is elevated by spiritual cultivation in the form of social work.

1.2.2.1.9. 很深 tsin tshim (真深) "deep ": shift away from amount of technical skill or emotional depth to importance and skill of discourse, philosophy, and erudition.

1.2.2.1.10. 社會安定 siā -huē an-tī ng "A stable society": shift away from political phrase to ideal religious concept.

1.2.2.1.11. 戒規 kài "precepts, rules": shift away from conception of

precepts as authoritative to precepts being useful and pragmatic.

1.2.2.1.12. 神 sîn "divinity": shift away from abstract concept to

particularized notion of what actions and worldview bring divinity

into being.

1.2.2.1.13. 角度 kak-tō o "point of view": shift from viewing alternate points

of view as inimical to necessary portions of human experience.

1.2.2.1.14. 寬廣 khuan-kóng "broad expanse, enormous in space": shift

from physical space to conceptual space.

1.2.2.1.15. 奉祀 hō ng-sū "offer sacrifice": shift from conceiving of ritual

practices as old and tradition-bound to living, vital processes.

1.2.2.1.16. 敬神 kìng-sîn "venerate deities, respect the divinities, perform

venerations": shift from conceiving of ritual practices as old and

tradition-bound to living, vital processes.

1.2.2.1.17. 尊重 tsun-tiō ng "give respect, honor": shift away from formulaic

term to a conventional one.

1.2.2.1.18. 危險 guî-hiám "danger, perilous": shift from immediate life and

health to long term social problems.

1.2.2.1.19. 認識 lī n-sik "knowledge, understanding, cognition": shift away

from government-sanctioned education to knowledge about moral

and ritual conduct.

1.2.2.1.20. 保身 pó-sin "safeguarding the body": shift away from religious

talismanic term to disciplined health practices.

1.2.2.1.21. 妖言 iau-giân "words meant to lead astray or corrupt,

blasphemy": shift away from punishment and self-policing to

remobilizing and redefinition.

1.2.2.1.22. 奉神 hō ng-sîn "make offerings before the divinities": shift from

conceiving of ritual practices as old and tradition-bound to living,

vital processes.

1.2.2.1.23. 大吉 tā i-kiat "great fortune, marvelously auspicious": Shift away

from generic luck to broader, social advances.

1.2.2.2. In this section, I present the metaphorical frames that are activated by

lexical choices in the DDY religiolect.

1.2.2.2.1. Opportunities are Open Paths: Opportunities, in this case for

doing good, are expressed as being Dao themselves, or paths.

1.2.2.2.2. Change is Replacement: On inner alchemy, discussion of

alchemical change is conceived of in terms of something replacing

something else.

1.2.2.2.3. Obstacles to Action are Obstacles to Motion: Obstacles to

processes necessary to carry out rituals and festival preparations are

more likely to be metaphorized as obstacles to motion.

1.2.2.2.4. Similarity is Closeness: When discussing teachings of the other

major religions of Taiwan (mainly Buddhism, Christianity, and

popular religion), religious concepts are described as closely similar, with the metaphor for physical proximity.

1.2.2.2.5.   Creating is Making: When discussing consequences of following or straying from religious discipline, what consequences arise (especially in long-term karmic results) are made, as opposed to being cultivated, birthed, or made visible.

1.2.2.2.6.   The Mind is a Body: There is increased focus on the role the mind, the heart, or will, plays in the attainment of spiritual discipline and in the attainment of more practical religious goals.

1.2.2.2.7.   Communication is Guiding: In using doctrinal speech, the prevalent metaphor used is one of leading the audience to understand, even as the speaker was acknowledges the provisional nature of that understanding.

1.2.2.2.8.   Ideas are Plants: Ideas pursued in light of doctrinal explanation focus on plant growth metaphors.

1.2.2.2.9.   Communication is Speech: Scriptures are more likely to be said to speak to one, and the metaphor extends to use outside of reference to scriptures.

1.2.2.2.10. Emotions are Physical Forces: Because emotional life of the religious practitioner is heavily focused on, as opposed to dispassionate acceptance of doctrine, there is a strong presence of language metaphorizing emotions as physical forces which can pull, push, guide, strike, etc.

1.2.2.2.11. Light is a Fluid: In descriptions of the exotic heavens and other supernatural loci, the myriad descriptions of divine luminescence focus on the fluidity of light.

1.2.2.3. In this section I present lexical networks of meaning, or the lexical items which are associated with the most salient portions of the religious lexicon of the DDY presented in chapter 4. For each of the words presented here, I present between one and four other items that interviews and participant observation have indicated that have become linked to each word, in turn drawing the religious thought processes of lect users into paths which differ from those outside the lect community.

1.2.2.3.1. 法事 huat-sū "ritual, style"

1.2.2.3.1.1. 乩童 (童乩) tâng-ki "child-medium"

1.2.2.3.1.2. 派 phài "school, vein, sect, division"

1.2.2.3.1.3. 敬神 kìng-sîn "venerate deities, respect the divinities, perform venerations"

1.2.2.3.1.4. 嘉會 ka-huē "occasion of a feast, auspicious gathering"

1.2.2.3.2. 安靜 an-tsīng "calm, at peace"

1.2.2.3.2.1. 寧靜 lîng-tsīng "serenity, tranquility"

1.2.2.3.2.2. 玉皇 Giȯk Hông "Jade Thearch"

1.2.2.3.3. 命運 miā-ūn "fate, destiny, the natural course of one's life"

1.2.2.3.3.1. 邪神 siâ-sîn "nefarious spirit, evil spirit"

1.2.2.3.3.2. 後天 Hiō Thian "Latter Heaven"

1.2.2.3.3.3. 通俗 thong-siȯk "common, vulgar"

1.2.2.3.4. 角度 kak-tō͘ "point of view"

    1.2.2.3.4.1. 太乙救苦天尊 Thài It Kiù Khóo Thian Tsun "Celestial Worthy who Rescues from Distress of the Grand Monad"

    1.2.2.3.4.2. 餓鬼 hó hiann-tī (好兄弟) "hungry ghost (euphemism: "good brother")"

    1.2.2.3.4.3. 妖言 iau-giân "words meant to lead astray or corrupt, blasphemy"

1.2.2.3.5. 痛苦 thòng-khóo "suffering"

    1.2.2.3.5.1. 天下 thian-hā "All that which is under the heavens"

    1.2.2.3.5.2. 創立 tshòng-lïp "found, establish"

1.2.2.3.6. 品行 phín-hīng "moral conduct, behavior"

    1.2.2.3.6.1. 世界和平 sè-kài hô-pîng "the world at peace"

    1.2.2.3.6.2. 道號 tō͘-hō "Daoist appellation, one's Daoist name"

    1.2.2.3.6.3. 精神 tsing-sîn "energy, vitality, sprites and spirits"

1.2.2.3.7. 德行 tik-hīng "virtue and conduct"

    1.2.2.3.7.1. 釋義，講義 sik-gī, káng-gī "to explain the meaning (of a point of doctrine or a scripture), to expound the meaning"

    1.2.2.3.7.2. 過程 kuè-tîng "process"

    1.2.2.3.7.3. 辛苦 sin-khóo "bitter suffering"

1.2.2.3.8. 避邪 pī-siâ "avoiding evil (esp. evil entities)"

1.2.2.3.8.1. 聯合 liân-ha̍p "unite, join"

1.2.2.3.8.2. 代表 tāi-piáu "represent, symbolize"

1.2.2.3.8.3. 寬泛 khuan-huàn "broad (especially in meaning)"

1.2.2.3.9. 禍福 hō-hok (often miā-ūn 命運) "fortune and misfortune, calamity and luck"

1.2.2.3.9.1. 齋果 tsai-kó "offerings for ritual purposes"

1.2.2.3.9.2. 集香 tsïp-hiong "gathering up incense stick which are in the process of burning and have been ritually offered"

1.2.2.3.9.3. 民間宗教 bîn-kan tsong-kàu "popular religion"

1.2.2.3.10. 老君 Láu Kun "Elder Lord, apotheosis of Laozi"

1.2.2.3.10.1. 養性 ióng-sìng "cultivation (spiritual, religious, intellectual)"

1.2.2.3.10.2. 魔鬼 môo-kuí "demon"

1.2.2.3.10.3. 拜拜 pài-pài "veneration, prayer"

1.2.2.3.11. 善良 siān-liông "(morally) good"

1.2.2.3.11.1. 五行 ngóo hîng "Five Phases"

1.2.2.3.11.2. 祭典 tsè-tián "ceremony, sacrificial rites"

1.2.2.3.11.3. 慈善救濟 tsû-siān kiù-tsè "Succor with Compassion and Goodness"

1.2.2.3.11.4. 惡性 ok-sìng "wickedness, maliciousness"

1.2.2.3.12. 尊敬 tsun-kìng "respect"

1.2.2.3.12.1.　　　安和定靜 an-hô tīng-tsīng "Install harmony and

set tranquility"

1.2.2.3.12.2.　　　傳道 thuân-tō "lecture on doctrine, expound on

ancient wisdom"

1.2.2.3.12.3.　　　元 guân "Prime, original, of the font"

1.2.2.3.13. 道德 Tō Tik "The Dao and Its Efficacy, The Way and Its Virtue,

Dao and De, system of morality"

1.2.2.3.13.1.　　　心理 sim-lí "mind, psyche, immaterial non-soul-like

elements of the self"

1.2.2.3.13.2.　　　珍藏 tin-tsōng "treasure hoard, pearls and cached

valuables, accumulation of that which is most valued"

1.2.2.3.13.3.　　　符合 hû-ha̍p "conform, correspond, accordance"

1.2.2.3.14. 塞住 sài-tsū "blocked up, stopped up (in terms of the flow of

pneuma)"

1.2.2.3.14.1.　　　聖典 sìng-tián "sacred scripture, divine canon"

1.2.2.3.14.2.　　　闢穀 pi̍k-kok "abstaining from consuming grains"

1.2.2.3.14.3.　　　異端 ī-tuan "heresy, heterodoxy"

1.2.2.3.15. 諸神 tsu-sîn "the arrayed divinities, all the gods"

1.2.2.3.15.1.　　　福 hok "fortune, luck, prosperity"

1.2.2.3.15.2.　　　懷疑 huâi-gî "doubt, suspect"

1.2.2.3.15.3.　　　空虛 khang-hi "emptiness"

1.2.2.3.15.4. 宿命 siok-bīng "predestination, fated events"

1.2.2.3.16. 保身 pó-sin "safeguarding the body"

    1.2.2.3.16.1. 天命 thian-bīng "Mandate of Heaven, fate given by heaven"

    1.2.2.3.16.2. 萬物 bān-but "the many things, the multitudes of observable or physical phenomena, living beings"

1.2.2.3.17. 宗師 Tsong-Su "Lineage Master, Abbot"

    1.2.2.3.17.1. 活動 uah-tāng "activity"

    1.2.2.3.17.2. 有用 lōo-iōng "useful"

    1.2.2.3.17.3. 道長 Tō Tiúnn "Head Daoist functionary, Daoist Elder"

    1.2.2.3.17.4. 跪下 kuī-pài (跪拜) "kneel" (and engage in prayers)

1.2.2.3.18. 解釋，解說 kái-sik, kái-sueh "explain, interpret, resolve, comment"

    1.2.2.3.18.1. 思維 su-uî "line of thought, way of thinking, intellectual current"

    1.2.2.3.18.2. 好運 hó-ūn "good luck"

    1.2.2.3.18.3. 風俗 hong-siok "customs, mores"

    1.2.2.3.18.4. 生 / 造成 / 創作 sing / tsō-sîng / tshòng-tsok "produce, give rise to, give birth to, bring about, create"

1.2.2.3.19. 知道 bîng-tsai (明知) "yes, I know / knowledge"

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1.2.2.3.19.1. 道團 Tō-thuân "Daoist congregation, Daoist group"

1.2.2.3.19.2. 運氣 ūn-khì "luck"

1.2.2.3.19.3. 修煉 su-liān "practice austerity, engage in religious

discipline practices"

1.2.2.3.20. 知識 ti-sik "intellectual"

1.2.2.3.20.1. 抽籤 thiu-tshiam "divination using stalks"

1.2.2.3.20.2. 戒規 kài-kui "precepts, rules"

1.2.2.3.21. 吃素 tsiah-tshài (食菜) "eating vegetarian food"

1.2.2.3.21.1. 靈氣 lîng-khì "numinous pneuma"

1.2.2.3.21.2. 祈福 kî-hok "pray for good fortune, pray to attain

some benefit"

1.2.2.3.21.3. 缺德 khuat-tik "lacking in moral, to be amoral,

ruthless, unscrupulous"

1.2.2.3.22. 人心向善 lîn-sim hiòng-siān "People's hearts turning to good"

1.2.2.3.22.1. 天地 thinn-tē "Heaven and Earth"

1.2.2.3.22.2. 虔信 khiân-sìn "piety, devotion"

1.2.2.3.22.3. 很窮 tsin kiông (真窮) "destitute, in poverty,

exhaustion of physical or mental resources"

1.2.2.3.22.4. 德才 tik-tsâi "ethical virtues and talent"

1.2.2.3.23. 廟宇 king-biō (宮廟) "temple"

1.2.2.3.23.1. 奉神 hōng-sîn "make offerings before the divinities"

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1.2.2.3.23.2.　　　　天尊 Thian Tsun "Heavenly Worthy"

1.2.2.3.23.3.　　　　治病 tī -pī nn "control illness, heal the sick"

1.2.2.3.23.4.　　　　作惡 tsok-ok "doing evil, harming"

1.2.2.4. In this section, I present the items of religious lexicon which are most often recognized by local lect communities as also bearing nonreligious meanings in other contexts, and present how these items become sacralized or religious.

1.2.2.4.1. The following items have demonstrated to lect users a "deeper meaning" or semantic intensification, which compels lect users to interpret the terms with reference to the DDY religious thought system.

1.2.2.4.1.1. 意思/意義 ì-sù/ì-gī "intent, meaning"

1.2.2.4.1.2. 需要/要求 su-iàu/iau-kiû "needs, requirements"

1.2.2.4.1.3. 智慧 tì-huī "wisdom"

1.2.2.4.1.4. 平安 pîng-an "peaceful, tranquil"

1.2.2.4.1.5. 太上 thài-siō ng "highest, greatest"

1.2.2.4.1.6. 知識 tsai-sik "knowledge, intellectual"

1.2.2.4.1.7. 宏大 hông-tā i "immensely great, vast"

1.2.2.4.1.8. 內外 lā i-guā "inside and out"

1.2.2.4.2. The following items are used as key terms in doctrinal discourse and instruction. Often these are used in a formulaic fashion.

1.2.2.4.2.1. 懷疑 huâi-gî "doubt, suspect"

1.2.2.4.2.2. 痛苦 thòng-khóo "suffering"

1.2.2.4.2.3. 教書 kà-tsheh (教冊) "teach, instruct on doctrine"

1.2.2.4.2.4. 解釋，解說 kái-sik, kái-sueh "explain, interpret, resolve, comment"

1.2.2.4.2.5. 有用 lōo-iōng "useful"

1.2.2.4.2.6. 化 huà "transformation, change, metamorphosis"

1.2.2.4.2.7. 引導 ín-tō "guide, lead, conduct"

1.2.2.4.2.8. 角度 kak-tōo "point of view"

1.2.2.4.2.9. 有效 ū-hāu "effective"

1.2.2.4.2.10.　　博大 phok-tāi "broad, extensive"

1.2.2.4.3. The following items become religious by virtue of most saliently appearing in ritual preparation and performance.

1.2.2.4.3.1. 安置 an-tì "install, seat, enthrone"

1.2.2.4.3.2. 安寧 an-lîng "peace, free of turmoil or war"

1.2.2.4.3.3. 寧靜 lîng-tsīng "serenity, tranquility"

1.2.2.4.3.4. 和平 hô-pîng "peace"

1.2.2.4.3.5. 參加 tsham-ka "add, increase"

1.2.2.4.3.6. 活動 uah-tāng "activity"

1.2.2.4.4. The following items shift away from immediate, pragmatic use to symbolic, transcendent use.

1.2.2.4.4.1. 寬廣 khuan-kóng "broad expanse, enormous in space"

1.2.2.4.4.2. 團體 thuân-thé "(social) group, social unit"

1.2.2.4.4.3. 代表 tā i-piáu "represent, symbolize"

1.2.2.4.4.4. 行為 hîng-uî "behavior"

1.2.2.4.4.5. 生／造成／創作 sing / tsō -sîng / tshòng-tsok "produce, give rise to, give birth to, bring about, create"

1.2.2.4.4.6. 來說/來看 láishuō /láikàn (MSC) "taking something from a certain point of view"

1.2.2.4.4.7. 得到 tit (得) "achieve, attain"

1.2.2.4.4.8. 創造 tshòng-tsō "create, produce, found"

1.2.2.4.4.9. 特別/特殊 tĭk-pia̍t/tĭk-sû "special, particular, extraordinary"

1.2.2.5. In this section I present conceptual connotations associated with religious lexical items with Daigi elements versus the same with MSC elements.

    1.2.2.5.1.　靜坐 "sit quietly, meditate, sit in tranquility"

        1.2.2.5.1.1.　Daigi influence: tsī ng-tsō . Connotations: Quietude, Reflection

        1.2.2.5.1.2.　MSC influence: jìngzuò. Connotations: Peace, Stillness

    1.2.2.5.2.　表示 "express, show, indicate"

        1.2.2.5.2.1.　Daigi influence: piáu-sī . Connotations: Evidence

        1.2.2.5.2.2.　MSC influence: bi ǎ oshì. Connotations: Expression

    1.2.2.5.3.　保身 "safeguarding the body"

        1.2.2.5.3.1.　Daigi influence: pó-sin. Connotations: Health

1.2.2.5.3.2. MSC influence: b ă oshē n. Connotations: Defense against

   supernatural

1.2.2.5.4. 混合 "blend, mix together, coalesce from chaos"

1.2.2.5.4.1. Daigi influence: hū n-ha̍p. Connotations: Synthesis

1.2.2.5.4.2. MSC influence: hùnhé. Connotations: Organization

1.2.2.5.5. 知識 "knowledge, intellectual"

1.2.2.5.5.1. Daigi influence: ti-sik. Connotations: Wisdom

1.2.2.5.5.2. MSC influence: zhī shi. Connotations: Categorization,

   Erudition

1.2.2.5.6. 拜拜 "veneration, prayer"

1.2.2.5.6.1. Daigi influence: pài-pài. Connotations: Group

1.2.2.5.6.2. MSC influence: bàibai. Connotations: Individual

1.2.2.5.7. 好運 "good luck"

1.2.2.5.7.1. Daigi influence: hó-ū n. Connotations: Change

1.2.2.5.7.2. MSC influence: h ă oyùn. Connotations: Attainment of Goal

1.2.2.5.8. 妖言 "words meant to lead astray or corrupt, blasphemy"

1.2.2.5.8.1. Daigi influence: iau-giân. Connotations: Long-lasting

1.2.2.5.8.2. MSC influence: yā oyán. Connotations: Heresy, Inimicality

1.2.2.5.9. 真理 "truth"

1.2.2.5.9.1. Daigi influence: tsin-lí. Connotations: Provisional

1.2.2.5.9.2. MSC influence: zhē nl ǐ . Connotations: Foundational

1.2.2.5.10. 神仙 "the divinities and transcendents"

1.2.2.5.10.1.   Daigi influence: sîn-sian. Connotations: Powerful

1.2.2.5.10.2.   MSC influence: shénxiā n. Connotations: Instructive

1.2.2.5.11. 奇妙 "wondrous, awesome, supernatural"

    1.2.2.5.11.1.   Daigi influence: kî-miā u. Connotations: Powerful

    1.2.2.5.11.2.   MSC influence: qímiào. Connotations: Fantastic

1.2.2.5.12. 品德 "moral character"

    1.2.2.5.12.1.   Daigi influence: phín-tik. Connotations: Rigid,

    Upstanding

    1.2.2.5.12.2.   MSC influence: p ǐ ndé. Connotations: Wise,

    Intellectual

1.2.2.5.13. 救苦 "provide succor to those who are suffering, save the

    suffering, help those in pain"

    1.2.2.5.13.1.   Daigi influence: kiù-khóo. Connotations: Social work,

    Inventiveness

    1.2.2.5.13.2.   MSC influence: jiùk ǔ . Connotations: Distasteful but

    necessary

1.2.2.5.14. 尊敬 "respect"

    1.2.2.5.14.1.   Daigi influence: tsun-kìng. Connotations: For elders

    1.2.2.5.14.2.   MSC influence: zū njìng. Connotations: Earned

1.2.2.5.15. 信仰 "belief"

    1.2.2.5.15.1.   Daigi influence: sìn-gióng. Connotations: Common

    attitude

1.2.2.5.15.2. MSC influence: xìnyăng. Connotations: Irrational, but not unreasonable

1.2.2.5.16. 算命 "fortune-telling"

1.2.2.5.16.1. Daigi influence: sǹg-miā. Connotations: Well-prepared

1.2.2.5.16.2. MSC influence: suànmìng. Connotations: Stress, Fragility

1.2.2.5.17. 德才 "ethical virtues and talent"

1.2.2.5.17.1. Daigi influence: tik-tsâi. Connotations: Ancient

1.2.2.5.17.2. MSC influence: décái. Connotations: Moral goodness

1.2.2.5.18. 活動 "activity"

1.2.2.5.18.1. Daigi influence: uảh-tāng. Connotations: Social work, ritual activity

1.2.2.5.18.2. MSC influence: huódòng. Connotations: Broad social event

1.2.2.5.19. 昇天 "ascend to the heavens"

1.2.2.5.19.1. Daigi influence: sing-thian. Connotations: Death

1.2.2.5.19.2. MSC influence: shēngtiān. Connotations: Literature

1.2.2.5.20. 作惡 "doing evil, harming"

1.2.2.5.20.1. Daigi influence: tsok-ok. Connotations: Crime

1.2.2.5.20.2. MSC influence: zuò'è. Connotations: Caricature, Reductionist

1.2.2.5.21. 元 "Prime, original, of the font"

    1.2.2.5.21.1.   Daigi influence: guân. Connotations: Cleanliness,

        Balance

    1.2.2.5.21.2.   MSC influence: yuán. Connotations: Monetary

1.2.2.5.22. 節 "festival, holiday"

    1.2.2.5.22.1.   Daigi influence: tsiat. Connotations: Strengthening

        community, Care

    1.2.2.5.22.2.   MSC influence: jié. Connotations: Gaiety, Regularity

1.2.2.5.23. 受傷 " suffer injury"

    1.2.2.5.23.1.   Daigi influence: siū -siong. Connotations: Spiritual,

        Regret

    1.2.2.5.23.2.   MSC influence: shòushā ng. Connotations: Physical

1.2.2.5.24. 吉利 "propitious, lucky and beneficial"

    1.2.2.5.24.1.   Daigi influence: kiat-lī . Connotations: Wealth

    1.2.2.5.24.2.   MSC influence: jílì. Connotations: Events

1.2.2.5.25. 魂魄 "cloudsouls and whitesouls"

    1.2.2.5.25.1.   Daigi influence: hûn-phik. Connotations: Death,

        Unease

    1.2.2.5.25.2.   MSC influence: húnpò. Connotations: Medicine,

        Study of premodern knowledge systems

1.2.2.5.26. 邪惡 "evil, wicked, twisted"

    1.2.2.5.26.1.   Daigi influence: siâ-ok. Connotations: Immoral

    1.2.2.5.26.2.   MSC influence: xié'è. Connotations: Feared

1.2.2.5.27. 道法 "the way of the Dao, practice of Daoism in the course of

one's life"

    1.2.2.5.27.1.   Daigi influence: Tō -huat. Connotations:

    Expansiveness

    1.2.2.5.27.2.   MSC influence: Dàof ǎ . Connotations: Propriety

1.2.2.5.28. 代表 "represent, symbolize"

    1.2.2.5.28.1.   Daigi influence: tā i-piáu. Connotations: Honor,

    Attention

    1.2.2.5.28.2.   MSC influence: dàibi ǎ o. Connotations: Abstraction

1.2.2.5.29. 燒紙 "burn ritual paper"

    1.2.2.5.29.1.   Daigi influence: sio-tsuá. Connotations: Succor

    1.2.2.5.29.2.   MSC influence: shā ozh ǐ . Connotations: Ritual

1.2.2.5.30. 正統 "traditional"

    1.2.2.5.30.1.   Daigi influence: tsìng-thóng. Connotations: Dignified

    1.2.2.5.30.2.   MSC influence: zhèngt ǒ ng. Connotations:

    Premodern

1.2.2.5.31. 宣講 "lecture about religious matter, promulgate teachings"

    1.2.2.5.31.1.   Daigi influence: suan-káng. Connotations: Powerful

    1.2.2.5.31.2.   MSC influence: xuā nji ǎ ng. Connotations: Useful

1.2.2.5.32. 吉祥 "auspicious"

    1.2.2.5.32.1.   Daigi influence: kiat-siông. Connotations: Lucky

    1.2.2.5.32.2.   MSC influence: jíxiáng. Connotations: Happy

1.2.2.5.33. 一體 "one in body, unitary in character"

    1.2.2.5.33.1.   Daigi influence: it-thé. Connotations: Strength

    1.2.2.5.33.2.   MSC influence: yī t ǐ. Connotations: Conceptual

        clarity

1.2.2.5.34. 風俗 "customs, mores, vulgar practice"

    1.2.2.5.34.1.   Daigi influence: hong-siok̍. Connotations: Continuity,

        Tradition

    1.2.2.5.34.2.   MSC influence: fē ngsú. Connotations: Interesting,

        Colorful

1.2.2.5.35. 祭禮 "ritual"

    1.2.2.5.35.1.   Daigi influence: tsè-lé. Connotations: Purpose

    1.2.2.5.35.2.   MSC influence: jìl ǐ. Connotations: Organization

1.2.2.5.36. 得到 "achieve, attain"

    1.2.2.5.36.1.   Daigi influence: tik-tò. Connotations: Comfort.

    1.2.2.5.36.2.   MSC influence: dédào. Connotations: Control

1.2.2.6. In this section, I present aspects of experience which religiolect speakers particularly attend to while using the DDY religiolect.

    1.2.2.6.1.   Emotiveness: The lect elements make the users feel they have a greater range of expressiveness and emotional impact to their language.

    1.2.2.6.2.   Ontological presence/substantiality: The lect elements give users better tools for discussing religious concepts which are not abstract,

such as the pragmatic benefits to society of aiding the poor through direct charitable work.

1.2.2.6.3.   Relativity: The lect elements give users better tools to approach moral relativity.

1.2.2.6.4.   Morality: The lect elements cause users to focus on morality in general, as a natural consequence of Daoist practices espoused by the DDY.

1.2.2.6.5.   Specificity: The lect elements allow users to feel that one has a more precise range of meaning to one's words.

1.2.2.6.6.   History: The lect elements have users focus on history, particularly the history of religious ideas and the history of the development of Daoism and its inroads into Taiwan, leading to the current form the DDY practices.

1.2.2.6.7.   Epistemology: The lect elements focus users on their judgment on issues of epistemology. Lect speakers often confront the ideas of the supernatural (especially held by those outside of the DDY community), and increasingly ask, whence does it, knowledge about it, and knowledge generated by it come from?

1.2.2.6.8.   Philosophy: The lect elements have users integrate abstract philosophical thought with pragmatic real life, though latter is valorized.

1.2.2.6.9.   Authority: The lect elements allow users to better question authority, in terms of the validity of religious ideas.

1.2.2.6.10. Society: The lect elements reinforce senses of belonging, community, and social identity.

1.2.2.6.11. Aesthetics: The lect elements increase the likelihood of users developing increased aesthetic senses.

1.2.2.6.12. Description: The lect elements give users greater descriptive richness or fullness, rendering them more capable of expressing themselves to their own satisfaction.

2. Yimin Miao

Next, I will present findings from the Yimin Miao temple community, beginning with spatial frameworks and moving on to conceptual frameworks.

2.1. Spatial Frameworks

Below, I present the spatial frameworks of thought affected by the use of the religiolect of the YMM. I will begin with the phonetic elements affecting spatial frameworks and continue with the lexical elements affecting spatial frameworks at the YMM.

2.1.1. Phonetic Elements

In this section, I discuss some ways in which phonetic elements of the YMM religiolect affected spatial frameworks.

2.1.1.1. In this section, I present some observed phonetic changes which lead to apparent reinforcement in 1) the perception of space as sacred, 2) redefinition of ritual spaces, or 3) sacralization of metaphorical space. Most of these refer to the use of Daigi pronunciation elements where Hakka pronunciation would be commonly used.

2.1.1.1.1.　上上下下 song^{24} song^{24} ha^{24} ha^{24} (song^{24} to siō ng): "Repeated comings and goings" appears in descriptions of the bustling activity of festivals.

2.1.1.1.2.　上背 song^{55} boi^{55} (song^{24} to siō ng): "Above" or "towards the north" sacralizes the south, with which the north is diametrically opposed.

2.1.1.1.3.　上當 song^{55} dong^{55} (song^{24} to siō ng): Meaning "suffer losses, be cheated", the spatial component of "upper" in Daigi appears when the context indicates some kind of comeuppance.

2.1.1.1.4.　上夜 song^{55} ia^{55} (song^{24} to siō ng): Meaning "night", increases focus on sacred space as it moves through time, such as ritual space as day transitions to night.

2.1.1.1.5.　上想 song^{55} xiong^{31} (song^{24} to siō ng): Meaning "upper arm", increases focus on physical effort as part of that which makes people able to become sacred.

2.1.1.1.6.　上面 song^{24} mien^{55} (song^{24} to siō ng): Meaning "upper part", appears to focus attention on divine soldiers and deities of the celestial bureacracy which the memorialized war dead have joined.

2.1.1.1.7.　在下 cai^{55} ha^{55} (ha^{55} to hē): Meaning "below", refers to the mundane or profane.

2.1.1.1.8.　底下 dai^{31} ha^{24} (ha^{24} to hē): Meaning "underneath, underground", refers to the mundane or profane.

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2.1.1.1.9.　當下 dong^{24} ha^{55} (ha^{55} to hē): Meaning "at that time", refers to non-sacralized time in an otherwise sacred time context (such as the process of carrying out rituals for a festival).

2.1.1.1.10.　降下 gong^{55} ha^{24} (ha^{24} to hē): Meaning "fall down", increases focus on favor bestowed from deities.

2.1.1.1.11.　下身 ha^{24} siin^{24} (ha^{55} to hē): Meaning "lower body", decreases focus on the reproductive organs for which this term is often a euphemism, instead focusing on kneeling and other acts of reverence and obeisance.

2.1.1.1.12.　現下 hien^{55} ha^{55} (ha^{55} to hē): Meaning "now" or "at this time", involves a feeling of communal striving.

2.1.1.1.13.　中意 zung^{55} i^{55} (zung^{55} to tiong): Meaning "satisfied", focuses on aims or results of religious practices.

2.1.1.1.14.　中央 dung^{24} ong^{24} (dung^{24} to tiong): Meaning "central", focuses on the temple itself and the abstract martial concepts which the temple community holds as founding principles.

2.1.1.1.15.　空中 kung^{24} zung^{24} (zung^{24} to tiong): Meaning "in the sky", decreases focus on sacred loci, such as the heavens and the domains of deities.

2.1.1.1.16.　命中 miang^{55} zung^{55} (zung^{55} to tiong): Meaning "hit the target", appears in contexts of successfully completing or preparing for ritual practices.

2.1.1.1.17. 中原 zung^{24} ngien^{11} (zung^{24} to tiong): Meaning "Central Plains", appears in the context of communal identity, both as Hakka and as Hakka which have integrated into Taiwanese society.

2.1.1.1.18. 內行 nui^{55} hong^{11} (nui^{55} to lā i): Meaning "expert", refers to experts in religious doctrine, or, more commonly, community and temple history.

2.1.1.1.19. 內外 nui^{55} ngoi^{55} (nui^{55} to lā i): Meaning "within and without" or "self and others", focuses on contrasting the YMM and its community with the surrounding Kaohsiung and Taiwan-at-large communities.

2.1.1.1.20. 內地 nui^{55} ti^{55} (nui^{55} to lā i): Meanng "inland", refers to Hakka struggles with getting poor-quality land away from the coasts, and the narrative of those troubles being alleviated as the Daigi-speaking peoples become more open and welcoming, so that Hakka society better integrated.

2.1.1.1.21. 過後 go^{55} heu^{55} (heu^{55} to hiō): Meaning "after", the metaphorical space for the temporal term becomes sacralized.

2.1.1.1.22. 後尾 heu^{55} mi^{24} (heu^{55} to hiō): Meaning "rear", refers to ritual field sections.

2.1.1.1.23. 後人 heu^{55} ngin^{11} (heu^{55} to hiō): Meaning "person belonging to later generation", this appears in the context of the Hakka generations after the sacrifice of the soldiers who have the name to the temple.

2.1.1.1.24. 後代 heu^{55} toi^{55} (heu^{55} to hiō): Meaning "later generations", this appears in the context of the Hakka generations after the sacrifice of the soldiers who have the name to the temple.

2.1.1.1.25. 事後 sii^{55} heu^{55} (heu^{55} to hiō): Meaning "after (an event, affair, occurence)", appears in reference to the time after a festival or temple celebration.

2.1.1.1.26. 虛空 hi^{24} kung^{24} (kung^{24} to khong): Meaning "emptiness", sacralizes space of other temples, especially those being visited by a YMM contingent.

2.1.1.1.27. 空空 kung^{24} kung^{24} (kung^{24} to khong): Meaning "completely devoid, totally empty", refers to profane space.

2.1.1.1.28. 空中 kung^{24} zung^{24} (kung^{24} to khong): Meaning "in the sky", appears in practical discussion of divine loci.

2.1.1.1.29. 外表 ngoi^{55} beu^{31} (ngoi^{55} to guā): Meaning "exterior, surface", appears in discussion of the seeming practicality of YMM religious viewpoints, which are perceived to be more less abstract than stereotypical views of Daoism.

2.1.1.1.30. 外觀 ngoi^{55} gon^{24} (ngoi^{55} to guā): Meaning "superficial appearance", appears in discussion of the seeming practicality of YMM religious viewpoints, which are perceived to be more less abstract than stereotypical views of Daoism.

2.1.1.1.31. 外行 ngoi^{55} hong^{11} (ngoi^{55} to guā): Meaning "inexperienced", appears in discussions of some modern skeptic understandings of religious practices.

2.1.1.1.32. 上 (song^{24} to siō ng): As part of a compound, "Above", appears when divine space enters the discussion.

2.1.1.1.33. 下 (ha^{24} to hē): As part of a compound, "Below", appears when a religious sense of humility enters the discussion, in terms of prostrations.

2.1.1.1.34. 中 (zung^{55} to tiong): As part of a compound, "Center", appears in reference to the main branch of the YMM temple.

2.1.1.1.35. 內 (nui^{55} to lā i): As part of a compound, "Inner", appears in discussion interior of the main hall.

2.1.1.1.36. 北 (bed^{2} to pok): As part of a compound, "North", appears in reference to the temples of northern Taiwan.

2.1.1.1.37. 南 (nam^{11} to lâm): As part of a compound, "South", appears in reference to the Kaohsiung and Pingtung area religious centers.

2.1.1.1.38. 後 (heu^{55} to hiō): As part of a compound, "Behind", appears to be related to the rear of ritual spaces.

2.1.1.1.39. 外 (ngoi^{55} to guā): As part of a compound, "Outer", appears in reference to profane space.

2.1.1.1.40. 東 (dung^{24} to tong): As part of a compound, "East", appears in reference to Taiwan itself as a new Hakka sacred center.

2.1.1.1.41. 空 (kung²⁴ to khong): As part of a compound, "Empty", appears in reference to profane space.

2.1.1.1.42. 西 (xi²⁴ to se): As part of a compound, "West", appears in reference to religious centers of Hokkien-speaking peoples across the Taiwan Strait.

2.1.1.2. In this section, I present some terms which are homophonous with common spatial terms and which form part of networks of association with those terms, appearing together or appearing connected in the minds of religiolect speakers. These terms appear to be activated together, the topmost of the list more often than those below. In the religiolect, elements appearing in networks of association are found either through interviews or observing word play, poetic use of language, or increased frequency of linked appearance. That these words or logographs are in associative networks in the religiolect mean that they are subject to being conceptually grouped, in contrast with lects surrounding the religiolect.

2.1.1.2.1. 上 song⁵⁵ "Upper"

2.1.1.2.1.1. 尚 "Revere, Value"

2.1.1.2.1.2. 喪 "Defeated"

2.1.1.2.2. 中 dung²⁴ "Center (of the directions)"

2.1.1.2.2.1. 冬 "Winter"

2.1.1.2.2.2. 東 "East"

2.1.1.2.3. 中 zung²⁴ "Center"

2.1.1.2.3.1. 宗 "Lineage, Sect"

2.1.1.2.3.2. 忠 "Loyalty"

2.1.1.2.3.3. 終 "End"

2.1.1.2.4.　北 bed^2 "North"

2.1.1.2.4.1. 迫 "Force"

2.1.1.2.4.2. 逼 "Compel"

2.1.1.2.5.　南 nam^{11} "South"

2.1.1.2.5.1. 男 "Male, Man"

2.1.1.2.6.　後 heu^{55} "Behind"

2.1.1.2.6.1. 厚 "Thickness, Amount"

2.1.1.2.6.2. 候 "Await, Inquire after"

2.1.1.2.7.　東 dung^{24} "East"

2.1.1.2.7.1. 冬 "Winter"

2.1.1.2.7.2. 中 "Center"

2.1.1.2.8.　西 xi^{24} "West"

2.1.1.2.8.1. 篩 "Seive"

2.1.1.2.8.2. 絲 "Silk"

2.1.1.2.8.3. 須 "Have to, Must"

2.1.1.2.8.4. 需 "Require"

2.1.1.3.　In this section I present key spatial lexicon using Hakka phonological

elements, and their effects on spatial frameworks.

2.1.1.3.1.   上 song[55]: The term for "above" directs the lect user to ritual

space, owing especially to the physical structure of the temple (with

imposing stairs leading up to the temple itself, towering over the

street level).

2.1.1.3.2.   下 ha[24]: The term for "below", in its similarity to Daigi

pronunciations, appears most salient in nonritual situations, in fact

suggesting a sense of profane space (especially the temple as a place

in the city and host to a locally popular night market).

2.1.1.3.3.   中 zung[24]: The term for "center" has three pronunciations as it

appears in the Hakka of the YMM, but this is the most salient. When

using Hakka phonological elements, this term brings the user to

focus on the newfound sense of place for the Hakka community

(relative to the Hakka narrative of displacement from the Central

Plains in the context of historical time).

2.1.1.3.4.   位 vi[55]: The term for "place" appears especially in ritual situations,

for heirarchy and physical placement of ritual participants.

2.1.1.3.5.   內 nui[55]: In an otherwise Daigi environment, the term for "inner"

is used to suggest emotional closeness, tenderness, and nostalgia

linked to a particular place.

2.1.1.3.6.   北 bed[2]: The term for "north" brings the lect users to think of the

geography of Taiwan, especially the home temple of which YMM is

a branch.

2.1.1.3.7. 南 nam[11]: The term for "south" connotes the Hakka communities in the area, especially Meinung in Kaohsiung city (formerly a city in Kaohsiung's county, now an administrative region within the greatly expanded city borders).

2.1.1.3.8. 後 heu[55]: The term for "behind" appears in ritual and festival situations as particularly salient.

2.1.1.3.9. 外 ngo[55]: The term for "outer" appears most salient in discussions of those outside the community. However, there is no separation between Hakka and Daigi community in this conception, as the Hakka feel integrated with their Daigi neighbors. However, there is still a sense of MSC-speaking northerners being outside of the community.

2.1.1.3.10. 東 dung[24]: In an otherwise Daigi environment, "east" connotes the mountainous center and thus martial themes of resistance fighting and warfare which form the central narrative for the reason of the YMM's existence. Though the fighting didnt occur east of Kaohsiung, the homology between the mountain terrains in which the fighting did occur is enough to trigger the spatial framework.

2.1.1.3.11. 次 cii[55]: The term for "next" mostly appears in ritual situations.

2.1.1.3.12. 空 kung[24]: The term for "empty" has no philosophical connotations, instead appearing in ritual situations as a negative term; the concept of filled space is valorized.

2.1.1.3.13. 虛 hi[24]: The term for "void" appears to be slightly pejorative, as useless or obliquely referencing philosophies with which the people of the YMM have little concern.

2.1.1.3.14. 西 xi[24]: The term for "west" largely appears in context of "foreign", as a conceptual abbreviation for Euro-American. However, it also appears in discussions of Buddhism.

2.1.1.3.15. 遠 ien[31]: The term for "far" is linked to discussions of courage and martial skill, as both the physical distance the troops after which the YMM is named had to travel and the metaphorical distance went to prove their loyalty.

2.1.1.3.16. 間 gien[24]: The term for "space" is a positive term associated with fullness, bustling, lively ritual, festivals, and general participation in temple life.

2.1.2. **Lexical Elements**

In the next few sections, I present some ways lexical elements affect spatial frameworks in the YMM:

2.1.2.1. In this section, I present some effects Hakka lexemes have on the schematization of space in the YMM religiolect, such as which metaphorical frames are activated, how habitual thought about space is reshaped, and how space is schematized differently within the religiolect.

2.1.2.1.1. Cardinal directions (east, west, south, north, and center): Hakka is more prevalent for the here-and-now, for directions in real physical space.

2.1.2.1.2.　上 "Above" : Appears mostly in temporal metaphors.

2.1.2.1.3.　下 "Down": Down is mostly locative.

2.1.2.1.4.　中 "Center": Center is where safety lies and where loyalty is found (conceptually). The "Importance is Centrality" metaphorical frame is activated.

2.1.2.1.5.　內 "Within: Within is protected space. Within is part of the group encirclement. Within is in the conceptual protected martial area. Within is font of courage. Activates the metaphorical frame "Importance is Interiority".

2.1.2.1.6.　外 "Without": Outside is where the enemy is, but mostly in narrative or sacred space terms. Outside if the conceptual location of treason.

2.1.2.1.7.　空 "Empty": Empty space is the locus for the battlefield, and also conceptually space for allies to occupy. Empty space is pregnant with potential when speaking of the space in which a ritual field is to be set up.

2.1.2.1.8.　Influential to the discussion of spatial reference objects and frames are proximity to sacred places within the temple (and the temple itself), salience of the object or frame (how much it catches one's attention), and permanence in the cultural schema to which a lect user adheres.

2.1.2.1.9.　Borders, when discussed, are much less fluid and inexact than outside of the religiolect.

2.1.2.1.10. When orienting oneself in space within temple grounds, the axes of space are organized around concentric circles as well as the imagine boundaries of the Hakka diaspora.

2.1.2.1.11. There is continuity between imagined sacred space and physical space.

2.1.2.1.12. There is a greater activation of the "Longterm Purposeful Change is a Journey" metaphorical frame.

2.1.2.1.13. There is a greater activation of the "Treating illness is fighting a war" metaphorical frame.

2.1.2.1.14. There is a greater activation of the "Difficulties are Impediments to Travel" metaphorical frame.

2.1.2.1.15. There is less reference to environmental landmarks (such as 'sky', 'mountain', etc.) in and around the temple area, but more so in sacred narratives.

2.1.2.1.16. During festivals and rituals, there is a greater reliance on abstract relational nouns (such as 'surface' and 'interior').

2.1.2.2. In this section, I present lexemes which are in semantic networks of association with spatial terms. These lexemes appear together or appear connected in the minds of YMM religiolect users more than with surrounding lect users. These lexemes activate concepts within their basic semantic ranges together, mutually reinforcing connections with one another and channeling respective conceptualizations together.

2.1.2.2.1. 上 song[55] "Above"

2.1.2.2.1.1. 氣 hi^{55} "Pneuma"

2.1.2.2.1.2. 去 hi^{55} "Go"

2.1.2.2.2.　下 ha^{24} "Under"

2.1.2.2.2.1. 常 song^{11} "Constant"

2.1.2.2.2.2. 統 tung^{31} "Altogether"

2.1.2.2.3.　中 zung^{24} "Center"

2.1.2.2.3.1. 頭 teu^{11} "Head, Beginning"

2.1.2.2.3.2. 思 sii^{24} "Thought"

2.1.2.2.4.　位 vi^{55} "Place"

2.1.2.2.4.1. 友 iu^{24} "Friend"

2.1.2.2.4.2. 清 qin^{24} "Pure"

2.1.2.2.5.　內 nui^{55} "Within"

2.1.2.2.5.1. 到 do^{55} "Arrive"

2.1.2.2.5.2. 明 min^{11} "Bright"

2.1.2.2.6.　北 bed^{2} "North"

2.1.2.2.6.1. 為 vi^{11} "Do, Enact"

2.1.2.2.6.2. 真 ziin^{24} "True"

2.1.2.2.7.　南 nam^{11} "South"

2.1.2.2.7.1. 謝 qia^{55} "Thanks"

2.1.2.2.7.2. 飛 bi^{24} "Fly"

2.1.2.2.8.　後 heu^{55} "Behind"

　　2.1.2.2.8.1. 得 ded^{2} "obtain"

　　2.1.2.2.8.2. 始 cii^{31} "Commencement"

2.1.2.2.9.　外 ngo^{55} "Without"

　　2.1.2.2.9.1. 反 fan^{31} "Back, Invert"

　　2.1.2.2.9.2. 流 liu^{11} "Flow"

2.1.2.2.10.　東 dung^{24} "East"

　　2.1.2.2.10.1.　　換 von^{55} "Exchange"

　　2.1.2.2.10.2.　　華 fa^{11} "Efflorescent"

2.1.2.2.11.　次 cii^{55} "Next"

　　2.1.2.2.11.1.　　機 gi^{24} "Mechanism"

　　2.1.2.2.11.2.　　指 zii^{31} "Indicate"

2.1.2.2.12.　空 kung^{24} "Empty"

　　2.1.2.2.12.1.　　近 kiun^{24} "Near"

　　2.1.2.2.12.2.　　章 zong^{24} "Section"

2.1.2.2.13.　虛 hi^{24} "Void"

　　2.1.2.2.13.1.　　精 jin^{24} "Essence"

　　2.1.2.2.13.2.　　變 bien^{55} "Change"

2.1.2.2.14.　西 xi^{24} "West"

　　2.1.2.2.14.1.　　滿 man^{24} "Plenitude"

2.1.2.2.14.2.   失 siid² "Loss"

2.1.2.2.15. 遠 ien³¹ "Far"

     2.1.2.2.15.1.   少 seu³¹ "Few"

     2.1.2.2.15.2.   師 sii²⁴ "Master"

2.1.2.2.16. 間 gien²⁴ "Space"

     2.1.2.2.16.1.   進 jin⁵⁵ "Enter"

     2.1.2.2.16.2.   語 ngi²⁴ "Speech, Language"

2.1.2.3. In this section I present religion-associated conceptions that are activated with the use of Hakka spatial term elements in the YMM religiolect.

     2.1.2.3.1.   Group: In terms of community, Hakka elements recall lect users to the idea of being in a Hakka comunity - an enclosure, as part of the overall "guest" identity of displacement and diaspora -while at the same time being integrated into larger society.

     2.1.2.3.2.   Battlefield: Space becomes reconceptualized in narratives as te mythical locus of battle.

     2.1.2.3.3.   Community space: The community is itself a community within a community, because of the southerner's Daigi-speaking community into which the YMM Hakka have integrated is one separate from that of the government, politics, economy, and education.

     2.1.2.3.4.   Social space: There is focus on the ideas of resurgence, regrowth, and recuperation from the precipice of disaster, both literally in the terms of a rebellion suppressed and metaphorically in terms of the

only-recently-reversed trend of the elimination of Hakka language and culture in Taiwan.

2.1.2.3.5. Moral space: There is emphasis on clear-cut moral traits in the context of religious space, such as virtue, morality, courage, uprightness, and steadfastness.

2.1.2.3.6. Profane space: The YMM community is quite securely in the secular, real world. The reason for the temple's existence is the remembrance of real heroes, even if one does not consider them apothesized.

2.1.2.3.7. Mythical space: The local area around the temple is embedded in mythical space, such that divine soldiery combating demons mirrors the battles between the Hakka volunteer irregulars and the rebellious uprising in real space.

2.1.2.3.8. Ritual space: Rituals and religious performance space becomes a heavily Hakka language space.

2.1.2.3.9. Systematicity of Space: There is a very firm, bounded, and real conception of physical space among the lect users.

2.1.2.3.10. Dao: The Dao is conceived of in the "here and now", as a metaphorical path to morality, instead of the more abstract concepts of the Daode Jing.

2.1.2.4. In this section I present lexical items, of a seemingly mundane or "nonreligious" nature, which have YMM religiolect users think of space differently than surrounding lect users. These spatial-related lexical items bring practitioners to spatial thought frameworks in 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.3. :

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2.1.2.4.1.　上 song^{24} : "Above"

2.1.2.4.2.　上工 song^{24} gung^{24} : "Begin working"

2.1.2.4.3.　上心 song^{24} xim^{24} : "Removing the core from vegetables and fruits"

2.1.2.4.4.　上進 song^{55} jin^{55} : "Strive to improve"

2.1.2.4.5.　上流 song^{55} liu^{11} : "Superior, respectable"

2.1.2.4.6.　下 ha^{55} : "Below"

2.1.2.4.7.　打天下 da^{31} tien^{24} ha^{55} : "Breaking new ground"

2.1.2.4.8.　底下 dai^{31} ha^{24} : "Underground"

2.1.2.4.9.　當下 dong^{24} ha^{55} : "At that time"

2.1.2.4.10. 降下 gong^{55} ha^{24} : "Descend, fall"

2.1.2.4.11. 下令 ha^{55} lin^{55} : "Transmitting orders or directives"

2.1.2.4.12. 做下 zo^{55} ha^{55} : "All, entire"

2.1.2.4.13. 中 zung^{55} : "Center"

2.1.2.4.14. 命中 miang^{55} zung^{55} : "On target"

2.1.2.4.15. 眼中 ngien^{31} zung^{24} : "In one's eyes"

2.1.2.4.16. 中意 zung^{55} i^{55} : "Self-satisfied"

2.1.2.4.17. 中央 zung^{24} iong^{24} : "Central"

2.1.2.4.18. 內 nui^{55} : "Inner"

2.1.2.4.19. 內行 nui^{55} hong^{11} : "Expert"

2.1.2.4.20. 內容 nui^{55} iung^{11} : "Content"

2.1.2.4.21. 內外 nui^{55} ngoi^{55} : "Inner and outer, all"

2.1.2.4.22. 內心 nui^{55} xim^{24} : "Inner thoughts, inner feelings"

2.1.2.4.23. 內地 nui^{55} ti^{55} : "Inland"

2.1.2.4.24. 北 bed^2 : "North"

2.1.2.4.25. 北極 bed^2 kid^5 : "Utmost north; (a constellation)"

2.1.2.4.26. 北部 bed^2 pu^{55} : "Northern sections"

2.1.2.4.27. 後 heu^{55} : "Behind"

2.1.2.4.28. 後門 heu^{55} mun^{11} : "Back door"

2.1.2.4.29. 後尾 heu^{55} mi^{24} : "Rear"

2.1.2.4.30. 後世 heu^{55} sii^{55} : "Later generations"

2.1.2.4.31. 隨後 sui^{11} heu^{55} : "Aforementioned"

2.1.2.4.32. 先後 xien^{24} heu^{55} : "Connected beginning to end"

2.1.2.4.33. 外 ngoi^{55} : "Outer"

2.1.2.4.34. 外表 ngoi^{55} beu^{31} : "Outer appearances"

2.1.2.4.35. 外形 ngoi^{55} hin^{11} : "External form"

2.1.2.4.36. 外傷 ngoi^{55} song^{24} : "Exterior injury"

2.1.2.4.37. 外地 ngoi^{55} ti^{55} : "Outside"

2.1.2.4.38. 空 kung^{24} : "Empty"

2.1.2.4.39. 空話 kung^{24} fa^{55} : "Nonsense"

2.1.2.4.40. 空談 kung^{24} tam^{11} : "Discussion without implementation"

2.1.2.4.41. 空頭 kung^{24} teu^{11} : "Not actual, not real"

2.1.2.4.42. 空心 kung^{24} xim^{24} : "Empty at the core"

2.1.2.4.43. 空中 kung^{24} zung^{24} : "In the sky"

2.1.2.4.44. 虛 hi^{24} : "Void"

2.1.2.4.45. 虛空 hi^{24} kung^{24} : "Emptiness"

2.1.2.4.46. 虛弱 hi^{24} ngiog^{5} : "Weak, feeble"

2.1.2.4.47. 心虛 xim^{24} hi^{24} : "The fear or disquietude which comes from

knowing one is in the wrong"

2.1.2.4.48. 遠 ien^{31} : "Far"

2.1.2.4.49. 當遠 dong^{24} ien^{31} : "Quite far"

2.1.2.4.50. 間 im^{24} : "Space, amidst"

2.1.2.4.51. 陰間 im^{24} gien^{24} : "the supernatural realms"

2.1.2.4.52. 陽間 iong^{11} gien^{24} : "The human world"

2.1.2.4.53. 民間 min^{11} gien^{24} : "Among the people; popular"

2.1.2.4.54. 世間 sii^{55} gien^{24} : "The profane world, the secular world"

2.1.2.4.55. 長間 cong^{11} gien^{24} : "Often, frequently"

2.1.2.5. In this section, I present spatial terms and idioms of a more readily

discernible (by lect users themselves) as religious or related to religious

thought. These terms and idioms appeared directly in didactic or ritual

situations, and were co-opted in other forms of language use as well. In

appearing outside of didactic and ritual situations, YMM religiolect users

were able to tie these lexical items in to the terms as they were previously encountered in religious contexts, activating networks of religious meaning even as terms were used outside of the religious context.

2.1.2.5.1.　馬上 ma^{24} song^{55} "Immediately"

2.1.2.5.2.　無上無下 mo^{11} song^{55} mo^{11} ha^{55} "Causing a scene, ostentatiously disobeying"

2.1.2.5.3.　七上八落 qid^2 song^{24} bad^2 log^5 "Being on an emotional rollercoaster; emotional ups and downs"

2.1.2.5.4.　上神桌 song^{24} siin^{11} zog^2 "To be placed upon the spirit tablet (euphemism for death)"

2.1.2.5.5.　上上下下 song^{24} song^{24} ha^{24} ha^{24} "Comings and goings"

2.1.2.5.6.　雪上加霜 xied^2 song^{55} ga^{24} song^{24} "Adding frost to snow (analogous to "when it rains, it pours")"

2.1.2.5.7.　共下 kiung^{55} ha^{55} "Together"

2.1.2.5.8.　頭下 teu^{11} ha^{55} "Just now"

2.1.2.5.9.　地底下 ti^{55} dai^{31} ha^{24} "Underground"

2.1.2.5.10. 雪中送炭 xied^2 zung^{24} sung^{55} tan^{55} "Sending charcoal during the snowfall (meaning "giving aid during a time of crisis")"

2.1.2.5.11. 中等 zung^{24} den^{31} "Middle rank, Middle level"

2.1.2.5.12. 內部 nui^{55} pu^{55} "Inner portion, Inner section"

2.1.2.5.13. 內傷 nui^{55} song^{24} "Internal injury"

2.1.2.5.14. 後悔 heu^{55} fi^{31} "Regret"

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2.1.2.5.15. 後年 heu^{24} ngien^{11} "Later years"

2.1.2.5.16. 後生 heu^{55} sang^{24} "Born later; younger"

2.1.2.5.17. 先後 xien^{24} heu^{55} "Before and after"

2.1.2.5.18. 先小人後君子 xien^{24} seu^{31} ngin^{11} heu^{55} giun^{24} zii^{31} "First a nobody, then a lord"

2.1.2.5.19. 爭先恐後 zang^{24} xien^{24} kiung^{31} heu^{55} "Striving to be first, fearing to be last (meaning to push for progress for fear of being left behind the competition)"

2.1.2.5.20. 以外 i^{24} ngoi^{55} "In addition to..."

2.1.2.5.21. 例外 li^{55} ngoi^{55} "Aside from (this) example"

2.1.2.5.22. 外莊 ngoi^{55} zong^{24} "Outside of (this) area"

2.1.2.5.23. 內外 nui^{55} ngoi^{55} "Inner and outer, inside and out"

2.1.2.5.24. 空頭 kung^{24} teu^{11} "Not actual, not real"

2.1.2.5.25. 兩頭空 liong^{31} teu^{11} kung^{24} "Both parties emerge empty-handed (from negotiation, etc.)"

2.1.2.5.26. 人愛靈通，火愛窿空 ngin^{11} oi^{55} lin^{11} tung^{24}，fo^{31} oi^{55} lung^{11} kung^{24} "Man is to be flexible in many situations, just as fire is to have air (in order to burn well). Meant as an exhortation to not be obstinate or stubborn in following certain ways of doing things"

2.1.2.5.27. 差得遠 ca^{24} ded^{2} ien^{31} "To miss the mark by a long shot"

2.1.2.5.28. 久遠 giu^{31} ien^{31} "Long ago, A long time"

2.1.2.5.29. 遠親 ien^{31} qin^{24} "Distant relatives"

2.1.2.5.30. 天遠路頭 tien^{24} ien^{31} lu^{55} teu^{11} "Roads as far as the heavens"

2.1.2.5.31. 天遠地遠 tien^{24} ien^{31} ti^{55} ien^{31} "Heaven is far, (that) place is far. Refers to very distance places."

2.1.2.5.32. 凡間 fam^{11} gien^{24} "Secular world, profane world"

2.1.2.6. In this section I present basic connotations of spatial terms encountered in written language in the YMM religiolect versus surrounding lects, particularly Daigi. These connotations appear to direct the thought of lect users to the subjects mentioned, or are mentioned in conjunction with those subjects more frequently.

2.1.2.6.1. 上 "Above"

2.1.2.6.1.1. Religiolect: Divine loci, heavens, virtues

2.1.2.6.1.2. Surrounding lects: Superiority

2.1.2.6.2. 下 "Beneath"

2.1.2.6.2.1. Religiolect: Disloyalty

2.1.2.6.2.2. Surrounding lects: Physical position

2.1.2.6.3. 中 "Center"

2.1.2.6.3.1. Religiolect: Ancestral homeland

2.1.2.6.3.2. Surrounding lects: Culture

2.1.2.6.4. 位 "Position"

2.1.2.6.4.1. Religiolect: Ritual

2.1.2.6.4.2. Surrounding lects: Rank

2.1.2.6.5.　內 "Inner"

    2.1.2.6.5.1. Religiolect: Trust

    2.1.2.6.5.2. Surrounding lects: Safety

2.1.2.6.6.　北 "North"

    2.1.2.6.6.1. Religiolect: Ancestral homeland, friends

    2.1.2.6.6.2. Surrounding lects: Government

2.1.2.6.7.　南 "South"

    2.1.2.6.7.1. Religiolect: Tranquility

    2.1.2.6.7.2. Surrounding lects: Tradition

2.1.2.6.8.　後 "Behind"

    2.1.2.6.8.1. Religiolect: Continuity

    2.1.2.6.8.2. Surrounding lects: Physical position

2.1.2.6.9.　外 "Outer"

    2.1.2.6.9.1. Religiolect: Rebellion

    2.1.2.6.9.2. Surrounding lects: Foreign

2.1.2.6.10. 東 "East"

    2.1.2.6.10.1.　　Religiolect: Hard-working

    2.1.2.6.10.2.　　Surrounding lects: Intelligence

2.1.2.6.11. 空 "Empty"

    2.1.2.6.11.1.　　Religiolect: Useless

    2.1.2.6.11.2.　　Surrounding lects: Air, space

2.1.2.6.12. 虛 "Void"

2.1.2.6.12.1.   Religiolect: Impractical

2.1.2.6.12.2.   Surrounding lects: Not useful

2.1.2.6.13. 西 "West"

2.1.2.6.13.1.   Religiolect: Homeland

2.1.2.6.13.2.   Surrounding lects: Striving

2.1.2.6.14. 遠 "Far"

2.1.2.6.14.1.   Religiolect: Willpower

2.1.2.6.14.2.   Surrounding lects: Physical distance

2.1.2.6.15. 間 "Space"

2.1.2.6.15.1.   Religiolect: Ritual space

2.1.2.6.15.2.   Surrounding lects: Time

2.2. **Conceptual Frameworks**

Below, I present the religious conceptual frameworks of thought affected by the use

of the religiolect of the YMM. I will begin with the phonetic elements affecting

conceptual frameworks and continue with the lexical elements affecting conceptual

frameworks at the YMM.:

2.2.1. **Phonetic Elements**

In this section, I discuss some ways in which phonetic elements of the YMM

religiolect affected conceptual frameworks.

2.2.1.1. Though the YMM is fundamentally a Hakka temple, the physical

location of the temple is in a predominantly Daigi-speaking area. While it

is true that there is a strong Hakka community in the area, in this part of

Kaohsiung the Hakka people have integrated well and thus use Daigi

comfortably, with some of the younger generation having lost some ability to use Hakka. At the YMM, Hakka is used in many of the rituals themselves, but Daigi may be heard often in many other contexts. With the frequent contact between and sometimes imperfect mastery of Hakka, Daigi, and even MSC, there are times when substitution errors occur. As with the DDY, these errors do not appear systematically but rather occasionally. I present here some of the phonetic transformations from Chapter 4, and what they mean for the construction of conceptual frameworks.

2.2.1.1.1. In this section, I present substitutions from Hakka elements to MSC elements.

2.2.1.1.1.1. Substitution of [-i] to [-e I] (Example: 未): Appeared in discussions which could be construed as political.

2.2.1.1.1.2. Substitution of [- ɛ n] to [-ɤ ŋ] (Example: 甥): Appeared when interacting with groups or representatives from other temples.

2.2.1.1.1.3. Substitution of [-ə i] to [-we I] (Example: 灰): Appeared in discussions which could be construed as political.

2.2.1.1.1.4. Substitution of [-ut] to [-y] (Example: 屈): Appeared when interacting with groups or representatives from other temples.

2.2.1.1.1.5. Substitution of [tsʰ-] to [tʂ-] (Example: 丈): Appeared when focusing on historical narrative.

2.2.1.1.1.6. Substitution of [-iuŋ] to [-ioŋ] (Example: 勇): Appeared in potentially stressful contexts.

2.2.1.1.1.7. Substitution of [- ɛ p] to [-ɤ] (Example: 浙): Appeared when focusing on historical narrative.

2.2.1.1.1.8. Substitution of [-ut] to [-u] (Example: 勿): Appeared in potentially stressful contexts.

2.2.1.1.1.9. Substitution of [-ə] to [-ɤ] (Example: 可): Appeared when interacting with groups or representatives from other temples.

2.2.1.1.1.10. Substitution of [-ui] to [-eɪ] (Example: 淚): Appeared in discussions which could be construed as political.

2.2.1.1.1.11. Substitution of [tsʰ-] to [tɕʰ-] (Example: 七): Appeared in potentially stressful contexts.

2.2.1.1.2. In this section, I present substitutions from MSC elements to Hakka elements.

2.2.1.1.2.1. Substitution of [-iŋ] to [-aŋ] (Example: 拎): Appeared when audience expected could be expected to find the subject matter very familiar.

2.2.1.1.2.2. Substitution of [-ə n] to [-ʅn] (Example: 身): Appeared in the context of strong emotion.

2.2.1.1.2.3. Substitution of [ʐ-], [ɻ-] to [Ø-] (Example: 然): Appeared in the context of strong emotion.

2.2.1.1.2.4. Substitution of [-wan] to [-an] (Example: 完): Appeared when audience expected could be expected to find the subject matter very familiar.

2.2.1.1.2.5. Substitution of [- a ŋ] to [- ɔ ŋ] (Example: 郎): Appeared during ritual performance.

2.2.1.1.2.6. Substitution of [-o ʊ] to [-u] (Example: 州): Appeared when interacting with a majority of other Hakka speakers.

2.2.1.1.2.7. Substitution of [-yn] to [-un] (Example: 唇): Appeared when focusing on historical narrative.

2.2.1.1.2.8. Substitution of [tɕʰ-] to [tsh-] (Example: 千): Appeared in the context of strong emotion.

2.2.1.1.2.9. Substitution of [tʂʰ-] to [s-] (Example: 丞): Appeared during ritual performance.

2.2.1.1.2.10.   Substitution of [-ä ʊ] to [-ə] (Example: 早): Appeared when audience expected could be expected to find the subject matter very familiar.

2.2.1.1.3.   In this section, I present substitutions from Hakka elements to literary Daigi (文) elements.

2.2.1.1.3.1. Substitution of [-au] to [-ə] (Example: 鼇): Appeared when interacting with groups or representatives from other temples.

2.2.1.1.3.2. Substitution of [- ɛ u] to [-iau] (Example: 逍): Appeared when focusing on historical narrative.

2.2.1.1.3.3. Substitution of [-an] to [-an] (Example: 闖): Appeared during

ritual performance.

2.2.1.1.3.4. Substitution of [ŋ -] to [ɕ-] (Example: 紉): Appeared when

interacting with groups or representatives from other temples.

2.2.1.1.3.5. Substitution of [-iuŋ] to [-iŋ] (Example: 崧): Appeared

during ritual performance.

2.2.1.1.3.6. Substitution of [- ɔ k] to [-ə k] (Example: 度): Appeared when

interacting with groups or representatives from other temples.

2.2.1.1.3.7. Substitution of [-am] to [-iam] (Example: 搬): Appeared when

focusing on historical narrative.

2.2.1.1.3.8. Substitution of [f-] to [h-] (Example: 凡): Appeared in

discussions which could be construed as political.

2.2.1.1.3.9. Substitution of [- ɔ n] to [-an] (Example: 干): Appeared when

focusing on historical narrative.

2.2.1.1.3.10.　　　Substitution of [-uŋ] to [-iə ŋ] (Example: 訂):

Appeared in potentially stressful contexts.

2.2.1.1.3.11.　　　Substitution of [s-] to [ɕ-] (Example: 時): Appeared in

discussions which could be construed as political.

2.2.1.1.3.12.　　　Substitution of [-i ɛ u] to [-iau] (Example: 夭):

Appeared in potentially stressful contexts.

2.2.1.1.4.　　In this section, I present substitutions from literary Daigi (文)

elements to Hakka elements.

2.2.1.1.4.1. Substitution of [-ə] to [-au] (Example: 抱): Appeared during ritual performance.

2.2.1.1.4.2. Substitution of [-iəŋ] to [-iuŋ] (Example: 冗): Appeared during ritual performance.

2.2.1.1.4.3. Substitution of [-iũ] to [-iɔŋ] (Example: 羊): Appeared when focusing on historical narrative.

2.2.1.1.4.4. Substitution of [-au] to [-ɛu] (Example: 侯): Appeared when interacting with a majority of other Hakka speakers.

2.2.1.1.4.5. Substitution of [-əŋ] to [-uŋ] (Example: 風): Appeared when focusing on historical narrative.

2.2.1.1.4.6. Substitution of [-iaŋ] to [-ɔŋ] (Example: 丈): Appeared when audience expected could be expected to find the subject matter very familiar.

2.2.1.1.4.7. Substitution of [-iək] to [-iuk] (Example: 昱): Appeared when audience expected could be expected to find the subject matter very familiar.

2.2.1.1.4.8. Substitution of [-ik] to [-ɛt] (Example: 汩): Appeared when interacting with a majority of other Hakka speakers.

2.2.1.1.4.9. Substitution of [-ue] to [-i] (Example: 皮): Appeared in discussions which could be construed as political.

2.2.1.1.4.10. Substitution of [l-] to [n-] (Example: 內): Appeared in potentially stressful contexts.

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2.2.1.1.4.11. Substitution of [k-] to [kʰ-] (Example: 伽): Appeared when interacting with a majority of other Hakka speakers.

2.2.1.1.4.12. Substitution of [-uã] to [-an] (Example: 半): Appeared when interacting with a majority of other Hakka speakers.

2.2.1.1.5. In this section, I present substitutions from Hakka elements to vernacular Daigi (白) elements.

2.2.1.1.5.1. Substitution of [tsh-] to [ts-] (Example: 吮): Appeared in the context of strong emotion.

2.2.1.1.5.2. Substitution of [-i ɛ n] to [-ian] (Example: 延): Appeared during festival planning or during festival.

2.2.1.1.5.3. Substitution of [-iam] to [-iã] (Example: 焰): Appeared when interacting with groups or representatives from other temples.

2.2.1.1.5.4. Substitution of [-aŋ] to [-ĩ] (Example: 爭): Appeared during festival planning or during festival.

2.2.1.1.5.5. Substitution of [-it] to [-ik] (Example: 鋒): Appeared in the context of strong emotion.

2.2.1.1.5.6. Substitution of [ŋ -] to [g-] (Example: 岩): Appeared when audience expected could be expected to find the subject matter very familiar.

2.2.1.1.5.7. Substitution of [- ɔ ŋ] to [-aŋ] (Example: 杭): Appeared in the context of strong emotion.

2.2.1.1.5.8. Substitution of [-ɿn] to [-iã] (Example: 定): Appeared when audience expected could be expected to find the subject matter very familiar.

2.2.1.1.5.9. Substitution of [-ɿn] to [-in] (Example: 振): Appeared when interacting with groups or representatives from other temples.

2.2.1.1.5.10.　　　Substitution of [-i ɛ u] to [-iau] (Example: 翹): Appeared during festival planning or during festival.

2.2.1.1.5.11.　　　Substitution of [-ui] to [-e] (Example: 退): Appeared in potentially stressful contexts.

2.2.1.1.6.　In this section, I present substitutions from vernacular Daigi (白) elements to Hakka elements.

2.2.1.1.6.1. Substitution of [-ə k] to [- ɔ k] (Example: 剝): Appeared when audience expected could be expected to find the subject matter very familiar.

2.2.1.1.6.2. Substitution of [-ẽ] to [-iaŋ] (Example: 眶): Appeared when interacting with a majority of other Hakka speakers.

2.2.1.1.6.3. Substitution of [-ĩ] to [-in] (Example: 經): Appeared in the context of strong emotion.

2.2.1.1.6.4. Substitution of [k-] to [kʰ-] (Example: 碘): Appeared during ritual performance.

2.2.1.1.6.5. Substitution of [-iə] to [- ɛ u] (Example: 表): Appeared in the context of strong emotion.

2.2.1.1.6.6. Substitution of [-ua] to [-ə] (Example: 可): Appeared when

audience expected could be expected to find the subject matter

very familiar.

2.2.1.1.6.7. Substitution of [dz-] to [ŋ -] (Example: 尿): Appeared in the

context of strong emotion.

2.2.1.1.6.8. Substitution of [-ã] to [-am] (Example: 乏): Appeared during

ritual performance.

2.2.1.1.6.9. Substitution of [-ue] to [-ə i] (Example: 吹): Appeared when

focusing on historical narrative.

2.2.1.1.6.10.   Substitution of [g-] to [ŋ -] (Example: 岩): Appeared

during festival planning or during festival.

2.2.1.2. In this section, I present some terms which are homophonous with

common religious terms and which form part of networks of association

with those terms, appearing together or appearing connected in the minds

of religiolect speakers. These terms appear to be activated together, the

topmost of the list more often than those below. In the religiolect,

elements appearing in networks of association are found either through

interviews or observing word play, poetic use of language, or increased

frequency of linked appearance. That these words or logographs are in

associative networks in the religiolect mean that they are subject to being

conceptually grouped, in contrast with lects surrounding the religiolect.

2.2.1.2.1.   終 zung[24] :

2.2.1.2.1.1. 中: Center

2.2.1.2.1.2. 宗: Lineage

2.2.1.2.1.3. 忠: Loyalty

2.2.1.2.1.4. 盅: Cup

2.2.1.2.1.5. 衷: Feelings

2.2.1.2.1.6. 舂: Beat

2.2.1.2.2.　府 fu[31] : Department

2.2.1.2.2.1. 虎: Tiger

2.2.1.2.2.2. 斧: Axe

2.2.1.2.2.3. 苦: Bitter

2.2.1.2.2.4. 撫: Stroke

2.2.1.2.3.　感 gam[31] : Feel

2.2.1.2.3.1. 減: Decrease

2.2.1.2.3.2. 敢: Dare

2.2.1.2.4.　火 fo[31] : Fire

2.2.1.2.4.1. 伙: Companion

2.2.1.2.5.　貴 gui[55] : Honored

2.2.1.2.5.1. 季: Season

2.2.1.2.5.2. 癸: (One of the Heavenly Stems of the Hexagesimal calendar

system)

2.2.1.2.5.3. 桂: Cassia

2.2.1.2.6.　九 giu[31] : Nine

2.2.1.2.6.1. 久: Long time

2.2.1.2.7.　官 gon²⁴ : Government Official

2.2.1.2.7.1. 杆: Pole

2.2.1.2.7.2. 肝: Liver

2.2.1.2.7.3. 冠: Cap

2.2.1.2.7.4. 乾: (Symbolic representation of heaven)

2.2.1.2.7.5. 菅: Grass

2.2.1.2.8.　彩 cai³¹ : Color

2.2.1.2.8.1. 采: Complexion

2.2.1.2.8.2. 採: Select

2.2.1.2.9.　士 sii³¹ : Scholar, Gentleman

2.2.1.2.9.1. 史: History

2.2.1.2.9.2. 豕: Pig

2.2.1.2.9.3. 使: Cause

2.2.1.2.9.4. 始: Commencement

2.2.1.2.10. 災 zai²⁴ : Disaster

2.2.1.2.10.1.　　　哉: (premodern exclamatory particle)

2.2.1.2.10.2.　　　栽: Grow

2.2.1.2.10.3.　　　宰: Slaughter

2.2.1.2.10.4.　　　載: Carry

2.2.1.2.11. 基 gi[24] : Foundation

    2.2.1.2.11.1. 卤: Divination

    2.2.1.2.11.2. 技: Skill

    2.2.1.2.11.3. 車: Vehicle

    2.2.1.2.11.4. 居: Reside

    2.2.1.2.11.5. 紀: Era

2.2.1.2.12. 存 cun[11] : Exist

    2.2.1.2.12.1. 村: Village

2.2.1.2.13. 鳳 fung[55] : Phoenix

    2.2.1.2.13.1. 俸: Salary

    2.2.1.2.13.2. 奉: Tribute

2.2.1.2.14. 名 miang[11] : Name, Fame

    2.2.1.2.14.1. 明: Brilliant

2.2.1.2.15. 金 gim[24] : Metal

    2.2.1.2.15.1. 今: Now

2.2.1.2.16. 仙 xien[24] : Transcendent

    2.2.1.2.16.1. 先: First, Former

    2.2.1.2.16.2. 宣: Announce

    2.2.1.2.16.3. 喧: Clamor

    2.2.1.2.16.4. 鮮: Fresh

2.2.1.2.17. 吉 gid² : Auspicious

    2.2.1.2.17.1.   棘: Thorn

    2.2.1.2.17.2.   戟: Polearm

    2.2.1.2.17.3.   激: Incite

    2.2.1.2.17.4.   橘: Orange

    2.2.1.2.17.5.   擊: Assault, Strike

2.2.1.2.18. 瑞 sui⁵⁵ :

    2.2.1.2.18.1.   碎: Brittle

    2.2.1.2.18.2.   歲: Year

    2.2.1.2.18.3.   粹: Pure

    2.2.1.2.18.4.   隧: Tunnel

    2.2.1.2.18.5.   穗: Fringe

2.2.1.2.19. 樂 log⁵ : Happiness

    2.2.1.2.19.1.   烙: Brand

    2.2.1.2.19.2.   絡: Net

    2.2.1.2.19.3.   落: Fall

2.2.1.2.20. 普 pu²⁴ : Popular

    2.2.1.2.20.1.   訃: Obituary

    2.2.1.2.20.2.   埔: Port

    2.2.1.2.20.3.   鋪: Spread

2.2.1.2.20.4.　　　簿: Register

2.2.1.2.21. 城 sang[11] : City

2.2.1.2.21.1.　　　成: Accomplished, Successful, Transformed

2.2.1.3. In this section I present emotive qualities associated with various pronunciation sources for the religiolect elements of the YMM, as drawn from observation of language use during the course of fieldwork as well as interviews.

2.2.1.3.1.　When using pronunciation elements drawn from Hakka, the following qualities were evoked:

2.2.1.3.1.1. Authoritative: This refers to the projection of power and the use of force.

2.2.1.3.1.2. Plain: This refers to unadorned, plain, or simple features.

2.2.1.3.1.3. Honest: This refers to directness and lack of deceit.

2.2.1.3.1.4. Proud: This refers to martial vigor as well as pride.

2.2.1.3.1.5. Belonging: This refers to the feeling of participating in a globally important culture.

2.2.1.3.1.6. Historical: This refers to feeling grounded in tradition, and of pride in the accomplishments of one's ancestors.

2.2.1.3.1.7. Courageous: This refers to moral courage as well as matial courage.

2.2.1.3.1.8. Strong: This refers to virtues which allow one to withstand hardships.

2.2.1.3.1.9. Vivid: This refers to liveliness and descriptive power.

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2.2.1.3.2. When using pronunciation elements drawn from Daigi, the

  following qualities were evoked:

2.2.1.3.2.1. Authentic: This refers to straightforwardness.

2.2.1.3.2.2. Useful : This refers to the perceived versatility of the Daigi

  lects.

2.2.1.3.2.3. Social: This refers to the use of Daigi in many social

  situations, or in group bonding.

2.2.1.3.2.4. Old: This refers to the perception of the lect elements as

  being archaic (and therefore, well regarded).

2.2.1.3.2.5. Euphonious: This refers to the lect elements being perceived

  as sounding pleasant, or evoking good feelings.

2.2.1.3.2.6. Loud: This refers to friendly raucousness found when many

  people speak loudly in a group environment, such as during a

  festival.

2.2.1.3.2.7. Joyful: This refers to feelings of happiness associated with use

  of the lect elements.

2.2.1.3.2.8. Contentious: This refers to the practice of getting into

  arguments, often political debates.

2.2.1.3.3. When using pronunciation elements drawn from MSC, the

  following qualities were evoked:

2.2.1.3.3.1. Difficult: This refers to being hard to get along with.

2.2.1.3.3.2. Trustworthy: This refers to the perception that is one is more

  able to trust what is being said.

2.2.1.3.3.3. Scientific: This refers to the scientific progress or research conducted in MSC.

2.2.1.3.3.4. Young: This refers to the general perception of younger generations being more adept at using MSC, and so the lect elements being associated with qualities associated with youth.

2.2.1.3.3.5. Critical: This refers to being subjected to social criticism.

2.2.1.3.3.6. Rich: This refers to economic wealth, or the economic strength associated with MSC speakers' influx into Taiwan.

2.2.1.3.3.7. Soulless: This refers to a perceived aesthetic or emotional sterility or aridity.

2.2.2. **Lexical Elements**

In this section, I discuss some ways in which the use of lexical elements of the YMM religiolect affected conceptual frameworks.

2.2.2.1. In this section, I discuss religious lexicon used in the YMM religiolect, particularly how the lexical items are perceived differently within the lexicon, shifting thought patterns of the lect users compared to those not using the lect.

2.2.2.1.1. 安置 on^{24} zong^{24} (from 安裝) "install, seat, enthrone": Shift from technological installation to divine or personal installation.

2.2.2.1.2. 養育 iong^{24} iug^{2} "rearing, nurturing": Shift from focus on traditional compulsory state education to focus on moral rearing.

2.2.2.1.3.　精神 jin^{24} $siin^{11}$ "energy, vitality, sprites and spirits": Shift from referring to energy and enthusiasm to focus on martial vigor and apotheosized entities.

2.2.2.1.4.　護國 fu^{55} $gued^2$ "Protect the Polity": Shift from being part of formulaic language to moral imperative.

2.2.2.1.5.　道法 to^{55} fab^2 "the way of the Dao, practice of Daoism in the course of one's life": Shift from disembodied stereotypical understanding of Daoism to a practical understanding.

2.2.2.1.6.　熱鬧 nau^{55} $ngied^5$ "lively, thronging": Shift from commercialized liveliness to social and community vitality.

2.2.2.1.7.　禮 li^{24} "politeness, etiquette, ritual propriety": Shift from simple manners to systematized ethical virtues which are reinforced in historical narratives.

2.2.2.1.8.　妖精 ieu^{24} jin^{24} "evil spirit, succubus-like entity": Shift from supernatural concern and even dismissive attitudes to ritualized confrontation.

2.2.2.1.9.　戰亂 gon^{24} ko^{24} (from 干戈) "waging war": Shift from modern-day technological war and friction in East Asia to historical narratives of warfare.

2.2.2.1.10.　靈符 lin^{11} pu^{11} "charm, amulet, talisman": Shift from conceiving of talismans as asking of something from deities to assuming responsibility for protecting oneself.

2.2.2.1.11. 良民 liong¹¹ min¹¹ "a good people, a moral populace": Shift from formulaic language to a moral ideal.

2.2.2.1.12. 當兵 dong²⁴ bin²⁴ "to become a soldier": Shift from conceiving of being a soldier as a simple career to conceiving of being a soldier as a moral ideal.

2.2.2.1.13. 大悟 tai⁵⁵ ngu⁵⁵ "enlightenment": Shift from ill-understood religious ideal to conceiving of enlightenment as abstract philosophizing.

2.2.2.1.14. 並肩作戰 bin⁵⁵ gien²⁴ zog² zan⁵⁵ "To fight alongside another; fight shoulder-to-shoulder": Shift from formulaic language to a moral ideal.

2.2.2.1.15. 禍福 fo⁵⁵ fug² "fortune and misfortune, calamity and luck": Shift from vicissitudes meant to be borne to happenings over which one has some control (by following the religious system espoused by the YMM).

2.2.2.1.16. 磕頭 kab⁵ teu¹¹ "ritual prostration, bringing one's forehead to the ground reverentially": Shift from generalized religious practice to lived reminder of humility and gratitude.

2.2.2.1.17. 吉地 gid² ti⁵⁵ "auspicious place": Shift from generalized exoticism to ideal sacred locus metaphorically accessed in ritualized practice.

2.2.2.1.18. 需要/要求 xi²⁴ ieu⁵⁵ / ieu²⁴ kiu¹¹ "needs, requirements": Shift from educational, business, or political requirements in order to

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obtain material wealth to moral and ritual requirements to achieve happiness through spiritual practice.

2.2.2.1.19. 奉神 fung[55] siin[11] "make offerings before the divinities": Shift from generalized religious practice to memorializing the war dead.

2.2.2.1.20. 真正 ziin[55] gin[24] (from 正經) "true": Shift from absolute to practical conceptions of truth.

2.2.2.1.21. 自然 cii[55] ien[11] "so-of-itself, natural": Shift from the idea of nature as environment to be protected to the idea of nature as setting for mankind's actions.

2.2.2.1.22. 國恩 gued[2] en[24] "gratitude of the nation": Shift from formulaic language to results of following moral system.

2.2.2.1.23. 官兵 gon[24] bin[24] "government army, government forces": Shift from primary fighting force to supporting force.

2.2.2.1.24. 暴動 pau[55] tung[55] "insurrection": Shift from legitimate event to morally reprehensible event/

2.2.2.1.25. 人品 ngin[11] pin[31] "moral quality, character": Shift from nonmartial virtues to martial virtues.

2.2.2.1.26. 武藝 vu[31] ngi[55] "martial skill, martial artistry": Shift from stylized martial arts based on premodern fighting to any combat system.

2.2.2.1.27. 幸運 hen[55] iun[55] "fortunate, lucky": Shift from wealth to happiness brought by virtue.

2.2.2.1.28. 平靖 piang[11] qin[55] "peace, especially as brought to the land after

the quelling of a rebellion": Shift from a presumed natural state to

which humanity has a right to a state for which martyrs must fight to

earn.

2.2.2.1.29. 聚集 qi[55] xib[5] "assemble, gather": Shift from focus on inanimate

objects in many contexts to the bringing together of people and

materials for festivals.

2.2.2.2. In this section, I present the metaphorical frames that are activated by

lexical choices in the DDY religiolect.

2.2.2.2.1. Flow of Events is Flow of Water: Lect users describing events

have a greater reliance on this metaphor, especially in the context of

historical narrative.

2.2.2.2.2. Harm is an Obstable: There is increased focus on spiritual harm

being likened to a physical obstacle one must overcome with the

help of the community.

2.2.2.2.3. Competition is War: As with a sizeable portion of the YMM

lexicon, martial metaphors abound. Competition metaphorized as

combat is more common in the YMM lect.

2.2.2.2.4. Words are Weapons: Especially in an environment of martial

metaphors, words can sharp, cutting, striking, etc.

2.2.2.2.5. Coherent is Whole: There is increased focus on coherence of

one's thinking as being metaphorically unbroken and unified.

2.2.2.2.6. Force is a Substance Directed at an Affected Party: Force, something which one can expect to encounter through the hardships of daily life, is metaphorized most often as something tangible that is directed at one yet avoidable by following the path of the practical Dao.

2.2.2.2.7. Morality is Purity: Virtues can be fairly rigid, though adhering to loyalty, courage, and their related virtues makes one metaphorically unblemished and tranquil.

2.2.2.3. In this section I present lexical networks of meaning, or the lexical items which are associated with the most salient portions of the religious lexicon of the YMM presented in chapter 4. For each of the words presented here, I present between one and four other items that interviews and participant observation have indicated that have become linked to each word, in turn drawing the religious thought processes of lect users into paths which differ from those outside the lect community.

2.2.2.3.1. 兵 bin²⁴ "infantry, soldiers"

2.2.2.3.1.1. 正氣 ziin⁵⁵ hi⁵⁵ "righteousness"

2.2.2.3.1.2. 福 fug² "fortune, luck, prosperity"

2.2.2.3.2. 禮 li²⁴ "politeness, etiquette, ritual propriety"

2.2.2.3.2.1. 安靜 on²⁴ qin⁵⁵ "calm, at peace"

2.2.2.3.2.2. 信教 xin⁵⁵ gau⁵⁵ "religious belief, to belong to a religion"

2.2.2.3.3. 祭拜 ji⁵⁵ bai⁵⁵ "offering sacrifices (to divinities)"

2.2.2.3.3.1. 奉祀英靈 fung^{55} sii^{55} in^{24} lin^{11} "offer sacrifices to the shades of the heroic dead"

2.2.2.3.3.2. 真理 ziin^{24} li^{24} "truth"

2.2.2.3.3.3. 跪下 kui^{31} ha^{24} "kneel"

2.2.2.3.4.　嘉會 ga^{24} voi^{55} "occasion of a feast, auspicious gathering"

2.2.2.3.4.1. 聖典 siin^{55} dien^{31} "sacred scripture, divine canon"

2.2.2.3.4.2. 民間宗教 min^{11} gien^{24} zung^{24} gau^{55} "popular religion"

2.2.2.3.5.　守護神 su^{31} fu^{55} siin^{11} "protective deity, patron deity"

2.2.2.3.5.1. 命運 miang^{55} iun^{55} "fate, destiny, the natural course of one's life"

2.2.2.3.5.2. 化 fa^{55} "transformation, change, metamorphosis"

2.2.2.3.6.　抽籤 cu^{24} qiam^{24} "divination using stalks"

2.2.2.3.6.1. 品行 pin^{31} hen^{11} "moral conduct, behavior"

2.2.2.3.6.2. 戰場 zan^{55} cong^{11} "battlefield"

2.2.2.3.7.　紀念 gi^{55} ngiam^{55} "commemorate, memorialize"

2.2.2.3.7.1. 名垂萬世 miang^{11} sui^{11} van^{55} sii^{55} "...whose fame will pass on for countless generations"

2.2.2.3.7.2. 符合 fu^{11} gab^{2} "conform, correspond, accordance"

2.2.2.3.8.　思維 sii^{24} vi^{11} "line of thought, way of thinking, intellectual current"

2.2.2.3.8.1. 自動 cii^{55} tung^{55} "of one's own volition"

2.2.2.3.8.2. 並肩作戰 bin^{55} gien^{24} zog^{2} zan^{55} "To fight alongside another;

fight shoulder-to-shoulder"

2.2.2.3.9.　邪惡 xia^{11} og^{2} "evil, wicked, twisted"

2.2.2.3.9.1. 妖怪 ieu^{24} guai^{55} "monster, evil entity"

2.2.2.3.10.　老師 xin^{24} sang^{24} (from 先生) "teacher"

2.2.2.3.10.1.　　　世俗 sii^{55} xiug^{5} "profane, mundane, vulgar"

2.2.2.3.10.2.　　　燒香 seu^{24} hiong^{24} "burn incense"

2.2.2.3.10.3.　　　造成 co^{55} siin^{11} "set up, found, made"

2.2.2.3.11.　永受後人祀祭 iun^{31} su^{55} heu^{55} ngin^{11} ji^{55} sii^{55} (last two syllables

from 祭祀) "eternally receive veneration from later generations"

2.2.2.3.11.1.　　　無量 vu^{11} liong^{11} "innumerable"

2.2.2.3.11.2.　　　供奉 giung^{55} fung^{55} "enshrine and worship, give an

offering"

2.2.2.3.12.　吉凶 gid^{2} hiung^{24} "auspiciousness and misfortune, luck (in

divination)"

2.2.2.3.12.1.　　　抗拒 di^{31} kong^{31} (from 抵抗) "defy, oppose"

2.2.2.3.12.2.　　　傷亡 song^{24} mong^{11} "casualties, die, pass away"

2.2.2.3.12.3.　　　義民 ngi^{55} min^{11} "The Dutiful"

2.2.2.3.13.　暴亂 pau^{55} lon^{55} "rioting"

2.2.2.3.13.1.　　　誦經 xiung^{55} gin^{24} "chant scriptures"

2.2.2.3.13.2.　　　宿命 xiu^{55} miang^{55} "predestination, fated events"

2.2.2.3.13.3.　　　忠誠 zung^{24} siin^{11} "loyalty"

2.2.2.3.14. 後人虔誠祀祭 heu^{55} ngin^{11} kien^{11} siin^{11} ji^{55} sii^{55} (last two syllables

from 祭祀) "later generations devoutly make their offerings"

2.2.2.3.14.1.　　　念念不忘 ngiam^{55} ngiam^{55} bud^{2} mong^{55} "never forget,

remember something for eternity"

2.2.2.3.14.2.　　　寧靜 nen^{11} qin^{55} "serenity, tranquility"

2.2.2.3.15. 邪神 xia^{11} siin^{11} "nefarious spirit, evil spirit"

2.2.2.3.15.1.　　　信士 xin^{55} sii^{55} "gentleman-believer, i.e. practitioner"

2.2.2.3.15.2.　　　力戰 lid^{5} zan^{55} "waging war vigorously, taking no

half-measures"

2.2.2.3.15.3.　　　禍福 fo^{55} fug^{2} "fortune and misfortune, calamity and

luck"

2.2.2.3.16. 反抗 fan^{31} kong^{55} "social unrest"

2.2.2.3.16.1.　　　良民 liong^{11} min^{11} "a good people, a moral populace"

2.2.2.3.16.2.　　　德才 ded^{2} coi^{11} "ethical virtues and talent"

2.2.2.3.17. 威靈 vi^{24} lin^{11} "authority, awesome spirit"

2.2.2.3.17.1.　　　寺廟 giung^{24} meu^{55} (from 宮廟) "temple"

2.2.2.3.17.2.　　　善男 san^{55} nam^{11} "good men"

2.2.2.3.17.3.　　　儀式 ngi^{11} siid^{2} "ritual"

2.2.2.4. In this section, I present the items of religious lexicon which are most

often recognized by local lect communities as also bearing nonreligious

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meanings in other contexts, and present how these items become sacralized or religious.

2.2.2.4.1. The following items become religious by virtue of most saliently appearing in ritual preparation and performance.

2.2.2.4.1.1. 尊重 zun^{24} cung^{55} "give respect, honor"

2.2.2.4.1.2. 思想 sii^{24} xiong^{31} "thought"

2.2.2.4.1.3. 熱鬧 nau^{55} ngied^{5} "lively, thronging"

2.2.2.4.1.4. 慶典 kin^{55} dien^{31} "celebration"

2.2.2.4.1.5. 文化 vun^{11} fa^{55} "culture"

2.2.2.4.1.6. 認識 ngin^{55} siid^{2} "knowledge, understanding, cognition"

2.2.2.4.1.7. 過程 go^{55} cang^{11} "process"

2.2.2.4.2. The following items shift away from immediate, pragmatic use to symbolic, transcendent use.

2.2.2.4.2.1. 乾淨 gon^{24} qiang^{55} "clean, pure"

2.2.2.4.2.2. 世界 sii^{55} gie^{55} "world, physical realm, realm of the living"

2.2.2.4.2.3. 困難 kun^{55} nan^{11} "difficulties"

2.2.2.4.2.4. 清靜 qin^{24} qin^{55} "purity, cleansing, utter tranquility, quiet"

2.2.2.4.2.5. 力量 lid^{5} liong^{55} "efficacy"

2.2.2.4.2.6. 真理 ziin^{24} li^{24} "truth"

2.2.2.4.2.7. 知道 zang^{55} di^{24} (from 正知) "knowledge"

2.2.2.4.2.8. 空虛 kung^{24} hi^{24} "emptiness"

2.2.2.4.2.9. 觀點 gon^{24} diam^{55} "standpoint"

2.2.2.4.3.　　The following items have demonstrated to lect users a "deeper meaning" or semantic intensification, which compels lect users to interpret the terms with reference to the YMM religious thought system.

2.2.2.4.3.1. 一體 id^{2} ti^{31} "one in body, unitary in character"

2.2.2.4.3.2. 事 se^{55} "affairs, matters, situation, circumstances"

2.2.2.4.3.3. 創立 cong^{31} lib^{5} "found, establish"

2.2.2.4.3.4. 安靜 on^{24} qin^{55} "calm, at peace"

2.2.2.4.3.5. 尊敬 zun^{24} gin^{55} "respect"

2.2.2.4.3.6. 態度 tai^{55} tu^{55} "attitude"

2.2.2.4.3.7. 治病 cii^{55} piang^{55} "control illness, heal the sick"

2.2.2.4.3.8. 混合 fun^{55} hab^{5} "blend, mix together, coalesce from chaos"

2.2.2.4.3.9. 符合 fu^{11} gab^{2} "conform, correspond, accordance"

2.2.2.5. In this section I present conceptual connotations associated with religious lexical items with Hakka elements versus the same with Daigi or (more rarely) MSC elements.

2.2.2.5.1.1. 參加 "add, increase"

2.2.2.5.1.1.1.　　Hakka influence: cam^{24} ga^{24}. Connotations: Growth

2.2.2.5.1.1.2.　　Daigi influence: tsham-ka. Connotations: Wealth

2.2.2.5.1.2. 義務 "commitment, duty"

2.2.2.5.1.2.1.　　Hakka influence: ngi^{55} vu^{55}. Connotations: Selflessness

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2.2.2.5.1.2.2.   Daigi influence: gī -bū . Connotations: Courage

2.2.2.5.1.3. 兵 "infantry, soldiers"

2.2.2.5.1.3.1.   Hakka influence: bin[24]. Connotations: Necessity

2.2.2.5.1.3.2.   Daigi influence: ping. Connotations: Security

2.2.2.5.1.4. 國泰民安 "the nation prospers, the people are at peace"

2.2.2.5.1.4.1.   Hakka influence: gued[2] tai[55] min[11] on[24]. Connotations: Idyllic

2.2.2.5.1.4.2.   Daigi influence: kok thài bîn an. Connotations: Prosperity

2.2.2.5.1.5. 化 "transformation, change, metamorphosis"

2.2.2.5.1.5.1.   Hakka influence: fa[55]. Connotations: Caution

2.2.2.5.1.5.2.   Daigi influence: huà. Connotations: Welcome

2.2.2.5.1.6. 德行 "virtue and conduct"

2.2.2.5.1.6.1.   Hakka influence: ded[2] hang[11]. Connotations: Steadfastness

2.2.2.5.1.6.2.   Daigi influence: tik-hîng. Connotations: Religious quietude

2.2.2.5.1.7. 上報 "report to one's superiors"

2.2.2.5.1.7.1.   Hakka influence: song[55] bo[55]. Connotations: Order

2.2.2.5.1.7.2.   Daigi influence: siō ng-pò. Connotations: Onerousness

2.2.2.5.1.8. 諸神 "the arrayed divinities, all the gods"

2.2.2.5.1.8.1.   Hakka influence: zu[24] siin[11]. Connotations: Order

2.2.2.5.1.8.2.   Daigi influence: tsu-sîn. Connotations: Festivity

2.2.2.5.1.9. 勇敢 "courage"

    2.2.2.5.1.9.1.   Hakka influence: iung^{31} gam^{31}. Connotations: Necessity

    2.2.2.5.1.9.2.   Daigi influence: ióng-kám. Connotations: Luck

2.2.2.5.1.10. 忠義 "great sense of honor and duty"

    2.2.2.5.1.10.1.   Hakka influence: zung^{24} ngi^{55}. Connotations: Community

    2.2.2.5.1.10.2.   Daigi influence: tiong-gī . Connotations: Historical

2.2.2.5.1.11. 戒規 "precepts, rules"

    2.2.2.5.1.11.1.   Hakka influence: gie^{55} gui^{24}. Connotations: Wise

    2.2.2.5.1.11.2.   Daigi influence: kài-kui. Connotations: Sound

2.2.2.5.1.12. 風俗 "customs, mores, vulgar practice"

    2.2.2.5.1.12.1.   Hakka influence: fung^{24} xiug^{5}. Connotations: Rich

    2.2.2.5.1.12.2.   Daigi influence: hong-sio̍k. Connotations: Variegation

2.2.2.5.1.13. 天地 "Heaven and Earth"

    2.2.2.5.1.13.1.   Hakka influence: tien^{24} ti^{55}. Connotations: Justice

    2.2.2.5.1.13.2.   Daigi influence: thinn-tē . Connotations: Expansiveness

2.2.2.5.1.14. 生 "produce, give rise to, give birth to"

    2.2.2.5.1.14.1.   Hakka influence: sang^{24}. Connotations: Agriculture

    2.2.2.5.1.14.2.   Daigi influence: sing. Connotations: Giving birth

2.2.2.5.1.15. 拼命 "to one's utmost, to one's dying breath"

2.2.2.5.1.15.1.   Hakka influence: Uses 放勢 fong^{55} se^{55}.

Connotations: Force

2.2.2.5.1.15.2.   Daigi influence: piànn-miā . Connotations:

Determination

2.2.2.5.1.16. 平叛 "putting down a revolt or uprising"

2.2.2.5.1.16.1.   Hakka influence: piang^{11} pan^{31}. Connotations:

Righteousness

2.2.2.5.1.16.2.   Daigi influence: pênn-puā n. Connotations: Necessity

2.2.2.5.1.17. 叛亂 "armed rebellion"

2.2.2.5.1.17.1.   Hakka influence: pan^{31} lon^{55}. Connotations: Serious

2.2.2.5.1.17.2.   Daigi influence: puā n-luā n. Connotations: Tragic

2.2.2.5.1.18. 魔鬼 "demon"

2.2.2.5.1.18.1.   Hakka influence: uses 鬼怪 gui^{31} guai^{55}. Connotations:

Assailant

2.2.2.5.1.18.2.   Daigi influence: môo-kuí. Connotations: Bad luck

2.2.2.5.1.19. 保祐 "blessing"

2.2.2.5.1.19.1.   Hakka influence: bo^{31} iu^{55}. Connotations: Tranquility

2.2.2.5.1.19.2.   Daigi influence: pó-iū . Connotations: Health

2.2.2.5.1.20. 智慧 "wisdom"

2.2.2.5.1.20.1.   Hakka influence: zii^{55} fi^{55}. Connotations: Practical

2.2.2.5.1.20.2.   Daigi influence: tì-huī . Connotations: Philosophical

2.2.2.6. In this section, I present aspects of experience which religiolect speakers

particularly attend to while using the YMM religiolect.

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2.2.2.6.1. Stoicness: The lect users focus more on reserve and stoic

behavior, especially withstanding hardship, than those outside the

lect community.

2.2.2.6.2. Martiality: The lect elements have the users better engage martial

virtues such as courage, dutifulness, defending the community,

defending the innocent, and the like.

2.2.2.6.3. Society: The lect elements give users better tools to engage their

feelings of belonging, community, and social identity within the

Taiwanese Hakka communities.

2.2.2.6.4. Pragmatism: The lect elements focus users on their lack of

concern for supernatural world, as the YMM memorializes the war

dead but focuses less on their divinity.

2.2.2.6.5. Virtue: The lect elements allow users to better approach what

they understand as absolute morality, including virtues as

steadfastness and loyalty.

2.2.2.6.6. History: The lect elements reinforce senses of belonging to a

teleological historical narrative, and of having cultural richness.

2.2.2.6.7. Aesthetics: The lect elements increase the likelihood of users

developing what they see as increased aesthetic senses.

APPENDIX B

RELIGIOLECT DATA

<center>**Religious Language at the Daode Yuan**</center>

The community of the DDY employ elements of a repertoire of a religiolect that takes Daigi and MSC as primary contributors to the grammar, lexicon, and pronunciation, with situational variances. While grammar was not the focus of this study and so will only be touched on briefly, lexicon and pronunciation receive more attention below. I present the DDY religiolect using the method of the linguistic repertoire highlighted above. Again, the idea of the linguistic repertoire is that instead of thinking of clearly delineated entities called 'languages' that people either do or do not speak, one ought rather to think that people make use of a broad array of linguistic elements as time, circumstances, and the people themselves change. In other words, lects (such as "languages" and "dialects") then become *linguistic toolboxes* from which speakers may choose to draw from (to what extent and how much depending entirely on the speaker), rather than homogenous systems employed in their entirety by speakers; they are a "pool of resources from which members of a speech community draw the linguistic tools they need."

Brief Overview of Non-Phonetic, Non-Lexical Characteristics of Religious Language at the Daode Yuan. Part 1: Kinds of Language Use.

One finds several kinds of language use at the DDY: ritual, organizational, welcoming, advisory, educational, mantic/divinatory, instructive, doctrinal, expostulatory, and inter-group.[226] Ritual language is the language confined to Daoist rituals and addresses to the audience during, before, and between rituals. In this case, the DDY features a large

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[226] Following what van Eemeren and Grootendorst call the "interpretive a posteriori" approach, used by "ethnographers who describe the typical characteristics and conventions of different kinds of language use activities they encounter in the communities they study." (Van Eemeren, F and R. Grootendorst. *A Systematic Theory of Argumentation: The Pragma-dialectical Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004: 75). Though this list covers the majority of language use situations I observed, the list is not exhaustive.

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number of ritual activity, and so generates a high volume of this language. Some examples include the rituals for the Descent of the Divine Equipages of the Saintly Brilliance of the Astral Lords of the Southern and Northern Dippers 南北斗星君聖光神駕降臨, or the Birthdays of the Grand Thearch of Azure Efflorescence of the Easternmost Reaches and the Celestial Worthy who Rescues from Distress of the Grand Monad 東極青華大帝聖誕 太乙救苦天尊聖誕, along with festivals such as the commencement ceremonies of the International World Taoist Day celebrations (which in actuality last a month).

Organizational language involves coordinating and implementing plans; at the DDY, this language originates from the monastic functionaries, who are responsible for organization (in the role of leaders), but is carried throughout the temple grounds and areas of influence of the religiolect by the temple volunteers. This language is especially important for setting up and carrying out large-scale rituals and for smoothly carrying out ritual visitations to temples across Taiwan. For example, this category would include directions from functionaries to practitioners who are helping to distribute food to the poor.

Welcoming language is language used to greet practitioners and visitors, and the resultant exchanges of small talk, with any initial instructions required by the situation, such as directions to seating for a ritual. At the DDY, visitors and practitioners are generally greeted with a cautiously amicable detachment, while recognized visitors or frequently participating practitioners are treated with open friendliness, are are invited to participate in socialization, communal ritual activities, or small religious behaviors meant to strengthen a sense of community while simultaneously communicating moral, ethical, and religious values. For example, this catergory includes greetings given by volunteer functionaries at the offerings desk to newly arrived practitioners.

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Advisory language is aimed at counseling others or offering advice on how to resolve spiritual and material problems; the functionaries at the DDY are especially apt at this, and in fact are known to provide excellent informal counseling on many subjects of moral interest to practitioners, or at least are known to lend a sympathetic ear to material problems one may be facing. The monastic functionaries are skilled at offering advice carefully couched in religious terms, from within a religious moral framework, but not overtly religious in a way that formalizes conversation or makes conversation stilted or detached from the real life of the recipient of the advice. For example, this category includes practical advice given to practitioners seeking divinatory advice, in lieu of the divination.

Educational language is the language of direct instruction of the various classes offered at the Daode Yuan. These classes are overtly religious, and so rely on frequent interaction with premodern and premodern-style scriptures and religious writings; much of the discussion centers on doctrine, dogma, and ritual pragmatics, though these are merely foundations for setting up a system of morality in which certain fundamental values of the DDY's leadership are shared with the general populace, with the ostensible goal being to sustain a harmonious society. For example, this category would include a lesson on the phrase *huan siu to tsia iau tik san tshng ling khi* 凡修道者要得山川靈氣 ("All those who cultivate the Dao want to obtain the numinous pneuma of the mountains and streams") from the *Biographies of the Seven Perfected* 七真傳.

Mantic or divinatory language is the language involved with the process of asking questions of deities, and the interpretation of their answers. The monastic functionaries are most frequently tapped in this function, but the more experienced nonmonastic functionaries are equally trusted to offer interpretations, such as when the monastic

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functionaries are unavailable or when the practitioner has formed some personal relationship with the nonmonastic functionary. This category includes the interpretations of divination slip explanation texts.

Instructive language is language of command, directed from a position of authority, and nondoctrinal explanations; in the DDY, this most frequently originates from the monastic functionaries, who are clearly positioned all of the nonmonastic functionaries, though the more experienced or educated nonmonastics are at least deferentially treated by the lower-ranking monastic functionaries when multiple speakers are engaged in instructive language (or have the opportunity to do so). To be instructive language, there should be furnishing of orders, direction, or exhortation.

Doctrinal language explains religious thought systems, or makes reference to them, outside of the explicit and direct instructional settings of the religious classes offered at the DDY; these are generally short units of language, often phrase or sentence length, which are interspersed among other kinds of language use. To be doctrinal language, there should be unidirectional furnishing of knowledge to teach, train, or educate about the body or system of teachings of the religious community.

Expostulatory language involves reasoning with others about the validity of argumentative positions; as promulgators of an ethical system, there is ample opportunity to (often gently) correct others about inccorect actions and viewpoints. To be expostulatory language, there should be reasoning in order to cause someone to adhere to religious thought or practice, where all parties of interlocutors contribute to the exchange.

Inter-group language is used in interacting with other organizations, religious or otherwise. For example, some speakers are aware of using forms of MSC in which pronunciation is affected by exposure to Daigi (in other words, they feel they have a Daigi

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"accent"). Inter-group language encompasses attempts to overcorrect the MSC which DDY functionaries employ to call temple organizations in northern Taiwan, because DDY functionaries may not want to be misunderstood due to their "accent." This is a very important category of language use at the DDY, as it requires interaction with the hybridized sociolects of many other temples and religious organizations, as well as with political organizations, educational institutions, mass media, members of the business community, and their counterparts in foreign countries.

Brief Overview of Non-Phonetic, Non-Lexical Characteristics of Religious Language at the Daode Yuan. Part 2: Substrate Lects Contributing to DDY Religiolect and Their Roles.

During the course of participant observation, I found that functionaries present ritual language in literary (文 pronunciation) Daigi, with classical elements, when rituals are read or performed from memory from ritual manuals and scriptures, or when formulaic ritual elements appear. Functionaries teach literary Daigi pronunciations at the temple, given that literary pronunciations otherwise appear only in set phrases and remnant fragments fossilized from the premodern Daigi languages. Functionaries use vernacular (白 pronunciation) Daigi in ritual situations where extemporaneous addresses to deities appear, but this usage is certainly kept free of familiarity and colloquialisms which often mark the vernacular. Daigi is vernacular, colloquial, and marked for the discursive orality of atextual language when the audience is local, such as in immediate pre-ritual or post-ritual language in which the audience is directly addressed; this is evidenced by the increased appearance of vernacular pronunciation, the loss of ritual reading or chanting cadence, simplification of

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grammar, and the use of less formal and technical lexicon. However, if the speakers expect the audience to not know Daigi, or when the audience composition is reasonably believed to be uncertain at a high enough degree of audience saturation, the address will be in MSC. For example, if the ritual is a drawing in a crowd of government officials from the national government, their subordinates and families, and reporters covering the stories, then MSC is acceptable as a form of address. The MSC of the Daode Yuan is of a southern Taiwanese variety, with elements incorporated from Daigi. For example, in the MSC spoken, there is a tendency to replace the labiodental intial [f-] with the glottal fricative [h-] (followed by the medial [-w-]). The temple community addresses practitioners and visitors in Daigi, and if the the latter are demonstrably conversant, they will continue to be addressed in Daigi. Younger visitors are usually spoken to in MSC, while elders are almost invariably addressed in Daigi. MSC is used to speak with guests from extraregional temples and from overseas; the former, however, may be addressed in Daigi to convey familiarity. Functionaries address persons who are perceived as educated in MSC or Daigi, depending on personal preference. MSC appears to be more formal, while Daigi is more conversational, in contexts where the selection of either language does not appear to be obvious. In dealing with local government officials, Daigi is mostly used, as many officials in Kaohsiung are affiliated with the Democratic Progressive Party, a pro-independence party which promotes the use of Daigi as a language of Taiwanese identity. When explaining matters of doctrine and Daoist thought, or when such elements enter into play, the use of Daigi is perceived by the temple community members as refined, educated, allusive, poetic, and classical. These perceptions are probably aided by the lengthy repression of Daigi, Hakka, and other *fangyan* ("local languages") by Japanese and MSC, both of which were languages of power and instruction but not languages of home, hearth, and childhood. It must be noted that such features

cannot be considered objective features of the language, because there cannot be an objective measure of how "educated", "refined", or "poetic" language actually *is*. Daigi was, according to community members, *refined* in the sense that the language was equal in dignity to MSC (as opposed to perceptions by other segments of Taiwanese society, which perceive Daigi as crude); *educated* in that proper Daigi, especially when associated with the classical pronuncation, is a language of learned people and not just base or rustic illiterates; *allusive* in that, like premodern poetry associated with the golden ages of Sinitic civilization, Daigi is highly evocative, as opposed to dry, technical, inexpressive MSC; *poetic* in the sense that Daigi is aesthetically pleasing and euphonious; and, *classical* in the sense that the Daigi is often heard in classical pronunciation (almost solely so in ritual), or with lexicon selection and grammar practice that are perceived as premodern (and therefore associated with positive folk knowledge about premodern times, such as the idea that the premodern Sinitic civilization produced great cultural achievements). When giving advice, socializing, engaging in informal social interaction, or employing language of caring (for example, when empathizing with the problems of someone who has come seeking help), the use of Daigi is conversational, fluid, less grandiloquent, and matches the sociolect of those being spoken with. In situations of pilgrimage or travel, MSC is often used, but Daigi is still informally used in southern Taiwan with elders, for example in situations between stages of ritual performance, when Daode Yuan personnel are transiting from one ritual location to the next, or during repasts. Overseas, MSC use prevails. When hosting members of other temples or religious organizations, functionaries speak Daigi, but MSC has a strong presence, especially when dealing with religious organizations the Daode Yuan is less familiar with, or sometimes when the groups operated mainly in the north. When hosting scholars and when speaking to scholarly functionaries, MSC seems to be preferred. Daigi functions as an "in-

group" language, especially when spoken with an increase in syllables per second, with unnecessary colloquialisms, *sotto voce*, or otherwise altered speech patterns. It is difficult to isolate a "prestige language" at the temple. Usually, MSC is the prestige language of Taiwan, as it is the language of government and education. However, there is local or regional pride which is associated with use in Daigi, in addition to the construction of a Taiwanese identity separate from that of mainland China, which is associated with the political independence movement, and with a style of politics popular in the south of Taiwan, where Kaohsiung is located. In addition, Daigi is perceived by proponents at the temple as more poetic, euphonious, exclusive, difficult (and therefore prestigious), and precise; this is due to the perception that Daigi has more nuanced synonyms and situational phrases to convey shades of meaning than MSC has available. Daigi is also perceived by the functionaries as more congruent with scriptures and religious texts written in either literary Chinese 文言, or a style imitative of literary Chinese. As far as the distinction between vernacular 白 Daigi and literary 文 Daigi, at the Daode Yuan, literary Daigi crosses over in the vernacular domain quite a bit, aside from the usual appearances in set phrases and idioms, perhaps due to the frequent contact with classical and classical-style texts.

At the DDY, Daigi is a dominant language and considered to be high register, while MSC enjoys the status of an 'alternate' language. This reverses the usual state of affairs with Taiwanese populations which enjoy diglossia with Daigi and MSC, as the mother tongue (or the home tongue, Daigi) is almost always held in lower esteem, given that acquiring MSC would imply a degree of education and additional training or affluence (this is less so as MSC has spread to the whole of the island, but Daigi is nonetheless generally perceived to be low register, a perception which is being fought back against). Daigi being perceived as a high

register lect is aided in that Daigi is assigned a connection to the written tongue (in the form of scriptures, which are given Daigi pronunciations, mostly of the classical literary variety) and privileged by religious functionaries with high social capital, in order for the functionaries to enjoy a closer connection to the local populace. The mutually reinforcing system of privileging has successfully given Daigi a lofty status as one of the base languages of the religiolect of the DDY.

Brief Overview of Non-Phonetic, Non-Lexical Characteristics of Religious Language at the Daode Yuan. Part 3: Negotiation of Semantic Range of Lexicon

Those who elect to make use of the DDY religiolect's repertoire treat the lexicon of the repertoire as semantically mutable. That is to say, there is a far greater degree of uncertainty about the meaning of religious lexical items, even for lexical items that are not overtly religious yet are used in religious discourse, or in a religious manner. This is because a lot of the language involved in doctrine and the language coming from ritual had to be constantly defined and explained to fix any meaning. Fixing meaning is important, because arguments about doctrine need to have fixed terms to be understood and used in the community. This necessity often came up in functionary and practitioner speech. This fixing of meaning is not permanent; rather, it must be fixed anew periodically and even regularly. The very idea of determining the meaning in the lexicon is important to a degree that sets the religiolects apart from the surroundings. For example, with something like "divinity 神," religiolect speakers would alternate between understanding it as a real physical being (even provisionally), as a spiritual force, as a conglomeration of forces making up an individual's real essence, something not too far divorced from magic, a faculty to be gained or lost with one's moral worth, and so on. I noticed that religiolect speakers are more conscientious

about knowing what terms mean than those around and outside the community; the terms are often abstract, philosophical, or largely ineffable. Outside of the community, words have a provisional definition which mostly does not need to be changed or examined; in a particular context, a word has a shallower range of meaning. In the religiolect, there is a long process of negotiation, often hidden to the outside, because of a speaker not wanting to appear unknowledgeable, unintelligent, out of place in the community, or not united in thought with the abbess (and therefore, on some level, disloyal). For example, the term "*khong* 空" often translated as "empty" I observed in such a process of negotiation at the DDY. The term was being explained to me by a functionary of the volunteer association, who, though more elderly, are below the younger resident monastic functionaries in the temple heirarchy. The term was explained as emptiness as when the air is sucked out food packaging. Immediately another functionary of the same rank moved into the conversation to say that it is nihilistic emptiness which cannot be explained by analogy to lack of physical air. Yet another functionary tried to explain that nihilistic emptiness would be "*hi* 虛" which often is translated as "void." The more the discussion continued, the more the group gravitated to the marginal space of the temple hall, and speaking continued with more modulated voices, perhaps so as to not be overheard disagreeing by the monastic functionaries. Eventually an older member of the volunteer organization, who was considered learned enough to be addressed as "teacher" by the others, offered an interpretation, and no further argument was pursued.

It is important to remember that a lect is inextricably enmeshed with the culture to which it is attached. As with religious questions themselves, in the religiolect, one is in a constant struggle to pin down meaning. The best sources of authority for problems with

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lexical ambiguity are the monastic functionaries, especially the pronouncements of the abbess. However, these are only absolute in fixed situations, such as within the context of didaction or moral lessons, and often past precedent, especially textual precedent, is used by practitioners and other functionaries as evidence of the orthodox usage of lexicon. For example, functionaries referred to the Scripture on the Great Precepts of the Upper Chapters on Wisdom and the Roots of Transgression from Numinous Treasure of the Great High Cavern Mystery太上洞玄靈寶智慧罪根上品大戒經 for proper usage of the term for sin, "*tsue* 罪." In the majority of situations, where speakers of the religiolect interact in less formal bases, such as interaction in small groups, in idle conversation with one another, during journeys to ritual locations, and during pragmatic resolution of pararitual processes (the management of manpower and material in order to successfully undertake ritual functions, for example), the bounded conditions for the successful understanding and acceptance of religious terms breaks down. For example, in setting up for the 2012 World Taoist Day opening ceremonies, when monastic functionaries were inordinately occupied with preparations, those monastic functionaries could not supply the kind of instructional support they normally could when the issue of the meaning of tranquil, "*tsing* 靜."

Negotiation to pin down meaning occurs within the framework of strategies accepted in the language community: resorting to arbitration by a lay teacher or elder with known expertise in religious matters, consultation of scriptures, reference to religious text by memory and the evidence from which is then submitted to present third parties, analogic reasoning, resorting to folk knowledge with approval of elder members, appeal to emotion, appeal to literomancy or folk deconstruction of representative logographs, formal logic, and comitative consultation with perceived social equals, to name a few. For example, after

discussion, an item meaning pure, "*tsing* 淨" was finally parsed by folk deconstruction as the forceful purification that occurs when water 氵 acts upon something with vigorous force 爭, and so carries a meaning of something that is cleansed through the application of work.

Indirect negotiation of meaning is certainly constant, as well: it appears inevitable that when making reference to the transcendent and ineffable, members of the language community use their lexicon in ways unexpected and perhaps only subtly contested (if noticed) by other members, and accounts for most of the negotiation of meaning in the religiolect (by volume and not by salience, certainly). For example, I encountered lots of minor negotiations of meaning about terms for "temple"; usually members of the religious community came to the conclusion that Buddhist temples should have *si* 寺 in their names, but often at least one person could name a temple that was Buddhist but did not have the *si* 寺, or which included *bio* 廟, which during the discussion would be considered a descriptor for Daoist temples. As a result of the constant tension in the struggles to define religious lexical items in accordance to the ever-changing contexts (new situations, persons, accumulations of experience, knowledge, and wisdom) the language community finds itself in, the situation in which many words are not clearly defined (in unofficial capacities, mind you) is perceived by the temple community to be normal. Speakers become accustomed to, and ultimately content with, a constant level of ambiguity within the semantic domain encompassed by religion, religious concerns, religious arguments, and the like. For example, the term Dao "*too* 道" is frequently cited as an ambiguous term which should remain ambiguous. In the temple communty, paradox, especially as presented by scriptural example or as didaction from functionaries to explain moral lessons, is an accepted method of dealing with ambiguity in the religiolect. Paradoxes acknowledge the tension in differences of

meaning while dissipating the disruptive force of that tension, by presenting the lack of resolution as a logical alternative to having defined ranges of meaning in the first place.

Ineffability, as a concept, also makes a strong appearance in didactic and ritual situations; ineffability becomes a rhetorical strategy to place definition outside of reach, even scope, of linguistic interactions. As an example, I found the idea of the cavern "*tong* 洞" as both a real and unreal place, or a place in a sacred geography which was not localizable in the observable world. Language itself becomes suspect, as a result of metacognitive and metalinguistic action by the language community as a whole. In fact, ineffability, as a source of wisdom, gives the communicative aspect of language use an almost palpable tension, though admittedly the concept of ineffability is salient only to a very small degree (it is one of the more esoteric and rare rhetorical strategies); in actual use of the religiolect, in most speech acts, most speakers do not attempt to claim that language itself is inadequate for most enterprises, but rather only for particular situations in which meaning is best left ambiguous. In addition, there is tension between most speakers in the language community and the sources of semantic authority listed above. Speakers can, and do, disagree with interpretations of meaning offered and with attempts at negotiating ambiguities. For example, I observed a member of community disagreeing with the interpretation of the item "命運" (fate) as *not* having a more metaphysical explanation. After all, speakers have the option of apostasy (though in this case it is not so dramatic as the term often implies). There is also tension between the dynamic authority of living monastic functionaries and the static authority of scriptures, which are reinforced by their (at least appearance) of archaicness, precedence, and esoteric power ascribed to the written word.

Brief Overview of Non-Phonetic, Non-Lexical Characteristics of Religious Language at the Daode Yuan. Part 4: Noncommunicative Language Use

The DDY religiolect is heavily invested in noncommunicative aspects of language use. First among these is that the community members privilege elements of the religiolect repertoire which the language community uses to strengthen itself as group, to add to its own social cohesion. The religiolect forms a core lexicon around which the language community structures its meaning-seeking processes, core items such as *Dao* and the religious lexicon presented below. This process of privileging fosters in-group language use behavior, which creates a weak insularity, thus allowing the religiolect to further diverge from the nearby lects. An example of this process is the negotiation of the meaning of the term "Daoism 道教" itself. Within the DDY religiolect, functionaries explain the term to fit the narrative of sociocultural mission of the temple and its community as envisioned by the temple leadership (the practices of the DDY are discussed in Chapter 3); without the DDY community the term assumes a broad, vague meaning of "a native Sinitic religion focusing on interaction with a certain spectrum of deities, in a certain spectrum of 'traditional' contexts, by a certain spectrum of ritual processes, to achieve a certain spectrum of benefits": for example, the veneration of deities like Guan Di, at Sinitic-style *gong*-temples, by offering incense, in order to counteract misfortune in one's career. Any number of terms undergoes a similar process by which those terms are divorced from the usual contexts and semantic ranges of the surrounding lects.

Metalinguistically, linguistic practices are communally decided on as acceptable by the group; if so, the practice is included in the regular repertoire; if not, the practice is removed. Though individuals introduce linguistic practices, most often the practices must originate from a source of authority: either the priestly and monastic functionaries, who draw

authority from scripture (themselves having their source of power as concretations of the emanations of pneuma from the coalescence of the very universe, as patterns homologous to the patterns of the interactions of pneuma as found in nature) or from their putative knowledge and experience in the religious domains, or the other functionaries, who possess social capital and the approbation of the community from a grass-roots level. It may be some time before usage patterns are even noticed and accepted, after rounds of metalinguistic discussion, and the sustenance of the linguistic patterns is maintained in proportion to the perceived authority of their provenance (eventually, established usage sustains its own authority: authority deriving from historical precedent is strong in the Daoist communities). Generally, if linguistic practices are not accepted after metalinguistic discussion, the individual(s) engaging in those practices do not necessarily abandon them, but instead privatize their use. It is only when members of the language community are imbued with sufficient social capital that new language usage patterns can sustain themselves even without community approval, though it is a rare phenomenon.

Another aspect of noncommunicative language use is that use of the lect's repertoire, which has many of its elements drawn from Daigi, is closely yet subconsciously tied to the constantly-evolving issue of identity as a member of southern Taiwanese urban society. The religiolect language community, as a human coalescence characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a linguistic body set off from similar groups by differences in language use, determines the use of lexical variables in its linguistic repertoire by a complex process which is closely tied to the negotiation of its own identity; the more of a community identity there is, the more the community authorizes itself to 'own' a lect which diverges from those around it. In addition, the lect privileges features used to enhance the sense of religious professionalism within the language community, emanating from sources

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of the creative power of language and the ability to forge new features of the religiolect, namely, the functionaries. Functionaries tie language use to the scriptures themselves, an ultimate source of power in Daoism, given that the emanation of script derives from patterns of the concretion of pneuma from the time of the coalescence of the very universe. These include deliberate elections to have language sound archaic, poetic, potent, and esoteric, (as perceived by the community members) as well as top-down attempts to impose linguistic order (e.g. by assigning meaning to words of a religious semantic content) which are simultaneously reappropriated or resisted by other members in the language community in conjunction with outsiders or those who enter the language community only occasionally. I observed no features of the religiolect which attempt to promote secrecy (premised on the notion that secret knowledge, required secret codifying of language, is imbued with power), though it must be noted that the classical literary pronunciations in Daigi are often taught in classes offered at the DDY, and so cannot be counted as freely available modes of linguistic expression.

Finally, the religiolect has many elements which the community members marked for expressiveness and emotional impact; community members tied much of the Daigi usage is to the relatively rich "feel" of the language compared to MSC, and the ability to express shades of meaning and powerful subtleties which would otherwise be unavailable to the relatively stodgy, educational, political, and vapid language use found commonly associated with MSC (out of the metalinguistic arguments the community members made, this one most frequently appeared). Conveying information is a sight less important than attempting to negotiate with the ineffable, and thus becomes one strategy among many of properly practicing Daoism in a putative "deeper" level (which is to say, not the level of mere donation of offerings to deities in exchange for some boon or information). In the common

modalities of religiolect use, the language items are not designed to convey thoughts in a precise and effective manner in order to ease the performance of religious duties; instead, the language inculcates the constant search for meaning, emotions, and attitudes relative to Daoist thought and practice. The religiolect consolidates the interpretation of religious domains of thought and the moral/ethical frameworks carried by those domains. The religiolect shapes the attitudes of the language community to phenomena outside its social group, by framing thought according to focal points centered on religious lexicon and using that newfound structure of salience to frame other experiences. The religiolect frames a course of action for the language community in relation to itself, to other social groups, and to the components of reality that are of interest to the language community, by giving itself a separate character from surrounding languages and thereby creating relational and conceptual space in which to center action, and by rendering salient a particular set of religious thoughts and practices through choices in lexicon and phonetic characteristics of speech. The religiolect cradles a particular linguistic image of the world, which by virtue of being a different linguistic entity, must be different in some way from the linguistic image of the world as beheld by persons outside of the language community. This image is shaped by the community itself, as it communally experiences, interprets, and evaluates reality, and, in communally registering the information, has those experiences, interpretations, and evaluations interact with language. These are interwoven with particular norms and values cherished by the community, which again speaks about them in particular ways.

On the Grammatical Elements of the DDY Religiolect's Repertoire

Grammar, though not a focal point of this dissertation, is important to lexical semantics of utterances, and displays the following tendencies. In imperative statements

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based in MSC, one may find constructions corresponding to the *kah* verbal affix in Daigi, meaning "to the extent that" or "in such a way," where the constructions are designed to mirror the affix's position between verb and complement. In MSC utterances, adjectival intensifiers may be placed before the verb in situations where one might expect a second adjective used as a stative verb following the adjective to be intensified. Postverbal markers of completed aspect precede the verb in some modified form (conversion of putative logograph in Daigi to MSC, or by circumlocutionary reconstruction).

Where one would expect simple V+O constructions, one finds prevalence of proverb+O+V constructions, corresponding with Daigi *ka* 共. There is tension between the asymmetry in distinction between certain units of language (especially grammar words) in Daigi and MSC which emerge, such as the distinction between progressive *zai* and locative *zai*, which are differentiated in Daigi, or the distinction between the repetitive *koh* and the additive *koh*, which are differentiated in MSC. Measure words are sometimes confused between the MSC and Daigi substrate languages (there are a number that do not correspond, or that differ significantly), and the impetus exists to insert a measure word between adjectives of size and the modified word. Daigi negations and MSC negations sometimes become intermingled, and negations putatively drawn from Literary Chinese appear more frequently, especially when speaking in didactic situations. Morphological reduplication appears with less frequency than in standard Daigi, though it appears in MSC-based utterances when unexpected. Structural particles between verbs and complements from Daigi sometimes leak into MSC utterances, but appear with increased incidence. In converting Literary Chinese-derived text for translation or discussion in Daigi, there is some struggle to add features which are marked for in Daigi but not otherwise, which requires extra interpretation during the translation process, such as selecting structural particles of

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completion between verbs and complements. Similarly, where an object follows a verb and a complement appears, there is greater incidence of placing the complement after the object than would otherwise be common, or even at times done when referring to texts or in mixed usage of MSC and Daigi. Directional complements do not have components splitting the compound. Language tends to be made to appear erudite and formal, especially by controlling the cadence of speech, creation of equisyllabic parallel structures, and allusion to literary and religious patrimony. Interrogatives in the MSC form of V + neg + V appear with greater frequency in Daigi (as opposed to sole reliance on the standard neg + V + neg), while the converse appears in MSC or Literary Chinese based utterances. There is a great decrease in frequency of the common Daigi phenomenon of ommision in discourse of understood or known information. Though I was unable to investigate the following in enough detail, there seems to be some alteration in the tone sandhi patterns for what constitutes a "tonal unit 聲調單位," or a unit in which the tone sandhi pattern occurs before resetting; there appeared to be a less prevalent activation of tone sandhi, as though there were a greater number of tonal units. This may have reflected an increase in the salience of information during utterances. There is a much greater incidence of the appearance of the optional enclitic *zi* (nominalizer, diminutive). There are many literal translations from Daigi to MSC, though not many in the reverse. There is a near-total absence of foreign loanwords. The MSC existential *you* takes on an auxiliary function, so that *you* + V indicates experience or completion, as is commonly indicated by affixed *le*. 說 is used as a complementizer or phrase-final modal particle, to express the opinion of the speaker. The progressive *zai* becomes utilizable with stative verbs (adjectival), whereas otherwise they would not. *Hui* acts as an auxiliary verb with greater frequency; *hui* precededs stative verbs (adjectival), or acts as

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a copula. *Bu xing* becomes a modal verb, instead of being used solely as an answer to a question about permissibility. Attemptive reduplication occurs to a limited extent in Daigi-based utterances (as would normally be impermissible), though in MSC based utterances the V + *kankan* or V+V + *kan* pattern is common. The "toneless" tone category of MSC is almost invariably assigned the tone the corresponding logograph would otherwise bear. The systems of deixis of Daigi and MSC are both intermingled in utterances based in either language (such as the referent-introducing, hedging, and condition introducing functions of *hitlo* being mirrored by MSC *na*). Daigi-based utterances have fewer instances of 阿, 相, 坦 as prefixed morphemes, 仔, 頭 as suffixed morphemes, and 仔, 母, 裡 as infixed morphemes.

On Religious Lexical Elements of the DDY Religiolect's Repertoire

The DDY religiolect has a repertoire of religious lexicon much larger than surrounding lects. Religious lexical items are those which are identified by members of the religious community as being religious, in the sense that they are intimately related to the concerns and processes involved in practicing and thinking about religion (pursuant to how I defined religion in its apposite chapter), in addition to words being in frequent use in conjunction with the appearance of those identified items. In addition to my discussion of the "religious" element in religiolects (above), I reiterate here that the lexical items I present as elements of the repertoire of the religiolect are those which can reasonably be determined to be perceived to be marked or unusual in some way by the temple community members, relative to nonreligious language; I relied on my own theoretical understanding of what "religion" is, and therefore how lexicon could be "marked or unusual" from a religious

standpoint (in this case, the Daoism practiced by the Taiwanese population I observed), in addition to the relatively rare overt declarations of the templegoers themselves.[227] Following Keane, the peculiar or marked forms and uses of language that I call religious are "constructed in such a way as to suggest, *often in only the most implicit ways*, that they involve entities or modes of agency that are considered by practitioners to be consequentially distinct from more 'ordinary' experience or situated across some sort of ontological divide from something understood as a more everyday 'here and now'."[228]

On the Phonetic Elements of the DDY Religiolect's Repertoire

The DDY religiolect repertoire has phonetic elements from MSC and Daigi. The phonetic elements are from colloquial, oral, formal, ritualized, literary, classical, and modern lects derived from MSC and Daigi. That is to say that some of the phonetic elements come from, for example, Daigi lects that are used in ritual and formal situations as opposed to Daigi lects that are used in idle conversational contexts.

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[227] I could not solely rely on the temple community members' understanding of "religious lexicon," because, 1.) constantly questioning the "religious" content of their language would make community members self-conscious, thus altering their language usage patterns, and 2.) require community members to have a theoretical understanding of "religion" from an academic standpoint that is congruent with my own. Of course, in reality, being a member of a religious community does not require one to have any self-reflexive or theoretical understanding of "religion" as an academic abstraction; also, different community members are free to different interpretations, many of which nonetheless allow them to be part of the same community and meaningfully function with one another as part of that community. I used an established and common qualitative method of analysis in sociology and anthropology, as presented, for example, in Schutt, R. *Investigating the Social World: The Process and Practice of Research*. 7th Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications: October 26, 2011: 320-322: "From a hermeneutic perspective, a researcher is constructing a "reality" with his or her interpretations of a text provided by the subjects of research." ("The "text" that qualitative researchers analyze is most often transcripts of interviews or notes from participant observation sessions..."); ."..qualitative data analysis tends to be inductive—the analyst identifies important categories in the data, as well as patterns and relationships, through a process of discovery. There are often no predefined measures or hypotheses."; "When the researcher reads the text interpretively, she tries to construct her own interpretation of what the text means."

[228] Keane, Webb. "Language and Religion." In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Alessandro Dranti, 431-448. Malden-Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.

The elements listed in the sections below form part of a repertoire, and so represent elements that are selected and used in contexts deemed appropriate by those who use the religiolect. The elements below appear as phonetic shifts from one substrate lect to another substrate lect. The tables below show a putative initial-state pronunciation (observed in surrounding lects) along with an observed "alternate" pronunciation, with an example logograph representing a representative underlying word undergoing the illustrated shift. The shifts are neither permanent nor ubiquitous, but instead must be understood as occasional and subtle: in the vast majority of occurrences, the phonetic shift cannot be understood to result from a conscious choice, but rather from the speaker's attention shifting to salient situations in which other phonetic systems have influence. The phonetic elements are most often selected during what may be termed "moments of hybridity," during which multiple systems of culture, discourse and knowledge come together, and when a speaker is engaged in selecting between various competing lects in which he or she has competence. The phonetic elements are not necessarily selected as a particular initial matched with a particular final to form a phonetic shift for a whole word; initials or finals of a word may be selected from the repertoire without changing the "original" and corresponding final and initial of that word.

For example, at the DDY, phonetic shifts from colloquial Daigi pronunciations are at times naturally overcome by the classical Daigi pronunciations, which emerge from ritual readings and religious instructional situations, and so are naturally associated with the religious semantic domains. A specific example of the just described would be the 明 in 明年 being observed to shift from the normal colloquial *me* pronunciation to a hybrid *be*

after the speaker had just been using the classical Daigi pronunciation; the classical

pronunciation of 明 in Daigi being *bing*.

The Phonetic Inventory of Daigi and MSC as Used in the DDY

In this section, I present the vocalic, consonantal, and tonal systems of the major

lects (Daigi and MSC) which contribute to the DDY religiolect repertoire. The images are

based on completed IPA charts, with information added and removed to reflect the accurate

phonetic range as I observed it at the DDY. I will here point out that in the Daigi vowel

chart, while the [e] and [ε] appear in most charts one to the exclusion of the other, I

observed both. The [o] and [ɤ] were also both observed, though the [ɤ] was more prevalent.

For Daigi tones, the tone rules most closely resembled the Tainan pattern (especially given

that the abbess is from Tainan, and that it represents a southern pronunciation), but at times

exhibited the Taipei pattern. I did not focus on tones in this study, though I did not neglect
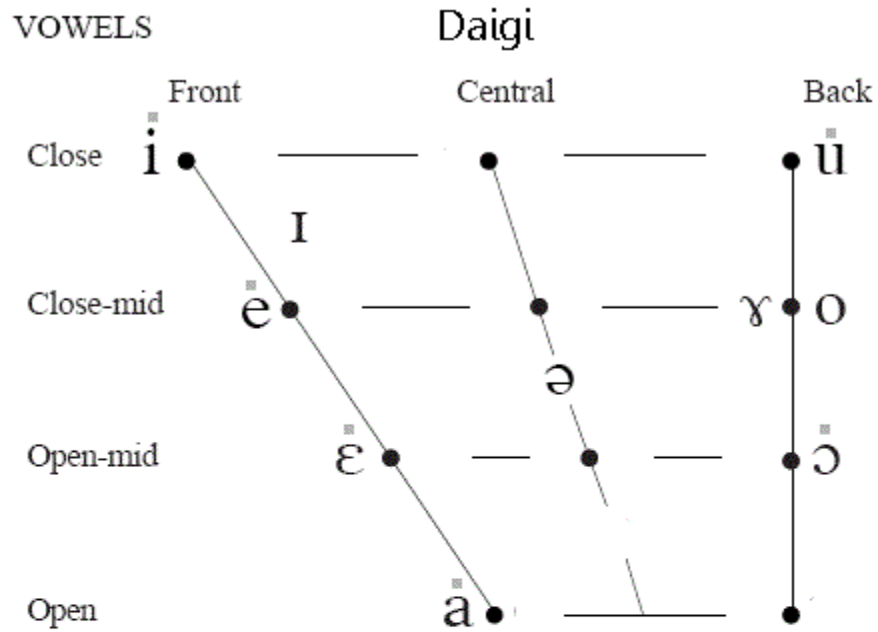
them either.

VOWELS   Daigi

            Front   Central   Back

Close   i •   ———   •   ———   • ü

                  I

Close-mid   e •   ———   •   ——— ɤ • o

                          ə

Open-mid   ɛ • — • — • ɔ

Open   a •   ———   •

A vowel to the right of the ● represents a rounded vowel, while one to the left represents an unrounded vowel.

e
ɛ   〉 Usually phonology charts contain one or the two of these two

ɤ
o   〉 The above represents a southern pronunciation while the lower represents a northern pronunciation

Syllabic consonants: [m̩] [ŋ̍]
Vowels subject to nasalization marked with: ▪

Figure 1: Daigi lect vowels

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Tone Number	Name	Pitch in Taipei	Pitch in Tainan
1	Yin Level (陰平)	˥ (55)	˦ (44)
2 (6)	Rising (上聲)	˥˩ (51)	˥˧ (53)
3	Yin Departing (陰去)	˧˩ to ˨˩ (31~21)	˩ (11)
4	Yin Entering (陰入)	˧˨ʔ (32)	˨˩ʔ (21)
5	Yang Level (陽平)	˩˦ to ˨˦ (14~24)	˨˥ (25)
7	Yang Departing (陽去)	˧ (33)	˨ (22)
8	Yang Entering (陽入)	˦ʔ (4)	˥ʔ (5)

Tone Sandhi Rules:
Tone 5 becomes 3 (Taipei) or 7 (Tainan).
Tone 7 becomes 3.
Tone 3 becomes 2.
Tone 2 becomes 1.
Tone 1 becomes 7.
Tone 8 ending in p, t, or k becomes 4.
Tone 4 ending in p, t, or k becomes 8.
Tone 8 ending in glottal stop becomes 3.
Tone 4 ending in glottal stop becomes 2.

Tone Sandhi Diagram:
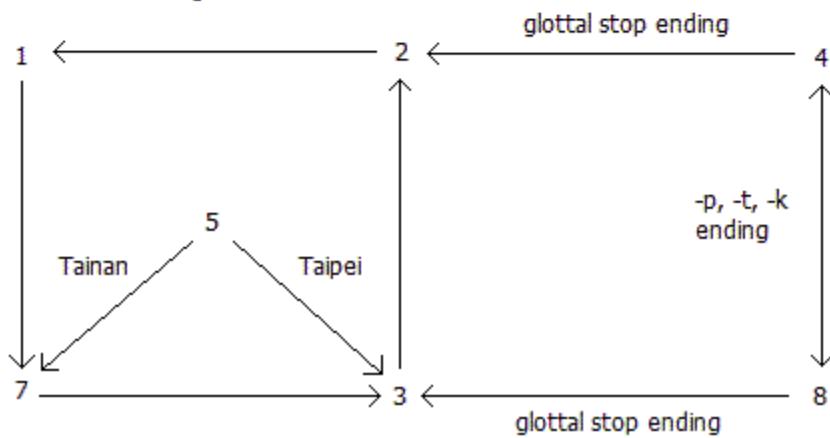
Figure 2: Daigi lect tones

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DAIGI

Place →	Labial		Coronal				Dorsal			Radical		Glottal
↓ Manner	Bilabial	Labio dental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalv.	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn geal	Epiglottal	Glottal
Nasal	m			n				ŋ				
Plosive	p• b			t•				k• g				ʔ
Fricative				s								h
Approximant												
Trill												
Flap or tap												
Lateral Fric.												
Lateral Appr.				l								
Lateral flap												

Affricates			
	ts• dz		tɕ• dʑ

Co-articulated consonants		
Fricatives	ɕ	
Approximants		
Stops		

Where symbols appear in pairs, left—right represent the voiceless—voiced consonants.
Shaded areas denote pulmonic articulations judged to be impossible.
Consonants with phonemic aspiration contrast are marked with: •

Coronal affricates and fricatives become alveolo-palatal before /i/, that is, /dzi/, /tsi/, /tsʰi/, and /si/ are pronounced [dʑi], [tɕi], [tɕʰi], and [ɕi].
The consonant /dz/ may be realized as a fricative; that is, as [z] in most environments and [ʑ] before /i/.
The voiced plosives (/b/ and /g/) become the corresponding fricatives ([β] and [ɣ]) in some phonetic contexts.

Figure 3: Daigi lect consonants

VOWELS   MODERN STANDARD CHINESE
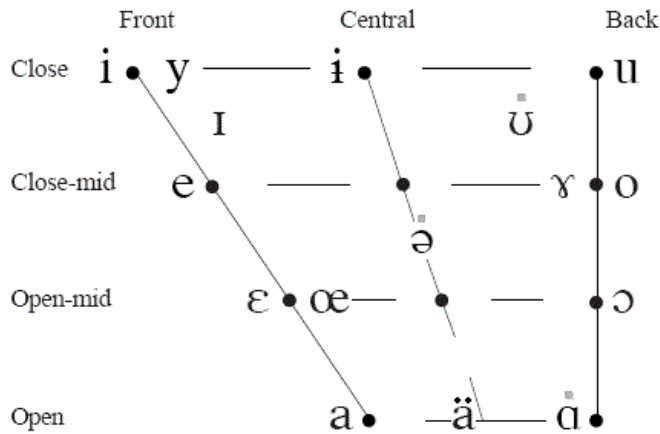
A vowel to the right of the ● represents a rounded vowel, while one to the left represents an unrounded vowel.

Apical vowels occur after apical dental and retroflex fricatives/affricates: [ɹ̩] and [ɻ̩]

Vowels subject to nasalization marked with: ▪

Diphtongs: aɪ ei ɑʊ oʊ

Possible syllabic finals:

Nucleus	Coda	Medial			
		Ø	j	w	ɥ
a	Ø	ä	jä	wä	
	i	aɪ		waɪ	
	u	äʊ̯	jäʊ̯		
	n	an	jɛn	wan	ɥœn
	ŋ	ɑŋ	jɑŋ	wɑŋ	
ə	Ø	ɤ	jɛ	wɔ ¹	ɥœ ²
	i	eɪ		weɪ	
	u	oʊ̯	joʊ̯		
	n	ən	in	wən	yn
	ŋ	ɤŋ	iŋ	wɤŋ ~ ʊŋ ³	jʊŋ
Ø		ẓ~ɻ̩	i	u	y

Tones:

Tone Number	Name	Pitch
1	Yin Level (陰平)	˥ 55
2	Yang Level (陽平)	˧˥ 35
3	Rising (上)	˨˩˦ 1214
4	Departing (去)	˥˨ 2

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Figure 4: MSC lect vowels and tones

MODERN STANDARD CHINESE

Place →	Labial		Coronal				Dorsal			Radical		Glottal
↓ Manner	Bilabial	Labio dental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalv.	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn geal	Epiglottal	Glottal
Nasal	m			n				ŋ				
Plosive	p•			t•				k•				
Fricative		f		s		ʂ ʐ		x				h
Approximant						ɻ	j					
Trill												
Flap or tap												
Lateral Fric.												
Lateral Appr.				l								
Lateral flap												

Affricates			
ts•		tɕ•	tʂ•

Co-articulated consonants		
Fricatives	ɕ	
Approximants	w	ɥ
Stops		

Where symbols appear in pairs, left—right represent the voiceless—voiced consonants.
Shaded areas denote pulmonic articulations judged to be impossible.
Consonants with phonemic aspiration contrast are marked with: •

Figure 5: MSC lect consonants

Hybridized Phonetic Elements at the DDY

As I wrote above, this section contains "a putative initial-state" pronunciation

(observed in surrounding lects) along with an observed "alternate" pronunciation, with an

example logograph representing a representative underlying word undergoing the illustrated

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shift. The shifts are neither permanent nor ubiquitous, but instead must be understood as occasional and subtle: in the vast majority of occurrences, the phonetic shift cannot be understood to result from a conscious choice, but rather from the speaker's attention shifting to salient situations in which other phonetic systems have influence. The phonetic elements are most often selected during what may be termed "moments of hybridity," during which multiple systems of culture, discourse and knowledge come together, and when a speaker is engaged in selecting between various competing lects in which he or she has competence."[229]

The first portion of this section, MSC to Daigi, lists a putative phonetic element drawn from MSC followed by an observed phonetic element drawn from Daigi, along with a representative logograph for each line. In the very first line, for example, 馬 was expected to be pronounced with a [m-] initial because the context was an MSC context (for example, the surrounding speech was conducted in MSC); however, I observed a [b-] initial. In the second line, I show that the [m-] initial could also retain its same pronunciation (if, for example, the final happened to change to a Daigi pronunciation, or if the Daigi phonetic element is the same as its MSC counterpart), or that sometimes the pronunciation did not change even if I expected it to change during moments of hybridity. Over the course of the participant observation, I gathered the data to construct the following table; the remaining lines follow the same pattern as the first and second lines.

MSC   to   Daigi[230]

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[229] See section 2.5, above.

[230] /i/ → [i], [I]; /e/ → [e],[ɛ]; /o/ → [ə],[ɤ](south),[o](north)

[m-]	→	馬[b-]
[m-]	→	毛[m-]
[n-]	→	南[l-]
[n-]	→	年[n-]
[p-]	→	不[p-]
[p-]	→	被[pʰ-]
[pʰ-]	→	派[pʰ-]
[pʰ-]	→	平[p-]
[t-]	→	大[t-]
[tʰ-]	→	天[tʰ-]
[tʰ-]	→	同[t-]
[tʰ-]	→	田[tsʰ-]
[k-]	→	國[k-]
[kʰ-]	→	開[kʰ-]
[f-]	→	飛[hʷ-]
[f-]	→	富[h-]
[s-]	→	所 [s-]
[s-]	→	歲[h-]
[s-]	→	俗 [ɕ]
[ʂ-]	→	手[tsʰ-]

[ʂ-]	→	說[sʷ-]
[ʂ-]	→	生[s-]
[ʂ-]	→	少[ts-]
[ʐ-], [ɻ-]	→	人[dz-] / 日[l-]
[ʐ-], [ɻ-]	→	榮[Ø-]
[x-], [h-]	→	合 [h-]
[x-], [h-]	→	後 [Ø-]
[x-], [h-]	→	話[ʔ-]/[ɥ-]
[a ɻ]	→	耳 [ni]
[a ɻ]	→	而 [dzi]/[li]
[l-]	→	來 [l-]
[l-]	→	林 [n-]
[ts-]	→	在 [ts-]
[tsʰ-]	→	從 [ts-]
[tsʰ-]	→	錯 [tsʰ-]
[tɕ-]	→	經[k-]
[tɕ-]	→	進[ts-]
[tɕʰ-]	→	去[kʰ-]
[tɕʰ-]	→	請[tsʰ-]
[tɕʰ-]	→	奇[k-]

[tʂ-]	→	中[tⁱ-]
[tʂ-]	→	豬[t-]
[tʂ-]	→	主[ts-]
[tʂʰ-]	→	出[tsʰ-]
[tʂʰ-]	→	成[ɕ-]
[tʂʰ-]	→	產[s-]
[tʂʰ-]	→	場[t-]
[ɕ-]	→	小[ɕ]
[ɕ-]	→	學[h-]
[ɕ-]	→	西[s-]
[ɥ-]	→	月[g-]
[ɥ-]	→	運[Ø-]
[ɥ-]	→	閱 [Øj-]
[Ø-]	→	已[Ø-]
[Ø-]	→	巳[k-]
陰入(4) / 陽入(8)	→	[-p]
陰入(4) / 陽入(8)	→	[-t]
陰入(4) / 陽入(8)	→	[-k]
陰入(4) / 陽入(8)	→	[-ʔ]
[-ä]	→	大[-wa]

[-ä]	→	怕[-a]
[-jä]	→	家[-a]
[-jä]	→	夏[-e]
[-jä]	→	牙[-a]
[-jä]	→	雅[-a]/[-e]
[-wä]	→	話[-ue]
[-aɪ]	→	太[-ai]
[-aɪ]	→	胎[-e]
[-aɪ]	→	帶[-ua]
[-aɪ]	→	百[-a]
[-waɪ]	→	快[-wai]
[-waɪ]	→	外[-wa]/[-we]
[-waɪ]	→	帥[-we]
[-äʊ]	→	腦[-au]
[-äʊ]	→	考[-ə]
[-äʊ]	→	毛[-ɔ]
[-jäʊ]	→	鳥[-iau]
[-jäʊ]	→	廟[-iə]
[-jäʊ]	→	教[-au]
[-an]	→	懶[-am]

[-an]	→	難[-an]
[-an]	→	滿[-ua]
[-an]	→	看[-uã]
[-an]	→	叛[-wan]
[-jɛn]	→	變[-ien]
[-jɛn]	→	邊[-ĩ]
[-jɛn]	→	廉[-iem]
[-jɛn]	→	glide initial: [g-]
[-wan]	→	關[-uan]
[-wan]	→	官[-uã]
[-wan]	→	亂[-an]
[-wan]	→	鑽[-ŋ]
[-ɥœn]	→	運[-un]
[- a ŋ]	→	浪[-əŋ]
[- a ŋ]	→	康[-ŋ]
[- a ŋ]	→	航[-aŋ]
[- a ŋ]	→	盲[- ɔ]
[-j a ŋ]	→	量[-iu]
[-j a ŋ]	→	娘[-ia]
[-j a ŋ]	→	講[-əŋ]

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[-j a ŋ]	→	江[-aŋ]
[-j a ŋ]	→	想[-iũ]
[-j a ŋ]	→	象[-iaŋ]
[-w a ŋ]	→	黃[-ŋ]
[-w a ŋ]	→	皇[-əŋ]
[-ɤ]	→	河[-ə]
[-ɤ]	→	熱[-uaʔ]/[-iat]
[-ɤ]	→	特[-ik]
[-ɤ]	→	樂[-ək]
[-j ɛ]	→	鐵[-iat]/[-iʔ]
[-j ɛ]	→	寫[-ia]
[-j ɛ]	→	茄[-iə]/[-a]
[-j ɛ]	→	階[-ai]
[-w ɔ]	→	果[-ə]
[-w ɔ]	→	國[-ək]
[-w ɔ]	→	過[-ue]/[-e]
[-ɥœ]	→	月[-uat]/[-ueʔ]/[-eʔ]
[-ɥœ]	→	學[-ak]/[- əʔ]
[-ɥœ]	→	略[-iəʔ]
[-e ɪ]	→	黑[-ik]

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[-eɪ]	→	雷[-ui]
[-eɪ]	→	梅[-ue]
[-eɪ]	→	被[-i]
[-eɪ]	→	北[-ak]
[-weɪ]	→	鬼[-ui]
[-weɪ]	→	退[-e]
[-weɪ]	→	吹[-ue]
[-oʊ]	→	豆[-au]
[-oʊ]	→	構 & literary variants [-ɔ]
[-joʊ]	→	酒[-iu]
[-joʊ]	→	流[-au]
[-ən]	→	恨[-un]
[-ən]	→	門[-ŋ]
[-in]	→	進[-in]
[-in]	→	金[-im]
[-wən]	→	輪[-un]
[-wən]	→	頓[-ŋ]
[-yn]	→	軍[-un]
[-ɤŋ]	→	橫[-uĩ]
[-ɤŋ]	→	登[-iŋ]

[-ɤŋ]	→	庚[-ẽ]/[-ĩ]
[-ɤŋ]	→	等[-an]
[-iŋ]	→	定[-iŋ]
[-iŋ]	→	領[-ia]
[-iŋ]	→	清[-ĩ]
[-iŋ]	→	星[-an]/[-ẽ]
[-wɤŋ] / [-ʊŋ]	→	榮[-iŋ]
[-wɤŋ] / [-ʊŋ]	→	龍[-iəŋ]
[-wɤŋ] / [-ʊŋ]	→	農[-əŋ]
[-wɤŋ] / [-ʊŋ]	→	公[-aŋ]
[-jʊŋ]	→	雄[-iəŋ]
[-jʊŋ]	→	兄[-iŋ]/[-iŋ]
[-jʊŋ]	→	熊[-im]
[-ɔ] / [-ɚ]	→	師[-u]
[-ɔ] / [-ɚ]	→	治[-i]
[-ɔ] / [-ɚ]	→	制[-e]
[-ɔ] / [-ɚ]	→	赤[-iaʔ]
[-i]	→	裡[-i]
[-i]	→	地[-e]/[-ue]
[-i]	→	西[-ai]

[-u]	→	胡[-ɔ]
[-u]	→	俗[-jək]
[-u]	→	速[-ək]
[-u]	→	部[-ə]
[-y]	→	句[-u]
[-y]	→	去[-i]
[-y]	→	許[-ɔ]

DAIGI	to	MSC
[p-]	→	[p-]把
[p-]	→	[ph-]埔
[pʰ-]	→	[f-]芳
[pʰ-]	→	[ph-]派
[pʰ-]	→	[p-]抱
[b-]	→	[m-]目
[b-]	→	[Ø-]萬
[t-]	→	[t-]打
[t-]	→	[th-]台
[t-]	→	[tʂ-]/[tʂʰ-]重
[tʰ-]	→	[th-]塔
[tʰ-]	→	[t-]讀

[tʰ-]	→	[tʂʰ-]蟲
[tʰ-]	→	[tʂ-]展
[k-]	→	[tɕ-]加
[k-]	→	[k-]蓋
[k-]	→	[h-]猴
[kʰ-]	→	[tɕʰ-]巧
[kʰ-]	→	[kʰ-]開
[kʰ-]	→	[ɕ-]溪
[g-]	→	[Ø-]牙
[g-]	→	[i]議
[g-]	→	[n-]逆
[g-]	→	[ɥ-]玉
[ts-]	→	[tʂʰ-]查
[ts-]	→	[ts-]早
[ts-]	→	[tʂ-]炸
[ts-]	→	[tsʰ-]才
[ts-]	→	[tɕ-]節
[ts-]	→	[tɕʰ-]情
[ts-]	→	[ʂ]水
[tsʰ-]	→	[tʂʰ-]懺

[tsʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]燦
[tsʰ-]	→	[tɕʰ-]妻
[tsʰ-]	→	[ʂ-]生
[tsʰ-]	→	[ɕ]笑
[tsʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]刺
[h-]	→	[ɕ-]孝
[h-]	→	[h-]海
[h-]	→	[f-]風
[h-]	→	[i]蟻
[h-]	→	[ʐ-]燃
[h-]	→	[Ø-]葉
[h-]	→	[s-]歲
[Ø-]	→	[Ø-]安
[Ø-]	→	[h-]紅
[Ø-]	→	[ɕ-]限
[Øj-]	→	[Ø-]央
[Øj-]	→	[ɥ-]孕
[Øw-]	→	[Ø-]椏
[Øw-]	→	[h-]活
[Øw-]	→	[ɥ-]援

[m-]	→	[m-]矛
[m-]	→	[p-]鞭
[m-]	→	[u]物
[n-]	→	[n-]腦
[n-]	→	[ʐ-]若
[n-]	→	[l-]嶺
[n-]	→	[m-]貓
[ŋ-]	→	[Øj-]雅
[ŋ-]	→	[Ø-]艾
[ŋ-]	→	[Øw-]我
[s-]	→	[s-]散
[s-]	→	[ʂ-]獅
[s-]	→	[ɕ-]西
[s-]	→	[tsʰ-]賜
[ɕ-]	→	[ʂ-]閃
[ɕ-]	→	[tʂʰ-]襌
[ɕ-]	→	[s-]死
[ɕ-]	→	[ɕ-]消
[l-]	→	[l-]拉
[l-]	→	[n-]內

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[l-]	→	[ʂ-]攝
[l-]	→	[ʐ-]蕊
[dz-]	→	[ts-]字
[dz-]	→	[ʐ-]染
[dz-]	→	[tʂ-]抓
[-a]	→	[-ä]把
[-a]	→	[-jäʊ]孝
[-a]	→	[-jä]夏
[-a]	→	[-äʊ]飽
[-ɔ]	→	[-u]埔
[-ɔ]	→	[-oʊ]某
[-ɔ]	→	[-wɔ]魔
[-ɔ]	→	[-äʊ]惱
[-ai]	→	[-aɪ]愛
[-ai]	→	[-eɪ]眉
[-ai]	→	[-jä]涯
[-ai]	→	[-jɛ]諧
[-ai]	→	[-ʅ]知
[-ɩa]	→	[-aɪ]哀
[-ɩa]	→	[-jä]遐

[-ia]	→	[-jɛ]野
[-ia]	→	[-i]奇
[-ia]	→	[-iŋ]名
[-ia]	→	[-jaŋ]娘
[-ia]	→	[-jɛ]寫
[-ia]	→	[-ɤ]舍
[-ua]	→	[-wä]花
[-ua]	→	[-wɔ]磨
[-ua]	→	[-ɤ]歌
[-ua]	→	[-an]鰻
[-ua]	→	[-ä]大
[-ua]	→	[-y]娶
[-ua]	→	[-ʅ]紙
[-iau]	→	[-jäʊ]妙
[-iau]	→	[-joʊ]猶
[-iau]	→	[-wä]抓
[-iau]	→	[-äʊ]貓
[-iau]	→	[-u]數
[-e]	→	[-ä]馬
[-e]	→	[-i]迷

[-e]	→	[-aɪ]賣
[-e]	→	[-wɔ]火
[-e]	→	[-jä]退
[-e]	→	[-jɛ]界
[-e]	→	[-ɤŋ]猛
[-e]	→	[-eɪ]被
[-e]	→	[-weɪ]退
[-ə]	→	[-u]母
[-ə]	→	[-äʊ]帽
[-ə]	→	[-ɤ]河
[-ə]	→	[-wɔ]果
[-au]	→	[-äʊ]飽
[-au]	→	[-oʊ]歐
[-au]	→	[-jäʊ]孝
[-au]	→	[-wɔ]落
[-au]	→	[-joʊ]留
[-iə]	→	[-jäʊ]廟
[-iə]	→	[-oʊ]口
[-iə]	→	[-äʊ]趙
[-ue]	→	[-weɪ]尾

[-ue]	→	[-aɪ]外
[-ue]	→	[-wä]花
[-ue]	→	[-wɔ]火
[-ue]	→	[-weɪ]回
[-ue]	→	[-ɤ]課
[-ue]	→	[-eɪ]杯
[-uai]	→	[-waɪ]懷
[-i]	→	[-i]米
[-i]	→	[-y]魚
[-i]	→	[-ɿ]字
[-i]	→	[-eɪ]悲
[-i]	→	[-ʅ]詩
[-i]	→	[-u]豬
[-u]	→	[-u]母
[-u]	→	[-y]女
[-u]	→	[-joʊ]舊
[-u]	→	[-weɪ]龜
[-u]	→	[-ɿ]賜
[-u]	→	[-ʅ]史
[-iu]	→	[-joʊ]牛

[-iu]	→	[-oʊ]柔
[-iu]	→	[-u]樹
[-ui]	→	[-weɪ]偽
[-ui]	→	[-eɪ]非
[-ui]	→	[-i] 氣
[-ã]	→	[-jaŋ]向
[-ã]	→	[-an]敢
[-ã]	→	[-aŋ]挺
[-ɔ̃]	→	[-wɔ]火
[-ɔ̃]	→	[-äʊ]好
[-aɪ̃]	→	[-eɪ]揹
[-aɪ̃]	→	[-aɪ]歹
[-iã]	→	[-jʊŋ]兄
[-iã]	→	[-jɛn]顯
[-iã]	→	[-iŋ]餅
[-iã]	→	[-an]燃
[-iã]	→	[-aɪ]艾
[-iã]	→	[-jɛn]件
[-iã]	→	[-ɤŋ]城
[-iã]	→	[-ʊŋ]痛

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[-uã]	→	[-wan]歡
[-uã]	→	[-waŋ]恍
[-uã]	→	[-an]看
[-uã]	→	[-jɛn]線
[-uã]	→	[-ən]怎
[-uã]	→	[-ä]炸
[-uã]	→	[-ɥœn]泉
[-ẽ]	→	[-iŋ]嬰
[-ẽ]	→	[-ɤŋ]羹
[m]	→	[m-][-ä]姆
[m]	→	[m-][-eɪ]莓
[ŋ]	→	[h-][-uaŋ]黃
[ŋ]	→	[ɕ-][-iaŋ]向
[ŋ]	→	[Ø-][-in]蔭
[-ŋ]	→	[-wan]軟
[-ŋ]	→	[-waŋ]荒
[-ŋ]	→	[-aŋ]當
[-ŋ]	→	[-wən]頓
[-ŋ]	→	[-an]飯
[-uaĩ]	→	[-wan]關

[-uaĩ]	→	[-waⅠ] 跛
[-ĩ]	→	[-iŋ]嬰
[-ĩ]	→	[-jɛn]燕
[-ĩ]	→	[-ɥœn]院
[-ĩ]	→	[-ɤŋ]生
[-ĩ]	→	[-i]鼻
[-ĩ]	→	[aɻ]耳
[-iũ]	→	[-jaŋ]香
[-iũ]	→	[-aŋ]傷
[-am]	→	[-an]暗
[-am]	→	[-ʊŋ]籠
[-an]	→	[-an]安
[-an]	→	[-jɛn]限
[-an]	→	[-oʊ]廈
[-an]	→	[-iŋ]瓶
[-an]	→	[-ɤŋ]等
[-an]	→	[-ən]陳
[-aŋ]	→	[-ɤŋ]翁
[-aŋ]	→	[-ʊŋ]紅
[-aŋ]	→	[-aŋ]芒

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[-aŋ]	→	[-j a ŋ]項
[-im]	→	[-in]錦
[-im]	→	[-j ʊ ŋ]熊
[-im]	→	[-ən]任
[-im]	→	[-œn]尋
[-in]	→	[-in]敏
[-in]	→	[-j ɛ n]面
[-in]	→	[-ən]恨
[-in]	→	[-ɥœn]孕
[-in]	→	[-iŋ]輕
[-iŋ]	→	[-iŋ]命
[-iŋ]	→	[-ɤŋ]猛
[-iŋ]	→	[-j ʊ ŋ]胸
[-iŋ]	→	[-wan]穿
[-əm]	→	[-j ɛ n]掩
[-əm]	→	[-an]參
[-əŋ]	→	[- a ŋ]芳
[-əŋ]	→	[-ɤŋ]鳳
[-əŋ]	→	[-ʊŋ]孔
[-əŋ]	→	[-w ɔ]摸

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[-əŋ]	→	[-j a ŋ]講
[-əŋ]	→	[-w a ŋ]狂
[-iam]	→	[-j ɛ n]嚴
[-iam]	→	[-an]染
[-iam]	→	[-ən]針
[-ian]	→	[-j ɛ n]邊
[-ian]	→	[-ɥœn]緣
[-ian]	→	[-an]戰
[-ian]	→	[-ən]禪
[-iaŋ]	→	[-j a ŋ]響
[-iaŋ]	→	[- a ŋ]嚷
[-iaŋ]	→	[-w a ŋ]雙
[-iəŋ]	→	[-j a ŋ]仰
[-iəŋ]	→	[-j ʊ ŋ]雄
[-iəŋ]	→	[-ʊ ŋ]恐
[-iəŋ]	→	[- a ŋ]常
[-un]	→	[-ən]吻
[-un]	→	[-wən]訓
[-un]	→	[-wən]睏
[-uan]	→	[-an]滿

[-uan]	→	[-ɥœn]原
[-uan]	→	[-wan]環
[-uan]	→	[-jɛn]縣
[-aʔ]	→	[-ä]壓
[-aʔ]	→	[-ɤ]合
[-aʔ]	→	[-jäʊ]較
[-aʔ]	→	[-aI]百
[-aʔ]	→	[-jɛ]貼
[-əʔ]	→	[-ɤ]鶴
[-əʔ]	→	[-wɔ]落
[-əʔ]	→	[-ɥœ] 學
[-iaʔ]	→	[-ɤ]額
[-iaʔ]	→	[-jɛ]頁
[-iaʔ]	→	[-i]隙
[-iaʔ]	→	[-ɿ]刺
[-iaʔ]	→	[-ʅ]食
[-uaʔ]	→	[-wɔ]末
[-uaʔ]	→	[-ɤ]喝
[-uaʔ]	→	[-i]屜
[-eʔ]	→	[-aI]麥

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[-eʔ]	→	[-jä]狹
[-eʔ]	→	[-ɣ]嚇
[-eʔ]	→	[-ɣŋ]蜢
[-eʔ]	→	[-jɛ]躡
[-eʔ]	→	[-wɔ]伯
[-uʔ]	→	[-ä]發
[-uʔ]	→	[-wɔ]托
[-uʔ]	→	[-u]突
[-iəʔ]	→	[-jɛ]葉
[-iəʔ]	→	[-jäʊ]藥
[-iəʔ]	→	[-ɥœ]略
[-iəʔ]	→	[-i]惜
[-iəʔ]	→	[-ɹ]尺
[-ueʔ]	→	[-wä]襪
[-ueʔ]	→	[-ɥœ]月
[-ueʔ]	→	[-wɔ]郭
[-ueʔ]	→	[-ä]拔
[-iʔ]	→	[-ɥœ]缺
[-iʔ]	→	[-i]蟋
[-iʔ]	→	[-jɛ]鐵

[-iʔ]	→	[-ɤ]舌
[-auʔ]	→	[-ä]軋
[-auʔ]	→	[-wɔ]落
[-auʔ]	→	[-an]喃
[-iuʔ]	→	[-u]搐
[-ɔʔ]	→	[-wɔ]膜
[-ãʔ]	→	[-ä]煞
[-ŋʔ]	→	[-wɔ]啜
[-ap]	→	[-jä]壓
[-ap]	→	[-ɤ]盒
[-ap]	→	[-ä]納
[-ap]	→	[-jɛ]屑
[-at]	→	[-i]密
[-at]	→	[-ä]捌
[-at]	→	[-jɛ]結
[-ak]	→	[-wɔ]沃
[-ak]	→	[-u]目
[-ak]	→	[-ɥœ]岳
[-ak]	→	[-jäʊ]角
[-ak]	→	[-äʊ]曝

[-ək]	→	[-u]木
[-ək]	→	[-ɤ]愕
[-ək]	→	[-wɔ]國
[-iək]	→	[-y]玉
[-iək]	→	[-ɥœ]約
[-iək]	→	[-wɔ]弱
[-iək]	→	[-u]陸
[-ip]	→	[-u]入
[-ip]	→	[-i]急
[-ip]	→	[-ʅ]執
[-it]	→	[-i]蜜
[-it]	→	[-ʅ]實
[-ik]	→	[-wɔ]伯
[-ik]	→	[-i]逆
[-ik]	→	[-eⅠ]黑
[-ik]	→	[-ɤ]刻
[-ik]	→	[-y]浴
[-ik]	→	[-aⅠ]白
[-ik]	→	[-ʅ]識
[-iap]	→	[-jä]夾

[-iap]	→	[-jɛ]捷
[-iap]	→	[-ɤ]攝
[-iap]	→	[-i]粒
[-iat]	→	[-jɛ]滅
[-iat]	→	[-ɥœ]血
[-iat]	→	[-ɤ]設
[-iak]	→	[-ɥœ]確
[-iak]	→	[-waⅠ]摔
[-ut]	→	[-u]忽
[-ut]	→	[-ɤ]核
[-ut]	→	[-y]律
[-uat]	→	[-wɔ]末
[-uat]	→	[-ɥœ]月
[-uat]	→	[-ä]法

DAIGI 文	to	DAIGI 白
[b-]	→	[b-]木
[b-]	→	[m-]毛
[g-]	→	[g-]月
[g-]	→	[h-]火
[g-]	→	[ŋ-]院

499

[h-]	→	[h-]花
[h-]	→	[k-]汗
[h-]	→	[kʰ-]吭
[h-]	→	[p-]分
[h-]	→	[pʰ-]帆
[dz-]	→	[l-]忍
[dz-]	→	[n-]任
[dz-]	→	[h-]肉
[k-]	→	[k-]機
[k-]	→	[kʰ-]臼
[kʰ-]	→	[kʰ-]克
[l-]	→	[l-]力
[l-]	→	[n-]年
[m-]	→	[b-]買
[m-]	→	[m-]妹
[m-]	→	[h-]茅
[n-]	→	[n-]奶
[n-]	→	[l-]老
[ŋ-]	→	[g-]我
[ŋ-]	→	[h-]艾

[p-]	→	[p-]北
[p-]	→	[pʰ-]拔
[pʰ-]	→	[pʰ-]片
[pʰ-]	→	[p-]屏
[s-]	→	[s-]世
[s-]	→	[ʂ-]山
[s-]	→	[tsʰ-]申
[s-]	→	[ts-]朮
[ɕ-]	→	[ʂ-]司
[ɕ-]	→	[ts-]升
[ɕ-]	→	[tsʰ-]市
[ɕ-]	→	[s-]生
[t-]	→	[t-]大
[t-]	→	[tʰ-]宅
[tʰ-]	→	[tʰ-]天
[tʰ-]	→	[t-]亭
[ts-]	→	[ts-]全
[ts-]	→	[tsʰ-]在
[tsʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]叉
[tsʰ-]	→	[t-]長

[Ø-]	→	[Ø-]用
[Ø-]	→	[dz-]與
[Ø-]	→	[h-]雨
[Ø-]	→	[ʂ-]液
[-a]	→	[-e]牙
[-a]	→	[-ua]大
[-ai]	→	[-e]代
[-ai]	→	[-ua]芥
[-ai]	→	[-ue]改
[-aɪ̃]	→	[-e]奶
[-ak]	→	[-ək]剝
[-ak]	→	[-əʔ]桌
[-am]	→	[-ã]坩
[-am]	→	[-am]含
[-am]	→	[-iam]岩
[-an]	→	[-uã]山
[-aŋ]	→	[-am]汎
[-aŋ]	→	[-əŋ]胖
[-aŋ]	→	[-ã]乏
[-ã]	→	[-e]碼

502

[-ap]	→	[-aʔ]卡
[-ap]	→	[-iap]峽
[-at]	→	[-uaʔ]炳
[-at]	→	[-aʔ]軋
[-at]	→	[-eʔ]捌
[-au]	→	[-a]交
[-au]	→	[-iau]爪
[-aũ]	→	[-a]咬
[-e]	→	[-i]世
[-e]	→	[-ue]制
[-e]	→	[-e]底
[-ẽ]	→	[-ĩ]泥
[-i]	→	[-i]支
[-i]	→	[-e]未
[-i]	→	[-ai]司
[-i]	→	[-ui]機
[-ia]	→	[-e]扯
[-ia]	→	[-ia]也
[-iam]	→	[-ĩ]閃
[-iam]	→	[-iã]焰

503

[-iam]	→	[-am]沾
[-ian]	→	[-ĩ]天
[-ian]	→	[-iŋ]千
[-ian]	→	[-an]弦
[-ian]	→	[-iã]件
[-iaŋ]	→	[-iũ]羌
[-iaŋ]	→	[-ŋ]央
[-iap]	→	[-iaʔ]符
[-iap]	→	[-iʔ]盒
[-iat]	→	[-eʔ]筆
[-iat]	→	[-iʔ]舌
[-iau]	→	[-iə]小
[-iau]	→	[-iau]笑
[-ik]	→	[-iaʔ]亦
[-ik]	→	[-eʔ]厄
[-ik]	→	[-it]式
[-ik]	→	[-aʔ]百
[-im]	→	[-iam]沉
[-im]	→	[-am]淋
[-in]	→	[-un]申

[-in]	→	[-an]呻
[-iŋ]	→	[-iã]丙
[-iŋ]	→	[-ẽ]井
[-iŋ]	→	[-ĩ]平
[-iŋ]	→	[-in]升
[-iə]	→	[-au]口
[-iək]	→	[-ak]六
[-iək]	→	[-iaʔ]杓
[-iəŋ]	→	[-iũ]羊
[-iəŋ]	→	[-iŋ]弓
[-iəŋ]	→	[-ŋ]從
[-ip]	→	[-iap]汁
[-it]	→	[-at]虱
[-it]	→	[-ik]悉
[-it]	→	[-iat]吉
[-iu]	→	[-au]扭
[-iu]	→	[-u]久
[-ə]	→	[-au]毛
[-ə]	→	[-ua]可
[-ə]	→	[-ue]作

[-ə]	→	[-ə]苛
[-ə]	→	[-e]坐
[-ə]	→	[-a]它
[-ək]	→	[-ak]木
[-ək]	→	[-əʔ]各
[-əŋ]	→	[-aŋ]工
[-əŋ]	→	[-ŋ]方
[-ə̃]	→	[-ɔ]午
[-ə̃]	→	[-ue]火
[-ɔ]	→	[-au]狗
[-ɔ]	→	[-ɔ]呼
[-ɔ]	→	[-u]姆
[-u]	→	[-ɔ]夫
[-u]	→	[-ai]史
[-u]	→	[-i]字
[-u]	→	[-u]芙
[-ua]	→	[-ue]瓜
[-ua]	→	[-ua]化
[-uai]	→	[-ue]快
[-uai]	→	[-ui]懷

[-uan]	→	[-ŋ] 川
[-uan]	→	[-uã]半
[-uan]	→	[-uan]穿
[-uan]	→	[-un]拳
[-uat]	→	[-uaʔ]末
[-uat]	→	[-eʔ]般
[-ue]	→	[-e]灰
[-ue]	→	[-ue]批
[-ui]	→	[-ui]水
[-ui]	→	[-ue]吹
[-ui]	→	[-u]幫
[-ui]	→	[-i]肺
[-un]	→	[-ŋ] 寸
[-un]	→	[-un]分
[-ut]	→	[-ut]佛

DAIGI 白   to   DAIGI 文

[b-]	→	[b-]木
[b-]	→	[m-]摸
[g-]	→	[g-]牙
[g-]	→	[ŋ -]五

[h-]	→	[h-]化
[h-]	→	[Ø-]芸
[h-]	→	[g-]瓦
[dz-]	→	[Ø-]廈
[dz-]	→	[ts-]字
[k-]	→	[k-]久
[k-]	→	[h-]汗
[kʰ-]	→	[kʰ-]孔
[kʰ-]	→	[h-]吸
[kʰ-]	→	[k-]奇
[l-]	→	[l-]力
[l-]	→	[dz-]忍
[m-]	→	[b-]明
[n-]	→	[l-]年
[n-]	→	[dz-]任
[ŋ-]	→	[g-]迎
[p-]	→	[p-]北
[p-]	→	[h-]分
[pʰ-]	→	[pʰ-]片
[pʰ-]	→	[h-]帆

[s-]	→	[s-]史
[s-]	→	[ɕ-]司
[ɕ-]	→	[ɕ-]式
[t-]	→	[t-]斗
[tʰ-]	→	[tʰ-]天
[tʰ-]	→	[t-]搪
[ts-]	→	[ts-]扎
[ts-]	→	[s-]水
[ts-]	→	[ɕ-]升
[tsʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]切
[tsʰ-]	→	[ɕ-]手
[tsʰ-]	→	[ts-]在
[Ø-]	→	[Ø-]安
[Ø-]	→	[h-]何
[-a]	→	[-au]孝
[-a]	→	[-ə]它
[-aʔ]	→	[-ap]卡
[-aʔ]	→	[-ik]仰
[-ai]	→	[-i]侍
[-ai]	→	[-u]似

509

[-aĩ]	→	[-i]指
[-aĩ]	→	[-ian]前
[-ak]	→	[-ək]毒
[-ak]	→	[-iək]逐
[-am]	→	[-am]含
[-am]	→	[-im]荏
[-an]	→	[-in]呻
[-an]	→	[-ian]弦
[-aŋ]	→	[-əŋ]房
[-ã]	→	[-am]柑
[-ã]	→	[-iŋ]訂
[-ap]	→	[-ap]盍
[-ap]	→	[-ip]十
[-at]	→	[-ik]克
[-at]	→	[-it]虱
[-au]	→	[- ɔ]厚
[-au]	→	[-ə]草
[-au]	→	[-iə]奏
[-auʔ]	→	[-ək]雹
[-aũ]	→	[-ə]毛

[-e]	→	[-a]扒
[-e]	→	[-ai]代
[-e]	→	[-ue]回
[-e]	→	[-e]底
[-e]	→	[-ə]坐
[-eʔ]	→	[-ik]厄
[-eʔ]	→	[-iat]屑
[-ẽ]	→	[-iŋ]爭
[-i]	→	[-e]乩
[-i]	→	[-i]支
[-ia]	→	[-i]寄
[-ia]	→	[-ia]傍
[-iaʔ]	→	[-ik]亦
[-iak]	→	[-ik]逼
[-iam]	→	[-im]潮
[-ian]	→	[-in]登
[-ian]	→	[-an]努
[-iã]	→	[-iŋ]丙
[-iap]	→	[-ap]洽
[-iap]	→	[-ip]立

[-iat]	→	[-it]逸
[-iau]	→	[-iau]瞭
[-iau]	→	[-au]爪
[-iʔ]	→	[-iat]舌
[-iʔ]	→	[-ik]箍
[-ik]	→	[-iək]曲
[-ik]	→	[-it]室
[-im]	→	[-im]深
[-im]	→	[-in]欣
[-in]	→	[-iŋ]逞
[-in]	→	[-ian]扁
[-iŋ]	→	[-iəŋ]拱
[-iŋ]	→	[-ian]研
[-ĩ]	→	[-iŋ]病
[-ĩ]	→	[-ian]衍
[-ĩ]	→	[-iam]閃
[-iə]	→	[-iau]漂
[-iəʔ]	→	[-iək]箬
[-iəʔ]	→	[-ik]奭
[-it]	→	[-ik]式

512

[-iu]	→	[-iu]首
[-iu]	→	[-u]珠
[-iũ]	→	[-iəŋ]常
[-iũ]	→	[-iaŋ]涼
[-ŋ]	→	[-əŋ]方
[-ŋ]	→	[-uan]川
[-ŋ]	→	[-un]寸
[-ŋ]	→	[-iəŋ]杖
[-ə]	→	[-ə]苛
[-əʔ]	→	[-ək]砟
[-ək]	→	[-ak]濁
[-ɔ]	→	[-ɔ]呼
[-ɔ]	→	[-u]夫
[-u]	→	[-u]書
[-u]	→	[-iu]邱
[-ua]	→	[-ə]破
[-ua]	→	[-ai]帶
[-uaʔ]	→	[-uat]擠
[-uaʔ]	→	[-at]攬
[-uan]	→	[-uan]皖

513

[-uã]	→	[-an]閣
[-uã]	→	[-uan]搬
[-ue]	→	[-ə]作
[-ue]	→	[-e]制
[-ue]	→	[-ue]批
[-ue]	→	[-ui]吹
[-ueʔ]	→	[-iat]迭
[-ueʔ]	→	[-uat]缺
[-ui]	→	[-ui]敷
[-ui]	→	[-i]機
[-un]	→	[-un]分
[-un]	→	[-uan]冤
[-ut]	→	[-ut]術

Example of Observed Phonetic Data from the DDY Religiolect: Phonetic Data from Readings of Scriptural Daily Devotions

One of the sources of data for this chapter is the language used for reciting scriptures at the DDY. One such scripture is the *Morning Vespers* from the *Daoist Recitation Volume* issued by the Daode Yuan 道教課誦本 高雄道德院. In the section below, I provide the text of the scripture as the DDY religiolect speakers receive it, learn it, and use it. Then, I list individual logographs from the scripture along with their "standard"

pronunciations according to Daigi dictionaries. In addition, I mark those logographs which were observed to deviate from the "standard" pronunciations, and so which contribute to the repertoire of the DDY religiolect. I operate under the assumption that a pronunciation which differs from the standard lect cannot belong to the same lect (as discussed in section 1 above), but rather marks the pronunciation as belonging to a different lect.

道教課誦本 高雄道德院 (*Daoist Recitation Volume* issued by the Daode Yuan)

<<早課>> (*Morning Vespers*)

三皈依[231]

一[232]稽首皈依道寶尊。道在大羅天。大羅天中尊。說法又度人。

二稽首皈依經寶尊。經在禹餘天。禹餘天中尊。說法又度人。

三稽首皈依師寶尊。師在太赤天。太赤天中尊。說法又度人。

四稽首皈依三寶尊。三寶大慈尊。若人皈敬者。種福廣無邊。

五稽首皈依三寶尊。三寶大慈尊。太乙 尋聲 救苦天尊 。

淨心神咒

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[231] This section is adopted from the *Great and Penetrating Perfected Scripture of the Boundless Sagely Thearch* 無極聖帝大洞真經.

[232] This and the following five numbers which begin each line are omitted from verbal recitation.

太上台星。應變無停。驅邪縛魅。保命護身。智慧明淨。心神安寧。三魂永久。魄無喪傾。急急如律令。

淨口神咒

丹朱口神。吐穢除氛。舌神正倫。通命養神。羅千齒神。卻邪衛真。喉神虎賁。氣神引津。心神丹元。令我通真。思神鍊液。道氣常存。急急如律令。

淨身神咒

安慰身形。弟子魂魄。五臟玄冥。青龍白虎。隊仗紛紜。朱雀玄武。侍衛身形。急急如律令。

安土地神咒

元始安鎮。普告萬靈。嶽瀆真官。土地祇靈。左社右稷。不得妄驚。回向正道。內外澄清。各安方位。備守家庭。太上有命。搜捕邪精。護法神王。保衛誦經。皈依大道。元亨利貞。五臟神君。各保安寧。[233]急急如律令。

淨天地神咒

天地自然。穢氣分散。洞中元虛。晃朗太元。八方威神。使我自然。靈寶符命。普告九天。乾羅嗒哪。洞罡太元。斬妖縛邪。度人萬千。中山神咒。元始玉文。持誦

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[233] This portion is mostly congruent with the *Perfected Scripture of Zhusheng Niangniang* 註生娘娘真經; however, the 註生娘娘真經 omits the following couplet: 五臟神君。各保安寧。

一遍。卻病延年。按行五嶽。八海知聞。魔王束手。侍衛我軒。凶穢消蕩。

[234]道氣長存。急急如律令。

祝香神咒

道由心學。心假香傳。香熱玉爐。心存帝前。真靈下盼。仙旆臨軒。令民關告。逕

達九天。[235]

金光神咒

天地玄宗。萬氣本根。廣修萬劫。證吾神通。三界內外。惟道獨尊。體有金光。覆

映吾身。視之不見。聽之不聞。包羅天地。養育群生。誦持萬遍。身有光明。三界

侍衛。五帝伺迎。萬神朝禮。役使雷霆。鬼妖喪膽。精怪忘形。內有霹靂。雷神隱

名。洞慧交徹。五氣騰騰。金光速現。覆護真人。急急如 玉皇元降律令敕。[236]

焚香啟奏

無量玉清聖境大羅元始天尊

無量上清真境大聖靈寶天尊

無量太清仙境大聖道德天尊

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[234] The portion 凶穢消蕩 reads as 凶穢消散 in the *Perfected Scripture of the Mysterious Female of the Nine Heavens for Controlling the Passions and Effacing Evil* 九天玄女治心消孽真經.

[235] The *Perfected Scripture of the Primal Marshal of the Central Altar* 中壇元帥真經 substitutes 心假傳香 for 心假香傳, 仙佩臨軒 for 仙旆臨軒, and 令生關告 for 令民關告.

[236] The *Scripture of the Sagely Mother Above the Heavens Mazu* 天上聖母媽祖經 replaces 玉皇元降律令敕 with 玉皇光降律令敕.

清靜經[237]

老君曰：大道無形。生育天地；大道無情。運行日月；大道無名。長養萬物。吾不知其名。強名曰道。

夫道者。有清有濁。有動有靜。天清地濁。天動地靜；男清女濁。男動女靜。降本流末。而生萬物。

清者濁之源。動者靜之基。人能常清靜。天地悉皆歸。夫人神好清。而心擾之；人心好靜。而慾牽之。

常能遣其慾。而心自靜；澄其心。而神自清。自然六慾不生。三毒消滅。所以不能者。為心未澄。慾未遣也。能遣之者。內觀其心。心無其心；外觀其形。形無其形；遠觀其物。物無其物。三者既無。唯見於空。

觀空亦空。空無所空。所空既無。無無亦無。無無既無。湛然常寂。寂無所寂。慾豈能生。慾既不生。即是真靜。真常應物。真常得性。常應常靜。常清靜矣。如此清靜。漸入真道。既入真道。名為得道。雖名得道。實無所得。為化眾生。名為得道。能悟之者。可傳聖道。

太上老君曰：

[238]上士無爭。下士好爭。上德不德。下德執德。執著之者。不明道德。眾生所以不得真道者。為有妄心。既有妄心。即驚其神。既驚其神。即著萬物。

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[237] This portion is adopted from the eponymous scripture, of which there are a number of versions.

[238] Some versions of this scripture omit the 太上 in 太上老君曰.

既著萬物。即生貪求。既生貪求。即是煩惱。煩惱妄想。憂苦身心。便遭濁辱。流

浪生死。常沉苦海。永失真道。真常之道。悟者自得。得悟道者。常清靜矣。

向來諷誦太上老君說清靜妙經 完終

彌羅誥[239]

請經若饑渴。持至如金石。

寶珠飛仙路。五龍度符籙。[240]

善好緣[241]

太上彌羅無上天 妙有玄真境

渺渺紫金闕。太微玉清宮。

無極無上聖。廓落法光明。[242]

寂寂至無踪。玄範總十方。[243]

湛寂真常道。恢漠大神通。

玉皇大天尊。玄穹高上帝。

[239] This section is adopted from the *Praise for the Wisdom of the Most High Penetratingly Mysterious Numinous Treasure* 太上洞玄靈寶智慧禮讚 or central fascicle of the *Numinous Stanzas of Blessings for the Three Caverns* 三洞讚頌靈章 卷中.

[240] In the texts listed above, 持至如金石 is replaced by 持志如金石; 寶珠飛仙路 is replaced by 保子飛玄路; and, 五龍度符籙 is replaced by 五靈度符籍.

[241] This section is adopted from the *Most High Orthodox Unity Ritual Repentance for Remission of Sin Directed to Heaven* 太上正一朝天謝罪法懺.

[242] In the texts listed above, 豁 replaces 法 in 廓落法光明.

[243] 踪 appears as 宗 in the texts listed above; the 至 in 寂寂至無踪 appears as 浩.

三元天地水。三官大帝。

三官九府。應感天尊。[244]

玉皇心印妙經

上藥三品，神與氣精。恍恍惚惚，杳杳冥冥。存無守有，

頃刻而成。回風混合，百日功靈。默朝上帝，一紀飛昇。[245]

知者易悟，昧者難行。屢踐天光，呼吸育清。[246]出玄入牝，

若亡若存。綿綿不絕，固蒂深根。人各有精，精合其神。

神合其氣，氣合體真。[247]不得其真，皆是強名。神能入石，

神能飛形。入水不溺，入火不焚。神依形生，精依氣盈。

不凋不殘，松柏青青。三品一理，妙不可聽。其聚則有，

其散則零。七竅相通，竅竅光明。聖日聖月，照耀金庭。

一得永得，自然身輕。太和充溢，骨散寒瓊。得丹則靈，

不得則傾。丹在身中，非白非青。誦之萬遍，妙理自明。

向來諷誦 玉皇心印妙經 完終

小開天

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[244] The couplets 三元天地水三官大帝三官九府應感天尊 are added to the prior segments drawn from the above mentioned texts.

[245] At least one other recension of this text, the *Lofty and High Wondrous Scripture of the Mind-Seal of the Jade Thearch* 高上玉皇心印妙經, gives 升 instead of 昇 in 一紀飛昇.

[246] 履 replaces 屢 in 屢踐天光 in other recensions.

[247] The 體 in 氣合體真 is replaced by 其 in other recensions.

太上開天執符御籙

含真體道金闕雲台九宮籙御

萬道無為通明大殿昊天金闕

玉皇大天尊玄穹高上帝 稽首

玉皇大天尊玄穹高上帝 再拜

玉皇大天尊玄穹高上帝 三拜

玉皇大天尊玄穹高上帝

請共同敬誦： 敬拜

三清道祖 太乙天尊

太上感應 平安善哉

咸賜如言，各禮師

存念如法：

太上智光 普照太虛 獨此真炁 永劫長居

口絕閒言 心無雜意 自朝至夜 洗心滌慮

謹慎幽獨 時時回光 刻刻返照 守元固蒂

應事應物 常清常靜 對境無迷 遇物不傾

心清靜土 念正善行 歸真中信 真我自明

與道合真

祈安求福

稽首皈命禮。本命降真靈。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。宅舍得安定。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。父母保長生。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。諸厭化為塵。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。萬邪自歸正。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。營業得稱情。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。和門自康宁。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。子孫保榮盛。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。五路自通達。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。眾惡永消滅。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。六畜保興生。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。疾病得安痊。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。財物不虛耗。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。橫事永不起。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

稽首皈命禮。長保亨利貞。

合境男女保平安 人人消災添福壽

玄蘊咒

玄元一炁 無極之先 太始太乙 含象九天

開明三境 萬化大千 至今治御 統承前賢

三才合德 九炁同元 消除災劫 普度群仙

誦之萬遍 福祿綿延 吉祥薈泰 永保遐年

謹遵普化 道德成全

獻燈

威光自在天尊

乾坤大德被群民 日月重光映北辰

解厄消災宜懺罪 焚香須禮拜諸神

東方燃起五華燈 燈光反映上天庭

香煙渺渺開雲霧 逕接機樞一色呈

南方燃起六司燈 燦爛華光燭上升

延壽星曜相對照 威靈螢熾發光明

中央燃起三元燈 星光燦爛佈天庭

大寰朗躍現神形 吉星垂照護蒼生

西方燃起四皓燈 銀河耿耿象清靜

照徹天堂諸星宿 燈燃燈對滿天星

北方燃起七星燈 退散凶星吉曜臨

解厄星輝相對映 鎮星顯應放光騰

一燈映出百千燈 燈耀輝煌瑞氣生

移下普天星斗燦 山河社稷永光明

東南西北中五斗 週天一十二宮辰

二十八宿列方位 九曜三台保長生

三官寶號

威光自在天尊

北極玄穹。紫微帝庭。

泰山岱嶽。水國清泠。

綱紀三界。統御萬靈。

三元校籙。善惡攸分。

齋戒禮誦。無願不成。

消災釋罪。降福延生。

至真妙道。誓願無邊。

大悲大願。大聖大慈。

上元一品。賜福天官。

天官賜福。紫微大帝。

中元二品。赦罪地官。

地官赦罪。清虛大帝。

下元三品。解厄水官。

水官解厄。洞陰大帝。

三元主宰。三百六十。

六十三百。應感天尊。

女青真人。考校曹官。

考校曹官。三官大帝。

In the section below, which presents new syllables from the text above, to the left of the '|' symbol one finds a phonetic transcription of pronunciation according to the

Taiwanese Logograph Pronunciation Dictionary.[248] In this segment, the '/' symbol divides the vernacular *bai* pronunciation (left) from the literary *wen* pronunciation (right). As for tone markers, the high level tone is unmarked (高平), the middle tone is marked with a level line above (中音), the low falling tone is marked with a level line below (低降), the high falling tone is marked with an accent grave (高降), the falling-then-rising tone is marked with a caron (降後昇), the high entering tone ends with -h, -p, -t, or -k and is unmarked otherwise (高入), and the low entering tone ends with the same but also bears a level line.

To the right of the '|' symbol one finds *Pe 'h-ō e-jī* pronunciation as provided by http://twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict_new/default.jsp, the 台灣閩南語常用詞辭典. In this segment, the '/' creates division between the vernacular *bai* pronunciation (leftmost), the literary *wen* pronunciation (next), and the optional "substitutive" *ti* pronunciation. Hyphens represent common variants in pronunciation or the division between northern and southern Taiwanese pronunciations. Any text in parentheses presents information about the logograph.

Finally, an asterisk marks observed pronunciation deviations, of the kinds noted above in above phonetic shift charts.

三皈依

首 ciù / siù | siú

皈 gui (皈依 should be compound gū i-i which means 歸依) | (no entry)

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[248] Xu, Jidun. *Taiyu hanzi duyin cidian* 台語漢字讀音詞典 [Taiwanese Logograph Pronunciation Dictionary] Taipei: Kaituo Publishing, 2004.

依 i | i

道 dō r | tō *

寶 bòr | pó *

尊 zun | tsun *

在 cā i / zā i / dī -du<u>a</u>-dē h (uncommon in vernacular speech; has a stronger presence in literary speech. This word is undergoing a vernacularization process in terms of usage, but almost always retains literary pronuncation) | tsā i

大 du<u>a</u> / dā i | tuā /tā i/ta *

羅 lŏ r | lô

天 tiⁿ/tian | thinn/thian *

中 d<u>i</u>ng / diong and di<u>on</u>g | tìng/tiong-tiòng *

說 sē h or suē h / suā t | sueh-seh/suat-suè

法 huā t | huat *

又 iū (almost always used with gō rh, or replaced by it) | iū

度 dō | tō o

人 / rĭ n / lă ng | Jîn-Lîn / / lâng

經 geⁿ or giⁿ / ging | kenn-kinn / king

禹 (no entry) | ú

餘 ĭ or ŭ | î / û *

師 sai / su | sai/su

太 t<u>ai</u> | thài

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赤 (no entry) | tshiah / tshik *

三 (no entry) | sann / sam-sàm

慈 zǔ | tsû *

若 nà (meaning "as if" or "seem like") or nā (meaning "if" or "supposing that") / riok | nā -ná / jio˙k-lio˙k

敬 ging | king *

者 zè (because of similarity to pronunciation of 這, this word stands in for 這) / zià | tsiá

種 zìng or zing / ziòng or ziong (few examples remain of the latter) | tsíng-tsìng/tsióng-tsiòng *

福 bā k (more often used in place names) / hō k (more commonly used) | hok *

廣 gǹg / gòng | kńg/kóng *

無 bhǒ r / bhǔ | bû/ /bô

邊 biⁿ / bian | pinn/pian

乙 ī t (as it is the second of the ten celestial stems, it carries the meaning of "2nd") | it *

尋 siǎ m / sǐ m | siâm / sîm *

聲 siaⁿ / sing (this reading not often seen outside of literature, vernacular pronunciation much more common) | siann / sing

救 giu | kiù/ *

苦 kò | khóo/ /ku *

淨心神咒

上 ziō^n or ziū^n or ciō^n or ciū^n / siō ng or siā ng |

台 dǎ i | tâi *

星 ce^n or ci^n / sing | san-tshenn-tshinn/sing *

應 <u>in</u> / ing or <u>ing</u> | ìn/ing-ìng *

變 bi^n / bi<u>an</u> | pìnn/piàn *

停 tiǎ ^{n} (meaning one among a number of parts into which something has been partitioned,

otherwise rarely seen, and generally in the literary pronunciation) / tǐ ng | thing

驅 ku | khu *

邪 siǎ | siâ *

縛 bak (most commonly used) / hok | pa ˈ k

魅 (no entry) | bī

保 bòr | pó *

命 bhiā ^{n} or miā / bhī ng | miā /bī ng

護 hō | hō o

身 sian / sin | sin/ /sian

智 d<u>i</u> | tì *

慧 hū i or huē | huē -huī *

明 miǎ or bhǐ n or bhě ^{n} or mǎ | bîn-mê-miâ / bîng *

淨 ziā ^{n} (seen practically only in theater terminology, the coarse or violent figure 大淨 /

zī ng | tsī ng *

心 sim | sim *

神 sǐn | sîn *

安 (both 文言 pronunciations) an or àn (the latter is solely for kinship terminology) | uann / an *

寧 when in MSC this is read níng, then in Daigi it is read lǐng; when in MSC this is read nìng, then in Daigi it is read līng. | lîng *

魂 hǔn | hûn

永 ìng | íng *

久 gù / giù | kú/ kiú *

魄 pīk | phik

喪 MSC 1ˢᵗ tone: sng / song. MSC 4ᵗʰ tone: song | sng-sòng / song

傾 king | khing

急 gīp | kip *

如 rǔ or lǔ | jû-lû

律 lut | luˈt

令 līng | līng *

淨口神咒

丹 dan | tan *

朱 zu | tsu *

口 kàu / kò (used only in certain set phrases, such as "to say it over and over anew

口口聲聲" or "one's mouth says 'yes' but one's heart says 'no' 口是心非") | kháu / khió / káu

吐 tò or t<u>o</u> | thóo

穢 <u>e</u> or u<u>e</u> | uè-è

除 dǐ or dǔ | tî-tû / tû

舌 zih / siat (very infrequent) | tsiˈh/siaˈt *

正 zi<u>a</u>ⁿ / z<u>i</u>ng | tsiànn/tsìng

倫 lǔ n | lûn *

通 tang or t<u>a</u>ng / tong | thang/thong

養 iòⁿ or iùⁿ or zi<u>ū</u>ⁿ / ī or ik | iúnn/ ióng

千 cing / cian | tshing/tshian

齒 kì / zì (very infrequent) | khí

卻 ki<u>ō</u>k | khiok *

衞 uē | uē

真 zin | tsin *

喉 commonly, ǎ u / hǒ | âu

虎 hò | hóo

氣 k<u>ui</u> / k<u>i</u> | khuì/ khì *

引| ìn | ín

津 din / zin | tin/ tsin

元 ghuǎ n | guân *

我 ghuà / ngò | guá/ ngóo *

思 su (common) / si (uncommon, just used in certain literary situations) | si/su *

鍊 liā n (often used interchangeably with 鏈 liā n; in certain items, there can be no interchange) | liā n

液 / ik / siorh | iˈk/ /sioˈh

常 siǒ ⁿ or siǔ ⁿ / siǎ ng or siǒ ng (more common) | siông/ vulgar: tshiâng

存 cǔ n / zǔ n | tsûn *

淨身神咒

慰 ui | uì *

形 hǐ ng | hîng

弟 dī / dē | tī / tē *

子 zì-rì-ghì-lì / zù / giàⁿ | tsí/ tsú/ jí-lí

五 ghō / ngò-ghòⁿ | gō o/ ngóo

臟 zng / zō ng (文 more common) | tsng/ tsō ng

玄 hiǎ n | hiân *

冥 (entry for 瞑:) mě -mǐ / bhǐ ng (白 is common, sense of "closure of eyes") | bîng

青 ceⁿ-ciⁿ / cing | tshenn-tshinn/tshing *

龍 lǐ ng / liǒ ng (文 is very uncommon) | lîng-gîng / liông/ long

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白 beh / bik (文 is exceedingly rare, used in tiny fraction of set phrases) | peʼh/ piʼk *

隊 dūi | tuī *

仗 di̯ong | tiō ng

紛 hun | hun

紜 (no entry) | (no entry)

雀 ziō rh-ziā h-ciā h / ziō k-ciō k-ciā k (文 ciō k is most common) | tshik/ tshiok

武 bhù | bú *

侍 sāi / sī | sāi/ sū

安土地神咒

始 sì | sí/ sú *

鎮 di̱n | tìn *

普 pò | phóo/ /puh

告 ga̱u / go̱r (文 is most often used) | kò

萬 bhā n | bā n *

靈 lĭ ng | lîng

嶽 hŭ n / ŭ n (白 is most common) | gaʼ k *

瀆 (no entry) | (no entry)

官 guaⁿ / guan | kuann/kuan *

土 tò – tŏ (former meaning soil 泥土砂土, latter meaning unworked wildnerness[?] 粗野) |

thóo

地 dē -duē ／ dī | tè/ tē -tuē -tī

祇 (no entry) | (no entry)

左 zòr | tsó *

社 siā | siā

右 iū (文 pronunciation) | iū *

稷 (no entry) | tsik

不 m̄ / būt | put/ /puh

得 dīt / dīk | tit/tik *

妄 bhòng (meaning absurd, unreasonable, or presumptuous) | bōng *

驚 giaⁿ / ging | kiann-kenn/king

回 hě / huě | huê-hê

向 hiaⁿ (to incline towards) – ng (to face) / hiang-hiong | ǹg/ hiòng/ hiànn-ànn-hiàng

內 lāi / luē | lāi/luē *

外 ghuā / ghuē | guā / guē *

澄 (no entry) | tîng

清 ciⁿ – ceⁿ – ciⁿ / cing (literary pronunciation is most common) | tshinn/tshing

各 gōrh / gōk | koh/kok *

方 hng – bng (bng is a cognominal pronunciation) / hong | hng-png / hong *

位 ūi | uī *

備 bī | pī *

守 ziù / siù | tsiú/siú *

家 ge / ga | ke/ka

庭 diǎ^n / dǐ ng | tiânn/ tîng *

上 ziō^n – ziū^n – ciō^n - ciū^n / siō ng - siā ng | tshiū nn-tsiū nn/siō ng-sióng/siā ng

有 ū / iù | ū /iú *

搜 so (often replaced by the vulgar pronunciation, sor) | soo

捕 bò | póo *

精 zi^n – zia^n / zing | tsiann-tsinn/tsing *

王 ǒ ng | ông *

誦 siō ng | siō ng *

亨 hiàng | hing *

利 lā i / lī | lā i/lī *

貞 zing | tsing

君 gun | kun *

淨天地神咒

自 zū | tsū

然 riǎ n-ghiǎ n-liǎ n | jiân-liân *

分 bun (general meaning of "to divide" or "to break up") / hun-hū n (in the latter, meaning

"portion") | pun/hun *

散 suà^n – sua^n (the former is rare) / sàn - san | suànn-suánn/sàn-sán

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洞 dā ng / dō ng | tō ng *

虛 hi | hi/hu *

晃 (no entry) | / /huánn

朗 lòng | láng/lóng *

八 bē h-buē h / bā t | peh-pueh/pat *

威 ui | ui *

使 sì | sái-sài/ sú-sù

符 hǔ | hû

告 gau-gor | kò

九 gàu-giàu / giù | káu/ kiú

乾 guaⁿ / gan-kiǎ n (the latter in the sense of "heaven and earth 乾坤") | kuann/kan

嗒 (no entry) | (no entry)

哪 na (not often used) | / / ná

罡 (no entry) | (no entry)

斬 zàm | tsánn/ tsám *

妖 iau | iau *

山 suaⁿ / san | suann/san *

咒 ziu | tsiù *

玉 ghik / ghiok | giʼk/ gioʼk

文 bhǔ n | bûn *

持 dǐ (unusual pronunciation) / cǐ | tî/tshî

一 zit / īt | it/ / tsiᵗ *

遍 biạn | phiàn/ piàn

病 bēⁿ-bīⁿ / bīng (rare) | pēnn-pīnn/ pīng *

延 ciǎn / iǎn | tshiân-iân *

年 nǐ / liǎn | nî/ liân *

按 ạn | àn/ / án

行 giǎⁿ / hǐng | kiânn / hîng/ lîng-hang *

海 hài | hái *

知 zai / di | tsai/ti *

聞 bhǔn | bûn

魔 mǒ | môo

束 sōk | sok

手 ciù / siù | tshiú/ siú

軒 hian | ian/hian

凶 hiong | hiong

消 siau | siau *

蕩 dn̄g / dōng | tn̄g/ tōng

長 dňg-diòⁿ-diùⁿ / diǒng – ciǎng - diòng | tiòng- tiúnn- tnˆg/ tióng- tiông- tsiáng- tsióng

*

祝香神咒

由 iǔ | iû

學 orh / hak | oˈh/ haˈk *

假 gè / gà (when this is jia4 in MSC, it appears as ga) | ké/ ká

香 hiuⁿ-hioⁿ / hiang-hiong | hiunn/hiang-hiong

傳 tǔg-dǔg / duǎn-tuǎn-duān | thnˆg/ thuân *

熱 ruah-luah / riat-ghiat-liat | juaˈh-luaˈh/ jiaˈt-liaˈt

爐 lǒ (zau is most often used instead) | lôo

帝 de | tè *

前 zǐng / ziǎn | tsîng/ tsiân/ tsûn

下 ge-he-e / hā | ē-hē / hā /e

盼 pan (ng is most often used instead) | phàn

仙 sian | sian/ / sián *

旃 (no entry) | (no entry)

臨 lǐm (most common) / liǎm | lîm/ / lím

民 bhǐn | bîn *

關 guaiⁿ-guiⁿ / guan | kuainn-kuinn/kuan

逕 (no entry) | (no entry)

達 dat | taˈt *

金光神咒

宗 zong | tsong *

本 bùn | pńg/ pún *

根 gin-gun | kin-kun *

修 siu | siu

劫 giāp | kiap

證 (no entry) | tsìng

吾 ghǒ -ngǒ | ngôo

界 ge-gue (very rare) / gai | kè-kuè/ kài *

外 ghuā / ghuē | guā / guē *

惟 bhǐ / ǔi | î-uî

獨 dak / dok | taˈk/ toˈk *

體 tuè – tài / tè | thái/ thé *

金 gim | kim *

光 gng / gong | kng/kong *

覆 pāk / hōk | phak/hok

映 ian / ing / ng | ìng / iòng

視 sī | sī *

之 zi | tsi *

見 gin / gian | kìnn/ kiàn *

聽 tian / ting-ting | thiann / thing-thing

包 bau | pau/ vulgar: pâu *

育 iok | ioˈk/ /io

群 gǔn | kûn

生 seⁿ-siⁿ (meaning "produce" or "give rise to") – ceⁿ-ciⁿ (meaning "not cooked") / sing | senn-sinn-tshenn-tshinn/sing *

伺 (no entry) |

迎 ghiǎ -ghiǎ ⁿ / ghǐ ng | giâ-ngiâ/ gîng *

朝 diǎ u (when appearing as chao2 in MSC) – diau (when appearing as zhao1 in MSC) | tiâu

禮 lè | lé

役 (no entry) | iˈk

雷 lǔi | luî *

霆 (no entry) | tân-tîng

鬼 gùi | kuí *

膽 dàⁿ / dàm | tánn/tám

怪 gue / guai | kuè/ kuài

忘 bhōng | bōng

霹 (no entry) | phik *

靂 (no entry) | liˈk

隱 ùn | ún *

名 miǎ / bhǐ ng | miâ/ bîng

交 giau / gau | kau/ /ka-kiau

徹 tē h / tiā t | thiat

騰 tǐ ng | thîng

速 sō k | sok

現 hiā n | hiàn- hiā n

皇 hǒ ng | hông *

降 gang (when appearing as MSC jiang4) / hǎ ng (when appearing as MSC xiang1) | hâng-

kàng

敕 (no entry) | (no entry)

焚香啟奏

量 niū / liā ng-liō ng | niû-niū / liông- liō ng

聖 sia^n / sing | siànn/ sìng *

境 gìng | kíng

德 dī k | tik *

清靜經

老 lā u-làu / lòr | lā u/ láu- ló- nóo *

曰 (no entry) | uaˈt

情 ziǎ ^{n} / zǐ ng | tsiânn/ tsîng

運 ū n | ī n/ ū n *

日 rit-ghit-lit | jiˈt-liˈt

月 gheh-ghueh / ghuat | gueʼh-geʼh/ guaʼt

物 mih / bhut | miʼh-mnʼgh-mih/ buʼt

其 gǐ | kî

強 giǒⁿ-giǔⁿ (rare) / giǒng-giǎng | kiông- kiōng/ vulgar: kióng *

夫 bo - hu | hu

濁 zok (common) / zak-dak / lǒr (vulgar reading) | taʼk/ toʼk/ lô

動 dāng / dōng | tāng/ tōng *

靜 zīng | tsēnn/ tsīng

男 lǎm | lâm

女 lù-lì | lí-lú/ lú

流 lǎu / liǔ | lâu/ liû

末 bhuah / bhuat | buaʼh/ buaʼt *

而 rǐ – ghǐ - lǐ | jî-lî

源 ghuǎn | guân

基 gi | ke/ki *

能 lǐng (not to be conflated with Daigi ē meaning "can [do something]" or "able to") | lîng

常 siǒⁿ-siǔⁿ (rare) / siǎng-siǒng | siông/ vulgar: tshiâng

悉 sik / sīt | sik

皆 gai | kai

歸 gui | kui

好 hòr / hòⁿ | hó/ hònn *

擾 riàu-liàu-ghiàu | jiáu-liáu

慾 iok | ioˈk *

牽 kan / kian | khan/khian

遣 kiàn | khián

澄 (no entry) | tîng

六 lak / liok | laˈk/lioˈk

毒 dak / dok (most common) | thāu/ toˈk

滅 bhiat | biaˈt *

所 sò | sóo

以 ì (only the literary pronunciation exists, so that literary pronunciation has bēn coopted

for the vernacular) | í

為 ǔi – ūi (no division in vernacular and literary pronunciation; distinction is between

"for/in order to" for the former and "do/enact" for the latter) | uî-uī

未 bhē-bhuē / bhī | buē-bē / bī *

也 iā-ā / ià | iā

觀 guan | kuàn/ kuan *

遠 hn̄g / uàn | hn̄g/ uán *

既 gì | kì

唯 ǔi (meaning "only, unique 獨一無二") – uě (meaning "response") | uî *

於 ǔ (since it appears practically only in literary/classical settings, rare to see it in colloquial contexts) | î

空 kang-kang / kong-kong | khang- khàng/khong- khòng/ khòng

亦 iah-ah-ā / ik | iˈk *

湛 (no entry) | (no entry)

寂 ziauh / zik | tsiˈk/vulgar: siok

豈 kì | khí *

即 zīt-ziāh / zīk | tsik

是 sī / sī (same pronunciation) | sī

性 sing | sènn-sìnn/ sìng

矣 (no entry) | --ah

此 cù (zīt and ze are also used) | tshú

漸 ziam (if appearing as MSC jian1) – ziām (if appearing as MSC jian4) | tsiām

入 rip-ghip-lip | jiˈp/liˈp *

雖 sui | sui

實 zat / sit | tsaˈt/ siˈt *

化 ua / hua / hua | huà/ / hua

眾 zing / ziong | tsìng/ tsiòng *

悟 ngō - ghō ⁿ | ngō o *

可 kuà / kòr | khuá/ khó/ khoo- khóo

士 sū | sū

爭 ze^n-zi^n / zing | tsenn-tsinn/tsing *

執 zī p | tsip *

著 diorh / diok (there are few examples of this) | tio ' h/ tio ' k

驚 (no entry) | kiann-kenn/king *

貪 tam | tham

求 giŭ | kiû *

煩 huă n | huân *

惱 nàu / lòr | náu/ ló-lóo

想 siō ^{n}-siŭ ^{n} / siòng | siŭ nn/ sióng

憂 iu | iu

便 [bă n / biă n if appears as MSC bian2] [biā n if appears as MSC bian4] | pân/ piā n

遭 zor | tso

辱 (no entry) | jio ' k-lio ' k

浪 lō ng | lō ng *

死 sì (except for in a few idioms, in which it reads sù) | sí/ sú

沉 sìm (as in the MSC surname Shen3) – diă m (if appearing as MSC chen2; this is rare) /

dĭ m | tîm

失 sī t | sit *

來 lă i | lâi *

諷 hòng | (no entry)

妙 bhiā u | (no entry) *

完 uă n | uân

終 ziong | tsiong *

彌羅誥

請 ciàⁿ / cìng | tshiánn/ tshíng *

飢 gi | ki

渴 kuā h / kā t | khuah/khat

至 z̲i | tsì *

石 ziorh / sik (rare) | tsio ' h- sia ' h/ si ' k

珠 ziu / zu | tsu *

飛 bue / hui | pue-pe/hui/hue *

路 lō | lō o *

籙 (no entry) | (no entry)

善好緣

彌 mǐ – bhǐ (mǐ is most common, though) | nî/ vulgar: mí

渺 bhiàu | biáu

紫 zì | tsí *

闕 (no entry) | khuat

微 bhui / bhǐ | bî/bui

宮 ging / giong | king/kiong *

極 gik | ki˙k

廓 (no entry) | (no entry)

落 lō rh-lorh-lā k-lak-lā uh-lauh-l<u>a</u>u / lok | lak- làu - lo˙h/ lo˙k/ la˙uh-loh

踪 (no entry) | (no entry)

範 bā n / huā n | pā n/ huā n

總 zàng / zòng | tsáng/ tsóng *

十 zap / sip | tsa˙p/ si˙p

恢 hue-he / kue | khue/ / hue *

漠 moh / bhok / bhǒ (vulgar pronunciation) | bo˙k

穹 (no entry) | kiong

高 gau / gor / guǎ n | ko-kau *

水 zùi / sùi | tsuí/suí *

府 hù | hú

感 gàm | kám *

玉皇心印妙經

藥 ioh (commonly used) / iok | io˙h/ io˙k *

品 pìn | phín *

與 [no 白] / ù / hō | í/ ú

恍 hòng | huánn/ hóng

惚 (no entry) | (no entry)

杳 hiuⁿ-hioⁿ / hiang-hiong | (no entry)

守 ziù / siù | tsiú/ siú *

頃 (no entry) | khíng

刻 kīk | khik

成 ziǎⁿ-ciǎⁿ-siǎⁿ / sǐng | siânn-tsiânn-tshiânn/ sîng *

風 hong | hong *

混 hūn | hūn *

合 hah-gāh / hap-gāp | haʼh-kah/ haʼp-kap

百 bāh-bēh | pah-peh/pik

功 gang (rare) / gong | kang/kong

默 hmh / bhik | biʼk

紀 gi / gì | kí/ vulgar: kì

昇 sing | sing *

易 iah / ī-ik | iaʼh/ iʼk

昧 (no entry) | māi

難 lǎn-lān | lān- lân

屢 lù | lí

踐 ziān | tsiān

呼 ko / ho | khoo/hoo/hoon *

吸 kīp (most commonly used) / hīp / sūh-sōrh | khip

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出 cūt | tshut *

牝 (no entry) | (no entry)

亡 bhóng | bông *

綿 mǐ / bhiǎn | mî/ biân

絕 zeh (very uncommon) / zuat | tseʼh/ tsuaʼt

固 go͘ | kòo *

蒂 (no entry) | tì

深 cim / sim (very rare) | tshim

溺 lik | liʼk

火 hè-huè / hòⁿ (very rare) | hué-hé/ hónn *

焚 hǔn | hûn

盈 ī ⁿh / ǐ ng | îng

凋 da / diau | tiau

殘 zuǎ ⁿ / zǎ n-cǎ n | tshân- tsuânn/ tsân

松 sang (commonly used) / song | tshîng/ siông/ sóng

柏 bīk / bēh | peh/pik *

理 lì | lí *

聚 zū | tsū *

則 ziā h / zī k | tsik

零 lǎ n / lǐ ng (commonly used) | lân/ lîng *

七 cī t | tshit *

簸 (no entry) | khiò/ khiàu

相 siu^n-siu^n / siong-si$\underline{o}$ng / sior (erroneous pronunciation) | sio-sann-siunn- siùnn /siong-siòng *

照 zi$\underline{o}$r / zi$\underline{a}$u | tsiò/ tsiàu *

耀 iā u (literary pronunciation only) | iā u

輕 kin / king | khin/khing *

和 hě -huě / hǒ r / ham-gā h-gā p-cam | hô- huê / hā m *

充 ciong | tshiong *

溢 iō rh / ī k | ik *

骨 gū t | kut *

寒 guǎ ^{n} / hǎ n | kuânn/ hân/ gân *

瓊 (no entry) | khîng/ khiông *

非 hui | hui *

印 i$\underline{n}$ | ìn *

小開天

開 kui / kai | khui/khai *

御 ghù-ghū | gū

含 gǎ m-gǎ ^{n}/hǎ m | kâm-kânn/ hâm

雲 hǔ n (commonly used) / ǔ n | hûn

殿 diā n | tiā n *

昊 (no entry) | hō *

稽 (no entry) | (no entry)

再 z<u>ai</u> | tsài *

拜 b<u>ai</u> | pài *

請共同敬誦： 敬拜

祖 zò | tsóo *

平 bĕ ⁿ-biă ⁿ-pĕ ⁿ-pĭ ⁿ / bĭ ng | pênn-pînn- piânn / pîng *

善 siā n | siā n *

哉 (no entry) | ／／ tsài

咸賜如言，各禮師

存念如法：

炁 (氣) ku<u>i</u> / k<u>i</u> | (no entry)

居 gi-gu | ki-ku/ku *

閒 ĭ ng / hă n | îng/ hân

言 ghiă n | giân *

雜 zap | tsaˈp *

意 <u>i</u> | ì *

夜 iā | iā *

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洗 sè / suè (the two are practically interchangeable) | sé-sué

滌 (no entry) | (no entry)

慮 lī -lū | lī -lū

謹 gìn | kín

慎 sī n | sī n *

幽 iu | iu *

時 sǐ | sî

返 huàn | huán / place name: tń g

事 sū | tā i/ sū *

對 dui | tuì/ / uì

迷 bhě | bê

遇 ghū | gū

念 liā m | liā m *

信 sin | sìn *

祈安求福

宅 dik | (no entry)

舍 sia | sià *

定 diā ⁿ / dī ng | tiā nn/ tī ng *

父 hū / bē | hū

母 bhù / bhòr (the two are practically interchangeable) | bó/ bió-bú

諸 zu | tsu

厭 iam (Amoy pronunciation) / ia̱-ia̱ⁿ | / / ià-iàn

塵 tŭn / dĭn | tîn *

營 iǎⁿ / ĭng | iânn/ îng

業 ghiap | giaˈp *

稱 cı̱n / cing-cı̱ng | tshing

門 mŭ̌g / bhŭn | mnˆg/ bûn *

康 kng / kong | khng/ khong *

宁 lĭng (when appearing as MSC ning2) - līng (when appearing as MSC ning4) |

孫 sng / sun | sun / surname: sng

榮 ĭng | îng *

盛 siāⁿ / sīng (vernacular pronunciation for the measure word, literary pronunciation for
everything else) | sīng- siānn

惡 o̱ⁿ (when appearing as MSC wu4) - ō̱k (when appearing as MSC e4) | ok- ònn *

畜 (when appearing as MSC chu4) tīk / tiō̱k ; (when appearing as MSC xu4) hiō̱k (though
actually heard as tiō̱k) | thik/thiok

興 (when appearing as MSC xing1:) hin / hing (the literary pronunciation is a bit more
common) ; (when appearing as MSC xing4) hı̱ng | hìng-hing *

疾 zīt | tsiˈk- tsiˈt

痊 (no entry) | (no entry)

財 zǎi | tsâi *

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耗 h<u>o</u>ⁿ (increasingly appearing in the erroneous pronunciation mǒ) | (no entry)

橫 huǎ iⁿ-hǔ iⁿ (most common) / hǐ ng | huâinn-huînn/ hîng

起 kì | khí *

玄蘊咒

先 sing / sian | sing-sin/sian *

象 ciō ⁿ-ciū ⁿ / siō ng | tshiū nn/ siō ng/ siū nn/ vulgar: sióng- siòng *

今 gin / gim | kin/kim/tann *

治 dā i / dī (most common by far, save for usages such as 無汝的治 bho li e dai) | tī

統 tàng / tòng (most common) | thóng *

承 sǐ n / sǐ ng | sîn/ sîng

賢 hiǎ n | hiân *

才 zǎ i (meaning "talent, capacity") / ziā h (used like the grammar particles 則 or 即) | (only

comes in from terms or phrases originating in MSC) | tsâi / / tsiah

同 dǎ ng / dǒ ng | tâng/ tông

災 ze / zai | tsai / / tse

祿 (no entry) | lo ˈ k *

吉 giā t / gī t (the vernacular pronunciation is the most common) | kiat/ / jì

祥 siǒ ng | siông

萃 (no entry) | (no entry)

泰 t<u>ai</u> | thài

遐 hiǎ -hia / hǎ | / / hia-hiâ-hia

遵 zun | tsun *

全 zň g (rare) / zuǎ n | tsn^g/ tsuân *

獻燈

坤 (no entry) | khun *

被 puē / bī | phuē -phē / pī *

重 dǐ ng-dā ng / diǒ ng-diō ng | tā ng- ting/ tiông- tiō ng

北 bā k / bō k | pak/pok *

辰 sǐ n | sîn *

解 guè / gài / tàu | ké/ kái *

厄 (no entry) | eh

宜 ghǐ | gî *

懺 cａm | tshàm

罪 zē / zuē (the most common pronunciation by far) | tsē / tsuē *

須 si-su | su *

東 dang / dong | tang/tong

燃 riǎ n-liǎ n | hiânn/ jiân-liân *

華 huǎ | huâ

燈 ding | ting *

反 bìng / huàn | píng/ huán *

遵 zun | tsun *

煙 ian (though normally one uses *hun* 熏 to express the meaning of "smoke") | ian

霧 bhū | bū *

接 zīh / ziāp | tsih/ tsiap

機 gūi / gi | kui/ki

樞 su | tshu

色 sīk | sik *

呈 tiǎ ⁿ (rare) / tǐng | thîng

南 lǎm | lâm *

司 sai / si-su | sai-si/su

燦 (no entry) | tshàn

爛 nuā (more common) / lạn | nuā / lā n *

燭 zīk / ziōk | tsik/tsiok

升 zin (used for measurements) / sing (most common) | tsin/sing

壽 siū | siū *

曜 (no entry) | (no entry)

螢 ǐng | hîng-îng

熾 (no entry) | (no entry)

發 būh / huāt | puh/huat/ hua ˈt

央 ng / iong-iang | ng/iong-iang

佈 bọ | pòo

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寰 (no entry) | (no entry)

躍 iok | io˙k *

垂 suĕ -sĕ -suē -sē / sŭi-sūi | suê/ suî / sê *

蒼 cong-cang (the latter is practically only seen in old lady's nicknames, such as 老蒼 *lau cang*) | tshong

西 sai / se | sai/se

四 sị / sụ | sì/sù

皓 hō r | hō -hō o *

銀 ghĭ n-ghŭ n | gîn-gûn

河 hŏ r | hô *

耿 gìng | kíng

堂 dň g / dŏ ng | tnˆg/tông *

宿 sī k / siō k (this division applies when appearing as MSC su4) ; siụ (when appearing as MSC xiu4) | sok/siok

滿 muà / bhuàn | muá/buán *

退 tẹ / tuẹ | thè *

輝 hui | hui

顯 hiàⁿ / hiàn | hiánn/hián

放 bạng / họng | pàng/hòng *

煌 hŏ ng | hông *

瑞 sū i | suī *

移 ǐ | î *

斗 dàu (this pronunciation is more common) / dò | táu/tóo

週 ziu | tsiu *

二 rī̄ -ghī̄ -lī̄ (literary pronunciation) / / ln̄g-nn̄g | jī̄ -lī̄

列 liat | liaˈt *

三官寶號

岱 (no entry) | (no entry)

國 gō̄ k (this is the literary pronunciation) | kok

泠 (no entry) | (no entry) *

綱 gang (more rare) / gong | kong

校 hā u-ga͟u (when appearing as MSC siao4) / ga͟ (rare) - ga͟u (when appearing as MSC jiao4)

| hā u-kàu

攸 (no entry) | (no entry)

齋 zah / zai (this pronunciation is more common) | tse/tsai *

戒 ga͟i | kài

願 ghuā n | guā n

釋 sī̄ k | sik *

誓 zuā / s͟e (few examples of vernacular pronunciation; the literary pronunciation is used in

almost all instances) | tsuā /sē /vulgar: sè

悲 bi | pi *

賜 (no entry) | sù

赦 s<u>e</u> / si<u>a</u> | sià *

陰 iam / im (most common by far) | iam/im *

主 zù | tsú *

宰 zài-zài^n (the former is more common) | tsáinn

考 kòr | khó *

曹 zór | tsô *

Logographs in Ritual and Instructive Language at the DDY

Below is a list of logographs corresponding to units of lexicon selected as part of the DDY religiolect repertoire. These logographs appeared either as parts of a binome or as free morphemes, and occurred in ritual and instructive language at the DDY, as understood, presented, or explained by functionaries within the language community of the DDY.

I gathered this data from participant observation with the religious functionaries I described above in the DDY over a period of ten months, from 2011 to 2012. The religious terms presented here are monosyllabic; this is due to the connection between oral religious language and the textual substrate they are drawn from (as scriptures are largely written in premodern Literary Chinese, or in imitation of it, which is heavily monosyllabic). In addition, single logographs bear semantic content largely divorceable from the free or bound state of the morphemes represented, as their meaning was affixed in premodern times when the morphemes *were* free. Also, the range of uses and appearances of single morphemes is much more comprehensive.

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As written above, religious lexical items are those which are identified by members of the religious community as being religious, in the sense that they are intimately related to the concerns and processes involved in practicing and thinking about religion (pursuant to how I defined religion in its apposite chapter), in addition to words being in frequent use in conjunction with the appearance of those identified items. In addition to my discussion of the "religious" element in religiolects (above), I reiterate here that the lexical items I present as elements of the repertoire of the religiolect are those which can reasonably be determined to be perceived to be marked or unusual in some way by the temple community members, relative to nonreligious language; I relied on my own theoretical understanding of what "religion" is, and therefore how lexicon could be "marked or unusual" from a religious standpoint (in this case, the Daoism practiced by the Taiwanese population I observed), in addition to the relatively rare overt declarations of the templegoers themselves. Following Keane, the peculiar or marked forms and uses of language that I call religious are "constructed in such a way as to suggest, often in only the most implicit ways, that they involve entities or modes of agency that are considered by practitioners to be consequentially distinct from more 'ordinary' experience or situated across some sort of ontological divide from something understood as a more everyday 'here and now'."[249]

I drew my data set from oral language used in two situations by religious functionaries: in ritual and in didactic situations. I define functionaries as religious specialists who "produce" religious activity rather than merely "consume" it (the latter being *practitioners*), and have described them above. I have selected functionaries because these persons have the most frequent contact with religious language use, but are not generally

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[249] Keane, W. "Language and Religion." In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Alessandro Duranti, 431-448. Malden-Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.

raised in a situation in which there is no divide between religious and nonreligious language use (i.e., they generally acquire other lects first, then later in life accrete the repertoire of the religiolect). The practitioners may have too casual a contact with religiolects to fully course in the language variety instead of merely receiving its partial influence. Greater fluency in the religiolect results in more opportunity to display the phonetic and lexical features I am looking for as data. Ritual situations I will define according to Bell's spectrum definition of ritual-like activities: those activities with high degrees of formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism, and performance.[250] Didactic situations are those in which functionaries advise or instruct nonfunctionaries in any capacity. The rationale for selecting these two situations is that these are situations with the highest degree of religious language use, and the two assume different interlocutors, which is important for comparative purposes.

I adopted qualitative methods to collect my data; most frequently, I engaged in participant observation in order to collect the lexical data, while also being able to record natural language and ritual language during public rituals. As for naturally-occurring language, the goal was to find data that was spontaneous, reflected what the speaker says rather than what they think they would say, reacted to a natural situation rather than a contrived one, had real-world consequences, and was generally rich in pragmatic structures.

As for the participant-observation paradigm, I attempted to become immersed in the social context of the temple community. To achieve this goal, I aimed to be involved in the community for a lengthy period of time and take on a role in the community, in order to gain background knowledge and form relationships of trust. The key strategy followed to be

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[250] Bell, Catherine. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 138-170.

a successful participant-observer was to free myself as much as possible from the filter of my own cultural experiences, which requires cultural relativism, knowledge about possible cultural differences, and sensitivity and objectivity in perceiving others.

As with any methodology, there were disadvantages to the kind of data collected. First, natural speech in the required parameters did not occur often. As proficiency of the speaker is difficult to control, applying the proper heuristic system to determine what lexical items were "religious" was also time-consuming and difficult. The collection and analysis of the data was time-consuming, and thus opportunities to obtain more data were lost. In addition, the use of recording equipment may have been intrusive, causing modifications of speech patterns in recorded speech. This is the famous "observer's paradox": when humans are being observed, they may be incapable or unwilling to produce natural data. One way to mitigate this problem was to redirect the informants' attention to reduce their self-consciousness during direct interaction. Every attempt was made to record data unobtrusively, mostly by handwritten annotations. Finally, pragmatic necessity in light of this perception of instruction in addition to restrictions on recording equipment required me to rely on my necessarily imperfect human memory. Most of these disadvantages were mitigated simply by investing more time in collecting and processing the data, but it must be noted that more work remains to be done in this area; what is here presented is simply the result of preliminary observations and analysis.

1. 一	22. 使	42. 凰
2. 七	23. 侍	43. 出
3. 三	24. 侯	44. 列
4. 下	25. 保	45. 初
5. 丑	26. 修	46. 利
6. 世	27. 倫	47. 制
7. 丙	28. 傳	48. 劍
8. 中	29. 儀	49. 力
9. 丹	30. 元	50. 勸
10. 主	31. 先	51. 勿
11. 乘	32. 光	52. 化
12. 九	33. 入	53. 北
13. 乞	34. 內	54. 十
14. 二	35. 全	55. 千
15. 五	36. 八	56. 升
16. 亮	37. 兵	57. 午
17. 人	38. 冊	58. 卜
18. 仙	39. 准	59. 印
19. 令	40. 凝	60. 卷
20. 伯	41. 凞	61. 原
21. 位		62. 受

63. 叢	84. 堂	104. 寅
64. 口	85. 報	105. 寶
65. 古	86. 壇	106. 封
66. 司	87. 士	107. 將
67. 合	88. 壬	108. 導
68. 同	89. 大	109. 少
69. 名	90. 天	110. 居
70. 吏	91. 奉	111. 崇
71. 杏	92. 奏	112. 嵩
72. 和	93. 女	113. 嶽
73. 咒	94. 姆	114. 巳
74. 品	95. 始	115. 師
75. 問	96. 姑	116. 平
76. 嗣	97. 娘	117. 幽
77. 器	98. 子	118. 庚
78. 囑	99. 存	119. 府
79. 四	100. 孝	120. 廟
80. 圖	101. 官	121. 廣
81. 團	102. 定	122. 弔
82. 地	103. 宿	123. 弘
83. 基		124. 彝

125.	形	146.	故	166.	曉	
126.	微	147.	救	167.	曜	
127.	急	148.	教	168.	曰	
128.	性	149.	文	169.	有	
129.	怪	150.	方	170.	服	
130.	息	151.	日	171.	朗	
131.	悟	152.	旨	172.	木	
132.	悲	153.	昇	173.	未	
133.	想	154.	昑	174.	末	
134.	意	155.	星	175.	本	
135.	感	156.	昭	176.	析	
136.	慈	157.	昺	177.	林	
137.	慧	158.	時	178.	梵	
138.	慶	159.	晢	179.	森	
139.	應	160.	晶	180.	極	
140.	戒	161.	智	181.	欂	
141.	房	162.	暕	182.	樂	
142.	所	163.	暠	183.	機	
143.	招	164.	暲	184.	櫢	
144.	持	165.	曄	185.	欽	
145.	掬			186.	歌	

187.	止	208.	滿	228.	牛
188.	正	209.	濟	229.	犯
189.	步	210.	火	230.	狂
190.	歲	211.	炳	231.	狗
191.	母	212.	烈	232.	獄
192.	永	213.	煉	233.	獨
193.	治	214.	無	234.	獻
194.	法	215.	然	235.	玄
195.	泚	216.	輝	236.	王
196.	洞	217.	煉	237.	玓
197.	洪	218.	煒	238.	玟
198.	流	219.	煜	239.	玹
199.	浮	220.	照	240.	珍
200.	海	221.	熠	241.	珒
201.	消	222.	穎	242.	珖
202.	淨	223.	熹	243.	珙
203.	淵	224.	爍	244.	珠
204.	混	225.	爐	245.	珺
205.	清	226.	父	246.	現
206.	渭	227.	爺	247.	琇
207.	滉			248.	琛

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249.	琨	270.	甲	290.	瘏
250.	琭	271.	疏	291.	瘟
251.	琳	272.	疢	292.	瘣
252.	琿	273.	疔	293.	瘳
253.	瑁	274.	疧	294.	瘺
254.	瑛	275.	疫	295.	癀
255.	瑞	276.	疙	296.	瘒
256.	瑤	277.	疾	297.	瘦
257.	瑭	278.	病	298.	療
258.	璀	279.	症	299.	癑
259.	璇	280.	痊	300.	癒
260.	璐	281.	痗	301.	癘
261.	璑	282.	痛	302.	癠
262.	璣	283.	痡	303.	癲
263.	璦	284.	瘍	304.	癸
264.	璨	285.	痯	305.	發
265.	環	286.	痼	306.	白
266.	璵	287.	痾	307.	百
267.	璿	288.	瘋	308.	皇
268.	瓅	289.	瘍	309.	皉
269.	瓊			310.	皋

311.	皦	332.	祝	352.	禒
312.	真	333.	祠	353.	禓
313.	督	334.	祥	354.	禔
314.	瞭	335.	祩	355.	禖
315.	碑	336.	祫	356.	禘
316.	示	337.	祭	357.	禛
317.	礽	338.	祰	358.	禜
318.	祁	339.	祲	359.	禟
319.	袥	340.	祴	360.	禧
320.	衹	341.	祹	361.	禪
321.	祈	342.	祺	362.	禫
322.	祉	343.	祦	363.	禭
323.	神	344.	祽	364.	禮
324.	祐	345.	祿	365.	禱
325.	祓	346.	禀	366.	禰
326.	祔	347.	禁	367.	禳
327.	祖	348.	禪	368.	禷
328.	祗	349.	禠	369.	禶
329.	袜	350.	禊	370.	禰
330.	祛	351.	福	371.	秘
331.	祜			372.	空

373.	立	394.	緣	414.	苦
374.	童	395.	緯	415.	芮
375.	節	396.	總	416.	華
376.	篇	397.	織	417.	萬
377.	籥	398.	繞	418.	落
378.	粲	399.	繡	419.	蓂
379.	精	400.	纂	420.	蓮
380.	系	401.	續	421.	薦
381.	紀	402.	罪	422.	藥
382.	約	403.	羅	423.	蘄
383.	紋	404.	羊	424.	虎
384.	納	405.	義	425.	虛
385.	純	406.	耀	426.	蛇
386.	紙	407.	老	427.	行
387.	素	408.	耿	428.	衛
388.	索	409.	聖	429.	補
389.	紫	410.	聲	430.	西
390.	維	411.	腑	431.	觀
391.	綱	412.	臟	432.	解
392.	綵	413.	花	433.	言
393.	緁			434.	討

435.	訓	456.	謝	476.	還
436.	託	457.	豬	477.	郎
437.	記	458.	貴	478.	都
438.	訣	459.	貺	479.	酉
439.	訪	460.	賚	480.	酌
440.	許	461.	賜	481.	酬
441.	詔	462.	賢	482.	釋
442.	詞	463.	賦	483.	重
443.	詩	464.	贈	484.	量
444.	誓	465.	赤	485.	金
445.	語	466.	輩	486.	鈔
446.	誠	467.	辯	487.	銀
447.	誡	468.	辰	488.	鋥
448.	誥	469.	述	489.	錄
449.	誦	470.	送	490.	錦
450.	說	471.	進	491.	錫
451.	調	472.	遊	492.	鍊
452.	談	473.	運	493.	鑒
453.	論	474.	過	494.	長
454.	諭	475.	道	495.	間
455.	講			496.	降

497.	陰	518.	香	538.	黑
498.	陽	519.	馬	539.	默
499.	隱	520.	魁	540.	鼎
500.	隸	521.	魂	541.	鼠
501.	雜	522.	魃	542.	齊
502.	雞	523.	魄	543.	齋
503.	離	524.	魅	544.	龍
504.	雷	525.	魆		
505.	霆	526.	魈		
506.	震	527.	魊		
507.	青	528.	魌		
508.	靜	529.	魍		
509.	非	530.	魐		
510.	音	531.	魒		
511.	頌	532.	魖		
512.	領	533.	魕		
513.	願	534.	魘		
514.	顥	535.	鰊		
515.	風	536.	鶴		
516.	飛	537.	黃		
517.	首				

More on these logographs will be presented in the analogous YMM religious language section below.

Religious Lexicon of the DDY

What follows below is a list of religious terms and phrases encountered in instructive and ritual language at the DDY; it is not comprehensive necessarily, but merely represents the most salient items. I gathered this data from participant observation with the religious functionaries I described above in the DDY over a period of ten months, from 2011 to 2012. This list differs from the list of religious logographs above in that it has a narrower focus. While logographs can represent a number of pronunciations (for example, in standard lects of MSC, Daigi, and Hakka) and can constitute a wide range of words, the words and phrases listed below are more closely restricted semantically and more sensitive to the context which makes them "religious" (as I have discussed "religious" and the concept of "religion").

The boundary between the "logographs" listed above and the "words" or "phrases" listed below is conceptually problematic; however, while the logograph list is confined to single logographs, the following list of lexicon is not.[251] I include elements in this list which I

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[251] As Sun explains, "The notion of "word," known as *ci* in Chinese, is neither a particularly intuitive concept nor easily defined. Furthermore, Chinese orthography requires no space between characters, regardless of their morphological status, i.e., no distinction is made in writing between free and bound morphemes, which obscures their existence in the speaker's mindset. On the other hand, *wenzi* "characters" that are used to represent each morphemesyllable with a character regardless of its morphological status appear to be a more natural concept. Perhaps because of this reason, nearly all Chinese dictionaries list vocabularies through characters, instead of words. Thus dictionaries are most commonly referred to as *zidian* , literally "character standards." The use of the term *cidian* "word standards" for dictionary is really a recent phenomenon that appeared in the language after the Japanese began to use *ci* to represent the idea of word in the nineteenth century. Still, this practice does not change the fact that, in Chinese writing, character is perhaps a more "intuitive" concept than a word. [pg. 46] ... The most serious difficulty arises from the fact that it is not immediately clear where a Chinese word ends. [pg. 47] ... the overwhelming majority of the Old-Chinese morphemes were monosyllabic, i.e., each syllable is a word. Nevertheless, in the last two millennia or so, the

understand that the DDY functionaries take as religious *conceptually*, regardless of the number of syllables or logographs in its MSC representation.

As I wrote in sections 2.5 and 2.9, items of religious lexicon are those which are identified by members of the religious community as being religious, in the sense that they are intimately related to the concerns and processes involved in practicing and thinking about religion (pursuant to how I defined religion in its apposite chapter), in addition to words being in frequent use in conjunction with the appearance of those identified items.

In addition to my discussion of the "religious" element in religiolects (above in 1.10 to 1.14), I again reiterate here that the lexicon I present as elements of the repertoire of the religiolect are those which can reasonably be determined to be perceived to be marked or unusual in some way by the temple community members, relative to nonreligious language; I relied on my own theoretical understanding of what "religion" is, and therefore how lexicon could be "marked or unusual" from a religious standpoint (in this case, the Daoism practiced by the Taiwanese population I observed), in addition to the relatively rare overt declarations of the templegoers themselves. Following Keane, the peculiar or marked forms and uses of language that I call religious are "constructed in such a way as to suggest, often in only the most implicit ways, that they involve entities or modes of agency that are considered by practitioners to be consequentially distinct from more 'ordinary' experience or situated across some sort of ontological divide from something understood as a more everyday 'here and now'."

1. (沒)有用 useful (useless)

2. (眾)神 (the myriad of) divinities

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coining of new words overwhelmingly yielded forms that are disyllabic, leading to a new modern-Chinese morphology that is primarily multi-syllabic in nature, i.e., word = any number of syllables. [pg. 49]." Sun, Chaofen. *Chinese—A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 46-49.

3. 一拜，再拜，三拜 (as venerative ritual action) bow once, bow again, bow a third time

4. 一體 one in body, unitary in character

5. 三太子(爺) Three Princes (Lords) (name of deities)

6. 三奶夫人 the Three Motherly Ladies

7. 三官大帝 Grand Thearchs of the Three Offices

8. 三官大帝 Grand Thearchs of the Three Offices

9. 三氣 Three Pneumas

10. 三清 Three Pure Ones

11. 三清太乙大宗師 Great Lineage Master of the Grand Monad of the Three Purities

12. 三清道祖 (元始天尊，靈寶天尊，道德天尊) the Three Pure Ones, Ancestral in the Dao (The Heavenly Worthy of Primal Commencement, the Heavenly Worthy of Numinous Treasure, the Heavenly Worthy of the Dao and the De)

13. 三界 the Three Realms

14. 不矜奇 Do not boast of your talents

15. 不立異 Do not stand for heterodoxy

16. 世俗/俗世 profane, mundane, vulgar

17. 世界 world, physical realm, realm of the living

18. 世界和平 The world at peace

19. 主殿 main palatial hall (at a temple complex)

20. 主神 main divinity (at a temple)

21. 乩童 child-medium (common Daigi pronuncation: *dang-ki*)

22. 乾坤 Heaven and Earth (in the abstract)

23. 乾淨 clean, pure

24. 事/事情/情況 affairs, matters, situation, circumstances

25. 五行 Five Phases

26. 人品 moral quality, character

27. 人心向善 People's hearts turning to good

28. 代表 represent, symbolize

29. 佔卜 / 卜佔 / 卜課 / 卜筮 divination, mantic practices

30. 作惡 doing evil, harming

31. 來說/來看 taking something from a certain point of view

32. 供奉 enshrine and worship, give an offering

33. 保命安康 to safeguard one's life in tranquility and health

34. 保祐 blessing

35. 保身 safeguarding the body

36. 信仰 belief

37. 信教 religious belief, to belong to a religion

38. 信者/道教徒 believer, Daoist practitioner, Daoist disciple

39. 修煉 practice austerity, engage in religious discipline practices

40. 修真道學院 Daoist Studies Institute for the Cultivation of Truth

41. 修行 practice of religious cultivation

42. 傳承 pass on, continued tradition

43. 傳統 traditional

44. 傳道 lecture on doctrine, expound on ancient wisdom

45. 儀式 ritual

46. 元 Prime, original, of the font

47. 先天 Former Heaven

48. 內丹 Inner Alchemy

49. 內外 inside and out

50. 內養生壽 Cultivate the core of longevity and vitality

51. 八 vs 四 eight and four (which are near-homonyms with "luck" and "death")

52. 八仙祖師 the Eight Transcendent Ancestral Teachers

53. 八字 the "Eight [Temporal] Logographs" of one's birth, the details of one's birthdate and time necessary for many divinatory practices

54. 公德 public morality, agreed-upon moral system

55. 六天/九地 Six Heavens/Nine Realms

56. 凡塵 the mundane world, the common 'dusty' world

57. 創立 found, establish

58. 創造 create, produce, found

59. 剷除迷信 Superstition rooted out

60. 力量 efficacy

61. 功德 (religious) merit

62. 化 transformation, change, metamorphosis

63. 北斗星君 Astral Lord of the Northern Dipper

64. 北極紫微大帝 Great Thearch of Purple Tenuity of the Northernmost Reaches

65. 千秋 thousands of autumns, innumerable years, for untold ages

66. 南斗星君 Astral Lord of the Southern Dipper

67. 南極仙翁 Transcendent Noble of the Southernmost Reaches

68. 南極長生大帝 Great Thearch of Long Life of the Southernmost Reaches

69. 博大 broad, extensive

70. 卜卦 divination using the Trigrams of early Sinitic thought

71. 卜問 ask a question by means of divination

72. 危險 danger, perilous

73. 參加 add, increase

74. 參香禮拜 collective offering of incense and ritual veneration, group religious

    practice

75. 受傷 suffer injury

76. 古代 ancient times

77. 吃素 eating vegetarian food

78. 吉凶 auspiciousness and misfortune, luck (in divination)

79. 吉利 propitious, lucky and beneficial

80. 吉地 Blessed Lands, auspicious soil

81. 吉祥 auspicious

82. 命運 fate, destiny, the natural course of one's life

83. 和尚 (Buddhist) monk

84. 和平 peace

85. 品德 moral character

86. 品行 moral conduct, behavior

87. 善哉 how excellent, how good!

88. 善良 (morally) good

89. 嘉會 occasion of a feast, auspicious gathering

90. 因憂至道不明 In anxiety, the highest Dao is not clear

91. 因果 "karmic" fruition, metaphysical/spiritual result of moral import of one's actions

92. 困難 difficulties

93. 國父孫中山先生 Mister Sun Zhongshan, Father of the Nation

94. 國運昌隆 The nation coming to glory and prosperity

95. 圓明斗姥天尊 Celestial Worthy Astral Grandmother Haloed in Light

96. 團體 (social) group, social unit

97. 土地公 Lord of the Soil (general name for a localized deity)

98. 地軸將軍 General of the Armies of the Earthly Axis

99. 城隍 walls and moats (metonymically represents a city, used in the term for patron deity of a city)

100. 塞住 blocked up, stopped up (in terms of the flow of pneuma)

101. 壞運 bad luck

102. 壽 longevity

103. 外棄榮華 Abandon the trappings of glory

104. 大吉 great fortune, marvelously auspicious

105. 大忠大孝，主地綱，尊天柱 "Vast in loyalty and great in filial piety, placing the Mainstays of Earth foremost, honoring the Pillars of Heaven"

106. 大悟 enlightenment

107. 大法天師 Celestial Master of the Grand Method

108. 大法張天尊 Heavenly Worthy Zhang of the Grand Method

109. 大金身 Great Golden Body (a form or depiction of the primary deity)

110. 天上聖母 Sagely Mother Above the Heavens

111. 天下 All that which is under the heavens

112. 天后 Celestial Empress

113. 天命 Mandate of Heaven, fate given by heaven

114. 天地 Heaven and Earth

115. 天地人三才 the Three Forces: Heaven, Earth, and Humanity

116. 天尊 Heavenly Worthy

117.   天帝 Heavenly Thearch, Lord of the Heavens

118.   天界 Celestial Realms

119.   天經地義 idiomatically: "right and proper", lit. "Scriptures from Heaven [translate into] Duties on Earth"

120.   天關將軍 General of the Armies of the Celestial Pass

121.   太上 Most High

122.   太上道祖 Most High Ancestor of the Dao

123.   太上道祖(主神) Most High Ancestor of the Dao (main deity)

124.   太乙救苦天尊 Celestial Worthy who Rescues from Distress of the Grand Monad

125.   太乙真蓮宗 School of the Perfected Lotus of the Grand Monad

126.   太極 Great Reaches, Supreme Ultimate

127.   太極拳 Taijiquan, a martial art related to Daoism in the popular imagination

128.   太極界至尊 The Most Revered One of the Great Ultimate Realm

129.   太空/空洞 Great Emptiness, cavernousness

130.   奇妙 wondrous, awesome, supernatural

131.   奉祀 offer sacrifice

132.   奉神 make offerings before the divinities

133.   奉給 to offer up

134.   好運 good luck

135.　　妖怪 monster, evil entity

136.　　妖精 evil spirit, succubus-like entity

137.　　妖言 words meant to lead astray or corrupt, blasphemy

138.　　威靈 authority, awesome spirit

139.　　媽祖 Ancestral Mother (deity appellation; more commonly known as

　　　　Mazu)

140.　　孚佑帝君 Thearchical Lord, Entrusted to Bless

141.　　守中無偏 Keep to the center and do not slant from it,

142.　　安和定靜 Install harmony and set tranquility

143.　　安寧 peace, free of turmoil or war

144.　　安置 install, seat, enthrone

145.　　安靜 calm, at peace

146.　　宏大 immensely great, vast

147.　　宏揚正教 The true teachings raised up high.

148.　　宗師 Lineage Master, Abbot

149.　　宗教 religion

150.　　宗旨 aim, goal

151.　　宣教 proselytize, preach

152.　　宣講 lecture about religious matter, promulgate teachings

153.　　宣道 promulgate the *Dao*

154. 宮觀 temple

155. 宿命 predestination, fated events

156. 寧靜 serenity, tranquility

157. 寬廣 broad expanse, enormous in space

158. 寬泛 broad (especially in meaning)

159. 寺廟 temple

160. 尊敬 respect

161. 尊重 give respect, honor

162. 巫師 / 巫覡 shaman, warlock, magician

163. 師兄 senior male student/disciple (term of address)

164. 師姐 senior female student/disciple (term of address)

165. 平安 peaceful, tranquil

166. 幸運 fortunate, lucky

167. 幽明 the abyssal and the luminous, evil and good, dark and light,

    ignorance and wisdom

168. 廟宇 temple

169. 引導 guide, lead, conduct

170. 很深 deep (of discourse, philosophy, erudition)

171. 很窮 destitute, in poverty, exhaustion of physical or mental resources

172. 後天 Latter Heaven

173. 徒弟 disciple

174. 得到 achieve, attain

175. 德才 ethical virtues and talent

176. 德行 virtue and conduct

177. 心理 mind, psyche, immaterial non-soul-like elements of the self

178. 思想 thought

179. 思維 line of thought, way of thinking, intellectual current

180. 惡性 wickedness, maliciousness

181. 惡氣 unsound pneuma

182. 意思/意義 intent, meaning

183. 感恩/宏恩 giving thanks, great gratitude (to deities)

184. 感應 reaction, response, sympathetic response

185. 慈善救濟 Succor with Compassion and Goodness

186. 慈悲 compassion

187. 態度 attitude

188. 慶典 celebration

189. 懷疑 doubt, suspect

190. 我跟你講… let me tell you... (common, formulaic preface to informal-style explanation)

191. 戒律 rules of monastic discipline, regulations for religious conduct

192. 戒規 precepts, rules

193. 技術 technique, skill, ability

194. 抽籤 divination using stalks

195. 拜拜 veneration, prayer

196. 拜神 pray to the gods

197. 拯救 save, rescue, provide succor

198. 擲筊 *bua bue*, or the casting of wooden divination crescents (*bue*, the term for the crescents, is also seen as 筊, 筶, 盃, or 杯)

199. 改惡從善，改邪歸正 Turn from evil to follow good, turn from wickedness to follow the straight and narrow path

200. 救苦 provide succour to those who are suffering, save the suffering, help those in pain

201. 救苦救難 Ease Suffering and Hardships

202. 教書 teach, instruct on doctrine

203. 教條 creed, doctrine, dogma

204. 教規／規定 religious rules, proscriptions, stipulation

205. 教訓 give moral instruction, discipline

206. 敬神 venerate deities, respect the divinities, perform venerations

207. 文化 culture

208. 斗姥 Dipper-Matron

209. 昇天 ascend to the heavens

210. 星君，列宿 Astral Lord (appellation of deity), arrays of constellations (representing the palaces of Astral Lords)

211. 普渡 Universal Salvation

212. 普渡眾生 Bring Universal Salvation to All

213. 智慧 wisdom

214. 有效 effective

215. 有緣/有道緣 to have a karmic affinity, to have an affinity through the Dao

216. 正信 correct belief, orthodoxy

217. 正確，真正，正體/整體 correct, true, orthodox, of proper form

218. 正統 traditional

219. 正道 the true way, the orthodox Way

220. 歷代神聖 Divine Sage of the Ages Gone By

221. 歸依 convert

222. 歸納 summarize, conclude from facts, induction

223. 殺氣 deathly pneuma, killing pneuma

224. 民族 The People, ethnicity

225. 民族始祖軒轅黃帝 Xuan Yuan, the Yellow Thearch, Ancestor of the People

226. 民間宗教 popular religion

227. 沒錯/對啊 that's right! just so! you've got it! (common interjection during explanations)

228. 治病 control illness, heal the sick

229. 法事 ritual, style

230. 法會 ritual assembly

231. 活動 activity

232. 派 school, vein, sect, division

233. 消災／救災 averting disaster, providing relief for those struck by disaster

234. 淨化人心 Purify Hearts and Minds

235. 深藏若虛 Cache treasures and treat them as though they were nothing

236. 混合 blend, mix together, coalesce from chaos

237. 混在一起 mixed together, hybridization

238. 清醮 Pure Sacrifice

239. 清靜 purity, cleansing, utter tranquility, quiet

240. 渡生渡死 Ferry [from Suffering] the Living and the Dead

241. 濟世度人 "fording the [seas of suffering in] the world and ferrying other [to salvation]"

242. 烏頭道士 *o-thau-to-su* "Black-head" (Daoist functionary)

243. 無名 nameless

244. 無形 formless, shapeless

245. 無極 boundless, limitless

246. 無極始祖玄玄上聖元始天王大天尊 Boundless Primogenitors, Arcane

Superior Sages, Celestial Kings of Primal Origin, Great Heavenly Worthies

247.   無法 without a way [to do something], to be without a [proper] method or doctrine

248.   無為自然所行所作 Cultivate *wuwei* and act according to nature in all that you do

249.   無量 innumerable

250.   熱鬧 lively, thronging

251.   燒紙 burn ritual paper

252.   燒香 burn incense

253.   燒香 to burn incense

254.   特別/特殊 special, particular, extraordinary

255.   玄天上帝 Superior Thearch of the Arcane Heavens

256.   玄天大帝 Grand Thearch of the Arcane Heavens

257.   玄秘 mysterious, abstruse doctrine, arcane

258.   玄穹高大帝 Lofty and Superior Thearch of the Arcane Vault

259.   玉皇 Jade Thearch

260.   玉皇 Jade Thearch

261.   玉皇上帝聖 The Jade Emperor, Superior Thearch and Sage

262.   玉皇大天尊 Great Heavenly Worthy, the Jade Emperor

263.   王天君 Celestial Lord Wang

264. 王爺 King-Father (deity appellation)

265. 珍藏 treasure hoard, pearls and cached valuables, accumulation of that which is most valued

266. 生 / 造成 / 創作 produce, give rise to, give birth to, bring about, create

267. 異教 heterodoxy

268. 異端(邪說) heresy, skewed speech, heterodoxy

269. 疾病 sickness

270. 痛苦 suffering

271. 真人 Perfected [One]

272. 真理 truth

273. 知識 knowledge, intellectual

274. 知道 yes, I know / knowledge

275. 磕頭 ritual prostration, bringing one's forehead to the ground reverentially

276. 社會安定 A stable society

277. 祈求 pray, seek something through prayer

278. 祈福 pray for good fortune, pray to attain some benefit

279. 祖先 ancestor, forebear

280. 祖師 Ancestral Teacher

281. 祝你 I wish you... [e.g. success, fortune]

282. 祝壽 congratulate on the occasion of one's birthday, congratulations for

longevity (wished to deities on their birthday celebrations in temples)

283. 神仙 the divinities and transcendents

284. 神妙 marvelous, wondrous, fantastic

285. 神明, spirit, deity, divinity

286. 神聖 divine, holy, sacred

287. 祥瑞 auspicious, propitious

288. 祭典 ceremony, sacrificial rites

289. 祭禮 ritual

290. 禍福 fortune and misfortune, calamity and luck

291. 福 fortune, luck, prosperity

292. 禮貌，禮 politeness, etiquette, ritual propriety

293. 禳災 averting calamity or disaster by religious means

294. 秘傳 secret transmission (of knowledge from master to disciple)

295. 空虛 emptiness

296. 符合 conform, correspond, accordance

297. 符咒／靈符 charm, amulet, talisman

298. 算命 fortune-telling

299. 節 festival, holiday

300. 精 essence

301. 精神 energy, vitality, sprites and spirits

302. 紀念 commemorate, memorialize

303. 紅頭仔 "Red-head" (Daoist functionary)

304. 經典 scriptures, canon

305. 繞著 ritually circumambulate

306. 缺德(沒有德) lacking in moral, to be amoral, ruthless, unscrupulous

307. 罪惡 evil, sin

308. 老君 Elder Lord, apotheosis of Laozi

309. 老子 Laozi

310. 老師 teacher

311. 聖像 religious icon

312. 聖典 sacred scripture, divine canon

313. 聖境 Sagely Realms

314. 聯合 unite, join

315. 肉體 corporeal body, flesh-bearing body

316. 自然 so-of-itself, natural

317. 至聖先師 Most Sagely First Teacher

318. 致虛守靜 Safeguard tranquility in the utmost void

319. 莊公中正先生 Mister Chang Kai-shek, Hale Elder

320. 菩薩/佛 bodhisattva, buddha (comparative speech, or nominal respect to guanyin/sakyamuni)

321. 萬物 the many things, the multitudes of observable or physical phenomena, living beings

322. 萬神 the multitude of divinities

323. 虔信 piety, devotion

324. 行天之道，布天之德 "practice Heaven's Dao, promulgate Heaven's Virtue"

325. 行為 behavior

326. 表示 express, show, indicate

327. 覺悟 awakening to knowledge or attainment of gnosis, awareness, enlightenment

328. 觀音大士 / 觀世音大士 Great Champion Guan-yin ("Hearer of Sounds [of suffering]") / Great Champion Guan-shi-yin ("Hearer of the Sounds [of suffering] of the World")

329. 觀點 standpoint

330. 角度 point of view

331. 解釋，解說 explain, interpret, resolve, comment

332. 認識 knowledge, understanding, cognition

333. 誦經 chant scriptures

334. 諸神 the arrayed divinities, all the gods

335. 講堂 lecture hall

336. 護身 protecting the self, guarding the body

337.　　　賢人 Worthy One

338.　　　跪下 kneel

339.　　　軒轅黄帝 the Yellow Thearch, Xuan Yuan

340.　　　辛苦 bitter suffering

341.　　　送給/寄到 to give, to send

342.　　　通俗 common, vulgar

343.　　　進香 present incense, offer incense

344.　　　運氣 luck

345.　　　過世，去世 gone from the world, departed the world (euphemism for

death)

346.　　　過程 process

347.　　　道人 Man of the Dao, Daoist

348.　　　道友 Friend in the Dao

349.　　　道團 Daoist congregation, Daoist group

350.　　　道場 Field of the Dao, a ritual area

351.　　　道士 Daoist functionary ("priest")

352.　　　道學講習 lectures on and study of Daoism

353.　　　道家 Daoism

354.　　　道廟 Daoist temple

355.　　　道引 leading on to

356. 道德 The Dao and Its Efficacy, The Way and Its Virtue, Dao and De, system of morality

357. 道德慈善會 Society for Morality and Charitable Benevolence

358. 道教 Daoism

359. 道教列位正神 the "Many Proper Divinities of Daoism" (i.e. the retinue of mostly nameless minor deities, consorts, soldiery, ministers et al. that are to be found surrounding the main deities of a temple)

360. 道法 the way of the Dao, practice of Daoism in the course of one's life

361. 道理 sense, principle, reason

362. 道經編輯委員會 Committee for the Compilation of Daoist Scriptures

363. 道號 Daoist appellation, one's Daoist name

364. 道長 Head Daoist functionary, Daoist Elder

365. 遵道述德 Honor the Dao and speak of the De

366. 避邪 avoding evil (esp. evil entities)

367. 邪惡 evil, wicked, twisted

368. 邪氣 evil influence, force opposed to one's vital essence

369. 邪神 nefarious spirit, evil spirit

370. 配置 allocate, deploy

371. 醮齋 Sacrifices and Retreats, i.e. rituals

372. 釋義，講義 to explain the meaning (of a point of doctrine or a scripture), to expound the meaning

373. 開宗祖師 Ancestral Master, Founder of the School

374. 開山宗長國藏應 / 以老子為宗 Eldest of the Lineage, Aggregator of Mountains Guo Cangying / to take Laozi as [founder of] the lineage

375. 開明 enlightenment

376. 關公 Lord Guan (name of deity)

377. 關穀 abstaining from consuming grains

378. 院 sanctuary, institute, complex with buildings and open courtyards

379. 陰間 the realm of the shades, the nether realms

380. 陰陽 *yin* and *yang*, lunarity and solarity

381. 集香 gathering up incense stick which are in the process of burning and have been ritually offered

382. 需要/要求 needs, requirements

383. 靈性 numinosity

384. 靈氣 numinous pneuma

385. 靈魂 soul, soul-like components of individuals

386. 靜修道場 Tranquility and Cultivation Chamber of the Dao

387. 靜坐 sit quietly, meditate, sit in tranquility

388. 順情全理 Let emotion have no foothold but be wholly reasoning

389. 領導 lead

390. 頭家仔 principal libationer, master of ceremonies (common Daigi pronunciation: *thau-ke-a*)

391.	風俗 customs, mores

392.	風俗 customs, mores, vulgar practice

393.	風調雨順 The winds harmonious and the rains compliant

394.	養性 cultivation (spiritual, religious, intellectual)

395.	養育 rearing, nurturing

396.	餓鬼(好兄弟) hungry ghost (in parentheses, a euphemism: "good

	brother")

397.	體造化而行 Be firmly grounded and go on your path,

398.	魂魄 cloudsouls and whitesouls

399.	魔神仔 demon

400.	魔鬼 demon

401.	齋果 offerings for ritual purposes

402.	龍脈 dragon-vein, draconic lines

Religious Language at the YMM

The community of the YMM employ elements of a religiolectical repertoire that takes Daigi, Hakka, and MSC as primary contributors to the grammar, lexicon, and pronunciation, with situational variances. While grammar was not the focus of this study and so will only be touched on briefly, lexicon and pronunciation receive more attention below.

As with the DDY religiolect, I present the YMM religiolect using the method of the linguistic repertoire highlighted above.	Again, the idea of the linguistic repertoire is

that instead of thinking of clearly delineated entities called 'languages' that people either do or do not speak, one ought rather to think that people make use of a broad array of linguistic elements as time, circumstances, and the people themselves change. In other words, lects (such as "languages" and "dialects") then become *linguistic toolboxes* from which speakers may choose to draw from (to what extent and how much depending entirely on the speaker), rather than homogenous systems employed in their entirety by speakers; they are a "pool of resources from which members of a speech community draw the linguistic tools they need."

Brief Overview of Non-Phonetic, Non-Lexical Characteristics of Religious Language at the Yimin Miao. Part 1: Kinds of Language Use.

As with the DDY, at the YMM one may find many kinds of language in use: ritual, organizational, welcoming, advisory, mantic/divinatory, expostulatory, and inter-group. Ritual language is the language confined to Daoist rituals and addresses to the audience during, before, and between rituals, and here is represented by the yearly repeated rites, such as Birthday of the Celestial Mother 天上聖母娘娘聖誕千秋 or the Offerings to the Celestial Mother of Beigang 北港天上聖母娘娘進香, as well as festivals which have full and definite ritual elements, such as the Corpulent Pig Competition 肥豬比賽. Organizational language involves coordinating and implementing plans; at the YMM, this is the language used by the administrative committee amongst themselves and with practitioner volunteers who assist in proving for the ritual needs of the temple. Welcoming language is language used to greet practitioners and visitors, and the resultant exchanges of small talk, with any initial instructions required by the situation, such as directions to seating for a ritual; at the YMM, this is found mostly at the guest reception area near the right front entrance to

the main hall. Advisory language is aimed at counseling others or offering advice on how to resolve spiritual and material problems; at the YMM, this is not nearly as prevalent as at the DDY, where the functionaries make the improvement of the emotional and moral lives of practitioners a primary portion of their religious activity. At the YMM, advisory language is limited to practical matters such as may be addressed between friends and neighbors, though there is not much to be found regarding moral or ethical frameworks that are commonly thought of as religious or religio-philosophical amongst Daoist practitioners. Educational language, the language of direct instruction, is scarcely to be found at the YMM. Mantic or divinatory language is the language involved with the process of asking questions of deities, and the interpretation of their answers; there is limited use of this language at the YMM when compared to the DDY, but the more knolwedgeable members of the administrative committee, having been closely involved in temple life for many years, have accumulated enough experience in what may be otherwise termed folk knowledge of Daoist interpretations in the area of mantic questions. Instructive language is language of command, directed from a position of authority, and nondoctrinal explanations; again, this is not often found at the YMM. Doctrinal language explains religious thought systems, or makes reference to them; without traditional monastic or priestly functionaries, doctrinal language at the YMM mostly *makes reference* to religious thought systems of Daoism, but does not explain them or promulgate from a self-validated position of authority. Expostulatory language involves reasoning with others about the validity of argumentative positions; the YMM functionaries have little occasion to use such language, because there is relatively little time devoted to the direct engagement of moral or ethical issues. Inter-group language is used in interacting with other organizations, religious or otherwise; at the YMM, such language is used very frequently. Though   the YMM does not interact on the same

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international and regional scale with other religious groups as the YMM, on the national and municipal level the members of the YMM administrative committee are very actively involved with other temple groups in the local area; the intercourse between the YMM and the other temples provides each temple in the same social network with ready groups of participants for larger ritual processes and festivals, especially when it is preferable to have a temple in the network receive ritual visitation by other deities. In addition, they must be involved with the communities of religious professionals in Taiwan (either affiliated with temples or itinerant, unaffiliated, or informal professionals) to provide monastic and priestly professionals when the ritual needs of the YMM require them.

Brief Overview of Non-Phonetic, Non-Lexical Characteristics of Religious Language at the Yimin Miao. Part 2: Substrate Lects Contributing to YMM Religiolect and Their Roles.

The language environment of the YMM is a complex stratification of Hakka and Daigi lects, with limited involvement of MSC lects. The YMM was originally built to satisfy the religious needs of ethnic Hakka communities in the Kaohsiung area. As a large metropolis, Kaohsiung experienced a high level of immigration from rural areas as well as less prosperous urban centers, including group immigration from Hakka regions of Taiwan. In the beginning of the YMM's life, the Hakka communities were more isolated from the otherwise Daigi-speaking communities that comprised the majority of the inhabitants of Kaohsiung. As time went on, the Hakka immigrants which settled in Kaohsiung integrated socially with the surrounding Daigi-speaking communities, and so began to speak Daigi themselves, while maintaining their Hakka culture and languages in an increasingly limited fashion. In addition, the YMM services and   certainly welcomes practitioners from all

backgrounds, so one is as likely to meet a Daigi-speaker as not. The administrative council and temple staff, however, do tend to be ethnically Hakka. Due to a resurgence of Hakka culture in the past ten years or so, the rate of language loss among the Hakka community has sharply declined or even mildly reversed. However, the reversal has not yet been sufficient to eliminate the significant presence of Daigi lects at the YMM. As for MSC, the great increase in the importance of the port of Kaohsiung for the economy of Taiwan and the fact that the Navy of the Republic of China is headquartered there made Kaohsiung a powerful city in the eyes of the ROC; this, naturally, brought a large contingent of MSC speakers to Kaohsiung in the last 60 years or so, and, coupled with the nationalization of MSC-speaking culture (through state media and education), has brought MSC as the third most used language in the YMM. However, relative to the presence of MSC in Kaohsiung proper (where the YMM is located), the YMM enjoys a greatly reduced presence of MSC.

While functionaries frequently use Daigi lects when speaking to visitors or to practitioners who are known not to be Hakka speakers, and while Hakka is used in ritual situations and with known Hakka speakers (especially the middle-aged and elderly), MSC appears mostly in situations where a speaker present on YMM grounds has reason to believe an addressee would be uncomfortable with either Daigi or Hakka; this may be on grounds of one's perceived education, economic status, status as national-level government representative, youth, or provenance from MSC-speaking urban areas (particularly from the north of Taiwan). In addition, obviously foreign visitors are likely to addressed in MSC, for example, if one has reason to believe one is speaking with a tourist from mainland China.

During regular days, which is to say the days during which the temple is in operation but no special events such as rituals or festivals are taking place, the most likely place one will encounter the YMM religiolect will be   at the semi-permanent guest reception desk,

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which is situated parallel to the practitioner's path of entry to the temple's main hall, from the right-hand entrance gateway. This reception area consists of two desks and an aggregation of chairs meant to seat administrators, practitioners, and social visitors; social visitors are members of the local community who come to speak and socialize with temple administrators, practitioners, and other functionaries who stay at the YMM on a regular basis and for prolonged periods of time. Next are the administrative offices, located along the right wall as one faces the central shrines in the main hall; on the more rare occasions when the reception desks are cleared, there is almost always at least one administrator within the offices to tend to the phones or to manage temple financial operations.

A night market is managed by the YMM, and so the YMM religiolect enjoys frequent contact with the local surrounding lects. The YMM owns a portion of adjacent land which is leased out to community members wishing to participate in the night market; these largely run food stalls or small carnival-style games of chance. In order to market their wares to the surrounding community, many of the interactions are conducted in Daigi, save for interactions between Hakka merchants themselves or known Hakka community members (again, largely the elderly and the middle-aged). MSC lects are practically absent here. When the market is being set up, temple administrators are seen managing practical aspects of running a night market, such as engaging in direct interactions with stall-owners who are setting up stalls in too wide a space, or collecting the rent monies owed to the temple. Interviewed stall-owners counted themselves fortunate to be able to generate merit by providing a temple with income while simultaneously supplementing their own income (given that, largely, the stalls are either secondary sources of income or mere pastimes for elderly persons who wish to get out of the house and bolster their social life by conversing with friends and customers at the market);　　the occupation is perceived as connected to

the temple. When the market is bustling and the temple yet remains open, there is an intercourse between the temple proper and the night market: the adminstrators and practitioners go to the market to buy their dinners for themselves and their families or guests, while creating and maintaining positive relationships with community members also present at the temple, while adjunct staff of the stall-owners, their friends, family members, and customers frequently enter the temple to either socialize or to pay their respects to the deities within.

During ritual functions, Hakka plays the most prominent role in the YMM religiolect. The ritual addresses are conducted in Hakka, as is almost all of the reading of the text of the prayers, the scriptural chanting, and practitioner participations in the ritual. During pauses and interruptions of the ritual sequence (as one commonly is faced with during lengthy rites), one finds a greater preservation of the usage of Hakka for less formal conversation, even regarding finer points of upcoming ritual procedure or for simple remarks on the successful setup and conducting of the ritual up to the present point. Informal conversation as part of small talk in between stages of the ritual process also preserve Hakka elements, though one will note that this occurs mostly with the adminstrators than with the practitioners. The practitioners who are members of the Hakka linguistic communities seem to situate themselves in central and anterior positions in the ritual space reserved for the audience, while Daigi speakers tend to position themselves on the peripheries. Hakka speakers address Daigi speakers in Daigi, while reserving Hakka for use amongst themselves, but Hakka never appears to be used as a language of exclusion, to communicate something not meant for the ears of 'outsiders.' Hakka appears to be a marker of solidarity, or to coalesce feelings of social and religious effervescence within the group. Daigi was also in use to address younger   members of the community, for whom it

may have been a language with which they had more frequent contact. Upon the cessation of the ritual sequence, Daigi appears to be made prevalent once more, as the practitioners and administrators dissolve into a greater crowd mass, which gathers and approaches from without to partake in the general revelry and feasting of the larger festivals. MSC is rarely heard of in ritual situations at the YMM, save in a handful of brief explanations or asides made to visitors who might be unfamiliar with Hakka or even be uncomfortable with Daigi.

Brief Overview of Non-Phonetic, Non-Lexical Characteristics of Religious Language at the Yimin Miao. Part 3: Negotiation of Semantic Range of Lexicon

Those who elect to make use of the YMM religiolect's repertoire do not treat the lexicon of the repertoire as semantically mutable as that of the DDY. There is not much negotiation of the semantic range of the lexicon, possible due to the greater prevalence of lexicon associated with martial prowess and other physical, tangible manifestations. The religious lexical items are much more grounded in the historical events of the rebellion that led to the Hakka military sacrifice, which led to the authorization for the creation of the YMM's main temple of which the Kaohsiung YMM is a branch. In functionary and practitioner speech, the semantic ranges of lexicon varies relatively little compared to the DDY religiolect. What sets the religiolect apart from the surroundings is the relatively strong appearance of Hakka-based lects contributing to the repertoire along with the prevalence of martial lexicon.

The sources of authority for problems with lexical ambiguity, such as there are, are the members of the administrative council and the local Hakka community members with social capital. Social capital is acquired by dint of experience, perceived wisdom, and social connections to influential members of the   Hakka and temple community. There is no

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fixed source of authority in terms of lexicon, though neither did I observe disagreement about meaning. Past precedent or the word of elders and community members accepted by the community at large as knowledgeable suffice as sources of authority, provisionally. The community may resort to arbitration by a lay teacher or elder with known expertise in religious matters, analogic reasoning, resorting to folk knowledge with approval of elder members, appeal to emotion, appeal to literomancy or folk deconstruction of representative logographs, formal logic, and comitative consultation with perceived social equals. However, there is not much consultation of scriptures or reference to religious text by. This is not to reflect on the learning and erudition of the community, but rather on the tendency to focus on pragmatic issues: organizing rites and festivals, performing them, managing visitors, managing donations, and the like.

As with the DDY religiolect's repertoire, indirect negotiation of meaning is present in the YMM community, as well. Though less so, the YMM community still makes reference to the transcendent and ineffable (such as spiritual forces), and so members of the language community use their lexicon in ways unexpected and perhaps only subtly contested (if noticed) by other members, and here too accounts for most of the negotiation of meaning in the religiolect. The variations in meaning and networks of associations activated by lects based on Daigi and Hakka interact to produce subtle negotiation of meaning.

If ineffability figures strongly in the DDY religiolect's linguistic context, the YMM repertoire may be said to focus on effability, such as is possible in a Daoist religious system which must make reference to concepts such as the celestial bureaucracy and the Dao itself. The YMM religiolect does not require a rhetorical strategy to place definitions outside of reach of linguistic interactions because the search for more fixed definitions do not appear in those interactions.

Brief Overview of Non-Phonetic, Non-Lexical Characteristics of Religious Language at the Yimin Miao. Part 4: Noncommunicative Language Use.

The YMM religiolect is also invested in noncommunicative aspects of language use. Even though the YMM community is either comfortable with Daigi or use Daigi as primary language, the community will still look to Hakka elements for ritual and during sponsored cultural functions. Unlike the DDY's repertoire, the Hakka elements of the YMM repertoire come from the maintenance of the Hakka culture in the Hakka ethnic community along with the more recent Hakka revitalization movement in Taiwan. The use of in-group language functions to create group solidarity amongst the Hakka members of the temple, and is positively viewed by the Daigi speaking members and Daigi communities surrounding the temple.

Much of the metalinguistic work which determines if items become part of the YMM repertoire is performed in collaboration with a wider Hakka community in Taiwan and with the main temple of which the Kaohsiung YMM is a branch, as well as the Hakka television channel and other linguistic outlets for Hakka-based elements. A more fixed set of elements derives from the historical materials narrating the events which led to the temple's creation.

As with the DDY religiolect, another aspect of the noncommunicative language use is that the YMM lect's repertoire is tied to the constantly-evolving issue of identity as a member of southern Taiwanese urban society, with the added dimension of belonging to the Hakka ethnicity, which has a historical narrative of itself as a fundamentally displaced people. That the YMM community imagines itself as coalescing around the remembrance of an act of loyalty to the state (a state which largely   serves the ethnic group which displaced the

Hakka from their ancestral homeland) places the the YMM simultaneously in an imagined

center (loyal subjects of the central emperor) and on an imagined periphery (non-Han

"guests" forced from their lands, by circumstance adapted to living in less desirable

mountainous areas). This sense of centrality and periphery is doubly reinforced by being a

minority enclave in a very densely populated central area of Kaohsiung, completely

surrounded by Daigi-speaking communities, yet in the same administrative area as the more

rural agricultural city of Meinung, one of the foremost Hakka communities in Taiwan. The

language usage of the YMM community nominally privileges a Hakka-based repertoire, but

in practice the use of Daigi-based elements is very prevalent. The narrative of the Hakka

ethnicity in Taiwan and the revitalization efforts of Hakka language and culture anchor the

Hakka core of the religiolect, but the Daigi elements form a large part of the substance.

As for elements which the community members marked for expressiveness and

emotional impact, much of the Daigi usage at the YMM is also often tied to the relatively

rich "feel" of the language (as perceived by community members), and the ability to express

shades of meaning and powerful subtleties. The Hakka usage also has a rich feel, but because

it is tied to ritual and to the historical narrative of loyalty, and because Hakka languge

elements were in decline for many years until the recent revitalization movement, it has less

of a chance to express itself. The religiolect, again, frames a course of action for the language

community in relation to itself, to other social groups, and to the components of reality that

are of interest to the language community, by giving itself a separate character from

surrounding languages and thereby creating relational and conceptual space in which to

center action, and by rendering salient a particular set of religious thoughts and practices

through choices in lexicon and phonetic characteristics of speech; in particular, the

conceptual space occupied by the   negotiation of Hakka identity in Taiwanese

civilization in particular and Sinitic civlization in general. The religiolect cradles a particular

linguistic image of the world, which by virtue of being a different linguistic entity, must be

different in some way from the linguistic image of the world as beheld by persons outside of

the language community. This image is shaped by the community itself, as it communally

experiences, interprets, and evaluates reality, and, in communally registering the information,

has those experiences, interpretations, and evaluations interact with language. These are

interwoven with particular norms and values cherished by the community, which again

speaks about them in particular ways.[252]

On the Grammatical Elements of the YMM Religiolect's Repertoire

Again, this study did not focus on the syntax or grammar of religiolects, insteading

being constrained to phonetic and lexical features. I intended to provide some basic

observations about the grammar characteristics of the YMM religiolect which I encountered

during fieldwork. These grammar characteristics are from Hakka-based utterances (much of

the speech at the YMM occurs in Daigi-based utterances; when using Daigi-based

utterances, I observed few grammatical alterations which may have been influenced by

language contact with Hakka).

Some bisyllabic words experience a reversal in morphemes according to Hakka rules,

even if the utterance occurs in Daigi or in MSC. Some prefixes become suffixes, such as

those denoting the sex of animals, or the nonstandard *jinkheh* 人客 instead of *khehlang* 客人,

in Daigi utterances. The personal pronoun marker *deu* rarely becomes attached to equivalent

personal pronouns in Daigi utterances, though never in MSC. There is no distinction

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[252] Oral history provided by the functionary association, and compared to written sources: Lin Guanghua
林光華. *Yimin Xin Xiang Tu Qing: Baozhong Yimin Miao Wenshi Zhuan Ji* 義民心鄉土情：褒忠義民廟文史專輯
[The Feeling for the Land in the Heart of the Dutiful: Culture and History of the Baozhong Yimin Miao].
Hsinchu (Taiwan): Xinzhu xian wen hua ju, 2001.

between inclusive and exclusive pronouns in Hakka-based utterances. The completion aspect marker sometimes changes from the Taiwanese Hakka *tet* to the Meixian Hakka *pet*.[253] Measure words from Hakka seldom leach into Daigi or MSC, whereas Daigi classifiers do sometimes appear in Hakka-based utterances, though MSC almost never, and the speakers preserve them in their original language instead of attempting to convert their pronunciation into Hakka. Adverbial uses of 多 or 少 may appear before the verb, not after it. The passive marker does not have to have an agent, as is usual with Hakka. Sentences with double objects at times invert their expected order, which is Subj + DO + IO. There is very sparse usage of the adjectivization of concrete nouns. MSC-based utterances, when using V + neg + V constructions, are instead built as the Hakka *iu* + neg + *iu* + V construction, with *you* replacing *iu*. Single-syllable lexicon is strongly preferred and is used where possible in situations where there is a choice. Archaic or formalized speech makes few appearances in didactic situations, but is the standard in ritual speech. Affixes shared between Daigi and Hakka tend to be pronounced with Daigi phonetic influences, save for infixes (*-a-*), and all affixes increase in MSC-based utterances, as direct translations of Daigi or Hakka equivalents.

On Religious Lexical Elements of the YMM Religiolect's Repertoire

The YMM religiolect has a repertoire of religious lexicon that is based on martiality, loyalty, and pragmatism; the overtly supernatural items are about as prevalent as with any other temple-based language community I observed in Taiwan. Again, religious lexical items

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[253] The standard Hakka lect of Meixian (Moiyen), a region in southern mainland China that is heavily populated by people of Hakka ancestry, has a status of prestige dialect in many Hakka-speaking communities worldwide. I only very rarely encountered it in my fieldwork, so I omit its characteristics. However, the curious may wish to consult Wen, Changyan 温昌衍. *Kejia fangyan / Kejia yaniu wen cong* 客家方言/客家研究文丛 [Hakka Dialect / Hakka Research Collection]. Guangzhou: Huanan ligong daxue chubanshe, 2006.

are those which are identified by members of the religious community as being religious, in the sense that they are intimately related to the concerns and processes involved in practicing and thinking about religion (pursuant to how I defined religion in its apposite chapter), in addition to words being in frequent use in conjunction with the appearance of those identified items. In addition to my discussion of the "religious" element in religiolects (featured in 1.10 to 1.14), I reiterate here that the lexical items I present as elements of the repertoire of the religiolect are those which can reasonably be determined to be perceived to be marked or unusual in some way by the temple community members, relative to nonreligious language; I relied on my own theoretical understanding of what "religion" is, and therefore how lexicon could be "marked or unusual" from a religious standpoint (in this case, the Daoism practiced by the Taiwanese population I observed), in addition to the relatively rare overt declarations of the templegoers themselves.

Following Keane, the peculiar or marked forms and uses of language that I call religious are "constructed in such a way as to suggest, *often in only the most implicit ways*, that they involve entities or modes of agency that are considered by practitioners to be consequentially distinct from more 'ordinary' experience or situated across some sort of ontological divide from something understood as a more everyday 'here and now.'"[254] The Daoism practiced by the YMM focused on the historical events leading to the memorialization of the Hakka war dead along with agricultural festivals that are closely tied to Hakka identity; there is a strong social cohesion element to the religiosity of the YMM community.

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[254] Keane, Webb. "Language and Religion." In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Alessandro Duranti, 431-448. Malden-Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.

On the Phonetic Elements of the YMM Religiolect's Repertoire

The YMM religiolect repertoire has phonetic elements from MSC, Daigi, and Hakka. The phonetic elements are from colloquial, oral, formal, ritualized, literary, classical, and modern lects derived from MSC, Daigi, and Hakka. That is to say that some of the phonetic elements come from, for example, Hakka lects that are used in ritual and formal situations as opposed to Hakka lects that are used in idle conversational contexts.

The elements listed in the sections below form part of a repertoire, and so represent elements that are selected and used in contexts deemed appropriate by those who use the religiolect. The elements below appear as phonetic shifts from one substrate lect to another substrate lect. The tables below show a putative initial-state pronunciation (observed in surrounding lects) along with an observed "alternate" pronuncation, with an example logograph representing a representative underlying word undergoing the illustrated shift. The shifts are neither permanent nor ubiquitous, but instead must be understood as occasional and subtle: in the vast majority of occurrences, the phonetic shift cannot be understood to result from a conscious choice, but rather from the speaker's attention shifting to salient situations in which other phonetic systems have influence. The phonetic elements are most often selected during what may be termed "moments of hybridity," during which multiple systems of culture, discourse and knowledge come together, and when a speaker is engaged in selecting between various competing lects in which he or she has competence. The phonetic elements are not necessarily selected as a particular initial matched with a particular final to form a phonetic shift for a whole word; initials or finals of a word may be selected from the repertoire without changing the "original" and corresponding final and initial of that word.

For example, at the YMM, phonetic   shifts from Hakka pronunciations are at

times naturally overcome by Daigi pronunciations, which emerge from ritual readings and religious instructional situations, and so are naturally associated with the religious semantic domains. A specific example of the just described would be the 義民 in 義民廟 being observed to shift from the standard Hakka *ngi min* pronunciation to a hybrid *gi min* after the speaker had just been speaking to non-Hakka participants who spoke Daigi; the Daigi pronunciation of 義民廟 being *gi bin bio.*

The Phonetic Inventory of Hakka, Daigi, and MSC as Used in the YMM.

In this section, I present the vocalic, consonantal, and tonal systems of the major Hakka lects which contribute to the YMM religiolect repertoire. The Daigi and MSC contributions to the lect did not appreciably differ from those presented for the DDY, and so the DDY sections may be consulted for those major contributing lects. The images are based on completed IPA charts, with information added and removed to reflect the accurate phonetic range as I observed it at the YMM. I did not focus on tones in this study, though I did not neglect them either; I almost exclusively observed the tones corresponding to the Siyen tonal accent.
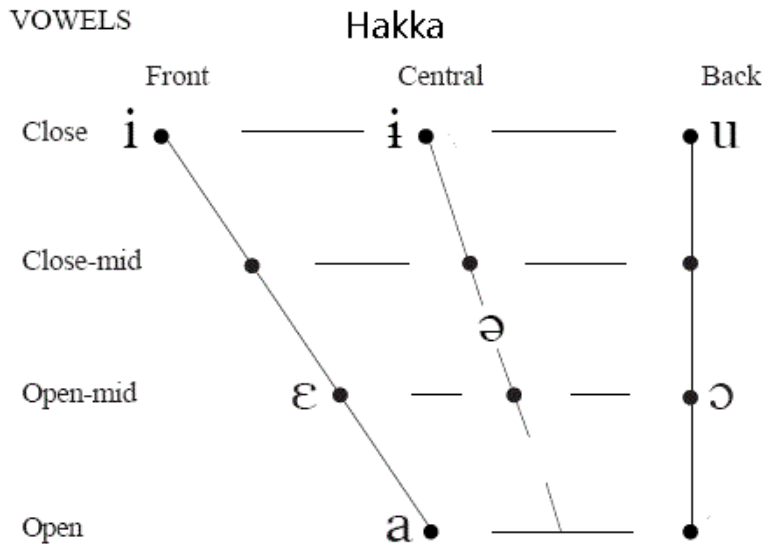
VOWELS   Hakka

A vowel to the right of the ● represents a rounded vowel, while one to the left represents an unrounded vowel.

Diphthongs/Triphthongs: ai, au, ɛu, iu, ɔi, ui. Palatalization and labialization medials followed by vowels are not true diphthongs. Triphthongs are formed by palatalization and labialization medials [j] and [w] in conjunctions with the true diphthongs listed above.

Differences in tone contours vary strongly region to region. The following tone chart represents the Siyen pronunciation.

Tones:

Tone Number	Name	Pitch
1	Yin Level （陰平）	˧˥ 24
2	Yin Rising (陰上）	˧˩ 31
3	Yin Departing (陰去)	˥ 55
4	Yin Entering (陰入)	˨ʔ 2
5	Yang Level （陽平）	˩ 11
7	Yang Departing (陽去)	˥ 55
8	Yang Entering (陽入)	˥ʔ 5

Figure 6: Hakka lect vowels and tones

HAKKA

Place →	Labial		Coronal				Dorsal			Radical		Glottal
↓ Manner	Bilabial	Labio dental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalv.	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn geal	Epiglottal	Glottal
Nasal	m			n			ɲ	ŋ				
Plosive	p•			t•				k•				ʔ
Fricative		f v		s								h
Approximant												
Trill												
Flap or tap												
Lateral Fric.												
Lateral Appr.				l								
Lateral flap												

Affricates			
	ts•		tɕ •

Co-articulated consonants		
Fricatives	ɕ	
Approximants	w	
Stops		

Where symbols appear in pairs, left—right represent the voiceless—voiced consonants.
Shaded areas denote pulmonic articulations judged to be impossible.

Consonants with phonemic aspiration contrast are marked with: •

When the initials [ts], [tsʰ], [s], and [ŋ] are followed by a palatal medial [j], they become [tɕ], [tɕʰ], [ɕ], and [ɲ], respectively.

Figure 7: Hakka lect consonants

Hybridized phonetic elements at the YMM

As I wrote above, this section contains "a putative initial-state pronunciation (observed in surrounding lects) along with an observed "alternate" pronunciation, with an example logograph representing a representative underlying word undergoing the illustrated shift. The shifts are neither permanent nor ubiquitous, but instead must be understood as occasional and subtle: in the vast majority of   occurrences, the phonetic shift cannot be

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understood to result from a conscious choice, but rather from the speaker's attention shifting to salient situations in which other phonetic systems have influence. The phonetic elements are most often selected during what may be termed "moments of hybridity," during which multiple systems of culture, discourse and knowledge come together, and when a speaker is engaged in selecting between various competing lects in which he or she has competence."[255]

The first portion of this section, Hakka to MSC, lists a putative phonetic element drawn from Hakka followed by an observed phonetic element drawn from MSC, along with a representative logograph for each line. In the second line, for example, 微 was expected to be pronounced with a [m-] initial because the context was a Hakka context (for example, the interlocutors were Hakka speakers from Meinung and had been using Hakka lects); however, I observed a [w-] initial. In the first line, I show that the [m-] initial could also retain its same pronunciation (if, for example, the final happened to change to an MSC pronunciation, or if the MSC phonetic element is the same as its Hakka counterpart), or that sometimes the pronunciation did not change even if I expected it to change during moments of hybridity. Over the course of the participant observation, I gathered the data to construct the following table; the remaining lines follow the same pattern as the first and second lines.

Hakka	to	MSC
[m-]	→	[m-]木
[m-]	→	[w-]微
[p-]	→	[p-]表

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[255] See parallel section above.

[p-]	→	[pʰ-]拼
[pʰ-]	→	[pʰ-]泡
[pʰ-]	→	[p-]波
[pʰ-]	→	[f-]芙
[f-]	→	[f-]夫
[f-]	→	[h-]化
[v-]	→	[Ø-]唯
[v-]	→	[h-]黃
[t-]	→	[t-]訂
[t-]	→	[tʂ-]拙
[tʰ-]	→	[tʰ-]退
[tʰ-]	→	[t-]度
[n-]	→	[n-]男
[l-]	→	[l-]論
[ts-]	→	[tʂ-]之
[ts-]	→	[ts-]子
[ts-]	→	[tɕ-]井
[ts-]	→	[tʂʰ-]持
[tsʰ-]	→	[tʂʰ-]尺
[tsʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]-冊

[tsʰ-]	→	[tɕʰ-]七
[tsʰ-]	→	[tʂ-]丈
[tsʰ-]	→	[ts-]在
[tsʰ-]	→	[ʂ-]杉
[s-]	→	[ʂ-]身
[s-]	→	[ɕ-]秀
[s-]	→	[s-]思
[s-]	→	[tʂʰ-]垂
[k-]	→	[tɕ-]交
[k-]	→	[k-]關
[k-]	→	[tɕʰ-]奇
[kʰ-]	→	[tɕʰ-]祈
[kʰ-]	→	[kʰ-]課
[kʰ-]	→	[k-]共
[ŋ-]	→	[Ø-]宜
[ŋ-]	→	[ʐ-]若
[ŋ-]	→	[n-]娘
[h-]	→	[h-]害
[h-]	→	[ɕ-]下
[h-]	→	[tɕʰ-]去

[Ø-]	→	[Ø-]也
[Ø-]	→	[ʐ-]仁
[-ɿ]	→	[-Ø]士
[-a]	→	[-ä]巴
[-a]	→	[-jä]牙
[-a]	→	[-wä]化
[-ə]	→	[-äʊ]好
[-ə]	→	[-wɔ]做
[-ə]	→	[-ɤ]可
[-ɛ]	→	[-i]系
[-ɛ]	→	[-Ø]事
[-ai]	→	[-ä]孩
[-ai]	→	[-i]低
[-əi]	→	[-aI]代
[-əi]	→	[-eI]枚
[-əi]	→	[-weI]灰
[-au]	→	[-äʊ]泡
[-au]	→	[-jäʊ]咬
[-ɛu]	→	[-oʊ]奏
[-ɛu]	→	[-jäʊ]眇

[-ɛu]	→	[-äʊ]昭
[-ui]	→	[-weɪ]桂
[-ui]	→	[-eɪ]淚
[-i]	→	[-i]己
[-i]	→	[-y]於
[-i]	→	[-weɪ]回
[-i]	→	[-eɪ]未
[-i]	→	[-Ø]釋
[-ia]	→	[-jɛ]邪
[-iɛ]	→	[-jɛ]皆
[-iau]	→	[-jäʊ]悄
[-iɛu]	→	[-jäʊ]搖
[-iɛu]	→	[-oʊ]疇
[-iui]	→	[-weɪ]銳
[-u]	→	[-u]土
[-u]	→	[-oʊ]丑
[-iu]	→	[-joʊ]九
[-iu]	→	[-oʊ]又
[-ua]	→	[-wä]爪
[-uai]	→	[-waɪ]快

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[-am]	→	[-an]男
[-am]	→	[-jɛn]奄
[-ɛm]	→	[-ən]砧
[-ɔm]	→	[-ən]針
[-an]	→	[-an]蛋
[-an]	→	[-wan]惋
[-ɛn]	→	[-ɤŋ]甥
[-ɛn]	→	[-iŋ]惺
[-ɔn]	→	[-ɤŋ]登
[-ɔn]	→	[-ən]診
[-ɔn]	→	[-wan]暖
[-ɔn]	→	[-an]幹
[-un]	→	[-wən]緄
[-un]	→	[-ən]聞
[-un]	→	[-yen]氳
[-aŋ]	→	[-ɤŋ]蜢
[-aŋ]	→	[-aŋ]龐
[-ɔŋ]	→	[-aŋ]丈
[-ɔŋ]	→	[-waŋ]亡
[-ɔŋ]	→	[-jaŋ]央

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[-uŋ]	→	[-ʊŋ]忠
[-iam]	→	[-jɛn]念
[-iam]	→	[-an]搬
[-im]	→	[-in]淋
[-im]	→	[-ən]深
[-iɛn]	→	[-jɛn]焉
[-iɛn]	→	[-yən]湲
[-in]	→	[-iŋ]敬
[-in]	→	[-in]進
[-iɔn]	→	[-wan]孌
[-iun]	→	[-ɥœn]君
[-iun]	→	[-in]近
[-iaŋ]	→	[-iŋ]青
[-iɔŋ]	→	[-jaŋ]姜
[-iɔŋ]	→	[-aŋ]紡
[-iuŋ]	→	[-oŋ]崇
[-iuŋ]	→	[-ioŋ]勇
[-uan]	→	[-wan]慣
[-uɛn]	→	[-ioŋ]迴
[-ap]	→	[-ä]拉

[-ap]	→	[-ɤ]合
[-ap]	→	[-ia]甲
[-ɛp]	→	[-ɤ]浙
[-ɔp]	→	[-Ø]汁
[-at]	→	[-ä]捌
[-at]	→	[-ɤ]舌
[-at]	→	[-wɔ]抹
[-ɛt]	→	[-ɤ]得
[-ɛt]	→	[-i]密
[-ɔt]	→	[-Ø]幟
[-ɔt]	→	[-wɔ]拙
[-ɔt]	→	[-ɤ]遏
[-ut]	→	[-u]勿
[-ut]	→	[-y]屈
[-ut]	→	[-wɔ]佛
[-ak]	→	[-ɤ]哲
[-ak]	→	[-Ø]值
[-ɔk]	→	[-wɔ]托
[-ɔk]	→	[-ɤ]各
[-ɔk]	→	[-ɥœ]岳

[-uk]	→	[-u]服
[-iap]	→	[-jɛ]頁
[-iap]	→	[-jä]峽
[-ip]	→	[-i]及
[-iɛt]	→	[-jɛ]列
[-iɛt]	→	[-ɥœ]曰
[-iɛt]	→	[-i]屹
[-it]	→	[-i]汐
[-iut]	→	[-y]聿
[-iak]	→	[-i]逆
[-iɔk]	→	[-ɥœ]卻
[-iɔk]	→	[-wɔ]若
[-iɔk]	→	[-jäʊ]腳
[-iuk]	→	[-y]玉
[-iuk]	→	[-u]足
[-uat]	→	[-wä]刮
[-uɛt]	→	[-wɔ]國

MSC	to	Hakka
[m-]	→	[m-]矛
[n-]	→	[n-]氖

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[n-]	→	[ŋ-]年
[p-]	→	[p-]百
[p-]	→	[pʰ-]別
[pʰ-]	→	[pʰ-]佩
[pʰ-]	→	[p-]伴
[t-]	→	[t-]典
[t-]	→	[tʰ-]度
[tʰ-]	→	[tʰ-]陀
[k-]	→	[k-]拱
[kʰ-]	→	[kʰ-]拷
[f-]	→	[f-]范
[s-]	→	[s-]孫
[ʂ-]	→	[s-]衫
[ʂ-]	→	[tsʰ-]深
[ʐ-], [ɻ-]	→	[Ø-]然
[ʐ-], [ɻ-]	→	[ŋ-]惹
[x-], [h-]	→	[f-]洪
[x-], [h-]	→	[h-]何
[x-], [h-]	→	[v-]和
[aɻ]	→	[ŋ i]爾

[a ɹ]	→	[Øi]兒
[l-]	→	[l-]椰
[ts-]	→	[ts-]子
[ts-]	→	[tsʰ-]在
[tsʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]才
[tɕ-]	→	[k-]建
[tɕ-]	→	[ts-]井
[tɕ-]	→	[kʰ-]曲
[tɕʰ-]	→	[kʰ-]伽
[tɕʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]千
[tʂ-]	→	[ts-]之
[tʂ-]	→	[tsʰ-]仲
[tʂ-]	→	[t-]展
[tʂʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]叉
[tʂʰ-]	→	[s-]丞
[ɕ-]	→	[h-]穴
[ɕ-]	→	[s-]霄
[ɥ-]	→	[Øj-]運
[Ø-]	→	[Ø-]幼
[Ø-]	→	[ŋ -]仰

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[Ø-]	→	[v-]吻
[-ä]	→	[-a]她
[-ä]	→	[-ap]拉
[-ä]	→	[-at]拔
[-jä]	→	[-a]呀
[-jä]	→	[-ap]呷
[-jä]	→	[-iap]狎
[-wä]	→	[-a]抓
[-wä]	→	[-ua]垮
[-a I]	→	[-ai]孩
[-a I]	→	[-əi]苔
[-wa I]	→	[-uai]筷
[-äʊ]	→	[-au]凹
[-äʊ]	→	[-ə]早
[-äʊ]	→	[- ε u]招
[-jäʊ]	→	[-iau]巧
[-jäʊ]	→	[- ε u]妙
[-jäʊ]	→	[-i ε u]妖
[-jäʊ]	→	[-au]咬
[-an]	→	[-an]炭

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[-an]	→	[-am]甘
[-an]	→	[-ɔn]看
[-jɛn]	→	[-iɛn]研
[-jɛn]	→	[-iam]兼
[-wan]	→	[-ɔn]串
[-wan]	→	[-an]完
[-ɥœn]	→	[-iun]雲
[-aŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]郎
[-jaŋ]	→	[-ioŋ]相
[-jaŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]江
[-waŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]洸
[-ɤ]	→	[-ə]禾
[-ɤ]	→	[-ɔk]惡
[-ɤ]	→	[-ut]懎
[-ɤ]	→	[-at]舌
[-ɤ]	→	[-ɛt]色
[-ɤ]	→	[-ap]娥
[-jɛ]	→	[-iet]節
[-jɛ]	→	[-iap]泄
[-jɛ]	→	[-ia]且

[-wɔ]	→	[-ɔk]珞
[-wɔ]	→	[-ɔt]咄
[-ɥœ]	→	[-iɛt]曰
[-ɥœ]	→	[-iɔk]嚼
[-eɪ]	→	[-i]肺
[-eɪ]	→	[-ui]淚
[-eɪ]	→	[-əi]焙
[-weɪ]	→	[-ui]癸
[-weɪ]	→	[-i]味
[-oʊ]	→	[-ɛu]吼
[-oʊ]	→	[-u]州
[-oʊ]	→	[-iɛu]勾
[-ən]	→	[-un]伸
[-ən]	→	[-ɔn]身
[-ən]	→	[-ɔm]枕
[-in]	→	[-in]信
[-in]	→	[-im]侵
[-in]	→	[-iun]欣
[-wən]	→	[-un]盹
[-yn]	→	[-un]唇

[-ɤŋ]	→	[-ɛn]孟
[-ɤŋ]	→	[-aŋ]庚
[-iŋ]	→	[-in]亭
[-iŋ]	→	[-iaŋ]柄
[-iŋ]	→	[-ɛn]星
[-iŋ]	→	[-aŋ]拎
[-joʊ]	→	[-iu]有
[-wɤŋ] / [-ʊŋ]	→	[-uŋ]恭
[-jʊŋ]	→	[-iuŋ]胸
[-jʊŋ]	→	[-iun]永
[-jʊŋ]	→	[-uɛn]迴
[-ɔ] / [-ɤ]	→	[-ɔt]失
[-i]	→	[-i]妮
[-i]	→	[-it]必
[-u]	→	[-u]布
[-y]	→	[-i]居

Hakka	to	Daigi 文
[f-]	→	[h-]凡
[h-]	→	[h-]凶

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[h-]	→	[kʰ-]丘
[h-]	→	[k-]合
[k-]	→	[k-]君
[kʰ-]	→	[kʰ-]克
[kʰ-]	→	[k-]件
[l-]	→	[l-]牢
[m-]	→	[b-]味
[m-]	→	[m-]妹
[n-]	→	[l-]南
[n-]	→	[n-]泥
[ŋ-]	→	[g-]昂
[ŋ-]	→	[ɕ-]紉
[ŋ-]	→	[l-]娘
[p-]	→	[p-]捌
[pʰ-]	→	[pʰ-]仳
[pʰ-]	→	[p-]捕
[s-]	→	[s-]盼
[s-]	→	[ɕ-]時
[t-]	→	[t-]刀
[tʰ-]	→	[t-]大

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[tʰ-]	→	[tʰ-]土
[ts-]	→	[ts-]扎
[ts-]	→	[t-]仗
[tsʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]尺
[tsʰ-]	→	[ts-]全
[tsʰ-]	→	[tʰ-]斥
[tsʰ-]	→	[t-]仲
[tsʰ-]	→	[s-]弛
[v-]	→	[Ø-]汪
[v-]	→	[b-]扷
[v-]	→	[h-]辦
[Ø-]	→	[Ø-]邦
[Ø-]	→	[dz-]庾
[-a]	→	[-a]叉
[-a]	→	[-e]爬
[-a]	→	[-ua]娃
[-ai]	→	[-ai]哉
[-ai]	→	[-e]柢
[-ak]	→	[-ik]陌
[-am]	→	[-am]敗

[-am]	→	[-ã]幢
[-am]	→	[-iam]搬
[-an]	→	[-an]闖
[-an]	→	[-uan]搬
[-an]	→	[-uã]攉
[-an]	→	[-ian]該
[-aŋ]	→	[-iŋ]蜢
[-aŋ]	→	[-ẽ]緘
[-aŋ]	→	[-ĩ]嫉
[-ap]	→	[-ap]瞌
[-ap]	→	[-aʔ]瘩
[-at]	→	[-at]履
[-at]	→	[-uat]櫸
[-au]	→	[-au]爪
[-au]	→	[-ə]鼇
[-ɛ]	→	[-e]系
[-ɛn]	→	[-iŋ]叮
[-ɛn]	→	[-in]抿
[-ɛt]	→	[-ik]則
[-ɛu]	→	[-iau]逍

630

[-εu]	→	[-au]逗
[-εu]	→	[-iə]透
[-i]	→	[-i]圯
[-i]	→	[-u]刕
[-i]	→	[-e]尾
[-i]	→	[-ui]非
[-ia]	→	[-ia]邪
[-iak]	→	[-iaʔ]屐
[-iak]	→	[-ik]屐
[-iam]	→	[-iam]怗
[-iaŋ]	→	[-iŋ]痙
[-iaŋ]	→	[-iã]清
[-iap]	→	[-iap]貼
[-iau]	→	[-iau]超
[-iε]	→	[-ai]昂
[-iε]	→	[-e]刁
[-iεn]	→	[-ian]攀
[-iεn]	→	[-uan]員
[-iεt]	→	[-iat]拽
[-iεt]	→	[-uat]訣

[-i ε u]	→	[-iau]夭
[-i ε u]	→	[-ɔ]扣
[-i ε u]	→	[-iə]口
[-ɔ]	→	[-i]屍
[-ɔ]	→	[-u]姿
[-ɔm]	→	[-im]甚
[-ɔn]	→	[-iŋ]乘
[-ɔn]	→	[-in]娠
[-ɔt]	→	[-ik]室
[-ɔt]	→	[-it]姪
[-im]	→	[-im]音
[-in]	→	[-iŋ]凌
[-in]	→	[-in]晉
[-i ɔ k]	→	[-iək]卻
[-i ɔ k]	→	[-iəʔ]約
[-i ɔ n]	→	[-uan]荃
[-i ɔ ŋ]	→	[-iəŋ]倆
[-i ɔ ŋ]	→	[-iaŋ]暘
[-i ɔ ŋ]	→	[-iũ]烊
[-ip]	→	[-ip]策

632

[-it]	→	[-ik]汐
[-it]	→	[-it]一
[-iu]	→	[-iu]佑
[-iuk]	→	[-iək]足
[-iuk]	→	[-ik]宿
[-iun]	→	[-un]窘
[-iun]	→	[-in]尹
[-iuŋ]	→	[-iəŋ]崇
[-iuŋ]	→	[-iŋ]崧
[-ə]	→	[-ə]戈
[-əi]	→	[-ai]台
[-əi]	→	[-ue]吹
[-ɔk]	→	[-ək]度
[-ɔk]	→	[-ak]角
[-ɔn]	→	[-uan]川
[-ɔn]	→	[-an]干
[-ɔn]	→	[-uã]帶
[-ɔŋ]	→	[-əŋ]仿
[-ɔŋ]	→	[-iəŋ]杖
[-ɔŋ]	→	[-ŋ]光

633

[-ɔŋ]	→	[-iaŋ]仰
[-ɔt]	→	[-uat]掘
[-ɔt]	→	[-at]曷
[-u]	→	[-ɔ]枯
[-u]	→	[-u]柱
[-ua]	→	[-ua]胯
[-uan]	→	[-uan]頑
[-ui]	→	[-ui]水
[-ui]	→	[-ue]帛
[-uk]	→	[-ək]忱
[-uk]	→	[-iək]竺
[-uk]	→	[-ak]速
[-un]	→	[-un]尊
[-uŋ]	→	[-əŋ]怠
[-uŋ]	→	[-iəŋ]訂
[-ut]	→	[-ut]出
Daigi 文	to	Hakka
[b-]	→	[m-]木
[b-]	→	[v-]勿

[g-]	→	[ŋ-]牙
[g-]	→	[Ø-]伍
[h-]	→	[h-]休
[h-]	→	[f-]伐
[dz-]	→	[Ø-]任
[dz-]	→	[ŋ-]耳
[k-]	→	[k-]艮
[k-]	→	[kʰ-]伽
[kʰ-]	→	[kʰ-]克
[kʰ-]	→	[k-]笒
[kʰ-]	→	[h-]坑
[l-]	→	[l-]亮
[l-]	→	[n-]內
[m-]	→	[m-]矛
[n-]	→	[n-]努
[n-]	→	[l-]拎
[n-]	→	[ŋ-]年
[ŋ-]	→	[ŋ-]吾
[ŋ-]	→	[Ø-]憋
[p-]	→	[p-]濱

[p-]	→	[pʰ-]瓶
[pʰ-]	→	[pʰ-]片
[s-]	→	[s-]司
[t-]	→	[t-]打
[t-]	→	[tʰ-]台
[t-]	→	[tsʰ-]仲
[t-]	→	[ts-]吒
[tʰ-]	→	[tʰ-]她
[tʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]斥
[ts-]	→	[ts-]左
[ts-]	→	[tsʰ-]
[tsʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]忖
[tsʰ-]	→	[s-]生
[Ø-]	→	[Ø-]安
[Ø-]	→	[v-]污
[-a]	→	[-a]趴
[-a]	→	[-au]校
[-aʔ]	→	[-ap]舶
[-ai]	→	[-ai]孩
[-ai]	→	[-əi]才

636

[-aĩ]	→	[-ai]耐
[-ak]	→	[-ɔk]剝
[-ak]	→	[-uk]涿
[-am]	→	[-am]淦
[-an]	→	[-an]丹
[-an]	→	[-ɔn]干
[-aŋ]	→	[-uŋ]工
[-aŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]巷
[-ã]	→	[-am]汎
[-ã]	→	[-a]打
[-ap]	→	[-ap]呷
[-at]	→	[-at]怛
[-at]	→	[-ɔt]曷
[-au]	→	[-au]姣
[-au]	→	[-εu]侯
[-au]	→	[-ə]草
[-e]	→	[-i]帝
[-e]	→	[-a]下
[-e]	→	[-ai]低
[-ẽ]	→	[-aŋ]星

637

[-i]	→	[-i]姨
[-i]	→	[-ɿ]屍
[-ia]	→	[-ia]且
[-ia]	→	[-a]呀
[-iam]	→	[-iam]恬
[-iam]	→	[-am]佔
[-ian]	→	[-iɛn]建
[-ian]	→	[-an]扳
[-iaŋ]	→	[-iɔŋ]庠
[-iaŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]丈
[-iã]	→	[-iaŋ]映
[-iã]	→	[-aŋ]正
[-iap]	→	[-iap]劫
[-iat]	→	[-iɛt]穴
[-iat]	→	[-at]折
[-iau]	→	[-iau]挑
[-iau]	→	[-ɛu]杪
[-iau]	→	[-iɛu]垢
[-ik]	→	[-it]弈
[-ik]	→	[-ɛt]汩

[-ik]	→	[-ak]坼
[-im]	→	[-im]今
[-im]	→	[-ɔm]岑
[-in]	→	[-in]汛
[-in]	→	[-ɔn]臣
[-in]	→	[-iun]均
[-iŋ]	→	[-in]姘
[-iŋ]	→	[-εn]杏
[-iŋ]	→	[-aŋ]盯
[-ĩ]	→	[-iεn]衍
[-ĩ]	→	[-i]耳
[-iə]	→	[-εu]吼
[-iə]	→	[-iεu]扣
[-iək]	→	[-iuk]昱
[-iək]	→	[-uk]束
[-iək]	→	[-iɔk]約
[-iəŋ]	→	[-iɔŋ]倆
[-iəŋ]	→	[-iuŋ]冗
[-iəŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]悵
[-ip]	→	[-ip]及

[-it]	→	[-it]日
[-it]	→	[-ɔt]叱
[-iu]	→	[-iu]宥
[-iu]	→	[-u]守
[-iũ]	→	[-iɔŋ]羊
[-iũ]	→	[-ɔŋ]昌
[-ŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]光
[-ŋ]	→	[-ɔn]串
[-ə]	→	[-ə]佐
[-ə]	→	[-au]抱
[-əh]	→	[-ɔk]洛
[-ək]	→	[-ɔk]恪
[-ək]	→	[-uk]苢
[-əŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]恍
[-əŋ]	→	[-uŋ]風
[-ə̃]	→	[-ə]挪
[-ə̃]	→	[-u]悟
[-ɔ]	→	[-u]度
[-ɔ]	→	[-ɛu]畝
[-u]	→	[-i]栩

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[-u]	→	[-u]殊
[-u]	→	[-ɿ]姿
[-ua]	→	[-a]娃
[-ua]	→	[-ua]瓜
[-uaʔ]	→	[-at]沫
[-uaʔ]	→	[-ɔt]澄
[-uan]	→	[-ɔn]宦
[-uan]	→	[-iɛn]宣
[-uan]	→	[-an]反
[-uã]	→	[-an]半
[-uã]	→	[-ɔn]旱
[-uat]	→	[-iɛt]决
[-uat]	→	[-at]活
[-ue]	→	[-i]皮
[-ue]	→	[-əi]帥
[-ue]	→	[-ui]兌
[-ui]	→	[-ui]季
[-ui]	→	[-i]威
[-un]	→	[-un]春
[-un]	→	[-iun]芸

| [-ut] | → | [-ut]勃 |

Hakka	**to**	**Daigi 白**[256]
[f-]	→	[h-]化
[h-]	→	[h-]兄
[k-]	→	[k-]加
[kʰ-]	→	[kʰ-]卡
[kʰ-]	→	[k-]件
[l-]	→	[l-]老
[m-]	→	[b-]尾
[m-]	→	[m-]命
[n-]	→	[n-]南
[ŋ-]	→	[g-]岩
[ŋ-]	→	[l-]念
[p-]	→	[p-]北
[pʰ-]	→	[pʰ-]片
[pʰ-]	→	[p-]扒
[s-]	→	[s-]朮
[t-]	→	[t-]吊
[tʰ-]	→	[t-]同

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[256] These represent pronunciations of vernacular 白 when a vernacular/literary 白文 differentiation is extant.

[tʰ-]	→	[tʰ-]她
[ts-]	→	[ts-]早
[ts-]	→	[t-]竹
[tsʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]串
[tsʰ-]	→	[ts-]吮
[tsʰ-]	→	[t-]呈
[tsʰ-]	→	[tʰ-]宅
[v-]	→	[Ø-]汪
[v-]	→	[b-]未
[v-]	→	[h-]和
[Ø-]	→	[Ø-]九
[-a]	→	[-e]岔
[-a]	→	[-ua]化
[-ai]	→	[-e]災
[-ai]	→	[-i]柢
[-ak]	→	[-eʔ]格
[-am]	→	[-am]馳
[-am]	→	[-ã]幢
[-an]	→	[-uã]半
[-an]	→	[-ian]扳

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[-aŋ]	→	[-ẽ]庚
[-aŋ]	→	[-ĩ]爭
[-ap]	→	[-ap]洽
[-ap]	→	[-aʔ]恰
[-at]	→	[-uaʔ]活
[-at]	→	[-at]直
[-au]	→	[-au]減
[-au]	→	[-ə]箋
[-au]	→	[-a]濺
[- ε]	→	[-e]漏
[- ε n]	→	[-iŋ]冰
[- ε t]	→	[-ik]辦
[- ε t]	→	[-at]核
[- ε u]	→	[-iə]搖
[- ε u]	→	[-au]孤
[-i]	→	[-i]弟
[-i]	→	[-e]未
[-i]	→	[-ui] 吠
[-iam]	→	[-ĩ]添
[-iam]	→	[-iã]焰

644

[-iaŋ]	→	[-iã]坪
[-iaŋ]	→	[-ĩ]姓
[-iaŋ]	→	[-ẽ]阱
[-iap]	→	[-iap]喻
[-iau]	→	[-iau]巧
[-iau]	→	[-iə]挑
[-i ɛ n]	→	[-ĩ]天
[-i ɛ n]	→	[-iŋ]仟
[-i ɛ n]	→	[-iã]件
[-i ɛ n]	→	[-ian]延
[-i ɛ t]	→	[-eʔ]桀
[-i ɛ t]	→	[-ueʔ]挈
[-i ɛ t]	→	[-iʔ]缺
[-i ɛ t]	→	[-iaʔ]處
[-i ɛ u]	→	[-iə]爵
[-i ɛ u]	→	[-iau]鞏
[-ɔ]	→	[-i]柿
[-ɔn]	→	[-in]振
[-ɔn]	→	[-iã] 定
[-ɔt]	→	[-ik]秩

645

[-ɔt]	→	[-it]崔
[-im]	→	[-am]林
[-im]	→	[-iam]尋
[-in]	→	[-in]今
[-in]	→	[-an]亭
[-i ɔ ŋ]	→	[-iũ]洋
[-it]	→	[-at]慄
[-it]	→	[-ik]鋒
[-iu]	→	[-iu]泅
[-iuk]	→	[-ik]玉
[-iuk]	→	[-iək]鬱
[-iun]	→	[-un]忍
[-iun]	→	[-im]訴
[-iuŋ]	→	[-iŋ]宮
[-ə]	→	[-ə]搓
[-əi]	→	[-ue]煩
[-əi]	→	[-e]綱
[-əi]	→	[-ai]在
[- ɔ k]	→	[-ək]搖
[- ɔ k]	→	[-ak]沃

[- ɔ k]	→	[-əʔ]作
[- ɔ n]	→	[-uã]傳
[- ɔ n]	→	[-ŋ]貫
[- ɔ ŋ]	→	[-iũ]昌
[- ɔ ŋ]	→	[-ĩ]抨
[- ɔ ŋ]	→	[-aŋ]杭
[- ɔ ŋ]	→	[-ioŋ]狀
[- ɔ t]	→	[-uaʔ]澄
[- ɔ t]	→	[-uʔ]發
[-u]	→	[- ɔ]扶
[-u]	→	[-iu]帚
[-ui]	→	[-ui]碎
[-ui]	→	[-e]退
[-uk]	→	[-ak]浮
[-un]	→	[-un]伸
[-uŋ]	→	[-aŋ]降
[-ut]	→	[-ut]術

Daigi 白	**to**	**Hakka**
[b-]	→	[m-]母

[b-]	→	[v-]未
[g-]	→	[ŋ-]岩
[h-]	→	[f-]化
[h-]	→	[h-]合
[dz-]	→	[Ø-]俞
[dz-]	→	[ŋ-]尿
[k-]	→	[k-]幾
[k-]	→	[kʰ-]碘
[kʰ-]	→	[kʰ-]孔
[kʰ-]	→	[h-]丘
[l-]	→	[l-]立
[l-]	→	[n-]弄
[m-]	→	[m-]命
[n-]	→	[l-]卵
[n-]	→	[n-]泥
[n-]	→	[ŋ-]拈
[ŋ-]	→	[ŋ-]迎
[p-]	→	[p-]扁
[p-]	→	[pʰ-]屏
[pʰ-]	→	[pʰ-]片

[s-]	→	[s-]拴
[t-]	→	[tʰ-]洞
[t-]	→	[tsʰ-]黏
[t-]	→	[t-]訂
[t-]	→	[ts-]珍
[tʰ-]	→	[tʰ-]天
[tʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]柱
[ts-]	→	[ts-]指
[ts-]	→	[tsʰ-]昨
[ts-]	→	[s-]拾
[tsʰ-]	→	[tsʰ-]千
[tsʰ-]	→	[s-]手
[Ø-]	→	[Ø-]洋
[-a]	→	[-a]吵
[-a]	→	[-au]孝
[-aʔ]	→	[-ap]押
[-ai]	→	[-ɿ]師
[-ai]	→	[-ai]跛
[-ak]	→	[-ɔk]沃
[-ak]	→	[-uk]汲

[-am]	→	[-am]沾
[-an]	→	[-iεn]便
[-an]	→	[-εn]恆
[-aŋ]	→	[-uŋ]空
[-aŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]芳
[-ã]	→	[-am]乏
[-ap]	→	[-ap]盍
[-at]	→	[-εt]擱
[-au]	→	[-au]銬
[-au]	→	[-εu]甌
[-e]	→	[-a]柳
[-e]	→	[-ai]攔
[-e]	→	[-ə]羚
[-ẽ]	→	[-aŋ]瞠
[-ẽ]	→	[-iaŋ]眶
[-ẽ]	→	[-εn]栗
[-i]	→	[-i]西
[-i]	→	[-ɿ]字
[-ia]	→	[-a]炸
[-ia]	→	[-i]奇

[-ia]	→	[-ia]崎
[-iam]	→	[-am]岩
[-ian]	→	[-ien]延
[-ian]	→	[-an]扳
[-iã]	→	[-iaŋ]迎
[-iã]	→	[-in]拼
[-iã]	→	[-aŋ]城
[-iap]	→	[-iap]浹
[-iat]	→	[-iɛt]缸
[-iau]	→	[-iau]巧
[-iau]	→	[-ɛu]笑
[-iau]	→	[-iɛu]柄
[-ik]	→	[-iuk]曲
[-ik]	→	[-uk]軸
[-im]	→	[-im]扛
[-im]	→	[-ɿm]深
[-in]	→	[-in]今
[-in]	→	[-ɿn]升
[-iŋ]	→	[-iuŋ]拱
[-ĩ]	→	[-iɛn]丸

[-ĩ]	→	[-in]經
[-ĩ]	→	[-iaŋ]淨
[-iə]	→	[-εu]表
[-iə]	→	[-iεu]俏
[-iə]	→	[-iau]挑
[-iək]	→	[-iuk]鬱
[-iək]	→	[-iɔk]耗
[-iəŋ]	→	[-iuŋ]冗
[-iəŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]狀
[-iəŋ]	→	[-uŋ]碴
[-it]	→	[-it]佚
[-it]	→	[-ɔt]從
[-iu]	→	[-u]守
[-iu]	→	[-iu]泅
[-iũ]	→	[-iɔŋ]羌
[-iũ]	→	[-ɔŋ]尚
[-ŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]方
[-ŋ]	→	[-ɔn]串
[-ŋ]	→	[-ɔn]伸
[-ək]	→	[-ɔk]剝

[-ək]	→	[-uk]濁
[-əŋ]	→	[-ɔŋ]量
[-ɔ]	→	[-u]弧
[-u]	→	[-i]呂
[-u]	→	[-u]母
[-ua]	→	[-a]嘩
[-ua]	→	[-ə]可
[-uã]	→	[-an]炭
[-uã]	→	[-ɔn]段
[-uat]	→	[-iɛt]撇
[-uat]	→	[-ɔt]刷
[-ue]	→	[-i]未
[-ue]	→	[-əi]吹
[-ui]	→	[-ui]兌
[-ui]	→	[-i]皮
[-un]	→	[-un]伸
[-un]	→	[-iun]忍
[-ut]	→	[-ut]朮

Logographs in Ritual and Instructive Language at the YMM

What follows below is a list of logographs corresponding to MSC, Daigi, and Hakka lexical units (again, either as parts of a binome or as free morphemes), as occuring in ritual and instructive language at the YMM, as understood, presented, or explained by functionaries within the language community of the YMM. The methodology used to collect this data follows the analogous section on logographs in the DDY religiolect.[257]

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[257] Please see Appendix A.

1. 一

2. 丁

3. 三

4. 上

5. 下

6. 丙

7. 中

8. 丹

9. 主

10. 乘

11. 乙

12. 九

13. 乞

14. 二

15. 五

16. 亥

17. 人

18. 仁

19. 仙

20. 令

21. 伏

22. 伯

23. 位

24. 使

25. 侯

26. 保

27. 修

28. 倫

29. 傳

30. 像

31. 儀

32. 先

33. 兔

34. 入

35. 內

36. 公

37. 六

38. 冊

39. 冥

40. 准

41. 凝

42. 出

43. 列

44. 初

45. 利

46. 劍

47. 力

48. 勸

49. 勿

50. 化

51. 北

52. 十

53. 千

54. 升

55. 午

56. 南

57. 卯

58. 印

59. 卷

60. 卿

61. 原

62. 叢

63. 口	84. 器	104. 奉
64. 句	85. 囑	105. 奏
65. 召	86. 國	106. 奠
66. 史	87. 園	107. 奧
67. 司	88. 團	108. 妖
68. 合	89. 土	109. 妙
69. 吉	90. 地	110. 始
70. 名	91. 城	111. 姑
71. 后	92. 基	112. 威
72. 吏	93. 堂	113. 子
73. 君	94. 境	114. 字
74. 吟	95. 壇	115. 存
75. 告	96. 士	116. 孝
76. 命	97. 壬	117. 守
77. 咒	98. 壽	118. 宗
78. 品	99. 外	119. 官
79. 唯	100. 多	120. 定
80. 問	101. 大	121. 宮
81. 啟	102. 天	122. 宿
82. 善	103. 太	123. 密
83. 嗣		124. 寶

125.	封	146.	廟	166.	悲
126.	將	147.	延	167.	惡
127.	尉	148.	弔	168.	想
128.	尊	149.	弘	169.	感
129.	少	150.	彝	170.	慈
130.	居	151.	形	171.	慧
131.	山	152.	彩	172.	慶
132.	崇	153.	待	173.	懺
133.	嵩	154.	後	174.	戉
134.	嶽	155.	御	175.	戍
135.	己	156.	微	176.	成
136.	帝	157.	德	177.	房
137.	師	158.	心	178.	所
138.	平	159.	志	179.	承
139.	年	160.	思	180.	拔
140.	幸	161.	急	181.	招
141.	序	162.	性	182.	拜
142.	庚	163.	怪	183.	持
143.	府	164.	息	184.	授
144.	度	165.	悟	185.	掬
145.	庭			186.	放

187.	故	208.	智	228.	朱
188.	敕	209.	暐	229.	杓
189.	教	210.	暕	230.	東
190.	敬	211.	暠	231.	林
191.	文	212.	暲	232.	格
192.	斗	213.	暻	233.	森
193.	日	214.	曄	234.	極
194.	昂	215.	曜	235.	橾
195.	昇	216.	曰	236.	樂
196.	昌	217.	曲	237.	樞
197.	明	218.	書	238.	橓
198.	昑	219.	會	239.	櫷
199.	星	220.	月	240.	次
200.	昭	221.	有	241.	欽
201.	昱	222.	服	242.	止
202.	昺	223.	朗	243.	正
203.	時	224.	朝	244.	步
204.	晨	225.	木	245.	歲
205.	普	226.	未	246.	殿
206.	景	227.	本	247.	毒
207.	晶			248.	民

249. 氣	270. 炯	290. 父
250. 水	271. 炳	291. 爺
251. 永	272. 烌	292. 牛
252. 求	273. 無	293. 犯
253. 注	274. 焦	294. 狂
254. 洞	275. 然	295. 猴
255. 洪	276. 煉	296. 獄
256. 浮	277. 煌	297. 獨
257. 海	278. 煒	298. 獻
258. 淨	279. 煜	299. 玄
259. 淵	280. 煥	300. 玉
260. 清	281. 熠	301. 玓
261. 渡	282. 穎	302. 玟
262. 滑	283. 熹	303. 珄
263. 滉	284. 燃	304. 玹
264. 滿	285. 燦	305. 珂
265. 漂	286. 爍	306. 珍
266. 火	287. 燴	307. 珫
267. 災	288. 爛	308. 珖
268. 炁	289. 爵	309. 珙
269. 炫		310. 珠

311. 珺	332. 環	352. 瘍
312. 琁	333. 璵	353. 瘏
313. 理	334. 璿	354. 瘑
314. 琇	335. 礫	355. 瘖
315. 琛	336. 瓊	356. 瘲
316. 琨	337. 甲	357. 瘟
317. 琪	338. 申	358. 瘣
318. 琭	339. 疒	359. 瘥
319. 琳	340. 疧	360. 瘨
320. 琿	341. 疙	361. 瘳
321. 瑂	342. 疾	362. 瘹
322. 瑋	343. 病	363. 瘼
323. 瑛	344. 症	364. 療
324. 瑞	345. 痊	365. 癏
325. 瑤	346. 痗	366. 癒
326. 瑭	347. 痛	367. 癘
327. 瑯	348. 痯	368. 癠
328. 璀	349. 瘄	369. 癲
329. 璇	350. 痼	370. 發
330. 璀	351. 瘉	371. 白
331. 璨		372. 百

373.	皇	394.	祇	414.	祺
374.	皎	395.	祙	415.	禑
375.	皓	396.	祚	416.	祼
376.	鼽	397.	祜	417.	祽
377.	目	398.	神	418.	祾
378.	真	399.	祠	419.	祿
379.	眾	400.	祡	420.	禀
380.	睟	401.	祣	421.	禁
381.	瞭	402.	祥	422.	禂
382.	知	403.	祧	423.	禅
383.	碑	404.	祩	424.	禠
384.	示	405.	祪	425.	禋
385.	礽	406.	祫	426.	禎
386.	祀	407.	祭	427.	禍
387.	祈	408.	祰	428.	禒
388.	神	409.	祱	429.	禓
389.	祐	410.	祲	430.	禔
390.	祐	411.	祳	431.	禖
391.	祓	412.	祸	432.	禗
392.	祔	413.	祹	433.	禘
393.	祖			434.	禛

435.	禍	456.	章	476.	絪
436.	裼	457.	童	477.	統
437.	襪	458.	符	478.	絲
438.	襈	459.	節	479.	經
439.	禪	460.	篇	480.	維
440.	襌	461.	粲	481.	綱
441.	襘	462.	精	482.	綸
442.	襚	463.	系	483.	緣
443.	禮	464.	紀	484.	編
444.	襱	465.	紋	485.	練
445.	襯	466.	納	486.	縱
446.	襴	467.	純	487.	總
447.	襄	468.	紙	488.	織
448.	襒	469.	素	489.	繞
449.	襺	470.	索	490.	繡
450.	襸	471.	紫	491.	繫
451.	襽	472.	終	492.	繼
452.	秘	473.	結	493.	纂
453.	稱	474.	絡	494.	續
454.	空	475.	絢	495.	罰
455.	立			496.	羅

497.	羊	518.	藥	538.	詳
498.	群	519.	蘄	539.	誓
499.	義	520.	虎	540.	語
500.	翁	521.	虛	541.	誠
501.	耀	522.	蛇	542.	諴
502.	老	523.	蠋	543.	說
503.	耿	524.	衛	544.	請
504.	聖	525.	補	545.	諸
505.	胎	526.	要	546.	諡
506.	胙	527.	規	547.	講
507.	腑	528.	視	548.	謝
508.	臣	529.	言	549.	識
509.	自	530.	訊	550.	譜
510.	舉	531.	託	551.	護
511.	舊	532.	記	552.	變
512.	良	533.	訪	553.	貢
513.	芮	534.	許	554.	貴
514.	萬	535.	詞	555.	覜
515.	蓂	536.	詢	556.	賚
516.	薦	537.	詩	557.	賞
517.	藏			558.	賦

559.	贈	580.	銀	600.	離
560.	赤	581.	銘	601.	雲
561.	車	582.	錄	602.	雷
562.	輩	583.	錦	603.	霄
563.	辛	584.	錫	604.	震
564.	述	585.	鍊	605.	霸
565.	送	586.	鏡	606.	靈
566.	通	587.	鑠	607.	青
567.	進	588.	閃	608.	靖
568.	運	589.	間	609.	非
569.	遠	590.	關	610.	音
570.	還	591.	除	611.	順
571.	郎	592.	陰	612.	頌
572.	酉	593.	陽	613.	頒
573.	酒	594.	隆	614.	領
574.	醮	595.	雄	615.	願
575.	釋	596.	集	616.	顥
576.	重	597.	雌	617.	風
577.	量	598.	雜	618.	飛
578.	金	599.	雞	619.	養
579.	鈔			620.	饗

621.	首	642.	钁
622.	香	643.	魘
623.	馬	644.	魙
624.	體	645.	魖
625.	高	646.	魘
626.	鬼	647.	黌
627.	魃	648.	鰈
628.	魁	649.	鳳
629.	魌	650.	黃
630.	魁	651.	黑
631.	魂	652.	鼎
632.	魆	653.	齊
633.	魄	654.	齋
634.	魅	655.	虁
635.	魈		
636.	魊		
637.	魌		
638.	魖		
639.	魎		
640.	魑		
641.	魔		

Religious Lexicon of the YMM

What follows below is a non-comprehensive list of religious terms and phrases encountered in instructive and ritual language at the YMM. These terms appear in MSC, in MSC explanations of Daigi and Hakka terms, and in Daigi and Hakka analogues. This list is intended to provide a list of frequently encountered terms the semantic content of which is deemed or treated as religious by the language community of the YMM, and so might be thought of as the beginnings of a religious lexicon.

1. (沒)有用 useful (useless)

2. (眾)神 (the myriad of) divinities

3. 一拜，再拜，三拜 (as venerative ritual action) bow once, bow again, bow a third time

4. 一體 one in body, unitary in character

5. 三氣 Three Pneumas

6. 三清 Three Pure Ones

7. 三界 the Three Realms

8. 上報 report to one's superiors

9. 世俗/俗世 profane, mundane, vulgar

10. 世界 world, physical realm, realm of the living

11. 並肩作戰 To fight alongside another; fight shoulder-to-shoulder

12. 主殿 main palatial hall (at a temple complex)

13. 主神 main divinity (at a temple)

14. 主神廣聞遐邇，信士愈增愈眾 the main deity hears far and wide; the believers throng into greater and greater flocks

15. 乩童 child-medium (in Daigi, 乩童 dang-ki)

16. 乾坤 Heaven and Earth (in the abstract)

17. 乾淨 clean, pure

18. 事/事情/情況 affairs, matters, situation, circumstances

19. 五行 Five Phases

20. 交戰 waging war

21. 人品 moral quality, character

22. 仁義 humaneness and dutifulness

23. 代表 represent, symbolize

24. 任務 duty, obligation, mission

25. 佔卜 divination, mantic practices

26. 作亂 incite a revolt, foment an uprising

27. 作惡 doing evil, harming

28. 來說/來看 taking something from a certain point of view

29. 供奉 enshrine and worship, give an offering

30. 保命安康 to safeguard one's life in tranquility and health

31. 保祐 blessing

32. 保身 safeguarding the body

33. 保鄉 Defend the Townships

34. 俠 brave fighter, hero

35. 信仰 belief

36. 信士 gentleman-believer, i.e. practitioner

37. 信士代表會議 Congregational Representative Committee

38. 信女 pious women

39. 信徒 practitioner

40. 信教 religious belief, to belong to a religion

41. 信男信女 trustworthy men and women, good practitioners

    退守 retreat and defend

42. 信者/道教徒 believer, Daoist practitioner, Daoist disciple

43. 修煉 practice austerity, engage in religious discipline practices

44. 修行 practice of religious cultivation

45. 偉大精神 awesome and great vital spirit

46. 傳承 pass on, continued tradition

47. 傳統 traditional

48. 傳道 lecture on doctrine, expound on ancient wisdom

49. 傷亡 casualties, die, pass away

50. 儀式 ritual

51. 元 Prime, original, of the font

52. 先賢 worthy predecessor

53. 光明/光榮 glorious

54. 內外 inside and out

55. 內戰 rebellion

56. 公德 public morality, agreed-upon moral system

57. 六堆 Lioutui

58. 兵器/武器/兵法 weaponry, arms, military strategy or tactics

59. 兵戎 armament

60. 其勢銳不可當 unstoppable power

61. 凡塵 the mundane world, the common 'dusty' world

62. 創作 bring about, create

63. 創立 found, establish

64. 創造 create, produce, found

65. 力戰 waging war vigorously, taking no half-measures

66. 力量 efficacy

67. 功德 (religious) merit

68. 勇敢超人 man of exceptional courage

69. 勇氣 heroism, courageousness

70. 勝仗 victorious in battle

71. 勝利 victory

72. 化 transformation, change, metamorphosis

73. 千秋 thousands of autumns, innumerable years, for untold ages

74. 博大 broad, extensive

75. 卜佔 divination, mantic practices

76. 卜卦 divination using the Trigrams of early Sinitic thought

77. 卜問 ask a question by means of divination

78. 卜筮 divination, mantic practices

79. 卜課 divination, mantic practices

80. 危險 danger, perilous

81. 去世 casualties, die, pass away

    先生 (Hakka) functionary

82. 參加 add, increase

83. 參香禮拜 collective offering of incense and ritual veneration, group religious

    practice

84. 反叛 uprising

85. 反抗者 social unrest

86. 取勝 prevailing in battle

87. 受傷 suffer injury

88. 叛亂 armed rebellion

89. 叛徒 revolt

90. 叛逆 rebellion

91. 古代 ancient times

92. 台中 Taichung

93. 吃素 eating vegetarian food

94. 吉凶 auspiciousness and misfortune, luck (in divination)

95. 吉利 propitious, lucky and beneficial

96. 吉地 auspicious place

97. 吉地 Blessed Lands, auspicious soil

98. 吉祥 auspicious

99. 名垂萬世 ...whose fame will pass on for countless generations

100. 命運 fate, destiny, the natural course of one's life

101. 和尚 (Buddhist) monk

102. 和平 peace

103. 品德 moral character

104. 品行 moral conduct, behavior

105. 善哉 how excellent, how good!

106. 善男 good men

107. 善良 (morally) good

108. 嘉會 occasion of a feast, auspicious gathering

109.　　　因果 "karmic" fruition, metaphysical/spiritual result of moral import of

one's actions

110.　　　困難 difficulties

111.　　　國恩 gratitude of the nation

112.　　　國泰民安 the nation prospers, the people are at peace

113.　　　團體 (social) group, social unit

114.　　　城隍 walls and moats (metonymically represents a city, used in the term for

patron deity of a city)

115.　　　塞住 blocked up, stopped up (in terms of the flow of pneuma)

116.　　　墓碑 Burial Stele

117.　　　壞運 bad luck

118.　　　士氣 morale

119.　　　壯士 brave, warrior

120.　　　壽 longevity

121.　　　大兵/兵 infantry, soldiers

122.　　　大勝 great victory

123.　　　大吉 great fortune, marvelously auspicious

124.　　　大悟 enlightenment

125.　　　大戰 waging war

126.　　　大義 dutifulness, honor in war

127.　　　天下 All that which is under　　　　　　the heavens

128. 天命 Mandate of Heaven, fate given by heaven

129. 天地 Heaven and Earth

130. 天地人三才 the Three Force: Heaven, Earth, and Humanity

131. 天尊 Heavenly Worthy

132. 天帝 Heavenly Thearch, Lord of the Heavens

133. 天界 Celestial Realms

134. 太上 Most High

135. 太極 Great Reaches, Supreme Ultimate

136. 太極拳 Taijiquan, a martial art related to Daoism in the popular imagination

137. 奇妙 wondrous, awesome, supernatural

138. 奉祀 offer sacrifice

139. 奉祀英靈 offer sacrifices to the shades of the heroic dead

140. 奉神 make offerings before the divinities

141. 奉給 to offer up

142. 奮戰 fighting bravely

143. 好漢 strong and courageous person, ideal hero

144. 好運 good luck

145. 妖怪 monster, evil entity

146. 妖精 evil spirit, succubus-like entity

147. 妖言 words meant to lead astray or corrupt, blasphemy

148. 　威靈 authority, awesome spirit

149. 　子弟 sons, progeny

150. 　守護神 protective deity, patron deity

151. 　安寧 peace, free of turmoil or war

152. 　安置 install, seat, enthrone

153. 　安靜 calm, at peace

154. 　宏大 immensely great, vast

155. 　宗教 religion

156. 　宗旨 aim, goal

157. 　官兵 government army, government forces

158. 　官軍 government army

159. 　客家 Hakka (people)

160. 　客家族群 Hakka ethnicity

161. 　宣教 proselytize, preach

162. 　宣講 lecture about religious matter, promulgate teachings

163. 　宣道 promulgate the *Dao*

164. 　宮觀　temple

165. 　宿命 predestination, fated events

166. 　寧靜 serenity, tranquility

167. 　寬廣 broad expanse, enormous in space

168.　　　寬泛 broad (especially in meaning)

169.　　　寺廟 temple

170.　　　尊敬 respect

171.　　　尊重 give respect, honor

172.　　　巫師／巫覡　shaman, warlock, magician

173.　　　師兄 senior male student/disciple (term of address)

174.　　　師姐 senior female student/disciple (term of address)

175.　　　干戈 weapons

176.　　　平叛 putting down a revolt or uprising

177.　　　平安 peaceful, tranquil

178.　　　平定亂事 bringing order during times of chaos, a euphemism for quelling an

uprising

179.　　　平靖 peace, especially as brought to the land after the quelling of a rebellion

180.　　　幸運 fortunate, lucky

181.　　　幽明 the abyssal and the luminous, evil and good, dark and light, ignorance

and wisdom

182.　　　廟宇 temple

183.　　　引導 guide, lead, conduct

184.　　　張姓 Surname Zhang

185.　　　很深 deep (of discourse, philosophy, erudition)

186. 很窮 destitute, in poverty, exhaustion of physical or mental resources

187. 後人虔誠祀祭 later generations devoutly make their offerings

188. 徒弟 disciple

189. 得到 achieve, attain

190. 德才 ethical virtues and talent

191. 德行 virtue and conduct

192. 心理 mind, psyche, immaterial non-soul-like elements of the self

193. 忠義 great sense of honor and duty

194. 忠誠 loyalty

195. 忠骸 Bones of the Loyal

196. 念念不忘 never forget, remember something for eternity

197. 思想 thought

198. 思維 line of thought, way of thinking, intellectual current

199. 惡性 wickedness, maliciousness

200. 惡氣 unsound pneuma

201. 意思/意義 intent, meaning

202. 愛戴 love and respect

203. 感恩/宏恩 giving thanks, great gratitude (to deities)

204. 感應 reaction, response, sympathetic response

205. 慈悲 compassion

206.　　態度 attitude

207.　　慶典 celebration

208.　　懷忠 Harboring Loyalty

209.　　懷疑 doubt, suspect

210.　　我跟你講… let me tell you... (common, formulaic preface to informal-style

explanation)

211.　　戒律 rules of monastic discipline, regulations for religious conduct

212.　　戒規 precepts, rules

213.　　戰 war

214.　　戰亂 waging war

215.　　戰場 battlefield

216.　　戰爭 civil war

217.　　打戰 conflict

218.　　打斗 struggling against a foe

219.　　技術 technique, skill, ability

220.　　抗 resist, defy

221.　　抗拒 defy, oppose

222.　　抗敵 resisting the enemy

223.　　抽籤 divination using stalks

224.　　拜拜 veneration, prayer

225.　　　　拜神 pray to the gods

226.　　　　拯救 save, rescue, provide succor

227.　　　　拼命 to one's utmost, to one's dying breath

228.　　　　改惡從善，改邪歸正 Turn from evil to follow good, turn from wickedness

to follow the straight and narrow path

229.　　　　攻守 attack and defense

230.　　　　救災 providing relief for those struck by disaster

231.　　　　救苦 provide succour to those who are suffering, save the suffering, help

those in pain

232.　　　　教書 teach, instruct on doctrine

233.　　　　教條 creed, doctrine, dogma

234.　　　　教規／規定 religious rules, proscriptions, stipulation

235.　　　　教訓 give moral instruction, discipline

236.　　　　敬神 venerate deities, respect the divinities, perform venerations

237.　　　　敵人 enemy

238.　　　　文化 culture

239.　　　　新埔 Hsinpu

240.　　　　新竹 Hsinchu

241.　　　　昇天 ascend to the heavens

242.　　　　普渡 Universal Salvation

243.　　　　智慧 wisdom

244. 暴亂 rioting

245. 暴動 insurrection

246. 暴徒 bandit, highwayman

247. 有效 effective

248. 有緣/有道緣 to have a karmic affinity, to have an affinity through the Dao

249. 杰 hero, distinguished person

250. 桃竹苗 Tao(yuan), (Hsin)chu, Miao(li)

251. 正信 correct belief, orthodoxy

252. 正氣 righteousness

253. 正確 correct, orthodox

254. 正統 traditional

255. 正道 the true way, the orthodox Way

256. 正體/整體 orthodox, of proper form

257. 武/武術/武功 martial prowess, martial arts, martial skill

258. 武藝 martial skill, martial artistry

259. 歸依 convert

260. 歸納 summarize, conclude from facts, induction

261. 歸葬故土 returning bones to their native soil

262. 死掉 casualties, die, pass away

263. 殺氣 deathly pneuma, killing pneuma

264.   民族 The People, ethnicity

265.   民間宗教 popular religion

266.   永受後人祀祭 eternally receive veneration from later generations

267.   沒錯/對啊 that's right! just so! you've got it! (common interjection during explanations)

268.   治病 control illness, heal the sick

269.   法事 ritual, style

270.   法會 ritual assembly

271.   活動 activity

272.   派 school, vein, sect, division

273.   消災 averting disaster

274.   混合 blend, mix together, coalesce from chaos

275.   混在一起 mixed together, hybridization

276.   清醮 Pure Sacrifice

277.   清靜 purity, cleansing, utter tranquility, quiet

278.   烈士 martyr

279.   無名 nameless

280.   無形 formless, shapeless

281.   無極 boundless, limitless

282.   無法 without a way [to do something], to be without a [proper] method or doctrine

283. 無辜百姓受災慘重 the innocent populace suffers disaster and calamity

284. 無量 innumerable

285. 熱誠 devotion, fervor

286. 熱鬧 lively, thronging

287. 燒紙 burn ritual paper

288. 燒香 burn incense

289. 燒香 burning incense

290. 爭斗 fighting

291. 特別 special

292. 特殊 particular, extraordinary

293. 玄秘 mysterious, abstruse doctrine, arcane

294. 玉皇 Jade Thearch

295. 珍藏 treasure hoard, pearls and cached valuables, accumulation of that which

is most valued

296. 生 produce, give rise to, give birth to

297. 異教 heterodoxy

298. 異端(邪說) heresy, skewed speech, heterodoxy

299. 當兵 to become a soldier

300. 疾病 sickness

301. 痛苦 suffering

302.   盡責 doing one's duty

303.   真正 true

304.   真理 truth

305.   知識 knowledge, intellectual

306.   知道 yes, I know / knowledge

307.   磕頭 ritual prostration, bringing one's forehead to the ground reverentially

308.   祈求 pray, seek something through prayer

309.   祈求 seek out through prayer and veneration

310.   祈福 pray for good fortune, pray to attain some benefit

311.   祖先 ancestor, forebear

312.   祝你 I wish you... [e.g. success, fortune]

313.   祝壽 congratulate on the occasion of one's birthday, congratulations for

longevity (wished to deities on their birthday celebrations in temples)

314.   神仙 the divinities and transcendents

315.   神妙 marvelous, wondrous, fantastic

316.   神明, spirit, deity, divinity

317.   神聖 divine, holy, sacred

318.   祥瑞 auspicious, propitious

319.   祭典 ceremony, sacrificial rites

320.   祭典 sacrificial ceremony

321. 祭拜 offering sacrifices (to divinities)

322. 祭禮 ritual

323. 禍福 fortune and misfortune, calamity and luck

324. 福 fortune, luck, prosperity

325. 禮 politeness, etiquette, ritual propriety

326. 禮貌 outward expression of ritual propriety

327. 禳災 averting calamity or disaster by religious means

328. 秘傳 secret transmission (of knowledge from master to disciple)

329. 空虛 emptiness

330. 立志赴義 determined to pay one's respects to the Dutiful

331. 符合 conform, correspond, accordance

332. 符咒 charm, amulet, talisman

333. 算命 fortune-telling

334. 節 festival, holiday

335. 籌組 enlist

336. 精 essence

337. 精神 energy, vitality, sprites and spirits

338. 紀念 commemorate, memorialize

339. 經典 scriptures, canon

340. 繞著 ritually circumambulate

341.   缺德(沒有德) lacking in moral, to be amoral, ruthless, unscrupulous

342.   罪惡 evil, sin

343.   美濃 Meinung

344.   義勇 Dutiful and Courageous

345.   義務 commitment, duty

346.   義民 The Dutiful

347.   義民廟 Temple of the Dutiful

348.   義民爺 Father Dutiful

349.   義氣 loyalty, sense of self-sacrifice

350.   義軍／義士 Dutiful Army, volunteer army, patriot army, patriot soldiers,

    militia

351.   老君 Elder Lord, apotheosis of Laozi

352.   老子 Laozi

353.   老師 teacher

354.   聖像 religious icon

355.   聖典 sacred scripture, divine canon

356.   聖境 Sagely Realms

357.   聚集 assemble, gather

358.   聯合 unite, join

359.   職責 duty, obligation, responsibility

360. 肉體 corporeal body, flesh-bearing body

361. 自動 of one's own volition

362. 自然 so-of-itself, natural

363. 良民 a good people, a moral populace

364. 良莠不齊 intermingling of good and evil people

365. 英勇善戰 war fought by the valiant and good

366. 英雄 hero

367. 菩薩/佛 bodhisattva, buddha (comparative speech, or nominal respect to

guanyin/sakyamuni)

368. 萬物 the many things, the multitudes of observable or physical phenomena,

living beings

369. 萬神 the multitude of divinities

370. 虔信 piety, devotion

371. 行為 behavior

372. 衛民 Guard the People

373. 表示 express, show, indicate

374. 褒忠 Commended for Loyalty

375. 覺悟 awakening to knowledge or attainment of gnosis, awareness,

enlightenment

376. 觀點 standpoint

377. 角度 point of view

378. 解釋，解說 explain, interpret, resolve, comment

379. 討賊 denounce traitors

380. 認識 knowledge, understanding, cognition

381. 誠哉 how honest! how sincere!

382. 誦經 chant scriptures

383. 諸神 the arrayed divinities, all the gods

384. 謀反 conspire against the state

385. 講堂 lecture hall

386. 護國 Protect the Polity

387. 護身 protecting the self, guarding the body

388. 變亂 renegade

389. 賢人 Worthy One

390. 跪下 kneel

391. 軍人 infantry, soldiers

392. 軍法 martial prowess, soldiery, military tactics

393. 辛苦 bitter suffering

394. 送給/寄到 to give, to send

395. 通俗 common, vulgar

396. 造反 insurgent

397. 造成 set up, found, made

398. 進香 present incense, offer incense

399. 運氣 luck

400. 過世，去世 gone from the world, departed the world (euphemism for

death)

401. 過程 process

402. 道人 Man of the Dao, Daoist

403. 道友 Friend in the Dao

404. 道場 Field of the Dao, a ritual area

405. 道士 Daoist functionary ("priest")

406. 道學講習 lectures on and study of Daoism

407. 道家 Daoism

408. 道廟 Daoist temple

409. 道引 leading on to

410. 道德 The Dao and Its Efficacy, The Way and Its Virtue, Dao and De,

system of morality

411. 道教 Daoism

412. 道法 the way of the Dao, practice of Daoism in the course of one's life

413. 道理 sense, principle, reason

414. 道號 Daoist appellation, one's Daoist name

415. 道長 Head Daoist functionary, Daoist Elder

416. 避邪 avoding evil (esp. evil   entities)

417.　　邪惡 evil, wicked, twisted

418.　　邪氣 evil influence, force opposed to one's vital essence

419.　　邪神 nefarious spirit, evil spirit

420.　　配置 allocate, deploy

421.　　醮齋 Sacrifices and Retreats, i.e. rituals

422.　　釋義，講義 to explain the meaning (of a point of doctrine or a scripture), to expound the meaning

423.　　開戰 starting a war

424.　　開明 enlightenment

425.　　闢穀 abstaining from consuming grains

426.　　院 sanctuary, institute, complex with buildings and open courtyards

427.　　陣亡 die in combat

428.　　陰間 the realm of the shades, the nether realms

429.　　陰陽 *yin* and *yang*, lunarity and solarity

430.　　陳姓 Surname Chen

431.　　集香 gathering up incense stick which are in the process of burning and have been ritually offered

432.　　需要/要求 needs, requirements

433.　　靈性 numinosity

434.　　靈氣 numinous pneuma

435.　　靈符 charm, amulet,　　　　　　　　talisman

436.　　靈魂 soul, soul-like components of individuals

437.　　領導 lead

438.　　頭家仔 (*thau-ke-a*) principal libationer, master of ceremonies

439.　　風俗 customs, mores

440.　　風俗 customs, mores, vulgar practice

441.　　養性 cultivation (spiritual, religious, intellectual)

442.　　養育 rearing, nurturing

443.　　香火之盛 the profuse billowing forth of incense

444.　　骨骸 bones, physical remains

445.　　高雄 Kaohsiung

446.　　鬥志 will to fight, fighting spirit

447.　　魂魄 cloudsouls and whitesouls

448.　　魔神仔 demon

449.　　魔鬼 demon

450.　　黃姓 Surname Huang

451.　　黑令旗 Black Command Flag (a black ensign which was the battle standard

　　of the Army of the Dutiful, today an object of devotion)

452.　　齋果 offerings for ritual purposes

453.　　龍脈 dragon-vein, draconic lines

Categorical Domains of Religious　　　　　　　　　Lexicon

The lexical items presented above, in the corresponding sections for the DDY and the YMM, may be divided into a number of categorical domains. For the sake of expediency, each item is assigned to a single category, namely that which was encountered as most salient, semantically, in the life of that lexical item as a religious term during the period of participant observation. That is to say, that these individual logographs often have different meanings, depending on the context of their use, but for sake of expediency I am placing them in a single category. This is a preliminary measure, and is not meant to exclude any logograph from other semantic domains.

Numerals: 一, 七, 三, 九, 二, 五, 八, 十, 千, 四, 百, 萬, 六

Horological/Calendrical: 丁, 丑, 丙, 乙, 亥, 午, 卯, 壬, 寅, 己, 巳, 庚, 戊, 戌, 甲, 申, 癸, 辛, 酉, 辰

Spatial: 上, 下, 中, 位, 內, 北, 南, 後, 外, 東, 次, 空, 虛, 西, 遠, 間

Environmental/Location: 世, 國, 園, 地, 城, 基, 堂, 境, 壇, 天, 宮, 居, 山, 嵩, 嶽, 府, 庭, 廟, 房, 所, 方, 林, 森, 極, 殿, 洞, 海, 淵, 滉, 獄, 碑, 祐, 祠, 洮, 祴, 蒖, 都

Transformational: 丹, 凝, 化, 藥, 變

Motion: 乘, 入, 出, 升, 度, 延, 放, 昂, 昇, 步, 渡, 濟, 落, 行, 車, 進, 過, 遊, 運, 通, 還, 降, 飛, 離

Grouping/Comparison: 全, 列, 同, 名, 品, 唯, 團, 會, 本, 末, 析, 普, 格, 樞, 滿, 獨, 疏, 稱, 結, 統, 綸, 綟, 縱, 總, 群, 規, 解, 諸, 叢, 齊

Seeking/Subjection: 乞, 伏, 侍, 受, 籲, 報, 奉, 弔, 授, 搯, 求, 祈, 禱, 稟, 禂, 卜, 禎, 幾, 奏,

納, 舉, 蘄, 貢, 欽

Luminosity: 亮, 光, 冥, **熙**, 奧, 幽, 明, **昑**, 昭, **昱**, **昴**, 晳, 景, 晶, **暐**, **曑**, 暻, 暐, 暕, 暲, 暻, **曄**, 曜, 朗, **泚**, 炫, **炯**, **炳**, **烁**, **煇**, 煉, **煌**, **煒**, **煜**, 煥, 照, 熠, **潁**, **熹**, 燦, **爍**, **爑**, 玄, **皎**, 皓, **鵰**, **皞**, **皦**, **晬**, 粲, 耀, **耿**, **芮**, **鑠**, 閃, **顥**

Entity/Divinity: 人, 仙, 兵, 女, 姆, 姑, 娘, 子, 梵, 母, 民, 父, 爺, 祇, 祖, 神, 祧, 童, 翁, 聖, 農, 靈

Principles/Ideals: 仁, 倫, 修, 合, 和, 善, 孝, 德, 志, 慈, 慧, 懺, 悲, 智, 正, 真, 緣, 義, 良, 誠, 賢, 道

Command/Control: 令, 使, 准, 制, 勸, 勿, 原, 召, 告, 命, 嗣, 囑, 主, 太, 封, 將, 尊, 導, 崇, 御, 戒, 承, 招, 故, 敕, 教, 敬, 旨, 朝, 機, 檄, 治, 然, 獻, 禁, 索, 薦, 許, 詔, 謚, 諭, 貺, 賜, 賫, 賞, 贈, 錫, 首, 霸, 頒, 領, 督, 觫

Rank: 伯, 侯, 公, 卿, 吏, 司, 君, 士, 官, 尉, 帝, 師, 后, 爵, 王, 皇, 臣, 隸, 郎

Preservation/Continuity: 保, 守, 密, 宗, 待, 息, 持, 止, 系, 維, 繫, 衛, 補, 護, 養

Ritual: 儀, 奠, 彝, 器, 拜, **櫨**, 祀, **衸**, **袚**, **衬**, **祡**, **祂**, **袷**, 祭, **祰**, **祝**, 祳, **祼**, **禊**, **禋**, **禖**, **淬**, **褌**, 禱, 祿, **褅**, 禜, **禫**, 禮, **襛**, **褕**, 禍, 禩, **禬**, **襚**, **禯**, **禶**, **襴**, 紙, **胙**, 酒, 酌, 醮, 香, 鼎, 饗, 齋, 燃

Temporal: 元, 先, 初, 古, 史, 啟, 始, 年, 急, 時, 永, 節, 紀, 終, 繼, 續, 老, 舊, 輩

Fauna: 兔, 凰, 牛, 狗, 猴, 羊, 虎, 蛇, 蠲, 豬, 龍, 鶴, 鳳, 馬, 雞, 雌, 雄, 鼠, 絲

Visual/Writing: 傳, 冊, 印, 卷, 句, 字, 序, 文, 書, 章, 符, 篇, 經, 編, 像, 圖, 緯, 纂, 藏, 要, 視, 觀, 詳, 記, 訣, 詞, 譜, 識, 錄, 錦, 鏡, 鑒, 隱, 集, 現, **鈔**

Benefit/Purity: 利, 吉, 壽, 妙, 寶, 幸, 慶, 成, 昌, 淨, 清, **澄**, 玉, **玓**, 玟, **玶**, 玹, **珂**, 珍, **琄**, 珫, **珙**, 珠, **珺**, **琁**, 瑯, **琇**, **琛**, **琨**, **琪**, 琭, **琳**, **琿**, **瑁**, **瑋**, 瑛, 瑞, 瑤, **瑭**, **璀**, **璇**, **璐**, **璀**, **璣**, **璦**, **璨**, **環**, **璵**, **璿**, **瓅**, 瓊, 瘉, 痊, **瘥**, 廖, 療, 癒, 礽, **祉**, 神, 祐, 祇, **袾**, **祚**, 祜, 祥, **禑**, 祺, **祹**, 祿, **禎**, 福, **禔**, **祾**, 禠, **禷**, 純, 貴, 銀, **鋥**, 隆, 靖, 靜, 順, **龔**, 平

Force/Action: 劍, 力, 威, 拔, 救, 注, 流, 發, 示, 祛, 立, 約, 定, 練, 織, 繞, 繡, 訓, 訪, 酬, 送, 銘, 除, 關

Body Parts: 口, 心, 焦, 目, 胎, 腑, 臟, 魂, 魄, 體

Oral/Sound: 吟, 咒, 問, 曰, 服, 歌, 袾, 聲, 言, 訊, 討, 談, 誡, 誥, 誦, 說, 語, 誓, 詩, 詢, 請, 論, 調, 講, 謝, 辯, 述, 釋, 音, 頌

Astral/Atmospheric: 杏, 宿, 斗, 日, 星, 晨, 月, 杓, 樞, 歲, 絡, 綱, 羅, 雲, 雷, 霄, 風, 霆

Five Phases: 土, 木, 水, 火, 金

Harmful/Wrong: 妖, 怪, 惡, 曲, 毒, 混, 災, 爛, 犯, 狂, 疚, 疠, **瘍**, **疷**, **疫**, **痾**, **疙**, 疾, 病, 症, **痗**, 痛, **痡**, 瘍, **痯**, **瘖**, **痼**, 瘋, **瘏**, **瘑**, **瘩**, **癋**, 瘟, **瘨**, **瘼**, **瘹**, **癀**, **癢**, **癁**, **癏**, **癑**, **癗**, **瘲**, **瘋**, **癠**, **癲**, 浸, 禍, **禍**, **禓**, **禠**, **禍**, 罪, 罰, 苦, 賦, 鬼, 彪, 魅, **魀**, 魁, **魆**, 魅, **魌**, **魘**, **魈**, **魖**, **魊**, **魁**, **魈**, **魖**, **魖**, **魑**, 魔, **魖**, **魖**, **甕**

Ontological/constitutive: 存, 有, 未, 氣, 法, 消, 无, 無, 精, 自, 陰, 陽, 非

Mental/Immaterial: 思, 性, 悟, 想, 意, 感, 應, 樂, 烈, 曉, 瞭, 知, 祝, 秘, 禧, 絪, 託, 願, 默

Physical Nature: 形, 微, 多, 大, 少, 弘, 廣, 洪, 浮, 漂, 眾, 祁, 紋, 素, 絢, 重, 量, 鍊, 長, 高, 綵

Flora: 花, 華, 蓮

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Color: 朱, 白, 紫, 赤, 青, 黃, 黑, 彩

A number of these categories contain infrequently found items, especially in the Luminosity, Ritual, Benefit/Purity, and Harmful/Wrong categories. The infrequently found items have been found as recited in more esoteric texts or explained in particular didactic situations which necessitated obscure examples. The infrequently found items are presented in **bold text**. All other examples emerged several times, though the presentation in the above fields does not segregate items by frequency. The categories themselves are not emic, but rather determined based on a perceived conceptual segregatation of semantic ranges. However, the descriptions below represent my understanding of etic perceptions in the religious communities.

It appears evident that in the above context, *enumeration* is important. The **numerals** category bears lexical items for two major functions: hyperbolic enumeration and dogmatic listing. 萬 is salient in the former, which serves to give a grand scale to religiously salient objects, entities, time periods, and concepts without necessitating precision; these enhance a sense of awe. The others are used in lists of concepts, precepts, texts, virtues, decorations, ritual implements, and other items that require a greater degree of precision; they also are necessary in forming metaphorical relationships, as numerals that have isometric or mathematically evident relationships with one another may be metaphorically related.

The **horological/calendrical** category bears lexical items that show up in traditional date and time calculations, otherwise known as the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches (*tian gan di zhi* 天干地支) system. As the religious practices observed are performed according to the lunar calendar, and religious texts (being written in premodern styles) adopt

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the same system, these terms occur fairly frequently. In addition, one may observe that mantic practices necessitate the usage of this system.

The **spatial** category bears terms that describe location in space, whether it be relative to one another or to another point in space. These are especially important in determining ritual space and liminal areas, as well as being salient in discussions of sacred geography. Entering and exiting ritual space is of great importance in (for example) festivals, while relative directions (north, south, east, west, center) are also metaphorically important, as they can related to many other concepts via the Five Phases 五行 system.

The **environmental/location** category lists terms that describe loci in an imagined sacred geography.[258] These can describe simple fixed locations, sacred places, or places that have taken on a sacred character. For Daoists, these include mountains, caverns, heavens, abysses, or natural areas such as forests. In addition, these terms describe temple structures, around and in which sacred space is constructed.

The **transformational** category contains items related to flux and change. Constant flux is a seminal concept in the religious traditions observed, as the changes in the *qi* of the cosmos, as set in motion by the Dao, constitute observable and religious reality. Medicinal processes are governed by attempting to understand change within the body; spiritual attainment is a process of controlled change; cosmogony itself is a process of change in fundamental forces.

The category of **motion** describes, mostly, verbs related to motion through physical space. In addition to such processes as astral journeys, motion into, through, and out of sacred spaces is a point of concern in religious behavior. Furthermore, many religious

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[258] "Imagined" is not a comment on the reality, or lack thereof, of the loci, but merely describes the focus of the loci, being that they exist in conceptual space.

concepts are described in terms of metaphorical motion, as in *rumen* 入門 "entering [the] gate" → "beginning a spiritual practice as a novice", or *duren* 渡人 "to ferry people [across]" → "to deliver people from harm." Verticality is also important, as the loftiness of the heavens must be interacted with on a vertical basis; this includes such motions as flight, ascent, dropping, and descent.

The **grouping/comparison** category bears lexicon involved in discrimination: describing parts and wholes, groupings, naming, soleness, status as fundamental or peripheral, fullness, and the like. Items from this category are involved in creating conceptual communities, both in the literal sense of a religious body and in the metaphorical sense of discriminating mental constructs or ideas. Religious agents need to determine how they belong relative to other agents, and how religious thought and behavior coalesces into a single unit that may be thought of as their religious life.

The **seeking/subjection** category involves lexical items related to placing oneself below another entity, at least nominally. For the religious communities involves, much religious activity is predicated on the notion that one may supplicate that which is above the self in order to achieve a benefit. These items include direct supplication lexicon, but also words of decorously giving to and receiving from one above, praying, and engaging in mantic practices.

Luminosity is a powerful category, due to the higher realms and their denizens being described as coursing in brilliant, vivid light; their counterparts in the demonic or ghostly realms are equally described as residing in dark places, where the absence of light appears to be clearly analogous to absence of positive divinity. Light has many ways to shine, flash, sparkle, effloresce, scintillate, irradiate, or glow, and are often semantically related to

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emanations of the sun and common fire.

Entity/divinity items describe the agents and beings that interact with one another and with religious practitioners in the observed communities. While the human being is the fundamental unit here, as other beings are defined by comparing them to humans, most of the terms mentioned in this category either address age, gender, or familial status. Femininity is highly salient, as are generational elders.

Principles/ideals addresses the ethical domain, or the concepts that affects one's conduct in the scope of one's religious life. Here, the emphasis lies in compliance, harmony, integration, compassion, wisdom, duty, uprightness, and sincerity. These ideals come to be a complex of attitudes and behaviors that begin by regulating religious life but then seep out into nonreligious life as well, inasmuch as such exists, according to the level of religious commitment of any particular member of the religious community.

The category of **command/control** governs the relations of those in a position of power with those with lesser power, and systems which govern causality. The religious systems observed are presented in terms of interaction with an analogue to a government bureaucracy; these interactions necessitate high-status entities condescending to confer favors, gifts, or blessings to those who make proper requests, to forbid and thus regulate the conduct of others, to issue commands to divine forces and other entities in order to ensure the proper operation of the cosmic system, and to command respect for the above capacities.

The category of **rank** contains elements that pertain to the status of entities, particularly those being interacted with by members of the religious communities (as opposed to the members themselves). These are terms from premodern imperial government and nobility ranking systems,   given that the divine bureaucracy is modeled

after the government of the traditional Sinitic civilization.

Preservation/continuity items are closely related to tradition, in that they concern safeguarding modes of behavior and thought from one time period to another. Preservation is crucial, as the religious system of the communities is largely modeled after the premodern civilizations of the Sinitic cultural sphere. The concern with lineage ties to both preservation and legitimation, because reference to the archaic itself confers authority. The return to a prime state of cosmic inchoativity is a common theme in the Daoist traditions. Traditionalism is a common element in a number of large, culturally-embedded religious traditions such as Daoism.

The **ritual** category is one of the most salient, given that much of the more vivid activity at temples involves ritual practice. Ritual, as described above, include those activities with high degrees of formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism, and performance. Naturally, as one of the conditions for which religious language was to be sought out for the purposes of this study, ritual terms abound, thought the majority of those listed here are infrequently used and quite rare. Material concerns with the proper carrying-out of the ritual gives rise to the more common usages.

The **temporal** category bears items concerned with two aspects of time: the marking of time and the focus on origins and inceptions. The passage of time is also critical for celebrating festivals as well as rituals that celebrate life events (for example, determination of a child's name after birth based on the birth time and date). As for origins, religious supremacy is assigned to that which is analogous to a return to the time of the beginning of the cosmos.

The **fauna** category contains terms of non-anthropomorphic entities, be they animals or supernatural beings such as   dragons. Many of these terms come from

the twelve calendrical zodiac animals, which are made present in mantic discourse and in veneration of birth-year divinities. Fauna are also mentioned in texts as controllers of natural forces or companions to high divinities, for example those involved in pulling vehicles of lofty gods.

The **visual/writing** category enumerates textual items, along with those that are simply images but not quite at the level of written language. This includes terms closely related to natural patterns, as written language itself is said to be derived from either the observation of nature or as a corrupted form of celestial language which comes from cosmogonic times, when primal *qi* coalesced into divine logographs. Various kinds of scriptures and other documents figure heavily in this category, as well as individual units of language, such as phrases or logographs. In addition, this category bears terms of sight, which are involved in pattern or written language recognition. However, if a visual/writing term was found featured more prominently in ritual discourse than one involving writing divorced from ritual, it was placed in the ritual category.

Benefit/purity consists of terms involved in religious practice which seeks or can be aimed toward, the acquisition of fortune, glory, or wealth. A number of items in this category are rare terms for precious gems and other tangible items of wealth, though the category also includes longevity, luck, glory, accomplishment, blessings (a complex system of intangible capital which indirectly results in some kind of more visible capital), and tranquility.

The **force/action** category includes terms involved in directing the application of physical energy to some other entity or to the self. Martial action, prevalent due to the military origins of some deities and the command deities have of celestial troops which quell demonic forces, is well-represented here.   Expelling, flowing, pouring, sending, or

emitting are also frequently encountered, given references to the motion of *qi* and its various forms, in addition to the direct interactions between humanity and divinities.

Body parts category covers those terms involved in physical or spiritual (often indistinguishable from one another, depending on the understanding of the practitioner) components of the human body; these are especially important when the human body is thought of as an analogue to the cosmos. The *hun* cloudsouls and *po* whitesouls also appear frequently. In meditation discourse, one may be more likely to encounter *tai* 胎, fetus, while the terms for organs listed appear in connection with medicinal discourse.

The **oral/sound** category may be considered, in some sense, as a counterpart to the visual/writing category, in that most of the terms listed here are about oral communication and transmission of meaning-bearing sound (such as in song). Reporting speech is enormously important, because doctrines and concepts related in scriptures and by teachers (through word-of-mouth) must reference their origin and manner of transmission. Much of the basis of understanding religious thought and practice is predicated on oral/aural interaction. In addition, this includes terms of alchemical instructions involving ingesting (e.g. 服藥, 服用).

Astral/atmospheric terms are important because of the role constellations and astral journeys have in the Daoist imaginaire. Deities reside in elaborate palaces in the starry heavens, and functionaries perform rituals to travel there, at least metaphorically. As light-bringing entities, the stars, sun, and moon are also related to exalted divine principles. Atmospheric terms include those involving changes in weather, particularly wind, thunder, lightning, as well as a term (*xiao* 霄) to describe the high reaches of the heavens in the purpureal glory.

The **Five Phases** is a vital category, limited to those terms for fundamental, yet constantly changing, forces or the observable universe: earth, wood, water, fire, and metal. Five Phases theory forms an intellectual foundation of all Daoist thought, and is behind metaphorical associations between a great many religious concepts.

Harmful/wrong terms describe that which is to be avoided in religious practice. These include demonic and evil entities or afflictions, and anything which causes more or less direct harm. A large number of these terms are rare terms for disease and particular ghostly or demonic entities. However, we also find concepts such as crime, transgression, warpedness, poison, and disaster. It is most important to avoid these calamities, in particular illnesses and the demons that bring about bad fortune.

Ontological/constitutive terms are used in metaphysical discourse, especially with regard to origins and makeup of the cosmos. These items delineate tension between existence and non-existence, presence, operation of reality, *qi*, *jing* 精 (essence), self-referentiality, and the duality between *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽. These are essential in didactic situations.

Mental/immaterial items describe thought processes and mental practices as performed in a religious setting. Thinking, feeling, intent, enlightenment, character, happiness, knowledge, understanding, and desire are all thematic in pragmatic religious discourse, especially in terms of what practitioners aim to attain and methods to be used to attain it.

The category of **physical nature** lists terms used to describe the form of physical entities; these are quite frequent, as the religious practice observed is very much grounded in the domain of the physical world, instead of being largely focused on, for example, mental

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practices. Color, size, number, intensity, breadth, patterns, weight, and height are all frequently addressed in ritual situations as well as in discussions of the constitution of celestial realms and their denizens.

Flora are not mentioned as often as might have been expected, and indeed are represented by the fewest examples of individual logographs. Most of the time, flora appear in situations that demonstrate the vitality of a place, or serves as decoration for a deity and the deity's accoutrements. Lotus flowers also appear, imagery borrowed from Buddhism to represent purity rising above the muck and mire of a mundane existence.

Finally, the category of **color** contains those terms associated with the Five Phases, in addition to a variant to give premodern, traditional flavor to descriptions, the term for variegation (used in descriptions of the adornments of deities), and the color purple, a common sacred color in Daoism.

APPENDIX C

IRB APPROVAL DOCUMENTS

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

To:	Christopher Duncan Coor Hall,
From:	Mark Roosa, Chair Soc Beh IRB
Date:	03/20/2012
Committee Action:	**Exemption Granted**
IRB Action Date:	03/20/2012
IRB Protocol #:	1203007599
Study Title:	These Are Not Just Words: Religious Language of Daoist Temples in Taiwan

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.