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Foreword:

Mobility, Migration and Identity

Human migration began transitioning from an itinerant and nomadic lifestyle to agrarian settlement around 12,500–10,000 years ago (de Haas, Castles, and Miller, 2020). In contrast, the 21st century is witnessing “the routinization of geographically distant movement” (Shin and Lee, 2022, 1), driven primarily by political, economic, social, cultural, and climatic factors. As such, the present era may be characterized as the age of high mobility—when mobility technologies have become integral to social life, mobility itself is embedded within epistemological, ethical, and aesthetic practices, and human beings increasingly understand not only our existence but also their very nature as mobile (Lee 1). In short, it is a time when “every major domain of human activity has become increasingly defined by motion” (Nail, 2018, 1). Encompassing all types of human, nonhuman, or more-than-human movements across both local and global scales, mobility has emerged as a fundamental condition of human history and a defining characteristic of the contemporary world.

As one of the most prevalent forms of human mobility, migration profoundly affects the structure and composition of both migrant-sending and migrant-receiving societies, often generating cultural and political tensions while simultaneously revitalizing communities that might otherwise appear monotonous or stagnant. In this sense, the young retired, international students, terrorists, diaspora, holidaymakers, businesspeople, slaves, sports stars, asylum seekers, refugees, backpackers, commuters, young mobile professionals, and sex workers may be understood as representative figures of the highly mobile society of the 21st century (Urry, 2007). At the same time, people’s voluntary or involuntary movement across borders frequently reshapes and hybridizes their identities through encounters with the new environments they traverse or settle within. As a significant milestone in an individual’s life course, migration disrupts established modes of identity formation, requiring migrants to negotiate between their heritage cultures and unfamiliar social settings. In doing so, they must continuously reconstruct

their identities amid emerging social tensions, cultural negotiations, and cultural animation.

The three articles included in this special issue address, respectively: the aestheticization and legitimization of migration literature and cultural difference through literary institutions in Germany and Taiwan (Chang); the construction of agency among Taiwanese women who migrated to Japan in the late 1980s to study language, and subsequently married and settled there (Nakamura); and Thai country music (*luk thung*) as a sonic archive of the rural-urban divide, as well as the gendered and classed precarities experienced by domestic migrant subjects in Thailand, particularly from the 1960s to the 1980s (Valyamedhi). Taken together, these contributions examine the personal and social entanglements of migration and identity (de)formation as mediated through mobility. Understanding the interplay between mobility, migration, and identity is therefore essential not only for interpreting literary and cultural works produced by highly mobile societies, but also for understanding those societies themselves—shaped by racialized, classed, gendered, and sexual processes materialized through regimes of mobility governance. In this sense, such inquiry ultimately gestures toward a more equitable and just mobility future (Sheller, 2018).

Special Issue Guest Editors,
Jinhyoung Lee* and Ching-An Chang**

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流動之聲：泰國鄉村音樂 (*Luk Thung*) 中的性別化移動情感

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摘要

本文探討泰國鄉村音樂 *luk thung* (ลูทซุง) 如何媒介二十世紀後半葉泰國城鄉轉型下的移動經驗。本文主張，*luk thung* 可被視為一種「聲音檔案」(sonic archive)，透過聲音使遷移、鄉愁、離散與社會變遷得以被文化性地聽見。透過對 1950 至 1980 年代四首歌曲的細讀，包括以男性聲音為主的遷移分離歌曲與 *phleng kae* (เพลงแก้ · 應答歌曲) 對唱形式，本文分析聲音、樂器聲響、地方性唱腔與聲音記憶如何保存與鄉村離鄉及都市工業生活相關的情感經驗。

本文進一步指出，男性與女性歌者透過不同的聽覺與敘事策略協商移動經驗。〈Klap Thoet Riam Cha〉與〈Siang Khlui Riak Nang〉等男性主唱歌曲，透過呼喚式唱腔、環境聲景以及泰國竹笛 *Khlui* 的象徵性聲音，呈現對鄉土、地方記憶與家園依附的情感。相對地，*Chanthana* 對唱歌曲則透過聲音對話、延遲回應與跨越都市工業距離的想像性聆聽，建構親密關係與遷移距離。本文特別關注可辨識的聲音質地、地方口音與口傳音樂實踐如何形塑現代泰國的遷移聆聽文化。

本文並不將遷移僅視為人口移動現象，而是將其理解為一種透過聲音、聆聽與記憶所媒介的聽覺與情感狀態。藉此，本文將 *luk thung* 音樂定位為一種語言文化與聲音實踐，使遷移者得以在都市化與離散過程中，持續維繫其人際關係、地方感與社會身份的連續性。

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關鍵詞：泰國鄉村音樂、泰國內部遷移、移動情感、性別表演性、大眾音樂與遷移

Sounding Migration: Gender Affects of Mobility in Thai Country Music (*Luk Thung*)

Chawarote Valyamedhi *

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Abstract

This article examines how *luk thung* songs (ลูกทุ่ง, Thai country music) mediate experiences of mobility generated by Thailand's rural-urban transformation during the second half of the twentieth century. The study argues that *luk thung* functions as a sonic archive through which migration, longing, displacement, and social change become culturally audible. Through close readings of four songs from the 1950s-1980s—including male-voiced songs of migratory separation and selected *phleng kae* (เพลงจั่ว, answer-song) duets—the article analyzes how voice, instrumental sound, regional vocality, and sonic memory preserve emotional experiences associated with rural departure and urban-industrial life.

The analysis demonstrates how male and female singers negotiate mobility through distinct auditory and narrative strategies. Male-voiced songs such as “Klap Thoet Riam Cha” and “Siang Khlui Riam Nang” articulate longing, remembered locality, and attachment to rural home through vocal calling, environmental soundscape, and the symbolic role of *khlu* (Thai bamboo flute). In contrast, the Chanthana duet musical repertoire stages intimacy and migratory distance through dialogic vocal exchange, delayed correspondence, and imagined listening across urban-industrial separation. Particular attention is given to the role of recognizable vocal textures, regional pronunciation, and oral musicianship in shaping migratory listening cultures within modern Thailand.

Rather than treating migration solely as demographic movement, this study approaches mobility as an auditory and emotional condition

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mediated through voice, sound, listening, and memory. In doing so, the article positions *luk thung* music as a linguistic-cultural and sonic practice through which migrants sustain continuity with relationships, locality, and social identity amid displacement and urban transformation.

Keywords: *luk thung* song, Thai internal migration, affects of mobility, gendered affect, popular music and migration

1. Introduction¹

Across the second half of the twentieth century, internal migration reshaped Thailand's demographic landscape while generating new acoustic experiences of longing, displacement, and mobility. As rural migrants moved toward Bangkok and other urban-industrial centers, experiences of uncertainty and social transition became increasingly mediated through popular music. Among the most important cultural forms emerging from this historical shift was *luk thung* (ลูกทุ่ง, Thai country music), which developed in the post-WWII period as a major cultural expression of rural Thailand during the nation's transition from an agrarian society to an industrializing economy centered in Bangkok. *Luk thung* musical repertoire carried rural voices, regional accents, emotional memory, and sonic textures associated with migration and urban transformation.

For many rural migrants—particularly young women entering textile and garment factories on Bangkok's periphery—the capital city represented a double-edged horizon: a site of economic opportunity as well as cultural displacement, class discrimination, and moral scrutiny (Mills). Migration in this context exceeded demographic movement alone. It became a broader condition of mobility through which rural subjects encountered new economic regimes, social hierarchies, and emotional pressures. Ethnomusicological scholarship has long emphasized that music provides a space where social identities and collective experiences are articulated and negotiated (Stokes). *Luk thung* songs gave voice to these experiences, revealing how migration reshaped intimacy, dignity, and gendered expectations through vocal expression, lyrical address, and performance.

In this article, the phrase “affects of mobility” refers to the emotional orientations—such as longing, uncertainty, estrangement, and moral negotiation—that emerge through migration and social movement.

¹ This article forms part of a broader research project on migration and Thai popular music. While the author has explored related themes elsewhere, the present study develops a distinct analytical framework centered on affect theory, gendered performativity, and the concept of the sonic archive.

Mobility is therefore understood not simply as physical movement, but as an entanglement of movement, representation, listening, and embodied practice (Ahmed; Cresswell).

Within this landscape of mobility and urban transformation, *luk thung* songs became a crucial medium through which migration was made audible. The music preserved emotional histories often absent from official narratives, not through statistical accounts of migration, but through vocal timbre, regional accents, musical texture, and lyrical address. This article examines how *luk thung* music operates as a “sonic archive” (Ochoa Gautier), encoding the affective dimensions of migration through sound and performance.

Through close readings of songs centered on migratory separation, rural longing, factory labor, and urban courtship—including “Klap Thoet Riam Cha” (กลับเกิดเรียมจำ, *Please Come Back, My Dear Riam*) (1950s) and “Siang Khlui Riak Nang” (เสียงขลุ่ยเรียกนาง, *Flute Melody Calling the Girl Back*) (1971), alongside selected *phleng kae* (เพลงแก้, answer-song) duets—the analysis explores how voice, instrumental sound, sonic memory, and gendered narration mediate experiences of mobility within modern Thailand.

While my recent study examined *luk thung* through the affective formation of working-class subjectivity during Thailand’s industrial transition, the present article focuses more specifically on sonic mediation, vocal performance, and the auditory dimensions of mobility and gendered displacement.

1.1. Theoretical Positioning and Contribution

While existing scholarship on *luk thung*—particularly James Mitchell’s work on political economy and cultural history (Mitchell), alongside Pattana Kitiarsa’s discussions of migrant manhood and rural male identity in Thai popular music (Kitiarsa)—has established the genre’s importance within modern Thai society, less attention has been given to how migration and mobility are mediated through voice, sound, and auditory exchange. These perspectives are crucial for understanding how rural migrants negotiate emotional life, social identity, intimacy, and moral

expectation through musical and vocal expression. This article approaches *luk thung* songs as a site of sonic mediation in which mobility becomes audible through voice, lyrical address, musical texture, and performance. Drawing on Ahmed's theorization of affect, the analysis examines how collective feelings—including longing, anxiety, estrangement, and dignity—circulate through song and listening practices (Ahmed). At the same time, Butler's concept of performativity (Butler) helps illuminate how male and female singers negotiate mobility through distinct vocal and narrative strategies under changing social conditions. To develop this argument, the article makes three related contributions:

1.1.1. Performativity and Mobility

The study applies performativity theory to show how *luk thung* songs function as cultural scripts through which migrants negotiate gendered expectations, emotional vulnerability, and social identity across the rural-urban divide.

1.1.2. Dialogic Gendered Voice

The analysis examines *phleng kae* (เพลงถามสั้น, answering-song) musical repertoire as dialogic musical forms through which women respond to male-voiced narratives, negotiating intimacy, caution, and moral authority within conditions of migration and urban modernity.

1.1.3. Sonic Archive and Vocality

Drawing on Ana María Ochoa Gautier's concept of the sonic archive (Ochoa Gautier), the article explores how vocal timbre, regional accents, lyrical delivery, and musical texture preserve emotional histories of migration often absent from official historical narratives.

By foregrounding voice, listening, and dialogic song forms, this study contributes to language and linguistic-cultural studies by demonstrating how migration and social difference are negotiated through vocal performance and mediated sound. *Luk thung* music thus emerges as a socially embedded auditory practice through which the affects of mobility become culturally audible.

1.2 Structure of the Paper

Following this introduction, Section 2 outlines the methodology and analytical framework, focusing on performativity, sonic mediation, listening practices, and the concept of the sonic archive as applied to selected *luk thung* songs. Sections 3 and 4 establish the historical and sonic contexts of migration, media circulation, and Bangkok's position within Thailand's auditory imagination. Sections 5 and 6 then examine how mobility, longing, intimacy, and migratory separation are mediated through vocality, musical texture, and dialogic exchange within male-voiced songs and *phleng kae* repertoires. Section 7 synthesizes these discussions through the framework of the sonic archive, emphasizing how voice, listening, and musical sound preserve migratory memory and auditory continuity within modern Thailand. Finally, the conclusion reflects on *luk thung* music as a cultural medium through which mobility, memory, and social transformation become audible through sound and listening.

2. Methodology: Song Selection and Analytical Approach

The methodology proceeds in two distinct yet integrated parts. The first defines the criteria for song selection, prioritizing iconic musical texts that best exemplify the historical and gendered dynamics of the rural-urban divide during the period of peak internal migration. The second part details the analytical approach, which applies three theoretical lenses—performativity, affect theory, and the sonic archive concept—to the selected musical texts.

This study employs a methodology centered on interpretive analysis of lyrical narration, vocal delivery, and musical texture, guided by a historically grounded theoretical framework. The analysis focuses on *luk thung* songs produced between the late 1950s and the 1980s, a formative period marked by large-scale internal migration, rapid urban expansion, and the consolidation of *luk thung* music as a nationally recognized popular genre.

The four songs selected for analysis were chosen according to three criteria: (1) their canonical status and wide circulation within *luk*

thung music history, (2) their engagement with migration, mobility, and rural–urban transition, and (3) their capacity to articulate contrasting gendered experiences through voice, lyrical address, and musical narration. Together, these songs form a focused corpus through which the sonic and performative dimensions of mobility may be examined.

The selected songs fall into two analytically related groups. First, “Klap Thoet Riam Cha” and “Siang Khlui Riak Nang” present male-voiced narratives of migratory separation and rural longing, emphasizing remembered locality, attachment to home, and emotional distance through vocal calling, instrumental sound, and rural auditory imagery. Second, “Chanthana Thi Rak” (ฉันทนารัก, *My Beloved Chanthana*) and its *phleng kae* reply “Chanthana Top Rak” (ฉันทนาคอตอบรัก, *Chanthana Replies to Love*) shift the setting toward urban-industrial life, staging a dialogic negotiation of intimacy, listening, and migratory distance through alternating male and female vocal exchange.

These songs are representative not because they encompass the full diversity of *luk thung* music, but because they illuminate distinct auditory approaches to migration and mobility within modern Thailand. Collectively, they demonstrate how voice, musical texture, dialogic exchange, and sonic memory mediate experiences of distance, intimacy, and migratory listening across rural and urban environments.

Because this study focuses primarily on voice, sound, listening practices, and auditory mediation, lyrical excerpts are reproduced selectively according to their analytical relevance rather than comprehensively for every song discussed. Full lyrics are included primarily for shorter songs in which vocal calling and sonic imagery can be examined as integrated structures, while longer dialogic works such as the Chanthana duet are discussed through selected excerpts most directly related to migratory listening, vocal correspondence, and mediated intimacy. Earlier discussions of the Chanthana duet and its relationship to gendered migration and emotional experience appear in Chawarote Valyamedhi’s work on estrangement and working-class emotional convergence in *luk thung* songs (Valyamedhi).

2.2. Analytical Approach

The analytical approach integrates cultural anthropology, ethnomusicology, and performance theory through interpretive analysis of lyrical narration, vocal delivery, and musical texture. Rather than treating songs as passive reflections of migration, the study examines how *luk thung* music mediates experiences of mobility through sound, listening, vocality, and dialogic exchange.

2.2.1. Performativity and Vocal Address

Drawing on Butler's concept of performativity, the analysis approaches songs as performative acts (Butler) through which singers negotiate gendered identities, intimacy, and social expectation through speech, vocal address, and lyrical positioning. Particular attention is given to apologies, promises, hesitation, repetition, and cautious language as vocal strategies through which migrants articulate attachment, uncertainty, and mediated forms of emotional communication across distance.

2.2.2. Affects of Mobility and Listening Practices

Drawing on Ahmed's (2004) theorization of affect, the study approaches migration as an embodied and relational condition shaped through circulation, attachment, and listening practices. Feelings such as longing, estrangement, uncertainty, shame, and dignity are examined as socially mediated orientations emerging through movement and displacement. Within *luk thung* music, these affects circulate through repetition, remembered sound, vocal familiarity, lyrical narration, and shared listening across dispersed audiences. The analysis therefore focuses not only on emotional expression itself, but also on the auditory conditions through which migratory experience becomes culturally recognizable.

2.2.3. Sonic Archive

The analysis further examines how vocal timbre, regional pronunciation, melodic phrasing, and instrumental sound—including *khlui* (ขลุ่ย, Thai bamboo flute)—preserve migratory memory through sonic expression and auditory circulation (Ochoa Gautier, 2014). Particular attention is given to the role of voice as an auditory medium of emotional communication, especially in songs such as "Klap Thoet Riam Cha," where migratory separation is mediated through direct vocal calling and imagined hearing across distance. The study also examines how

recognizable vocal textures, environmental soundscapes, and mediated musical forms sustain auditory associations with locality, distance, and rural attachment within contexts of urban transformation. In addition, instruments such as *khlu*, although historically associated with Thai court ensembles, became increasingly linked to representations of rural and peasant life through twentieth-century popular media and listening culture.

Throughout this article, Bangkok is treated as Thailand's primary political, economic, and cultural center and as a major destination within twentieth-century internal migration. While the rural-urban divide forms an important historical backdrop to these movements, the analysis focuses more specifically on how mobility becomes culturally audible through voice, instrumental sound, listening practices, and sonic memory.

Together, these concepts guide close readings of historically situated musical texts, emphasizing how voice, sound, and auditory mediation shape experiences of migration, intimacy, and social transformation within modern Thai society.

3. Historical and Cultural Context of *Luk Thung* Songs

The emergence of *luk thung* music as a nationally recognized genre was closely connected to the expansion of internal migration, mass media circulation, and urban transformation in mid-twentieth-century Thailand. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, large numbers of migrants from regions such as the Central Plains, the Northeast (Isan), and the South moved toward Bangkok, which functioned as the country's primary political, economic, and cultural center. These movements were shaped by industrial expansion, Cold War geopolitics, and state-led development policies that intensified connections between provincial and urban life (Mitchell).

These migratory movements also transformed patterns of cultural circulation and listening throughout Thailand. Expanding transportation networks, particularly the Mittraphap Highway constructed during the early 1960s, connected the Northeastern region with Bangkok and facilitated the circulation of labor, media, and popular

music across regions. Extending across Isan—Thailand’s largest region, covering approximately 167,718 square kilometers—the highway linked rural provincial communities more directly to the kingdom’s socio-economic center. The name *Mittraphap* (“friendship”) reflected the Cold War context of the project, which was funded largely through United States support (Keyes 56). Although the highway symbolized modernization and national integration, the economic benefits of development remained unevenly distributed throughout the Northeast. As Charles F. Keyes observed, large-scale development projects often appeared distant from the everyday realities of many villagers. (Keyes 57) Improved transportation therefore not only strengthened state and media networks, but also enabled increasing numbers of Northeastern migrants to travel toward Bangkok and other expanding urban-industrial centers in search of employment and economic opportunities unavailable in their hometowns.

Alongside these infrastructural transformations, radio broadcasting, film, and later television enabled *luk thung* songs to circulate widely among migrant audiences whose everyday lives were increasingly shaped by movement between rural hometowns and urban workplaces. In this context, *luk thung* music emerged as an important auditory medium through which mobility, distance, memory, and attachment to home became culturally mediated through sound and listening.

While these developments reinforced distinctions between Bangkok and the provinces within Thailand’s modern “geo-body” (Winichakul), the present study approaches such divisions primarily as historical and social conditions underlying migration and media circulation. The analysis focuses more specifically on how *luk thung* songs transformed these experiences into forms of sonic narration, auditory memory, and listening practice. Earlier discussions of the Chanthana duet have emphasized its relationship to migration and industrial-era social change in Thailand (Valyamedhi). Building on that foundation, the present analysis focuses more specifically on mediated intimacy, dialogic vocal exchange, and the sonic dimensions of *phleng kae* within contexts of migratory separation and listening.

3.1 The Urban Paradox: Naming and Cultural Tension

Although the music circulated widely through radio and film during the 1950s, the term *phleng luk thung* emerged through Bangkok's media industry, reflecting the genre's complex relationship with urban cultural institutions. In late 1964, a televised variety program featuring this music was officially renamed *Phleng Luk Thung* (เพลงลูกทุ่ง, Songs of the Fields) by Channel 4 Bangkhunphrom (Chaiyaphiphat).

The naming generated debate among early television audiences, particularly within middle- and upper-class Bangkok households that dominated television viewership during the period. Critics often regarded the music's rural vocal style, lyrical directness, and regional aesthetics as incompatible with dominant urban ideals of refinement and cosmopolitan taste. Yet the term persisted and was gradually embraced by performers, listeners, and migrant audiences whose experiences increasingly shaped the genre's popularity.

This early moment reveals how *luk thung* music occupied an ambivalent cultural position: while strongly associated with rural life and migration, its circulation and recognition were mediated through urban broadcast institutions. The genre therefore emerged not outside Bangkok's cultural sphere, but through ongoing interactions among migration, media circulation, rural memory, and urban listening practices.

3.2 Sonic Maps: Labor, Ambition, and Mobility

By the 1970s, *luk thung* lyrics increasingly reflected the experiences of migration and urban transition shaping modern Thailand. Songs described factory labor, urban loneliness, return journeys, and emotional attachment to rural homeplaces, allowing listeners to navigate changing social worlds through sound and narration (Jirattikorn). In this sense, *luk thung* music functioned as a form of sonic mapping through which mobility and displacement became culturally audible.

Sayan Sanya's "Nak Phleng Khon Chon" (นักเพลงคนจน, *The Poor Musician*), for example, presents the voice of a rural singer pursuing opportunity in the city despite limited formal education and uncertain social status. Through direct lyrical address and emotionally restrained vocal delivery, the song frames ambition, vulnerability, and mobility as

interconnected experiences rather than purely economic conditions. The narrator's appeal for compassion transforms personal uncertainty into a recognizable social voice shared by many listeners navigating migration and urban transition.

Songs such as these demonstrate how *luk thung* music mediated experiences of movement, aspiration, distance, and belonging through voice, musical narration, and sonic familiarity. Rather than documenting migration solely as social change, the genre rendered its emotional and auditory dimensions audible within everyday listening practices.

3.3. Musical Hybridity, Media Circulation, and Revival

From its earliest decades, *luk thung* music developed not as a fixed traditional form, but as a hybrid musical style shaped by regional performance practices, media circulation, and global popular sounds. Mitchell notes that its melodic foundations drew heavily from Central Thai musical idioms while incorporating ornamentation associated with Isan *molam* (หมอลำอีสาน) and, in some cases, Southern performance traditions (Mitchell). Terry Miller's study of *molam* further demonstrates how Northeast vocal techniques and the timbre of *khaen* (แคน, mouth organ) contributed to the expressive qualities that later became closely associated with *luk thung* music (Miller). These regional influences interacted with foreign musical styles—including Latin dance rhythms, cinematic orchestration, and American popular music—which circulated widely through films, radio, and U.S. military presence during the Cold War period (Lockard; Mitchell).

Thanapat Tanprasert and Christopher Rockwell contrast this musical synthesis with *dontri sakon* (ดนตรีสากล, international music), which adopted Western pop and rock styles more directly as markers of cosmopolitan modernity (Tanprasert and Rockwell). By contrast, *luk thung* music retained stronger associations with regional vocalicity, rural memory, and migration-oriented listening publics, even while absorbing diverse musical influences. Rather than existing as isolated musical categories, *luk thung* and *dontri sakon* increasingly interacted through shared media environments, recording industries, and broadcast technologies.

By the 1980s, the spread of cassette technology significantly transformed patterns of musical circulation and listening. Portable and inexpensive cassette recordings enabled *luk thung* songs to move widely across provincial markets, transportation routes, and migrant communities in Bangkok. Amporn Jirattikorn notes that by the mid-1980s, the genre accounted for nearly 40 percent of Thailand's music sales (Jirattikorn). The same period also witnessed an expansion of visual and performative spectacle through televised concerts and large-scale stage performances featuring sequined costumes, *hang khruang* (หางเครื่อง, backup dancers), amplified sound systems, and elaborate staging. These developments linked rural musical imagery with modern entertainment technologies, reshaping how *luk thung* music was heard, viewed, and performed.

The Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 marked another important moment in the genre's transformation. During this period, *luk thung* music was increasingly revalued within public discourse as a recognizable expression of Thai cultural identity (Jirattikorn). At the same time, the genre continued to absorb transnational musical influences, including salsa, rap, techno, and contemporary pop arrangements (Tanprasert and Rockwell). Television performers and mainstream popular musicians also began crossing more fluidly between *luk thung* and *dontri sakon* performance styles, softening earlier distinctions between the genres. By the early 2000s, *luk thung* music had become simultaneously associated with rural nostalgia, media modernity, and evolving forms of popular musical hybridity.

In this broader context of migration, media circulation, and musical transformation, *luk thung* songs emerged as important auditory sites through which mobility, memory, longing, and social transition were mediated. The following sections turn to close readings of selected songs, focusing on return migration, dialogic vocal exchange, and the sonic textures through which mobility became culturally audible within modern Thailand.

4. Bangkok as a Sonic Site

Bangkok occupies a central yet ambivalent position within the sonic imagination of *luk thung* songs. As Thailand's primary political, economic, and cultural center, the capital city emerged during the second half of the twentieth century as a major destination for rural migrants seeking employment, education, and social mobility. Within *luk thung* music, however, Bangkok is experienced not only as a geographic destination, but also as an auditory environment shaped through migration, media circulation, and changing listening practices. In contrast to *luk krung* (ลูกกรุง, songs of the capital city) and the Suntharaphon (สุนทราภรณ์) repertoires—which in songs such as “Krung Thep” (กรุงเทพ, *Bangkok*, 1963) and “Krung Thep Ratee” (กรุงเทพราตรี, *Night Time Bangkok*, 1951) often portray the city through cosmopolitan romance and urban elegance—*luk thung* songs frequently approach Bangkok through migration, memory, and sonic distance.

Through both lyrical narration and musical texture, *luk thung* songs render urban experience audible. Songs such as “Sut Thai Thi Krung Thep” (สุดท้ายที่กรุงเทพฯ, *The End in Bangkok*, 1986) by Sunaree Ratchasima portray Bangkok as a space shaped by uncertainty, aspiration, and distance from rural homeplaces. Similarly, Phumphuang Duangchan's “Sao A.M.” (สาวเอเอ็ม, *A.M. Girl*) employs radio technology as a sonic metaphor for contrasting listening worlds. Within the song, A.M. radio—familiar, provincial, and associated with rural listening practices—is contrasted with the fashionable F.M. soundscape linked to Bangkok youth culture. By identifying its heroine as a “girl of A.M.,” the song frames rural auditory familiarity not as backwardness, but as a continuing mode of listening carried into urban modernity.

Rather than depicting migration as complete rupture, Sao A.M. suggests that attachment to rural life may persist through listening practices, vocal familiarity, and sonic memory even after physical relocation. *Luk thung* songs therefore sustain forms of continuity across geographic movement, allowing migrants to inhabit urban environments while remaining connected to regional soundscapes and remembered auditory experiences of home.

This urban soundscape is shaped not only through lyrics, but also through vocal timbre, instrumentation, and musical style. Nasal vocal

delivery, regional accents, and the incorporation of Thai melodic idioms and folk instruments maintain audible associations with provincial and regional musical aesthetics. These characteristics differ from vocal standards historically associated with Thai classical and urban musical traditions developed within elite cultural circles in nineteenth-century Bangkok (Swangviboonpong). Even when recorded in Bangkok studios and circulated through urban media networks, *luk thung* music often preserves what may be described as a rural point of audition. Bangkok thus emerges not simply as a symbolic center of Thai modernity, but as a sonic environment mediated through radio broadcasting, vocality, musical texture, and migratory listening.

As a whole, these songs map different auditory orientations toward Bangkok as the capital city and a major site of urban modernity in Thailand. In *Sut Thai Thi Krung Thep*, the city is experienced through distance, uncertainty, and migratory separation, while in *Sao A.M.* urban modernity enters everyday rural experience through radio frequencies and mediated listening. In both cases, Bangkok functions less as a singular urban actor than as a broader auditory environment shaping experiences of mobility, aspiration, and social transformation within modern Thailand.

The following sections turn to close readings of selected songs, focusing more specifically on return migration, dialogic vocal exchange, and the sonic textures through which mobility becomes culturally audible in *luk thung* music.

5. Calling Across Distance: Sound, Memory, and Longing

A recurring motif in *luk thung* songs is the male voice calling for a woman to return home from the city. These songs articulate not only romantic longing, but also the emotional distance and uncertainty produced by migration and urban transition. Through recurring acts of calling and lyrical repetition, the desire for return becomes a sonic expression of attachment to home, memory, and rural belonging. Rather than portraying migration solely as physical movement, the songs render migration audible through longing, waiting, and imagined hearing across distance.

In many of these narratives, Bangkok appears as a space associated with opportunity, mobility, and modern social life, particularly for young rural women entering new urban environments. The male narrators, meanwhile, remain closely tied to rural soundscapes, agricultural memory, and local attachment. Drawing on Ahmed's (2004) understanding of affect as circulation between bodies, places, and signs, these songs reveal how hope, uncertainty, desire, and nostalgia become attached to the figure of the migrating woman. Her movement toward the city transforms migration into an emotional and auditory condition experienced through separation, anticipation, and imagined return.

Suphanburi occupies a particularly significant place within this sonic landscape. Widely associated with influential *luk thung* singers such as Suraphon Sombatcharoen and Sayan Sanya, the province became an important auditory reference point within Central Thai rural musical culture. References to Suphanburi in these songs therefore function not simply as geographic markers, but as invocations of shared musical memory, regional vocality, and attachment to rural homeplaces. Calling someone back to Suphanburi is thus also a call toward familiarity, recognition, and remembered sound.

Following Judith Butler's concept of performativity, these songs may also be understood as performative enactments of longing and attachment. The male voice does not merely describe emotional loss; it actively performs waiting, remembrance, and emotional attachment through repeated acts of vocal address. *Luk thung* songs thereby become sonic spaces in which migration is mediated through voice, memory, and emotional projection rather than direct physical presence alone.

The following two songs—"Klap Thoet Riam Cha" (กลับเกิดเรียกจำ, *Please Come Back, My Dear Riam*) and "Siang Khlui Riak Nang" (เสียงขลุ่ยเรียกนาง, *Flute Melody Calling the Girl Back*)—exemplify these sonic dynamics of return and attachment through distinct sonic forms of longing and attachment.

5.1. Voice, Return, and Rural Memory in "Klap Thoet Riam Cha"

“Klap Thoet Riam Cha” (ถัดบเกิดเรียนจำ, *Please Come Back, My Dear Riam*) was first recorded around 1959–1960 by Muengmon Sombatcharoen, an early member of Suraphon Sombatcharoen’s ensemble. Written by Suraphon, the song became one of the most widely recognized classics of early *luk thung* music, particularly through its emotionally direct vocal style and memorable lyrical address. Performed through a restrained yet persistent male voice, the song stages migration not as distant observation, but as an embodied journey of searching, calling, and attempted return.

The narrative centers on a woman named Riam who has migrated from Suphanburi to Bangkok. Unlike songs that depict longing from afar, the narrator himself travels from the countryside to the capital in search of her. The song therefore unfolds through movement across migratory space rather than remote remembrance alone. As he searches through the city, the repeated plea for Riam’s return transforms vocal address into an act of pursuit, sustaining attachment through calling, memory, and imagined listening amid urban distance and uncertainty. Below is the full lyric with translation:

Lyrics: “Klap Thoet Riam Cha” (ถัดบเกิดเรียนจำ, *Please Come Back, My Dear Riam*) (1950s)

Thai Lyrics	English Translation
เสียงนี้ที่ดัง เรียนอ้อยเอ็งฟัง จำได้ หรือเปล่า	This voice calling — Riam, can you hear it?
เสียงนี้เป็นเสียงบอกข่าว ว่าเข้ามา รับเจ้ากลับสุพรรณ	Do you remember me? It brings news: I’ve come to take you back to Suphanburi.
พ่อแม่เียงตาย วัวควายไร่นาเอ็งนั้น ไม่มีใครเขาจัดการรับกลับสุพรรณ เสียเด็กเรียน	Your parents have died — your fields and buffalo have no one to care for them. Hurry home to Suphanburi, Riam.
ข้านี้ค้นหาเอ็ง จนแทบทั่วกรุง มุ่งมา หมายมั่น	I have searched for you nearly everywhere in Bangkok, driven by hope.
เกือบปีแล้วที่บุกมัน ตามหาเอ็งนั้น ผิวกร้านหม่นเกรียม	Almost a year struggling — my skin rough and darkened from the journey.

Thai Lyrics

กลับเถิดสุพรรณ อย่ามัวนั่งฝันเลย
เรียม

กลับไปแบกจอบเบกเสียม พลิก
พื้นดินนาดีกว่าอยู่กรุง

สุพรรณบ้านเรา แม้จะเป็นท้องทุ่ง
นา
เรียมเอ๋ยยังดีเสียกว่า พอถึงเวลา มี
ข้าวใส่ยุ้ง

อย่าหลงอยู่เลย สวรรค์เมืองฟ้า
เมืองกรุง
กลับคืนบ้านนาบ้านทุ่ง มุ่งสู่
สุพรรณเสียเถิดโจมงาม

แถวนี้มีคน เป็นหญิงชื่อเรียม อยู่
ข้างหรือปล้ำ
หากพบคุณช่วยบอกข่าว ว่าคน
สุพรรณนั้นเขามาตาม

ให้กลับสุพรรณ บ้านเดิมเสียเถิดนาง
ราม
อย่าให้เขาคอยติดตาม อยู่เลยคน
งาน จังหวัดสุพรรณ

English Translation

Return to Suphanburi — stop chasing
empty dreams. Come back to the hoe
and spade, renewing the fields — better
than living in Bangkok.

Suphanburi is our home — only rice
fields perhaps, but better still: when the
time comes, rice fills the granary.

Don't be carried away by the glittering
“heaven” of the city. Return to the fields
— come home to Suphan, my beautiful
one.

Is there a woman here named Riam? If
you find her, please tell her — the man
from Suphan has come for her.

Tell her to return to her first home —
fair lady. Don't make him keep
searching — oh beautiful one of
Suphanburi.

The song opens with an explicit act of vocal calling and imagined hearing: “This voice calling — Riam, can you hear it?” From its very first line, the song frames migration through auditory distance, transforming voice into a primary medium of emotional connection across separation. Through direct address, agricultural imagery, and repeated references to personal memory, migration becomes an experience shaped through calling, waiting, and the hope of return. The narrator’s journey from Suphanburi to Bangkok conveys the persistence of attachment despite physical distance, while references to “roughened and darkened skin” evoke the exhaustion associated with travel, searching, and emotional endurance. Rather than presenting return solely as social restoration, the

song frames it as a desire to recover intimacy, familiarity, and shared rural life.

Images such as “rice fills the granary” (มีข้าวใส่ตู้, *mi khao sai yung*) frame the countryside as a place of cyclical continuity, sufficiency, and shared rural livelihood. The line evokes an agricultural rhythm in which labor, seasonality, and sustenance remain socially and temporally ordered. By reminding Riam that “when the time comes, the granary will be full,” the narrator emphasizes the reliability of rural life and the enduring availability of home. Bangkok, by contrast, is represented as a space of uncertainty and social distance associated with migratory movement and changing relationships. The contrast between these spaces therefore emerges less through explicit political opposition than through differing temporalities, emotional expectations, and conditions of belonging articulated within the song.

The narrator’s repeated calling of Riam’s name gives the song much of its emotional force. His voice functions simultaneously as remembrance, appeal, and imagined communication across migratory distance, transforming lyrical repetition into an auditory enactment of longing. In this way, “Klap Thoet Riam Cha” presents migration not simply as geographic separation, but as an ongoing condition of listening, memory, and emotional projection.

The song’s enduring popularity suggests the broader resonance of these experiences during Thailand’s period of rapid migration and urban transformation. Rather than portraying the countryside and the city as fixed opposites, the song reveals how mobility reshaped emotional life through distance, listening, and the persistent desire for connection across changing social worlds.

5.2. Flute, Longing, and Migratory Distance in “Siang Khlui Riak Nang”

By the mid-twentieth century, *khloi*, together with rice fields and buffalo imagery associated with wet-rice farming and agrarian labor, had become strongly linked to rural life in Thai popular media. From songs such as

Khang Khuen Doen Ngai (ข้างขึ้นเดือนหงาย, *On a Night of the Waxing Moon*, 1942) to films including *Santi-Vina* (1954), the flute frequently functioned as an auditory marker of rural sincerity, intimacy, and emotional vulnerability. “Siang Khlui Riak Nang” (เสียงขลุ่ยเรียกนาง, *Flute Melody Calling the Girl Back*) inherits and further develops this sonic language. Here, the flute operates not simply as a musical instrument, but as a mediated voice carrying longing across migratory distance. Its sound extends the emotional reach of the singer beyond physical separation, transforming listening itself into a form of emotional attachment.

Released in the late 1960s and recorded by Sonkhiri Sriprachuap, “Siang Khlui Riak Nang” stages migration and separation through an evocative rural soundscape centered on *khlui*. The song opens with flute melodies carried through the evening breeze alongside the sounds of insects and nighttime rural ambience, establishing a rural auditory environment shaped by separation, memory, and anticipation. Rather than narrating migration solely through lyrical content, the song renders emotional separation audible through environmental sound, musical texture, and imagined listening. The flute becomes a mediated voice directed toward a woman who has migrated from the district of Doem Bang Nang Buat (mentioned as Doem Bang), Suphanburi to Bangkok, transforming sound itself into an act of calling across distance.

Lyrics: “Siang Khlui Riak Nang” (เสียงขลุ่ยเรียกนาง, *Flute Melody Calling the Girl Back*) (1971)

Thai Lyrics

เสียงขลุ่ยครวญหวนนากับลม
ที่สะอื้นฝืนระทม กล้ากลืนฝืนขมใจ
เหงา

ขลุ่ยครวญที่หวนคะนึงถึงเจ้า
ฟังเสียงหิ่งห้อยที่ร้องเศร้าไม่วาย

English Translation

The flute’s lament drifts upon the wind;
I choke on sorrow and swallow the
loneliness I cannot suppress.

The flute moans, and I think only of
you;
the crickets’ cries intensify my
unending sadness.

Thai Lyrics

น้องจากนาหายหน้าจากจร
 ผู้กรุงเทพมหานคร ตัดรอนมิตอบ
 จดหมาย

ได้ข่าวดีเจ้ากว่าเทพีชาวไร่
 ลืมรักเก่าเราไว้ สิ้นเชื้อโหยลืมลง

โอ้เจ้ากลอยสาวน้อยบ้านนา
 จากดอกหญ้าไปเป็นคารสูงส่ง

ที่พลอยปลื้มถึงน้องจะลืมที่ลง
 อย่าเรียงหลง น้องอย่าเจ้าจงระวัง

หวิวไผ่ครางเคล้าลมอ่อนไออน
 ต้นตาลเดี่ยวสุดคิณยืนคั่น ตั้งคนสูญ
 ลืความหวัง

ขลุ่ยบรรเลง เจ้ารับฟังเพลงที่บ้าย
 กลอยเอ๋ยอย่าล้าร้าง หนุ่มเดิมบาง
 สุพรรณหลกคอย

English Translation

You left the fields and disappeared into
 Bangkok,
 cutting me off — not replying to a
 single letter.

I hear you've been crowned Farm
 Queen
 — leaving our old love behind,
 forgetting every tie between us.

Oh beloved, little village girl
 — from a meadow grass flower you've
 risen to become a high star.

I share in your pride, even if you've
 forgotten me
 — but do not be swept away,
 remember who you are, be careful.

The bamboo sighs with the soft wind; a
 lone palm strains to stand upright —
 like a man who has lost all hope.

My flute still plays — please listen to
 my song; oh beloved, do not abandon
 me — the man of Doem Bang,
 Suphanburi is still waiting.

Within this sonic framework, the lyrics imagine the woman transformed through urban visibility and mobility—crowned Farm Queen (เทพีชาวไร่, *thephi chao rai*) and elevated beyond the social horizons available in her rural hometown. The title itself suggests how rural identity, labor, and femininity become newly visible and culturally valued within urban modernity. The narrator expresses pride in her transformation (“from wildflower to high star”) while simultaneously recognizing the emotional distance created by migration and social mobility. His self-image as a lone palm tree bending against the wind renders separation audible through environmental and natural imagery, allowing loneliness and uncertainty to emerge through the surrounding rural soundscape.

Nostalgia in the song therefore emerges less as a desire to restore a fixed rural order than as an auditory condition shaped through memory, separation, and imagined hearing. The final plea—that she might still hear the flute and respond to its call—positions sound as a medium through which emotional attachment may persist despite migration and urban transformation. Bangkok thus appears not merely as a site of rupture, but as an urban center that draws rural people, labor, and aspiration into new social worlds while simultaneously reshaping emotional relationships across migratory distance.

5.3. Sonic Motifs of Return and Rural Memory

Taken together, the motifs shared across “Klap Thoet Riam Cha” and “Siang Khlui Riak Nang” construct a sonic landscape shaped by migration, memory, and rural attachment. Rice fields and granaries evoke not only agricultural life, but also rhythms of continuity, familiarity, and seasonal return associated with the countryside. Rather than functioning solely as economic symbols, these images situate longing within everyday rural environments shaped by labor, kinship, and repetition.

Natural soundscapes—including bamboo moving in the wind, crickets at dusk, and nighttime rural ambience—further intensify the songs’ atmosphere of distance and anticipation. These environmental sounds function not merely as background scenery, but as auditory textures through which migratory separation becomes emotionally perceptible. Within this soundscape, *khloi* becomes especially significant as a mediated voice of attachment. Its trembling tone carries emotional address across distance, transforming instrumental sound into an imagined form of communication between separated listeners. Table 1 summarizes the major sonic and symbolic motifs recurring across the two songs.

Table 1 Sonic and Emotional Motifs in Return-Migration *Luk Thung* Songs

Symbol / Motif	Meaning in Rural Life	Function in Song Narratives	Sonic / Emotional Function
Voice / Vocal Calling	Direct interpersonal communication and emotional expression	Calls across migratory distance	Mediates longing through imagined hearing and emotional address
<i>Khloi</i>	Rural musical instrument associated with agrarian life	Extends emotional communication across distance	Functions as a mediated voice of attachment
Rice fields	Agricultural continuity and seasonal rhythm	Signals attachment to rural life	Evokes memory, continuity, and place
Granary with rice	Familiarity and sustenance	Represents stability and rural continuity	Suggests security associated with home
Nature (bamboo wind, crickets, night air)	Environmental soundscape	Amplifies separation and anticipation	Creates emotional atmosphere surrounding migration
Darkened, rough skin	Physical traces of rural labor	Marks lived experience and endurance	Embodies migration's emotional weight
Suphanburi	Shared musical and	Functions as remembered homeplace	Acts as an auditory

Symbol / Motif	Meaning in Rural Life	Function in Song Narratives	Sonic / Emotional Function
	regional identity		marker of belonging

Other motifs identified in Table 1 similarly connect migration to embodied and localized experience. References to roughened or darkened skin emphasize the physical traces of agricultural labor and emotional endurance within conditions of mobility and separation. Suphanburi's recurring presence likewise reinforces the songs' auditory geography. As one of the most important cultural centers associated with early Central Thai *luk thung* music and singers such as Suraphon Sombatcharoen, the province functions as more than a geographic location. Within these songs, Suphanburi becomes an auditory marker of familiarity, regional musical memory, and rural belonging. As these voices circulated through radio broadcasts, vinyl recordings, and outdoor performances, the sound of Suphanburi became part of a broader migratory listening culture connecting rural memory with urban experience.

In this way, the songs construct migration less as a complete rupture between countryside and city than as an ongoing auditory relationship mediated through voice, environmental sound, musical texture, and remembered listening. Even amid urban transformation and geographic movement, rural attachment persists through sound.

6. Factory Labor, Intimacy, and Dual-Voiced Narratives

The rapid expansion of export-oriented manufacturing during the 1970s and 1980s significantly reshaped patterns of migration, labor, and everyday social life in Thailand. State-led industrial development, including the establishment of industrial estates from 1972 onward, concentrated textile and garment production in areas surrounding Bangkok (Sa-nguanpuag). Alongside the growth of tourism and other urban industries, these developments drew large numbers of young women from provincial regions—particularly northern Thailand and Isan—into urban-industrial environments in search of new economic opportunities (United Nations Thailand, 2019). As Mary Beth Mills

observes, the increasing movement of Thai women into urban labor systems also transformed expectations surrounding mobility, modernity, and personal identity.

Luk thung songs responded to these changing environments by exploring how intimacy, attachment, and emotional communication were mediated through migration and industrial life. Rather than depicting factory labor solely as economic experience, many songs situated romance, longing, and uncertainty within dormitories, letters, photographs, and forms of mediated communication shaped by distance and mobility. In this context, the *phleng kae* musical repertoire became especially significant as a dialogic musical form through which emotional exchange could unfold across alternating male and female vocal perspectives.

The song “Chanthana Thi Rak” (ฉันทนาคีร์ก, *My Beloved Chanthana*), recorded by Rakchat Sirichai in 1979, became one of the most recognizable musical representations of factory romance and migrant intimacy in late twentieth-century Thailand, to the extent that a given name “Chanthana” itself became a colloquial reference for female factory workers. Its paired reply song, “Chanthana Top Rak” (ฉันทนาคอบรัก, *Chanthana Replies to Love*), extends this narrative through a female vocal response shaped by hesitation, emotional distance, and mediated longing. Earlier discussions of the Chanthana duet have emphasized its relationship to gendered migration, affective labor, and working-class emotional formation during Thailand’s industrial transformation (Valyamedhi). Building on that foundation, the present analysis focuses more specifically on mediated intimacy, dialogic vocal exchange, and the sonic dimensions of *phleng kae* as forms of auditory negotiation across migratory distance. The following section examines how these dynamics unfold through the dialogic structure of the Chanthana duet. Rather than reproducing the full lyrics, the following discussion focuses on selected passages and vocal moments most relevant to mediated listening, dialogic exchange, and migratory intimacy within the *phleng kae* structure.

6.1. Dialogic Vocality and Mediated Intimacy in the Chanthana Duet

The *phleng kae* musical repertoire occupies a distinctive place within *luk thung* music by transforming solitary narration into dialogic musical exchange. One of the most influential examples is the pairing of “Chanthana Thi Rak” and “Chanthana Top Rak,” which emerged during Thailand’s rapid urban-industrial transformation in the late 1970s and 1980s.

The dialogic structure of the duet is particularly significant. The male voice initiates communication through letters, photographs, and recorded song, while the female reply transforms listening itself into a form of mediated vocal response shaped by hesitation and uncertainty. The *phleng kae* form allows intimacy to unfold through alternating vocal perspectives shaped by sound, memory, and imagined reception. Earlier discussions of the Chanthana duet have examined its relationship to gendered migration and emotional experiences associated with Thailand’s industrial transformation. Building on that foundation, the present analysis focuses more specifically on dialogic vocality, mediated listening, and auditory correspondence across migratory distance.

Recorded by Rakchat Sirichai in 1979, “Chanthana Thi Rak” became one of the best-known musical portrayals of factory romance in late twentieth-century Thailand. The song stages longing through letters, photographs, and imagined listening, transforming private affection into a relationship sustained through circulation rather than co-presence.

The song opens within a quiet nighttime domestic setting: “Turning off the light, latching the door — about to sleep, I think of your face.” This restrained atmosphere immediately establishes solitude and migratory separation, while the act of writing a letter before the beloved’s factory shift situates intimacy within the rhythms of industrial time. The textile factory appears not simply as a workplace, but as an environment reorganizing intimacy, communication, and everyday social relations through schedules, separation, and delayed correspondence.

Throughout the song, communication remains uncertain and indirect. The narrator repeatedly apologizes for his handwriting and limited education, describing himself as “a man of the wild countryside” (คนบ้านป่า, *khon ban pa*). In the present discussion, these expressions are approached more specifically as forms of hesitant emotional address

shaped by distance and imagined reception. The fragmented self-presentation and repeated apologies create a hesitant vocal presence shaped through distance, uncertainty, and imagined reception rather than direct interpersonal encounter.

Particularly significant is the exchange of photographs. The narrator sends a signed photograph as a New Year's gift while anxiously anticipating rejection: "If you despise it ... tear it and burn it." The photograph functions not merely as a romantic token, but as a material extension of presence capable of sustaining attachment despite physical separation. His request for a photograph in return transforms the relationship into a fragile visual and auditory correspondence shaped by anticipation, uncertainty, and imagined reciprocity.

The song's devotional language further intensifies this atmosphere of mediated longing. When the narrator promises to "treasure it like a sacred charm" (๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑, *ao wai bucha*), emotional attachment becomes intertwined with preservation, memory, and symbolic presence. Sound, photography, and lyrical repetition together sustain intimacy through circulation, anticipating the reciprocal vocal response later developed in "Chanthana Top Rak".

The reciprocal exchange initiated in "Chanthana Thi Rak" is expanded several years later in "Chanthana Top Rak", popularized by Phumphuang Duangchan in 1985. The reply song introduces a female vocal response shaped through hesitation, distance, and listening. As a *phleng kae* reply, the song transforms solitary longing into reciprocal vocal exchange, allowing emotional uncertainty to unfold through alternating perspectives rather than direct resolution.

Emotional exchange in the reply song unfolds within the auditory environment of the factory dormitory. The opening lines situate the singer in a space of waiting and listening: "In the dorm I wait, my heart drifting ... a love song softly echoes." Rather than beginning with direct confession, the song first establishes listening itself as the condition through which intimacy becomes possible. The female narrator hears the earlier love song from afar, transforming recorded sound into a mediated presence circulating through urban-industrial life.

Communication in the reply song likewise remains hesitant and incomplete. Chanthana repeatedly rereads the letter sent to her but remains uncertain about replying. In the present discussion, the focus falls more specifically on how hesitation, repetition, and delayed response shape the song's auditory structure of correspondence. Intimacy emerges through circulation: letters, photographs, remembered voices, and recorded songs become substitutes for direct presence.

The exchange of photographs continues to function as a fragile form of reciprocal attachment. Chanthana describes holding the signed photograph "dearly in my heart," while simultaneously fearing that her own image may become "bothersome clutter" to the beloved. These objects therefore sustain emotional connection through uncertainty and anticipation rather than stable romantic fulfillment.

Phumphuang Duangchan's vocal performance further intensifies this atmosphere of caution and distance. Her restrained delivery, softened melodic contours, and slight pauses in phrasing produce an auditory impression of hesitation rather than refusal. The emotional force of the song thus emerges not only through lyrical meaning, but through vocal timing, timbre, and the sensation of listening to a response formed gradually through uncertainty and separation.

Together, the Chanthana duet transforms migration into a dialogic sonic exchange sustained through letters, photographs, recorded voice, and imagined listening. Through the *phleng kae* structure, intimacy emerges through circulation, delayed response, and alternating vocal perspectives rather than physical reunion. In this way, *luk thung* music functions as a form of auditory correspondence through which mobility, longing, and emotional attachment become culturally audible within modern Thailand.

6.2. Dialogic Vocality, Gendered Listening, and the Sonic Archive

The Chanthana duet reveals how *phleng kae* structures emotional exchange through alternating male and female vocal perspectives. While both narrators participate in the same migratory and urban-industrial

environment, the songs articulate differing modes of longing, hesitation, and emotional address through contrasting vocal positions. Rather than presenting fixed gender oppositions, the duet constructs intimacy through dialogic exchange, delayed response, and imagined listening across distance.

The symbolic role of photographs and letters is central to this emotional correspondence. The pocket-sized portraits exchanged by the couple reflect a recognizable romantic practice shaped by migration, factory schedules, dormitory life, and prolonged separation. Letters and photographs become material substitutes for physical proximity, allowing attachment to circulate through anticipation, memory, and repeated acts of listening and rereading. Emotional intimacy therefore emerges not through direct co-presence, but through mediated forms of exchange sustained across migratory distance.

Although both singers participate in the same emotional relationship, the duet organizes longing through contrasting vocal orientations. The male voice repeatedly initiates communication through calling, apology, and devotional self-presentation, while the female voice responds through hesitation, delayed reply, and emotional restraint shaped by listening. These contrasting modes of address structure the dialogic movement of the duet itself.

Table 2 Contrasting Modes of Vocal Address in the Chanthana Duet

Male Vocal Perspective	Female Vocal Perspective
Fear of emotional distance and separation	Hesitation toward emotional reciprocity
Devotional vocal address through letters and photographs	Cautious emotional response through delayed communication

Male Vocal Perspective	Female Vocal Perspective
Longing expressed through repeated calling and self-effacing language	Emotional restraint articulated through listening and uncertainty
Rural attachment voiced through memory and anticipation	Urban emotional negotiation shaped through dormitory listening and mediated exchange

These contrasting vocal positions do not produce absolute oppositions between countryside and city, masculinity and femininity, or tradition and modernity. Instead, the songs sustain intimacy through alternating acts of emotional response shaped by migratory separation and industrial time. Their relationship survives not in shared physical space, but through circulation, delayed communication, and imagined listening across distance.

The sonic structure of *phleng kae* musical repertoire is equally vital to this process of auditory exchange. Beyond lyrical dialogue, vocal delivery and melodic phrasing shape how intimacy, hesitation, and emotional distance are experienced through sound. Unlike the earlier male-voiced song “Siang Khlui Riak Nang,” which employed the bamboo flute as a sonic marker of rural longing, the Chanthana duet situates the migrant subject within the auditory environment of urban-industrial life. The alternating voices of the duet create an auditory structure in which waiting, listening, and delayed response become central emotional conditions of migration.

In this way, the Chanthana songs expand *luk thung* music beyond solitary lament into dialogic sonic correspondence. Emotional attachment is sustained not through physical reunion, but through circulation, repetition, and reciprocal acts of vocal listening. The *phleng kae* form therefore allows migration, intimacy, and emotional uncertainty to become culturally audible through sound itself.

7. Voice, Sound, and the Sonic Archive

The preceding analyses demonstrate that *luk thung* songs preserve migratory experience not only through lyrical narration, but also through vocal texture, listening practices, and auditory memory. Across songs of migratory longing and factory romance, emotional attachment is sustained through repeated acts of hearing, delayed correspondence, and familiar sonic presence. In this way, *luk thung* music functions as a “sonic archive” (Ochoa Gautier), preserving experiences of mobility, longing, and social transformation through auditory circulation and listening.

Vocal delivery in *luk thung* music therefore carries emotional and cultural meaning beyond lyrical content alone. Regional pronunciation, nasal timbre, and restrained melodic phrasing preserve audible traces of locality and familiarity even within urban-industrial settings. Unlike highly standardized urban vocal aesthetics associated with elite and cosmopolitan musical traditions in Bangkok (Swangviboonpong), *luk thung* singers frequently retain distinctive vocal textures associated with provincial listening cultures. Sound thus becomes a medium through which migratory experience remains emotionally legible across displacement, allowing listeners to sustain continuity with remembered places, relationships, and forms of belonging. These qualities become especially significant when attached to singers whose voices themselves become culturally familiar across migratory listening networks.

The importance of voice and vocal presence is already central to earlier songs such as “Klap Thoet Riam Cha,” in which emotional attachment is sustained through direct vocal calling across migratory distance. In the Chanthana duet, however, vocality becomes even more closely tied to the cultural authority of the singer herself through the performance of Phumphuang Duangchan (1961–1992), widely celebrated as the “Queen of Luk Thung” (ราชินีลูกทุ่ง). Her highly identifiable vocal style—shaped through regional accent, emotional restraint, and oral musicianship—foregrounded voice as a source of artistic identity and emotional communication. Phumphuang was illiterate and became especially known for performing through memorization rather than written notation, relying on listening and vocal memory during recording

sessions (Phumsap). Her rise to national prominence therefore demonstrates how vocal skill, auditory memory, and identifiable vocal presence could become forms of cultural authority without dependence upon textual literacy. The Chanthana duet therefore reinforces the role of voice in making migration, emotional attachment, and social recognition culturally audible within *luk thung* music.

Earlier male-voiced songs such as “Siang Khlui Riak Nang” similarly construct migratory memory through instrumental sound. Although *khloi* historically formed part of Thai court ensembles such as *mahori* and *khrueng sai*, twentieth-century popular media increasingly repositioned the instrument within representations of rural and peasant life. In songs, films, and popular visual culture, *khloi* frequently appeared as the solitary instrument played by rural men, gradually becoming an auditory marker of agrarian masculinity, sincerity, and countryside life. Within “Siang Khlui Riak Nang,” *khloi* therefore functions as a mediated voice carrying longing and rural attachment across migratory distance. In contrast, the Chanthana duet shifts this sonic archive toward vocal correspondence itself, transforming letters, recorded songs, and reciprocal listening into forms of emotional continuity sustained through circulation and delayed response.

Through these differing sonic strategies, *luk thung* music preserves the emotional textures of migration within modern Thailand. Rather than depending solely on narrative representation, the genre embeds memory, attachment, and social experience directly into vocal timbre, instrumental sound, and practices of listening. The sonic archive of *luk thung* therefore emerges not as a static record of rural nostalgia, but as an ongoing auditory process through which migrants sustain continuity with their relationships, memories, and histories through shared practices of listening and vocal remembrance.

8. Conclusion

Luk thung music has long mediated the emotional realities of migration within modern Thailand. As industrial expansion and urbanization reshaped patterns of labor, mobility, and everyday life during the second half of the twentieth century, the genre emerged as an important auditory

medium through which migrants negotiated distance, attachment, uncertainty, and continuity. The preceding analyses demonstrate that *luk thung* songs preserve experiences of mobility not only through lyrical narration, but also through voice, listening practices, and emotional correspondence. Migration in this context becomes culturally audible through recorded voice, sonic memory, and the circulation of songs across geographic separation.

The earlier male-voiced songs examined in this study transform rural sound into an auditory structure of memory and longing. In “Siang Khlui Riak Nang” and “Klap Thoet Riam Cha,” *khlui*, nighttime rural soundscapes, and agricultural imagery create emotional associations between sound, locality, and rural attachment. These songs frame migratory separation not only as physical distance, but as a condition heard through calling, waiting, and remembered voice. The countryside therefore persists not simply as a geographic location, but as an auditory environment sustained through musical repetition, vocal address, and listening.

The Chanthana duet further expands this sonic world by transforming intimacy into dialogic correspondence structured through the *phleng kae* musical repertoire. Rather than presenting romance through direct encounter, “Chanthana Thi Rak” and “Chanthana Top Rak” construct emotional exchange through letters, photographs, delayed response, and imagined hearing across urban-industrial distance. The alternating male and female voices create a reciprocal auditory structure in which longing unfolds through circulation and response rather than physical reunion. In this way, the duet demonstrates how migration reshapes intimacy through mediated forms of communication and auditory exchange.

The importance of voice becomes especially visible in the performance of Phumphuang Duangchan (1961–1992), whose interpretation of “Chanthana Top Rak” foregrounds the relationship between oral musicianship, vocal memory, and auditory transmission. Her highly identifiable vocal delivery, shaped through regional accent, nasal timbre, and memorized performance practice, illustrates how emotional authority in *luk thung* music emerges through embodied listening and

recognizable vocal presence. Phumphuang was illiterate and became widely known for relying on memorization rather than written notation during recording sessions. Her performance practice therefore further reinforces the role of oral transmission and vocal memory within the genre's listening culture. Through such performances, vocal texture itself becomes a medium through which experiences of mobility remain emotionally recognizable.

Taken together, these songs demonstrate how *luk thung* music functions as a "sonic archive" (Ochoa Gautier) that preserves the emotional textures of migration through vocal and musical forms. This archive is not a static repository of rural nostalgia, but an ongoing auditory process through which mobility, memory, and social transformation continue to circulate across changing historical conditions. Vocal timbre, regional pronunciation, instrumental sound, and dialogic song structures allow migrants to remain culturally audible to themselves and others even amid displacement and urban transformation.

This study therefore contributes to scholarship on Thai popular music by foregrounding voice, instrumental sound, and sonic correspondence as central dimensions of migratory experience. It demonstrates how migration in modern Thailand became culturally mediated not only through mobility and labor, but also through recognizable vocal forms, instrumental symbolism, and practices of auditory remembrance. Future research may further explore how radio broadcasting, cassette circulation, and evolving vocal aesthetics shaped migratory listening cultures across different generations of *luk thung* performers and audiences. Such approaches may also contribute more broadly to the study of sound, mobility, and popular music within Southeast Asian modernity.

Beyond its contribution to Thai popular music studies, this article also contributes to language and linguistic-cultural research by foregrounding voice, dialogic exchange, and auditory mediation as central dimensions of migratory experience. The analyses demonstrate how emotional meaning is communicated not only through lyrical content, but also through regional pronunciation, vocal timing, oral performance practices, and forms of mediated correspondence structured through

phleng kae songs. In this sense, *luk thung* music operates as a linguistic-cultural practice in which communication, memory, and social attachment are sustained through voice, repetition, and sonic recognition across migratory distance. The study therefore highlights how language, sound, and musical performance intersect within broader processes of mobility and modernity in Thailand.

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流動、遷徙與認同： 德國與臺灣移民文學獎之比較研究

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摘要

本論文旨在探討德國與臺灣文學獎項體系中「移動性」(Mobilität)、「移民」(Migration)與「認同」(Identität)之間的互動關係及其文化意涵。以「夏米索獎」(Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis, 1985–2017)與「臺灣移民工文學獎」(Taiwan' s Migrant Literature Awards, 2014–2020, 2023–)為主要研究對象，本文將分析文學獎項作為文化制度的重要實踐場域，如何透過制度化的評選機制，將社會差異轉化為可被承認與再現的文化資源。兩者皆展現了不同的場域運作邏輯：夏米索獎透過制度化運作，使德語移民書寫逐步納入跨國文學典範 (transnationaler Literaturkanon)；而在臺灣，由公民社會與政府協力推動的移民工文學獎，則為東南亞移民與新住民書寫者提供公共發聲平台。在理論層面上，本研究嘗試從文學社會學(Bourdieu 1987)出發，結合跨文化性(Welsch 2000)與異語書寫(Tawada 2003)等理論觀點，探討文學獎項在評選、命名與制度發展的過程中，如何形塑一個特定的文化場域。本文並以 2001 年夏米索獎得主弗拉迪米爾·腓特利 (Vladimir Vertlib) 之自傳體小說《站間》(*Zwischenstationen*, 1999)，以及 2015 年臺灣移民工文學獎得主丁氏領 (Đinh Thị Linh) 之散文〈他鄉之夢〉(*Der Traum in der Fremde*, 2015) 為例，本文分析文本如何書寫流動經驗、遷徙記憶與身份認同，並進一步探討三者之間的生成關係：流動構成遷徙的社會與敘事條件，遷徙則促成認同的敘事張力，而認同又在制度分類與跨文化書寫的互動過程中持續被重構。由此可見，移民文學獎不僅是象徵性機制，更是一項作家們參與認同的社會實踐。因此流動、遷徙與認同形成一種場域內部相互生成的動態循環，而非線性發展過程。

關鍵詞：移動性、移民、認同、夏米索獎、臺灣移民工文學獎

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Mobility, Migration, and Identity: A Comparative Study of Migration Literature Awards in Germany and Taiwan

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Abstract

This study examines the interrelations between mobility, migration, and identity within the institutional framework of literary prize culture in Germany and Taiwan. It focuses on the Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis (1985–2017) and the Taiwan Migrant Literature Awards (2014–2020; relaunched in 2023). Literary prizes are understood here not merely as distinctions, but as cultural institutions that shape processes of recognition and belonging. While the Chamisso-Prize gradually integrated migrant writing into a transnational literary canon, the Taiwanese prize, supported by civil society initiatives and state funding, has created a multilingual public sphere for Southeast Asian migrants in Taiwan.

Theoretically, this study draws on Pierre Bourdieu's field theory (1987) in combination with concepts of transculturality (Welsch 2000) and exophony (Tawada 2003). Mobility is conceived both as geographical movement and as a shift in position within the literary field; migration is understood as both a social reality and a narratively constructed experience; identity emerges in the tension between institutional ascription and literary self-positioning. Through close readings of Vladimir Vertlib's *Zwischenstationen* (1999; Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis 2001) and Đinh Thị Lĩnh's essay *Der Traum in der Fremde* (2015; Taiwan Migrant Literature Awards), this article seeks to demonstrate how texts narrate and interconnect mobility, memories of migration, and identity: mobility provides the condition for migration, migration generates identity conflicts, and identity is continually renegotiated through the interplay of institutional categorization and transcultural writing. Literary prizes for

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migrants thus function not only as symbolic distinctions, but also as sites where authors actively engage with questions of belonging. Mobility, migration, and identity therefore constitute not a linear sequence, but a dynamic interplay within the literary field.

Key Words: Migration, Mobility, Identity, Adelbert von Chamisso Prize, Taiwan Literature Award for Migrants

Mobilität, Migration und Identität: Eine vergleichende Analyse der Migrationsliteraturpreise in Deutschland und Taiwan

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Abstract

Der vorliegende Beitrag untersucht die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Mobilität, Migration und Identität im institutionellen Rahmen literarischer Preisvergabe in Deutschland und Taiwan. Im Zentrum stehen der Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis (1985–2017) sowie die Taiwan's Migrant Literature Awards (2014–2020, seit 2023 erneut vergeben). Literaturpreise werden dabei nicht lediglich als Auszeichnungen, sondern als kulturelle Institutionen verstanden. Während der Chamisso-Preis migrantische Schreibweisen schrittweise in einen transnationalen Literaturkanon integrierte, eröffnete der taiwanische Preis, getragen von zivilgesellschaftlichen Initiativen und staatlicher Förderung, einen mehrsprachigen öffentlichen Raum für südostasiatische Migranten Taiwans.

Theoretisch stützt sich dieser Beitrag auf Bourdieus Feldtheorie (1987) und verbindet diese mit Konzepten der Transkulturalität (Welsch 2000) sowie der Exophonie (Tawada 2003). Mobilität wird dabei sowohl als geografische Bewegung wie auch als Positionsverschiebung im literarischen Feld begriffen; Migration erscheint als soziale Realität und zugleich als narrativ konstruierte Erfahrung; Identität schließlich entsteht im Spannungsfeld zwischen institutioneller Zuschreibung und literarischer Selbstpositionierung. Anhand von Vladimir Vertlib's *Zwischenstationen* (1999; Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis 2001) und Đinh Thị Lĩnh's Essay *Der Traum in der Fremde* (2015; Taiwan's Migrant Literature Awards) wird gezeigt, wie Texte Mobilität,

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Migrationserinnerungen und Identität erzählen und miteinander verknüpfen: Mobilität schafft die Voraussetzung für Migration, Migration erzeugt Identitätskonflikte, und Identität wird im Zusammenspiel von institutioneller Einordnung und transkulturellem Schreiben immer wieder neu ausgehandelt. Literaturpreise für Migranten sind daher nicht nur symbolische Auszeichnungen, sondern Orte, an denen Autorinnen und Autoren aktiv an Fragen der Zugehörigkeit mitwirken. Mobilität, Migration und Identität bilden somit keinen linearen Ablauf, sondern eine dynamische Wechselbeziehung innerhalb des literarischen Feldes.

Schlagwörter: Migration, Mobilität, Identität, Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis, Taiwan Literature Award for Migrants

1. Einleitung

Migration ist zu einem der zentralen kulturellen und literarischen Phänomene der Gegenwartsliteratur geworden. Mobilität, verstanden als räumliche, sprachliche und soziale Bewegung, prägt nicht nur Lebensgeschichten, sondern auch Schreibweisen und Prozesse literarischer Kanonisierung. Literatur entsteht heute in Transit-Zonen, an Schnittstellen zwischen Sprachen und Kulturen.

Mobilität ist im vorliegenden Beitrag jedoch nicht ausschließlich als physische Bewegung über territoriale Grenzen zu verstehen. In Anlehnung an Pierre Bourdieu kann Mobilität auch als Positionsverschiebung im literarischen Feld begriffen werden – als Übergang zwischen Peripherie und Zentrum, zwischen symbolischem Ausschluss und institutioneller Anerkennung. Mobilität bezeichnet somit sowohl geographische als auch soziale und sprachliche Beweglichkeit. Literarische Preise fungieren dabei als Katalysatoren symbolischer Mobilität, indem sie Autor:innen aus marginalisierten Positionen in institutionell legitimierte Räume überführen.

Migration wird hier nicht als einmaliges Ereignis, sondern als andauernder Prozess der Aushandlung von Zugehörigkeit verstanden. Während frühe Diskurse Migration häufig als Defizitmodell behandelten, lässt sich Migration im Sinne transkultureller Theorie als produktiver Zustand kultureller Verflechtung beschreiben (Welsch 2000). Migration erzeugt hybride Räume, in denen Identität nicht fixiert, sondern permanent neu konfiguriert wird.

Identität erscheint dementsprechend nicht als stabile Essenz, sondern als performative Konstruktion im Spannungsfeld von Sprache, Institution und Rezeption. Im literarischen Feld wird Identität nicht nur narrativ erzeugt, sondern institutionell bestätigt oder begrenzt. Preise fungieren daher als Instanzen symbolischer Identitätszuschreibung: Sie ermöglichen Sichtbarkeit, strukturieren jedoch zugleich die Kategorien, innerhalb derer „Migration“ literarisch anerkannt wird.

Seit den 1980er Jahren hat sich im deutschsprachigen Raum ein eigenständiger Diskurs über Migrationsliteratur herausgebildet, der in Deutschland wesentlich durch den Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis geprägt wurde. Der Preis schuf einen symbolischen Raum, in dem Autoren

nichtdeutscher Muttersprache als Teil der deutschen Literatur anerkannt wurden. Diese institutionelle Rahmung trug dazu bei, kulturelle Diversität sichtbar zu machen, setzte ihr jedoch zugleich normative Grenzen.

Parallel dazu entwickelte sich in Taiwan seit den 2000er Jahren ein neuer literarischer Diskurs über Migration und Zugehörigkeit. Die Arbeitsmigration aus Südostasien, transnationale Ehen und die zunehmende Globalisierung führten zu einer Diversifizierung der Gesellschaft. Zivilgesellschaftliche wie auch staatliche Akteure, darunter der Taiwan Literature Award for Migrants (seit 2014), setzten sich zunehmend für die Unterstützung migrantischer Schreibweisen ein und trugen damit zur Neubestimmung des Verständnisses taiwanischen Literatur bei.

Ziel dieser Untersuchung ist es, beide Entwicklungen vergleichend zu betrachten. Im Zentrum stehen folgende Fragen: Wie verändern literarische Preise die Repräsentation von Migration? Welche sozialen und symbolischen Mechanismen wirken in der Institutionalisierung von „fremden Stimmen“? Wie lässt sich aus komparativer Perspektive ein transkulturelles Literaturverständnis ableiten?

Methodisch stützt sich die Untersuchung auf Pierre Bourdieus Konzept des literarischen Feldes (1987), auf Wolfgang Welschs Theorie der Transkulturalität (2000) sowie auf Yoko Tawadas Reflexionen zur Exophonie (2003). Yoko Tawadas Konzept der Exophonie bezeichnet das Schreiben außerhalb der eigenen Muttersprache nicht als Verlust, sondern als ästhetische und epistemologische Chance. Exophonie bedeutet für Tawada eine bewusste Distanzierung von den impliziten Bedeutungsstrukturen der Muttersprache. In der Fremdsprache gewinnen Wörter ihre Materialität zurück – ihre visuelle und akustische Dimension tritt hervor. Tawada versteht exophones Schreiben als eine Form permanenter Selbstübersetzung – als „Übersetzung ohne Original“. Identität erscheint hier nicht als Zwischenposition zwischen zwei Sprachen, sondern als kontinuierlicher Prozess sprachlicher Bewegung. Exophonie destabilisiert die Vorstellung, Sprache sei an nationale Identität gebunden. Gerade hier zeigt sich jedoch eine Differenz zu den taiwanischen Literaturpreisen, in denen Übersetzung häufig institutionelle Voraussetzung und nicht poetologisches Experiment ist.

Für den Chamisso-Diskurs bedeutet dies eine Verschiebung:

Migration wird nicht mehr primär biographisch definiert, sondern poetologisch. Exophonie stellt damit die Kategorie „Migrationsliteratur“ selbst infrage. Dieser Beitrag gliedert sich in drei Hauptteile: Im ersten Abschnitt werden die Entstehung, Entwicklung und Wirkung des *Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preises* in Deutschland untersucht. Der zweite Teil beschreibt den Aufbau des literarischen Feldes der Migrantenliteratur in Taiwan. Im dritten Abschnitt werden beide Perspektiven in einer vergleichenden Reflexion zusammengeführt. Durch diese komparatistische Perspektive wird Migration als literarische, institutionelle und erkenntnistheoretische Kategorie erfahrbar – als Medium kultureller Selbstreflexion und Neukonfiguration.

2. Transkulturelle Mobilität und literarische Identitätsbildung: Der *Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis* im Kontext der deutschen Migrationsliteratur

Die Gründung des *Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preises* 1985 markiert einen Wendepunkt im deutschsprachigen Literaturbetrieb. Getragen von der Robert Bosch Stiftung und initiiert durch Harald Weinrich, sollte der Preis „bedeutende Beiträge zur deutschen Literatur von Autoren nichtdeutscher Muttersprache“ auszeichnen (Esselborn 2004: 317). In einer Zeit, in der die Bundesrepublik noch nicht als Einwanderungsland galt, stellte diese Initiative einen kulturpolitischen Paradigmenwechsel dar: das Fremde als konstitutiven Teil der deutschen Kultur zu begreifen.

In den 1970er Jahren hatten Autoren wie Aras Ören, Rafik Schami oder Franco Biondi¹ die Erfahrungen von Arbeitsmigration literarisch thematisiert. Ihre Texte, zunächst als „Gastarbeiterliteratur“ zugeordnet, verbanden dokumentarische und poetische Elemente und etablierten einen Diskurs der Betroffenheit. Der Chamisso-Preis erhob diese Literatur erstmals in den Kanon und verlieh ihr institutionelle Anerkennung.

¹ Sievers, Wiebke und Vlasta, Sandra. “From the Exclusion of Individual Authors to the Transnationalisation of the Literary Field: Immigrant and Ethnic-Minority Writing in Germany.” Sievers, W. und Vlasta, S. (ed.) . *Immigrant and Ethnic-Minority Writers since 1945. Fourteen National Contexts in Europe and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill/Rodopi, 2018. pp. 219–258.

2.1 Migration als transkulturelle Spannung und Identitätsstrategie

Die Robert Bosch Stiftung verstand den Preis als Beitrag zur „Völkerverständigung“ (Esselborn 2004: 317). Der doppelte Anspruch – literarische Qualität und soziale Integration – prägte von Beginn an seine Programmatik. Wie Ackermann (1983, 253)² hervorhebt, verband der Preis Förderung mit Integration, was sowohl literarische als auch politische Spannungen erzeugte.

Diese Ambivalenz zeigt sich in den Auswahlkriterien. Ausgezeichnet werden sollten Werke, die in deutscher Sprache verfasst oder eng mit ihr verbunden waren. Damit wurde Deutsch zur Sprache der Legitimation – zum Medium kultureller Zugehörigkeit. Gleichzeitig entstand die Frage, ob Autoren damit auf eine Berufsrolle als Fremde festgelegt wurden (Mora u. a. 2005, 26).

Zu den Preisträgern gehörten Autorinnen und Autoren wie Aras Ören, Libuše Moníková, Yoko Tawada oder Ilija Trojanow. An ihnen lässt sich gut beobachten, wie sich die Migrationsliteratur im Laufe der Zeit verändert hat. Anfangs standen oft sozialdokumentarische Erfahrungen im Vordergrund – also konkrete Erlebnisse von Migration und Ausgrenzung. Später wurde das Schreiben stärker literarisch und selbstreflexiv. Ein wichtiger Impuls kam von Yoko Tawada mit ihrem Begriff der „Exophonie“³. Damit meint sie das Schreiben in einer Sprache, die nicht die eigene Muttersprache ist. Dieser Begriff wurde in der späteren Chamisso-Debatte (Tawada 2003)⁴ sehr wichtig. Denn er verschob den

² Ackermann (1983: 253) plädiert im Rahmen des von der IDF initiierten Projekts zur Förderung der Ausländerliteratur für die Einrichtung eines „Literaturpreises für deutschsprachige Literatur von Ausländern“. Ziel sei es, die „Ausländerkultur“ unter den Deutschen zu fördern und „Ausländerautoren“ in den deutschen Literaturraum einzubeziehen. Irmgard Ackermann. *In zwei Sprachen leben: Berichte, Erzählungen, Gedichte von Ausländern*. dtv Verlagsgesellschaft, München, pp. 247-257.

³ Simone Fuchslueger. „Die 逃走 aus der 母語 – Flucht aus der Muttersprache: Auf den Spuren der Mehrsprachigkeit im Streben nach Freiheit bei Tawada Yōko.“ *Minikomi. Austrian Journal of Japanese Studies*. Nr. 87, 2018, pp. 11-23.

⁴ Tawada Yoko, ebenfalls Trägerin des Chamisso-Preises, schreibt 2003 in ihrem Essay über „Exophonie“, dass Migranteliteratur in Japan noch nicht als eigene Gattung anerkannt sei. Zwar gebe es viele Autoren mit chinesischen oder

Fokus: Migrationsliteratur wurde nicht mehr nur als Ausdruck biografischer Erfahrung verstanden, sondern als bewusster Umgang mit Sprache – als ein Schreiben, das Distanz zur eigenen sprachlichen Herkunft schafft und gerade daraus seine literarische Kraft gewinnt.

Migration erscheint im Kontext literarischer Institutionalisierung als eine Form transkulturelle Spannung. Mit transkultureller Spannung ist hier nicht bloß ein Nebeneinander widersprüchlicher Erwartungen gemeint, sondern ein strukturelles Spannungsverhältnis: Einerseits sollen Autoren mit migrantischem Hintergrund literarische Qualität unter Beweis stellen, andererseits wird von ihnen erwartet, dass sie soziale Integrationsprozesse repräsentieren. Diese doppelte Erwartung erzeugt eine paradoxe Positionierung im literarischen Feld.

Im Sinne Bourdieus kann man sagen: Hier geht es um eine besondere Form von Mobilität. Die Autoren bewegen sich nicht nur geografisch zwischen Ländern, sondern auch innerhalb des literarischen Feldes. Sie verändern ihre Position, vom Rand in Richtung Zentrum. Dabei wird ihre Identität nicht einfach aus ihrer Biografie abgeleitet. Sie wird vielmehr durch Institutionen mitgeprägt. Der Chamisso-Preis spielt dabei eine wichtige Rolle. Er verschafft Anerkennung, aber er definiert zugleich, unter welcher Kategorie diese Autoren wahrgenommen werden. Identität erscheint hier also nicht als etwas Festes, sondern als etwas, das im literarischen und institutionellen Kontext immer wieder neu zugeschrieben und ausgehandelt wird.

2.2 Institutionelle Mobilität und die Kanonisierung der Migrationsliteratur

Mit der institutionellen Einbindung des Preises in die Bayerische Akademie der Schönen Künste wurde die Migrationsliteratur im deutschen Literaturbetrieb dauerhaft verankert. Lesereihen, Schulprogramme und Publikationen verbreiteten das Bewusstsein für eine Literatur aus der Fremde und in der Fremde (Weigel 1992). Nach Bourdieu (1987) ist das literarische Feld ein Netzwerk von Beziehungen, in dem Anerkennung

koreanischen Wurzeln, doch zählten sie zum Mainstream der japanischsprachigen Literatur und könnten daher nicht als „Minderheiten“ bezeichnet werden. Keiko Hamazaki. „Ende oder Neuanfang? Zum Ende des Chamisso-Preises“. *Zeitschrift für Germanistik*, 123, 2019, pp. 592-610.

verteilt wird. Literaturpreise spielen dabei eine Schlüsselrolle: Sie tragen dazu bei, wer gehört wird – und welche Bücher als bedeutend gelten. Der Chamisso-Preis ermöglichte eine besondere Form von Aufstieg im literarischen Betrieb: Autorinnen und Autoren konnten von einer eher randständigen Position stärker ins Zentrum rücken. Gleichzeitig entstand aber auch ein eigener Bereich, in dem „Migrationsliteratur“ als spezielle Kategorie geführt wurde. Es gab also eine doppelte Bewegung: Einerseits Integration und größere Sichtbarkeit, andererseits eine gewisse Abgrenzung. Genau in dieser Spannung zwischen Anerkennung und Markierung liegt die strukturelle Ambivalenz des Preises.

René Kegelmann (Kegelmann 2010: 13) beschreibt den Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis als ambivalent. Einerseits war er ein wichtiger Türöffner. Viele Autorinnen und Autoren mit Migrantischem Hintergrund wurden durch den Preis erstmals im deutschen Literaturbetrieb sichtbar. Sie bekamen Aufmerksamkeit, Rezensionen und bessere Publikationschancen. Andererseits brachte der Preis auch ein Etikett mit sich. Da er ausdrücklich „Autoren nichtdeutscher Muttersprache“ auszeichnete, wurden ihre Werke häufig zuerst als Migrationsliteratur gelesen. Das heißt: Die Herkunft stand im Vordergrund, nicht unbedingt die literarische Form oder Ästhetik. So entstand innerhalb der deutschen Literatur ein eigenes Teilfeld. Das „Fremde“ war nun nicht mehr ausgeschlossen, aber es blieb als besondere Kategorie markiert. Genau darin liegt die paradoxe Situation: Die Integration der „Anderen“ setzte weiterhin ein „Eigenes“ voraus, an dem sie gemessen wurden. Der Preis ermöglichte Anerkennung – bestätigte aber zugleich die bestehenden literarischen Normen.

In den 1990er Jahren verschob sich der Diskurs von „Gastarbeiterliteratur“ zu „interkultureller Literatur“. Die zweite und dritte Generation, z.B. Zafer Şenocak und Feridun Zaimoğlu,⁵ löste sich vom Integrationsparadigma und thematisierte Hybridität, Jugendsprache und kulturelle Zwischenräume. Zaimoğlus „Kanak Sprak“ (1995)⁶ formulierte eine Selbstbestimmung gegen die Anpassungsanforderung. Der

⁵ Nikolina Rosić. Deutsch- türkische Literatur: Emine Sevgi Özdamar und Feridun Zaimoglu. Diplomarbeit. Universität Wien, 2010. <https://files.core.ac.uk/download/11591580.pdf>.

⁶ Feridun Zaimoglu. *Kanak Sprak*. Rotbuch, Hamburg 1995.

nachfolgende Diskurs über „postmigrantische Literatur“ (Hamazaki 2019) spiegelt die Transformation des deutschen Selbstverständnisses wider. Als die Robert Bosch Stiftung 2016 die Einstellung des Preises mit der Begründung verkündete, die Integration sei „vollendet“, entfachte sich eine breite Debatte über die Frage, ob Migrationsliteratur noch eine Sonderkategorie sein sollte. Viele Preisträger kritisierten dies als verfrüht (Trojanow/Oliver 2016).⁷ 2017 wurde der *Chamisso-Preis* zum letzten Mal vergeben. Der Nachfolgepreis „Chamisso-Preis / Hellerau“ (seit 2018) knüpft an die Tradition des ehemaligen *Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preises* an und transformiert dessen kulturpolitisches Erbe, indem Migration nicht länger als Randphänomen, sondern als integraler Bestandteil literarischer Produktion und gesellschaftlicher Realität verstanden wird. Damit verlagert sich der Fokus von Integration auf Transkulturalität (Richter 2017: 432).⁸ Das Deutsche fungiert zunehmend als Kontakt- und Vermittlungssprache innerhalb einer transkulturell geprägten, pluralen Literaturlandschaft.

3. Taiwan: Entstehung und Kanonisierung der Migranteliteratur

Seit der Aufhebung des Kriegsrechts 1987 hat sich Taiwan von einem autoritären Nationalstaat zu einer pluralistischen Demokratie entwickelt. Dieser Transformationsprozess ging mit einer tiefgreifenden Neustrukturierung der Gesellschaft einher. Die Globalisierung und die Liberalisierung des Arbeitsmarktes führten dazu, dass mehr als eine halbe Million Arbeitsmigranten aus Vietnam, Indonesien, den Philippinen und Thailand nach Taiwan kamen (Zhang Zhixin 2020).⁹ Zusätzlich lebten

⁷ Stefan Kister. „Chamisso-Preis wird eingestellt. Klassenziel erreicht – ohne Auszeichnung“. *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 20.9.2016. <https://reurl.cc/oKgmZQ>

⁸ Sandra Richter (2017) beschreibt in ihrer *Weltgeschichte der deutschsprachigen Literatur* die Wechselwirkungen zwischen deutscher und internationaler Literatur. Im Kapitel „Nach 1989“ zeigt sie, wie sich interkulturelle, transnationale und mehrsprachige Schreibweisen im Literaturbetrieb etabliert haben. Sandra Richter. *Eine Weltgeschichte der deutschsprachigen Literatur*. München, C. Bertelsmann, 2017, pp. 431-466.

⁹張鄧忻(Zhang Zhixin) : 《重寫與對話：台灣新移民書寫之研究 (2004-2015) 》 (*Rewriting and Dialogue. A Study on New Immigrant Writing in Taiwan 2004/2015*) ·台北·國立國父紀念館·2020年·

Hunderttausende „New Immigrant“¹⁰ aus transnationalen Ehen auf der Insel.¹¹

Diese Zuwanderung veränderte die ethnisch-sprachliche Struktur Taiwans grundlegend. Während das Mandarin in der Nachkriegszeit als einzige Bildungs- und Literatursprache dominierte, entstand nun ein mehrsprachiges, transkulturelles Alltagsleben. Dennoch blieben migrantische Stimmen lange aus dem literarischen Diskurs ausgeschlossen. Wie Song Jiayu (2016)¹² festhält, konzentrierte sich die taiwanische Literaturgeschichte auf die vier „Hauptgruppen“ – Hoklo, Hakka, Indigene und Festlandchinesen – während südostasiatische Schriftsteller weitgehend unsichtbar blieben.

Die Frage, wie Migrant*innen ihre Erfahrungen literarisch artikulieren, wurde erst im 21. Jahrhundert systematisch in den Blick genommen. Dabei zeigt sich eine parallele Bewegung zur deutschen Entwicklung: Erst gesellschaftliche Pluralisierung ermöglicht literarische Anerkennung. Während in Deutschland sprachliche Aneignung als Medium der Integration fungierte, bildete in Taiwan die Praxis der Übersetzung die entscheidende Voraussetzung kultureller Sichtbarkeit.

3.1 Von der Zeitung zum Preis: Mediale Räume migrantischer Mobilität und Artikulation

Einen Wendepunkt stellte die Gründung der mehrsprachigen Zeitung *Si Fang Bao* (四方報 / The Four Way Voice)¹³ im Jahr 2006 dar, die von Arbeitern mit Migrantischem Hintergrund herausgegeben wurde und

¹⁰ 中華民國內政部移民署。外籍配偶人數與大陸-含港澳-配偶人數按證件分(114.9). <https://reurl.cc/9brk2x> (瀏覽日期: 2025.10.15)

¹¹ 根據勞動部統計,截至民國 112 年 10 月,在台移工人數高達 75 萬人,是僅次於閩南人、客家人、外省人的第四大群體。但大多數台灣人對於移工的認識依舊生疏、淺薄,就如同很少人知道,緊鄰人來人往的台北車站有條印尼街。<https://www.verse.com.tw/article/taiwan-literature-award-for-migrants> (瀏覽日期: 2025.10.15)

¹² 宋家瑜(Song Jiayu):《台灣移工文學場域的生成:以文學獎為例》。新竹:國立清華大學碩士學位論文,2016年。

¹³ 越南文《四方報》(Si Fang Bao)於2006年創刊,之後陸續於2008年發行泰文報;2011年印尼、菲律賓與柬埔寨文報;2015年發行緬甸文報。

orientierte sich an Paulo Freires Konzept der „Befreiung durch Sprache“¹⁴. Sie entwickelte sich im Kontext der durch Arbeitsmigration geprägten gesellschaftlichen Umbrüche und wurde in mehreren Sprachen publiziert, darunter Vietnamesisch, Indonesisch, Tagalog, Englisch und Chinesisch. Damit entstand erstmals ein öffentliches Forum, in dem migrantische Erfahrungen nicht nur sozial, sondern literarisch kommuniziert wurden (Wu Ting-Kuan 2020: 21 f.)¹⁵.

Die Texte wie Gedichte, Briefe und Kurzprosa wurden oft von ehrenamtlichen Redakteuren übersetzt und redaktionell standardisiert. Übersetzung war hier nicht nur linguistische Übertragung, sondern ein symbolischer Akt der Anerkennung. Sie vermittelte zwischen den Sprachen, vereinheitlichte aber zugleich Differenz. Dadurch entstand ein „Feld“ (Bourdieu 1987)¹⁶, in dem kulturelles Kapital durch Verständlichkeit reguliert wurde.

Nach der Einstellung der Zeitung *Si Fang Bao* im Jahre 2016 verlagerte sich die migrantische Öffentlichkeit ins Digitale. Facebook-Gruppen, Blogs und Online-Magazine übernahmen die Funktion von Erinnerungsarchiven und Selbstrepräsentation.

3.2 Institutionalisierung und Migration: Literaturpreise

¹⁴ 潘云薇：四方報守護新住民、移工最真實的聲音。2014年5月·第113期·pp. 28-33. <https://reurl.cc/laROyj>. (瀏覽日期：2025.10.15)

¹⁵ 吳庭寬(Wu Ting-Kuan)：〈聲音的譯介·東南亞移民 / 工書寫與出版觀察〉·《臺灣出版與閱讀》·109年第2期(總號第10期)·民國109年6月(2020.6)·國家圖書館·頁20-29。

¹⁶ Zur Analyse des deutschen Literaturbetriebs und der Rolle des Chamisso-Preises als institutionellem Motor eines neuen Kanons wird die Foucault'sche Diskurstheorie mit Bourdieus Feldtheorie verbunden. Letztere, entwickelt in *Die feinen Unterschiede* (1987) und erweitert in *Die Regeln der Kunst* (2001), ermöglicht eine präzise Untersuchung der literarischen Machtstrukturen. Pierre Bourdieu. *Die feinen Unterschiede. Kritik der gesellschaftlichen Urteils kraft*. Übers. von Bernd Schwibs und Achim Russer. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1987; frz. *La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, 1979; Pierre Bourdieu. *Die Regeln der Kunst: Genese und Struktur des literarischen Feldes*. Übers. von Bernd Schwibs und Achim Russer. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2001; frz. *Les règles de l'art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire*, 1992.

als Instanzen kultureller Identitätsbildung

Die staatlich unterstützte Förderung begann früh mit dem *Foreign Workers' Poetry and Essay Contest* (外勞詩文比賽 2001)¹⁷. Dieser Wettbewerb des Taipei City Department of Labor ermöglichte Migranten, eigene Gedichte und Essays einzureichen, die anschließend in mehrsprachigen Anthologien veröffentlicht wurden.¹⁸ Der Anspruch, „den Stimmlosen eine Stimme zu geben“, war pädagogisch und sozialpolitisch motiviert (Wu Ting-Kuan 2020: 20). Doch die institutionelle und sprachliche Filterung der Texte führte dazu, dass literarische Selbst- und Fremdbilder ineinandergriffen.

Einen entscheidenden Impuls brachte 2014 die Einrichtung des *Taiwan Literature Award for Migrants* (臺灣移民工文學獎)¹⁹ durch zivilgesellschaftliche Gruppen. Dieser Preis förderte autobiographisches und fiktionales Schreiben in mehreren Sprachen und setzte Migration als literarisches Thema in den Mittelpunkt. In den jährlichen Anthologien – *Flow* (2015), *Voyage* (2016), *Light* (2017), *Crossing* (2018), *Life* (2019) – entwickelte sich eine neue Form transnationaler Erzählliteratur.²⁰

Parallel entstand 2018 der *New Resident Literature Award* (新住民

¹⁷ 張正 (Zhang Zheng) : 一個文學獎的生與死 : 告別移民工文學獎 · 2020. <https://opinion.cw.com.tw/blog/profile/91/article/10068> (瀏覽日期 : 2025.10.15)

¹⁸ 臺北市政府勞動局 (2010) : 臺北 · 請再聽我說 ! 第十屆外籍勞工詩文選集 (Taipei, Please Listen to Me Again!) · 臺北市政府勞工局 · 臺北 · (瀏覽日期 : 2025.10.15)

¹⁹ 「這不僅是替他們 (移民工) 紀錄 · 也是為台灣紀錄。」移民工文學獎的英文名為「Taiwan Literature Award for Migrants」能推敲其企圖 · 「這些人是台灣的一部分 · 他們的文學作品也算是台灣文學 · 我們想『攪亂』台灣文學的概念。」 <https://www.verse.com.tw/article/taiwan-literature-award-for-migrants> (瀏覽日期 : 2025.10.15)

²⁰ Die Sammelbände dokumentieren die Entstehung eines neuen literarischen Raums im Spannungsfeld zwischen Dokumentation und Fiktion. Viele Autoren thematisieren darin nicht nur Ausbeutung, sondern auch Prozesse der Emanzipation: „Schreiben bringt mich zu Menschen, die mich verstehen.“ 曾婷瑄 · (【第三屆移民工文學獎搶先訪】首獎得主王磊 Justto : 寫作是雙腳 · 帶我遊歷未知) · 移人 (Migrants' Park) · (2016.8.3) · 網址 : <https://mpark.news/2016/08/03/1042> (瀏覽日期 : 2025.10.15)

文學獎) der Stadt Neu-Taipeh, der sich an Ehepartnern und deren Familien richtet. Die Sammelbände *Die Blumen am Abgrund* (懸崖上的花)²¹ vereinen Texte in Mandarin und Muttersprachen der Autoren und repräsentieren einen staatlich geförderten Diskurs der „Neusiedlerliteratur“.

Diese beiden Preise, einer zivilgesellschaftlich, der andere staatlich getragen, trugen wesentlich dazu bei, migrantische Stimmen dauerhaft im literarischen Diskurs Taiwans zu verankern. Sie boten nicht nur Publikationsmöglichkeiten, sondern schufen wiederkehrende Foren der Sichtbarkeit und Anerkennung. Viele Autorinnen und Autoren erhielten durch die Auszeichnungen erstmals öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit, Lesungsmöglichkeiten und mediale Präsenz. Zugleich prägten die Preise thematische und sprachliche Entwicklungen der Migrantenliteratur. Mehrsprachigkeit wurde explizit gefördert, autobiographisches Schreiben erhielt institutionelle Legitimation, und Migration etablierte sich als eigenständiges literarisches Thema. Vor diesem Hintergrund kann davon gesprochen werden, dass die beiden Literaturpreise ein institutionelles Gerüst der taiwanischen Migrantenliteratur bildeten, da sie maßgeblich zur strukturellen Stabilisierung und öffentlichen Anerkennung dieses literarischen Feldes beitrugen. Diese beiden Preise, einer zivilgesellschaftlich, der andere staatlich getragen, bilden gemeinsam das institutionelle Gerüst der taiwanischen Migrantenliteratur. So zeigen sich Literaturpreise nicht nur als organisatorische Plattformen, sondern als zentrale Schnittstellen von Mobilität, Migration und Identitätsbildung im zeitgenössischen taiwanischen Literaturdiskurs.

3.3 Didaktische Vorfelder und literarische Institutionalisation

Schreibwerkstätten wie *Die Geschichte meiner Mutter erzählen* (說媽媽的故事 - 新住民子女文學創作工作坊 · 2016) oder *Empowerment zum Verfassen von Lebensgeschichten* (新住民撰寫生活文化故事培力課程 · 2018) entstanden nicht isoliert von der Preislandschaft, sondern standen in engem Zusammenhang mit Publikations- und Wettbewerbsstrukturen. Viele der dort verfassten Texte wurden später in Anthologien aufgenommen oder bei Literaturpreisen eingereicht. Didaktische

²¹ 吳妮臻等:《懸崖上的花: 新住民文學獎得獎作品集》。遠景出版事業有限公司·台北·2019。

Programme fungierten somit als Rekrutierungs- und Vorbereitungsräume für das literarische Feld. Wenn Wu Ting-Kuan (2020: 25f.) in diesem Zusammenhang von einer „didaktischen Kanonisierung“ spricht, meint dies nicht, dass Unterrichtstexte im engeren Sinne kanonisiert werden. Vielmehr werden bestimmte narrative Muster, etwa Familiengeschichte, Opfererfahrung oder Integrationsbereitschaft, im Rahmen pädagogischer Programme bevorzugt vermittelt und durch Preisverleihungen sowie Publikationen institutionell legitimiert. Kanonisiert wird also nicht das Lernformat, sondern ein spezifischer thematischer Erwartungshorizont, der aus didaktischen Kontexten hervorgeht und im literarischen Feld Anerkennung findet.

Diese Projekte verbanden pädagogische Zielsetzungen mit literarischem Anspruch. Sie ermöglichten vielen Frauen aus Vietnam oder Indonesien erste Veröffentlichungen, setzten jedoch zugleich implizite thematische Rahmungen, vorzugsweise Familienerzählungen, Erfahrungen von Verletzlichkeit oder Narrative der Dankbarkeit. Parallel dazu entstanden informelle Literaturkreise, häufig von indonesischen Migranten initiiert, die Lesungen, Online-Publikationen und Übersetzungsgruppen organisierten. Diese Initiativen betonten Autonomie, Mehrsprachigkeit und kollektive Solidarität.

Die zweite Generation, die in Taiwan aufgewachsen ist, schreibt häufig zweisprachig und bewegt sich jenseits binärer Identitätsmodelle, wie Chen You-tsin (陳又津) oder Wu Meina (巫美娜). Ihre Texte entstehen nicht primär im didaktischen Kontext, sondern markieren eine Verschiebung von pädagogisch gerahmter Selbstrepräsentation zu literarischer Selbstpositionierung.

Die Entwicklung der Migrantenliteratur in Taiwan lässt sich daher als ein mehrstufiger Institutionalisierungsprozess beschreiben. Didaktische Programme fungieren als Einstiegsebene, Literaturpreise als Selektions- und Legitimationsinstanzen. Das daraus entstehende Gefüge aus Workshops, Preisen, Medien und Übersetzungsnetzwerken strukturiert die literarische Sichtbarkeit migrantischer Stimmen. Von einer „didaktischen Rahmung“ kann insofern nur für jene Texte gesprochen werden, die im Kontext solcher Programme entstehen und in die Preisstrukturen überführt werden – nicht jedoch für das literarische Feld insgesamt.

Im Unterschied zur deutschen Entwicklung, die stärker auf ästhetische Integration im literarischen Feld zielt, steht in Taiwan die pädagogisch vermittelte Zugänglichkeit im Vordergrund. Beide Modelle zeigen, dass Institutionalisierung stets Anerkennung und Begrenzung zugleich bedeutet.

In diesem Zusammenspiel von didaktischer Vorbereitung und literarischer Preisstruktur wird Mobilität nicht nur als geografische Bewegung, sondern als institutionell gerahmte Verschiebung im literarischen Feld sichtbar; in der Migration erzählbar gemacht und Identität diskursiv ausgehandelt wird.

4. Fallbeispiele: Vladimir Vertlib's *Zwischenstationen* und Đinh Thị Lĩnh's (丁氏領) *Der Traum in der Fremde*

Um die Besonderheiten der beiden Preise zu veranschaulichen, sollen im Folgenden zwei PreisträgerInnen und ihre Werke näher vorgestellt werden.

4.1 Mobilität, Migration und Identitätsbildung in Vladimir Vertlib's *Zwischenstationen*

Vladimir Vertlib, ein in Russland geborener und in Salzburg lebender Schriftsteller, erhielt 2001 den Förderpreis zum Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis. Vertlib ist für seine literarische Auseinandersetzung mit Migration, Identität und jüdischem Leben bekannt. Das literarische Werk von Vladimir Vertlib steht paradigmatisch für eine Literatur der Migration, in der Mobilität nicht als Ausdruck von Freiheit, sondern als existenzielle Zwangsbedingung erfahren wird. Besonders deutlich tritt diese Konstellation in seinem Roman *Zwischenstationen* (1999) hervor, der die autobiographisch geprägte Odyssee einer russisch-jüdischen Familie schildert und damit zentrale Fragen nach Zugehörigkeit, Identitätsbildung und Heimatlosigkeit verhandelt.

Die im Roman dargestellte Mobilität ist keine freiwillige Bewegung zwischen Kulturen, sondern Resultat politischer Restriktionen, antisemitischer Ausgrenzung und institutioneller Willkür. Die wiederholten Ortswechsel, von der Sowjetunion über Israel, Österreich, Italien, die Niederlande bis in die USA und schließlich zurück nach Österreich, verdeutlichen eine Existenz im permanenten Transit. Der Titel „Zwischenstationen“ verweist dabei programmatisch auf einen

Lebenszustand des Vorläufigen, in dem kein Ort als endgültiges Ankommen erfahrbar wird. Mobilität fungiert somit weniger als Möglichkeit der Selbstentfaltung denn als Struktur des Verlusts und der Erschöpfung.

Migration erscheint bei Vertlib zugleich als individuelles wie kollektives Erfahrungsmuster. Die Familie bleibt namenlos, wodurch ihre Geschichte exemplarischen Charakter annimmt. Der Roman thematisiert bürokratische Hürden, prekäre Aufenthaltsbedingungen und soziale Marginalisierung und macht sichtbar, wie Migrationserfahrungen durch permanente Unsicherheit und Abhängigkeit geprägt sind. Besonders der Vater verkörpert den Konflikt zwischen ideologischer Hoffnung, etwa in Bezug auf den Zionismus oder das Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten und der wiederholten Desillusionierung angesichts realer gesellschaftlicher Bedingungen.

Im Zentrum der Identitätsproblematik steht die Perspektive des Kindes, das den Orts- und Sprachwechseln weitgehend passiv ausgeliefert ist. Identität wird nicht als stabile, national oder kulturell eindeutig bestimmbare Kategorie entworfen, sondern als fragmentierter Prozess, der sich im Spannungsfeld mehrerer Sprachen, Kulturen und Erinnerungsräume vollzieht. Die im Text präsente Mehrsprachigkeit, Russisch, Hebräisch, Deutsch, Englisch sowie weitere Sprachfragmente, spiegelt diese Zerrissenheit wider und unterläuft Vorstellungen homogener kultureller Zugehörigkeit. Vertlib zeigt damit, dass Migration binäre Oppositionen wie „Eigenes“ und „Fremdes“ nachhaltig destabilisiert.

Insgesamt lässt sich *Zwischenstationen* als ein Schlüsseltext postmigrantischer Literatur lesen, in der Mobilität, Migration und Identität untrennbar miteinander verknüpft sind. Vertlibs Schreiben macht deutlich, dass Identität unter Migrationsbedingungen weniger im Ankommen als vielmehr im Aushalten des Dazwischen entsteht – in einem Zustand, der von Verlust, Anpassung und der Suche nach narrativer Selbstverortung geprägt ist.

4.2. Mobilität, Migration und Identitätskonstruktion in *Der Traum in der Fremde*

Nach statistischen Angaben der Regierung Taiwan leben mittlerweile über

eine Million Menschen aus Südostasien aufgrund von Eheschließung, Studium oder Erwerbstätigkeit in Taiwan. Von diesen stellen vietnamesische Staatsangehörige mit über dreißig Prozent, nahezu 400.000 Personen, die größte Gruppe dar und sind zu einem wichtigen Bestandteil der taiwanischen Gesellschaft geworden. ²² (Lin, Yin-Hsiang 2024: 3f.)

Der „*Taiwan Literature Award for Migrants*“ eröffnet diesen südostasiatischen Migrantengruppen die Möglichkeit, in ihrer jeweiligen Muttersprache literarisch zu schreiben und ihre Stimmen in die taiwanische Gesellschaft einzubringen. Die folgende Analyse nimmt daher den mit dem ersten Preis ausgezeichneten Text *Der Traum in der Fremde* (Giấc mơ nơi xứ người 他鄉之夢) der vietnamesischen Autorin Đinh Thị Lĩnh (丁氏領) als Untersuchungsgegenstand.

Der preisgekrönte Text *Der Traum in der Fremde* (2015)²³ lässt sich als paradigmatisches Beispiel literarischer Selbstverortung im Kontext südostasiatischer Arbeitsmigration nach Taiwan lesen. Im Zentrum steht die autobiographisch geprägte Erzählung einer vietnamesischen Migrantin, deren Mobilität nicht als freiwillige Selbstverwirklichung, sondern als ökonomisch erzwungene Notwendigkeit erscheint. Migration wird hier als biographischer Bruch inszeniert, der sowohl soziale Positionierung als auch Identitätsbildung nachhaltig transformiert.

Die Ausreise der Protagonistin nach Taiwan erfolgt nicht aus individuellem Wunsch nach transnationaler Erfahrung, sondern unter dem Druck familiärer Verschuldung und gesundheitlicher Krisen. Mobilität fungiert zunächst als Überlebensstrategie. Zugleich wird deutlich, dass diese Bewegung neue Abhängigkeiten erzeugt: Vermittlungsgebühren, Arbeitsverträge, ökonomische Prekarität. Die Erzählerin bleibt in einem strukturellen Spannungsfeld zwischen Hoffnung auf sozialen Aufstieg und realer Einschränkung von Handlungsspielräumen. Migration erscheint somit ambivalent: als Möglichkeit und als Gefährdung zugleich.

²² 林盈翔 (Lin, Yin-Hsiang): 在臺灣的越南文學 - 論〈他鄉之夢〉·《國立彰化師範大學文學院學報》30期 (2024/11) · pp. 43-56。

²³ 東南亞移民工 (作者)·楊玉鶯等 (譯者):《流: 移動的生命力·浪潮中的臺灣第一二屆移民工文學獎得獎作品集》·四方文創股份有限公司·2016。pp.22-35。

Ein zentraler Aspekt des Textes ist die Verflechtung von Migration und emotionaler Bindung. Die Beziehung zum Geliebten – zunächst als Projekt einer gemeinsamen Zukunft imaginiert – zerbricht unter den Bedingungen räumlicher Distanz. Hier wird Mobilität zur Belastungsprobe für Intimität. Die spätere Heirat mit einem taiwanischen Mann ist weniger romantische Entscheidung als strategischer Versuch, Aufenthaltssicherheit und ökonomische Stabilität zu gewinnen. Ehe wird zur migrationspolitischen Ressource. Die daraus resultierende Identität als „vietnamesische Braut“ markiert jedoch eine neue Form der Marginalisierung: kulturelle Fremdheit, sprachliche Isolation und soziale Abwertung strukturieren die Erfahrung im Aufnahmeland. Identität wird hier nicht stabil, sondern prekär und relational ausgehandelt.

Der Text macht deutlich, dass Mobilität geschlechtsspezifisch codiert ist. Als Arbeitsmigrantin, Ehefrau und Mutter bewegt sich die Erzählerin innerhalb multipler Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse. Die Erfahrung häuslicher Gewalt und ökonomischer Kontrolle verweist auf strukturelle Machtasymmetrien, die durch den Migrationsstatus zusätzlich verstärkt werden.

Zugleich artikuliert der Text eine Form von Resilienz. Trotz Diskriminierung und emotionaler Verletzungen entwickelt die Erzählerin eine Zukunftsperspektive, die stark an transnationale Verantwortung gebunden bleibt: die Unterstützung der Mutter in Vietnam und die Sicherung der Zukunft des Kindes.

Bemerkenswert ist die doppelte Verortung der Erzählerin. Taiwan erscheint sowohl als Ort der Enttäuschung als auch als Raum möglicher Zukunft. Vietnam bleibt emotionaler Bezugspunkt und moralische Instanz – verkörpert in den Worten der Mutter.

Identität entsteht somit in einem transnationalen Zwischenraum: weder vollständig integriert noch ausschließlich rückgebunden an das Herkunftsland. Migration wird zum permanenten Aushandlungsprozess zwischen Zugehörigkeit, Anpassung und innerer Distanz. Im Kontext des Literaturpreises erhält der Text eine zusätzliche Dimension: Die narrative Selbstbeschreibung wird zur Form symbolischer Teilhabe. Indem die Erzählerin ihre Geschichte artikuliert, überschreitet sie die Position des „Objekts“ migrationspolitischer Diskurse und wird zum Sprechenden.

Subjekt. Das literarische Erzählen fungiert somit als Identitätsarbeit. Mobilität wird nicht nur erlebt, sondern narrativ verarbeitet und in ein kohärentes Lebensnarrativ überführt.

„*Der Traum in der Fremde*“ zeigt, dass Mobilität weit über geographische Bewegung hinausgeht. Migration erzeugt: biographische Brüche, neue Abhängigkeiten, hybride Zugehörigkeiten, geschlechtsspezifische Benachteiligungen und zugleich Formen transnationaler Handlungsfähigkeit. Identität erscheint hier als dynamischer, konflikthafter Prozess, als fortwährende Balance zwischen Hoffnung und Enttäuschung, Anpassung und Selbstbehauptung.

5. Vergleichende Analyse und Schlussfolgerung

Die deutsche Migrationsliteratur ist historisch eng mit Arbeitsmigration und politischem Exil verbunden. Viele Autorinnen und Autoren kamen im Kontext der sogenannten „Gastarbeiter“-Migration oder als politisch Verfolgte nach Deutschland und begannen ihre literarische Tätigkeit aus einer Position relativer Unsichtbarkeit. In Taiwan hingegen entwickelte sich Literatur im Kontext von Migration vor allem aus temporärer Arbeitsmigration aus Südostasien sowie aus transnationalen Ehen. Die gesellschaftlichen Ausgangsbedingungen unterscheiden sich somit deutlich. Gemeinsam ist beiden Kontexten jedoch, dass Schreibende mit Migrationserfahrung zunächst am Rand des literarischen Feldes positioniert waren.

Literaturpreise reagierten auf diese strukturelle Marginalisierung, indem sie institutionelle Sichtbarkeit ermöglichten. Statt von einer einfachen Gegenüberstellung von „Integration versus Marginalisierung“ zu sprechen, erscheint es präziser, von unterschiedlichen Formen institutioneller Einbindung zu sprechen. In Deutschland zielte insbesondere der Adelbert-von-Chamisso-Preis darauf ab, Autorinnen und Autoren mit migrantischem Hintergrund ästhetisch in das literarische Feld zu integrieren. Ihre Werke sollten als gleichrangiger Bestandteil der deutschsprachigen Literatur anerkannt werden, nicht als Sonderkategorie, sondern als literarisch autonome Beiträge.

In Taiwan hingegen stehen bei Literaturpreisen stärker gesellschaftliche Vermittlungsfunktionen im Vordergrund. Literatur fungiert hier häufig als Medium sozialer Verständigung: Sie soll Brücken

schlagen, interkulturelles Verständnis fördern und Integrationsprozesse begleiten. Beide Systeme reagieren somit auf Marginalisierung, jedoch nach unterschiedlichen Kriterien der Auswahl und Anerkennung.

Während sich der deutsche Chamisso-Diskurs im Laufe der Zeit zunehmend in Richtung literarischer Autonomie entwickelte – bis hin zur Auflösung des Preises mit dem Argument, Literatur mit Migrationsbezug sei im literarischen Mainstream angekommen, bleibt in Taiwan die gesellschaftliche Vermittlungsdimension stärker akzentuiert. Dies bedeutet jedoch keine qualitative Differenz literarischer Anspruchsniveaus, sondern verweist auf unterschiedliche institutionelle Rahmungen.

Wenn in diesem Zusammenhang von einer „moralisch normierten Emotionsökonomie“ die Rede ist, so bezeichnet dies keinen moralischen Maßstab zur Bewertung einzelner Texte. Gemeint ist vielmehr ein institutionell erzeugter Erwartungshorizont. Narrative Affekte wie Leidensgeschichten, Dankbarkeit oder Integrationsbereitschaft besitzen tendenziell höhere Publikations- und Auszeichnungschancen, weil sie mit gesellschaftspolitischen Zielsetzungen kompatibel erscheinen. Emotionen fungieren damit als implizite Selektionskriterien innerhalb eines geförderten Literaturfeldes. Sie sind nicht vorgeschrieben, strukturieren jedoch, was als typische oder repräsentative Migrationsgeschichte wahrgenommen wird.

Auch der Terminus „Exophonie“ verlangt eine differenzierte Betrachtung. In Deutschland, etwa im Werk Yoko Tawadas, bezeichnet Exophonie eine bewusste poetologische Strategie: Das Schreiben in einer nicht-muttersprachlichen Sprache wird selbst zum ästhetischen Verfahren. Sprache wird reflektiert, verfremdet, gebrochen; Mehrsprachigkeit erscheint als literarisches Experiment und als Form poetischer Selbstpositionierung.

Im taiwanischen Kontext ist Mehrsprachigkeit institutionell anders organisiert. Viele Texte entstehen zunächst in Herkunftssprachen wie Vietnamesisch oder Indonesisch und werden anschließend ins Chinesische übersetzt, um ein breiteres Publikum zu erreichen. Mehrsprachigkeit erscheint hier weniger als poetologisches Experiment denn als Vermittlungs- und Übersetzungsprozess. Dies stellt die literarische Qualität exophoner Texte in keiner Weise infrage; vielmehr verschiebt sich

der Akzent von poetologischer Reflexion hin zu gesellschaftlicher Zugänglichkeit.

Wenn im Folgenden von „Mobilität“ gesprochen wird, ist damit nicht nur die physische Bewegung über Staatsgrenzen hinweg gemeint. Mobilität bezeichnet eine doppelte Dynamik: zum einen geographische und soziale Migration, zum anderen symbolische Positionsverschiebungen im literarischen Feld. Autorinnen und Autoren bewegen sich nicht nur zwischen Ländern, sondern auch zwischen Peripherie und Zentrum, zwischen Unsichtbarkeit und Anerkennung. Literatur ist in diesem Sinne „nach Mobilität organisiert“. Produktions-, Publikations- und Rezeptionsbedingungen sind transnational strukturiert. Das Motiv des Unterwegsseins fungiert nicht bloß als biographisches Detail, sondern als narrative Struktur. Figuren befinden sich zwischen Sprachen, Orten und kulturellen Zugehörigkeiten. Identität entsteht nicht aus Stabilität, sondern aus Übergängen und Aushandlungsprozessen. Literaturpreise spielen in diesem Gefüge eine zentrale Rolle. Sie entscheiden mit darüber, welche Stimmen als repräsentativ erscheinen und welche Narrative gesellschaftliche Relevanz erhalten. Von kultureller Innovation kann gesprochen werden, wenn neue ästhetische Formen, hybride Identitätsmodelle oder mehrsprachige Schreibweisen institutionell anerkannt und dauerhaft in das literarische Feld integriert werden.

Sowohl in Deutschland als auch in Taiwan zeigt sich dabei ein Wechselspiel von Öffnung und Begrenzung. Institutionen ermöglichen Sichtbarkeit, schaffen Publikationsräume und verleihen symbolische Anerkennung. Zugleich definieren sie die Bedingungen, unter denen Texte lesbar und legitim erscheinen. Migration wird dadurch zugleich als sozialer Prozess und als literarische Selbstreflexion verhandelt. Literaturpreise konstruieren kulturelle Zugehörigkeit, können sie jedoch nicht vollständig kontrollieren. Transkulturelle Schreibweisen verschieben kontinuierlich die Grenzen dessen, was als nationale Literatur gilt. Migration erweist sich somit nicht als Randphänomen, sondern als strukturierendes Moment literarischer Produktion.

Der Vergleich macht deutlich, dass Deutschland und Taiwan unterschiedliche Modelle institutioneller Strukturierung ausgebildet haben. Während Deutschland über Jahre hinweg auf die literarisch-ästhetische Integration Autorschaft mit Migrantischem Hintergrund setzte, liegt in Taiwan der Schwerpunkt eher auf sozialer Vermittlung. Beide Modelle zeigen jedoch, dass Migration im Kern moderner Literatur

verhandelt wird. Literatur erscheint so als Reflexionsraum gesellschaftlicher Mobilität. Migration fungiert als narrative Energie, Identität als dynamische Konstellation zwischen institutioneller Zuschreibung und poetischer Selbstpositionierung. Mobilität ist damit nicht nur Thema, sondern ein grundlegendes Organisationsprinzip des literarischen Feldes selbst.

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渴望與社會期待之間的主體發聲： 台灣女性日本移民經驗的回顧式敘事

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摘要**

本研究採用敘事分析方法，探討 1980 年代末至 1990 年代移居日本的台灣女性，如何透過留學與婚姻的生命敘事建構其身分認同，並分析其在台灣與日本社會中對性別期待、社會限制與個人志向的協商過程。

研究資料來自於 2021 年以日語進行的生命故事訪談，對象為兩位育有大學生子女的台灣女性。兩人皆於 1980 年代末赴日留學，之後升學、與日本男性結婚並定居日本。

研究結果顯示，她們在台灣民主化與海外留學風潮中形成出國志向，但同時面臨父母對經濟獨立與婚姻的期待；在日本則遭遇外國女性於職涯發展上的性別限制。兩人的敘事展現教育與經濟選擇上的能動性，但在婚姻領域則呈現對性別規範與有限職涯機會的妥協。這些經驗常透過笑聲一起敘述，作為一種話語策略，將限制重新框架為帶有幽默色彩的經歷。同時，她們也透過與其他女性的對比定位自身，以重新確認其能動性。最後，儘管兩人回顧性地將初到日本的生活描述為「艱辛」，她們仍將這些經驗重新詮釋為具有成長意義的歷程。脫離移民研究中受害者中心的觀點，本研究指出，能動性，並非單純的抵抗或順從的二元對立，而是鑲嵌於恆存社會結構中進行協商的一種動態且細緻的過程。

關鍵詞：敘事分析、台灣女性、海外留學、跨文化婚姻、民主化

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Voicing Agency Between Aspiration and Expectation: Taiwanese Women's Retrospective Narratives on Migration to Japan

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Abstract**

This study employs narrative analysis to explore how Taiwanese women who migrated to Japan in the late 1980s and 1990s construct and present their identities through retrospective life stories about study abroad and marriage. Situated within the context of Taiwan's rapid democratization, this study examines how these women negotiate prevailing gendered expectations, social constraints, and personal aspirations in both Taiwan and Japan.

The analysis draws on life story interviews conducted in Japanese in 2021 with two Taiwanese women whose children were college students at the time. Both participants followed similar migration trajectories: they came to Japan as language students, pursued further education, married Japanese men, and settled permanently in Japan.

The findings reveal that, growing up in a democratizing Taiwan, both women were inspired by expanding opportunities for overseas study and aspired to gain international experience. However, they also confronted strong social norms, including parental expectations regarding financial independence and marriage. In Japan, they encountered additional gendered constraints, particularly in pursuing professional careers as foreign women. Both narratives demonstrate agency in decisions related to education and financial independence; however, in the domain of marriage, the women describe compromises shaped by gender norms and limited career prospects. These experiences are often recounted with laughter as a

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discursive strategy to reframe constraints as humorous episodes. At the same time, both participants position themselves in contrast to other women in order to reaffirm their sense of agency. Finally, although they retrospectively characterize their early lives in Japan as “hardship,” they reinterpret these experiences as formative and meaningful. Moving beyond the victim-centered perspectives in migration studies, this study highlights that agency is not a simple binary of resistance or conformity, but rather a dynamic and nuanced process of negotiation embedded within enduring social structures.

Keywords: narrative analysis, Taiwanese women, study abroad, intercultural marriage, democratization

1. Introduction

Using the framework of narrative analysis, this study explores how Taiwanese women who migrated to Japan in the late 1980s construct and present their identities through their life story narratives. In particular, it focuses on the themes of study abroad and intercultural marriage, examining how these women either challenge or negotiate prevailing gender norms, social expectations, and personal aspirations in both Taiwan and Japan.

From the late 1980s to the 1990s, when the life stories of the participants of this study are situated, Taiwanese society underwent drastic social transformations following the lifting of martial law and subsequent democratization of society. Among these reforms was the abolition of the “Regulation on Overseas Study” (國外留學規程)¹, which had previously required government approval for overseas education. This policy change allowed greater autonomy for students to pursue studies abroad, making overseas education, including short-term language programs, increasingly accessible to young Taiwanese. According to official Taiwanese statistics compiled by 塩入 (136-137), the number of Taiwanese students studying abroad rapidly increased between 1988 and 1992, when the regulation was being revised. This trend reflects a surge of enthusiasm for overseas study among Taiwanese youth. Particularly for young women, the social reform brought them opportunities to redefine their educational and career paths beyond traditional domestic expectations.

However, few studies explore the personal experiences of Taiwanese overseas students. One of the few exceptions is 塩入, which examines the Taiwanese students’ perceptions of their experiences of living in Japan. The other study conducted by Yen and Stevens investigates the Taiwanese overseas students’ perspectives on education and life in the United States. While these studies focus on the overseas experiences of Taiwanese students in the 2000s or later, the migration experiences that this study aims to examine took place in the late 1980s and the 1990s. Furthermore, this study is distinctive in its focus on how these Taiwanese women narrativize their past experiences almost thirty years after the events occurred. Therefore, this study fills a critical gap by scrutinizing the life stories of Taiwanese women who migrated to Japan during this pivotal era of democratization, offering a unique opportunity to examine how they construct agency through their retrospective narratives.

In light of these research gaps, this study investigates the life story narratives of

¹ 植根法律網 <https://www.rootlaw.com.tw/LawContent.aspx?LawID=A040080120000100-0790411> (Retrieved October 22, 2025.)

two Taiwanese women in order to explicate the following research questions:

- 1) How do the life story narratives of Taiwanese women who migrated to Japan during the late 1980s as language students and later married and settled in Japan reflect and reveal prevailing social norms and gendered expectations in both Taiwan and Japan at that time?
- 2) How do these women narratively construct their sense of agency by articulating the negotiation between their personal aspirations for self-development and prevailing social norms and gendered expectations in both societies?
- 3) In what ways does narrating their life stories from the present—nearly three decades after the events—enable them to reevaluate their past choices and construct their sense of agency?

2. Literature review

2.1. Narrative analysis in studies on migration and identities

Since the methodological paradigmatic shift – so-called “Narrative Turn” (Riessman, *Narrative Methods* 14-17) – occurred in the 1990s, narrative has been regarded as a critical means through which individuals make sense of their experiences, negotiate their positions in the social world, and construct their identities (e.g., Bamberg et al; De Fina; Freeman; Riessman). In other words, narrative is not merely a chronological recounting of events; rather, it is a meaning-making process in which individuals selectively organize and interpret past experiences in relation to the present and an imagined future.

In the field of migration studies, narrative approaches have made significant contribution by illuminating how immigrants construct and negotiate their identities in their new sociocultural contexts. For example, De Fina analyzed the narratives of Mexican undocumented immigrants’ border-crossing experiences in the United States, examining how they negotiate and represent their identities through talk. By paying close attention to the immigrants’ particular use of linguistic forms such as personal pronouns, speech acts, and categorical terms, her study reveals how they position themselves in relation to dominant ideologies and power structures. Regarding agency in particular, De Fina (112-138) found that the immigrants tend to employ more agentive expressions when narrating group actions, but fewer when describing individual actions – thereby portraying themselves as less agentive in their own narratives.

Another migration study employing narrative analysis is Ladegaard, which investigates the identity struggles of foreign domestic workers in Hong Kong.

Analyzing Filipino domestic workers' narratives collected at a church shelter providing temporary accommodation, the study demonstrates how their recurrent use of the self-categorizing term "helper" constructs a positive self-image: women who provide valuable service to the people of Hong Kong while also serving God and their families. At the same time, the term "helper" is used to voice employers' perspectives, thereby implicitly criticizing the hierarchical and essentially non-Christian worldview that underlies their working conditions.

While De Fina and Ladegaard illuminate how labor immigrants construct and negotiate their identities within unequal social and institutional structures, the present study, by contrast, focuses on Taiwanese women who initially migrated to Japan as students rather than as workers. That is, their mobility was not primarily driven by economic necessity but by the so-called "intrinsic dimensions of migration aspiration" (De Haas 20). Although their migration trajectories later extended to intercultural marriage and long-term settlement in Japan, their initial entry into Japanese society was framed within the socially valued discourse of "study abroad," shaped by the broad context of social reforms in Taiwan, which will be explained in the following subsection.

2.2. Internationalization of higher education in Taiwan

For decades under martial law in Taiwan, overseas study was heavily restricted by the Ministry of Education through the "Regulations on Overseas Study," which required state approval and limited the number of students permitted abroad. Following the lifting of martial law in 1987, the Ministry gradually revised these regulations and ultimately abolished them in 1990, effectively ending the requirement for prior approval and granting individuals greater autonomy in pursuing education overseas.

According to the data compiled by 塩入 (136-137) based on official Taiwanese statistics, the number of Taiwanese students studying abroad remained between approximately 5,000 and 6,500 during the martial law period in 1980s. However, in 1988 – when the regulation was being revised – the number increased to 8,178, and in 1989 it rose sharply to 16,879. Since then, the number has continued to grow, exceeding 20,000 by 1991. These statistical trends reflect the growing enthusiasm among young Taiwanese people for overseas experiences at that time.

Regarding Taiwanese students' motivations to study abroad, Yen and Stevens interviewed five Taiwanese students during their first academic year at a university in the United States and identified the following factors that inspired them to study abroad: the idealization of America, the pursuit of a competitive edge, avoidance of competition in Taiwan, flexibility in choosing a major, and the desire to experience something new and different. In contrast, Chen and Zimitat conducted a survey of

514 Taiwanese students studying in Australia and the United States. Their findings revealed that Taiwanese students' intentions to study abroad were shaped primarily by individual beliefs about overseas study and their perceptions of its expected outcomes. While the attitudes and perceptions toward higher education played a greater role in motivating Taiwanese students to study in Australia, the influence of family and friends was more significant in shaping intentions to study in the United States.

However, these studies mainly address students who studied in Western countries during the 2000s – long after overseas study had become a normalized and accessible choice. In contrast, this study focuses on an earlier generation of Taiwanese women who studied in Japan during the initial wave of overseas education in the late 1980s, when studying abroad still carried distinctive meanings of aspiration, uncertainty, and self-exploration. Furthermore, whereas the previous studies examined the motivations of students who were currently studying abroad, the present study analyzes the retrospective narratives of Taiwanese women, exploring how their past decisions to study in Japan have influenced their present lives and how they make sense of those experiences from their current perspectives. In doing so, this study also considers how gendered expectations shaped these women's decisions and experiences, leading from education migration to marriage and settlement in Japan.

2.3. Gendered expectations in Taiwan and Japan

Recently, Taiwan has become widely recognized as one of the most gender-equal societies in Asia. According to the report released by Taiwan's Executive Yuan Department of Gender Equality, Taiwan ranked sixth globally and first in Asia in the 2023 Social Institution and Gender Index (SIGI), and similarly achieved high scores across other major global indices of gender equality²

From a historical perspective, Taiwan – like many other Asian societies – has been shaped by Confucian patriarchy, which reinforced male dominance by defining women's roles primarily within the family and limiting their individual aspirations. In the late twentieth century, unprecedented economic growth across Asia expanded

² "Taiwan Tops Asia in latest SIGI rankings by OECD."

<https://www.roc-taiwan.org/then/post/6444.html#:~:text=The%20report%20highlights%20government%20policy,leave%20in%20the%20survey%20period.> (Retrieved October 19th, 2025).

educational opportunities for women, while modernization and globalization opened new possibilities for their participation in public life (Chiang 3). Although Chiang's study is somewhat dated, her description of women's social status in Taiwan provides valuable insight into the social background of the participants of the present study, who migrated to Japan in the late 1980s:

Taiwan has gained notable economic and political influence in the Asia-Pacific region. Women's status has improved but the Confucian cultural norms still pose certain challenges to women. Women still perform traditional roles in the family and fulfill limiting gender specific social expectations with regards to behavior and employment... (Chiang 5)

Regarding Japan, in contrast, Chiang points out that "home and domestic responsibilities have been the center of Japanese women's activities since the 1980s" (5), which has consequently discouraged women from being active in public life and pursuing career achievement.

Gender inequality and femininity in the Japanese society are also discussed in 塩入, who examines the "locational" experiences of Taiwanese students studying in Japan in the 2000s and 2010s. One of her chapters specifically addresses how female students were treated by older Japanese men in ways that constituted sexual and power harassment. 塩入 (143-148), concludes that such experiences reflect different perceptions of gender and sexuality between Japan and Taiwan, shaped by colonial and orientalist assumptions.

As described above, various social constraints and expectations were imposed on women in both Taiwan and Japan when the Taiwanese women in this study migrated to Japan nearly three decades ago. In the analysis section, I will examine how they challenge and negotiate such gendered expectations in pursuing their aspirations to study and marry in Japan.

3. Data and methodology

The data for this study consist of audio recordings of semi-structured interviews, conducted in 2021 by LINE audio calls. The participants are two Taiwanese women (O and Y) who married Japanese men and raised their children in Japan. I contacted these women through their children, who were students at the Taiwanese university where I worked (either foreign or overseas Chinese students)³.

³ This study received ethical approval from the Institutional Review Board of National Taiwan

I explained to the participants that the purpose of the interviews was to explore Taiwanese mothers' experiences of intercultural marriage and child-rearing in Japan. Although the participants met me for the first time during the interviews and referred to me as their children's professor⁴, our shared experiences as foreign mothers raising children in each other's countries helped us establish rapport and a sense of mutual understanding. This shared positionality as transcultural mothers was crucial for facilitating open communication.

The interview questions addressed the following five topics:

- 1) Reasons for going to Japan and experiences during the early period of migration.
- 2) Reasons for and process of deciding to marry.
- 3) Family language policy and practices.
- 4) Perspectives on child-rearing in Japan.
- 5) Views on Taiwan-Japan relations, past and present.

The interviews were conducted in Japanese. Since the participants were not native speakers of Japanese and the questions concerned the events more than twenty years earlier, I provided them in advance with both the informed consent form and the list of questions to minimize potential difficulties related to language and memory. However, the actual course of interviews was not rigidly determined by the order of questions but rather unfolded as natural conversations. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and twenty minutes (O) and one hour and forty minutes (Y).

Table 1. The participants' profiles

Participant	Year of first migration	Age at first migration	Purpose	Life path after language school
O	1989	24	Studying Japanese	Graduate school in Japan → Marriage upon graduation
Y	1988	22	Studying Japanese	University in Japan → Marriage upon

University. All participants provided informed consent prior to the interview.

⁴ Throughout the interviews, the Taiwanese mothers called the interviewer "sensei," meaning "teacher/professor" in Japanese.

				graduation
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As shown in Table 1, both O and Y migrated to Japan at around the same time and age. They studied Japanese at private language schools in Tokyo for one year and subsequently pursued higher education in Japan. Both married a Japanese man immediately after graduation. This parallel pattern suggests that they experienced similar social and generational circumstances in both Taiwan and Japan, which makes them suitable as the focal participants of this study.

In terms of analysis, this study primarily focuses on O's and Y's narratives concerning the periods from their initial migration to Japan for language study to their subsequent decision to marry. This stage of their lives involved multiple crossroads and critical life decisions. The excerpts presented in this study were selected because they contain moments in which the participants narratively describe negotiating, challenging, or struggling with social norms and parental expectations surrounding studying abroad and marriage. Through a close examination of how they deliver their narratives – particularly their use of specific linguistic expressions and nonverbal cues – this study investigates how they position themselves both within the story world and within the interactional context to construct and present their narrative identities.

The interview conversations were transcribed, and the transcripts were lightly edited to remove disfluencies while preserving their original meaning. They are formatted such that each line corresponds roughly to a clause or a meaningful unit of speech. Words and phrases that are the focus of the analysis are indicated in bold, and symbols such as “@” are used to indicate laughter. Regarding the presentation of the narrative data, the Japanese excerpts are followed by English translations prepared by the author. The English translations aim for natural expression while maintaining fidelity to the grammatical structures and specific phrasing of the original Japanese narratives. However, grammatical errors in the original narratives are retained as long as their meanings remain comprehensible.

4. Analysis: Life stories of the Taiwanese women's study abroad and marriage

In this section, the life stories of O and Y are examined respectively, with special attention to how their aspirations, agency, and social norms are expressed in different ways.

4.1. O's life story

O majored in science and engineering at a university in Taiwan. During her senior

year, she became acquainted with a Japanese exchange student, from whom she learned a great deal about the country. This experience inspired her to pursue graduate studies in Japan.

Excerpt 1

- 1 O: 大学4年生の時ちょうど半年 下学期の時うちの親に「日本に留学行きたい」って**言い出した**んですよ。
 2 でなんか親がびっくりして、
 3 「え？もうやっとなんか卒業するのにまた勉強しに行くの」って。
 4 でもその時 自分が 家庭が裕福ではないのに
 5 日本でほら生活費高いじゃないですか。
 6 「うん、大丈夫ですよ。私日本で勉強しながらバイトします」とかなんか**言い出して**、
 7 「もうぜひ行かしてください」とか。
 8 でも親も「じゃあまあ行ってみてダメだったら帰って来ててください」って
 言ってくれて。

- 1 O: When I was a senior, in the second semester, I **suddenly spoke up to my**
 parents and said “I want to study abroad in Japan.”
 2 And my parents were surprised,
 3 “What? You’re finally about to graduate from university, and yet you will still
 study again?”
 4 But at that time, even though my family was not wealthy,
 5 as you know, living expenses in Japan were high,
 6 I **spoke up with** something like “It’s fine. I will study while working part-time
 in Japan.”
 7 and something like “Please let me go by all means.”
 8 Then my parents kindly said to me, “Well, if it doesn’t work out, please come
 back”

It was obvious that O’s decision to continue studying after graduating from university was completely unexpected and constituted a great financial burden for her parents. In her narrative, O uses the verb *iidasu* twice (bold in lines 1 and 6), a compound verb consisting of *iu* “to say” and *dasu* “to bring out.” Compared with the simple verb *iu*, *iidasu* conveys the nuance of being the first person to say something or

of suddenly bringing it up unprompted⁵. By choosing this verb, O portrays herself as the one who independently initiated the decision. Furthermore, the narrative illustrates how she enthusiastically negotiated with and persuaded her parents, highlighting her strong motivation and determination to study in Japan despite the lack of financial support from her family.

After graduation, O worked at a company in Taipei while simultaneously attending morning Japanese classes at a private language school. In the meantime, she also prepared for her relocation and even made a short trip to Tokyo to submit her application directly to the school. Approximately six months after her graduation from university, O relocated to Japan and commenced her studies at a language school in Tokyo. The following is the final part of her narrative about her migration process.

Excerpt 2⁶

- 1 O: …そんなに喋れない。
 2 ただあいうえおは覚えてて。
 3 で「もう行くか」って
 4 「もう時間が無いから 自分が時間が無いから東京の日本語学校で勉強するしかない」
 5 そういう覚悟で それで手続きして日本にきました。
 6 I: すごいです 行動力がすごいですね@@
 7 O: いや@いや@いや@@@@ や でも今考えてみれば無謀だった@@@
 @@
 8 そ 自分がすごい苦労した@@@
- 1 O: ... I couldn't speak (Japanese) very well,
 2 I only memorized (the Japanese alphabets) "a i u e o."
 3 Then, I thought "I must go now."
 4 "I don't have time, I myself don't have time, so I have no choice but to study at a Japanese language school in Tokyo."
 5 With such a **determination**, I completed the procedures and came to Japan.
 6 I: Amazing, your ability to take action is impressive @@

⁵ According to the digital Japanese language dictionary, *Digital Daijisen* (https://kotobank.jp/word/%E8%A8%80%E5%87%BA%E3%81%99-430317#goog_rewarded), the meanings of *iidasu* are defined as: 1) To begin to say, to say out loud; and 2) be the first to say. (Translation by the author.)

⁶ "I" stands for the interviewer.

- 7 O: No@ no@ no@@@ no, but **looking back, it was reckless** @@@@
 8 Yeah, I myself went through **a very hard time** @@@

Clearly, six months was not sufficient for O to fully prepare for studying in Japan. Under such circumstances, her use of the word 覚悟 “determination” (line 5) emphasizes her identity as someone who actively faces adversity with strong will and resolve. However, O retrospectively evaluates her own initiative as 無謀 “reckless” (line 7) and its consequence as 苦勞 “hardship” (line 8). Despite the negative literal meanings of her evaluation, her bursts of laughter (indicated with @) instead frame the entire episode as a humorous anecdote. In doing so, O positions herself as someone who affirms this past adversity and transforms it into a positive aspect of her life story.

While studying Japanese at the language school for one year, she passed the Japanese language proficiency test and was admitted to a science-related graduate program at a national university. While her first year in Tokyo had been hard and lonely, her life as a graduate student was fulfilling and enjoyable, partly because there were many Taiwanese students in the university where O studied. During this period, she also met her boyfriend, who later became her husband.

As graduation approached, O faced a critical crossroads: whether to return to Taiwan or to remain in Japan through marriage.

Excerpt 3

- 1 O: で卒業 大学院卒業した時、もう自分が 結婚するか、結婚すれば絶対
日本に残る？
 2 で台湾に帰るか、それすごい迷ってたんですよ。
 3 で台湾に帰ればその時たぶんいい就職が待っ
 4 なんかね、あの日本から帰ってきて しかも環境科学がその当時から
すごいまあ一番いい就職できる学科ですね。
 5 でその時すごい迷ってたんですよ。
 6 でも日本に@@@ 結婚して日本に残りました。
 7 I: そうですか。それはかなり悩みましたでしょうね。
 8 大きな決断ですもんね。
 9 O: そうです、はい。んん
 10 I: やっぱ日本でその分野で ま外国人で女性が就職するっていうのは当時
はやっぱり難しい？

- 11 O: んん難しいです。そうですね理工
 12 そうですね。あの まあ外国人は就職はそうでもないけど、
 13 だけど外国人の女性？ でしかも理工科？
 14 理工系 理工系の就職は女性には優しくない。
 15 I: ですね。そもそも日本人も
 16 O: そう。で面接する時もはっきり言われて。
 17 「いや、あの入っててもお茶汲みですよ」って言われたんですよ@@@
 @@
 18 I: ええ 信じられない
 19 O: そうそうそう。で あのう でまあうちの主人は優しいから
 20 「ああ別に就職しなくてもいいよ。もう結婚しよう」@@@@@
 21 I: @@@ ふうん ね？せっかく勉強したのに。
 22 O: そう。で諦めて、
 23 普通の事務系の会社 貿易会社？
 24 もう自分の専門がもう諦めて、
 25 もう女性には本当に難しい。
 26 もう入っててもお茶汲みになるだったら もっとほら楽なところ行こう
 って@@
 27 諦めたんですよ@@@@@
- 1 O: When I graduated from the graduate school, whether I marry—if I marry,
 I would definitely remain in Japan—
 2 or I return to Taiwan? I was really torn between the two.
 3 If I returned, I would probably have a good job waiting (for me).
 4 Well, coming back from Japan and moreover, (having studied at) the
 environmental science, which was the most promising field for employment
 at that time.
 5 So, I was uncertain/conflicted then.
 6 But in Japan @@@, I got married and remained in Japan @@@.
 7 I: I see. You must have agonized a lot over that, right?
 8 It was such a big decision.
 9 O: Yeah, yes. Uh-huh.
 10 I: As expected, in Japan, in that field, was it difficult for a foreigner, especially
 a woman, to get employed at that time?
 11 O: Yeah, difficult. Well, as for science and engineering,
 12 well, for a foreigner alone, employment was not that hard.
 13 But for a foreign woman? And in science and engineering?
 14 The employment in the science and engineering field was not favorable to
 women.
 15 I: Indeed. Even for Japanese people it was...

- 16 O: Right. At the job interview, I was explicitly told
 17 “Well, even if you enter our company, you’ll just serve tea.” @@@
 18 I: What? Unbelievable!
 19 O: Yeah yeah yeah. Then, well, because my husband was tender,
 20 he said “You don’t have to work. Let’s just get married.” @@@
 21 I: @@@ Humm. Despite the effort you put in studying, right?
 22 O: Yes. Then, I **gave up**,
 23 and (entered) an ordinary clerical work, a trading company.
 24 I **gave up** pursuing my specialty.
 25 It was really difficult for women.
 26 If I would just be serving tea, I thought “I might as well take an easier job” @@
 27 So I **gave up**. @@@

The narrative above illustrates how the gendered expectations of the Japanese society compelled O to face a difficult and crucial life decision: whether to marry and remain in Japan or to return to Taiwan and pursue a career. Specifically, O’s intersectional position (as a foreigner, a woman, and a science engineering major) hindered her ability to establish a professional career in Japan. According to her account, it was her husband’s proposal of marriage that ultimately shaped her decision. Consequently, she abandoned the pursuit of a job in her field of specialization and instead sought a more accessible clerical job in Japan. In this part of the narrative, O employs the verb 諦める “to give up” three times (lines 22, 24 and 27), which literally conveys her sense of helplessness. However, because she recurrently inserts laughter, the entire story does not resonate with regret or a sense of failure, but rather retrospectively frames this life event as a humorous anecdote.

A few years later, O became pregnant and left her full-time position at the trading company. After giving birth, she assumed primary responsibility for domestic duties and childcare, and since then she has only worked part-time. That O does not regret her decision can be inferred in the following narrative, produced when I asked her about the Taiwanese mothers’ community in Japan.

Excerpt 4

- 1 I: じゃ そう言う台湾人の親同士でなんかこう日本の 日本の生活はこう
 2 なんてしょうね? なんて言ういうかな
 3 よく一緒に愚痴を言うとか@なんか@@こう
 4 O: ああ それはありますね。そうですね、ありました。

- 5 まあそういうのはありました。
 6 意外と 私は留学生から 私が一番長いですよ日本が。
 7 で意外と好きで日本好きで日本住んでる？
 8 だから他のお母さんはほら なんか結婚してから日本に来たとか
 9 日本語あんまりわからないまま結婚したとか
 10 色々あとまあ文化の違いで 色々夫婦問題とか
 11 うんそうですね色々聞きましたね。
 12 でも私自身は日本好きだから
 13 うん。あまり日本はどうかのこうの言わないですね。
 14 **それだったら自分の選択が正しくないって否定されちゃうから@@@**
 15 I: なるほどね。でもなんかわりと周りの台湾人の人たちがよく言うよう
 な 共通して言うような なんていうか愚痴ってそう言うのってあり
 ますか。
 16 ありましたか。
 17 O: うん ありますあります。
 18 **ただ私はその輪には入りません。**

- 1 I: Among Taiwanese parents, well, about Japan, about life in Japan is like...
 2 well, what should I say? How should I put it in words?
 3 (Did you) complaint together (about living in Japan)@ or @@@ things like...
 4 O: Oh, we do. Yes, we did.
 5 Well, something like that happened.
 6 Actually, I came to Japan as a student, so I have lived in Japan the longest.
 7 And, actually I like Japan, so I live in Japan.
 8 And other mothers, you know, came only after marriage or
 9 married without knowing much Japanese,
 10 because of cultural differences, (they often faced) various marital problems.
 11 Yes, I heard a lot those stories.
 12 But as for myself, since I like Japan,
 13 yeah, I don't really speak ill of Japan.
 14 **If I did, my choice would be denied as not right @@@**
 15 I: I see. But are there any kinds of common complaints that Taiwanese people
 around you often shared?
 16 Were there anything?
 17 O: Yes, yes, there are.
 18 **But I never join in that circle!**

In this narrative, O positions herself in contrast to other Taiwanese women in Japan who complain about their husbands and lives. By emphasizing that she does

not complain, O frames her life in Japan as the outcome of her own decision. As she states, if she were to criticize Japan, “my choice would be denied as not right” (line 14), suggesting that refraining from complaint allows her to maintain this sense of personal agency. Even when the interviewer attempts a second time to solicit common complaints shared by Taiwanese women in Japan (lines 15-16), O only provides a minimal response (“yes, there are”) acknowledging the existence of such complaints (line 17). However, she firmly declares that she would not join such a circle of complaint (line 18). Thus, O positions herself not only in opposition to other Taiwanese women in her narrative, but also resists the interviewer’s repeated invitation to articulate shared complaints about life in Japan. In doing so, O presents her identity as someone who retrospectively frames her life as the outcome of her autonomous choice, thereby distancing herself from discourses of dissatisfaction and regret.

In sum, O constructs her identity by underscoring her agency in life decisions, even when confronted with financial, gendered and cultural constraints in Taiwan and Japan. She positions herself apart from other Taiwanese women by refusing to complain or express regret, thereby affirming her life as the outcome of her own choice.

The following subsection turns to Y’s narrative to explore how similar tensions between agency and social norms are negotiated distinctly.

4.2. Y’s life story

Y first became interested in the Japanese language at the age of 21, when she encountered it for the first time. At that time, her father, who often traveled to Japan for business, hired a tutor for her younger brother to study Japanese. When Y requested to join the lesson, her parents refused.

Excerpt 5

- 1 Y: で「なんで女性は日本語勉強ダメですか？」っていうふうに聞いたところが
- 2 やっぱりね「女の子が嫁に行っちゃうから必要がない」と。
- 3 それでなんかなんとなく気持ちがよくないところだったので、
- 4 それでそういうところのきっかけだったんで…

- 1 Y: Then, I asked (them) “Why can’t women study Japanese?”
- 2 as expected, (they replied) “Because girls will eventually marry and leave,

- there is no need.”
 3 I felt somehow uncomfortable/negative,
 4 and that was the trigger/impetus ...

Y's desire to study Japanese was constrained by her parents' gendered expectation. This personal constraint, however, occurred simultaneously with a wave of social reform and liberalization that influenced young people in Taiwan, including Y, to pursue studying abroad.

Excerpt 6

- 1 Y: そういう時は私たちは20歳の時に、なんか外国に行くのブームがあっ
 たんです。((中略))
 2 その時同級生の方と喋ったりとかしたので
 3 それで「いいね いいね」っていう話になって。
 4 でもその時はやっぱりまだ学生だし、
 5 あのちょっと金銭なかなかなかまだ厳しいという状態だったので、
 6 その時は一旦まあ夢見たいな感じで思ったりしてたので、
 7 たまたまじゃちょっと塾でも行ってみようかなって同級生といろいろ
 話して、
 8 その時は塾はそんなに高い料金ではなかったみたい
 9 ま1週間1回か2回ぐらいという感じ ((中略))
 10 その時はたまたま教えていただいている先生が日本人だったんです。
 11 それでその日本人の先生が「あ、二人興味があればうちの父さんが新宿
 で塾がやってるよ。」
 12 要するに日本語学校あると。
 13 「紹介しましょうか」って
 14 「えーそうなの？」って
 15 なんか急に夢がああ降ってきたという感じでした。
- 1 Y: Around the age of 20, there was a boom of going abroad (among us). ((omit))
 2 I was talking with my classmate and
 3 (we agreed) the idea was good.
 4 But we were still students and
 5 money was still quite tight, so
 6 at that time, (studying in Japan) was momentarily felt like just a dream, so
 7 just by chance, I discussed it with my classmate and thought we could try
 going to a cram school,
 8 at that time, cram schools didn't seem to have very high fees,

- 9 well, maybe once or twice a week. ((omit))
 10 By chance, the teacher who taught us at that time was Japanese.
 11 And that Japanese teacher said, "Oh, if you two are interested (in studying in Japan), my father is running a cram school in Shinjuku."
 12 In other words, he owned a Japanese language school.
 13 "Shall I introduce (it to you)?"
 14 "What? Really?"
 15 It felt as if **a dream had suddenly fallen from the sky.**

Based on Y's narrative, her parents valued only the education of boys but not that of girls, since the latter were conventionally expected to leave home after marriage. This was likely a shared social norm among Taiwanese adults at that time. However, Y's narrative presents herself as a daughter who resists her parents' gendered discrimination and strategically seeks a path to pursue her dream of studying Japanese (in Japan). Although the actual opportunity to study in Japan emerged somewhat by chance (夢が降ってきた "a dream had fallen from the sky" in line 15), it was Y's agentive actions that enabled her to move closer to realizing her aspiration.

According to Y, she did not know much about Japan and had no concrete plan when she first arrived. With the help and support of people around her in Tokyo, her first year went relatively smoothly. However, she and her friend lived together in a very inexpensive apartment without a bathroom, studying at the language school while working part-time. Such a lifestyle, combined with the severe winter in Tokyo, made her friend ill, leading her to return to Taiwan after one year. In contrast, Y felt that one year of study was insufficient, so she consulted with her language school teacher about whether she should go to a vocational school or a college. The teacher recommended her to apply for O university, which had just begun accepting foreign students, suggesting that Y would have a good chance of being admitted.

Excerpt 7

- 1 Y: でその時は あのまあそうだね、じゃ受けてみようかなと。
 2 あとは ここで帰るどうしよかなって
 3 そこまでやっぱりちょっと物足りない という感じで
 4 O 大学の方に ま受かって。
 5 その時には じゃあちょっと帰って、
 6 でもやっぱり大学の学費が高いなので、
 7 私も ごめん、私も長女と言っても私けっこう やっぱり親から

- お金もらうのはすごくやだなと。
 8 自分で来るのが自分で決めてたものなので。
 9 やっぱり親にお金かけてもらうというのが私はすごくやだし、
 10 その時は本当にアルバイトで しながら通いました。
 11 I: そうですかあ。すごいですねえ。
 12 Y: まちよっと今思えば
 13 正直そのインタビューを@ほんと@昔のこと@いろいろ@ちょっと
 思い出した@というところ
 14 まもちろん**苦労した**ということもあるんですけども
 15 今 **苦労してたから今の私はあったんじゃないかな**と。
 16 でも私はみんなよりはそこまでは苦労してはいなかったかなという
 ところで..

- 1 Y: Then at that time, I thought, "Well, that's right, shall I try applying (to
 the college)?"
 2 And then, whether or not to go home at this point,
 3 it felt a bit unsatisfactory/lacking.
 4 Then, I was accepted by O university.
 5 At that time, I went back (to Taiwan) shortly,
 6 but you know, university tuition was very expensive,
 7 so I'm sorry, even though I was an eldest daughter, I really disliked to receive
 money from my parents.
 8 Since coming to Japan was my own decision/choice,
 9 I strongly disliked relying financially on my parents.
 10 So, that time, I attended university while working part-time.
 11 I: I see. That's amazing.
 12 Y: Well, looking back now,
 13 honestly, this interview @ has actually @ reminded me @ of many things
 from the past @.
 14 Well, of course, I had **hardships**,
 15 but I feel that **those hardships made me who I am now**.
 16 Still, compared with others, I didn't suffer/struggle as much as they did...

Although Y's decision about which university to apply for was shaped somehow passively by her teacher's pragmatic advice, the subsequent part of her narrative highlights her as an independent daughter. She demonstrates this independency by taking responsibility for her own choices and actively resisted the social norm that parents are expected to support the eldest child's academic career (lines 7-9). Consequently, she worked part-time to cover her tuition herself, and retrospectively

frames her life as a foreign student in terms of 苦勞 “hardships” (line 14). At the same time, she interprets these hardships as formative experiences that contributed to making her who she is today, thereby illustrating her resilience (line 15).

During her college years, Y began dating a Japanese man who eventually became her husband. At first, she planned to return to Taiwan and find a job after graduation. However, after visiting her boyfriend’s hometown and meeting his family, she realized that everyone around her regarded their relationship as heading toward marriage.

Excerpt 8

- 1 Y: 変な話 自分で愛するよりはたぶん愛されたの方が私は捨てられない
かなという風に
2 ま その時はほんとに単純で それだけしか思ってたんです。
3 やっぱあの一で日本にいるから。
4 I: そうですよ、頼る人いないし。
5 Y: そう。周りをみんなやっぱり不幸な人結構いっぱいいるんですよ。
6 やっぱなんか要するに暴力を受けられたりとか
7 あとほんとに金銭面で 自分でも働かないといけないとか
8 けっこうさまさまのやな話とかたくさん聞きました。
9 だからそうすると じゃ私まんとは就職したかったので@
10 でもお父さんお母さんが「もういいよ。女の人が 逆にもう結婚しか
ないんだろ」という風に言ってたので。
11 仕事いつでもできるんじゃないかなと。
12 じゃあまあいいかなその、
13 けっきょく子供できちゃっ@たので@@
14 もうじゃしょうがないかなという感じ。
15 ましょうがないというのじゃないんだけど...

- 1 Y: To put it in a strange way, rather than me loving him, I wouldn't be
abandoned if I were loved by him.
2 Back then, I was really simple-minded and that was all I thought.
3 After all, I was living alone in Japan.
4 I: Right. You had no one else to rely on.
5 Y: Yeah. Around me, there were actually quite a few unhappy people.
6 You know, in other words, some suffered from domestic violence,
7 while others struggled financially and had to work (to survive).
8 I heard a lot of various unpleasant stories.
9 Therefore, in that case, I honestly wanted to get a job@,

- 10 but my father and mother told me “That’s enough. Women, conversely,
really have no choice but to marry.”
- 11 (Then I thought) “I can work anytime I like.”
- 12 “So, maybe (marriage) is fine then.”
- 13 In the end, I became@ pregnant @@,
- 14 and so **I felt I had no choice.**
- 15 Well, it’s not exactly “no choice” though...

Y got married at the age of 28. Her narrative demonstrates that her decision to marry was negotiated not only between her personal aspiration to pursue a career in Taiwan (line 9) and the social and parental expectation that women should marry by a certain age (line 10), but also within the broader social circumstances that placed foreign women in a vulnerable position (lines 5-8). At the same time, Y frames her choice as an active decision to marry a man who truly loved her, positioning herself not as a passive victim of circumstances but as someone who strategically sought reliability and security in her life in Japan. She further reframed the situation positively by convincing herself that “work can be pursued anytime” (line 11), reflecting her effort to maintain agency and optimism in the face of constrained choices. Ultimately, her pregnancy became the decisive factor leading to her marriage, which she describes with somewhat a sense of resignation, stating しょうがない “I had no choice.” (line 14). However, the preceding laughter (@ in line 13) reframes the entire event as a laughable anecdote.

5. Discussion

5.1. Social norms and gendered expectations revealed through Taiwanese women’s narratives

Through O and Y’s narratives on migration and study abroad, it becomes evident that young Taiwanese people in a democratizing society were deeply inspired by the liberalization of overseas study and aspired to gain experiences abroad. Although the clarity of their goals and the strength of their motivations differ –Y’s goal being less concrete and her motivation relatively passive– both O and Y had to negotiate with social norms and parental expectations in order to realize their aspirations to study in Japan. The findings below address Research Question (1).

First, they both faced the challenge of limited financial support from their families. Their stories reflect a prevailing social norm in Taiwan at that time: children were expected to become financially independent after reaching a certain age. Both O and Y appear to have internalized this norm. Thus, according to their narratives, it was not that their parents refused to pay their tuition, but rather that O and Y

themselves rejected the idea of depending on parental financial assistance.

As for gendered expectations, Y's narratives reveal that some Taiwanese parents placed less value on their daughters' education and careers than on those of their sons. Instead, daughters were expected to marry and leave home. This reflects the traditional Confucian view that prioritizes sons as family successors and regards daughters as temporary members who will eventually marry out. O's narratives, on the other hand, highlight gender inequality in Japan, particularly in the pursuit of professional careers. Although these gendered expectations did not prevent O and Y from migrating to Japan and attaining higher education, they nevertheless exerted a strong influence on their later decisions to abandon their professional ambitions and choose marriage.

5.2. Constructing and reconstructing agency through life story narratives

This subsection addresses Research Questions (2) and (3) presented in the introduction. Both O and Y express their sense of agency in various ways through their narratives (see Table 2 for a systematic comparison).

In O's case, the use of particular terms such as 言い出す "to be the first person to speak up" and 覚悟 "determination," as well as her description of a persuasive dialogue with her parents, clearly demonstrate her agency in deciding to go to Japan. In contrast, Y's narrative about her migration to Japan demonstrates her agency in a more subtle way, particularly through how she frames her motivations and choices within broader social expectations. Nevertheless, her own initiative to seek ways to learn Japanese despite various limitations ultimately led her, often by chance, to realize her dream of going to Japan. Y's strong sense of agency becomes more apparent later in her story, when she decides to continue her studies at a university and refuses financial support from her parents.

As for marriage, neither O nor Y resisted prevailing gendered expectations and discrimination in Taiwan and Japan, and both eventually gave up pursuing their professional careers. Even though they describe these compromises using non-agentive expressions such as 諦める "to give up" or しょうがない "I had no choice," their delivery of these stories – interspersed with laughter – mitigates the sense of regret or failure. As Jefferson suggests, laughter in "troubles talk" can function as "troubles-resistance," signaling that the speaker is not overwhelmed by their circumstances but is instead managing them and is able to take the trouble lightly (Jefferson 351). Likewise, by laughing, O and Y discursively distance themselves

from the trope of the “oppressed woman.” In fact, O’s presentation of herself as a Taiwanese woman who does not complain about Japan reconfirms her agency in choosing marriage over career. In contrast, Y highlights her sense of agency by positioning herself apart from other foreign women in Japan who experienced domestic violence or financial difficulties, emphasizing that she actively chose a reliable husband.

Table 2. Comparative summary of narrative strategies in the construction of agency in O’s and Y’s narratives

Analytic dimension	O	Y
Agency strategies in deciding to study in Japan	Strong, explicit agency expressed through self-assertive terms (e.g. 言い出す “speak up”, 覚悟 “determination”) and persuasive dialogue with her parents.	More implicit agency expressed through contextual framing and less agentive expressions (e.g. 夢が降ってきた “a dream fell from the sky”), with stronger agency emerging later in her refusal of parental financial support.
Reframing strategies of early life in Japan	Reframing 無謀 “recklessness” and 苦労 “hardship” as humorous anecdotes accompanied by laughter.	Reframing 苦労 “hardship” as formative experiences that shaped her present identity.
Agency strategies in marriage rationales	Accepting discriminatory gender norms and limited professional career opportunities in Japan, using non-agentive expressions such as 諦める “to give up”, while reframing the situation humorously through laughter.	Accepting gender norms and parental expectations, using non-agentive expressions such as しょうがない “I had no choice”, while reframing the situation humorously through laughter.
Reframing strategies of marriage decision	Emphasizing marriage as her own decision by positioning herself in contrast to other Taiwanese women who complain about Japan.	Presenting herself as actively choosing a reliable husband by positioning herself in contrast to other foreign women who

		experience marital problems in Japan.
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A comparison of their narratives of studying abroad and marriage suggests an asymmetry in the operation of social norms at that time: while social constraints on women's access to higher education were gradually loosening, expectations surrounding marriage remained more persistent and restrictive, exerting a stronger influence on their life choices. This suggests that their marriage decisions cannot be defined by a simple binary of agentive choice or passive internalization of persisting gendered expectations. Rather, their narratives reveal more nuanced forms of agency – one that is exercised through the pragmatic negotiation of, and eventual alignment with, enduring social structures.

Interestingly, both O and Y express their past experiences of migrating to Japan as 苦勞 “hardship.” However, both similarly treat their past hardship as formative experiences that shaped their current identity. This process of transforming hardship into formative experience is a critical function of retrospective narrative (Riessman, *Narrative Methods* 8-10). By casting their past struggles as necessary steps toward identity development, O and Y effectively reframe their past constraints as moments of personal growth. Through this narrative strategy, their current sense of self—as resilient and adaptable women—is discursively constructed and validated. Thus, the articulation of 苦勞 serves not to diminish but rather to reinforce their sense of agency, confirming their ability to overcome challenges and make the best of their choices, thereby addressing Research Question (3).

6. Conclusion

Employing the framework of narrative analysis, this study analyzed the life story narratives of two Taiwanese women who migrated to Japan as language students in the late 1980s and eventually married and settled there. The analysis revealed how these women strategically constructed and negotiated their sense of agency through narratives when making critical decisions regarding their study abroad and marriage in Japan, despite facing various social and gendered constraints in both societies. It further suggests that the agency in these narratives cannot be understood as a simple binary between active choice and passive conformity, but rather as a nuanced process of negotiation with enduring social norms and structures.

This study contributes to a deeper understanding of how young people in post-martial-law Taiwan navigated rapid social change and redefined their life trajectories while negotiating persisting social norms and expectations. By tracing the women's migration and life choices, this study illustrates how individuals exercise agency to forge new possibilities for education, marriage, and self-realization amid Taiwan's democratization and globalization.

The limitations of this study are acknowledged: the analysis focused specifically on narratives concerning overseas study and marriage. However, the interviews contain rich stories from later stages of their lives, such as child-rearing and working experiences in Japan. Future studies will explore how they negotiate social norms and cultural differences through these subsequent life stages.

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台灣學生修習全英授課之西班牙語課程

動機探討

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摘要**

本研究探討促使台灣學生修習以全英授課 (EMI) 教授的初級西班牙語課程之動機。研究對象為 21 位選修初級西班牙語課程的台灣學生，每位參與者填寫一份修課動機問卷，其中 10 位參與者亦接受個別訪談。問卷結果以 Bourdieu 所提出的社會資本理論及 Richard and Pun 所提出影響學生選擇 EMI 課程的四項社會資本 (專業領域資本 (Disciplinary Capital)、經濟資本 (Economic Capital)、語言資本 (Linguistic Capital)、文化資本 (Cultural Capital) 進行分析。

皮爾森相關係數 (Pearson's correlation coefficient) 分析結果顯示，社會資本與學生選擇 EMI (英語授課) 西班牙語課程的動機有顯著的關聯性。其中，文化資本與動機的關聯性最強，並與其他三項資本 (經濟資本、社會資本、語言資本) 密切相連。顯示學生選擇 EMI 西班牙語課程的主要原因是希望能夠接觸來自不同文化背景的同儕並參與文化交流。

參與者普遍認為這門課程能提升他們的英語能力，並對他們未來職涯有所助益。此外，由於英語與西班牙語在心理類型上的相似性

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(psychotypical closeness) · 學生們認為透過 EMI 學習西班牙語能夠獲得更多學習資源，並且更有效率地學習西班牙語。

關鍵字：EMI、西班牙語學習、第二外語學習、多語學習、學習動機

Exploring Taiwanese Students' Motivation for Choosing an EMI Basic Spanish Course

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Abstract**

The present study explores the underlying factors that motivate Taiwanese university students to enroll in a basic Spanish language course delivered through English Medium Instruction (EMI). A total of 21 participants completed a structured motivation questionnaire, with 10 of them also engaging in individual semi-structured interviews. The collected data were analyzed through the lens of Bourdieu's Social Capital theory, incorporating the four dimensions of Social Capital delineated by Richard and Pun: Disciplinary Capital, Economic Capital, Linguistic Capital, and Cultural Capital.

Statistical analysis using Pearson's correlation coefficient indicates a significant positive relationship between Social Capital and students' motivation to choose the EMI Spanish course. Notably, Cultural Capital emerged as the most salient factor, exhibiting strong correlations with students' motivation. It is also highly correlated with the remaining three capitals: Disciplinary, Economic, and Linguistic. These findings suggest that students enroll in the EMI Spanish course primarily to interact with peers from diverse cultural backgrounds and to engage in intercultural exchange.

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Overall, participants believe the EMI Spanish course would enhance their English language proficiency and offer advantages for their future career development. Moreover, due to their perception of the psychotypical closeness between English and Spanish, students believe the EMI course is more resourceful and pedagogically effective compared to its Chinese Medium Instruction (CMI) counterpart. Therefore, they believe it offers a more efficient and engaging Spanish learning experience.

Keywords: EMI, Spanish learning, L3 acquisition, multilingualism, learning motivation

壹、研究背景

全英授課近年來已成全球高等教育趨勢，而台灣的高等教育當然也不能例外。在少子化的衝擊下，大專院校為吸引國際學生來台就讀大力推動全球化課程，期望全英授課（English Medium Instruction，簡稱EMI）能夠降低外籍生因中文程度不佳在學習上所產生的隔閡，提升國際學生入學意願。對台灣學生而言，修習EMI課程能夠提升他們的英語能力進而為日後進入國際就業市場做準備。

根據教育部2021年的統計，19%的台灣學生正在修習一門以上的EMI課程。「大專校院學生雙語化學習計畫」中更提出預計在2030年全台將有至少40所大專院校以全英授課的比率達80%以上，且在全英授課標準院校中至少有50%的大二學生英語程度到達歐盟語言能力指標（the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages，簡稱CEFR）B2程度以上。為達成此目標，大專院校積極要求校內各系所每學期必須開設至少一門EMI課程。然而，此要求使非英語的外語系所（如：西班牙語、法語、德語）在課程設計和教學上面臨相當嚴峻的挑戰。這些外語系所通常以中文或系所目標語為授課語言，導入EMI課程意味著學生們必須透過他們的第一外語（英語）去學習第二外語。就課程設計而言，課程內容除了必須兼顧學生們的英語和第二外語程度也必須確保教師和學生能夠取得適用的教材及資源。在教學方面，這些非英語系的外語教師並非英語母語人士，其英語程度未必受過檢測，且他們從未接受過全英語授課的訓練。對本國籍教師而言，推行EMI課程意味著要求這些教師使用外語（英語）來教授另一個外語。對外國籍教師來說，他們必須使用英語來教授自己的母語。

以西班牙語為例，為實踐校方制定的全英授課目標，並顧及學生的學習需求，開設EMI的基礎西班牙語課程是較為可行的解決之道。基礎課程的內容相對簡單，因此在英語使用的複雜程度上，亦低於其他專業課程。此外，同一課程提供全英授課和中文授課二種選項，學生能夠自由選擇授課語言。

台灣學生在學習基礎外語時，授課語言通常是中文。使用母語學習其他外語能幫助學生更易於理解學習內容。因此，在可以選擇授課語言的情況下，哪些因素促使台灣學生選擇使用EMI來學習第二外語是一個值得探究的議題。

貳、理論背景

一、全英授課 (EMI) 的定義

學界對 EMI 課程的定義因教學環境不同而有所差異，但一般認為是一門使用英語授課的非英語語言課程。在 EMI 課程中，英語是傳遞內容的工具，而不是學習的主題 (Coleman et al; lyobe and Brown; Kim and Shin)。這些課程用英語教導其他科目如經濟、醫學、會計和歷史等。

Macaro 認為定義 EMI 課程必須考量學生的語言背景。EMI 課程必須使用英語在非英語地區教授英語以外的學科內容，教授的對象為非英語母語人士。Kojima 提出五項 EMI 課程必須具備的特質：(1) 授課語言僅限英語 (2) 教學重點為課程內容而非英語學習 (3) 教師是課程內容相關領域的專家，不具備英語教學專長和經驗 (4) EMI 課程大多為高等教育課程 (5) 教授的對象為英語母語或非母語人士。

然而，學界通常根據上述定義，認為以 EMI 授課的其他外語課程 (如：西班牙語、法語、德語) 不屬於「正統」的 EMI 課程，因為其核心學習目標仍是語言本身，而非其他專業知識。綜合 Macaro 對 EMI 授課對象語言背景的論點，以及 Kojima 對 EMI 課程特質的界定，可以看出 EMI 的概念並不必然侷限於專業知識的傳授，而是更廣泛地涵蓋所有以英語為媒介的教學情境。換言之，只要英語在課程中扮演的是授課媒介，而非學習目標，即使課程內容是另一門語言，也仍然符合 EMI 的核心精神。正因如此，以 EMI 教授的西班牙課程，雖然挑戰了傳統對 EMI 的認知，卻依然符合其定義。

二、影響學生選擇 EMI 的因素

探討學生選擇全英授課課程 (EMI) 的動機對於課程設計與教學策略的優化具有關鍵性意義。透過掌握學生選課的動機因素，教師與課程規劃者得以調整教學內容以契合學習需求與預期效益。Chang 將促使學生選擇 EMI 課程的動機歸納為兩大類：(1) 對英語語言學習的期待，(2) 對課程內容的興趣與需求。該研究亦指出，學生選擇 EMI 課程的主要動機為提升英語能力，視此為強化未來學術或職涯競爭力的關鍵途徑。此一動機與全球化背景下英語作為國際通用語之角色密切相關，也顯示英語學習的需求是學生選擇 EMI 課程的主要原因。

Chapple 訪問了 89 位修讀 EMI 課程的日本大學生他們選擇 EMI 課程的原因。結果顯示，促使學生選擇 EMI 課程的主要原因包括：希望提升英語能力、與國際學生建立交流，以及接受正統的英語教育。然而，儘管初期動機明確，在修課過程中如何維持學習動機卻是一大挑

戰。由於語言障礙所造成的學習困難，使得 EMI 課程的退選率高於以日語授課的課程。此現象反映出語言能力在 EMI 課程中所扮演的關鍵角色，同時也突顯了課程設計需考量如何支持學生在語言上逐步適應，方能提升整體學習成效與持續動機。

Atlı and Özal 以 Gardner 所提出之「態度 / 動機測驗量表」(Attitude/Motivation Test Battery, 簡稱 AMTB) 為工具，調查 117 位土耳其大學生參與全英授課課程 (EMI) 的動機。研究結果顯示，有高達 85% 的學生修讀 EMI 課程的主因為提升英語能力，並期望與國際學生建立良好的人際互動關係。學生普遍認為，EMI 課程可促進其沉浸於英語環境中，進而有助於融入以英語為主要交流語言的社會文化。此研究結果進一步佐證語言資本與文化資本在 EMI 課程選擇中所扮演的核心角色，反映出學生對語言習得與文化整合的高度期盼。在全球化環境下，EMI 課程不僅被視為語言能力提升的工具，更成為通往跨文化交流與社會參與的重要途徑。

Kojima and Yashima 運用 Dörnyei 提出的「第二語言動機自我系統」(L2 Motivational Self System) 分析 221 位日本大學選修 EMI 課程的動機。結果顯示，對英語學習具有高度興趣的學生較傾向選修 EMI 課程，且在課程中更專注於提升英語能力而非課程內容本身。這一現象反映出語言學習動機在選擇 EMI 課程中的主導地位。此研究與前述文獻之研究結果相呼應，皆指出累積語言資本及文化融合，是學生選擇 EMI 課程的核心動機之一。

然而，這些研究多從英語學習的角度來探討 EMI 動機，並未真正聚焦於學生選擇 EMI 課程本身的動機。例如，Chapple 研究中所使用的訪談問題主要與英語學習相關，並非探究選擇 EMI 課程動機。Gardner 所提出的「態度 / 動機測驗量表」(AMTB) 原本旨在探討加拿大語言沉浸課程中學生對英語與法語的態度與學習動機。Kojima and Yashima 所採用的「第二語言動機自我系統」框架則主要分析學習者對目標語言的學習動機，亦非針對 EMI 課程的選修動機而設計。

儘管 EMI 課程融合英語與專業內容的學習，其教學重點實則放在學科知識而非英語本身。因此，驅使學生選擇 EMI 課程的動機應超越語言層面。Richards and Pun 指出，探討大學生修讀 EMI 課程的動機時，應考量經濟、文化、語言等社會因素，因為這些因素與學生未來的職涯發展息息相關。學生選擇 EMI 課程的決定可能是基於此類課程是否能為其社會生活與職涯前景帶來潛在益處。因此，探討學生選擇 EMI 課程動機應以社會學理論為框架並融合語言學習動機。

Richards and Pun 建議以 Bourdieu 所提出的「社會資本」(Social Capital) 理論為基礎來探究 EMI 的修課動機。Bourdieu 認為「資本」不僅限於經濟層面，個體透過社會交流及活動所產生的有形或無形利益也被視為「資本」。所謂「社會資本」指的是個人透過社會網絡和人際互動所獲得的資源與利益，例如，一個人因其社會地位、教育背景及人際關係所獲得的好處 (Bourdieu and Wacquant)。Bourdieu 指出，社會資本源自造成個別權力與地位差異的社會、經濟、與文化結構，每個人因其生活與成長背景的差異，所擁有的社會資本也因人而異。

EMI 課程所營造的學習環境相較於母語授課具有語言與文化上的差異性，進而使學生得以接觸並累積具多樣性與跨文化特質的社會資本。Richards and Pun 指出，在 EMI 環境中，學生不只是學習課程內容，而是在建構一個多層次的社會資本網絡，這些資本不僅影響其學習歷程，也可能對其未來的社會參與和職涯發展產生深遠影響。他們將影響學生透過 EMI 課程所獲得的「社會資本」細分為四項：(1) 專業領域資本 (Disciplinary Capital) (2) 經濟資本 (Economic Capital) (3) 語言資本 (Linguistic Capital) (4) 文化資本 (Cultural Capital)。

專業領域資本 (Disciplinary Capital) 指的是 EMI 課程對學生的專業發展所提供的機會和貢獻。學生們能夠透過修習 EMI 課程獲得更多的就業或升遷機會，並在日後的職涯中得到更多同儕與主管的認可。Suliman and Tadros 以沙烏地阿拉伯醫學院學生為例，說明在本地醫療人力短缺的背景，學生傾向修習 EMI 醫學課程，以期提升未來與國際專業同儕的溝通能力並拓展職涯發展機會。

除了職涯發展外，英文在其專業領域的地位也是促使學生選擇 EMI 課程的誘因之一。Hamid and Jaha 研究了孟加拉大學生修習 EMI 課程的動機。其報告指出，因為市面上缺乏以孟加拉語出版的科技相關教材及資源，主修科技相關領域的學生傾向選擇 EMI 課程。Tamtam et al. 則觀察到，因為缺乏以阿拉伯語撰寫的教材和研究論文，沙烏地阿拉伯大學中主修機械工程的學生認為選擇以阿拉伯語 (母語) 授課的課程對其職業發展不利。選擇 EMI 課程能夠讓他們獲得更充分的專業知識及資源。學生們意識到英語在他們的學科領域中占主導地位，因此阿拉伯世界大多數的高等教育機構都積極地在工程和機械相關系所推行 EMI 課程，為學生日後投入國際就業市場做準備。以上研究顯示，學生選擇 EMI 課程的主因是因為英語在其專業領域能夠提供較多的資源與訓練。且曾經修習 EMI 課程的經歷使其具備與國際同儕工作的條件，拓展工作選擇的可能性。

修習 EMI 課程的經歷為其專業領域所帶來附加經濟效益被稱為 EMI 的經濟資本 (Economic Capital)· 如：收入增加、有較好的福利、能夠從事收入較高的職業。由於追蹤曾經修習 EMI 學生畢業後的收入執行不易，相關研究目前仍屬少數。但從 Brown and Lyobe 針對日本大學 EMI 相關課程的調查中可以窺知 EMI 與高收入行業的關聯性。在他們所調查的 200 所日本大學中，超過半數的 EMI 課程集中在醫學、科技、工業、及科學領域。這些領域的平均薪資較高且提供較多國際就業機會，而這也成為吸引學生修課的誘因。

Taşdemir and Kılıçslan 使用半對數薪資預估方程式以及學生在線上問卷中所提供的個人資料來估算 756 位修習經濟課程及商業課程的土耳其學生畢業後的薪資。他們比較了以 EMI 及土耳其語修習同一學程學生的未來收入，發現 EMI 學程學生的預計收入將比土耳其語學程高出大約 11% 至 22%，而二者間的差距在畢業後將因為其他因素（如：所接受的在職專業訓練、工作經驗、人際關係）的介入而逐漸縮減。儘管目前學界對於 EMI 課程與學生日後收入之間的關聯性尚未有定論，但社會上普遍的價值觀認為 EMI 有益於學生的未來發展。EMI 課程的學生通常被認為具備較好的英語能力，這樣的認知使他們更有機會獲得較佳的工作機會並得到較高的工資。

語言資本 (Linguistic Capital) 指的是 EMI 對提升學生英語程度的貢獻及英語與其社會地位的關聯性。由於英語是國際通用語，學生們認為英語能力是成功的關鍵之一。Shohamy 指出，英語作為全球通用語言，其社會象徵意義不僅關乎溝通，更牽涉到學術與職場成功之期待。能夠在專業場域使用流利的英語與人溝通有助提升個人的專業形象，這樣的社會價值也賦予英語在社會上的特權地位並被視為菁英語言。因此，修習 EMI 課程使學生覺得自己是菁英份子並藉此得到同儕的尊敬。

Lei and Hu 檢視中國地方型大學的 EMI 授課政策，他們發現學生和教師都認為英語是國際化的關鍵。通常只有具備高階英語程度的學生能夠被允許修習 EMI 課程，而這樣的經歷將使學生能夠晉身較高階的社會階層。Huang 針對台灣學生修習 EMI 商業學程的研究中也發現類似的現象。在一對一的訪談中，學生們表示他們申請就讀 EMI 商業學程是因為它象徵學術特權，只有學業成績優異且英語能力達到門檻的學生才能申請該學程。能夠成為該學程的一員象徵學生在學術表現上的優異成就及聰穎，也提升了他們在同儕間的地位。

上述二項研究皆探討單一語言環境中學生對修習 EMI 課程的看法。當學生們擁有相同的母語背景時，英語被視為特權語言而 EMI 課程被視為菁英的代表。在多語環境中，英語除了其特權地位外，也是教學場域所使用的共通語。在 Saeed et al. 探究馬來西亞大學生對於授課語言態度的研究中，英語是最多學生希望選擇的授課語言，而馬來西亞學生多元的語言背景是造成此一結果的主要原因。有 50% 的受訪學生以馬來語為母語，25% 以中文為母語，其餘學生的母語包含泰米爾語、英語、及其他語言。在此一多語學習環境中，除了英語在其專業領域的優勢地位外，學生選擇 EMI 是為了和不同母語背景的同儕及教師溝通。

在多語環境中，EMI 不但提供了溝通的工具，也豐富了教學場域的文化多元性。學生選擇 EMI 課程的原因不僅限於其自身的溝通需求，也期望能與多樣文化接觸。此類文化交流機會即為 Richards and Pun 所指出 EMI 課程的文化資本 (Cultural Capital)。

文化資本指的是能夠透過 EMI 課程培養國際化的文化理解能力。學生們相信 EMI 課程的內容能夠拓展他們的視野並且給予他們和不同文化背景的國際學生交流的機會。Baker 指出，在多元語言背景的學習環境中，EMI 不僅僅是溝通的共同語言，也是用來進行跨文化溝通的工具。

Halualani 指出，學生對其他文化的理解和敏感度和他們在 EMI 課堂中的學習成效息息相關。文化敏感度高的學生通常有較好的學習成效。此外，學生們相信 EMI 課程提供了與多元文化接觸的機會和環境，如此一來便能提升他們的跨文化溝通能力，進而對他們日後的生涯發展有所助益。因此，文化資本也是促使學生選擇 EMI 課程的因素之一。

Kim et al. 調查 213 位韓國大學生對 EMI 課程的看法及對跨文化交流的敏感度。結果顯示，韓國學生尊重外籍同儕的文化，但是多數學生覺得要和外籍同學進行文化交流是很困難的。造成阻礙的主因是他們對自己的英語能力缺乏信心，因此對和外籍同學交流卻步。能夠在 EMI 課堂中注意到本地同學與外籍生之間的文化差異，且能夠欣賞外籍生所帶來的文化多元性的學生對 EMI 課程的接受度較高，也能以更正面的態度來面對這些課程。因此，Kim et al. 認為跨文化敏感度和對其他文化的理解是建立學生對 EMI 課程的態度與提升修課動機的重要元素。

學生對 EMI 課程的選擇深受上述四項社會資本的影響。然而，現有研究多聚焦於理工、醫學及商業領域，針對外語相關學科學生之修課動機探討仍屬不足。基於此研究缺口，本研究旨在分析促使台灣學生修習以 EMI 授課之基礎西班牙語課程之因素，以補充 EMI 動機研究之

學科面向並豐富其理論架構。

三、EMI 基礎西班牙語課程

為配合政府推動國家教育體系的雙語政策，各大學積極設立英語授課 (EMI) 課程，尤其是在商業、工程和科技領域。在此趨勢下，許多大學要求各系至少開設一門 EMI 課程。然而，對於教授非英語 (如西班牙語、法語、德語或日語) 的外語系所而言，這是一項重大挑戰。

以西班牙語系為例，在台灣高等教育系統中，西班牙語系的多數師資在西班牙語系國家接受學士後教育，並未在英語系國家學習或接受專業培訓。因此，他們通常能以中文或西班牙語教學，但不一定能夠使用英語授課。此外，儘管台灣學生從小開始學習英語，但並不習慣透過英語來學習另一門外語 (西班牙語)。在外文系的課程中，基礎課程一般由台灣教師以中文教授，進階課程則由台灣教師或母語人士以西班牙語授課。換言之，在西班牙語系的課程中並不要求使用英語。

此外，所有主修西班牙語的學生在畢業前須通過 CEFR B1 等級的西班牙國家語言能力檢定考試 (Diplomas de Español como Lengua Extranjera, 簡稱 DELE) 考試，以符合部分畢業門檻要求。學生擔心，若透過 EMI 學習西班牙語，可能影響其對課程內容的理解，進而造成通過畢業門檻的阻礙。因此，為配合學校的 EMI 政策，西班牙語系決定開設以 EMI 教授的入門西班牙語課程。此課程為一般選修，僅供非西班牙語系同學選讀，因此不會影響主修西班牙語學生的學習進度及內容。該課程也提供中文授課版本，讓學生有所選擇。

以往探討 EMI 課程修課動機的研究多以與英語能力有直接關聯性的專業課程或學程為主，但本研究所探究的課程正好與此相反。相較於其他學科的 EMI 課程，英語並非學習西班牙語時的必要工具。此外，英語能力對西班牙語相關職業未必有助益。從西班牙語可能為學生未來發展所帶來的經濟資本來看，由於該課程屬入門課程，很難評估學生在此課程獲得的知識是否能在未來提供經濟效益。再者，EMI 基礎西班牙語課程並非必修課，學生可以自由選擇以中文授課的相同課程或其他課程。因此，探討台灣學生選擇透過 EMI 學習基礎西班牙語的動機對於 EMI 修課動機相關研究具有相當的學術價值。

參、研究內容

一、EMI 基礎西班牙語課程

該課程是為非西班牙語系學生所開設的一般選修課程，每週上課 2 小時，每學期 18 週，共 36 小時。授課教師為台灣籍，曾在美國兩所大學教授類似課程達六年之久，並完成了由劍橋大學提供的英語授課培訓課程 (EMI training program)。

課程內容共有 8 個單元：(1) 西班牙語字母與發音 (2) 打招呼 (3) 國籍和語言 (4) 表達地點 (5) 職業 (6) 日常活動 (7) 喜好與休閒活動 (8) 問路。各單元以日常對話為基礎，衍生相關詞彙、文法與句型介紹，並以相關練習作結。

課堂活動包含教師解說、習題演練，以及口語練習。首先，教師解說課文內容及相關字彙，而後介紹文中所包含的文法概念及句型。在學習了課程內容後，學生先完成相關習題，其類型包含：線上互動式文法習題、完成對話、動詞變化練習等。在完成基礎練習後，學生們參與分組或配對的任務導向活動，例如根據提供的資訊尋找失蹤的人、詢問前往某目的地的指引，或根據夥伴的興趣向對方推薦一個旅遊地點。這些活動主要目的在於引導學生藉由與同儕的互動加強對所習得語言知識的熟悉度並將其運用於溝通中。每單元的教學活動結束後皆有小考，考試內容涵蓋字彙、文法、及文法架構。期中和期末考試包含口試和筆試，口試內容為發音及分組對話，筆試題型和平時小考類似。

二、研究對象

共有 21 位來自同一所大學不同科系的學生參與本研究，男性 9 位，女性 12 位，他們的年齡介於 18 至 22 歲之間。所有參與者的母語皆為中文，且在 3 到 9 歲之間開始在非母語環境中學習英語。沒有任何一位參與者主修或曾經學習過西班牙語。

三、研究工具

本研究採用匿名動機問卷 (附錄一) 與一對一訪談作為研究工具。問卷共包含 20 題，每項資本五題。題目針對參與者選擇 EMI 西班牙語課程之動機進行陳述，參與者依據自身情況以五點李克特量表 (Likert scale) 評定各項陳述之符合程度。為確保問卷的信效度，該問卷在實驗前先進行前測。對象為 15 位和實測參與者具相似背景之學生。前測問卷之信度指標 Cronbach' s α 值為 0.88 ($p < .05$)，顯示具

高度信效度。根據前測結果，研究者對問項內容進行修訂，並調整項目順序以利後續實驗進行。

本研究亦進行一對一訪談，共有 10 位受試者自願參與（男性 1 位，女性 9 位）。每位受訪者回答五個開放式問題，內容涵蓋選擇 EMI 西班牙語課程之動機與對其他 EMI 課程的興趣程度，訪談以中文進行。

四、研究步驟

授課教師向學生說明本研究之目的，並邀請其參加。自願參與者簽署研究同意書後，完成匿名動機問卷。整體問卷填寫流程約持續 20 分鐘。隨後，研究人員邀請所有參與者進行一對一訪談，最終共有 10 位同意參加。受訪者在訪談開始前皆簽署研究同意書，訪談於研究者辦公室內進行。

研究者於訪談中提出五項開放式問題，內容包括參與者選擇 EMI 西班牙語課程之動機，以及是否有意願透過 EMI 修習其他外語課程。所有訪談均錄音存檔，以供後續分析。每位受訪者均獲贈禮券一張。訪談時間平均為 10 分鐘¹。

肆、數據分析

一、動機問卷

根據初步信效度檢驗結果，動機問卷的 Cronbach' s α 值達 0.91($p < .05$)，顯示所蒐集資料具高度內部一致性與信賴度。採用 Richard and Pun 所提出之四類社會資本架構進行分析後的結果如圖 1 所示。「語言資本」(Linguistic Capital) 相關項目獲得的平均分數最高 ($M = 4.02$)，「專業領域資本」(Disciplinary Capital) 次之 ($M = 3.97$)，「文化資本」(Cultural Capital) ($M = 3.68$) 和「經濟資本」(Economic Capital) 獲得的平均認同度較低 ($M = 3.6$)。

圖 2 呈現參與者對「語言資本」相關問題的回應。參與者對「Q4. 我修全英授課西班牙文課程是因為西班牙文是世界重要的語言」表達高度認同 ($M = 4.43$)，其次為「Q11. 我修全英授課的西班牙文課程是因

¹ 本研究經國立成功大學人類研究倫理審查委員會核准（核准編號：

NCKUHREC-E-112-522-2）。

為英文是世界重要的語言」($M = 4.09$)，再者為「Q5. 我修全英授課的西班牙文課是因為它會提升我跟外籍同學的溝通能力」($M = 4.00$)。上述結果顯示，學生選擇 EMI 課程的語言動機主要與英語在全球溝通層面的實用性與影響力有關。

相較之下，與英語菁英地位相關之陳述獲得的認同度較低。「Q2. 我覺得能夠修全英授課的人比較優秀」與「Q15. 相較於中文授課的西班牙文課，修全英授課的西班牙文課的學生需要付出更多努力」兩項的平均分數皆為 3.8。顯示學生在語言資本面向上所展現之選課動機較少受到英語所象徵的社會階級或菁英形象影響，而更傾向重視語言在實際溝通與全球移動性中的功能性價值。

圖 1：各項資本評分之平均值

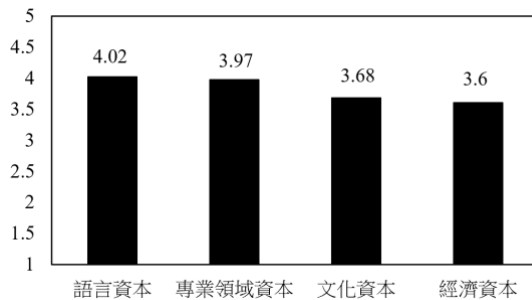
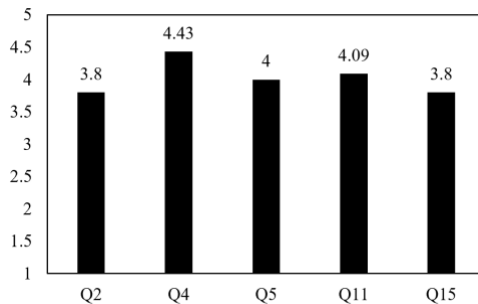


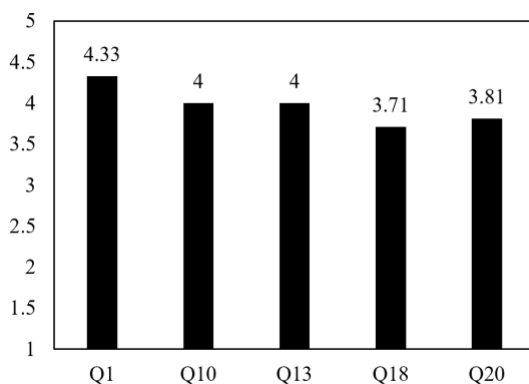
圖 2：語言資本相關問題平均值



「專業領域資本」(Disciplinary Capital)面向的相關陳述平均認同度僅次於「語言資本」，顯示該資本在學生選擇 EMI 基礎西班牙語課程的動機中具一定影響力。圖 3 顯示「Q1. 全英授課的西班牙文課程對增進我目前所就讀科系的相關知識有幫助」的認同度最高 ($M = 4.33$)，其次為「Q10. 在全英授課的西班牙文課所學到的內容比中文授課多」與「Q13. 全英授課對學西班牙文的助益比中文授課多」($M = 4.00$)，再者為「Q20. 我在全英授課的課程中獲得的學習資源比中文授課的課程多」($M = 3.81$) 與「Q18. 修全英授課的西班牙文課對我目前所主修的領域有幫助」($M = 3.71$)。

上述結果顯示，儘管 EMI 西班牙文課程未能直接提升學生於其主修領域的知識積累，學生仍認為該課程提供更多與英語接觸的機會和學習資源，進而有助於他們以英語吸收專業領域的相關知識。因此，「專業領域資本」對學生選擇 EMI 西班牙文課程的影響主要在於學生對 EMI 課程內容的正面評價（較有助益、課程內容較豐富、較多資源），以及英語在其學科發展與專業學習中所扮演之工具性角色。

圖 3：專業領域資本相關問題平均值

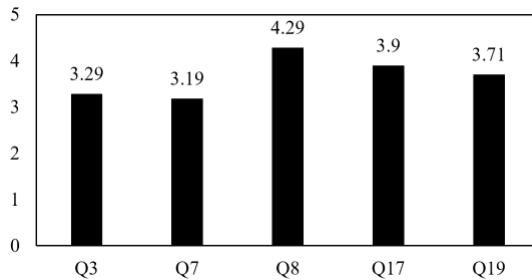


學生對「文化資本」相關問題的認同度呈現於圖 4。他們對「Q8.

全英授課的西班牙文課能幫助我了解外籍同學的文化」表達高度認同 ($M = 4.29$)，顯示跨文化理解為其選擇 EMI 課程的重要因素。其次為「Q17. 我認為在全英授課的課程中能體驗到比中文授課課程更多的外國文化」($M = 3.90$) 與「Q19. 我修全英授課的西班牙文課是因為可以體驗到比中文授課更多西班牙語國家的文化」($M = 3.71$)，顯示學生期待透過 EMI 授課情境拓展其文化視野。

然而，與文化交流和優勢認同相關的題項卻呈現相對較低的認同度。「Q3. 我會修全英授課的西班牙文課是因為可以跟外籍學生交流」與「Q7. 修全英授課的西班牙文課讓我覺得自己是菁英，因為我有較多機會接觸其他文化」平均分數分別為 3.29 與 3.19，反映學生對 EMI 課程所帶來的文化互動機會持較為保留的態度，亦未明顯認為此種學習環境能賦予其相對於同儕的優勢地位。

圖 4：文化資本相關問題平均值

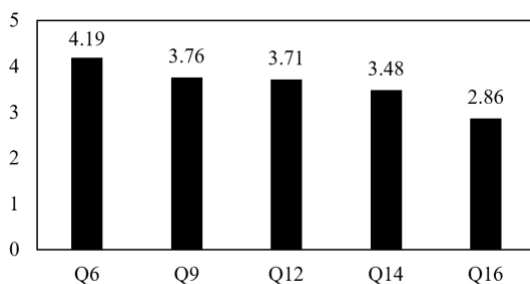


整體而言，學生對 EMI 西班牙語課程的文化價值具有一定程度的認可，特別是在增進跨文化認知與體驗方面。然而，此結果亦揭示出學生對於文化資本的態度仍存有矛盾：一方面渴望沉浸於多元文化環境以促進理解，另一方面則對實際互動產生猶豫。此外，文化資本所附帶的社會象徵性優勢似乎尚未成為學生選擇 EMI 西班牙文課的重要考量，學生較傾向於從文化學習的功能性面向評估 EMI 課程的價值。

在四項社會資本構面中，「經濟資本」(Economic Capital) 獲得的平均認同度最低 ($M = 3.60$)，顯示其在學生選擇 EMI 基礎西班牙語課程的動機結構中所占比重相對有限。如圖 5 所示，參與者對「Q6.

我修這門課是因為英文對我以後就業有幫助」表達的認同度最高 ($M = 4.19$)，反映英語在職涯發展中的實用價值是最具吸引力的因素。其他項目依序為：「Q9. 我修這門課是因為具備英語能力會讓我以後賺到比較高的薪水」($M = 3.76$)、「Q14. 我修課這門課是因為西班牙文對我以後就業有幫助」($M = 3.71$) 與「Q16. 修全英授課的西班牙文課程會讓我以後找到比較好的工作」($M = 3.48$)。至於「Q12. 我會因為有修過全英授課的西班牙文課而在工作上得到更高的薪水和更好的福利 (如：放比較多的有薪假、拿到比較多年終獎金)」² ($M = 2.86$) 的平均接受度最低，反映學生對其實質經濟回報持較為懷疑的態度。

圖 5：經濟資本相關問題平均值



整體而言，此結果揭示，學生對 EMI 課程的經濟價值評估傾向以語言技能與職涯可能性為中心，而非期待立即或直接的薪資與福利提升。值得注意的是，學生對修習 EMI 西班牙語課程是否能帶來長期經濟效益的觀點較為保留，可能與課程性質為基礎通識，無法在短期內顯著強化西語能力有關。由此推論，在經濟資本構面下，英語的職涯工具性地位較西班牙語更具動機誘因，而 EMI 課程的象徵性與實質性經濟回報尚未成為主要驅動力。

² 雖有審稿人建議此題宜由社會人士作答較為適切，然鑑於學生畢業後之實際就業與福利狀況難以掌握，且易受多重外在因素干擾，本研究遂於經濟資本相關題項採取「預期導向」設計，亦即請學生依其個人對未來之期望進行回覆。

為深入探討 Richard and Pun 所提出的四項社會資本（專業領域資本、經濟資本、語言資本與文化資本）與學生選擇 EMI 西班牙語課程之動機間的關聯性，本研究採用皮爾森相關係數（Pearson's correlation coefficient）進行統計分析，結果如表 1 所示。

表 1：四項社會資本與修課動機的關聯性 ($p < .05$)

	動機	專業領域資本	語言資本	文化資本	經濟資本
動機	1	0.78	0.83	0.95	0.85
專業領域資本	0.78	1	0.46	0.73	0.55
語言資本	0.83	0.46	1	0.76	0.57
文化資本	0.95	0.73	0.76	1	0.75
經濟資本	0.85	0.55	0.57	0.75	1

分析結果顯示，文化資本與學生修課動機之間具有最強的相关性 ($r(19) = .95, p < .05$)，顯示對文化交流的期待在課程選擇上具有高度影響力。經濟資本 ($r(19) = .85, p < .05$) 和語言資本 ($r(19) = .83, p < .05$) 亦與修課動機呈現顯著且高度之正相關，顯示提升英語能力與修習 EMI 課程對未來職涯所產生的預估效益也是促進修課意願的因素。專業領域資本雖與修課動機之關聯相對較低 ($r(19) = .78, p < .05$)，但仍屬於顯著且可觀的相關範疇。

此外，針對四項資本間的交叉關聯性分析結果顯示，語言資本 ($r(19) = .76, p < .05$) 與專業領域資本 ($r(19) = .73, p < .05$) 均與文化資本具有高度正相關，文化資本亦與經濟資本呈現強烈相關性 ($r(19) = .75, p < .05$)。此一結果指出，對文化交流的期待不僅促使學生選擇 EMI 課程，其所帶來的附加效益（如：提升英語能力、因為英語能力而獲得的經濟效益）亦可能提升其對課程所帶來潛在經濟效益的預期。

然而，專業領域資本與其他三項資本之相關性相對較弱，尤其與語言資本之相關係數僅為 $r(19) = .46 (p < .05)$ ，並非期待 EMI 基礎西班牙語課程對其專業知識與日後職涯發展有所助益。此外，經濟資本除了與文化資本的關聯性較強外，和語言資本及專業領域資本的關聯性皆弱。顯示學生對此 EMI 課程能否為其專業職涯及與專業發展所帶來的經濟效益持保留態度。綜合而言，學生選擇 EMI 西班牙語課程，主要著眼於語言能力提升及文化資本累積，其間接所帶來之經濟資本效益亦可能成為選課動機之重要因素之一。

二、個別訪談

為瞭解學生選修 EMI (English-Medium Instruction) 西班牙語課程之動機與學習經驗，研究者對部分參與者進行個別訪談。共有十位參與者自願接受訪談，內容包含下列五項問題：(1) 請問您當初選課時知道可以選擇中文或全英授課的基礎西班牙文課嗎？(2) 您選擇全英授課的西班牙文課的原因為何？(3) 您覺得全英授課的西班牙文課對您的學習有幫助嗎？可以說一下在哪些方面有助？(4) 您日後願意再選修其他以全英語授課的西班牙文課嗎？為什麼？(5) 您日後願意修習以全英授課的其他外語課程嗎（如：法文、德文...等）？如果願意，您想以全英授課學習哪個語言？為什麼？

關於修課前是否知道該課程提供中文修課選項，七人表示在選課時知悉該課程亦有中文授課版本。其中四人選擇 EMI 課程是因為中文授課組人數已滿。而另三人則主動選擇 EMI 課程，認為其具較高挑戰性且課程內容更具吸引力。其餘三位事前並不知悉有中文授課組別，其中一人曾修習 EMI 課程並認為該經驗顯著提升其英語能力，故選擇以 EMI 授課之西班牙語課程；另二人則因系上課程規範要求修讀 EMI 課程而選修。

針對 EMI 課程對西班牙語學習助益的看法，二位受訪者認為其效果與中文授課無明顯差異；另有一人表示因未曾修習中文授課課程，無法進行比較。有四位受訪者認為英語與西班牙語在拼寫系統與語言結構上具有相似性，進而促進其語言學習效率。此外，此種語言邏輯上的接近性有助於理解西班牙語語法概念，尤其對於某些語言特質而言，英語解說較中文更清晰且易於理解。另有三位受訪者表示，選擇 EMI 課程乃因希望藉此提升英語詞彙量。由於課堂講義與教師講解均以英語進行，使其得以習得新字彙，並從中獲得高度成就感。

關於未來是否願意持續修習以 EMI 授課之西班牙語課程，所有受訪者皆表達正面回應。一位受訪者指出，即便課程僅提供 EMI 授課選項，亦願意修習；另有受訪者表示，因其在美國之友人亦修讀西班牙語課程，故希望透過 EMI 模式持續學習，以利分享彼此的學習歷程。有六位受訪者認為 EMI 教學模式有助於理解課程內容，且涵蓋更多西語文化相關內容。部分受訪者亦提及家庭背景因素為其選擇持續修習之原因，例如一位受訪者表示，因母親與阿姨曾學習西班牙語且偶爾使用，期望日後能以此語言參與家庭交流。

至於是否願意選修其他以 EMI 教授之外語課程，所有受訪者皆表

達肯定態度。其中四人傾向選修歐洲語言課程，認為其語言型態與英語相近，且有助於提升國際化能力。另有二人表示有意修習東南亞語言（如印尼語、越南語、泰語），以因應未來職涯規劃。另有一人因對 K-pop 有高度興趣而希望透過 EMI 模式學習韓語。其餘受訪者雖未具體指名語言種類，但皆表示若有機會，願意修習任何以 EMI 授課之外語課程。

整體而言，受訪者普遍對 EMI 西班牙語課程持肯定態度，儘管部分學生並非以該課程為首選，仍對其教學模式與內容給予高度評價。參與者認為英語與西班牙語間的語言型態相近性有助於提升學習效率與理解程度，並可同時提升英語能力與增加化交流的機會，進一步強化其整體學習動機與語言資本的累積。

伍、分析與討論

本研究結果進一步驗證了 Richard and Pun 所提出之四項社會資本構面與學生選擇 EMI 課程的動機之間具高度相關性。其中以文化資本最具關鍵性，顯示 EMI 課程所提供之文化交流機會為吸引學生修課的主要誘因。然而儘管學生對跨文化互動抱持正向期待，實際在課堂中與外籍學生交流時仍表現出明顯的遲疑與退卻。此一現象與 Kim et al. 針對韓國 EMI 課程修課學生所進行之研究結果相互呼應。他們指出，雖韓國學生普遍尊重外籍同儕之文化背景，然其英語溝通能力不足導致在實際交流時產生猶豫。

值得注意的是，Kim et al. 並未具體說明其受試學生之英語程度。相較之下，本研究將歐洲語言共同參考架構（CEFR）B1 等級英語能力設定為修課門檻，因此學生至少具備 B1 等級英語能力。即使如此，學生對跨文化交流仍顯遲疑，進一步印證 B1 英語程度可能不足以滿足參與 EMI 課程所要求之深度學習與文化交流的需求，導致教學成效與課程理想有所落差。此推論與 Cots 在西班牙加泰隆尼亞地區所進行之研究結果一致。該研究指出，EMI 課程學習成效受限於師生英語能力。其中具備 B1 語言能力者仍面臨溝通與理解障礙，顯示 EMI 課程師生至少須具備 B2 以上語言程度，方能實現滿足教學需求。

此外，學生在課堂中表現出對跨文化互動的所產生的猶疑態度也凸顯出文化資在理想與實踐之間的落差。Bourdieu 將文化資本區分為具身狀態（embodied state）、客體化狀態（objectified state）、以及制度化狀態（institutionalized state）三種。具身狀態指的是將文化內化為自身涵養的過程，如：對藝術的品味、審美、及對文化事物的喜好。此項能力需要透過長時間的培養與觀察來養成。客體化狀態則是將

文化資本體現於實質物體上，如：畫作、書籍、紀念品。這些實體化的文化資產通常可以作為商品交易，進而被轉化為經濟資本。制度化狀態指的是經由制度化認證的文化資產，如：證書、文憑。根據前述文化資本分類，本研究參與者在 EMI 課程中所追求的是制度化的文化資本（如：因為認識西語系國家文化所得到的成績、與外籍生互動所產生的學習成果），但卻缺乏足夠的具身文化資本（即內化文化涵養），使其在與外籍學生的文化互動中產生焦慮與不安。

另一方面，學生選擇 EMI 基礎西班牙語課程的主要動機之一為對英語能力的潛在附加價值之期待。從經濟資本的角度觀之，學生普遍認為英語能力相較於西班牙語，對其日後就業的助益更為顯著。此觀點符合台灣勞動市場現況，即英語能力常為雇主明確要求之技能，而需具備西班牙語能力的職位相對較少，或需具備特定背景條件（如：主修西班牙語、海外工作意願等），致使曾修習 EMI 基礎西班牙語課程者相對難以獲得相關職位。

此一現象亦反映在本研究經濟資本與語言資本交叉分析之結果。研究發現二者間具中度相關性 ($r(19) = 0.57, p < 0.5$)，顯示學生對 EMI 課程所累積之語言資本能否轉化為未來經濟資本持保留態度。從全球語言霸權理論 (Linguistic Imperialism) 觀之，英語作為全球通用語的地位與西班牙語在亞洲環境的相對次要性，呈現出學生在語言選擇與資本累積中的權力不對等。

在語言資本的層面上，英語作為全球通用語之地位是促使學生選擇 EMI 基礎西班牙語課程的關鍵因素之一。多數學生認為 EMI 課程能加速其學習歷程，惟其對英語所象徵之菁英地位並不完全認同。造成此一現象的可能原因為學生就讀於外語專業大學，英語能力被視為基本入學條件與畢業門檻，而非菁英化特質。且校方亦普遍將英語列為必修課程，各系每學期皆須至少開設一門 EMI 課程，使學生將英語能力視為必要技能，而非社會階級象徵。

此外，部分學生認為 EMI 課程對其西班牙語學習具有正向助益，主要原因在於課程同時提供英語與西班牙語的學習資源，從而提升整體學習效率。學生普遍認為英語與西班牙語在語言型態與架構上相近，因此 EMI 課程內容相對容易理解，有助於語言習得。然而，從語言學角度觀之，英語與西班牙語的型態並非如學生所認知般接近。雖然二者同屬拼音文字系統，且字母使用方式近似，但其語系卻截然不同：西班牙語屬拉丁語系，英語則屬日耳曼語系，兩者在語法特性上存在顯著差異（如詞性一致、語序結構、動詞變化系統等）。

學生對此二語言型態相近的認知可能受到心理語言類型 (psychotypology) 與外語模式 (foreign language mode) 的影響。Kellerman 指出，心理語言類型乃學習者對語言距離的主觀判斷，與客觀的語言類型學不同，強調心理感知的作用。相關研究顯示，心理語言類型是多語習得成效的重要指標，學習者在接觸 L3 輸入時，會迅速判斷其與既有語言的結構距離，並傾向從認為型態相近的語言中進行轉移，以提升學習效率 (Athmani and Boukhedimi; Krzysik; Nelson et al.)。Rothman 進一步提出「語言型態優先模組」(Typological Primacy Model)，指出此類轉移是一種主觀且多為無意識的學習行為，尤以初學者階段最為顯著。本研究的參與者為西班牙語初學者，在所涉及的三種語言中，由於英語與西班牙語的拼寫系統相對接近，學生遂主觀選擇英語作為主要轉移來源，並認為透過 EMI 課程學習西班牙語較透過中文授課更具習得效益。

進一步而言，Leung 所提出的「外語模式」理論指出，多語學習者在學習新語言時，曾習得之外語可能成為語言轉移的主要來源。此模式強調，學習者在處理另一外語時，往往優先借用已習得外語的語言特質，以協助理解與表達。即使英語與西班牙語在語言型態上並非高度相近，外語模式仍可能促使學生啟動英語系統，並將其作為中介語，進而認為 EMI 課程是一種有效的學習途徑。此現象與心理語言類型 (psychotypology) 及 Rothman 所提出的「語言型態優先模組」相互呼應，顯示學生的主觀語言距離判斷與外語模式的啟動共同影響其語言轉移來源選擇。

最後，在 Richard and Pun 所提出的社會資本構面中，專業領域資本與學生修課動機及其他資本構面間的相關性最為薄弱。Becher and Trowler 指出，不同學科領域具備獨特的知識結構與文化典範。課程若無法與學生所屬專業領域產生連結，將難以引發學術認同感與持續參與的動機。因此，儘管學生對 EMI 基礎西班牙語課程持正面態度，但因他們非主修西班牙語，故該課程對其專業領域貢獻有限。而多數參與者表達未來有意願修習其他以 EMI 授課之外語及文化相關課程，顯示儘管此類課程對其專業領域貢獻有限，他們仍對修習此課程的經驗及未來延伸學習的潛力持正面評價。

陸、結論

本研究針對學生選擇 EMI 課程的動機展開多面向探究，結果揭示此一選擇不僅建基於提升語言能力和參與文化交流上，更與 EMI 課程

所承載的社會資本相關。此發現挑戰傳統將 EMI 修課動機視為外語學習動機延伸的主流觀點，進而提出 EMI 動機研究應獨立建構於社會文化及心理語言學架構之上。尤其是英語與學生母語及所其學習的目標語（如西班牙語）三者心理語言類型學（psychotypology）層面所產生的互動作用，為語言學習動機理論提供新的詮釋。

此外，本研究強調 EMI 課程不僅是語言學習場域，更是社會資本與文化資本交織的社會空間。以 Richards and Pun 所建構的四項社會資本模型為分析基礎，涵蓋語言、文化、經濟資本與專業領域資本，揭示學生課程選擇行為背後的社會結構運作。此一跨學科視角不僅能促進 EMI 課程設計之精準化，更為探究 EMI 學生修課動機提供了分析框架。

然而，目前以 EMI 授課的基礎外語課程在高等教育中仍屬相對有限，修課人數亦不多。本研究之參與者僅來自某大學所開設之單一課程，樣本數為 21 位，故研究結果在推廣性上存在一定限制。為更全面探究 EMI 基礎外語課程的學習狀況與修課動機，未來若能推動跨系或跨校的大樣本研究，將有助於提供更具廣度與深度的學術討論。此外，後續研究亦可進一步比較不同語言及文化背景學生在選擇 EMI 課程時的動機差異，並檢視各類社會資本所產生的影響。此類研究成果若能應用於 EMI 課程設計與教學實踐，將有助於減輕學生在課程中的學習壓力，並提升其修課意願。

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附件一

同學您好：

全英授課修課動機問卷

這是一份由國科會補助關於選修全英語授課基礎西班牙文課程動機的調查問卷，主要希望透過本問卷了解您選修全英語授課的基礎西班牙文課程的動機，調查對象為選修全英文授課基礎西班牙文課程的同學。問卷內容包含基本資料問題 4 題，修課動機問題 20 題。約需 15-20 分鐘，感謝您撥冗填答。

本問卷採匿名及間接辨識個人的方式作答，紙本資料保存至 2027 年 8 月即銷毀，電子資料保存至 2028 年 8 月即刪除。研究團隊將盡力維護您的隱私及善盡保密責任，盡量減少可能的風險。填寫完畢後，請將問卷交給助教。本問卷填寫為無償參與。

本問卷為前導問卷，您所填寫的答案將作為實際執行問卷前的參考，不會納入正式研究分析中。請您自由決定是否填寫，亦可中途不填寫，無需感到壓力。若您中途決定退出本研究，因問卷為匿名填寫，無法直接辨識個人資料，您所填寫的資料將無法銷毀。您的決定絕對不會影響您在基礎西班牙文課程的成績與評量。

若您想詢問本問卷內容，或有興趣得知研究結果，此研究將於 2024 年 8 月完成，歡迎您依照下述聯絡方式索取研究結果摘要（計畫主持/聯絡人:金賢真 電話:XXX，分機 XXX，email: XXX

研究計畫主持人

一、基本資料

請依照您個人目前狀況填寫以下資料：

1. 性別：男 / 女
2. 科系: _____
3. 年級: _____
4. 您是否曾修習過以全英授課方式教授的其他外語課程（不包含英語，例如：全英授課的法文課程、全英授課的德文課程）？ 是 / 否

二、修課動機

請詳細閱讀下面各題的敘述，並在量表上標示各項敘述是否符合您的狀況。1 分為非常不同意，2 分為不同意，3 分為普通，4 分為同意，5 分為非常同意。

1. 全英授課的西班牙文課程對增進我目前所就讀科系的相關知識有幫助。	<p style="text-align: center;">1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
2. 我覺得能夠修全英授課的人比較優秀。	<p style="text-align: center;">1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
3. 我會修全英授課的西班牙文課是因為可以跟外籍學生交流。	<p style="text-align: center;">1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>

4. 我修全英授課西班牙文課程是因為西班牙文是世界重要的語言。	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
5. 我修全英授課的西班牙文課是因為它會提升我跟外籍同學的溝通能力。	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
6. 我修這門課是因為英文對我以後就業有幫助。	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
7. 修全英授課的西班牙文課讓我覺得自己是菁英，因為我有較多機會接觸其他文化。	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
8. 全英授課的西班牙文課能幫助我了解外籍同學的文化。	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
9. 我修這門課是因為具備英語能力會讓我以後賺到比較高的薪	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>

水。	
10. 在全英授課的西班牙文課讓學到的內容比中文授課多。	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
11. 我修全英授課的西班牙文課程是因為英文是世界重要的語言。	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
12. 我會因為有修過全英授課的西班牙文課而在工作上得到更高的薪水和更好的福利(如：放比較多的有薪假、拿到比較多年終獎金)。	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
13. 全英授課對學西班牙文的助益比中文授課多。	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
14. 我修課這門課是因為西班牙文對我以後就業有幫助。	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p> <p>非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意</p>
15. 相較於中文授課	<p>1 2 3 4 5</p>

的西班牙文課。修全英授課的西班牙文課的學生需要付出更多努力。	非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意
16. 修全英授課的西班牙文課程會讓我以後找到比較好的工作。	1 2 3 4 5 非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意
17. 我認為在全英授課的課程中能體驗到比中文授課課程更多的外國文化。	1 2 3 4 5 非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意
18. 修全英授課的西班牙文課對我目前所主修的領域有幫助。	1 2 3 4 5 非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意

19. 我修全英授課的西班牙文課是因為可以體驗到比中文授課更多西班牙語國家的文化。	1 2 3 4 5 非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意
20. 我在全英授課的課程中獲得的學習資源比中文授課的課程多。	1 2 3 4 5 非常不同意 不同意 普通 同意 非常同意

問卷填答到此結束，請將問卷交還給老師。

非常感謝您的參與！

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關係子句於第三語言西班牙語習得中之 輸入處理機制：來自眼動追蹤的實證

盧慧娟*、鄭安中**、吳映璇***

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摘要

本研究探討台灣以西班牙語為第三語言(L3)的學習者如何處理與理解帶
有關係子句的複合句。研究採用混合方法，結合語料庫分析與眼動追蹤技
術。參與者為 24 名以中文為母語，英語為第二語(L2)的大學生。研究聚
焦於不同關係子句之語法結構(如:SVO[SVO]、SVO[OSV])和語法成分(主
詞、動詞、受詞)對語句理解的影響。研究結果顯示，對動詞的視覺注視
顯著影響句意之理解，其影響會依據語法結構的複雜程度而呈現不同模
式。在常見結構中，較高的注視時間與理解混淆相關；而在較複雜的結構
中，則反映出驗證性策略的運用。此結果突顯了動詞在閱讀時作為認知點
的重要性。研究結果對西班牙語作為第三語言的教學提出實證基礎，建議
教學設計可採用漸進式的結構安排，先由學習者熟悉的語序入手，再逐步
引導至較複雜的句型，並搭配強調動詞辨識與結構理解之學習任務。

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關鍵字: 關係子句、句法處理、眼動追蹤、動詞專注、西班牙語第三語言習得

Processing of Relative Clauses in L3 Spanish: Evidence from Eye-Tracking

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Abstract

This study examines how Taiwanese learners of Spanish as a third language (L3) process and comprehend relative clauses. A quantitative approach was used, combining corpus analysis with eye-tracking technology. Participants were 24 university students whose native language is Mandarin Chinese and who had learned English as a second language (L2). The study analyzed how different syntactic configurations (e.g., SVO[SVO], SVO[OSV]) and grammatical elements (subject, verb, object) affect sentence comprehension. Findings reveal that visual fixation on the verb significantly influences interpretation, with patterns varying according to structural complexity. In frequent structures, increased fixation was associated with confusion, while in complex ones, it reflected verification strategies. The verb thus emerges as a key cognitive anchor in syntactic processing. These results offer pedagogical implications for teaching Spanish as an L3, including the recommendation of gradual instructional sequence, starting with familiar word order, then gradually moving on to more complex sentence structures, with tasks focused on verb recognition and structural interpretation.

Key words : relative clauses, syntactic processing, eye-tracking, verb focus, Spanish as a third language acquisition

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Procesamiento de cláusulas relativas en español como tercera lengua: evidencia empírica mediante seguimiento ocular

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National Cheng Kung University, University of Toledo

Resumen

El presente estudio investiga cómo los aprendices taiwaneses de español como tercera lengua (L3) procesan y comprenden las oraciones con cláusulas relativas en español. Se presenta un análisis cuantitativo que combina el estudio de corpus con tecnología de seguimiento ocular, con la participación de 24 estudiantes universitarios cuya lengua materna es el chino mandarín y que han aprendido inglés como segunda lengua (L2). Se examina cómo diferentes configuraciones sintácticas de las cláusulas relativas (por ejemplo, orden SVO[SVO], SVO [OSV]) afectan la interpretación, y qué papel desempeñan el sujeto, el objeto y el verbo en la comprensión. Los resultados muestran que la atención visual al verbo influye significativamente en la interpretación de las oraciones, a menudo superior a la del sujeto u objeto con patrones distintos según la complejidad estructural. Además, se observa que la frecuencia de uso no siempre se correlaciona con una mayor facilidad de procesamiento, es decir, una mayor fijación en estructuras frecuentes se asoció con confusión, mientras que estructura compleja refleja estrategias de verificación. Estos hallazgos ofrecen nuevas perspectivas sobre los mecanismos cognitivos implicados en la adquisición sintáctica del español como L3 y proponen estrategias pedagógicas centradas en el verbo y una introducción gradual de estructuras complejas.

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Palabras clave: cláusulas relativas; procesamiento sintáctico; seguimiento ocular; atención al verbo; adquisición del español como tercera lengua

1. Introducción

El estudio de la adquisición de cláusulas relativas ha sido un tema central en la lingüística aplicada y en la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras, especialmente en la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera (ELE). Si bien las cláusulas relativas han sido ampliamente investigadas en el contexto de segundas lenguas (L2), aún existen pocas investigaciones sobre su procesamiento en situaciones de adquisición de una tercera lengua (L3), particularmente cuando el español, como lengua meta, difiere tipológicamente de las lenguas previamente adquiridas. Este estudio no solo contribuye a la lingüística teórica, sino que también propone estrategias concretas para la enseñanza del español como L3, un área poco explorada en contextos sinohablantes. En particular, se observa una escasez de investigaciones centradas en la adquisición del español como L3 por hablantes nativos de chino, lo que pone de relieve las lagunas que esta investigación busca llenar.

A diferencia de los estudios existentes sobre transferencia lingüística entre L1 y L2 en el aprendizaje del español como L2, este estudio destaca cómo las diferencias sintácticas entre el chino, el inglés y el español afectan el procesamiento de las cláusulas relativas en aprendices de L3. Se propone, por tanto, una comprensión del papel de la tipología lingüística, la competencia lingüística previa y la atención visual en contextos multilingües.

El objetivo principal es identificar los factores lingüísticos y cognitivos que influyen en la interpretación de las cláusulas relativas en español como L3, con el fin de proponer estrategias didácticas que optimicen su enseñanza a estudiantes con distintos antecedentes lingüísticos y necesidades educativas.

El español, el inglés y el chino presentan diferencias sintácticas significativas en la formación de cláusulas relativas. La tipología estructural de estas lenguas es fundamental: mientras que el español y el inglés siguen un orden SVO, el chino presenta un patrón donde el modificador precede al núcleo. Estas discrepancias pueden generar dificultades en el procesamiento de oraciones relativas en español por parte de hablantes de chino mandarín, que el presente estudio busca analizar en profundidad. Estas diferencias se ilustran mediante ejemplos

contrastivos que han sido incluidos en el Apéndice A como material de referencia, debido a su complejidad y extensión.

Este artículo se organiza en siete secciones: la siguiente sección ofrece una revisión de la literatura sobre la adquisición de cláusulas relativas y el procesamiento sintáctico; la sección después formula las preguntas de investigación; y luego la sección detalla la metodología del estudio; las siguientes secciones presentan los resultados y su discusión y, posteriormente, se desarrollan las implicaciones pedagógicas. Finalmente, la última sección ofrece las conclusiones generales junto con proyecciones de investigación futura.

2. Antecedentes de la investigación

2.1. Adquisición de la Tercera Lengua (L3) y Procesamiento de Cláusulas Relativas

Los estudios anteriores sobre la adquisición de L3 indican que la primera y la segunda lengua afectan a la adquisición de la tercera lengua, dependiendo de factores como la tipología de las lenguas previamente adquiridas y el nivel de competencia de la segunda o de la tercera lengua (Falk & Bardel, 2010; Hermas, 2010; Rothman, 2015). Falk & Bardel (2010) exploran la influencia de L1 y L2 en la adquisición de la gramática L3, y concluyen que la L2 tiene una influencia significativa en el aprendizaje sintáctico, proponiendo que esta puede afectar más que la L1 en el desarrollo gramatical de la L3. Por lo tanto, este estudio considera la interacción entre las tres lenguas implicadas: chino (L1), inglés (L2) y español (L3) como un factor central para comprender la dinámica de transferencia y de procesamiento.

El procesamiento de cláusulas relativas ha sido ampliamente debatido en la literatura, con hallazgos a menudo contradictorios. Reali (2014), por ejemplo, en un estudio basado en corpus oral, sostiene que las cláusulas de objeto relativizado son más fáciles de procesar debido a su mayor frecuencia de uso. En contraste, Del Río et al. (2012) argumentan, desde un enfoque basado en el procesamiento de comprensión, que las cláusulas de sujeto relativizado son menos costosas cognitivamente, ya que evitan la carga adicional de integración en posiciones finales y siguen el orden canónico SVO, es decir, el orden sujeto-verbo-objeto más común en lenguas como el español e inglés. Sin embargo, estudios tales como el

de Torrens (2024) amplían la discusión al ámbito de la adquisición donde los aprendices del español tienden a presentar mayores dificultades con las cláusulas de objeto relativizado que con las de sujeto, incluso en etapas avanzadas de desarrollo.

Por otro lado, Autores (2020) estudian la tendencia de uso de cuatro tipos de estructuras: Sujeto-Sujeto (S-S), Sujeto-Objeto (S-O), Objeto-Sujeto (O-S), y Objeto-Objeto (O-O), comparando datos extraídos de tres corpus de lengua nativa (el Corpus del Español, el Corpus del Inglés Contemporáneo, y el Corpus Balanceado de Chino Moderno de la Academia Sínica) y de un corpus paralelo (Corpus Paralelo de Español, Inglés y Chino). El análisis revela que las estructuras con sujeto relativizado (S-S, S-O) aparecen con mayor frecuencia que las de objeto relativizado (O-S, O-O). Esto podría explicar por qué los aprendices muestran más facilidad con estructuras de sujeto. Además, Jiménez-Fernández (2023) examina las cláusulas relativas en contextos de contacto entre el inglés y el español, enfatizando cómo la estructura y la experiencia bilingüe pueden afectar la selección y el procesamiento de las formas relativas. Sin embargo, estos resultados no resuelven del todo la contradicción entre frecuencia y dificultad cognitiva.

No obstante, los hallazgos no son concluyentes. Algunos estudios relacionan frecuencia con facilidad de procesamiento, mientras que otros enfatizan la importancia de la complejidad sintáctica, la distancia entre elementos relacionados (por ejemplo, entre el antecedente y el pronombre relativo en la oración), y la preferencia sintáctica. Con el fin de aclarar los puntos de vista opuestos mencionados, este estudio busca aportar claridad a este debate mediante datos empíricos obtenidos a través de seguimiento ocular desde la perspectiva del procesamiento cognitivo. Además, presta especial atención al procesamiento de estructuras no canónicas, como OSV o VOS, que se apartan del orden SVO típico y pueden generar mayor carga cognitiva en los aprendices multilingües.

2.2. Tecnología de Seguimiento Ocular en Adquisición de L2/L3

El seguimiento ocular se ha consolidado como una herramienta fundamental para estudiar la atención visual y el procesamiento del lenguaje en tiempo real, especialmente en entornos de adquisición de

lenguas segundas (L2) y terceras (L3). Según Tsai et al. (2005), un rastreador ocular se puede usar para observar cómo se distribuye la atención durante la lectura, analizando el patrón de movimientos oculares como indicador del procesamiento cognitivo. Godfroid (2012) y Chen et al. (2010) indican que el tiempo de fijación es uno de los índices más analizados, ya que refleja la dificultad de la tarea: cuanto mayor es la complejidad, mayor suele ser el tiempo de fijación (Chen et al., 2010). En el análisis de datos, estas observaciones se organizan comúnmente en Áreas de Interés (AOI, por sus siglas en inglés), que delimitan regiones específicas como el sujeto, el verbo y el objeto dentro de la oración.

El uso del seguimiento ocular, aplicado al estudio de las cláusulas relativas en español, ha permitido identificar patrones de procesamiento que resultan difíciles de detectar mediante métodos tradicionales como los análisis de corpus. Betancort et al. (2009) y Arancibia et al. (2014) muestran que los hablantes nativos de español procesan con mayor facilidad las cláusulas con sujeto relativizado. Este resultado es similar a los hallazgos de Traxler et al. (2002) quienes examinaron a los hablantes nativos de inglés. Arancibia et al. (2014) atribuyen la dificultad a la complejidad gramatical.

En particular, Betancort et al. (2009) incorporan el rasgo semántico [\pm vida] del sustantivo antecedente como una variable crítica en el procesamiento. Su estudio revela que los participantes procesan con mayor rapidez las cláusulas relativas cuyo antecedente es [+vida] (por ejemplo, “la mujer que llamó”), en comparación con aquellas cuyo antecedente es [-vida] (por ejemplo, “la carta que llegó”). Este hallazgo sugiere que la animacidad influye significativamente en las expectativas sintácticas y la asignación de funciones temáticas durante la lectura. La animacidad se refiere a la distinción entre entidades vivas o no vivas, y puede facilitar la interpretación del rol gramatical de los constituyentes. Aunque el presente estudio no manipula directamente esta variable, se considera su influencia en la selección de los estímulos, a fin de evitar sesgos interpretativos.

Por otro lado, en el contexto del chino mandarín, Sung et al. (2016) indican que es más fácil procesar el objeto que el sujeto relativizado. Esta diferencia resulta comprensible, ya que el español y el chino presentan estructuras sintácticas muy distintas en la formación de cláusulas relativas. En español el pronombre relativo sigue al antecedente (“el hombre que...”),

mientras que, en chino, la cláusula relativa precede al núcleo sustantivo y se marca con la partícula DE (de), formando estructuras de tipo modificante-núcleo.

2.3. Influencia de Factores Lingüísticos y Contextuales

Diversos estudios previos destacan que el contexto lingüístico y el nivel de competencia afectan la forma en que los aprendices interpretan estructuras complejas. Enkin et al. (2017) utilizaron el rastreador ocular para examinar cómo leen aprendices de distintos niveles de español (principiantes, avanzados), y los nativos hispanohablantes. El resultado señala que las palabras de baja frecuencia requieren más tiempo para procesar, pero el dominio de idioma parece no afectar el patrón general de lectura. Sin embargo, los principiantes de español tienden a avanzar rápidamente en la lectura sin haber procesado completamente la palabra anterior, lo que genera regresiones o relecturas más frecuentes que entre los hablantes nativos. Esto indica un mayor esfuerzo en la resolución de ambigüedades sintácticas y semánticas.

Dussias & Sagarra (2007) muestran que, cuando el antecedente de una cláusula relativa es un sintagma nominal complejo con múltiples sustantivos, tanto los monolingües españoles como los bilingües español-inglés que han vivido en un entorno de habla inglesa durante un breve periodo tienden a interpretar el primer elemento del sintagma como el referente. En cambio, los bilingües español-inglés que han vivido en un entorno de habla inglesa durante mucho tiempo tienden a considerar el segundo elemento nominal como el referente. Este resultado indica que la exposición prolongada a una L2 puede modificar las estrategias de análisis sintáctico, influyendo en la resolución de la referencia pronominal¹.

¹ Además, Frenck-Mestre (2005) utiliza el seguimiento ocular para estudiar cómo la lengua materna (L1: inglés o español) influye el procesamiento sintáctico del francés como lengua extranjera (L2), particularmente al leer oraciones ambiguas. Los resultados indican que el nivel de competencia en la L2 es un factor crítico que afecta la eficacia con la que los aprendices procesan oraciones estructuralmente complejas.

Estos estudios subrayan la interacción entre factores contextuales (la experiencia previa con el input, la tipología estructural de las lenguas implicadas y el nivel de competencia) y factores cognitivos (atención visual, carga de procesamiento), estos elementos interactúan con variables cognitivas durante la lectura, afectando cómo los aprendices abordan las estructuras sintácticas en lenguas adicionales y cómo estas variables deben considerarse conjuntamente en los modelos explicativos de adquisición.

Al concluir esta revisión teórica, nuestro estudio busca reconciliar los hallazgos aparentemente opuestos introduciendo una variable hasta ahora subestimada: la fijación ocular sobre el verbo como indicador clave del procesamiento sintáctico. A diferencia de investigaciones previas que se centran en comparar únicamente el sujeto y el objeto como factores de análisis, proponemos que el verbo puede desempeñar un papel más decisivo en la comprensión, especialmente cuando los aprendices enfrentan estructuras menos frecuentes o de mayor complejidad. Este planteamiento sugiere que el procesamiento de cláusulas relativas no depende exclusivamente de la frecuencia ni del orden canónico, sino también de la función que cumplen ciertos elementos como puntos de anclaje cognitivo durante la lectura. En este sentido, el verbo no solo organiza la estructura sintáctica, sino que también guía la integración semántica al conectar al sujeto con el objeto y permitir que el aprendiz construya una representación más estable de la oración. Para poner a prueba esta hipótesis, el presente estudio amplía el uso del rastreo ocular en el contexto de adquisición de una L3 al comparar directamente las fijaciones visuales sobre sujeto, verbo y objeto, incorporando además un control riguroso de la animación del antecedente (cf. Betancort et al., 2009). De este modo, nuestro diseño metodológico ofrece un marco más completo para observar cómo se distribuye la carga cognitiva en estructuras de distinta complejidad y cómo estos patrones de atención visual se relacionan con las experiencias lingüísticas previas de los aprendices.

3. Pregunta del Estudio

Basándose en el marco teórico presentado, este estudio busca entender cómo funcionan los mecanismos de procesamiento sintáctico en

aprendices taiwaneses de español como tercera lengua (L3), con especial atención a variables estructurales, tipológicas, cognitivas (en particular, la atención visual y su distribución en la oración). A continuación, se presentan las preguntas de investigación que guían este trabajo:

1. ¿De qué manera influye la estructura sintáctica de las cláusulas relativas (por ejemplo, SVO[SVO], SVO[OSV]) en la comprensión de los aprendices taiwaneses de español como L3?
2. ¿Qué papel desempeñan las diferentes funciones gramaticales (el sujeto, el verbo o el objeto) en el procesamiento de la información durante la lectura de cláusulas relativas y cómo se manifiestan estas diferencias en los patrones de fijación ocular?
3. ¿Cómo influyen las diferencias tipológicas entre el chino (L1), el inglés (L2) y el español (L3) en las estrategias que utilizan los aprendices al procesar las cláusulas relativas en español?
4. ¿En qué medida la fijación ocular sobre el verbo actúa como indicador clave frente a otros factores tradicionales (sujeto, objeto, frecuencia estructural) en la comprensión sintáctica de oraciones complejas?

Estas preguntas buscan no solo describir patrones de comprensión, sino también avanzar hacia una interpretación más precisa de los factores que condicionan el aprendizaje de estructuras sintácticas complejas en contextos multilingües. La correspondencia detallada entre las preguntas, la metodología y los hallazgos se presenta en el Apéndice B.

4. Metodología

4.1. Variables

En el análisis estadístico, se definió como variable dependiente la comprensión semántica correcta o incorrecta de las oraciones con cláusulas relativas. Las variables independientes incluyeron la competencia lingüística en inglés (L2) y en español (L3) de los participantes, así como los indicadores de movimiento ocular (tales como el tiempo total de fijación, la cantidad de fijaciones, el tiempo de la primera fijación, el tiempo total de visita, la cantidad de visitas, etc.) registrados en diferentes funciones gramaticales (sujeto, verbo y objeto) dentro de la cláusula relativa. La diferencia entre la fijación y la visita es que la visita

incluye más cálculos de escaneo que la fijación. Por lo tanto, el tiempo de visita representa la suma del tiempo de fijación y de escaneo desde la entrada hasta la salida del AOI, mientras que la cantidad de visitas se refiere al número de veces que se entra en el AOI. Así que ambos indicadores son distintos.

Al plantear las variables, se procuró incluir todos los indicadores de movimiento ocular que pudieran ser exportados, y se utilizaron aquellos que presentaban diferencias estadísticamente significativas para los análisis más relevantes en relación con los resultados y las discusiones posteriores.

4.2. Diseño de Estímulos

Los estímulos experimentales fueron diseñados a partir de un análisis contrastivo de datos de uso frecuente en varios corpus lingüísticos de español, inglés y chino, con el fin de representar combinaciones estructurales frecuentes y controladas en español como L3. Siguiendo a Autores (2020), se consultaron tres corpus de lengua nativa (Corpus del Español, el Corpus del Inglés Contemporáneo, Corpus Balanceado de Chino Moderno) y un corpus paralelo trilingüe. Esto permitió la selección de oraciones representativas desde una perspectiva tipológica y basada en el uso real, evaluando la influencia de la estructura sintáctica y los rasgos semánticos en la comprensión de cláusulas relativas.

Las 24 oraciones en español incluyen cláusulas relativas de tipo sujeto o de objeto, distribuidas equitativamente entre seis estructuras combinadas (S-[S], S-[O], O-[S], O-[O]), con variaciones en el orden canónico de la cláusula relativa (Sujeto-Verbo vs. Verbo-Sujeto). Se controlaron múltiples factores potencialmente influyentes, según se detalla a continuación:

1. Frecuencia léxica: Los sustantivos y verbos clave de cada oración fueron seleccionados con base en datos de los corpora mencionados anteriormente, priorizando ítems de frecuencia media-alta para evitar interferencias por rareza léxica.
2. Animacidad: Se incluyeron nombres animados tanto humanos como no humanos (por ejemplo, “el señor”, “la mujer”, “el gato”, “el perro”) como sujetos u objetos en las cláusulas relativas. Aunque la mayoría de los

referentes poseen rasgos [+animado], se introdujo variación en el rasgo [±humano] dentro de los elementos subordinados para examinar posibles efectos semánticos sobre la interpretación. Esta variabilidad controlada permite aislar el procesamiento estructural sin introducir diferencias marcadas en plausibilidad (cf. Mak et al., 2002).

3. Dificultad léxica: Se eligieron palabras de alta familiaridad para aprendices de nivel intermedio (por ejemplo, “gato”, “muchacho”, “ver”, “ayudar”), evitando tecnicismos o estructuras idiomáticas.

4. Longitud y complejidad estructural: Las oraciones tenían entre 9 y 12 palabras (44–55 caracteres, incluidos los espacios), con estructuras gramaticales comparables en profundidad sintáctica, a fin de mantener una carga cognitiva equivalente entre condiciones.

Con respecto a 1. frecuencia léxica, por ejemplo, verbos frecuentes como *ver*, *ayudar*, *odiar* y *favorecer*, así como sustantivos comunes como *mujer*, *hombre* *perro*, se reutilizaron en diferentes estructuras con el fin de minimizar diferencias de accesibilidad léxica entre condiciones. Además de priorizar ítems de frecuencia media-alta según datos de corpus, se incluyeron algunos verbos cuya frecuencia absoluta en el corpus no es particularmente elevada, pero que forman parte del léxico básico al que los aprendices principiantes de español están expuestos de manera recurrente en contextos instruccionales. Verbos como *invitar*, por ejemplo, aparecen de forma habitual en manuales de ELE, materiales didácticos y actividades de aula de niveles iniciales, por lo que su selección responde no solo a criterios de frecuencia corpus-basada, sino también a su alta familiaridad pedagógica. Este enfoque permitió asegurar que el procesamiento lector no se viera afectado por el desconocimiento léxico, sino que reflejara principalmente la complejidad sintáctica de las estructuras analizadas.

Hablando de 2. animacidad, con el fin de evitar que el rasgo de animacidad humana ([±humano]) se asociara sistemáticamente a una única configuración sintáctica, se equilibró su distribución entre las distintas condiciones experimentales. Así, tanto referentes [+humano] como [-humano] aparecen en cláusulas relativas de sujeto y de objeto, así como en órdenes canónicos y no canónicos. Por ejemplo, en estructuras de tipo SVO[OSV], se incluyeron oraciones con sujetos subordinados [+humano], como *La mujer anima al hombre que favorece la decisión*, y con sujetos [-humano], como *La mujer anima al hombre al que la decisión*

favorece. De este modo, se reduce la probabilidad de que los efectos observados en el procesamiento se deban a expectativas semánticas asociadas a la agentividad humana, y no a la estructura sintáctica propiamente dicha.

La Tabla 1 resume las combinaciones estructurales, indicando el tipo de relativización, el orden sujeto-verbo, los rasgos semánticos involucrados ([±hum] o [+hum]) y las oraciones correspondientes. La estructura indicada (por ejemplo, O-[S]) señala el rol del antecedente en la cláusula principal (antes del guion) y en la cláusula relativa (después del guion). Esta información busca hacer transparentes los criterios sintácticos y semánticos considerados, contribuyendo al rigor del diseño.

Tabla 1. Diseño de estímulos

Estructura	Orden Cl. Rel.	Sujeto	Objeto	Oración en español
O-[O]	S-V	[±hum]	[+hum]	El viejo invita a la joven a la que el gato vio.
O-[O]	V-S	[±hum]	[+hum]	El viejo invita a la joven a la que vio el gato.
O-[S]	V-O	[+hum]	[±hum]	El viejo invita a la joven que vio el gato.
S-[S]	V-O	[+hum]	[+hum]	El viejo que invita a la joven vio el gato.
S-[O]	S-V	[+hum]	[+hum]	El viejo al que la joven invita vio al gato.
S-[O]	V-S	[+hum]	[+hum]	El viejo al que la joven invita vio al gato.
O-[O]	V-S	[-hum]	[+hum]	La mujer anima al hombre al que

				favorece la decisión.
O-[O]	S-V	[-hum]	[+hum]	La mujer anima al hombre al que la decisión favorece.
O-[S]	V-O	[+hum]	[-hum]	La mujer anima al hombre que favorece la decisión.
S-[S]	V-O	[+hum]	[+hum]	La mujer que anima al hombre favorece la decisión.
S-[O]	S-V	[+hum]	[+hum]	La mujer a la que el hombre anima favorece la decisión.
S-[O]	V-S	[+hum]	[+hum]	La mujer a la que anima el hombre favorece la decisión.
O-[O]	S-V	[+hum]	[+hum]	La muchacha ayuda al muchacho al que Pedro respeta.
O-[O]	V-S	[+hum]	[+hum]	La muchacha ayuda al muchacho al que respeta Pedro.
O-[S]	V-O	[+hum]	[+hum]	La muchacha ayuda al muchacho que respeta a Pedro.
S-[S]	V-O	[+hum]	[+hum]	La muchacha que ayuda al muchacho respeta a Pedro.

S-[O]	S-V	[+hum]	[+hum]	La muchacha a la que el muchacho ayuda respeta a Pedro.
S-[O]	V-S	[+hum]	[+hum]	La muchacha a la que ayuda el muchacho respeta a Pedro.
O-[O]	S-V	[+hum]	[±hum]	La señora odia al perro al que el señor atacó.
O-[O]	V-S	[+hum]	[±hum]	La señora odia al perro al que atacó el señor.
O-[S]	V-O	[±hum]	[+hum]	La señora odia al perro que atacó al señor.
S-[S]	V-O	[+hum]	[±hum]	La señora que odia al perro atacó al señor.
S-[O]	V-S	[±hum]	[+hum]	La señora a la que odia el perro atacó al señor.
S-[O]	S-V	[±hum]	[+hum]	La señora a la que el perro odia atacó al señor.

4.3. Participantes

Este estudio incluyó 24 estudiantes universitarios taiwaneses, mayores de 20 años, cuya lengua materna es el chino mandarín, con inglés como segunda lengua (L2) y el español como tercera lengua (L3). Aunque el

tamaño muestral puede parecer reducido, en estudios de seguimiento ocular con múltiples factores lingüísticos, el número de participantes y de estímulos suele estar limitado por la complejidad experimental. Este diseño sigue precedentes metodológicos similares en investigaciones previas (como Betancort et al., 2009; Forti et al., 2025) y se basa en un diseño intrasujeto, lo cual garantiza suficiente potencia estadística.

Todos los participantes habían completado aproximadamente 200 horas de cursos de español antes del estudio. La captación de los participantes se realizó mediante invitaciones gestionadas por la investigadora principal y los asistentes de investigación en una universidad de Taiwán. Un total de 26 estudiantes iniciaron el proceso, pero dos fueron excluidos por no cumplir con los exámenes de competencia lingüística, quedando finalmente 24 participantes. Todos otorgaron su consentimiento informado por escrito antes de participar y se les garantizó la confidencialidad de los datos. La participación fue voluntaria y los estudiantes podían retirarse en cualquier momento sin consecuencias académicas ni personales. El protocolo de investigación fue aprobado por el Comité de Ética de la Investigación de Humanos de la universidad correspondiente.

Cada participante completó dos tareas, excepto dos que no cumplieron la evaluación de competencia lingüística: (1) los exámenes de competencia en español y en inglés Avant STAMP 4s (una prueba estandarizada de aproximadamente 2 horas que evalúa lectura, comprensión auditiva, expresión oral y escrita para cada idioma), (2) un experimento de seguimiento ocular de 25–35 minutos llevado a cabo en el campus universitario. Los niveles de competencia lingüística en el inglés y el español se evaluaron mediante el examen de AVANT STAMP (STAndards-based Measure of Proficiency) 4s (4 Skills), ampliamente utilizado por instituciones educativas en Estados Unidos. Los resultados indicaron un dominio intermedio-alto en inglés (niveles entre 6 y 8) y un dominio intermedio en español (niveles entre 2,75 y 6,75), lo que permitió caracterizar adecuadamente al grupo de aprendices multilingües. En general, se observó un mayor dominio del inglés que del español.

4.4. Herramienta de Experimento

Se utilizó el sistema Tobii Pro Nano para asociar la comprensión semántica y la atención visual en las estructuras con cláusulas relativas, por medio de la detección de los movimientos oculares de los participantes al leer las oraciones presentadas en la pantalla de un ordenador. El sistema Tobii Pro Nano incluye una computadora personal, y un rastreador ocular con una cámara infrarroja adjunto a la parte inferior del monitor, que se encargó de detectar y registrar los movimientos oculares de los participantes mientras leía las oraciones. El experimento tuvo lugar en una oficina de la universidad de los participantes.

4.5. Procedimiento

Se utilizaron los programas Eye Movement Manager (versión 2.1.8) y Tobii Pro Lab (versión 1.162) para planificar el flujo del experimento e importar el contenido de los estímulos.

Antes del experimento, se realizó la calibración del rastreador ocular para garantizar la precisión de los registros, siguiendo el protocolo estándar (menor a 1° de error permitido). Los participantes leyeron oraciones con cláusulas relativas en una pantalla mientras se registraban sus movimientos oculares con Tobii Pro Nano. Las oraciones fueron mostradas individualmente en orden aleatorio para evitar sesgos de secuencia. Después de leer cada oración, los participantes respondían una pregunta de comprensión con opciones múltiples, diseñada para verificar la correcta interpretación semántica de la cláusula relativa.

4.6. Exportación de datos

Los datos fueron procesados en Tobii Pro Lab (versión 1.162), y por cada oración se delimitaron tres áreas de interés (AOI): sujeto, verbo y objeto. Posteriormente, se exportaron en formato Excel para análisis estadístico. Para este estudio, se priorizaron el tiempo total y el número de fijaciones como medidas de carga cognitiva.

4.7. Método estadístico

Inicialmente, consideramos las ventajas metodológicas de los modelos de efectos mixtos para tener en cuenta la variabilidad entre participantes y entre oraciones. Por consiguiente, analizamos los datos con varios métodos estadísticos, como modelos de efectos mixtos y ANCOVA. Sin embargo, los resultados del análisis mostraron que las pruebas estadísticas no alcanzaron significación estadística ($p > .05$). A partir de estos resultados, este estudio adoptó un análisis oración por oración, y sólo reportó los resultados estadísticamente significativos ($p < .05$) para mostrar las respuestas del experimento de seguimiento ocular en distintas oraciones.

Los análisis estadísticos buscaron establecer la relación entre la comprensión semántica de las oraciones y tres tipos de variables: (1) competencia lingüística en inglés y español, evaluados por el examen de STAMP 4s (2) índices de fijación ocular en las diferentes funciones gramaticales en las cláusulas (sujeto, verbo y objeto), y (3) estructura sintáctica de la oración, para comprender el modelo de procesamiento cognitivo de los estudiantes con respecto a la estructura de cláusulas relativas en español.

La variable dependiente fue la comprensión correcta o incorrecta de cada una de las 24 oraciones en español. Las covariantes incluyeron: (a) nivel de competencia en inglés, (b) nivel de competencia en español, (c) cantidad de fijaciones sobre el sujeto, (d) cantidad de fijaciones sobre el verbo, (e) cantidad de fijaciones en el objeto en la oración.

La regresión logística se adoptó para examinar las relaciones entre la variable dependiente y las covariantes. Es decir, la influencia de las variables (a-e) en las variables dependientes. Este análisis permitió determinar qué factores visuales y lingüísticos predijeron mejor la comprensión semántica de las oraciones.

4.8. Nota sobre el uso de herramientas de inteligencia artificial

Parte del proceso de redacción, revisión y edición del presente trabajo fue asistida por la herramienta de inteligencia artificial ChatGPT (versión GPT-4, desarrollada por OpenAI). Su uso se limitó a tareas de apoyo lingüístico, mejora de estilo académico, organización de contenidos y sugerencias de redacción en español, sin intervenir en el diseño del estudio, la obtención

de datos ni el análisis estadístico. Todas las decisiones conceptuales, metodológicas e interpretativas fueron tomadas por las autoras.

5. Resultados y Discusión

5.1. Resultados para Estructuras Generales SVO[SVO]

Los análisis estadísticos mediante regresión logística revelaron diferencias significativas en la comprensión de las cláusulas relativas según su estructura sintáctica. En particular, se observaron patrones distintos en el comportamiento visual y cognitivo de los participantes frente a estructuras frecuentes como (SVO[SVO]), en contraste con estructuras menos comunes como (SVO[OSV]). Por ejemplo, el modelo de regresión logística fue significativo para la oración 3, “El viejo invita a la joven que vio al gato”, que representa la estructura SVO[SVO] ($\chi^2(5) = 14,052, p = 0,015$). Se analizó la relación entre la comprensión correcta de la cláusula subordinada “la joven vio al gato” y cinco covariantes: (1) competencia en inglés, (2) competencia en español, y (3-5) la cantidad de fijaciones oculares en el sujeto (“joven”), el verbo (“vio”) y el objeto (“gato”). La Tabla 2 presenta los detalles de estos análisis.

Tabla 2. Relaciones entre la comprensión de la oración 3 y las variables independientes

Variable dependiente Covariantes	Comprensión de oración 3	
	<i>Coefficientes de regresión</i>	<i>Valor de P</i>
Nivel de inglés	-5,196	0,198
Nivel de español	-0,961	0,397
Sujeto: Cantidad de fijación	-0,790	0,116
Verbo: Cantidad de fijación	-1,246	0,039
Objeto: Cantidad de fijación	0,735	0,146

Note. $p < 0,05$

Solo la fijación en el verbo alcanzó significación estadística ($p = 0,039$), con un coeficiente negativo (-1,246), lo que sugiere que una mayor fijación se asoció con menor precisión de comprensión. Es decir, los aprendices que fijaron más tiempo en el verbo “vio” no comprendieron el significado oracional mejor sino peor, es posible que su fijación indique vacilación ante ambigüedad sintáctica. Esto indica que el verbo funciona como un punto de dificultad en estructuras canónicas (SVO[SVO]), y que una mayor atención visual puede reflejar confusión o vacilación, más que verificación cognitiva.

Los resultados muestran que la atención visual al verbo impacta directamente en la comprensión semántica. Este hallazgo coincide con las teorías de procesamiento sintáctico (Carreiras & Clifton, 1999), según las cuales el verbo funciona como un anclaje clave en la interpretación de la estructura oracional. En este contexto, los aprendices que centran más su atención en el verbo pueden experimentar mayores dificultades al interpretar estructuras simples, pero logran una comprensión precisa en estructuras complejas, ya que dependen más del análisis del verbo para integrar la información de la cláusula relativa.

En cuanto a la estructura de la oración 3 (SVO[SVO]), tanto la cláusula principal como la subordinada presentan un orden lineal sujeto-verbo-objeto. La distancia del objeto de la cláusula principal (antecedente) “joven” y el sujeto de la cláusula relativa (pronombre relativo) “que” está en proximidad inmediata, sin interrupciones por otros elementos. Este diseño lineal facilita la relación semántica entre ambas partes.

Desde una perspectiva semántica, el sujeto (“la joven”) es [+humano] y el objeto (“gato”) tiene un valor [-humano] en la cláusula subordinada lo que también parecen influir en la facilidad de procesamiento. El rasgo semántico [+humano] del sujeto concuerda con expectativas cognitivas sobre la agencia humana, lo cual puede facilitar la asignación temática esperada.

Según Autores (2020), la estructura SVO[SVO] es la más usada en español y la más accesible para los aprendices sinohablantes. A diferencia de estudios previos (Reali, 2014; Del Río et al., 2012), que sugerían que la mayor frecuencia de uso de una estructura sintáctica facilita la adquisición,

los resultados de este estudio indican que la frecuencia no es el único factor determinante. Más importante aún parece ser el papel del verbo en la fijación ocular y la integración semántica.

En contraste, la estructura paralela en chino, representada como SV[[\emptyset_s VO]O_{núcleo}], implica una construcción mucho más compleja para los hablantes cuya lengua materna es el chino. Sin embargo, esta complejidad en L1 no parece dificultar significativamente la adquisición de estructuras españolas más frecuentes como SVO[SVO].

Los patrones de movimientos oculares en este estudio muestran una relación negativa entre la fijación en el verbo y la comprensión en estructuras SVO[SVO], mientras que en estructuras SVO[OSV], se observa una correlación positiva. Esto respalda la hipótesis del verbo como anclaje cognitivo. Los estudios anteriores sobre seguimiento ocular han demostrado que una cantidad de fijaciones elevada puede indicar dos estrategias cognitivas distintas: (1) dificultad en el procesamiento, lo que lleva a una mayor incertidumbre (Just & Carpenter, 1992), o (2) verificación consciente que mejora la comprensión (Godfroid, 2012). En este estudio, la fijación en el verbo en estructuras más complejas parece estar relacionada con la segunda estrategia. Esto puede explicar por qué, a pesar de la familiaridad estructural, una fijación excesiva en el verbo resulta en menor precisión: el verbo parece ser más exigente cognitivamente que el sujeto u objeto en este tipo de cláusula.

5.2. Resultados para Estructuras Complejas SVO[OSV]

De forma paralela, en estructuras más complejas como la oración 8 (“La mujer anima al hombre al que esa decisión favorece”), estructura SVO[OSV], se observó que el modelo de regresión logística fue significativo ($\chi^2(5) = 12,982$, $p = 0,024$), como se muestra en la Tabla 3. Se evaluó la relación entre la comprensión de la cláusula subordinada y las cinco covariables ya mencionadas. Aquí, solo la fijación en el verbo “favorece” mostró significación estadística ($p = 0,049$), con una correlación positiva con la comprensión correcta (coef. = 0,822). Este hallazgo contrasta con lo observado en estructuras SVO[SVO], y sugiere que, en estructuras más complejas, la atención al verbo favorece estrategias de verificación.

Este patrón sugiere una estrategia diferente: la fijación prolongada en el verbo en estructuras difíciles podría reflejar un mecanismo de verificación consciente, en lugar de confusión. En esta estructura SVO[OSV], el antecedente “hombre” está más alejado de su rol gramatical original en la subordinada, y el sujeto “decisión” es [-humano], lo cual genera ambigüedad semántica adicional y dificultad cognitiva. A diferencia del caso anterior, la atención al verbo indica una estrategia activa de integración semántica. La distancia sintáctica entre el antecedente y su referente interno en la cláusula subordinada requiere mayor carga de procesamiento.

En este sentido, se confirma la hipótesis de que el verbo funciona como un anclaje cognitivo en el proceso de integración semántica, especialmente cuando el orden sintáctico es no canónico o presenta ambigüedad semántica.

Tabla 3. Relación entre comprensión de la oración 8 y variables lingüísticas y de fijación ocular

Variable dependiente Covariantes	Comprensión de oración 8	
	Coefficientes de regresión	Valor de <i>P</i>
1. Nivel de inglés	-0,867	0,667
2. Nivel de español	-0,018	0,988
3. Objeto: Cantidad de fijación	-0,169	0,405
4. Sujeto: Cantidad de fijación	-0,446	0,141
5. Verbo: Cantidad de fijación	0,822	0,049

5.3. Comparación de patrón de fijaciones entre estructuras

Los resultados respaldan la interpretación de que el mismo comportamiento visual (más fijación) tiene significados distintos según el contexto sintáctico: puede indicar dificultad en estructuras simples o esfuerzo analítico exitoso en estructuras complejas.

Al comparar estructuras como SVO[SVO] y SVO[OSV], se observa que el mismo comportamiento visual, mayor fijación en el verbo, tiene efectos opuestos dependiendo de la complejidad estructural. En estructuras frecuentes (SVO[SVO]), mayor fijación puede reflejar vacilación o procesamiento fallido, mientras que en estructuras complejas (SVO[OSV]), puede representar una estrategia activa de verificación. Estos resultados respaldan la hipótesis de que el verbo actúa como un punto de anclaje cognitivo, y que su interpretación está modulada por el contexto estructural.

Nuestro estudio contribuye a reconciliar hallazgos aparentemente opuestos introduciendo una variable hasta ahora subestimada: la fijación ocular en el verbo como indicador clave del procesamiento sintáctico. A diferencia de investigaciones que comparan únicamente sujeto y objeto, nuestros resultados muestran que el verbo puede tener un efecto más decisivo en la comprensión, especialmente cuando los aprendices enfrentan estructuras menos frecuentes o más complejas. En este sentido, los datos desafían la idea de que la frecuencia o la canonicidad sean siempre predictores de facilidad de procesamiento: aunque estructuras como SVO[SVO] son más comunes, no necesariamente se comprenden mejor cuando la atención se concentra en el verbo. Por el contrario, el verbo se confirma como punto de integración crítica, apoyando trabajos previos (Carreiras & Clifton, 1999; Betancort et al., 2009), pero ampliando su alcance al contexto de aprendices de L3. Estos hallazgos subrayan la necesidad de incorporar la dimensión dinámica de la atención visual en las teorías de adquisición sintáctica, en particular en escenarios multilingües.

6. Implicaciones Pedagógicas

Este estudio ofrece una perspectiva empírica sobre el procesamiento cognitivo de cláusulas relativas en aprendices taiwaneses de español como tercera lengua (L3), integrando factores internos (como la atención visual) y factores externos (como la estructura sintáctica) mediante el uso de tecnología de seguimiento ocular. Con base en los hallazgos obtenidos, se

proponen orientaciones pedagógicas que permiten vincular la investigación con la práctica en el aula. Los resultados indican que la atención visual dirigida al verbo desempeña un papel crucial en la comprensión de las cláusulas relativas, particularmente en estructuras no canónicas o menos frecuentes (como SVO[OSV]), mientras que en estructuras canónicas (SVO[SVO]), dicha fijación se asocia con confusión interpretativa. Por ello, se recomienda diseñar actividades centradas en la identificación del verbo y su relación con el sujeto y el objeto. Este enfoque es especialmente relevante en estructuras en las que la distancia entre el antecedente y el referente aumenta la carga cognitiva.

Ejercicios didácticos como la lectura guiada con énfasis visual (por ejemplo, resaltado del verbo en diferentes colores), y la segmentación oracional pueden ayudar a los estudiantes a fijar su atención en el núcleo verbal y facilitar la integración semántica de las cláusulas.

En cuanto al orden de enseñanza, se sugiere introducir primero estructuras de alta frecuencia como SVO[SVO], cuyo procesamiento resulta más accesible, por ejemplo: “El viejo invita a la joven [que vio al gato]” [SVO[SVO]]. Esta estructura de un orden canónico presenta un orden lineal predecible y una distancia mínima entre antecedente y verbo. Esto permite que los estudiantes comprendan con mayor claridad la conexión entre la cláusula principal y la relativa, así como la función del antecedente y del pronombre relativo. Una vez que los aprendices dominan este tipo de estructura, se puede avanzar hacia combinaciones menos frecuentes o más complejas como SVO[OSV]. Por ejemplo: “La mujer anima al hombre al que esa decisión favorece”. Esto implica mayor distancia entre el antecedente y la posición original del elemento relativizado, y exige una mayor atención al análisis sintáctico y una reconfiguración del orden de los constituyentes.

Se recomienda diseñar actividades que fomenten la formulación de preguntas clave como: “¿quién realiza la acción?”, “¿a quién afecta?”, “a qué se dirige?” o “¿cuál es el rol del verbo?” dentro de la cláusula principal y la relativa. Estas preguntas ayudan a identificar las funciones gramaticales y a reducir la ambigüedad interpretativa. Esto promueve una comprensión profunda de los roles gramaticales, más allá del reconocimiento superficial de las formas. Además, se recomienda incluir tareas que fomenten el análisis de la estructura verbal en distintos contextos sintácticos, tales como ejercicios de: Transformación estructural: cambiar cláusulas con sujeto relativizado a cláusulas con objeto relativizado y viceversa, manteniendo el mismo contenido semántico.

Comparación de estructuras entre lenguas: contrastar oraciones relativas en español y chino, para evidenciar el cambio en la posición del modificador (por ejemplo, “la mujer que llamó” vs. “Nage dadianhua de nvren (literalmente, “la-clasificador llamar-por-teléfono DE mujer”), identificando diferencias y similitudes entre SVO[SVO], SVO[OSV], etc.

Marcación de roles gramaticales: subrayar o etiquetar las funciones dentro de las oraciones (sujeto, verbo, objeto).

Finalmente, se recomienda integrar estas estrategias en secuencias didácticas graduales que permitan al estudiante pasar de la identificación formal a la comprensión semántica profunda. El foco en el verbo como eje articulador de la estructura oracional no solo facilita la comprensión de cláusulas relativas, sino que también mejora la competencia gramatical general.

7. Conclusiones

Este estudio exploró el procesamiento de cláusulas relativas en español como tercera lengua (L3) por parte de aprendices taiwaneses con L1 chino y L2 inglés. Mediante el uso de seguimiento ocular, se analizó el papel de diferentes funciones gramaticales (sujeto, verbo, objeto) en estructuras sintácticas de distinta complejidad.

Los resultados muestran que el verbo actúa como un punto de anclaje cognitivo fundamental en la integración semántica, especialmente en estructuras no canónicas. Esta función varía según el tipo de estructura: en construcciones familiares, una mayor fijación al verbo puede indicar confusión, mientras que en estructuras más complejas refleja una estrategia de verificación. Los resultados indican que la relación entre el número de fijación en el verbo subordinado y la comprensión gramatical no es lineal, sino que depende de la estructura sintáctica y las estrategias empleadas por los aprendices. El número de fijación en el verbo subordinado no siempre refleja procesamiento exitoso, sino que depende de la estructura oracional y de la estrategia del aprendiz.

En estructuras frecuentes y canónicas con (SVO[SVO]), una mayor fijación en el verbo subordinado se asocia con menor precisión en la comprensión. Esto sugiere que la fijación repetida puede reflejar confusión

y dificultades en la comprensión sintáctica. En cambio, en estructuras complejas y menos familiares como (SVO[OSV]), una mayor fijación en el verbo se asocia con una mejor precisión de comprensión, lo que sugiere que los aprendices verifican para compensar la dificultad sintáctica. Estos hallazgos indican que el significado funcional de la fijación repetida depende del tipo de estructura: puede reflejar dificultad o una táctica de análisis eficaz. En resumen, un patrón de fijación elevado puede tener significados opuestos según el tipo de oración: confusión en lo familiar y verificación en lo complejo. Estos resultados cuestionan la noción tradicional de que un número mayor de fijación ocular siempre indica una mejor comprensión. En cambio, sugieren que la interacción entre la atención visual y la complejidad sintáctica juega un papel crucial en la adquisición de estructuras complejas en español como L3.

Desde una perspectiva teórica, este trabajo amplía la comprensión de la adquisición de L3 al mostrar que la facilidad de procesamiento de las cláusulas relativas no depende únicamente de la frecuencia de uso ni del orden canónico, sino también de la manera en que los aprendices distribuyen su atención visual durante la lectura. Los resultados evidencian que el verbo funciona como un punto de anclaje decisivo en la interpretación oracional, y que la relación entre fijación ocular y comprensión varía según la complejidad estructural. Asimismo, se subraya que las diferencias tipológicas entre chino y español generan dificultades específicas de procesamiento, lo cual respalda modelos como la *Primacía Tipológica / Typological Primacy Model* (Rothman 2015). En conjunto, este estudio integra perspectivas de transferencia lingüística, frecuencia de uso y mecanismos cognitivos, contribuyendo a clarificar debates teóricos sobre la adquisición sintáctica multilingüe.

Desde una perspectiva pedagógica, se recomienda centrar la instrucción en el verbo como núcleo estructural y semántico, especialmente en actividades que permitan desarrollar la conciencia sintáctica del aprendiz. El diseño de tareas debe comenzar por el reconocimiento del verbo y su función dentro de cada cláusula, para luego integrar la estructura completa. Se propone una secuenciación didáctica progresiva que inicie con estructuras canónicas (SVO[SVO]) y, una vez dominadas, introduzca configuraciones más complejas (SVO[OSV]), atendiendo a la carga cognitiva asociada.

Este estudio aporta evidencia empírica novedosa sobre el papel diferencial de la fijación ocular en función de la estructura sintáctica, y

demuestra que el verbo es un elemento crítico tanto en la comprensión como en la enseñanza de cláusulas relativas en L3.

No obstante, este estudio presenta ciertas limitaciones: el tamaño reducido de la muestra (N=24) y el número limitado de estímulos restringen la generalización de los resultados. Por ello, es necesario interpretar los hallazgos con cautela, ya que podrían no reflejar patrones generalizables a otros perfiles de aprendices o contextos lingüísticos. De cara a futuras investigaciones, sería pertinente ampliar la muestra a aprendices con diferentes combinaciones tipológicas y aumentar la variedad de estímulos para fortalecer la robustez empírica. También sería valioso explorar la modalidad oral, que podría implicar estrategias de procesamiento distintas, así como variables pragmáticas o discursivas que inciden en la interpretación de las cláusulas relativas. Asimismo, combinar el seguimiento ocular con entrevistas de recuerdo estimulado permitiría triangular la información de la atención visual en tiempo real con las perspectivas cualitativas de los participantes. Estas líneas de trabajo contribuirán a reforzar la validez externa de los hallazgos y su aplicabilidad en contextos educativos diversos.

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Apéndices

Apéndice A. Comparación tipológica de cláusulas relativas en español, inglés y chino

La siguiente tabla resume las diferencias estructurales observadas en la formación de cláusulas relativas en español, inglés y chino. Se presentan cuatro estructuras representativas que ilustran cómo varía la organización sintáctica según la lengua, lo cual puede influir en la dificultad de adquisición en aprendices de L3.

1.

Español –

La abuela que cuida al nieto prepara el desayuno.

Estructura: S [Pron. rel. S V O] V O

Inglés –

The grandmother who takes care of the grandson prepares breakfast.

Estructura: S [Pron. rel. S V O] V O

Chino –

那個 照顧 孫子 的 奶奶 準備 早餐。

(Nage zhaogu sunzi de nainai zhunbei zaocan)

(La [clasificador] cuidar nieto DE abuela preparar desayuno)

Estructura: [ØS V O DE S] S V O

2.

Español –

La abuela que cuida al nieto prepara el desayuno.

Estructura: S [Pron. rel. O S V ØO] V O

Inglés -

The grandmother that the grandson takes care of prepares breakfast.

Estructura: S [Pron. rel. O S V ØO] V O

Chino -

那個 孫子 照顧 的 奶奶 準備 早餐。

(Nage sunzi zhaogu de nainai zhunbei zaocan)

(El nieto cuidar DE abuela preparar desayuno)

Estructura: [S V DE O]/S V O

3.

Español -

La abuela cuida al nieto que prepara el desayuno.

Estructura: S V O [Pron. rel. S V O]

Inglés -

The grandmother takes care of the grandson who prepares breakfast.

Estructura: S V O [Pron. rel. S V O]

Chino -

那個 奶奶 照顧 準備 早餐 的 孫子。

(Nage nainai zhaogu zhunbei zaocan de sunzi)

(La abuela cuidar preparar desayuno DE nieto)

Estructura: S V [ØS V O DE S]/O

4.

Español –

La abuela come el desayuno que el nieto prepara.

Estructura: S V O [Pron. rel. O S V ØO]

Inglés –

The grandmother eats the breakfast that the grandson prepares.

Estructura: S V O [Pron. rel. O S V ØO]

Chino –

那個 奶奶 吃 孫子 準備 的 早餐。

(Nage nainai chi sunzi zhunbei de zaocan)

(La abuela comer nieto preparar DE desayuno)

Estructura: S V [S V DE O]/O

Estas comparaciones evidencian cómo el español y el inglés siguen un orden SVO con posposición de la cláusula relativa, mientras que el chino antepone la cláusula modificadora al núcleo, con la marca “的” (DE) como conector. Estas diferencias pueden generar desafíos significativos para aprendices de español cuya L1 sea el chino mandarín.

Apéndice B. Correspondencia entre preguntas de investigación, metodología y hallazgos principales

1.

Pregunta de investigación

¿De qué manera influye la estructura sintáctica de las cláusulas relativas (SVO[SVO], SVO[OSV], etc.) en la comprensión de los aprendices de español como L3?

Metodología empleada

Diseño experimental con 24 oraciones distribuidas en seis estructuras sintácticas. Análisis de comprensión semántica y patrones de fijación ocular por tipo de estructura sintácticas. Análisis de comprensión semántica y patrones de fijación ocular por tipo de estructura.

Hallazgo clave

Las estructuras SVO[SVO], aunque más frecuentes, no siempre resultaron más comprensibles. En estructuras complejas como SVO[OSV], los estudiantes mostraron mejores resultados cuando fijaron más su atención en el verbo.

2.

Pregunta de investigación

¿Qué papel desempeñan el sujeto, el verbo y el objeto en el procesamiento de cláusulas relativas?

Metodología empleada

Delimitación de Áreas de Interés (AOI) en el análisis ocular: sujeto, verbo y objeto. Regresión logística para determinar el impacto de cada uno.

Hallazgo clave

El verbo emergió como predictor más fuerte de la comprensión. La atención al sujeto y al objeto mostró efectos variables según el tipo de estructura, pero ninguno tan consistente como el verbo.

3.

Pregunta de investigación

¿Cómo influyen las diferencias tipológicas entre el chino (L1), el inglés (L2) y el español (L3) en las estrategias de procesamiento?

Metodología empleada

Comparación estructural de cláusulas relativas en las tres lenguas. Control experimental del orden sintáctico y de la posición del antecedente.

Hallazgo clave

Las diferencias en el orden de los constituyentes (por ejemplo, modificante-núcleo en chino vs. núcleo-relativo en español) generaron mayor dificultad en estructuras no canónicas. Sin embargo, la fijación en el verbo ayudó a compensar dicha dificultad.

4.

Pregunta de investigación

¿En qué medida la fijación ocular sobre el verbo actúa como indicador clave frente a otros factores tradicionales (sujeto, objeto, frecuencia estructural)?

Metodología empleada

Análisis estadístico de la cantidad de fijaciones sobre el verbo, sujeto y objeto en función de la precisión de comprensión. Control de variables como animacidad del antecedente y frecuencia estructural.

Hallazgo clave

La fijación en el verbo demostró ser un indicador más robusto que la frecuencia o el orden canónico. En estructuras complejas, la atención prolongada al verbo se asoció con mayor precisión semántica, lo que respalda su papel como anclaje cognitivo.

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臺灣通識韓語教材發展之建議：臺灣出版韓語教材分析與學習者需求分析

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摘要

隨著臺灣韓語學習者人數的增加，對韓語教材的關注亦隨之提升。然而，能夠反映在地學習者需求的教材開發研究仍顯不足。本研究透過分析臺灣出版之韓語教材327冊，並以508名修讀大學通識韓語課程之學生為對象進行問卷調查與深度訪談，探討教材供給結構與學習者需求之對應情形。研究結果顯示，共同或機構編著教材占整體之51.7%，比例最高，而整合型技能教材亦為出版量最多之類型(45.6%)。學習者普遍重視口說(40.1%)與聽力(35.9%)，但認為文法(22.7%)與寫作(22.5%)最具學習難度，且對韓國文化(40.8%)與觀光(34.3%)表現出高度興趣。然而，就教材供給面向而言，文化與觀光類教材之比例，以及數位媒體資源之整合設計仍相對有限，顯示學習者需求與教材編制之間存在結構性落差。基於上述結果，本文提出未來韓語教材開發之具體方向。

關鍵詞：韓語教材、教材開發、臺灣韓語學習者、學習需求

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Developing General Korean Textbooks in Taiwan - An Analysis of Published Textbooks and Learner Needs

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Abstract

As the number of Korean language learners in Taiwan has increased, interest in Korean language textbooks has also grown. However, research on textbook development that reflects the needs of local learners remains limited. This study examines the correspondence between textbook supply structures and learner needs by analyzing 327 Korean language textbooks published in Taiwan and by conducting a survey and in-depth interviews with 508 students enrolled in general education Korean courses at universities. The results show that jointly or institutionally authored textbooks account for a high proportion of the total (51.7%), and that integrated skills textbooks are the most frequently published type (45.6%). While learners place greater importance on speaking (40.1%) and listening (35.9%), they perceive grammar (22.7%) and writing (22.5%) as the most difficult areas, and show strong interest in Korean culture (40.8%) and tourism (34.3%). However, from the perspective of textbook supply, the proportion of culture and tourism-related textbooks and the integration of digital media resources remain limited, revealing a structural mismatch between learner needs and textbook design. Based on these findings, this study proposes directions for future Korean language textbook development.

Key words : Korean language textbooks, textbook development, Taiwanese Korean language learners, needs analysis

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대만 교양 한국어 교재 개발을 위한 제언 - 대만 내 출판 교재 분석 및 학습자 요구 분석을 중심으로

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초록

대만의 한국어 학습자 수가 증가함에 따라 한국어 교재에 대한 관심도 확대되고 있다. 그러나 현지 학습자의 요구를 반영한 교재 개발 연구는 여전히 부족하다. 본 연구는 대만에서 출판된 한국어 교재 327권을 분석하고, 교양 한국어 수강생 508명을 대상으로 한 설문조사 및 심층 인터뷰를 통해 교재 공급 구조와 학습자 요구의 대응 양상을 검토하였다. 분석 결과, 공동·기관 저작 교재가 전체의 51.7%로 높은 비중을 차지하였으며, 기능 통합형 교재가 45.6%로 가장 많이 출판된 유형으로 나타났다. 학습자들은 말하기(40.1%)와 듣기(35.9%)를 중시하는 반면, 문법(22.7%)과 쓰기(22.5%)를 가장 어렵게 인식하였고, 한국 문화(40.8%)와 관광(34.3%)에 높은 관심을 보였다. 그러나 교재 공급 측면에서는 문화·관광 교재의 비중과 디지털 매체 연계 요소의 반영 수준이 제한적으로 나타나 학습자 요구와 교재 구성 간의 구조적 불일치가 확인되었다. 본 연구는 이러한 결과를 바탕으로 교재 개발 방향을 제시하였다.

주제어: 한국어 교재, 교재 개발, 대만인 한국어 학습자, 학습 요구

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1. 들어가기

현대 사회의 글로벌화로 외국어 능력은 개인 경쟁력을 좌우하는 핵심 역량으로 인식되고 있다. 특히 한국의 문화·경제적 영향력 확대에 대만 내 한국어 학습 수요도 지속적으로 증가하고 있다. 한국관광공사에 따르면 2024년 한국을 방문한 대만인은 방한 외국인 중 세 번째로 높은 비중을 차지하였으며, 語言訓練測驗中心(LTTC) 자료에서는 2024년 대만 한국어능력시험(TOPIK) 응시자는 총 11,533명으로 전년 대비 약 21.7% 증가한 것으로 나타났다. 이러한 지표는 대만 사회 전반에서 한국어 학습에 대한 관심이 구조적으로 확대되고 있음을 보여준다.

그러나 대만 시중에 유통되는 한국어 교재는 집필 주체와 개발 목적의 다양성으로 인해 구성의 일관성, 학습 단계 간 연계성, 내용 조직의 체계성 측면에서 편차가 존재한다는 지적이 지속되어 왔다. 일부 교재는 교육 이론에 기반한 설계와 검증 과정이 충분히 확보되지 못하여, 현지 학습자의 실제 요구를 효과적으로 반영하지 못하고 있다는 한계도 보고되고 있다(박병선, 2018:7, 15, 22).

이에 본 연구는 대만 대학 한국어 학습자의 요구와 현행 교재의 특성을 실증적으로 비교 분석하기 위해 교재 분석과 학습자 요구 조사를 병행하는 이중 연구 설계를 채택하였다. 구체적으로 대만에서 출판된 한국어 교재 327권을 분석하여 교수·학습 내용의 공급 구조를 파악하고, 대만 소재 6개 대학 교양 한국어 수강생 508명을 대상으로 설문조사와 심층 인터뷰를 실시하여 학습자 요구의 수요 구조를 분석하였다. 두 자료를 교차 대조함으로써 교재 공급 구조가 학습자 요구를 어느 정도 반영하고 있는지를 검토하고, 공급-수요 간 불일치 지점을 도출하여 향후 대만 학습자 특성에 적합한 교양 한국어 교재 개발을 위한 기초 자료를 제공하고자 한다.

2. 선행 연구 고찰

2.1. 대만의 한국어 교육과 교재 개발 역사

대만에서 한국어 교육은 1956년 국립정치대학 동방어문학과에 한국어조(韓語組)가 설립되면서 시작되었고, 1963년 문화대학에 한국어조가 추가 개설되면서 본격화되었다. 이후 국립정치대학과 문화대학의 한국어조는 각각 2000년과 1994년에 독립된 학과로 전환되며 체계적인 한국어 교육이 이루어지게 되었고, 2008년 남부에 위치한 국립가오슝대학 동아시아문학과 한국어조가 설립되어 북부뿐만 아니라 남부 지역에서도 한국어 교육이 자리 잡게 되었다(박병선,

2019:114; 왕청동, 2015:134; 증천부, 2000:195; 진경지, 2012:4).

대만 내 한국어 교재 개발은 교육 환경의 변화와 과학기술의 발전에 따라 변천해 왔다. 증천부(2000:197-199)에 의하면 1960~80년대의 교재는 외국인을 위한 목적이 아니라 한국 내국인 교육용에 가까웠으며, 1980년대 후반 이후부터 외국어로서의 한국어 교재 개발이 비약적으로 발전하였다. 박병선(2019:115-117)은 대만의 한국어 교재 개발 과정을 네 단계로 나누어 기술하였다. 첫째, 한국 초·중학교 교재를 교수자가 직접 필사하여 사용하는 시기. 둘째, 활판 인쇄 교재를 사용하는 시기. 셋째, 복사기를 활용하여 기존 교재를 편집·활용하는 시기. 넷째, 1980년대 후반 이후 컴퓨터를 기반으로 자체 교재를 제작하는 시기로 구분하였다.

이처럼 대만에서 한국어 교재 개발은 기술적 도구의 진화와 함께 점차 체계적으로 자리 잡게 되었다.

2.2. 대만의 한국어 교재 연구 동향과 과제

대만 내 한국어 교재 연구는 전반적으로 연구량이 부족하며, 그 범위 또한 제한적이다. 증천부(2000:321-322)가 서술한 바에 따르면, 대만에서 사용되는 대부분의 한국어 교재는 한국에서 개발되었으며, 이를 사용하는 대만인 교사들은 한국 문화 내용을 학습자에게 올바르게 전달하기 어렵다고 지적하였다.

특히 교수자를 위한 교재 사용 안내서가 부족하여 교육 효과를 높이는 데 한계가 있다고 언급하였다. 박병선(2019:125-127)은 기존 교재가 중국어 번역 중심으로 구성되어 현지 학습자의 요구를 충분히 반영하지 못하고 있으며, 현지 학습자를 위한 맞춤형 교재 개발의 필요성을 강조하였다. 이처럼 기존 선행 연구들은 대만에서 사용하는 한국어 교재의 한계를 조망하고 있으나, 대만 학습자의 실제 요구를 다룬 실증적 분석은 여전히 부족한 실정이다. 또한, 대만 현지에서 출판된 한국어 교재의 유형이 학습자의 언어적·문화적 요구를 반영하고 있는지에 대한 연구도 거의 이루어지지 않았다. 따라서, 대만 시중에 유통되는 교재가 학습자의 실제 요구와 일치하는지를 확인할 필요가 있다.

본 연구는 대만 시중에서 판매되는 교재 유형을 분석하고, 설문 조사 및 심층 인터뷰를 통해 학습자의 요구를 파악하여, 필요한 교재가 미출판 상태이거나 양적으로 부족한 영역이 존재하는가를 규명하고자 한다. 나아가 이를 바탕으로 향후 대만 현지 학습자의 특성과 수요에 부합하는 한국어 교재 개발 방향을 제시하는 것을 목적으로 한다.

2.3. 요구분석(Needs Analysis)의 개념과 교육적 활용

요구분석이란 현재 상태와 바람직한 상태 간의 격차를 파악하고 이를 해결하기 위한 구체적인 방안을 모색하는 일련의 과정이다. Rossett(1987:14-15)은 요구분석을 특정 시점에 국한되지 않고 문제 해결을 위한 구체적 정보를 수집하는 활동으로 정의하였으며, Burton & Merrill(1991:25-26)은 특정 활동이 수행되는 이유, 목적, 달성 가능 결과에 대해 명확히 하고자 하는 분석 과정이라고 설명하였다. 이러한 요구분석은 교육 현장에서 학습자의 실질적인 필요를 파악하고, 이에 적합한 교육목표 및 자료를 설계하는 데 핵심적인 기초 자료로 활용된다. 구체적으로 한국어 교재 개발에서 요구분석은 현지 학습자의 수준, 목표, 선호 교수법 등을 반영한 교재 설계의 출발점이 된다고 볼 수 있다. 이에 본 연구에서도 대만인 학습자를 대상으로 요구분석을 통해 교재의 적합성을 진단하고 실제 교육 현장에서 활용 가능성을 높이고자 한다.

3. 연구 방법

3.1. 자료 수집 및 연구 대상

3.1.1. 교재 선정 기준

대만 내 한국어 교재를 출판한 경험이 있는 20개 출판사를 선정하고, 해당 출판사에서 출판된 한국어 교재 327권을 수집하였다. 출판사 선정 기준은 한국어 교육 관련 전문성, 도서 유통 규모, 한국어 교재 출판 경험 등을 종합적으로 고려하였다. 분석 교재는 외국어로서의 한국어 교육에 사용되는 정규 교재뿐만 아니라, 학습서, 워크북, TOPIK 대비서, 문법서 등을 포함한 총 327권이며, 한국어 사전(한·중사전, 중·한사전 등)은 제외하였다. 이들 교재는 저자 이력, 저자 유형, 난이도, 교재 유형 등을 중심으로 분석하였다.

3.1.2. 설문조사 대상

전공 과정과 교양 한국어 과정은 교육 목표, 학습 내용, 요구되는 언어 숙달 수준에서 차이를 보인다. 전공 과정이 학문적 전문성과 고급 언어 능력의 함양을 목표로 하는 반면, 교양 한국어 과목은 기초 의사소통 능력, 실용적 언어 활용, 문화 이해를 중심으로 운영된다. 또한, 교양 한국어 과목은 대만 전체 4년제 대학의 약 77.8%에서 개설되고 있어, 한국어 교육 수요가 주로 교양 외국어 영역을

중심으로 형성되어 있음을 알 수 있다(游娟鑽, 2019: 328). 이러한 교육 환경을 반영하여, 본 연구는 한국어 전공이 아닌 교양 한국어 학습자를 대상으로 설문조사를 실시하였다.

설문조사는 대만 북부 지역 6개 대학에서 교양 한국어 과목을 수강하는 대학생을 대상으로 온라인·오프라인 병행 방식으로 실시하였으며, 회수된 512부 중 주요 문항에 결측치가 있는 4부를 제외한 508부를 최종 분석 자료로 활용하였다. 교양 수업 반별 최대 수용 인원은 학교별 교육 여건에 따라 50명에서 70명까지 상이하며, 본 조사는 자율 참여 방식으로 진행되어 대학별 표본 분포에 일부 차이가 있다. 그럼에도 불구하고 다양한 규모와 운영 환경의 교양 수업 학습자를 포함함으로써, 교양 한국어 학습자의 일반적 특성을 파악하는 데 일정 수준의 대표성을 확보하였다. 연구 대상자의 인구사회학적 특성은 아래 [표1]과 같다.

표 1: 연구 대상자 인구사회학적 특성 분포

구분	분류	빈도 (명)	비율 (%)	구분	분류	빈도 (명)	비율 (%)
성별 (n=508)	남자	66	13.0	한국어능력시험 응시 여부 (n=508)	응시	50	9.8
	여자	442	87.0		미응시	458	90.2
학년 (n=508)	1학년	126	24.8	한국어능력시험 급수 (n=50)	1급	8	16.0
	2학년	102	20.1		2급	24	48.0
	3학년	138	27.2		3급	3	6.0
	4학년	142	27.9		4급	8	16.0
한국어 학습 기간 (n=508)	1년 미만	328	64.5	5급	0	0.0	
	1~3년	135	26.6	6급	2	4.0	
	3~5년	32	6.4	무급	3	6.0	
	5년 이상	13	2.5	성적 미발표	2	4.0	

연구 대상자의 특성을 살펴보면, 여학생 비율은 87.0%로 나타났다으며, 이는 대만 한국어 교양 수업에서 실제 여학생 비중이 높은 교육 현황과 부합한다. 학습자의 한국어 학습 기간은 1년 미만이 64.5%로 가장 많았고, 응답자의 9.8%만이 한국어능력시험(TOPIK)에 응시한 것으로 나타났다. 다만 미응시자 중 73.1%는 향후 응시 의향을 보였다. 대만에서 한국어 교양 수업은 1학년부터 4학년까지 전 학년이 수강할 수 있으며, 전공자와 달리 졸업 요건에 한국어능력시험 급수 취득이 포함되지 않는다. 이러한 제도적 특성으로 인해 학습자의 다수가 실제 응시 경험을 갖지 못한 것으로 해석된다. 한편 학습자의 ‘학년’과 ‘한국어 학습 기간’은 반드시 일치한다고 보기 어

럽다. 일부 학습자는 고등학교에서 이미 한국어를 학습한 경험이 있어 대학교 저학년임에도 학습 기간이 길 수 있는 반면, 고학년임에도 대학 입학 이후 처음 한국어를 접하는 경우도 존재한다. 실제로 전체 272개 고등학교 중 약 45.6%에 해당하는 124개교에서 201개 반의 한국어 수업이 운영된 것으로 보고되었다(정운도, 2023:227). 이에 본 연구는 학습자의 실제 학습 경험을 보다 정확히 반영하기 위하여 ‘학년’과 ‘한국어 학습 기간’을 각각 독립 변수로 설정하였다.

3.1.3. 심층 인터뷰 대상

본 연구의 심층 인터뷰 대상자는 연구자의 수업을 1년 이상, 최소 3과목 이상 수강하여 라포(rapport)가 형성된 학습자들로, 설문조사 참여자 중 한국어 학습 기간이 2년 이상인 학습자를 선정하였다. 학년, 전공, 학습 목적 등의 다양성을 고려하여 총 15명을 선별하였으며, 면담은 교내에서 대면 방식으로 개별 및 그룹으로 약 1시간씩 진행되었다. 모든 면담은 소통의 편의를 위하여 중국어로 진행하였으며, 응답자의 동의를 얻은 후 인터뷰 내용을 녹음하고 전사하였다.

표 2: 심층 인터뷰 대상자

학습자	성별	전공	학년	학습 기간	TOPIK급수
A	여	공학계열	3학년	2년 이상 ~ 3년 미만	2급
B	남	사회학과	3학년	3년 이상 ~ 4년 미만	2급
C	여	경제학과	3학년	3년 이상 ~ 4년 미만	3급
D	남	정치학과	3학년	2년 이상 ~ 3년 미만	2급
E	여	중어중문과	3학년	3년 이상 ~ 4년 미만	3급
F	여	일본어학과	3학년	3년 이상 ~ 4년 미만	없음
G	여	일본어학과	3학년	2년 이상 ~ 3년 미만	2급
H	여	일본어학과	3학년	2년 이상 ~ 3년 미만	없음
I	여	일본어학과	4학년	2년 이상 ~ 3년 미만	없음
J	여	사회복지학과	4학년	2년 이상 ~ 3년 미만	2급
K	여	영어영문학과	4학년	2년 이상 ~ 3년 미만	없음
L	여	영어영문학과	4학년	2년 이상 ~ 3년 미만	없음
M	여	사회복지학과	4학년	2년 이상 ~ 3년 미만	2급
N	여	영어영문학과	4학년	3년 이상 ~ 4년 미만	없음
O	여	영어영문학과	4학년	4년 이상	3급

3.2. 조사 도구 및 분석 방법

본 연구는 교재 분석(공급)과 요구 조사(수요: 설문·인터뷰) 결과를 상호 비교하기 위해, 두 자료를 ‘언어 기능, 문법 난점, 문화·관광, 학습 매체’의 네 가지 공통 범주로 재분류하였다. 이후 동일 범주 내에서 유형별 비중과 주요 구성 특성, 그리고 반영의 한계를 기준으로 교차 비교하여 공급-수요 간 불일치 지점을 도출하였다.

3.2.1. 교재 유형 분류 및 분석 방법

교재 유형은 고경민(2014:278-279)의 분류 기준을 참고하여 어휘, 발음, 문법, 회화, 듣기, 독해, 쓰기, 토픽(TOPIK), 종합, 문화, 관광 등 총 11가지로 분류하였다. 이들을 상위 개념인 언어 지식형, 언어 기능형, 기능 통합형, 기타의 네 가지 대분류로 구분하고 전체 327권의 교재를 유형별로 분석하였다.

또한, 저자 국적, 외국어로서의 한국어 교육 이력 보유 여부, 저자 유형(개인·공동 기관), 그리고 교재 유형을 중심으로 교재의 특성을 분석하였다. 아울러 본 연구는 교재의 외형적 분류에 그치지 않기 위해, 교재 내용 구성의 질적 특성을 분석하였다. 구체적으로 각 교재를 대상으로 (1) 언어 활동 구성(말하기·듣기·읽기·쓰기의 제시 비중 및 통합 방식), (2) 과제 유형(반복·번역 중심 연습, 정보 격차, 역할극, 문제 해결 과제 등), (3) 문화·관광 콘텐츠 반영 방식(주제 범위, 제시 형태, 언어 학습과의 결합 정도), (4) 학습 매체 연계(QR 코드·영상·음원 등 확장 자료 제공 여부) 항목을 코딩하였다. 코딩 결과는 유형별(언어 지식/언어 기능/기능 통합/기타)로 집계하여 비교하였고, 그 결과를 설문·인터뷰에서 도출된 동일 범주의 학습자 요구와 대응시켜 공급-수요 간 불일치 지점을 도출하였다.

3.2.2. 설문지 문항 및 분석 방법

본 연구의 설문지는 박현선(2008)과 노미연(2021)의 선행 연구를 토대로, 대만인 학습자 특성에 적합하도록 재구성하였으며, 기본 정보(5문항), 학습 목적(4문항), 교재 방향(5문항)의 세 영역 총 14 문항으로 구성하였다. 응답자의 이해를 돕기 위해 설문지는 중국어로 번역한 뒤 대만사범대학교 중국어 교사 2인의 검토를 거쳐 제공하였으며, 2024년 4월 1일부터 6월 30일까지 온라인 및 오프라인 방식으로 실시하였다. 수집된 자료는 SPSS 27.0을 활용하여 분석하였다. 문항별 응답 분포를 파악하기 위해 빈도 분석(frequency analysis)을 실시하였으며, 각 언어 영역별로 응답자 수와 비율을 산출하여, 다음의 다섯 가지 연구 문제를 분석하였다.

- ① 한국어 학습 목적은 무엇인가?
- ② 중요하게 생각하는 언어영역은 무엇인가?
- ③ 한국어 학습 시 어려운 언어영역은 무엇인가?
- ④ 한국어 학습에서 흥미로운 주제는 무엇인가?
- ⑤ 효율적인 한국어 학습 도구는 무엇이라 생각하는가?

3.2.3. 인터뷰 문항 및 분석 방법

심층 인터뷰는 설문조사만으로는 파악하기 어려운 한국어 교재에 대한 학습자의 경험과 구체적 요구를 보다 심도 있게 탐색하기 위해 설계되었으며, 2025년 5월에 교내에서 실시되었다. 총 6차례의 인터뷰가 진행되었으며, 각 참여자는 1회 약 1시간 동안 개별 또는 그룹 형식으로 참여하였다. 인터뷰 종료 후 추가 질문이 필요한 경우에는 이메일 또는 방과 후 비공식 대화를 통해 보완 자료를 수집하였다. 한국어로 번역한 인터뷰 자료는 전사 후 주제 중심의 내용 분석(content analysis)을 통해 반복되는 발화를 범주화하여 해석하였다. 주요 문항은 다음과 같다.

- ① 교재에 대한 만족도와 불만족 요소
- ② 교재 내 문법 설명 및 연습 구성에서 어려움
- ③ 교재에 수록된 문화 콘텐츠에 대한 인식과 개선 요구
- ④ 학습 매체(영상, 모바일 자료, QR 등) 활용 경험과 요구
- ⑤ 교재 개선을 위한 학습자의 제안 및 요구

4. 연구 결과

4.1. 교재 분석 결과

4.1.1. 저자 및 출판 특성 분석

본 연구의 분석 결과, 전체 교재 저자의 59.0%는 외국어로서의 한국어 교육 관련 전공 이력이나 교사 자격 등 일정한 전문 배경을 보유하고 있었으며, 41.0%는 해당 분야의 공식적인 전문 이력이 확인되지 않았다. 다만, 저자의 학력이나 전공 여부만으로 교재의 질적 수준이나 교육적 적합성을 단정하기는 어렵다. 실제 교재의 완성도는 개인의 교수 경험, 집필 역량, 편집 및 감수 과정, 그리고 검증 체계 등 복합적인 요인의 영향을 받기 때문이다. 따라서, 본 연구에서는 저자 전문 이력을 교재의 질을 평가하기 위한 기준이 아닌, 교재 개발 주체의 구성 특성을 파악하기 위한 기술적 분석 지표로 해석한다. 저자 국적별 특성을 살펴보면, 한국인 저자는 중국어 구사

능력을 바탕으로 교재를 집필하는 경우가 많았고, 대만 국적 저자는 한국 유학 경험이나 한국어 학습 경험을 토대로 교재 개발에 참여하는 사례가 주를 이루었다. 한편, 저자 유형 분석 결과, 공동·기관 저작 교재가 전체의 51.7%로 절반 이상을 차지하였다. 개인 저작 교재의 경우, 양국 언어 능력을 활용하여 실용 목적의 학습 자료를 제작하는 경향이 나타났으며, 일부 교재에서는 교수·학습 단계 간 연계성, 학습 목표 제시의 명확성, 활동 구성의 체계성 측면에서 상대적으로 편차가 확인되었다[표 3].

표 3: 출판된 한국어 교재 저자 국적 및 집필 형태

구분	수량(권)	백분율(%)	
개인	한국인	101	30.9
	대만인	47	14.4
	화교	9	2.7
	기타	1	0.3
공동 및 기관	169	51.7	
합계	327	100.0	

대만에서 출판된 공동·기관 저작 교재는 한국 대학 부설 교육기관에서 개발된 교재의 중국어 번역본이 다수를 차지하며, 체계적인 구성이라는 장점을 지니고 있다. 그러나 이러한 교재는 한국의 어학당 교육과정을 기준으로 설계된 경우가 많아, 대만 대학의 교양 한국어 수업에서는 분량이 과도하게 제시되는 사례가 확인되었다. 또한, 일부 초기 번역본에서는 지역 맥락에 대한 조정이 충분히 이루어지지 않아, 예문이나 문화 설명에서 ‘대만’이 아닌 ‘중국’을 중심으로 한 표기가 그대로 유지된 경우도 관찰되었다. 이는 번역자 사용, 어휘 체계, 사회·문화적 정체성 인식 등 대만 학습자의 언어·문화적 특성이 교재 구성에 충분히 반영되지 못했음을 시사한다.

반면, 최근 5년간 발간된 개정본에서는 이러한 문제를 인식하여 지역 표기의 수정과 문화 예시의 현지화가 점진적으로 이루어지고 있는 경향이 확인된다. 이러한 변화는 번역 교재의 교육적 적합성이 단순한 번역 정확도에 국한되지 않고, 지속적인 현지화 검토와 편집·검증 체계의 축적을 통해 점진적으로 개선되고 있음을 보여준다.

4.1.2. 난이도 및 교재 유형 분포 분석

본 연구에서 분석한 327권의 교재 분포를 보면, 초급 교재가 208권(63.6%)으로 가장 높은 비중을 차지하였으며, 입문 단계 교재

가 50권(15.3%), 중급 교재가 49권(15.0%), 고급 교재는 20권(6.1%) 순으로 나타났다. 이러한 분포는 대만의 한국어 학습 환경을 고려할 때 일정 부분 구조적으로 설명될 수 있다. 대만 대학의 교양 한국어 수강생은 초급 학습자가 절대 다수를 차지하며, 학습 난이도가 높아 질수록 상위 단계 학습자 수가 감소하는 경향이 나타나기 때문에 중·고급 교재에 대한 시장 수요 역시 제한될 수밖에 없다. 따라서 중·고급 교재의 양적 부족 자체를 문제로 단정하기보다는, 초급 단계 이후 학습이 원활하게 연계될 수 있는 교재 구조와 학습 경로 설계가 충분히 확보되지 못한 점에 주목할 필요가 있다. 특히 교양 교육 맥락에서는 장기 숙련도 향상보다는 기능적 의사소통 능력 형성이 주요 목표로 설정되는 경우가 많아, 단계 간 학습 목표의 연속성과 내용 심화 체계가 교재 설계에 명확히 반영되지 않는 한계가 존재한다.

본 연구에서는 고정민(2014)의 교재 유형 분류 기준을 바탕으로, 대만에서 출판된 교재 327권을 분석하였다. 11개 세부 유형(어휘, 발음, 문법, 회화, 듣기, 독해, 쓰기, 토픽, 종합, 문화, 관광)은 분석의 효율성을 높이기 위해 언어 지식, 언어 기능, 기능 통합, 기타의 네 가지 상위 범주로 분류하였다. 여기서 언어 지식형 교재는 어휘·발음·문법 등 개별 언어 지식 요소를 중심으로 구성된 교재를 의미하며, 언어 기능형 교재는 말하기·듣기·읽기·쓰기 등 특정 언어 기능의 숙달을 목표로 하는 교재를 말한다. 기능 통합형 교재는 이러한 언어 기능을 하나의 주제나 과제 안에서 유기적으로 결합해 실제 의사소통 능력을 종합적으로 향상시키는 것을 목표로 한다. 분석 결과, 기능 통합형 교재가 45.6%로 가장 높은 비중을 차지하였고, 언어 지식형 교재는 33.9%, 언어 기능형은 15.0%, 기타는 5.5%로 나타났다.

표 4: 한국어 교재 유형

언어 지식	언어 기능	기능 통합	기타	합계
어휘47(14.4%)	회화35(10.7%)	종합102(31.2%)	문화1(0.3%)	327(100%)
발음41(12.5%)	듣기1(0.3%)	토픽471(14.4%)	관광17(5.2%)	
문법23(7.0%)	독해8(2.5%)			

1 본 연구에서는 토픽(TOPIK) 교재를 기능 통합 범주에 포함하였다. 이는 해당 교재가 듣기·읽기·쓰기 등의 언어 기능을 통합적으로 구성하고 있기 때문이다. 물론 분류 기준에 따라, 목적성(시험 대비)을 중시하면 ‘기타(특수 목적)’로 분류할 수도 있으나, 본 연구에서는 내용 구성 방식을 우선하여 기능 통합으로 분류하였다.

언어 지식	언어 기능	기능 통합	기타	합계
쓰기5(1.5%)				

4.1.3. 교재 내용 구성의 질적 분석

본 연구는 저자 배경, 난이도, 교재 유형과 같은 외형적 분류를 넘어, 교재의 내용 구성과 교육적 기능을 중심으로 질적 분석을 수행하였다. 이를 위해 언어 활동 구성, 과제 유형, 문화 콘텐츠 반영 방식을 분석 기준으로 설정하여 교재 분석 결과를 재해석하였다.

분석 결과, 기능 통합형 교재의 비중이 높음에도 불구하고 실제 말하기·듣기 중심의 상호작용 활동은 제한적으로 제시되는 경우가 많았다. 다수 교재는 문형 제시와 예문 중심 구성에 머물러, 학습자가 실제 의사소통 상황에서 발화 전략을 연습할 수 있는 과제 설계가 충분하지 않았다. 이는 설문조사에서 학습자들이 말하기(40.1%)와 듣기(35.9%)를 가장 중요하게 인식한 결과와 대비되며, 교재 구성과 학습자 요구 간의 구조적 괴리를 보여준다.

과제 유형 측면에서도 반복·번역 중심 활동이 다수를 차지하여 문제 해결 중심의 의사소통 과제는 상대적으로 부족하였다. 이러한 한계는 심층 인터뷰에서도 확인되었으며, 학습자들은 교재 예문과 실제 회화 맥락 간의 연계 부족과 문법 설명-활용 연습 간의 단절을 반복적으로 지적하였다. 한편 문화 콘텐츠는 전체 교재 중 비중이 매우 낮고(0.3%), 음식·예절 등 특정 주제에 편중되는 경향이 나타났다. 이는 학습자들이 한국 문화(40.8%)와 관광(34.3%)에 높은 흥미를 보인 설문 및 인터뷰 결과와 상당한 간극을 보인다.

4.2. 설문조사 결과 분석

4.2.1. 한국어 학습 목적

실제 학습자는 단일 목적보다 복합적인 동기를 지니는 경우가 많아, 본 연구에서는 설문 문항을 이분형 복수응답 방식으로 구성하였다. 다만 분석 단계에서는 학습 목적을 ‘취미, 관광, 교환학생, 취업’의 네 범주로 유형화하여 집단 간 경향 차이를 비교하였다. 본 연구의 네 범주는 교양 한국어 학습자에게 반복적으로 나타나는 대표적 목적 유형을 중심으로 설정한 것이며, ‘기타’ 응답은 특정 범주로 환원하기 어려운 개별 목적을 포함하는 잔여 범주로 처리하였다(예: 친지 방문, 유학 사전답사 등). 이는 개별 학습자의 동기를 단일한 범주로 규정하려는 것이 아니라, 교양 한국어 학습자의 주요 수요 유형을 구조화하고 교재 개발 및 교육 내용 설계에 활용 가능한 분석 틀을 마련하기 위함이다.

본 설문조사 결과, 대만인 한국어 학습자의 주요 학습 목적은 '취미'(54.9%)와 '관광'(24.2%)으로 전체의 약 80%를 차지하였으며, 그 외에 '교환학생'(9.5%), '취업'(6.3%), '기타'(5.2%) 순으로 나타났다. 또한 한국 방문 시 예상되는 신분을 묻는 문항에서는 '관광객'이 76.5%로 가장 높게 나타났고, '유학생'(19.6%), '비즈니스 방문'(2.8%), '친지 방문'(0.8%), '기타'(0.3%)가 그 뒤를 이었다. 이러한 학습 목적의 복합성과 맥락적 특성은 심층 인터뷰를 통해 보완적으로 해석하였다.

표 5: 한국어 학습 목적

구분	N	퍼센트	중복 응답 비율
한국어 학습 목적 ^a	취미	404	54.9
	교환학생	70	9.5
	취업	46	6.3
	관광	178	24.2
	기타	38	5.2
합계	736	100.0%	144.9%

a. 값 1을 기준으로 집계한 이분형 복수응답 결과이다.

표 6: 한국 방문 시 신분

구분	N	퍼센트	중복 응답 비율
한국 방문 시 신분 ^a	관광객	461	76.5
	유학생	118	19.6
	비즈니스	17	2.8
	친지 방문	5	0.8
	기타	2	0.3
합계	603	100.0%	118.7%

a. 값 1을 기준으로 집계한 이분형 복수응답 결과이다.

4.2.2. 한국어 학습 시 중요하게 생각하는 영역

한국어 학습자가 중요하게 생각하는 언어 기술은 말하기(40.1%), 듣기(35.9%), 읽기(17.6%), 쓰기(6.4%) 순이며, 읽기와 쓰기 영역의 중요도 인식은 낮은 편이다[표7]. 학습 목적과 기간에 따라 비율 차이는 있으나, 전반적으로 말하기와 듣기를 가장 중요하게 인식하는 공통된 경향을 보였다[표8].

표 7: 중요하게 생각하는 언어영역

구분	N	퍼센트	중복 응답 비율
중요한 언어영역 ^a	듣기	423	35.9
	말하기	473	40.1
	읽기	207	17.6
	쓰기	76	6.4
합계	1179	100.0%	232.1%

a. 값 1을 기준으로 집계한 이분형 복수응답 결과이다.

표 8: 학습 목적 및 기간에 따른 언어영역 중요도 요약

구분	언어영역				전체
	듣기(%)	말하기(%)	읽기(%)	쓰기(%)	
학습 목적	35.2%	39.8%	18.0%	7.0%	100.0%
학습 기간	35.9%	40.1%	17.6%	6.4%	100.0%

4.2.3. 한국어 학습 시 어려운 영역

한국어 학습자가 가장 어렵게 인식하는 언어 영역은 문법(22.7%)과 쓰기(22.5%)로 나타났으며, 세부 순위는 문법(22.7%) > 쓰기(22.5%) > 말하기(16.7%) > 발음(15.7%) > 읽기(13.0%) > 듣기(9.6%) 순으로 분석되었다.

학습 목적별로 살펴보면, 취미 및 관광 목적의 학습자는 문법을, 교환학생 및 취업 목적의 학습자는 쓰기를 상대적으로 더 어렵게 인식하는 경향을 보였다.

학습 목적 문항은 복수응답 방식으로 구성되었으므로, [표 9]의 결과는 교양 한국어 학습자에게 반복적으로 나타나는 주요 학습 목적 유형에 따른 경향을 기술적으로 비교한 결과로 해석하였다. 또한, 학습 기간과 관계없이 문법과 쓰기는 전반적으로 높은 난이도로 인식되는 영역임이 확인되었다. 중국어를 모국어로 사용하는 대만인 학습자가 문법을 어렵게 인식하는 원인은 일반적으로 한국어와 중국어 간의 언어 유형 차이에서 설명되어 왔다. 한국어는 조사와 어미를 통해 문법적 의미를 표지하는 교착어인 반면, 중국어는 어순 중심의 고립어라는 점에서 구조적 차이를 보이며, 기존 연구에서도 이러한 차이가 조사·어미 사용 오류로 이어진다고 보고된 바 있다(김경환, 2008; 나은영, 2006).

그러나 이러한 언어계통 차이에 대한 일반적 설명만으로는 학습자가 실제로 어떠한 문법 요소에서 구체적으로 어려움을 경험하는지를 충분히 설명하기에는 한계가 있다. 이에 설문조사에서는 응답자의 부담을 고려하여 ‘문법’을 단일 범주로 제시하였으나, 해당 응답이 실제로 어떤 문법 요소에서 비롯되는지를 구체화하기 위해

심층 인터뷰를 통해 하위 문법 항목을 추출·범주화하였다. 즉, 설문에서 확인된 ‘문법의 어려움(22.7%)’은 인터뷰 분석을 통해 조사, 어미, 어순, 시제·상 등 구체적인 문법 요소로 세분화되어 해석되었으며, 이를 통해 양적 결과가 실제 학습 경험 차원에서 설명될 수 있도록 분석을 심층화하였다.

그 결과, 학습자들은 조사 사용, 어미 활용, 어순 구성, 시제·상 표현과 같은 문법 요소에서 반복적인 어려움을 경험하는 것으로 나타났다. 이는 문법 난점이 단순한 언어 유형 차원의 문제가 아니라 실제 문장 구성과 의미 표현 과정에서 누적적으로 발생하는 구조적 부담과 밀접하게 연관되어 있음을 시사한다(구체적 인터뷰 분석 결과는 4.3절 참조).

표 9: 학습 목적과 어렵게 생각하는 언어영역

분류	듣기	말하기	읽기	쓰기	문법	발음	전체
취미 (K-POP, 드라마 등)	100	167	133	230	235	173	1038
	9.6%	16.1%	12.8%	22.2%	22.6%	16.7%	100.0%
교환학생	9	27	20	46	44	23	169
	5.3%	16.0%	11.8%	27.2%	26.0%	13.6%	100.0%
취업	8	24	13	30	25	13	113
	7.1%	21.2%	11.5%	26.5%	22.1%	11.5%	100.0%
관광	48	82	70	107	110	71	488
	9.8%	16.8%	14.3%	21.9%	22.5%	14.5%	100.0%
기타	18	19	12	17	20	20	106
	17.0%	17.9%	11.3%	16.0%	18.9%	18.9%	100.0%
전체	183	319	248	430	434	300	1914
	9.6%	16.7%	13.0%	22.5%	22.7%	15.7%	100.0%

표 10: 학습 기간과 어렵게 생각하는 언어영역

분류	듣기	말하기	읽기	쓰기	문법	발음	전체
1년	117	157	136	159	176	163	908
미만	12.9%	17.3%	15.0%	17.5%	19.4%	18.0%	100.0%
1~3년	23	50	34	90	89	47	333
	6.9%	15.0%	10.2%	27.0%	26.7%	14.1%	100.0%
3~5년	3	10	4	22	22	7	68
	4.4%	14.7%	5.9%	32.4%	32.4%	10.3%	100.0%
5년 이	3	9	4	18	20	6	60
상	5.0%	15.0%	6.7%	30.0%	33.3%	10.0%	100.0%

분류	듣기	말하기	읽기	쓰기	문법	발음	전체
전체	144	222	175	280	291	219	1331
	10.8%	16.7%	13.1%	21.0%	21.9%	16.5%	100.0%

4.2.4. 한국어 학습 시 흥미 있는 주제

분석 결과, 흥미 있는 주제는 학습 목적이나 기간에 상관없이 한국 문화가 모든 집단에서 가장 높은 비율을 차지했다[표11]. 또한, 학습 기간이 짧은 경우, 한국 관광(35.9%)에도 높은 관심을 보였으며, 학습 기간이 길 경우 직장 생활과 경제에 관심이 증가했다[표 12].

표 11: 학습 목적과 흥미로운 주제

분류	한국문화	한국경제	한국관광	한국 대학 생활	한국 직장 생활	전체
취미 (K-POP, 드라마 등)	312	22	254	129	40	757
	41.2%	2.9%	33.6%	17.0%	5.3%	100.0%
교환학생	58	8	42	41	9	158
	36.7%	5.1%	26.6%	25.9%	5.7%	100.0%
취업	35	7	35	26	17	120
	29.2%	5.8%	29.2%	21.7%	14.2%	100.0%
관광	145	22	143	73	30	413
	35.1%	5.3%	34.6%	17.7%	7.3%	100.0%
기타	23	3	22	6	3	57
	40.4%	5.3%	38.6%	10.5%	5.3%	100.0%
전체	573	62	496	275	99	1505
	38.1%	4.1%	33.0%	18.3%	6.6%	100.0%

표 12: 학습 기간과 흥미로운 주제

분류	한국문화	한국경제	한국관광	한국 대학 생활	한국 직장 생활	전체
1년 미만	242	17	204	83	22	568
	42.6%	3.0%	35.9%	14.6%	3.9%	100.0%
1~3년	100	11	86	51	21	269
	37.2%	4.1%	32.0%	19.0%	7.8%	100.0%
3~5년	26	2	19	12	5	64
	40.6%	3.1%	29.7%	18.8%	7.8%	100.0%
5년 이상	11	1	9	4	2	27

분류	한국문화	한국경제	한국관광	한국 대학 생활	한국 직장 생활	전체
	40.7%	3.7%	33.3%	14.8%	7.4%	100.0%
	379	31	318	150	50	928
전체	40.8%	3.3%	34.3%	16.2%	5.4%	100.0%

4.2.5. 한국어 학습 시 효율적인 학습 도구

취미 목적 학습자는 한국 드라마(34.8%)와 음악(23.4%)을 가장 선호하였으며, 교환학생(24.5%)과 취업 목적 학습자(22.9%)는 한국어 교재를 가장 효과적인 도구로 인식하였다. 관광 목적 학습자 또한 드라마(33.0%)와 유튜브(22.6%)를 주요 도구로 활용하였다 [표 13].

한편, 학습 기간에 따라 효율적인 학습 도구에 대한 인식에도 변화가 나타난다. 1년 미만 학습자는 한국 드라마(38.1%), 한국 음악(21.0%), 유튜브(22.2%) 등을 선호하여 자연스러운 노출 기반 학습을 중심으로 한국어에 접근하고 있음을 알 수 있다. 반면, 학습 기간이 길어질수록 ‘한국어 교재’를 선호하는 비율이 점차 증가하였다[표 14].

표 13: 학습 목적과 효율적인 학습 도구

분류	한국 드라마	한국 음악	유튜브	CD	한국어 교재	전체
취미 (K-POP, 드라마 등)	277	186	180	18	134	795
	34.8%	23.4%	22.6%	2.3%	16.9%	100.0%
교환학생	47	30	27	4	35	143
	32.9%	21.0%	18.9%	2.8%	24.5%	100.0%
취업	35	16	25	5	24	105
	33.3%	15.2%	23.8%	4.8%	22.9%	100.0%
관광	128	88	90	11	71	388
	33.0%	22.7%	23.2%	2.8%	18.3%	100.0%
기타	17	11	17	2	20	67
	25.4%	16.4%	25.4%	3.0%	29.9%	100.0%
전체	504	331	339	40	284	1498
	33.6%	22.1%	22.6%	2.7%	19.0%	100.0%

표 14: 학습 기간과 효율적인 학습 도구

분류	한국 드라마	한국 음악	유튜브	CD	한국어 교재	전체
1년 미만	225	124	131	15	95	590

분류	한국 드라마	한국 음악	유튜브	CD	한국어 교재	전체
	38.1%	21.0%	22.2%	2.5%	16.1%	100.0%
1~3년	86	65	63	4	59	277
	31.1%	23.5%	22.7%	1.4%	21.3%	100.0%
3~5년	20	13	14	2	12	61
	32.7%	21.3%	23.0%	3.3%	19.7%	100.0%
5년 이상	7	3	7	1	4	22
	31.8%	13.6%	31.8%	4.5%	18.2%	100.0%
전체	338	205	215	22	170	950
	35.6%	21.6%	22.6%	2.3%	17.9%	100.0%

4.3. 심층 인터뷰 결과

4.3.1. 교재 전반 평가

심층 인터뷰에 참여한 15명의 학습자들이 한국어 학습에 사용한 교재 권수는 최소 3권 이상, 최대 7권이었으며, 전반적으로 교재에 대한 만족도는 높지 않았다. 응답자들은 특히 문법 설명의 체계성과 명료성이 부족하다는 점을 반복적으로 지적하였고(12회 언급), 실생활 상황과 직접 연결되는 회화 예시가 부족하다는 점 또한 주요 한계로 제시하였다. 일부 학습자는 발음 설명 및 예문 속 발화가 실제 구어체와 상이하여 말하기 활동 시 혼란을 경험한다고 응답하였으며, 교재 내 예시와 수업에서 수행되는 회화 활동이 유기적으로 연계되지 않는 점을 문제로 지적하였다.

4.3.2. 문법 학습의 어려움

문법과 관련하여 인터뷰 내용을 분석한 결과, 학습자들이 어려움을 호소한 문법 항목은 조사 사용(8회), 어미 활용(11회), 어순(6회), 시제·상 표현(9회)으로 나타났다. 먼저 조사 영역에서는 주격·목적격·부사격 조사의 기능 구분이 명확히 정리되지 않아 문장 구성 단계에서 혼란이 누적되는 양상이 반복적으로 관찰되었다. 어미 영역에서는 종결어미와 연결어미의 의미 차이, 화용적 기능 및 활용 범위에 대한 이해 부족이 자연스러운 문장 산출을 저해하는 주요 요인으로 나타났다. 또한, 한국어의 기본 어순(SOV)이 중국어(SVO)와 상이하다는 점이 문장 배열 과정에서 전이 오류를 유발하였으며, 시제·상 표현 역시 동사 활용 변화와 시간 부사의 결합 방식이 익숙하지 않아 학습 부담을 가중시키는 것으로 나타났다. 이러한 질적

결과는 설문조사에서 문법 및 쓰기 영역이 높은 난이도로 인식된 결과와 정합적으로 연결되며(4.2.3절 참조), 인터뷰 참여자 15명 중 12명이 문법 관련 어려움을 언급한 점에서도 동일한 경향이 확인된다. 이는 문법 지식의 이해 부족이 문장 구성과 쓰기 수행에서 요구되는 형태 선택과 배열 부담을 증가시켜, 수행 난이도를 높이는 요인으로 작용할 가능성을 시사한다.

특히 설문조사에서 쓰기 영역이 문법과 유사한 수준으로 높은 난이도로 보고된 점을 고려하면(4.2.3절 참조), 조사.어미 선택 및 어순 배열에 대한 부담은 쓰기 수행에서 더욱 두드러질 수 있다. 실제로 일부 학습자는 조사.어미 선택에 대한 확신이 부족할 때 표현을 단순화하거나 문장 완성을 지연하는 경향을 언급하였으며, 이는 쓰기에서의 산출 지연 및 회피로 연결될 수 있다.

결과적으로 문법적 어려움은 규칙 이해 차원을 넘어 문장 구성 및 쓰기 산출 과정에 영향을 미칠 수 있음을 보여준다. 이와 함께 응답자 전원은 교재의 문법 설명, 예문, 연습 문제 간의 구성 불일치와 중국어 번역의 일관성 부족이 문법 이해를 저해한다고 지적하였다. 이는 문법 학습에서의 어려움이 학습자 개인의 문제를 넘어, 교재 내 설명 체계와 번역의 구조적 한계와도 관련되어 있음을 시사한다.

4.3.3. 문화 콘텐츠 및 매체 요구

문화 콘텐츠 구성과 관련하여 다수의 응답자는 음식이나 예절 등 특정 주제가 반복적으로 제시되는 점을 문제로 지적하였다(10회 언급). 학습자들은 사회 관습, 대중문화, 최신 유행어 등 보다 현실적이고 동시대적인 주제로 확대할 필요성을 강조하였으며, 문화 내용을 단순한 정보 제시가 아닌 어휘·회화 학습과 결합된 형태로 제시할 것을 요구하였다. 특히 현행 교재의 문화 내용이 시대 변화와 괴리가 있어 학습 흥미를 저해한다는 평가가 제기되었다. 또한 일부 학습자는 문화적 이해 부족으로 인한 실례나 규범 위반에 대한 두려움이 문화 학습 동기로 작용한다고 언급하였다.

면담 결과, 학습자들은 듣기와 말하기를 중요하게 인식하고 있었으나, 코로나19 이후 대면 의사소통에 부담을 느껴 기기를 활용한 연습을 선호하는 경향을 보였다. 이에 QR코드 기반 발음·회화 영상 등 모바일 자료 제공의 필요성이 제기되었으며, CD는 재생 기기 미보유로 활용도가 낮다는 지적이 있었다. 아울러 간결한 문법 비교표 제공과 교재 분량·무게 조정을 통해 학습 편의성을 높일 필요성도 확인되었다.

전자책은 휴대성과 검색 측면에서 장점이 있으나 기기 오류에 대한 우려가 제기되었고, 인쇄본은 필기와 시각적 편안함 측면에서

선호되었다. 이에 따라 학습자들은 자신의 필요에 따라 선택할 수 있도록 인쇄본과 전자책을 병행 제공하는 방식을 선호하는 것으로 나타났다.

표 15: 심층 면담 결과

요인	내용	응답 빈도 (복수 응답)
교재 전반 평가	· 전반적으로 만족도 낮음, 중립적 입장을 표명함 · 문법 설명의 체계성 및 명확성 부족 · 실생활 상황과 연결된 회화 예시가 제한적임	12회
문화 콘텐츠 구성	· 음식, 예절 등 문화 주제 반복 · 명절, 관습, 대중문화 등 다채로운 주제 요구 · 수록된 문화 내용이 시대 변화와 부합하지 않음	10회
학습자 제안 및 요구	· 문법 설명, 예문, 연습 문제의 일관된 구성 요구 · 복습용 자료 및 QR코드 자료 요청 · 분량 조정 및 무게 부담 완화 요구 · 인쇄본과 전자책을 병행 제공하는 방식 권장	15회

4.4. 교재 공급 구조와 학습자 요구의 종합 비교

본 연구는 교재 분석 결과(공급)와 설문조사 및 심층 인터뷰 결과(수요)를 동일한 분석 범주로 대응시켜 종합 비교하였다.

분석 결과, 학습자는 말하기(40.1%)와 듣기(35.9%)를 핵심 언어 기능으로 인식하고 있었으나, 교재에서는 기능 통합형 교재의 비중이 높음에도 불구하고 실제 상호작용 중심 과제는 제한적으로 구현되어 있었다. 또한 학습자가 가장 큰 부담을 느끼는 영역은 문법(22.7%)과 쓰기(22.5%)로 나타났으며, 조사·어미·어순·시제·상과 같은 하위 문법 요소에서 학습 난점이 집중되는 경향이 확인되었다. 그러나 교재에서는 문법 설명과 실제 산출 활동 간의 연계 구조가 충분히 확보되지 못하여, 문법 지식이 수행 능력으로 전이되는 경로가 제한적이었다. 한편 학습자는 한국 문화와 관광에 높은 흥미를 보였으나, 교재 공급 구조에서는 문화 및 관광 교재의 비중이 낮고 주제 또한 일부 영역에 편중되어 있었다. 디지털 매체 활용에 대한 요구 역시 확인되었으나, 교재 차원에서 이를 체계적으로 연계한 설계는 제한적인 것으로 나타났다.

이러한 비교 결과는 교재 공급 구조가 학습자의 주요 요구를 부분적으로만 반영하고 있음을 보여준다. 따라서 향후 교양 한국어

교재 개발에서는 언어 기능 중심 과제의 실질적 구현, 문법 난점의 단계적 해소, 문화 콘텐츠의 확장, 디지털 매체 연계 설계를 종합적으로 고려할 필요가 있다.

표 16: 교재 공급 구조와 학습자 요구 비교

분석범주	학습자 요구 (설문·인터뷰)	교재 공급 현황 (교재 분석)	불일치 및 시사점
언어기능	말하기(40.1%), 듣기(35.9%) 중요 인식	기능 통합형 비중 높으나 실제 상호작용 과제 제한적	기능 통합 표방과 실제 과제 설계 간 괴리
문법난점	조사·어미·어순· 시제·상에서 지속 적 어려움	문법 설명 중심, 산출 연계 과제 부족	문법지식이 수행 으로 연결되지 못함
문화·관광	문화(40.8%), 관광(34.3%) 흥미 높음	문화교재(0.3%), 관광교재(5.2%), 주제 편중	학습자 흥미 대비 공급 부족
학습 매체	드라마·유튜브· QR 자료 선호	디지털 확장 자료 연계 제한적	교재-디지털 연계 구조 미흡

4.5. 소결

분석 결과, 교재와 학습자 요구 간에는 언어 기능 구현, 문법 제시 방식, 문화 콘텐츠 구성, 디지털 매체 연계 등 여러 측면에서 차이가 확인되었다. 특히 문법 제시 방식과 관련하여, 학습자들은 문법을 어려운 영역으로 인식하고 있었으나, 이러한 인식이 곧 문법을 의사소통 활동과 분리하여 제시해야 함을 의미하는 것은 아니다. 형태 초점 접근(Focus on Form)에 따르면 문법 형태는 의미 중심 과제 수행 과정에서 학습자의 주목을 받을 때 형태 인식과 실제 사용 간의 연결이 강화될 수 있다(Long, 1991:45; Ellis, 2001:10-11). 또한, 인지부하이론의 관점에서 보면 문법을 규칙 중심으로 제시한 뒤 과제 단계에서 별도로 적용하도록 요구하는 방식은 학습자가 규칙을 검색하고 재구성해야 하는 과정을 증가시켜 외재적 인지부하를 높일 가능성이 있다(Sweller, 1988:261-263). 더 나아가 출력 가설에 따르면 학습자는 언어 산출 과정에서 자신의 언어적 결핍을 자각하고 이를 보완하려는 시도를 통해 형태 지식을 재구조화할 수 있다(Swain, 1995:125-126). 이러한 관점에서 볼 때 문법 설명은 규칙 중

심의 분리 제시에 머무르기보다 최소 단위의 형태 설명을 바탕으로 말하기·쓰기 과제와 연결되는 방식으로 제시될 필요가 있다.

한편 학습자들은 한국 문화와 관광에 높은 흥미를 보였으나 교재에서는 관련 콘텐츠의 비중이 제한적이고 주제 또한 일부 영역에 편중되는 경향이 확인되었다. 인터뷰에서도 학습자들은 대중문화, 사회생활, 대학 생활 등 보다 다양한 문화 주제를 요구하며 문화 내용을 어휘와 회화 학습과 연결된 형태로 제시할 필요성을 제기하였다. 따라서 향후 교재 설계에서는 문화 요소를 어휘, 담화, 과제 수준에서 언어 기능 학습과 결합하는 문화 통합형 접근이 필요하다.

본 연구에서 제안하는 문화 통합형 교재는 문화 정보를 부가적으로 제시하는 교재가 아니라 언어 기능 학습과 문화 이해가 동일한 과제 구조 안에서 결합되도록 설계된 교재를 의미하며, 문화 요소는 전통 문화, 일상생활 관습, 대중문화, 사회 제도, 관광 자원 등 학습자의 실제 사용 맥락과 연결되는 내용을 포함한다. 또한 학습자들은 드라마, 음악, 유튜브 등 디지털 매체를 주요 학습 도구로 활용하고 있었으나 교재에서는 이러한 매체와의 연계 설계가 충분히 이루어지지 않은 것으로 나타났다. 이러한 결과는 향후 대만 교양 한국어 교재 개발에서 언어 기능 중심 과제 설계, 문법 난점의 단계적 제시, 문화 콘텐츠 확장, 디지털 매체 연계 설계를 종합적으로 고려할 필요가 있음을 시사한다.

5. 결론

본 연구는 대만에서 출판된 한국어 교재 327권의 유형 분석과 교양 한국어 학습자 508명을 대상으로 한 설문조사 및 심층 인터뷰를 통해 교재 구성 체계와 학습자 요구 간의 대응 양상을 분석하였다. 이를 통해 대만 교양 한국어 교육 맥락에서 교재가 학습자의 실제 학습 목적과 요구를 충분히 반영하고 있는지 검토하였다. 이러한 분석 결과를 바탕으로, 본 연구는 소결에서 제시한 언어 기능, 문법, 문화, 디지털 매체 연계의 설계 원리를 교양 한국어 수업의 특성에 따라 구체화하여 교재 개발 방향을 세 가지 유형으로 정리하였다.

먼저 ‘언어 기능 중심형’ 교재는 기초 의사소통 능력 형성을 목표로 말하기·듣기 활동의 비중을 확대하고, 조사·어미·어순·시제·상과 같은 문법 요소를 독립적으로 제시하기보다 말하기·쓰기 과제 안에서 단계적으로 통합 제시함으로써 문법 지식이 실제 수행으로 전이 되도록 설계할 필요가 있다. 다음으로 ‘문화 통합형’ 교재는 학습자가 높은 흥미를 보인 한국 문화 및 관광 요소를 어휘·회화 학습과 유기적으로 결합하여 언어 사용과 문화 이해가 동시에 이루어지는 과제 중심 구조로 설계되어야 한다. 마지막으로 ‘실용 목적 중심형’

교재는 관광, 단기 체류, 교환학생 준비 등 구체적 활용 상황을 전제로 한 기능 중심 과제를 강화하고, QR 코드 기반 음성·영상 자료 등 디지털 매체와의 연계를 통해 수업 외 반복 학습을 지원하는 방향으로 개발이 요구된다.

이 연구는 대만에서 출판된 한국어 교재의 구성 양상과 교양 한국어 학습자의 요구를 실증적으로 분석하고, 이를 바탕으로 교재 개발 방향을 제시하였다는 점에서 의의를 지닌다. 다만 요구 분석과 교재 분석에 초점을 둔 연구로서, 제안된 교재 설계 방향을 실제 수업에 적용하여 그 효과를 검증하지는 못하였다. 향후 연구에서는 본고에서 제시한 교재 설계 방향을 실제 교양 한국어 수업에 적용하여 그 교육적 효과를 실증적으로 검증할 필요가 있다.

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《外國語文研究》徵稿章則

112 年 11 月 17 日第 53 次編輯委員會會議修訂

《外國語文研究》(以下簡稱本刊)為國立政治大學外國語文學院(以下簡稱本院)發行之外國語文學術期刊。本刊定期出版各國文學、語言、教學及文化相關研究領域之原創性學術論文。

為符合《外國語文研究》多語系、多文化之多元特色，並鼓勵投稿，本刊接受以中文及各國語文撰寫之稿件(以簡體字撰稿者，需自行轉為繁體字後再投稿)，惟論文格式(含引用書目)之編排需符合本刊格式要求。(詳見《外國語文研究》稿件格式要求。)

本刊亦接受書評(Book Review)及研究紀要(Research Note)之稿件。書評乃針對國內外出版之學術刊物所撰寫之評論，篇幅以三千字為原則。研究紀要則就特定議題或研究方法論進行討論，以三千字為原則。本刊也接受邀稿，每期至多以一篇書評或研究紀要為原則。欲投稿書評及研究紀要前請先來信本刊信箱。

本刊採隨到隨審制，全年收稿，定期於每年六月、十二月出版。投寄本刊之稿件不得在其他刊物出版，作者必須於投稿時簽署聲明書，投稿論著之原稿內文中，應避免出現作者姓名、職銜、研究計畫案名等任何足以辨識、推定作者身分的資訊。來稿將送兩名評審委員雙向匿名審查，送審時以同校不互審、師生關係不互審、低階不審高階為原則。本刊受理投稿

稿件後，約半年內提交審查結果，通過審查後，校對工作由作者自行負責，並將校正後之文稿電子檔寄回本刊。

投稿之論著如因審查、修改、校對等流程而不及於通過審查後刊登在當期刊刊，則順延至下一期刊登，本刊編輯委員會亦得依當期篇幅容量、論文之語種領域及時效性等原則，決定接受刊登文章之刊登期數。通過審查之論文作者須簽署著作權授權書，版權歸本刊所有，其電子版論文將收錄於國家圖書館臺灣期刊論文索引系統、華藝線上圖書館、凌網科技臺灣全文資料庫、碩亞臺灣引文資料庫、聯合百科臺灣人社百刊、元照月旦知識庫等本刊授權之線上資料庫¹，作者可免費獲得當期刊刊乙本及全文電子檔，本刊不另致贈稿酬。

來稿請依下列方式：

1. 請將稿件 Word 電子檔，於 iPress 華藝學術投稿平台線上投稿：
<https://www.ipress.tw/J0208>
2. 聲明書請完成親簽後掃描上傳至 iPress 投稿系統。
3. 依第 53 次《外國語文研究》編輯委員會會議決議，自 2024 年 1 月 1 日起，來稿無須交寄審稿費用（包括一般論文、書評及研究紀要）。

本刊網址：<https://flstudies.org/tw>

¹ 線上資料庫網址：

- 國家圖書館臺灣期刊論文索引系統：<https://reurl.cc/28vba4>
- 華藝線上圖書館：
<https://www.airitilibrary.com/Publication/allPublicationJournal?PublicationID=18130755&type=P001>
- 凌網科技臺灣全文資料庫：<https://reurl.cc/VRq37A>
- 聯合百科臺灣人社百刊：<https://p.udpweb.com/fls>
- 元照月旦知識庫：http://lawdata.com.tw/tw/journal_list.aspx?no=1178

本章則經本刊編輯委員會會議通過後實施，修正時亦同。

研究紀要：簡介與徵稿啟事

《外國語文研究》期刊的「研究記要」(Research Notes) 專欄旨在提供促進與語言、文學/文化與教學研究相關各類想法交流之平台，以期促進相關研究學者與同儕思考與對話。

- 有興趣投稿者，請將您的稿件直接上傳至 iPress 系統。稿件也可經由本期刊編輯委員會成員邀請作者投稿。
- 投稿內容將根據其相關性、準確性及語言使用進行審查。投稿採隨到隨審，稿件通過後將於近期刊登，或配合與主題相關之專刊一同刊登。
- 文章字數約 1,000 至 3,000 字 (包括參考文獻與註釋，但不含表格及圖表)。

立場文章

對語言、文學/文化與教學研究相關某一議題持批判立場之聲明。

報告與反思

與臺灣舉辦的學術會議或活動相關之報告，儘量於活動舉行後三個月內發表。

回應

對《外國語文研究》先前刊登之文章提出回應或評論，所涉及議題應與當前學術研究議題有所關聯。

新興議題

此專欄討論與語言、文學/文化與教學相關之思想與議題，歡迎學者與研究生投稿至此專欄。「新興議題」提供為尚未完全學術論文之研究題材提供交流探索平台，可 (但不限於) 以下內容：

- 初步研究發現
- 具潛力之理論發展
- 創新教學法

《外國語文研究》稿件格式要求

一、稿件格式

(一) 來稿請用 Word 文字檔處理，以 A4 紙隔行橫打

(二) 版面格式

大小：寬度 16 公分 長度 24 公分

邊界：上 4 公分 下 3 公分

左 3 公分 右 3 公分

(三) 全文請統一以 9 級字體繕打，中文部分請使用微軟正黑體（若您未安裝微軟正黑體字型，請以新細明體替代），外文部分請以 Cambria Math（若您未安裝 Cambria Math 字型，請以 Times New Roman 替代）。內文行距請一律選擇**固定行高 12 點**。

(四) 參考文獻如中外文並存時，依中文、英文、其他外文順序排列。中文文獻應按照作者或編者姓氏筆劃排列（如為機構亦同），英文、其他外文則依作者或編者姓氏字母順序排列。

(五) 來稿首頁為中文、英文、其他外文摘要，須載有（按順序）：

1. 論文題目：題目宜簡明。
2. 作者姓名：作者姓名列於論文題目下方。
3. 作者所屬機構名稱：所屬機構應列於作者姓名下方
4. 「摘要」二字
5. 論文摘要：論文應附中、英文摘要（五百字以內）及關鍵詞（5 個以內）。以英文之外的其他外文書寫之論文，請一併附上中文、該

外文、英文共 3 頁摘要 (五百字以內) 及關鍵詞 (5 個以內)。

6. 所屬單位與職稱：請在作者姓名之後插入註腳*書寫，包括作者姓名、職稱、所屬學校、系所或研究單位。作者如不只一位，則以**、***...等符號類推，以便識別。
7. 誌謝：誌謝詞應於中英外文摘要頁的「摘要」二字後方插入雙米號**註腳，誌謝詞宜力求簡短扼要。

(六) 來稿的裝訂順序為中文、英文、其他外文摘要 (及關鍵詞彙)、正文 (及參考文獻或註釋)、末頁資料及圖表。圖表編號必須與正文中之編號一致。

二、 標點符號

論文之中文部分請用全形之新式標點符號，英文部分請使用半形新式標點符號。(引號)用於平常引號；『』(雙引號)用於第二級引號(即引號內之引號)；《》(書名號)用於專書、期刊等標題，如《外國語文研究》；〈〉(篇名號)用於論文及篇名。

三、 子目

篇內各節，如子目繁多，請參照以下舉例將各級子目次序標明。

➤ 標題階層 (中文)

第一層： 壹 貳 參 肆 伍 陸 柒

第二層： 一 二 三 四 五 六 七

第三層： (一) (二) (三) (四) (五) (六) (七)

第四層： (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7)

➤ 標題階層 (英文、外語)

第一層：	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
第二層：	1.1.	2.1.	3.1.	4.1.	5.1.	6.1.	7.1.
第三層：	1.1.1.	2.1.1.	3.1.1.	4.1.1.	5.1.1.	6.1.1.	7.1.1.
第四層：	1.1.1.1.	2.1.1.1.	3.1.1.1.	4.1.1.1.	5.1.1.1.	6.1.1.1.	7.1.1.1.
第五層	1.1....	2.1....	3.1.....	4.1.....	5.1....	6.1.....	7.1.....

四、分段與引文

- (一) 直引原文時，短文可逕入正文，外加引號。
- (二) 如所引原文較長，可另行抄錄，並左右各縮排兩字元。

五、註釋

- (一) 註釋置於每頁下方，中文註釋以微軟正黑體 8 級字，外文註釋以 Cambria Math 8 級字橫式書寫，每註另起一行，以細黑線與正文分開，其編號以每篇論文為單位，順次排列。
- (二) 註釋號碼，請用阿拉伯數字，如 1、2、3，字體為 Cambria Math，10 級字，並將數字以上標方式至於左上角。
- (三) 如為正文內之文字，請以上標方式置於正文右上角，字體為 Cambria Math，9 級字，並將數字以上標方式至於右上角。如：新思潮派¹，是以東京大學的學生為中心的同人雜誌「新思潮」²為據點，在文壇上活躍的新銳作家集團。³
- (四) 引用文獻格式 (依 MLA 8th《MLA 論文寫作手冊 第八版》)，方式如下：

- 在正文中直接列出作者及頁數，如：(劉崇稜 133-34) 或：楊永良
在文中提及……(18-21)。
- 凡該引用作者超出兩筆文獻，需於頁數前加上該篇文獻之篇名「簡稱」，如：

正文：

Hypertext, as one theorist puts it, is “all about connection, linkage, and affiliation” (Moulthrop, “You Say,” par.19).....

文獻：

---. “You Say You Want a Revolution? Hypertext and the Laws of Media.”
Postmodern Culture 1.3 (1991): 53 pars. 12 July 2002 <http://mus.e.jhu.edu/journals/postmodern_culture/v001/1.3moulthrop.html>.

- 請避免以文獻之「出版年」代替文獻篇名之「簡稱」。詳細說明請見
《MLA 論文寫作手冊 第八版》。
- 註釋內引用文獻的型式與正文同，惟須在全篇論文之後的參考文獻
中，詳細列出完整出版資料。其他各外國語文參考文獻之寫法，見
格式要求「九、參考文獻」中所列型式。

六、製圖與圖片(詳細說明請參照《MLA 論文寫作手冊 第八版》)

- (一) 圖片面積不可過大，能清楚辨識內容即可。
- (二) 圖片須附有編號、標題或簡短說明，皆置於圖形之下。

例：



Figura. 2. El fauno en la película, *El día de la bestia*, <https://es.imagesearch.yahoo.com/search/images>

- (三) 字體不宜過大，應配合圖形之尺寸，以能清楚辨識為限。
- (四) 放大的圖形應說明放大比例，並請注意縮小製版後線條是否清楚，字體是否足以辨識。

七、製表 (詳細說明請參照《MLA 論文寫作手冊 第八版》)

- (一) 表之製作，須在表格比文句更能表達文義時方為之。
- (二) 表格須配合正文加以編號，並書明表之標題。若有進一步的解釋，則可另作註解。標題應置於表之上方，註解應置於表之下方。

例：

表 4：歐洲前十大感染人數國家統計表

序號	國家	感染人數	死亡率
1.	俄羅斯聯邦	1,209,039	14.6
2.	西班牙	789,932	68.7
3.	法國	606,625	49.5
4.	英國	480,017	63.0
5.	土耳其	323,014	10.2
6.	義大利	322,751	59.3
7.	德國	300,285	11.5
8.	烏克蘭	232,424	10.2
9.	羅馬尼亞	134,065	25.4
10.	荷蘭	132,013	37.8

*資料來源：BBC 新聞 2020 年 10 月 4 日

(三) 表格文字使用簡稱時，若簡稱尚未約定俗成，或未曾在正文中出現，則須註記全稱。

八、參考文獻

不以註釋方式引用文獻書目之完整出版資料者，須在全篇論文之後列出全部參考(引用)文獻之完整資料，依中文、英文、其他外文排列。請以凸排 1.27 公分設定各項參考文獻來源，如下圖所示

(一) 專書：

(中文) 林壽華。《外語教學概論》。台北：書林，1998。

(英文)

Jacob, Alan. *The Pleasures of Reading in an Age of Distraction*. Oxford UP, 2001.

(法文)

Hagège, Claude. *L'Enfant aux deux langues*. Paris, Odile Jacob, 1996.

(西班牙文)

Mendoza, Eduardo. *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta*. Barcelona, Seix Barral, 1975.

(德文)

Willms, Eva (Hg.). *Der Marner. Lieder und Sangsprüche aus dem 13. Jahrhundert und ihr Weiterleben im Meistersang*. Berlin/New York, de Gruyter, 2008.

(俄文)

Ильич, Карасик Владимир. *Языковые Ключи*. Гнозис, 2009.

(阿拉伯文)

Sakkut, Hamdi. *Al-Riwāyah al-cArabīyah: Bibliyūjrafīyā wa-Madkhal Naqdī (1865-1995)*. Al-Qāhirah, Qism al-Nashr bi-al-Jāmicah al-Amrīkīyah bi-al-Qāhirah, 2000.

رونكيير، باركلي، عبر الأراضي الوهابية على ظهر جمل، ترجمة: منصور محمد الخريجي، ط 2، الرياض: مكتبة العبيكان، 1424 هـ (2003).

(日文)

影山太郎。『動詞意味論 - 言語と認知の接点 - 』・東京・くろしお出版・1996年。

(土耳其文)

Moran, Berna. *Edebiyat Kuramları ve Eleştiri*. 26. baskı. İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2016.

(韓文)

홍길동。『韓國古典文學研究』・서울・昭明出版・2015年。

(二) 期刊 :

(中文)

張月珍。〈英語帝國的解構與再建議：網際網路全球化時代的語言文化政治〉。《文山評論》・國立政治大學・2003年1月・頁105-26。

(英文)

Koopmann, Anne, et al. "Did the General Population in Germany Drink More Alcohol during the COVID-19 Pandemic Lockdown?" *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, vol. 55, no. 6, 2020, pp. 689-99.

(法文)

Beauvois, Danièle. "Jean Potocki méritait mieux." *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 1990, pp. 441-49.

(西班牙文)

Amell, Samuel. "La novela negra y los narradores españoles actuales." *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1986, pág. 91-102.

(德文)

Bobzin, Hartmut. „Zur Anzahl der Drucke von Biblianders Koran Ausgabe im Jahr 1543." *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, Bd. 85, 1985, pp. 213-19.

(俄文)

Падучева, Елена Викторовна "Генитив дополнения в отрицательном предложении." *Вопросы языкознания* 6, 2006, pp. 21-43.

(阿拉伯文)

Darraj, Faysal. "Mawt al-Muthaqqaf." *Akhbar al-Adab*, vol. 223, 19 Oct. 1997, pp. 14-15.

الحربي، دلال بنت مخلد، "وقفية للأميرة سارة بنت الإمام عبد الله بن فيصل بن تركي آل سعود"، *مجلة عالم المخطوطات والنوادر*، مج2، ع2، رجب- ذو الحجة 1418هـ (نوفمبر - ديسمبر 1997م - يناير - أبريل 1998م)، ص ص 384-390.

(日文)

江種満子。「有島武郎と女性」・『国文学解釈と鑑賞』・第54巻第2号・東京・志文堂・1989年2月・頁48-55。

(土耳其文)

Uzun, Nadir Engin. "Türkçenin Dünya Dilleri Arasındaki Yeri Üzerine." *Türkoloji Dergisi*, vol. 19, no. 2, 2012, pp. 115-34.

(韓文)

홍길동. 「한국 고전소설의 발생 소고」. 『한국 고소 설연구』 20. 서울. 한국고소설학회. 2015.

(三) 電子資源參考文獻範例(電子期刊、網路文章、網頁等)

(中文)

劉維公。〈現代社會之工作與休閒〉。《現代社會電子期刊》· 15 · 2001 ·
<http://homelf.kimo.com.tw/lamshuikuen/> (瀏覽日期：2002.5.18)

(英文)

Harris, Joseph. "Myth and Literary History: Two Germanic Examples." *Oral Tradition*, vol. 19, 2004, pp. 3-19, <http://journal.oraltradition.org/issues/19i/harris>.

(法文)

Basse, Nicolas. «Pourquoi la musique des années 60 à 80 cartonne». *Le Point*, 30 jan 2014. www.lepoint.fr/art-de-vivre/pourquoi-la-musique-des-annees-60-a-80-cartonne-30-01-2014-1786023_4.php

« Les Facettes De La Formation à Distance ». *Thème 6*, consulté le 02 octobre 2020, foad.fied.fr/information/theme6.php.

(西班牙文)

Bautista, José Manuel García. "Niños de nadie: terror en el Auxilio Social José Antonio Primo de Rivera." *Cádiz Directo*, 06 Jun. 2017, <http://www.cadizdirecto.com/ninos-de-nadie-terror-en-el-auxilio-social-jose-antonio-primo-de-rivera.html>.

(德文)

Mair, Stefan. „Staatsversagen und Staatszerfall." *Informationen zur Politischen Bildung* (2009), Nr.303, 810, <http://www.bpbde/files/ES3BIB.pdf>, 16.01.2012.

(俄文)

Белоус, Наталья Анатольевна. "Прагматическая реализация коммуникативных стратегий в конфликтном дискурсе." *Мир лингвистики и коммуникации: электрон. научн. журн*, vol. 5, pp. 52-59, http://www.tverlingua.by.ru/archive/005/5_3_1.htm. Дата обращения: 15 Декабрь 2007.

(阿拉伯文)

شعراوي، فاطمة. "افتتاح دورة الإذاعيين الأفارقة 31 للناطقين بالفرنسية اليوم." *الأهرام*. Web. 18 Dec. 2015, <http://www.citationmachine.net/mla/cite-a-website/manual>.

(日文)

「俗字の字典」· <http://hp.vector.co.jp/authors/VA000964/html/zokuji.html> · 2002/10/27 アクセス。

(土耳其文)

Türkeş, A. Ömer. “Değişmeyen Türkiye’nin Romani.” *Radikal Kitap*, 19 Ağustos 2016, <http://kitap.radikal.com.tr/makale/haber/degismey-en-turkiyenin-romani-434537>. Erişim Tarihi: 24 Ağustos 2016

(韓文)

고전번역원 사이트 · <http://edu.itkc.or.kr/>。

(四) 文獻或書目資料

參考文獻如中外文並存時，依中文、英文、其他外文順序排列。中文、日文或書目應按作者或編者姓氏筆劃排列（如為機構亦同），英文及其他外文則依作者或編者姓氏字母次序排列。

(五) 已接受刊載但尚未發表的參考論文題目，需加註「排印中」字樣

置於刊載期刊或書名之後。若引用未發表的調查資料或個人訪談，則須在正文或註釋內註明，不得列入參考文獻。

九、校正

所有文稿均請作者自行校正，務請細心檢視（特別是圖表與公式）。若有錯誤，請在最後校稿上改正，校正完畢請儘速回傳電子檔。

- 本章則經本刊編輯委員會通過後實施，修正時亦同
- ◎ 中、英文摘要格式注意事項及範例：
 - 全文之對齊方式除了標題（論文題目、作者姓名、所屬名稱、摘要）需置中外，其餘皆設定為左右對齊。另外，除了標題（論文題目、作者姓名、所屬名稱、摘要）需設定為單行間距外，其餘皆為固定行高 12 點。
 - 中文題目設定：
 - 若您將字體設定為微軟正黑體或 Cambria Math 字型後發現行距擴大變形，請執行下列設定進行調整：

1. 點選工具列段落右下角之設定。
2. 找到段落間距中的 [文件格線被設定時，貼齊格線 (w)]。
3. 將上述設定取消。

➤ 請參考中英摘要範例

範例一：

中文題目 (微軟正黑體 16p、粗體、置中)

(空一行)

作者中文姓名 (微軟正黑體 11p)(插入註腳*)

(空一行)

作者所屬機構名稱 (微軟正黑體 11p)

(空一行)

摘要 (微軟正黑體 12p、粗體、置中)(插入註腳)**

中文摘要內文

(12p)
.....
.....
.....
.....

(空二行)

關鍵詞：第一個、第二個、第三個、第四個、第五個

*作者所屬單位與職稱 (微軟正黑體中文)(8p)

**誌謝詞 (微軟正黑體中文)(8p)

範例二：

英文題目 (Cambria Math 16p、置中)

(空一行)

作者英文姓名 (Cambria Math 9p)(插入註腳*)

(空一行)

作者所屬機構名稱英文 (Cambria Math 8p)

(空一行)

Abstract (Cambria Math 12p、置中)(插入註腳**)

(空一行)

英文摘要內文 (Cambria Math

9p)

.....

.....

.....

.....

(空二行)

Key words : 第一個, 第二個, 第三個, 第四個, 第五個

*作者所屬單位與職稱 (英文)(Cambria Math 8p)

** Acknowledgements (英文)(Cambria Math 8p)

外國語文研究

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