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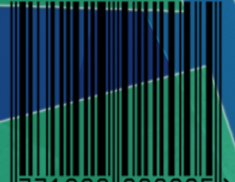
# Journal of Han Chiang College

# 韓江學報

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# 学术论文





# 家族史与地景诗

——论陈大为与辛金顺诗中的南洋书写\*\*

洪淑苓\*

**摘要** 具有台湾留学经验的马华诗人中，陈大为和辛金顺的南洋书写相当具有特色，二人的家族史诗与地景诗尤可供我们深入研究。本文除了分别论析两人前期与近期作品的特色、差异之外，也将试着讨论二人“在”台湾而书写南洋的意义。陈大为擅长叙事策略，笔调理性冷静，辛金顺擅长抒情手法，笔调温暖投入，二人都以自身的家族迁移史连结了华人移民南洋的历史，对其家乡怡保、吉兰丹的风土素描，更具有多元文化、多语言书写的特色。他们的创作丰富了马华诗歌的主题，也为台湾现代诗增添多元文化的元素。

**关键词** 家族史 地景诗 南洋书写 陈大为 辛金顺

## 前言

具有台湾留学经验的马华诗人中，6字辈的陈大为和辛金顺学成后有了不同的选择，前者留在台湾工作，后者返回马来西亚。但他们居留台湾的时候，都写过有关南洋的移民历史与家族叙事。而他们前期与近期作品之间，也有若干的改变与扩展，尤其是书写家乡的地景，都值得加以分析和比较。

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\*\*本文为101年度台湾大学迈向顶尖大学研究计划之研究成果，初稿宣读于第四届马华文学国际研讨会，2012年9月29-30日，吉隆坡：马来亚大学中文系。

本文将以“家族史”和“地景诗”两个观点切入对陈大为、辛金顺的研究。家族史是相对于大历史（以政治为主述的官方历史）的小历史，在历史学上原是藉由谱牒、书契等文物去追溯家族来源、亲族关系等的历史书写。（参见许雪姬，1995：211-240）但文学上，作家往往也透过记忆追溯、虚构想象来再现家族历史，对家人与事件进行细部刻画，同时这也是一种书写策略，经由书写家族史的过程，重构历史，也表现了集体记忆与自我的认同。<sup>1</sup>地景诗，又名地志诗，吴潜诚曾为“地志”下定义：“‘地志’乃是一种地方书写，亦即透过对特定地方或景观的描绘，牵引我们去认识或建构一个地方的历史、特色，同时也使我们认同土地，挖掘历史并赋予意义。”（1994：85）地志文学、地景诗，不仅是空间景物的描写，更要刻画风土人情，以此构成人文景观，形塑地方感、集体的地方记忆。<sup>2</sup>

本文除了以此二观点论析陈、辛两人前期与近期作品的特色之外，也将比较其二人在取材、笔法上的差异。同时，也希望藉此探讨马华诗人与台湾现代诗的关系。因陈大为较早到台湾求学，且相关诗集出版的时间也较早，因此下文将先讨论陈大为。

## 一、陈大为的南洋书写

陈大为，1969年生于马来西亚怡保市。1988年9月入台湾大学中文系，1992年6月毕业，1994年进入东吴大学中文研究所，后获取硕士学位；1997年入台湾师大国文研究所，于2000年获得博士学位，毕业后曾任教于南亚技术学院，2002年起任教于台北大学中

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<sup>1</sup>黄宗洁，《当代台湾文学的家族书写——以认同为中心的探讨》（台北：台湾师大国文系博士论文，2006），页4-12。

<sup>2</sup>近年来，文化地理学的观念给地景、地志文学研究很大的启发，陈大为在探讨辛金顺的诗作时，也运用了Mike Crang《文化地理学》的说法而认为：“整个地志书写过程就是地方记忆和情感的挖掘与重现，不然它最终只是沦为文本中的一个句子或词汇。”见陈大为《辛金顺诗歌的原乡图志》，收于《思考的圆周率——马华文学的板块与空间书写》，页190。

文系，现为该系教授。曾获联合报、中国时报、中央日报之新诗及散文奖、全国学生文学奖新诗奖、星洲日报新诗推荐奖、教育部新诗首奖、图书金鼎奖、台北文学年金等。著有诗集《治洪前书》、《再鸿门》、《尽是魅影的城国》、《靠近罗摩衍那》；散文集《流动的身世》、《句号后面》以及学术论著多种。

有关陈大为的研究，论者看重的是他具有深刻的创作自觉，擅长运用叙事策略，黄锦树（1996）、陈慧桦（1997）、罗智成（2001）、洪淑苓（2004a, 2004b）、丁威仁（2008）、张光达（2008）等都曾讨论过。而他对于中国历史、英雄人物、神话故事的解构与重构，尤其显现强大的气魄与细腻的刻画功夫，他早期的南洋书写，也是以史诗的叙事手法来建构南洋历史与风貌，但到了2005年出版第四本诗集《靠近罗摩衍那》时，却有另一种样态出现，可惜注意的人较少，这也是本文讨论的重点<sup>3</sup>。（参见张光达，2015：175）

### （一）家族史与移民史——《尽是魅影的城国》中的南洋书写

陈大为书写南洋家乡的人事，在其第二本诗集《再鸿门》（台北：文史哲出版社，1997）已有一些作品，譬如《甲必丹》、《茶楼》与《会馆》等。这三首都是长篇叙事诗，也运用后设的手法，拆解了史诗的庄严性，寄寓嘲讽、苍凉的意味。

《甲必丹》以质疑、嘲讽叙写第三任华人甲必丹叶亚来；《茶楼》写的是其舅公开设茶楼的情景，诗中分别标示1909、1957、1988与1996的年代，但茶楼日渐没落，一直到1996年，陈大为重新登入茶楼，楼已老旧，令人不胜唏嘘。《会馆》更清楚记载陈大为家族迁移南洋的历史，从1897年曾祖父看着儿子与同乡人出海到南洋写起，假借曾祖父的记忆，揭开序幕。会馆是陈大为童年中的

<sup>3</sup>本文于第四届马华文学国际会议宣读（2012年），后来张光达撰文也引用笔者对陈大为《靠近罗摩衍那》的评论，可见笔者是较早评论这本诗集的人。

重要记忆，可是会馆仍然随着岁月老去，于是在诗末陈大为有此感叹：

青苔趴在瓦上书写残余的馆史  
相关的注释全交给花岗石阶  
南洋已沦为两个十五级仿宋铅字  
会馆瘦成三行蟹行的马来文地址（陈大为，1997：26）

甲必丹的历史建构、茶楼和会馆的空间书写，呈现了两种深刻的意义。张光达（2009：144-148）认为，这是对历史记忆的对抗，因为马来西亚国家历史总是有意忽略华人的历史，因此以后设的模式来书写华人英雄甲必丹，而且也选华人出入的边缘空间为素材，而不是国家政府所建设的公共空间<sup>4</sup>；其次，藉家族小叙述，带给读者一份情感体验，有如身历其境，感同身受<sup>5</sup>。

陈大为写了这三首诗后，就暂时搁置，转向建构/解构中国历史与英雄的叙事。但这却是他深藏内心的写作欲望，于是在2001年出版的《尽是魅影的城国》即收录“南洋史诗”系列，其小序说：

我终于完成在心中密谋多年的南洋。九五年十二月落成的《会馆》，是第一个试写的篇章……我耗尽所有的技艺，所有的氧，方完成《我的南洋》……我总算完成了那个属于我的，最后的南洋。（陈大为，2001：121）

“我的南洋”系列，以“我”的南洋来带出“我们”的南洋史，因为这固然是陈大为自述的家族移民史，但也牵涉到华人移民南洋的历史记忆，以及马来西亚殖民史与现实的社会情况。就陈大

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<sup>4</sup>张光达《论陈大为的南洋史诗与叙事策略》对于前行研究者黄锦树、徐国能、辛金顺、陈慧桦、罗智成等人的意见有扼要地引述与对话，参见张光达《马华当代诗论——政治性、后现代与文化属性》，页141-145；“对抗记忆”引自傅柯的论点（张光达2009：145）。

<sup>5</sup>张光达认为从这一系列的作品开始，陈大为的叙事诗才从注重叙事的策略，增加了情感的成份。见其《论陈大为诗中的叙事与情感》，《中国现代文学》第二十七期（2015年6月），页175；全文为页167-182。

为个人的写作历程而言，也有新的突破点，即在叙事技巧之外，增加了细节、情感层面的描写<sup>6</sup>。而整体的架构共分外篇四首，序曲一首及内篇十首，各首诗都有编号，从-4开始，序曲为0号，直到内篇最后一首的第10号，显现其用心。外篇四首即收录了前一本诗集里的《会馆》等三篇，加上另外新写的《还原》<sup>7</sup>；序曲为《在南洋》；而内篇以“我的南洋”为题，共有十首作品。这十五首诗合起来是一部气势磅礴的史诗，在空间上，描绘了自己生长的故乡大马怡保，乃至祖籍地广西桂林；在时间上，从郑和时代算起，直到祖父时代发生的事，到他自己的成长时期，六百年来南洋开拓与移民的历史，陈大为都企图做一个浑融的书写，显现了宏伟的企图。这部史诗的题旨，也可从他的散文集《句号后面》的《后记》得到印证：

唯一能够释放我隐抑久久的感情，又能成为地标式作品的题材，只有“南洋”。“南洋”二字，……所有前辈诗人都未曾把它成功地诠释过，它兀自枯坐在汉语式微的南方，一坐数百年。（陈大为，2003：135）

可见他对南洋书写情有独钟，而且也希望为它寻找在诗歌史上的位置。他还在诗集的最后附录“六百年的大事札记”（2001：199-207），可见他期盼读者理解南洋历史的衷情，而这份大事札记，确实也提供我们触摸南洋史的机会<sup>8</sup>。

<sup>6</sup>张光达认为这个南洋系列，一方面有大历史的想象和建构，另一方面透过家族史的角度，也写出了家族人物的形影声貌，“因此这些诗不只是对历史事件和人物世界的诗意探索与讴歌，同时也是植基于私人小我的生活经验和情感意会。”见其《论陈大为诗中的叙事与情感》，页173。

<sup>7</sup>此诗系书写郑和的传说，末句“虽然我们都知道他是假的”却戳破了传说的真相。《尽是魅影的城国》，页146。

<sup>8</sup>从另一个角度看，这也显现了陈大为的叙事策略，张光达：“诗人有意藉诗的叙事策略和形式设计来交代历史书写的政治功能，……但交错其中的是叙述者童年与长大后对爷爷父亲等家族成员的回忆和想象，以及一些小时候个人的经验与记忆，……历史事件的残酷辛酸与个人记忆的温馨感动并置并存，标示出一种时代的见证与社会民间的声音的参照，令人感到历史的‘在场’，从来不曾远离我们而

“我的南洋”组诗的序曲为《在南洋》，透露他即将大展身手，对“历史饿得瘦瘦的南洋”加以书写；而内篇第一首《我出没的籍贯》，“出没”一词，已显现南洋华裔籍贯的流动性；而第二至五首，陈大为爬梳历史上的广西，把太平天国写进诗中；而后进入华人移工开垦的马来半岛，最后从第四和第五首接上了其父亲移民南洋的叙事。

这几首诗并不是平铺直叙式的，而是以后设的角度，“我”进入历史现场，不断打岔，提出各种质疑，特别是在细节处，故意显露的写作意图，更使人佩服他的创作技巧。例如《3. 暴雨将至》：“一九〇一半数兴奋的华人被写进 / 锡产最丰富的那一章 / …… / 接下来的故事需要大量的软插图 / 粗暴的硬解释 / 请原谅我 / 晚了十七年才急急赶来”（陈大为，2001：166）；又如《5. 整个夏季，在河滨》：“史料消化了我整个夏季 / 在中坳某个河滨 / 我启开南洋书写之大门安排角色 / 设计情节 / 譬如怎样在史诗里勾勒爷爷 / 怎样省略其他亲戚”（陈大为，2001：174）这类创作时的思绪和自白都特地写进诗里，以表现他对于整个材料的思考和剪裁。

第六首《在诗的前线行走》以爷爷和南洋做联结，从马六甲王朝的汉都亚与明朝的郑和传说写起，略及马来西亚曾经是葡属、荷属的殖民地，然后是英属殖民地，诗中借着爷爷的脚步带出此地人民的哀痛感受，而陈大为的笔就要跟着爷爷的脚步再继续挖掘移民的故事。

第七首《接下了掌纹》写的是爷爷和奶奶梁十四结褵的故事，带出1939年父亲出生，这时家族是在彭亨州过活，爷爷还思念着故乡桂林，而后来留学台湾政治大学的父亲则已经和爷爷有不同的感受了。这首诗还以麒麟出走，鼠鹿接下命运的掌纹暗示1945年的变故，爷爷没有回到已成为共产国家的大陆故乡，否则父亲和陈大为本人将会改变一生。

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去。”见其《论陈大为的南洋史诗与叙事策略》，收入张光达《马华当代诗论——政治性、后现代与文化属性》，页150。

第八首《八月，最后一天》写的是马来西亚结束殖民时代，在1957年宣告独立；而这个重大的事件对父亲的冲击是“父亲浑然不觉地踏过 / 一条黄泥铺设的国族小径 / 他的神州确实远去 / 杂草丛生 / 麒麟与鼠鹿蹲在家门两侧”。（陈大为，2001：186）其后又有1969年的“五一三”排华事件，但此事讳莫如深，无人敢公开谈论，可是可以感觉整个华族人民战战兢兢，“五百万个象形的名字 / 把自己显眼地冷落在旁”（陈大为，2001：187），更加投注在“努力节育讲华语做生意”（陈大为，2001：187）的平凡生活上。而陈家也在此际迁往有小桂林之称的怡保，陈大为则恰恰在此年出生；这似乎暗示着一个时代的结束，祖父的桂林早已远去，而此刻父亲的神州也已被抛在脑后，陈大为即将展开的是新的身分认同。

第九与十首又回到陈大为本身，《9. 简写的陈大为》从中文简体字与繁体字的差异，透露出陈大为对于繁体中文的喜好。在诗中他表示，将用先秦散文和后现代诗喂养自己的灵魂，而用以书写饱满的南洋史诗。本系列最后的《10. 在台北》响应了整个系列作品的写作动机与目的，也对自我的身分认同提供清晰的角度，使我们看到是因为在台北，被多次询问籍贯、身分，启动他书写南洋的契机；也思考到这是马华诗人不曾青睐的南洋，所以他立意要书写，要把一切被忽视被压缩的细节解压缩，使深藏六百年的南洋史拨云见日。

透过陈大为的南洋书写，我们更清楚看到他有异于其父祖辈的原乡情感，南洋史诗内篇《5. 整个夏季，在河滨》曾提到：“任由广西在乡愁的定义上开一道门 / 爷爷跨不出去 / 父亲不跨回来 / 我侧身小立 / 门坎之上 / 让目击的蚂蚁相互猜疑”（陈大为，2001：175）陈大为所以这么说，系因他的家族是在爷爷这一代迁移到南洋，因此爷爷对原乡之地广西仍然惦念，甚至眼神里还保有“桂林山水甲天下”的不可一世的神情<sup>9</sup>；但到了陈大为的

<sup>9</sup>例如在《接下了掌纹》诗中有云：“很多年后父亲才参透 / 爷爷乘凉在藤椅上的悠悠眼神 / 是秋天 / 甲天下的籍贯里不可一世的秋天”，《尽是魅影的城国》，页184。



父亲，已不作此想，而陈大为自己则是以“侧身小立”的姿态，观察着、打量着、思忖着，如何驾驭繁体、优美的中文<sup>10</sup>，以书写他的南洋史。

是故，陈大为出生马来西亚，籍贯广西，又身在台北的处境，也就形成了吊诡的情境。南洋系列的最后一首《10. 在台北》云：

在台北我的南洋注册了吊诡的条形码  
宣示了籍贯  
广西使劲凝固血小板的地图  
我始终无法把乡音走稳  
好像少了根避震（陈大为，2001：195）

又云：

在台北我注册了南洋  
要是有人硬硬读出我的乡愁  
每个术语都会头昏  
桂林不远水声就在诗的西边  
但麒麟疲惫  
我又不想继承爷爷眸子里的秋天（陈大为，2001：198）

“爷爷眸子里的秋天”即是“甲天下的籍贯里不可一世的秋天”，虽然是属于原乡的光荣，却不为孙辈所接纳，孙辈的陈大为反而想要重新整理与诠释他的家族史。

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<sup>10</sup>认同繁体中文，细嚼文化之美的思想，可参《简写的陈大为》，收于《尽是魅影的城国》，页190-194。

## (二) 多元文化观照的地景诗——《靠近罗摩衍那》中的南洋书写

2005年，陈大为出版第四本《靠近罗摩衍那》。“罗摩衍那”是一部印度史诗的题目，叙述罗摩和妻子悉多因宫廷乱事而分合的故事，其中还获得猴神哈努曼大力的帮助。从取用这个印度史诗为书名，就可略窥陈大为的用意；如同他在《后记：半手工业》中说的，别人取书名喜援用西方意象，但是“我喜欢逆势而行，便挑了印度意象做书名。这首特写印度人的诗作，是我在多元种族文化书写上的一次重要尝试，具有里程碑的象征意义。我没有直接描写印度，仅止于怡保在地的印度宗教文化，所以是‘靠近’罗摩衍那。”（陈大为，2005：170）<sup>11</sup>。

因此，我们看到本诗集的“系列五：殖民者的城池”，即是他书写家乡怡保市的卷帙；怡保就像一个南洋市镇的缩影，具有多元种族、文化的色彩，如同陈大为所述：“怡保是一座粤语之城，在檳城以南，吉隆坡以北：华人多，印度人也不少，当然还有无孔不入的马来人。”（陈大为，2005：168）此卷录诗九首，也就成为我们观察陈大为如何以新辟的角度书写南洋。

第一首《水滴穿石》似序言的作用，点出岁月久远，斑驳龟裂的建筑唤起记忆和充塞眼泪、照片的怀旧心情，最后作者决定用诗来再现这些记忆。但他又不改自信、调侃的本色，他预期他笔下的怡保，一定不符合所谓美好家乡、理想家园的典范，因为他将以“怪力乱神”的书写，呈现怡保多元的色彩，也落实在地书写的观点。

接下来的几首诗，题目和切入主题分别是：《防晒系数》——写当地炎热的气候；《下午休罗街》——写当地多种语言；《唤醒它的旧识》——写华人移民历史；《层出不穷》——写当地的饮食，包括华人（粤）、马、印以及西式饮食；《穿插大量铜乐》——

<sup>11</sup>在本书的后记中，陈大为自述，本书也是他企图放松创作的节奏，舍弃从前注重结构的长篇史诗写法的新的创作试验。

一写当地华人庆典九皇爷诞；《靠近罗摩衍那》——写当地印度人的屠妖节；《即使变成小数点》——写当地的印度文化；《方圆五里的听觉》——写当地的伊斯兰文化；这些篇章已大致涵盖了当地的多元族群文化。

值得注意的是，这些作品中使用的书写策略。陈大为经常想要在一首诗中放进多重的叙述声音，也就是不单单只是写华人，或是马来人、印度人。他的笔专注于一种文化的书写，眼角余光却随时向其他文化扫描，他要凸显的就是多元，或说是混血的文化色彩。

譬如《层出不穷》当然是很明显的例子，诗中举出了广式炒河、广式茶楼富山茶楼的烧卖，也有沙嗲椰骨、马来人的咖啡，最后归结出：

我们喝一种可乐  
说三种语文  
吃千种菜色  
磨练寓言里斗胆吞象的  
蟒舌（陈大为，2005：143）

“可乐”代表的是西式的饮料，和前面的广东菜、马来食物，形成共生的现象，所谓三种语文、千种菜色，也就具有多元的色彩。事实上，华、马、印的三种语言、种族、肤色及文化，也是陈大为诗中经常出现的并列模式，像《方圆五里的听觉》最后一段说的：“我们浑浑噩噩不知死活 / 跟驴子一块 / 在经文里穿梭 / 三种肤色被课本 / 广告成三合一咖啡 / 但谁是咖啡 / 谁是奶精谁是守寡的糖？”（陈大为，2005：160）此外，《下午休罗街》第三段：“经过百年的对骂 / 英语获得完全混血的谱系 / 帝国瘦长的篇幅 / 放心交给锡克族的大胡子警卫 / 守住金铺布庄”（陈大为，2005：133），则写出了英语与殖民地的交混，终致产生混血的英语，也可说是印度腔英语，点缀了休罗街的风景。

又如《穿插大量铜乐》，写华人的九皇爷诞祭典，此为每年农历九月初一至初九的民俗庆典，举行祭仪与斋戒。一说源自北斗七星的信仰，一说是为了纪念反清复明的九位义士或其他说法，具有驱瘟避疫的效用。这样的华人庙会活动，陈大为仍然想要把它放在“华洋杂处”的情境中，因此诗的第二段说：

我站在圣麦克中学的围墙前方  
英式建筑卯上中式阵仗  
急急如律令的日子  
神与子民  
分站中英对照的马路两端  
激动的中国打击乐热带巨树  
和它的鹿角蕨  
我的发现值得跟你分享：咱的九皇爷  
就混在你我推挤的路  
统计香火算几根大旗盲目走过（陈大为，2005：144-145）

英式、中式；中英对照以及中国、热带的对比，确实点出了这个热闹的华人民俗庆典中，难以抹去的西洋风、热带风。

陈大为也指出身处多元文化中，其中重要的桥梁就是“翻译”。《即使变成小数点》中就说：“关于印度 / 我需要一个中译的宇宙”，以便去了解、“迷信”、重逢那些远古的印度文化、佛教文化。“中译”固然是指用中文翻译梵文，以便读懂佛经奥义，但其实也是以一个中国人的眼光，去了解印度文化中，与世无争，即使变为小数点，也不在意自身处境的可有可无。《下午休罗街》也是一个好的例子，诗的第一段：“谁来翻译：肢体柔软的早晨 / 不等边的三种语文 / 各自等待同一辆公交车 / 各自描述同一条街道的黄金比例 / 部分细节在齿缝挣扎 / 扭曲再简化”（陈大为，2005：132）；不等边的三种语言指的是英文、马来文与华文，而使用这三种语言的不同族群，在这街道上，同候一车，也共同居住在

同一街上，呈现当地居民生活的图像。但“谁来翻译”似乎是问句，却也提点出这样的景象：三种语言与文化同时并存，各自有独立的空间，却又有着巧妙的融合。

陈大为在《尽是魅影的城国》中的南洋书写，具有史诗的格局；《靠近罗摩衍那》中的南洋书写，则有后殖民的色彩，就像《即使变成小数点》一开头就说“怡保被譬喻成杂货店”，这间杂货店陈列着华人、马来人与印度人所需的各种货物，它的休罗街、铁船路、圣麦克中学、文冬新村等，都充满了多元的文化色彩。马来原住民、印度、华人移民文化相互交会，彼此互为它者，此外还夹杂殖民又被翻译过的英语文化，形成错综的关系。这使我们感觉到陈大为和他的父祖辈对南洋的情感不同了，和其他作家笔下的橡胶园、热带雨林、湿地的南洋景致比较，陈大为所书写者，更是都市、市镇的人文景观。

## 二、辛金顺的南洋书写

辛金顺，笔名辛吟松，籍贯广东澄海，1963年生于马来西亚吉兰丹州。1992年10月到台湾求学，就读成功大学中文系，后取得中正大学中文所硕士及博士学位，其间曾任教于多所大学。2011年返回马来西亚，现任教于拉曼大学中文系。曾获中国时报与中央日报的诗奖、台北文学奖新诗和散文奖项、梁实秋散文特优奖、府城文学、桃城文学及台中文学新诗奖、全国学生文学奖、台湾省古典诗词首奖等；著有诗集：《风起的时候》、《最后的家园》、《诗图志》、《记忆书册》、《说话》、《注音：辛金顺诗集》，散文集：《江山有待》、《一笑人间万事》、《月光照不回的路》，以及学术论文集多种。有关辛金顺诗作的研究，在他第一本诗集《风起的时候》，即已邀请方昂、何乃健、陈蝶、吴岸为之作序，而后陈大为、林幸谦、庄华兴等也都为他的《诗图志》与《记忆书册》

写过书序或评论<sup>12</sup>，他们注意到了辛金顺笔下的童年、家园、地志书写等主题，有助于我们了解辛金顺的基本创作面向。但本文更注意到，辛金顺前期作品中的南洋书写，有的长篇或组诗，有的则是短篇，形式不一，情感投射的方向也较驳杂；但到了近期《记忆书册》对于家族史的描绘则是相当整齐严谨的系列作品，显现具有不同的体会与思考，以下将予以讨论。

### （一）忧患意识与田园牧歌——《风起的时候》与《最后的家园》中的南洋书写

《风起的时候》是辛金顺的第一本诗集，在马来西亚出版，用的是笔名辛吟松；到台湾留学发表作品时回复使用本名；留台第四年，出版《最后的家园》。这两本诗集对于父祖辈移民南洋的感慨以及居住之地的书写，大多是散点式的触发，也就是说看不出是计画式、系列性的写作，反而是有感而发，留下感思的记录。而《最后的家园》中有关马来西亚家乡的作品，其情感的触发可说是承继前一本诗集而来，只不过因为空间的距离，因此以一种怀念、回忆童年的角度来写作，不同的是情绪的强度较为和缓，是抒情的吟哦，不像前一本诗集那般浓烈。

辛金顺的父亲在 1940 年自广东澄海迁渡南洋，从新加坡、麻坡、丰盛港，一直迁徙到吉兰丹州偏僻的河口，最后在白沙镇落脚定居。他的母亲这一边，也是大约在 1942 年由外祖父母带着他的母亲从广东揭阳到南洋，而后两人经媒妁而结婚，1957 年搬到吉兰丹州，再因故搬到白沙镇，辛金顺与其姐妹们即在此地出生、成长。辛金顺身为第二代华裔子弟，他的中国印象系来自父祖辈的经历与

<sup>12</sup>陈大为《必经之路——评辛金顺〈吉兰丹州图志〉》，见辛金顺《记忆书册》，页 118-123；又，陈大为《想象与回忆的地志学——辛金顺诗歌的原乡书写》，原载《中国现代文学半年刊》第 9 期，2006 年 6 月，收入其《思考的圆周率——马华文学的板块与空间书写》“第八章辛金顺诗歌的原乡图志”，页 183-198；林幸谦《一步跨出，即是天涯——辛金顺诗作以外的流浪身影》、庄华兴《逃行者的乡愁——读辛金顺的〈诗图志〉》，二篇序文见辛金顺《诗图志》（土谷来：南方学院马华文学馆，2009），页 7-17；18-21。

述说，以及华校、会馆华文教育的启蒙。然而这样的身分背景，和现实中的马来西亚家乡环境，恒常在他心里激起漂泊和忧患意识，因此《风起的时候》的第一辑“山风海雨”和第四辑“拍尽栏杆”，就已经碰触了国族和家族书写的议题，这类相关的作品往往充满对历史的喟叹，也对自身的身分与处境充满无力感，偶有慷慨激昂的情绪，正显示他内心澎湃却又矛盾复杂的情怀。<sup>13</sup>

譬如“山风海雨”辑中的第一首诗《夜思——三十年来家国》，“三十年来家国”明显化用李后主的词《破阵子》：“四十年来家国，三千里地云河。”李后主的亡国之恸成了华裔族群的移民之恸，“三十年”可以说是移民此地三十年<sup>14</sup>，而留存记忆底层的是觉“像那血泪的历史 / 逐渐在我底记忆里沉默”（辛金顺，1992：3），那记忆包含英殖民时代留下的大街和古老的板屋，在这窄巷里进出的人们，庙前沉睡的石狮以及千里孤坟，诗中的我对于这一切充满了感慨，但在孩童酣睡的夜里，仍然维持着寂寞的清醒，“开始用沉思记录 / 父亲的岁月和意志”，希冀拥抱一种家族与历史命脉的延续，“在血和血的燃烧中 / 在泪和泪的交会里 / 缓缓成黎明中的江河 / 不息，明澈、宁谧……”（辛金顺，1992：7）这种坚持，也见于其他的作品，例如《独白》中所述说的“黄还是黄绝不变色，绝不”、“总依旧会以中文，和泪吐出 / 自己亮丽的名字”（辛金顺，1992：33-34）；又如《子夜后不寝》中“我绝不熄灯”的毅然决然亦是个例证。

然而当省视周遭的众生与族人，移民的命运和处境往往使得辛金顺流露哀愁、悲悯与忧患的意识。譬如《晨望》的末段：“在这里，我们麇聚 / 如青苔一样生存下去 / 迎接无数的晨明 / 然后，生长，老去……”（辛金顺，1992：28）青苔麇聚是多么卑微又柔韧

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<sup>13</sup>陈大为指出，这种充满使命感的感伤书写或是忧患意识普遍见于马华作家的作品中，可参钟怡雯《马华散文的“浪漫”传统》及潘碧华《八〇年代校园散文所呈现的忧患意识》；参见陈大为《辛金顺诗歌的原乡图志》，收于《思考的圆周率——马华文学的板块与空间书写》，页185。

<sup>14</sup>“三十年”可以指此地已有移民开垦三十年的历史；但从写作的年代推敲，这“三十年”似也暗示着辛金顺恰逢三十岁，因本诗集出版于1992年，而辛金顺出生于1963年，差不多三十岁。

的生命力，但是生长，老去，又是多么无可奈何。这样的感觉，在面对死后的归所——坟地公墓——更透显出华裔族群的茫然与无力感，如和三保山事件有关的《保山亭》、《三保山》与《破碎的辉煌》等一组作品，即冠以“漠漠如烟的追思”的小标题，后记有云：“八月一日初上古城，伫立于宝山亭前，看三保山在黄昏夕照中寂寞成我心里潮汐起伏的晚来心事。……古城归来后，点滴成诗。是感叹，是悼祭，是缅怀，是追思。当然也是一心不能自禁的澎湃。”（辛金顺，1992：20-21）三保山相传是明代郑和下南洋时的遗迹，而其地的义山乃是华人义冢之地，当时马六甲首长有铲平义冢之意，直接冲击到便是华人的祖先信仰，经华社与各界抗争，三保山事件在1986年落幕<sup>15</sup>，而辛金顺这一组诗作于其后的两年，也就是1988年，其意在悼祭、追思之外，也蕴含浓厚的忧患意识，亦即华族何去何从的疑虑，如果落地不能生根，还要遭受铲平祖坟，这就如同连根拔起的痛楚，也会使人担忧未来的命运。

身为一个诗人，辛金顺颇有传统知识分子忧国忧民的情怀，也有一人独当的使命感，但是面对华族的集体命运，辛金顺还是有莫可奈何的心境。

就切近自身的家族书写来看，辛金顺在《风起的时候》诗集中，描写较多的是外祖父祖母，其次才是父亲。“拍尽栏杆”辑中的“渔歌子”组诗六首即是描写亚公（祖父）南来谋生以及亚嬷（祖母）为之持家的生活。当年亚公渡过南中国海到马来西亚，以打渔为生，而今也已有四十多年的时光；亚公总以为会回去的，但一直未能如愿，他的心情也一直在此岸与彼岸之间摆荡。

与父亲有关的，是《上香》这首诗，诗中藉由描写上香祝祷的事，代父亲说出思念母亲的心情，因为父亲已经离家五十余载，所以诗中推测其母应已亡故入土，而使人伤感的是，其人必然也曾倚

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<sup>15</sup>1983年10月，马六甲首长拟铲平华人的三保山义冢，经华社各界抗争奔走，始于1986年7月平息此风波，马六甲首长允诺拨出五万美元作为三保山基金，以表示对各族文化遗产的平等重视。见孔远志《马来西亚三保山与华人》，收于《华侨华人历史研究》1990年第02期。



闻而望，殷殷呼唤儿子的名字。如今母亲亡故了，而离家的游子只能凭借清香三柱，悼念母亲。这首诗的后记说：“父亲南来五十余载，天涯行客，……最后，却没有回去。……暮色中，我却时常无意中捡拾了他那一头白茫茫沉默而伤痛的心事。”（辛金顺，1992：196-197）可看到辛金顺书写父亲的故事，是带着体谅、同感伤悲的心。

无论是亚公或父亲的经历，都是远离家乡而后回不去的结局。而这回不去的惆怅、伤痛，辛金顺都看在眼里，对祖父与父投以无限的体恤，有感同身受的共鸣。

“拍尽栏杆”辑中还有“田园曲”三首，这三首田园曲描绘了稻田和树林、泥沼中的水牛、雨后的蛙鸣等事物，构成一幅幅纯朴的农村景致，也呈现辛金顺心底留存的童年家乡的记忆。但这些景色，若不特别标明是其家乡所有，其实就像普遍在农村印象，地方色彩、本土特色较不突出；但他始终不忘归乡之梦，如同《夜兴》：“鸡雏在栏里睡了 / 乡童围成圈的梦 / 在村老白发下的故事里长长……”、“那个年夜，即说 / 我已回到童年时放牧的故乡 / 永远，不再漂泊……”（辛金顺，1992：183-184）童年放牧的故乡正是其心灵的依归，不再漂泊也正是他最大的心愿。

综观《风起的时候》，其实已经具备了家族书写和乡土刻画的主题；第二本诗集《最后的家园》第一辑“童忆”也收录多篇和家乡、童年回忆有关的诗，例如《最后的家园》、《童忆》、《三月说》、《南方》与《年轮》等，但这些作品的整体表现，并没有超越前一本诗集《风起的时候》的类似作品，只不过在语言的使用上抒情意味更浓，宛如一篇篇的田园牧歌，表达对家乡的思念<sup>16</sup>，就像他在《最后的家园·后记》说：

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<sup>16</sup>辛金顺这种田园牧歌式的笔法，传达一种普遍的情感，以至于当他在台湾的报刊杂志上发表这些作品，笔者一度还误读为那是对台湾农村的忆写，“南方”也可以解读为台湾南部的乡村。

通过诗，我企图在现实中建构自己失落的家园。童年中的种种画面，生命里的一些理想，以及在时间中消逝的人情与物理，交杂穿插成了模糊的意象，我把它一一贴在异乡孤寂的生活里，夜深时，用灯对抗窗外的黑暗，用诗，拼贴岁月的梦彩。<sup>17</sup>

四年了，在台南的这片土地上，我一直在守望着南方的一颗星星，灿烂而无名。……仿佛它就是曩昔在马来半岛东海岸某个小镇上，我所常翘首仰望的那枚星子。这份熟悉的感觉，在我的心内，不时掀起微微的喜悦。（辛金顺，1997：148）

是故，我们看到他以写诗来纾解乡愁，以委婉抒情的方式，吐露思乡之情。而潜在的忧患意识和不时流露的田园牧歌式的向往，则是他书写南洋的迂回模式，而下一阶段的地景诗写作，才是他最大的突破。

## （二）从失落到建构——辛金顺《诗图志》与《记忆书册》中的南洋书写

对童年与家园记忆的书写，以及田园牧歌式的歌咏，在辛金顺的《诗图志》仍然寻常可见，但《诗图志》更增加了对身分、族群的思索，也屡屡发出“找不到回家的路”的感慨。

例如《乡曲》描绘了鸡唱鸭叫、稻田、水牛、白鹭鸶的田园风光，间杂爷爷抽水烟的形象，母亲为家人洗衣的身影，构成了记忆中温馨的影像，而渴望“等待回忆，弯下腰来 / 轻轻，再把我 / 捡抱回去……”（辛金顺，2009：42）。这种眷恋的情感也见于

<sup>17</sup>陈大为认为辛金顺这类作品，“通过文本建构的绝对不是现实中的家园，而是文本中的虚构的童年家园。它同时是过去式和未来式。这种‘失乐园’的追寻心理，遂成为辛金顺诗作的一个核心主题”。见陈大为《辛金顺的原乡图志》。

《回家》，诗的最后说，“像那年离去的诗句，纵然漂泊 / 我们仍将平静而 / 坦然，回望 / 那光唯一的源头 / 生命最后的住所”（辛金顺，2009：46）但是这一幕幕的美丽的乡野景象与家园生活的记忆，还是免不了各种声音的辩论：“是一张张残缺的历史”，“不，是一首首甜美的诗歌”，“都不，只是一帧帧退了色的旧照片”（辛金顺，2009：42），这三者之间的摆荡，恰恰显现其内心的眷恋与挣扎，如同《童梦》诗的最后说，天亮梦醒，却甚么都没抓到；《身世》诗的末句也说：童年的街道、稻田的水牛、苍老的榕树全都四散漂流而去，“最后，我终于找不到回家的路”（辛金顺，2009：48）。

为了对抗这种失落的感觉，就必须在回忆与书写之间，不断刻画心中那份对家园的信仰，这在他的散文集《月光照不回的路》，也有相当多的例证。这些篇章娓娓道来对个人身分、族群命运的思索，例如《破碎的话语》藉由身处多元种族的马来西亚，华人本身又有广东话、客家话、潮州话等各种母语的情境，透露身分的复杂与暧昧性；而《燕子》写父亲南迁的一生，好比燕子南飞，却再也无法返回原乡；这虽是父亲个人的经历，却也是当地华人集体命运的翻版。此外，几篇写母亲、阿嬷的作品，如《元音》、《鳖迹》、《月光照不回的路》，也都是从母亲和阿嬷的生命经历侧写了南洋女性的生命史。然而这些书写的背后，却是一股惶惶不安的逃亡意识；这逃亡意识又和记忆中母亲殷勤的呼唤与等待的灯火互相碰撞，始终萦绕在心头，挥之不去<sup>18</sup>。辛金顺曾在《子夜诗语》一文中回顾自己的人生，从年少离开家庭到外地教书，直到后来离开国境飞往台湾求学，回看家乡小镇，有如马奎兹笔下孤寂无人、饱受诅咒的荒凉之地，其间魅影重重，有来自其本身的情感纠缪，也有来自他人的书写所积累的印象，这使得他经常徘徊在失落、寻觅、迷路的心境之中，而最后是在诗的国度中，找到“回家的路”：“孤身走进诗里，然后，以散步的方式，沿着光阴走过的路

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<sup>18</sup>可参其散文《逃亡》，见于《月光照不回的路》。

径，去搜索生命中的一路风景。……是的，无惊、无惧地在诗里找出另一条可以回家的路。”（辛金顺，2008：148）

“在诗里找出另一条可以回家的路”也就印证了他试图利用诗的文字来建构记忆，留存内心深处的情感。而基于这样的自我探索，诗集《记忆书册》的诸多篇章便展现用诗来梳理记忆的意图，并且以组诗的方式，亦即主题式的写作，写出了家族史与地景的描绘。这在辛金顺的诗歌创作历程上，也是新的突破，在此之前，虽然偶有写到故乡情事，但都不如此集中《家族照相簿》与《吉兰丹州图志》这两部组诗有着完整的结构和凝练的笔法。

《家族照相簿》内含七首诗，写祖父、父亲、母亲、大舅、“错位者”、姊姊们及妹妹们，除了“错位者”，其余六篇所写的人物可说是辛金顺家族亲人的写照。<sup>19</sup>

《祖父的遗像》写的是祖父，但生活于南中国的祖父并未踏上马来半岛，他只是一帧黑白照片与一座牌位，然却已牵动辛金顺的心神，“永远的 / 永远镇压在我的回忆碑下”（辛金顺，2010：11）；而父亲是家族移民南洋的起点，《我父》详述父亲的人生，包括十四岁到南洋，历经从新加坡到马来西亚的迁移和身分转换，这其中有商店被砸的挫折，也有1969年的华族劫难，直写到1996年父亲过世为止，并交代了父亲的骨灰安置于一座暹庙的灵骨塔，在那里，“父亲坐在 / 梦与梦重迭的顶端，把六十年前 / 搁浅的孤帆，望成一枝瘦尽乡愁的桅杆 / 静静，静静的开向北方”（辛金顺，2010：13）。书写母亲的《我母》，同样纪实地写出母亲从少女到老妇的历程，三年八个月的日据统治，1957年的马来联邦独立，在大历史的动乱、烟火与伤亡的叙事下，母亲“用

<sup>19</sup>从发表时间看，《吉兰丹州图志》发表于2003年6月28日的《南洋商报·南洋文艺》，而《家族照相簿》是2005年5月15日发表于《星洲日报·文艺春秋副刊》；此处依本文题目家族史、地景诗的顺序来讨论。陈大为《辛金顺诗歌的原乡图志》曾讨论《家族照相簿》，但他认为这一组诗前半首有“宏观的历史叙述视野”，后半首“却完全进入个别人物际遇的微观描述”，不似史诗写法，比较接近台湾诗人许悔之的《家族：不完整的台湾家族史》，以多位家人、多角度拼贴的方式书写自己的家族。笔者认为，多位人物、事件的细节、多角度拼贴正是辛金顺《家族照相簿》的特点与优点。

炊烟抵抗饥饿”，用最实际、最贴近生活的方式存活，也和父亲一起撑起一个家，成为子女的庇荫。《我母》中母亲的强韧精神，应该也代表了南洋妇女的生命精神。

此外，《姐们》与《妹妹的迭影》分别记写三个姐姐与三个妹妹，六个姊妹的性情、才华与命运各自不同，但共同之处是点出女性必然走入婚姻的宿命，以母者的身影，养儿育女；透过这些作品，不难看出辛金顺对姊姊与妹妹的友爱、疼惜之情。关于姊妹婚嫁的对象，辛金顺特别提及讲潮语、闽语或广东话的姊夫，而其子女则还要学华语和英文，周遭又有马来文、吉兰丹土话，语言的交杂，在在衬托这是个多元文化的社会，而华族女儿嫁鸡随鸡，也如同她们的母亲一样，在生活中为丈夫儿女提供稳定的力量。

《出走的大舅》、《错位者》二诗记载家族史上的两个壮年男子，前者写因故关在黑房（牢房？）的大舅，他是被挖掉名字的郑□□，身体的空白处被填上 Mohamad Nor bin Theh，他的横死，造成外祖母断肠般的痛楚，而想必也是整个家族的痛处。像这样的男子，或许也是某一类华裔子弟的缩影。

《错位者》是相当耐人寻味的一章，按理应该就是辛金顺的自我书写或是对自我人生的想象，但他刻意避开这样的关联，反而以“错位者”来暗示身处马、华文化的交界之地，有身分认同上的错置。

在诗中，“错位者”年轻时沉迷于摇滚乐，感染了叛逆的个性，极力挥霍自己的青春。他惯用潮语，也使用华文，偶用泰文，和妻子的对话用的是纯正的马来话；但是婚姻出了问题，“结婚证书重新修改”，进入中年的他，有隐含伤痛的情感经历，然而仍操持着潮州话这破碎的母语，试图捕捉这断代的史音。这个五十出头的“错位者”，是不是辛金顺本人似乎不是那么重要，只要他反映了华族子弟的形象，便具有深刻的意义。即便是其本人的传记，但他刻意的疏离，以旁观者的眼光描述自己的前半生，并预告自己的后半生，目的也是在于打破个人的身世遭遇，而拓展到集体命运的关注。

另一组《吉兰丹州图志》内含序、跋及正文六章。吉兰丹州是辛金顺生长的家乡，因此这组诗可说是对童年家乡的礼敬。但他不再采用田园牧歌式的歌颂与缅怀，而是采用类似写实的方式，以地名为标题，试图写出地方景物的特色及其中的历史人文。从这一点，也可以了解他如何透过诗来寻找回家的路。

这个组诗的第一首《白沙：故乡的隐喻》已勾勒出家乡大致的轮廓：这是位于橡胶园背后的小镇，有高脚屋、独木桥、小学和老巴刹（市场），而诗中的我们杂用潮州话、闽南音、马来语以及吉兰丹土话，连同《兰班道让：边界的乡愁》中提到的暹语；多语也就是多元，这正是辛金顺一直想要凸显的。而辛金顺笔下吉兰丹的历史，有和英国殖民者抗争、古老的英雄 Tok Janggut，也借着狐狸的传说暗写一段隐约的马共历史；在与泰国邻界的地方，则描述两地居民的日常生活，以及观光客的种种。华人移民在第三首《瓜拉吉赖：燕子的图景》和南飞的燕子意象结合在一起，而新兴的城市哥打峇鲁则充满了超市、商店、电影院等新型的消费与娱乐场所。这一系列的组曲，试图给与读者对吉兰丹的历史、地理、人文概略的印象，同时也涵盖古老乡镇与当代都会的描绘，在时空的深度与广度上，都有相当不错的表现。

《吉兰丹州图志》对于多语、多元文化的观照，在辛金顺的散文《破碎的话语》、《吉兰丹 / 人》<sup>20</sup>可看到更为具体的描述，燕子的意象与象征在散文《燕子》中，也聚焦在其父亲的人生经历上。值得注意的是，辛金顺对于华人文化、马来人的回教文化，都维持着关注的兴趣，这是他在“破碎的话语”之下，对身处多元、驳杂的文化情境下，一种自我解嘲，也是寻求肯定的方式。陈大为在《必经之路——评辛金顺〈吉兰丹州图志〉》已指出，在这组诗中，辛金顺置入 / 处理马来语汇的策略是直接引用马来文或马来语的拼音或中译，并不顾及读者是否读懂，因此他的预设读者应是马华读者。（辛金顺，2010：120）笔者认为可以更进一步诠释的是，

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<sup>20</sup>俱见于《月光照不回的路》。

保持原文原音，也正是显现当地多语的环境，使读者——包括马华以外的读者——可以感受那种氛围。

此外，我们更应该深入看看辛金顺对不同族群文化的关注角度。

组诗第六首《哥打峇鲁：新城的寓言》写的是吉兰丹的首府哥打峇鲁，哥打峇鲁历经老城新建，所以有古老的空间如老巴刹、旧商屋以及城市底层的后巷，这在辛金顺的散文《吉兰丹 / 人》有较多的描述和对于城市兴衰的感叹（辛金顺，2008：53）；但在这首诗中，辛金顺一开始就以柔和的笔调写下回教堂的晨祷声以及大亭复小亭的阿拉伯街景，接着穿插一些现代化的空间意象如超市、巴士站、电影院、商店，但这个城市也不是完全的西化，因为它仍然有不卖酒、不卖春和不能有夜总会的规定，是属于回教文化的禁忌。而华族文化在这里是这样显影的：

敛翅的心情在雨季中撑伞而过，飞翔的  
天空，众神躲在可兰经背后沉默  
镇安宫却年年烟火，用遗忘的母语  
唱歌，召唤五百年前的祖先  
回家坐一坐（辛金顺，2009：48）

在回教文化的空间氛围下，华人的信仰与生活如常进行，因而整首诗产生了和谐的气氛，甚至带有光明的愿景，如同诗的末段：

而黝黑的皮肤，曾被吉兰丹河  
搓过，洗衣的木筏人家  
用力，把一页页的府城旧事  
重新洗涤，晾起  
日日月月就有了清新亮丽（辛金顺，2009：49）

这组诗发表于 2003 年 6 月 28 日的《南洋商报·南洋文艺》，光明的展望带给人甚为乐观的感觉，似是放下个人漂泊与沧桑的心境，转而以客观的角度书写乡土，充满马、华文化共荣的图像。散文《吉兰丹 / 人》也具有这样的乐观结尾，该文发表于 2006 年 5 月 17 日的《星洲日报·文艺春秋》；显见这几年来辛金顺写作角度已具有后殖民的角度，想要从乡土、地方的书写，去面对全球化的潮流，想要用文化多元的视角去扭转马、华文化的扞格。而这其中的关键，笔者认为，并非是有了政治的选择与认同，而是跳开现实的国族差异，转而以平民百姓的日常生活为依归，从寻常的生老病死发掘其中的真实感受<sup>21</sup>，从不同种族的左邻右舍去结交和人与人之间的情感<sup>22</sup>；也藉由对同一个城镇、区域的历史人文、地理景观的共同经验，产生共鸣共感，重新塑造新的地方意识与认同，所以才会在诗文中，一再的对着读者说：**Selamat Jalan**，欢迎下次再来<sup>23</sup>。

辛金顺的家族史与地景诗的书写，到了《记忆书册》可说达到相当成熟的表现，既有他惯用的抒情手法，也有新的观察角度。但这诗集中的每一篇章，并不是一气呵成的计划性写作，而是重拾记忆中的一景一物，以及相关的人事，重新建构的图像。《诗图志》里那种找不到路回家的怅惘，在《记忆书册》里已经转为吉兰丹就

<sup>21</sup>例如《3. 瓜拉吉赖：燕子的图景》写晚餐后平静的巷道（《诗图志》，页 45）、《5. 道北：铁道的格律》写深夜里熟睡的小镇（《诗图志》，页 47），这些描写都是贴近平民百姓的生活，也是在这块土地上无论是华人还是马来人，他们一生的写照。

<sup>22</sup>可参见其散文《吉兰丹 / 人》，文中记叙了他和马来邻居 Abe 成为好朋友，而他也熟悉吉兰丹土话，在大家一同观赏电视节目时，一起为来自吉兰丹的歌手加油。文中也提到吉兰丹人的共同意识：“如许多吉兰丹人常说的：**Orekitu**，我们的人，讲吉兰丹土话的，都是我们的人，有着兄弟般的情谊。因此只要是我们的的人，皆为同类，则甚么都好商量。”《月光照不回的路》，页 45。

<sup>23</sup>《诗图志》，页 47。有关《吉兰丹州图志》的诠释，陈大为的结论是：“选择性的乡镇图志，自然隐含了作者对这六个地方的缅怀与了解，但这些空间内容读起来，比较像是‘想象’和‘记忆’的吉兰丹，经过两者的双重净化和漂白，几乎变成一座童稚的乌托邦（或失乐园），不仅平静，更给人一种停格、静止的错觉。”（见陈大为《辛金顺诗歌的原乡图志》）。但笔者的诠释与陈大为略有不同，笔者认为其文字仍为读者勾勒了吉兰丹州的人文景观，显现他一贯的宁静的笔调。



是我的家，我为你描绘、导览其中之美，欢迎你来拜访的宁静和喜悦，完成从失落到建构的历程。

### 三、陈大为与辛金顺的南洋书写比较

以上，透过陈大为与辛金顺的南洋书写，我们看到二者共同的书写趋势，那就是家族史与地景诗的书写。陈大为的南洋史诗系列一出手即受到注意，辛金顺在“辛吟松”时代曾有零星的篇什发表，直到《记忆书册》的《家族照相簿》系列才有较集中的表现；他们都选择家族史来介入南洋的历史，也可以了解这和九〇年代以后，华文作家的家族书写风潮蔚起，有着相互的关联。

对于乡土的描写，从怀旧、田园牧歌式的书写到聚焦相关地方记忆的地景诗大约是在 2000 年之后，作家面对全球化浪潮下，采取地方书写来凸显本土特色，显现后殖民的思考。有关地景的描绘，陈大为 2005 年出版的《靠近罗摩衍那》运用整体的架构来书写怡保的人文景观，辛金顺《吉兰丹州图志》则是落实于地名方位，以记录当地的风光人文。两人的笔法虽异，但都企图展现当地具有华、马、印的多元文化图像。

进一步看，他们二人在创作手法上大相径庭，陈大为喜欢后设式的解构写法，从祖父、父亲到我一贯的脉络，藉以写出三代间不同的身分认同，这和辛金顺明显不同。辛金顺擅长抒情手法，娓娓道来家族亲人的故事，早期自我情感较强烈，所以显现忧患意识，而近期则尽量采取客观疏离的角度，试图描绘人物的图像，但他的笔调还是比较温热，和祖父、父亲有同情共感的哀愁，而陈大为在诗中表现得较为理性冷静，采取旁观者的角度来观察父祖辈的移民史。在地景诗方面，陈大为透过生活、饮食、祭典的描述，让我们看到怡保市的多元文化色彩；辛金顺对于吉兰丹州的叙述，也让我们看到多元文化，但辛金顺更有意凸显多语言的特点，因此穿插借用马来语、马来文，形成特色。

家族史与地景诗的书写，其意义在于开拓马华诗歌的写作主题。当马华诗人的父祖辈以中国原乡、落叶归根为依归时，青壮辈的马华诗人如何看待这份情感与记忆？笔者之前曾撰文探讨傅承得与陈大为对“中国”图像的追寻与反思，也发现傅承得、陈大为对于其父祖辈的记忆是了解的，但自身却已无意归属于彼岸；他们历经追寻，终而更真实、更贴切地拥抱生长之地。（参见洪淑苓，2015）从他们的例子可以看到马华诗人国族认同的暧昧性与流动性，而当他们书写脚下的土地时，也有其现实上的问题必须面对，包括政治、族群以及社会现代化的问题等。而这个层面，也可看到马华诗人不同的书写策略，或以迂回的手法和政治问题擷抗，或宕开笔触，转而向生活层面、文化层面去挖掘、细剖，而由于马来亚的族群多元，因而除了中华文化、马来文化之外，也有印度文化的渗入；即便是中华文化，也有潮州、广西、广东等区域的不同，形成有趣的国际文化百汇。诗人笔下马来西亚各地各族群的饮食、习俗、信仰等，构成多元色彩，也使得他们的诗歌作品，逐渐摆脱古典情境或是文化乡愁的模式，而展开华文诗歌的新样貌，这应是马华诗歌可以走出一条自己的文学之路的重要因素。

最后，谈谈台湾对陈大为与辛金顺创作的意义。他们二人都有留学台湾的经历，这些家族史诗和地景诗，也都是他们在台湾时所写。“在”台湾“写”南洋的意义在哪里？

陈大为的诗中曾说到，到台湾求学时，被逼供似的填写籍贯，被问起你是哪里人的经验；辛金顺也在其散文《破碎的话语》提到，当他来到台湾，他的潮州加吉兰丹口音常被问起你是哪里人；被问起你是哪里人看似引起争议，其实对创作者是一种触发，诗人因为远离家乡而得以反观自身的存在，重新定位“我”是谁。而在台湾书写南洋，有一种很远又很近的距离，远的是“在”台湾，可以有距离的观察、思考家乡的种种；近的是同样是华文环境，还有机会碰到同乡或是同样说广东话、闽南话的人，同文而异质，可以擦撞、比较的地方更多。张锦忠曾说很多马华作家“多半在留台期间完成作家的‘成长仪式’，是以可以展开之后的文学旅程”。

（参见张锦忠，2003）但透过上文的剖析，我们更可以说“在”台湾，也是马华诗人创作的转变点，使得陈大为的叙事诗不断更上层楼，辛金顺重新出发而有更为丰富的成果。当然，他们的作品也为台湾现代诗坛增添了新的文化风貌。

## 五、结语

马华诗人中，多人与台湾有密切的关联。陈大为的诗与散文屡获文学奖，早已声名大噪，他定居台湾，不仅书写南洋，也极力推展马华文学的研究；辛金顺留学台湾多年，也曾获得许多奖项，他漂泊多年，终于还是返回马来西亚任教，他的南洋书写，不断凸显多语言的马来西亚，多语、破碎的话语这个企图，在《记忆书册》之后的创作仍然继续发酵。这两位作者的后续表现，都相当令人期待。

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# **Family History & Landscape Poetry: A Study on Nanyang Writing in Poetry of Chen Dawei and Xin Jinshun**

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**Abstract:** Among Malaysian Chinese poets who have had the experience of studying in Taiwan, the writings of Chen Dawei and Xin Jinshun about Nanyang history are quite distinctive. It is worthwhile to study their poetry of family history and landscape in an in-depth manner. This article analyzes the characteristics of their early and recent works and, compares the differences between the former and the latter; furthermore, it discusses the significance of Nanyang writing "in" Taiwan by both poets. Chen Dawei is good at a narrative approach that is defined by a calm and rational style. On the other hand, Xin Jinshun is good at a lyrical approach that involves emotional warmth and intense feelings of devotion. Both of them use their family history of migration as points of reference to explore the history of Chinese immigrants in Nanyang. The writings about their hometown, Ipoh and Kelantan are multicultural and multilingual. Their works enriched the themes of Malaysian Chinese poetry, and add the element of multiculturalism to Taiwanese modern poetry.

**Keywords:** family history, landscape poetry, Nanyang writing, Chen Dawei, Xin Jinshun



## 北马制造：

### 《青梳》杂志轻质抒情风格的文学面貌

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**摘要** 文学杂志不仅是一个文学研究资料库，同时也是一个充满意义的文学生态空间。在杂志这个更大的“文学文本”中，我们阅读的不仅仅是里头的文章，也包括刊物本身、其编辑圈子，它如何出现又如何发展以及其时之文化氛围。本文尝试勾勒以槟岛为基地的文学杂志《青梳小站》的存在面貌及其意义。这维系了六年之久的季刊性质的纯文学杂志一共汇集了一些什么作者群？它呈现了怎么样的文学性格？它的编辑选择与风格倾向为何？最后，本文尝试指出其存在之意义。

**关键词** 轻质 日常性 诗意 《青梳》

### 前言

马来西亚原本就并非一个地域辽阔的国家，当然也没有什么“百里而异习，千里而殊俗”的说法，一地之生活形态相较于另一地似乎也说不上什么内蕴什么内在文化之区别，在文学上亦如是。北马，原也不过是一个地理位置上约定俗成的一种称谓。然而成长于斯，沉浸于斯的文字书写者，若是果真丝毫不受其周围的地方性生活形态或一地之气氛或格调所熏染或制约的话，倒也叫人难以置信。北马如大山脚、太平等小镇格调与槟城的海岛风格，仿佛也酝酿出些许稍别于他处的生活趣味。相较于吉隆坡等发展中城市是一

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种以时间与速度算计的生活面貌，北马的生活步骤似乎显得较具有空间感觉，海水、稻田、河水、胶园椰林、寥落的街心、矮屋檐与木板洋灰屋、野意绽开的紫巾花、脚踏车上学的女学生、黯幽店铺中坐着的老人喝着南洋咖啡等自然与人文景致，都组构成一种颇为悠闲自得的生活形态与人生方式，其间散发着慵懒的诗意与家常趣味。《青梳小站》这本把槟岛作为大本营、罗致数量相当多北马新旧作家的文学杂志，从其主色调看起来，似乎也具备这样的鲜明的地方性气氛与格调。虽然整个写作群依旧有着各自独特而不同的表现形态，但编辑目光却也有些许一致的内在精神特质；虽然其中倒也理所当然地必然交织着其他地方的作者与作品，然而其中却仍然展现了一定的文学性格。本文尝试勾勒《青梳》的存在面貌及其意义。其中尝试提问的问题是：这维系了六年之久的季刊性质的纯文学杂志一共汇集了哪些作者群？它呈现了怎么样的文学性格？它的编辑选择与风格倾向为何？

### 一、 一个轻质抒情的基调

1987年，陈佑然的诗句被列印在一本崭新的刊物上，诗句如是写道：“一九八七年我们开始种植品味/叠置在岛上的书城/建立一种风景。”（陈佑然，1988a）封面上是一个罩着灰色外套却笑容灿烂的女孩拿着一本“西班牙短篇小说”字样的书，书页掀翻着，但女孩的目光却没有落在书页当中，远远的望了过来，整个画面干净、清新，像似果真穿透出一种海岛似的海风味道。这本杂志的名字叫做《青梳风景》。每一期的《青梳》都采用了类似的格调，其中包括每一期的名字都各不相同，有些名字来自杂志内的散文，有些是诗人们的诗题，如以陈雨颜的散文题名的第二本《这一季，名叫夏》、以翁华强的小品题名的《我看见梦：梦在飞翔》，引自林若隐诗题的《本城》和《太阳蓝图》等等。无论是散文或诗歌，所选择的题名一样充满诗意，正应合了杂志的一个轻质抒情基调。

《青梳小站》是一个年轻杂志的名称，其面向之读者群大约也是年轻的写作人与学子们。它是当时六位志同道合的北马年轻写作者所发起的，他们是陈全兴、李恒义、董志健、欧宗敏、陈雨颜和陈佑然。正如陈佑然在诗里所写的那样，在八十年代末九十年代初，确实是“在亚热带的岛上/人们仍然盛行出版刊物”（陈佑然，1988a），当时《蕉风》依旧，《椰子屋》亦仍在，还有一些更为短命如彗星一闪而逝的《钟情》、《天蝎星》；默默出版虽稍带老气却稳扎的《清流》等等，当时只觉得是一种日常风景，而今天回头一看，却不得不感受到当时的文学风气比较之现在的种种变迁，以及其所具备的特殊性角色。而维系六年之久的《青梳》中所出现过的作者群、编辑目光及其呈现之文学性质是值得关注。

在创刊本中，欧宗敏特意地交代《青梳》命名的来由，并且强调其偶然性与日常性。欧宗敏说道：“‘青梳’这两个字本来就沒有特别含意。”（欧宗敏，1988：25），这个名字是他在看电影时偶见的一幕戏的背景建筑物的异国名称翻译所得；而“小站”则是因为蔡琴的歌曲有“伤心小站”中所化出来的。欧宗敏说：

当我们决定用它时，也是觉得有点冒险，因为它的确好像把几个不相干的字凑合在一起，很难令人一听就能记得一辈子。可是再仔细想想，又有几个人有像白流苏这样的名字。（欧宗敏，1988：25）

陈全兴则认为这个名字所透露出来的是一种“明朗、健康与全新”（陈全兴，1988：25）的感觉。董志健描绘了他当时的感受：

先说那一天，恒义、宗敏、雨颜、佑然和我坐在新关仔角的“松花江”里。宗敏就说了。他告诉我一个最美的名字，接着是一则很人间的神话。接着是恒义，诚恳中带着一点点幽默，佑然偶尔插上一两句，而雨颜只是抿着嘴很自然的笑着。新关仔角的风忽然间好像大了起来，黏黏的

刮过皮肤，泛着一一种很新的凉爽。他们的声音飘在凉凉的海风中，我只是静静的听着，……从那多风的晚上开始，我的名字也叫——青梳。（董志健，1988：25）

欧宗敏、陈全兴与董志健以上所说的话在某一个程度上映现了他们对《青梳》的编辑心态与感觉，即清丽、明朗和抒情。

《青梳》为季刊，一年里出版4次，从1987年首期开始一直到1993年，大概出版了17期。作为一个同人合资出版的纯文学刊物，《青梳》并无任何广告，每本售价仅马币1零吉50仙。这和大部分的我国中文文学杂志的运作方式相若，即一开始就没有从商业目光去营作整本杂志，当然也是文学类杂志原本就难以获得大量读者的缘故，同时从另一个角度来看，编辑群之文学视角与编辑角度因此也获得了全方面的掌控权力。从第一本开始，《青梳》编辑群就设下了几个主要的分部，以不同的栏目框定各类不同的文学形式，如专属小说刊载的“小说站”、以抒情散文为主的“散文站”以及生气活泼的“诗站”；此外，也有音乐专辑、书评与电影介绍的“音乐站”、“电影站”、“书站”；除此之外，也有属于专人或专题性质的“车站”、“店”和“专门店”；以及占幅度较小却具备一定意义的“短文站/小站”和“站卡/邮政局”，正是充满杂趣。如邵宁宁在《关于现代文学杂志研究的方法论》中所说的那样：“杂志之为杂志，或许就在于其杂”。（邵宁宁，2006：143）然而《青梳》“杂”中却是存有一定的脉络可依循或有所区隔，主要分成两大部分，以“转站”作为一个分界标志。“转站”前大多数是以主题式专辑为首，继之书评、乐评等；“转站”后则是纯文学类作品如散文、诗等。

陈雨颜在第二本《青梳》就曾经作出如此设置的交代：

其实“转站”是这本书的分界线。转站之前，是车站的人物介绍，书评，歌话等等，那总是比较严肃、知性的大块文章，……而，转站以后，那是一个风景区。是感性的心

情世界，是诗，是散文，是作者的心情与说话，是一个让大家一起分享与分担生活中的快乐与哀愁，知性与感性的地方，……（陈雨颜，1988：17）

陈雨颜所谓的“分享”姿态其实便道出了青梳诸子想做的事，即准备将他们最喜欢的作家、作品介绍给读者。所以很多介绍性质的文章也并不集中在纯文学类的介绍。如《青梳》在其主题式专辑“车站”中介绍过的人物虽有诗人余光中、香港作家西西、钟晓阳、台湾诗人林彧等诗文介绍，但与此同时也分别介绍了武侠小说家金庸、漫画家蔡志忠、爱情小说家亦舒、琼瑶、电影导演侯孝贤等。除了这些作者之外，“车站”介绍过校园民歌手、阅读与写作讲座、槟城戏剧、台湾诗人群、槟岛书写等。综观这些主题式专辑，仿佛可探索出一条从通俗文学走向纯文学、从港台作家的推介到逐渐把目光转放在本土艺文现象的轨迹。然而，纵观这些专辑选择，似乎《青梳》尝试以比较轻质抒情的文学作品将读者拉近，或者说，他们也许比较在乎的是文学与生活之间的距离，在这些文学选择中，似乎是准备要向读者展现一个无处不在的诗意世界，无论是在电影、漫画、戏剧抑或武侠、爱情，处处是生活，也处处是文学的载体。

另外一个吸引人的部分的是，每一期的《青梳》皆刊载一些篇幅适中与精彩生动的短篇小说。这个部分所介绍的作家都具有介绍价值，其中包括港台作家如朱天文、李永平、白先勇、王文兴、钟晓阳等作家，虽然这部分所选择的小说并非他们最著名的小说，然而这些小说皆符合《青梳》倾向轻质抒情的味道，篇幅不大，有一些抒情意味浓郁，文字风格不一而都大致上有清丽、干净之感觉。陈雨颜便曾经提及：“钟晓阳的文字，清清淡淡却对人、事、物描写细腻。”（陈雨颜，1989：25）在“小说站”里，打头阵的是朱天文的《小毕的故事》，接下来每一期所刊载的小说都有一定的展示其编辑风格与趋向的意义，其中刊登的是王文兴《生命的迹线》、李永平的《拉子妇》、白先勇的《那晚的月光》、袁琼琼的

《异事》、萧丽红的《包文拯的脸》、黄秋芳极短篇、彭树君的《追日的少年》、张曼娟的《长干行》等。后来，也介绍了日本女作家吉本巴娜娜的短篇小说《妖怪的信箱》，吉本巴娜娜的叙述原就清新中带有轻愁，青春中笼罩着一些死亡的阴影，家常中暗暗带有不为人知的诡异。而再后来刊载的青梳诸子之一董志健极富情调的小说《水梅老井》以及本地偶现的新面孔张书强的《她后悔把长发束成辫子去面试》等等。

在这些小说中，并没看见什么沉重的命题被明显的张贴出来。如对生命本质的思考、存在的荒谬、本地华社议题的思想抑或政治课题等等。这些小说更多的是讲述一些年轻故事，其中，当时仍未大量复写自己的张曼娟，在小说《长干行》中描述着年少无迹而终的惆怅初恋，字里行间依旧散发古典味道，小说结构之紧密与流畅笔调中散发的认真书写的姿态，至今读来，依旧是其佳篇之一；小说家袁琼琼写周家小女儿越和沉默并乖巧的疯狂异事，先是简单勾勒出一个家常的画面：上了大学的哥哥越平半夜上厨房喝水发现妹妹越和是一边掉泪、一边读书应付联考；继而是爸爸晨走偶然发现自己的小女儿赤裸着身子在阳台上的事实，接着一件件关于越和疯狂的事情被掀翻开来，平静的家庭生活忽然翻天覆地起来，然后是休学、支力照顾到最后的放弃，送入精神病院，越和最后是在院里患上感冒并发症逝世，只是越和的死亡在周家不过是“证实一个早已确定的消息”，因为周家“在她疯了以后就死了”（袁琼琼，1989：17-21）。小说表面叙事底下的内在哀伤情绪一丝丝暗抽而出，游走于文中。再来，欧阳子的《最后一堂课》描述着因备受年少憾事的阴影笼罩，但表面极受学生尊敬的中年男老师因偏爱一个类似自己年少性格的男生而突发的暴怒事件；吉本巴娜娜小说《妖怪的信箱》中为了安慰“我”，患病且容易死去的鸚模仿“我”死去的祖父笔迹，从“妖怪的信箱”中交给“我”一封来自他方的信件，并附上一句话：“我比你们更接近死亡……。”（吉本巴娜娜，1992：16-17）这些小说中的故事仿佛都裹着淡淡的哀伤、幽幽的心事以及暗涌的成长的痛与悟。生命再沉重，也因为青

春且似懂非懂的朦胧目光而显出一点点顿悟、一点点哀愁、一点点世故。虽然，这些故事并非全来自本地或北马的写作者，然而最主要的是我们透过这些小说的筛选，可以知悉《青梳》基调即轻质抒情的格调之显现。这样的编辑目光其实都贯彻在整个杂志当中，正如王晓明曾指出编辑在构成“杂志文本”过程中的主体作用，我们可以说《青梳》系列中不管是小说、散文、抑或诗，都一再的显示出这样的类似格调。一本杂志必须拥有其本身欲彰显的风格与格调，对于青梳诸子于年轻之阶段却可以清晰的表现出一种属于本身的风格，已属不易。而这种轻质抒情的格调的塑造也在一定的程度上映现了北马氛围，一种缓慢中的内在节奏。

## 二、 诗意之组构：一种缓慢中的内在节奏

从杂志的文学推展工作的具体成绩而言，《青梳》的意义当然并非仅仅是介绍一些国外其他文学圈子所出现的好作品或文学现象。这肯定是不够的。《青梳》在很大的意义上在于它向读者展开了一大部分北马或槟岛作者群的出现，尤其是新作者群的出现。当然并非大部分的马华诗人与作家都在《青梳》出现过，然而《青梳》无疑的汇集了一定数量的作者群，陈强华与他的魔鬼俱乐部、方昂、林若隐、李天葆、吕育陶、李国七、叶坦、钟可斯、马盛辉、张光达、苏旗华、泉花子、加爱、伊海安、吴缓慕、尼雅、游以飘、高玉梅、张圆圆、翁华强、沈书远、彭佩瑜、邱碧茵、余秀真、陈伟贤、翁克军、江佳伟、宋书启、章绒等。而在这些大部分刊登的作品中，可以找见的是漫溢着的诗意。很多作品的抒情性高，有着一股慵懒、适意、忧郁的感性，无论是散文或诗作，都有着一种缓慢的内在节奏。如青梳诸子之一陈佑然的诗《次要》的诗句“你习惯的是不假思索的懒惰”（陈佑然，1992）；林若隐的诗《太阳蓝图》中的提问：“真的除了一颗忧悒的太阳再没有什么了吗/……/当一个人走在不必转弯的直路上为何那感觉总是像错过了自己”（林若隐，1990）；如张鱼的《孤独手记》：

阳光从天花板的三个口缓缓降下来……倦了的时候就打开书柜，走进文字的丛林中深呼吸。有时候我是不希望朋友前来打扰我的寂寞的……我慢慢地把它喝完，乳汁落入胃里，有一个小暖炉的感觉。……而我是绝对在乎你的，尽管这条路时而沙漠，时而蔷薇盛开。（张鱼，1989）

文字中的内在情绪缓缓舒展，意象饱满而有着徘徊不定的忧郁的感性意味。当然，《青梳》中诗意的组构也与其所刊登的大量杰出的诗歌有关。

诗或许是《青梳》最具有分量的一个部分。《青梳》罗致了相当多当时优秀的诗作者，很大程度上提供了很多杰出的诗作。除了刊登大量的诗作，同时可以发觉诗人介绍以及名诗的介绍也是最为丰富的。《青梳》在介绍国外诗人方面与诗歌专辑组稿的对象便包括了夏宇、西西、林棻、余光中、以及在因缘聚汇下的“七位作家岛上行”中的诗人罗智成、林耀德等。在《青梳》第五本《我看见梦：梦在飞翔》里，另外辟出的一个本地文学创作者的专访、印象记似的介绍文章、以及作品展。在“店”中，被被誉为“北方的骄傲”中生代诗人方昂和“重量级诗人”陈强华皆以专访、作品展的方式大篇幅的进行介绍；还有充满青草巷味道的槟城写作者马盛辉、当年仍是年少诗人的吕育陶、别具一格的诗人苏旗华以及一些年轻的散文与诗作者彭佩瑜、余秀真、陈伟贤等等的诗文与人物介绍。又例如第五本青梳《我看见梦：梦在飞翔》，在封面页 2 登刊夏宇的诗作《记忆》，紧接着是介绍余光中的一篇专稿，附上余光中的诗作《请莫在上风的地方吸烟》；然后在“诗站”中刊登了陈全兴、李国七、吴缓慕、梁仪玲等 6 首诗作；接着在“店”中又是年轻诗人吕育陶的专辑介绍，封底两页都是放上吕育陶的诗作。以诗始，以诗结束，薄薄的 40 来页纸张中有 15 页是关乎诗。

也许这和青梳诸子中也有很多位编辑本身就是喜欢诗，也写诗有关。陈佑然、欧宗敏、陈全兴等在杂志中刊登了不少诗作，其中不乏佳作。如陈佑然所写的《吻类似伤口》：

即使梦给敲醒了会觉得欠缺些什么——/诗句是有了，/痕  
印和瘦削的掌心。/留在眠床上/让它们暂且兀自深深埋怨  
吧/虽然最初已经以为：/一切或许有衍变为伤口的一天  
(陈佑然，1988b)

静态意象的铺陈、拟人化的修辞手法以及诗句内的忧郁情绪构成漫溢的诗意。他的其他的诗作包括《青梳风景》、《次要》等诗手法都颇具变化与创意；欧宗敏让人印象深刻的诗作包括充满着忧伤的美感的《其实我的哀愁是你的背影》：

当寂静无声散布整个上午/某二十七岁男子/忽然想起积压  
已久的句子/“从你的黑发摇荡之间/试图搜寻一种爱情的  
方向”……(欧宗敏，1992)

整首诗读起来有林耀德的味道，但却有着较松散的结构与较明显的指涉。也许因为他们都写诗，对诗歌优劣的识辨能力高，因此《青梳》出现了极好的诗人与诗作，其中一位《青梳》的“台柱诗人”便是林若隐。

林若隐不是北马人，也并没有参与《青梳》的编辑工作。她看来理应是早期和《天狼星》、晚期和《椰子屋》的庄若较为熟悉。然而，无可否认的是林若隐在《青梳》刊登过其创作期间最好的几首诗。她的诗作受《青梳》的重视，屡屡将其诗作当作书名来处理如《本城》和《太阳蓝图》。《本城》与《短歌行》中已经隐隐然有林若隐后来那首两百行长诗《在那过黄蓝白色的国度》的气势与架构，《本城》分成十个小节，《本城》对个人以至群体的命运的



思考显现了一定的深度，仿若痠弦《深渊》那种探讨生存的意义的些许味道，

生命本身就是一项阴谋的重复/Long time ago/本城是一片  
荒土/我知道一队鸟。曾经在野地在沼泽//曾经是一队快乐  
的飞鸟它们早已飞去远方/花儿活活地开满天地的那些光年  
/（甚至于天父都未曾计算到）/都张起扑扑快乐的翅膀/黑  
压压地飞去了/ Long time ago人们就接受教育和文明：/不  
管青红皂白，永远不能回头（林若隐，1989：28-30）

对林若隐来说，在乱象散布的《本城》，“生命继续优美的无常”，而这无常就像是突而现身的，蹑足走来的乌亮乌亮的黑猫。然而在《本城》中的叙述者仍是青春而透露着些许质疑与顿悟。

至于林若隐的另外一首诗作《浮生记》里的浮生亦是青春中的人世，非似张爱玲等沧桑的痛悟，诗中写道：“你已经能适应黑夜和自己/……/啊快乐，快乐如天使降落屋檐/追逐是值得的，况且/最大的一场也只是豪雨，不是雪”（林若隐，1988：39），像诗最后的低音：以前不在乎，现在更加不在乎。林若隐在《青梳小站》从第15本一直到第17本也有属于自己的专栏，一共写了3期。其专栏名为《大海洋》，几乎每一篇都以英文名称为题名，文中的文字都和诗有关，如俄国女诗人、诗的情绪等。其中也隐约的交代了自己对于写诗的感受与生活状况。例如在青梳第17本《花路》中她如此提到：“大隐隐于市。再没有到处乱跑。没有写诗。许多年前开始写诗以来沉沦最久的空洞。”这当然是闲话，可对于林若隐这样后来果然隐匿消失的诗人而言，也许还有一点“旧日之本事”可寻。

吕育陶前后在《青梳》中刊出了13首诗作，算起来相当可观。他在《关于我的诗》中写道：

关于我的诗呵是那么的像一张椅子呈九十度的僵直/一张没有雷达和对讲机的椅子就这样摆在时间的旷野上/或许你可以从我的木纹上找到一场去年落在远方的雨/而我竟无法发现一条新航线呵来来去去都是现代主义//后来你发现原来我一直都被禁锢在没有门的一个房间里头（吕育陶，1988a）

文字精准而想象的爆发力极大。其他的诗作中佳句迭出，如《我是我诗中黄昏边缘的一种天色》“让时间去漂白忧郁”（吕育陶，1988b：26）、《我们共用过一个蔚蓝的称号》里以外星人为元素的诡异意象、《诗生活秘密大全节录》的试验性诗歌等等。此外，还有李国七有着郑愁予的味道的诗《比金线菊寂寞》：

自海上归来我没带什么/回忆是有的/却是哭湿的抹布/音乐竟留下了哀怨/当然不是关于爱情/（或许有一些些）/而是白云与流水的替换/有人说是永恒/有人说不是/我以为它更偏于寂寞的心情/至少比金线菊寂寞（李国七，1988：35）

苏旗华的组诗《他在一只装着盐的铁罐里写诗》、叶坦的诗作《填字游戏》、翁克军的《星期日的仪式》等等。

其实不只是诗，在《青梳》中的很多散文一样也充满着诗意。在吴缓慕和陈雨颜的散文，淡淡的轻愁与诗意的句子一再的出现。像吴缓慕的句子“每次踏及石阶，‘更上一层楼了吗？’而说起未来，时间就在身旁呼吸了，空广又辽阔。”（吴缓慕，1989：34）。又如陈雨颜《黄昏的中国街》中的句子：

傍晚时分，阳光落在山的那一头了吗？我遂带着闲闲散散的心情走了下去。我只是想走一段以前常走的路。天空的云，白白的贴在蓝空。黄昏总带着一点惆怅，与这一间间

的瓦屋斑驳的墙互映成泼墨般的中国画。（陈雨颜，1993：8）

或者是在《假日抒情方式》中那种慵懒的口吻，让诗意漫溢：“年中以来，我的日子瘦成一封单薄蓝蓝的信。”、“我的矜持是一束紫色稻草芒，不能自己的被装束在透明纸，斜斜靠在墙角成一种冷眼。”（陈雨颜，1988b）在陈雨颜相当多类似的抒情的句子中，我们可以看见其带着无限的诗意，在慵懒而家常的生活中有着为人知或不为人知的情绪。

### 三、文学与日常生活的距离度数

此外，马盛辉是《青梳》中不可不提及的一个“有别于一般意义上的诗意与抒情”的异数，然而其作品却确实实的成为《青梳》作为北马制造的最好标杆。这当然看来最主要是他很多作品与槟岛有关。生于槟岛，长于槟岛，在槟岛的理大读书、之后也在槟岛执教的马盛辉不但熟悉很多槟岛地方如青草巷、葛尼道、山山水水等，很多槟岛的人情与风物、口头禅、地域场景等皆出现在他潇潇洒洒的笔下，但更为深层的是他在《青梳》系列中所刊登的作品所透露出的随机性与日常生活性。对马盛辉而言，日常生活无疑是一个充满偶发事件与家常趣味的地方，无论是自然与人文景致都组构成一种颇为悠闲自得的生活形态与人生方式。

虽然他的散文与诗在某个程度上还是散发着一些抒情式诗意，如马盛辉在《左翼浪漫分子》里孤寂思考的身影：“这些年后，你依然迷恋孤寂的感觉，依然在深夜读一段旧约圣经，又读一段尼采。”到最后的“所有流行的物质将搁浅在时光的礁石上。”（马盛辉，1991），然而更多的时候，就像欧宗敏写马盛辉的那篇《露出马脚：专访马盛辉》中的介绍，“他也有许多怪论，怪思想”（欧宗敏，1990：37），马盛辉的作品不局限于任何文类，但其中却常常出现奇异的思与想，别具一格。例如他的《马盛辉的海底牧

场》中各类奇怪又好玩的生物。又例如他在《青梳》系列中的专栏“顺风车”便是其中的一类显例，如《另类集邮》中提议收集口头禅、小动作；《想个屁用》中描述自己如痴如醉的阅读哲学书籍的成长经历，然而最后却宁愿衔根烟蹲在街边痛快地看女仔；《写信去》中自己写信给自己收的怪异行为。其中一篇《即食面》如此写来：

他们说这种面吃太多会死的。管他，死就死。吃到过瘾时，那里还会想到死。反正我们平时吃的东西，也很少没有加料加色的啦。自己煮的总是特别好吃（虽然只不过是丢进滚水里罢了。虽然没有云吞面的叉烧青菜没有福建面的虾和油葱），每次吃完了面，还放下筷子，把碗中剩余的汤喝得干干净净（保证中毒也）对于爱喝各类汤水的我，当然是不可错过。这些一包包味精搅成即食面汤，已开始威胁到叻沙和福建面的汤在我舌头上的地位了。有一阵子，疯到每一种即食面都去买三五包来尝尝。……  
（马盛辉，1990：10）

在他的这篇短文中，不加修饰的家常口吻，口语化的句子随着不停出现的句号而显现得更为口语化，而且内容十分的日常生活，平淡中却有其一份趣味。

除此之外，马盛辉还有一些散文如《种树的孩子们》、《划船的孩子们》、《青草巷》和《花路花鹿》，在一份趣味中闪见其真挚的情意。在《种树的孩子们》、《划船的孩子们》这两篇散文小品中，马盛辉都采用轻快的、口语化且带童话性质的句子来叙述。他如此写道：

种树的孩子们，天黑了。提灯出发吧。记住，在林中会合。别怕，你是种树的孩子。林中的树都会保护你。真的。在黑暗中，每一片树叶都有我的唇印。看呵，小小的

松鼠骑大大的马。高高的树下有矮矮的蘑菇型小屋。没有人呵。精灵们也赶去会合了。……（马盛辉，1993a）

在童趣的叙述中却隐隐然找见他周遭的一树一叶的珍惜与严肃的思考。就如《花路花鹿》和《青草巷》中也是用十分家常生活的话语来写，然而在家常趣味中却处处读到他对槟岛的眷恋：例如《花路花鹿》一开始便写道的“有花的路？什么大不了嘛，多的是，……”的不在乎口气到最后的“怎么我一离开就他娘的不明不白冒出这许多店屋来，连槟华中学前的熟食档也被赶走了。好像什么都可以消失的。希望不包括西方……不，乌他妈路上的那些大印度花。”（马盛辉，1993b：4）

在《青梳》系列，马盛辉出现的频率相当高，展现了文学与日常生活之间的密切关联性。马盛辉这样书写家常的位置是特别的，它是“日常的”，是属于生活的一部分，但却由于通过文字对日常生活进行重构，而成为对日常生活的一种反抗性策略。

列斐伏尔（Henri Lefebvre）如此定义日常生活，

日常生活，从某种意义上来说是剩余的，通过分析把所有独特的、高级的、专门化的、结构的的活动挑选出来之后剩下的，被界定为日常生活。（周宪，2005：63）

实际上，作为一个杂志，无论显或隐，都远远比一本小说或一本诗集来得更为贴近日常生活本身。在《青梳》系列中，仍有些许空间打造着文学与日常生活之间的关联，如讲述一些编辑背后的心情与故事的“站卡”和来函的以及没来函的读者通短短的信息的“邮政局”。除此之外，还有一个可以大量容纳各种百来字的短文与心情片断的“小站”。从第一本《青梳风景》甫始，就有这样的极短篇的出现，唯叫做“短文站”，到了第二本《这一季，名叫夏》开始，才改成“小站”。“小站”里的作者众多，所描写的大多是心情的片断，生活的一个切面，或者仅仅是一种无名的情绪，

无以承载，只能以文字豢养之。这些小而短的文字有的只有一个简单的题目，如《只是闷》、《空》、《说你》、《异》、《无聊》等等；有的则比正文更长，如《我喜欢做回我自己》、《属于星期五的思绪》等。有的抒情，有的则是家常趣味。在很大的程度上，《青梳》的“小站”看似无什么看头，里头呈现出来的文章篇幅十分狭小，有时文字也不怎么样，有时仅是一种游戏文章，然而这不唱主角、不占版面最大位置的小栏目，却成为了很多喜欢涂涂写写的新起作者的写作温床，提供了一种处于中心话语边缘的边缘模式。然而，这个部分是十分重要的，杨义曾说一位现代作家的成名有三个阶段。第一个阶段就是在副刊上发表豆腐干大小的文字。“年轻人在报上题名，当然很高兴，这就刺激了他的写作欲望，慢慢的他能够在大型的刊物上发表比较长的作品。”（邵宁宁，2006：144）在大型刊物上发表较长的作品，即第二阶段。第三阶段就是跳到文学丛书，成为成名的作家。而“小站”正是第一个阶段，也是最重要的练笔阶段。这使很多文学初学者得以滋生与发展，在编者追求的刊物风格中获得一个地盘，或一种物质化的精神纽带。这相较起今天的诸多报章副刊，无疑更多了极大的自由度与催生的机缘，这是值得我们去思考的。

#### 四、 结语

回溯当初在青梳诸子成立杂志之际，欧宗敏在“站卡”中有一篇题目为《我们是否一厢情愿》的编辑短文，里头有一段话：“我们办《青梳》其实是一厢情愿的。”因为出版《青梳》，就能让“70年以后诞生的人（七字辈）有《青梳》就像六字辈看学报长大一样”。（欧宗敏，1989：24）在这里我们可以找见他们存有的一个文学杂志生命的延续精神。这不禁让我们想起杨义曾说过的一段话：

如果拥有刊物或报纸副刊来联络、培育和发现意气相投的一群作者，沿着大体相同的文学方向和审美情趣进行探索和开拓，那么一个文学流派的发育成形已经是可以指望的事情了。（杨义，2003：189）

若《青梳》没有停止出版，青梳诸子若继续书写下去，也许确能发育形成一个北马的文学流派。仅仅有着六年的短暂时光，《青梳》终究无法成为一个文学流派。后来杂志在无声无息中停止了出版，青梳诸子也各奔东西，停笔的停笔，没有停笔的也写得非常少，然而《青梳》所呈现出来的一种格调、一个文学场的曾经出现却值得我们去留追，至少他们多少曾经享有过一个共同的文化气候，也使文学个性的追求渗透着几分人间情义。

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**Made in North Malaysia :**  
**Light Lyric Writings in *Ching Saw* Magazine**

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**Abstract:** The literary magazine is a meaningful literary ecological space in addition to being the repository of literary studies. Within the larger literary context of magazines, the literary magazine provides not only the articles; it also embodies other writing styles such as poems and fiction and takes into consideration the history of the magazine itself, the values of the editorial circle, and the cultural atmosphere at that juncture. This paper attempts to depict the existence and significance of the Penang-based literary magazine, *Ching Saw*. It addresses the following questions: How many local authors emerged in the six-year old pure seasonal literary magazine *Ching Saw*, and how is the writing style like? Also, it investigates reasons behind the editors' choice for the style of the magazine and points out the significance of its existence.

**Keywords:** light, daily life, lyrical, *Ching Saw*



# 钱穆与清代学术史考论<sup>\*\*</sup>

陆思麟<sup>\*</sup>

**摘要** 本文以钱穆《中国近三百年学术史》为中心，以书中所收录学人的取舍标准作为切入点进行考论，再将其置入与《国学概论》、《清儒学案》及《中国学术思想史论丛（八）》四部著作所组成的清代学术研究体系中考察，并结合民国时期相关学人的清代学术研究论著进行综合分析，从而阐明钱穆清代学术研究著述体例建构的内在联系及其研究观点的发展演变过程。

**关键词** 《中国近三百年学术史》 钱穆 学术思想 清代

## 前言

钱穆<sup>1</sup>的清代学术研究撰述中，以《国学概论》、《中国近三百年学术史》、《清儒学案》以及《中国学术思想史论丛（八）》最为重要<sup>2</sup>。此四书体例结构严谨，内在联系紧密，构成钱穆清代学术研究的完整体系。考察《国学概论》、《学术史》与《清儒学案》的目录，三书所收学人的数量或增加、或删减、或维持，情况不尽相同。然在此三书对清代学人的损益间，不但反映著述背后钱穆清

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<sup>\*\*</sup>本文初刊于《江南大学学报（人文社会科学版）》2011年2月第10卷第1期，题名《钱穆清代学术思想史研究》。然因受刊物字数限制，当时全文内容仅七千余字，以至于笔者若干重要观点均未能得到充分阐发。本文即在《钱穆清代学术思想史研究》的基础上进行扩写，文字篇幅增至二万余字，另题作《钱穆与清代学术史考论》。

<sup>1</sup>为求行文方便，本文对诸位学界前辈和师长均未用尊称，特此说明。

<sup>2</sup>在本文对同一文献的再次引用，注释项目将稍加简化。例如《中国近三百年学术史》简称《学术史》，《中国学术思想史论丛（八）》简称《论丛（八）》等等。

代学术思想观点之发展与演变，亦影响与制约此三书著述体例的建构。

观此三书体例：成书于 1928 年的《国学概论》，全书共分十章，每章皆以该时代之主要学术思潮来标榜该时代学术之所胜，如第九章即以《清代考据学》为标目，但除了考据学者，该章节亦容纳若干位理学人物；到成书于 1937 年的《学术史》，随着所收学人之变化，全书体例亦随之一变，对《明儒学案》为代表的“学案体”学术史编撰体例进行创新与发展。全书共分十四章，除第一章引论，后十三章被划分成三个主要时段，在目录上列出 17 位主要学人，并在主要学人下分别附录 33 位学人，以主要与附录学人为经，以时代变迁为纬，两者有机结合，对近三百年学术思想展开论述；而到成书于 1942 年的《清儒学案》，该书体例又一变，恢复以人物为中心，分别立案的传统学案体，共为 64 位学人立案。

综上所述，可知三书体例虽有变化，但都有一共同点——即采用学案体或学记体的方式来组织材料与讨论问题，其所异者仅在于著述体例方面。此乃钱穆清代学术研究思想之变化，具体落实在其文字撰述上必然产生的相应更动。研究观点影响著述体例的更动同时，此著述体例之确立又影响与制约著述中研究观点的表述以及对学人之取舍。两者互相制约、影响，方成就钱穆之著述精神，即其所重视的著述义法。钱穆曾在《学术史·自序》中说：

司马氏表六国事，曰：近己则俗变相类，是书所论，可谓近己矣。岂敢进退前人，自适己意？亦将以明天人之际，通古今之变，备一家之言。虽不能至，心向往之。盖有详人之所略，略人之所详，而不必尽当于著作之先例者。知我罪我，所不敢问也。（钱穆，1997：4）

钱穆在《学术史》中以司马迁自许，寄托其效法史迁，欲成就“亦将以明天人之际，通古今之变，备一家之言”的著述精神，这也成为《学术史》所追求的最高标准。钱穆早年著作《国学概论》

多有引述梁启超、章太炎等学人的研究成果，观点仍受当时学人之影响。但到《学术史》，他的观点开始转变，“盖有详人之所略，略人之所详，而不必尽当于著作之先例者”，形成独立见解，自成体例。

整体而言，钱穆对清代学术史的研究，曾提出三个重要的见解：一者，反对顾炎武是清学唯一开山之说，提出黄宗羲亦是清学开山之一；二者，提出吴皖不分帜，且重新评价乾嘉考据学；三者，提出“每转益进”说，取代梁、胡的“理学反动”说。本文的研究以《学术史》为中心，旁及《国学概论》、《清儒学案》与《论丛八》，对钱穆所提三点见解进行考论，以见其学思进程的发展转变及相关问题。

## 一、《国学概论》与清初学术渊源的考察

上个世纪二十年代，钱穆见诸书刊的清代学术研究文字甚少，《国学概论》是少数集中反映其早期清代学术观的著述，钱穆往后许多重要观点，在该书第九章《清代考据学》已有较明晰的表述。《国学概论》乃钱穆于1926在无锡三师范中学任教时，以课堂讲义编撰而成。该书具体撰述时间，据《国学概论·弁言》所言，始撰于1926夏，随讲随录，先成七章，至第二年春兵乱辍讲而止。而后三章则于1927年秋转入苏州省立中学，续讲《国学概论》后所撰，至1928年春撰成。由于出版延误，该书迟至1931年5月方由上海商务印书馆出版，往后二十余年间未曾再作修改。

1956年，台湾商务印书馆拟重印《国学概论》，并向钱穆索稿。当时他仅略校错字，即给予出版。其中原因，钱穆在该年春所撰的《新版附识》中解释：

此稿成于三十年前，迈今回视，殆所谓粗识大体，未尽精微者也……商务印书馆赵君诚来书，欲将此稿重复流传，因将手边仅存之一部浏览一过，略校错字，邮以与之……

此次再版，于本章原文，亦一仍其旧，绝不再加增删。此非谓当时叙述，便成定论。盖使读者获知三十年前人对其当时学术思潮之一种看法。（钱穆，1997：6）

往后数十年间，《国学概论》畅销海外，屡次再版，所发行诸本，皆据 1956 年商务本原版影印<sup>3</sup>。这意味《国学概论》一书基本上完整保留钱穆三十年代到大学任教前，他对清代学术研究的最初见解。这对考察他早年清代学术研究思想的形成、所受影响来源及观点的转变等关节点，参考价值是很高的<sup>4</sup>。

《国学概论》称引诸多学人观点，仅就第九章《清代考据学》明确征引的近代学人著述，计有梁启超 13 次、章太炎 6 次、胡适 3 次及刘师培、柳诒徵各 2 次。五人当中，章太炎《检论》与梁启超《清代学术概论》为钱穆最常引述的著述，而尤以后者对其影响较大。考察该章所论清代学人，基本与梁启超所论相近，而涉及清代考据学内容的论述时，亦大篇幅引用《清代学术概论》的文字。甚至该书撰述体例，亦取《清代学术概论》之意，分期叙述，而不取章太炎《国学概论》之例。钱穆在《国学概论·弁言》开篇即道：

本书特应学校教科讲义之需，不得已姑采梁氏《清代学术概论》大意，分期叙述。于每一时代学术思想主要潮流所在，略加阐发。其用意为使学者得识二千年来本国学术思想界流转变迁之大势，以培养其适应启新的机运能力。时贤或主以经、史、子、集编论国学，如章氏《国学概论》

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<sup>3</sup>联经本《国学概论》亦据 1956 年商务本重排，仅作页面与文字、标点处理，未对内容做改动。

<sup>4</sup>欲考察钱穆早期对清代学术的见解，所能依据的文献，基本上以七十年代的回忆录《师友杂忆》、二十年代的《国学概论》及《论丛八》中收录的若干篇文章为主。《师友杂忆》为钱穆亲自记述，内容所论固然可靠，然此书毕竟是作者对其近半个世纪前的回忆，难免有若干误记处。且书中对其早年治学一些关节点的论述，亦过于简略，甚至有语焉不详处，故仅能作为一种参照。有关《师友杂忆》的成书、价值等问题，可参阅陆思麟《钱穆早年治学考（1912-1930）》。

讲演之例。亦难赅备，并与本书旨趣不合。窃所不取。

（钱穆，1997：3）

钱穆早年深受梁启超影响，他的诸多撰述，如1923年夏撰成的《老子辨伪》、1924至1928年间讲授《论语》、《孟子》课而撰成的《论语要略》与《孟子要略》等，无不受梁启超影响，以其著述为本，显然梁著更适合作为“学校教科讲义”<sup>5</sup>（徐雁平，2005：282-311）。而章太炎之书因是“讲演之例”，内容方面“亦难赅备”，故不取其例。《清代考据学》一章虽受《清代学术概论》影响，在许多细节上多袭梁说，但其时钱穆基本上已确立他对清代学术的看法，故书中亦多取其他学人的观点，对梁说不足处进行驳斥。<sup>6</sup>如本章所言梁、钱清代学术观中的三大相异之一：对清学开山的评价问题，钱穆早已在《国学概论》中提出自身的见解，并予以阐述。

### （一）黄宗羲、顾炎武与清学开山之争

清初诸儒，钱穆最重者为黄宗羲、顾炎武、王夫之及颜元四大家。考察梁启超《清代学术概论》与钱穆《国学概论》，两书对此四人排序基本相同，所异者仅在黄宗羲与顾炎武之排序上。黄宗羲

<sup>5</sup>徐雁平：“钱穆在撰《国学概论》时，得益于《清代学术概论》处良多，在第九章《清代考证学》中，引《清代学术概论》文十三处，第十章《最近期之学术思想》又引文四处，梁氏之书已成为重要的参考著作，此单就引文而言；而在结构方面，《国学概论》也从中得到启迪……去彼取此之间，可见《清代学术概论》的结构更有益于‘教科讲义’，演进的脉络分明，师便于讲授，生易于掌握……观《国学概论》的结构，即从《清代学术概论》中出，譬如论清代学术，重点在考证之学。”相关内容参见徐雁平《钱穆先生的清代学术思想研究——以〈中国学术思想史论丛（八）为例〉》。

<sup>6</sup>严格说来，梁启超的《清代学术概论》亦非完全是自身的创获，书中不少观点来源于章太炎与刘师培。章、刘二人是民国以来较早对清代学术进行研究的两位，尽管他们的研究成果只是零碎的文章，并没有完整专著问世，但二氏之论述所产生影响是十分大的。梁启超虽不曾明言，但其《清代学术概论》对章太炎与刘师培的观点多有袭取，周子同首先指出这一点：“梁氏论述近三百年学术史，实在是从章太炎《清儒》那里来的。”相关内容可参见朱维铮《清代学术概论·导读》。



抑或者顾炎武排首位，反映出梁、钱二人观点上的分歧——前者奉顾炎武为清学开山，后者则奉黄宗羲为清学开山之一。

表 1 钱穆撰述对清初四大家之排序

国学概论	学术史	清儒学案
黄宗羲	黄宗羲	黄宗羲
顾炎武	王夫之	顾炎武
王夫之	顾炎武	王夫之
颜元	颜元	颜元

梁启超《清代学术概论》以顾炎武居首，将其列为“启蒙运动之代表人物”，称之为“一代开派宗师”（梁启超，1998：3、11）。钱穆《国学概论》则另提黄宗羲开山及其浙东学派“言性命者必究于史”一语，以抗衡梁氏提出的顾炎武清学开山及“经学即理学”一语：

亭林不喜言心性，遂为此语。不知宋明理学自有立场，不待经学。经乃古代官书，亦惟训诂名物考礼考史而止，亦岂得谓“经学即理学”。亭林此言，实为两无所依，远不如浙东“言性命者必究于史”一语之精卓矣。

（钱穆，1997：302）

顾炎武因不喜谈心性，遂提出“经学即理学”一语，通经学方能谈理学，而要通经学，则势必要涉及经学上有关文字、音韵、版本诸问题。乾嘉诸儒即走上顾炎武所提倡的道路，专从事经史考据，遂将理学置于不议不论之列。而黄宗羲的“言性命者必究于史”虽尊德行，但为避免宋明儒的空谈心性，故必兼读经史。顾、黄体现了两种不同的学术路线，两者相较之下，钱穆显然认为黄宗羲的浙东学术比顾炎武一系专从经学讲理学更为卓越。但是清儒毕

竟选择了顾炎武一系的路线，他对此不无感叹道：“乾、嘉以后，走入亭林‘经学即理学’一路，而浙东精神未能大显，此亦清代学术一至可惋惜之事也”。（钱穆，1997：293）

三十年代，钱穆开设“近三百年学术史”一课，并在《国学概论》所提“黄宗羲清学开山之一”的基础上，对此问题展开更深入且系统的论述。他在《学术史》中详细考辨，得出顾炎武“治古音，乃承明陈第季立之遗绪”（钱穆，1997：116），而“经学即理学”一语亦非顾氏首创，因明代钱谦益已先言之的结论。梁启超论清代经学考据的兴起，溯源于顾炎武“经学即理学”一语，若就思想上的直接影响而言，他的说法是有根据的。然顾炎武在清初虽是大师，但此意并非其一人“孤先发明”，因为早在明代的罗钦顺已经主张义理是非必须“取证于经书”。而与顾炎武同时的方以智，晚年时也深以理学之流入“虚掠高玄”为病，曾明确提出“藏理学于经学”的口号。故余英时认为“顾炎武他只不过是运用最简洁有力的语言表达了明代晚期以来儒学发展中早已萌芽的一种新动向而已”（余英时，2000：20）。

钱穆之说较早见于柳诒徵《顾氏学述》一文<sup>7</sup>（罗志田，2006：14）。柳诒徵反对梁启超把顾炎武列为清学“开派宗师”，他在此文中批评道：

顾氏之愿量，实不止于为一学者。故虽反对谈心谈性之流，而时时欲正人心，挽风俗……此正孔孟以来相传之道，而顾氏徒挟此愿，竟未一用，不得已而垂诸空文，期之后世，不幸后世以经学家目之，以考证家目之，且谓顾

<sup>7</sup>罗志田：“他（柳诒徵）也不满梁启超对清代学术的见解，有些后来得到传播的观念，如顾炎武非清代学术之开山，在很多方面不过是继承明学的说法，似即为柳氏最先进行系统论述……此说对钱穆有明显的影响，盖可证清代学术不仅非明学之‘反动’，而且是其承接者。今人有把柳诒徵的观念算作钱穆之创获者，不知钱著乃教科书，所以基本不提他人言说出处；若专论钱穆述清代学术之成绩，便当多读书而后知何为因何为创也。”

氏为有清一代开派宗师，而顾氏之学几绝。

（柳曾符、柳定生，1991：30）

而钱穆的论述虽自柳诒徵处转手，但却已对其说法作重大修正。观柳文论述，其重点在反对梁启超把顾炎武列为清学“开派宗师”。而钱穆仅取柳氏溯源顾炎武学术至明代之说，驳斥梁启超《清代学术概论》“误以陈氏‘本证、旁证’语为亭林自述，因谓亭林为汉学开山，证据既误，断案自败。”（钱穆，1997：166）钱穆入室操戈，其目的在于从本源处断绝梁启超《学术史》所宣称“论清学开山之祖，舍亭林没有第二个人”（梁启超，2003：59）的立论基础。事实上，钱穆并不反对顾炎武为清学开山之一，他在《国学概论》中即说道：“梨洲矫晚明王学空疏，而主穷经以为根柢；此等处其影响后学，岂在亭林之下……谓汉学开山，皆顾氏一人之力，则终不免为失真之论耳。”（钱穆，1997：305）

钱穆极力提倡浙东一派，却不否定顾炎武地位，仅以黄、顾并列清学开山。其观点所自，盖渊源于章学诚《文史通义》。早在1913年，钱穆见北大招生广告，考生须先读章氏《文史通义》，入学后再以夏曾佑《中国古代史》为教本，因此勤读二书，对他后来的治学趋向，有深远影响（钱穆，1998：84）。七十年代，钱穆编撰《论丛〈八〉》期间，为该书所收录《记钞本〈章氏遗书〉》一文撰写附记，曾回顾他早年首次接触章氏《文史通义》的经过：

余早孤家贫，年未冠，即为乡村小学教师。一日，偶见报载北京大学招生，有投考者须先读章学诚《文史通义》一条，因向书肆购读，始知其时有章、戴之争，明遗有顾、黄之异，为学有经史之别。读而好之，每存余心。

（钱穆，1998：428）

考察《国学概论》一书，所征引章学诚观点处不下十数次，尤其在《清代考据学》一章，钱穆对清代学术诸多重要观念的理解，

如清初顾炎武与黄宗羲的学术差异、清中期戴震与章学诚的经史之争等，大部分皆能在章氏书中找到源头。章学诚在《文史通义·浙东学术》篇中有言：

世推顾亭林氏为开国儒宗，然自是浙西之学。不知同时有黄梨洲氏，出于浙东，虽与顾氏并峙，而上宗王、刘，下开二万，较之顾氏，源远而流长矣。顾氏宗朱，而黄氏宗陆……故浙东、浙西，道并行而不相悖也。（章学诚，1985：523）

据章学诚所述，当时清儒经学考据乃承袭顾亭林一派，并上接程、朱，而章氏自身的史学则承袭黄宗羲一派而上接陆、王。此种意见，近代研究者多有异议，余英时就认为“不免有夸张之嫌”（余英时，2000：72）。然在当时，对于想要消解梁启超所提出“顾炎武清学开山”说的钱穆而言，此文无疑提供了非常重要的学术资源。钱穆之观点即建立在章氏论述基础上，同时借鉴柳诒徵溯源顾炎武学术至明代之说，并加以改造，最终形成“黄宗羲清学开山之一”的见解，以驳斥梁启超的“顾炎武开山”说。

## （二）对顾炎武评价的变化

考察钱穆撰于三十年代的《学术史》，他在书中更动了黄、顾、王的排序，首列黄宗羲、次列王夫之，而被梁启超视为清学开山的顾炎武则列第三（见表2）。《学术史》排序主要从三人所继承宋代学风之渊源作考量。黄宗羲“推极吾心以言博学”，继承明末王学殿军刘蕺山“慎独”说并加以改造发挥，且为清学开山之一；而王夫之则“黜明而崇宋”<sup>8</sup>，思想渊源上承北宋张载。黄、王

<sup>8</sup>钱穆早在1922年初阅《船山遗书》，并作笔记，他在北大开授“近三百年学术史”一课，第三章对王夫之论述所用资料即本于此。另外，钱穆曾于1923年在《时事新报·学灯》发表《王船山学说》一文。从王夫之与顾炎武在钱穆著述中排位的消长，或可见其清代学术观的发展变动。

二人思想本质上皆从宋学发展而来，故分别列一、二位。而顾炎武学术虽可上溯至朱子，但基本上“深摛理学于不论不议之列”（钱穆，1997：291），钱穆从心性之学的造诣上进行考量，将其列第三位。

表2 梁启超与钱穆撰述对清初四大家之排序

国学概论	清代学术概论	梁启超《学术史》	钱穆《学术史》	清儒学案
黄宗羲	顾炎武	黄宗羲	黄宗羲	黄宗羲
顾炎武	黄宗羲	顾炎武	王夫之	顾炎武
王夫之	王夫之	王夫之	顾炎武	王夫之
颜元	颜元	颜元	颜元	颜元

梁启超初撰《清代学术概论》，仅以顾炎武作为清学始点而展开叙述。钱穆曾批评：“梨洲矫晚明王学空疏，而主穷经以为根柢；此等处其影响后学，岂在亭林之下？而后之汉学家不复数说及之者，正以亭林‘经学即理学’一语，截断众流，有合于后来汉学家之脾胃”（钱穆，1997：309）。梁启超后来撰写《中国近三百年学术史》时或感不妥，遂修正《清代学术概论》体例，黄宗羲从《清代学术概论》之第二位，升至《学术史》之首位。对此，他在《学术史》中述及：

这部讲义，是要说明清朝一代学术变迁之大势及其在文化上所贡献的分量和价值。为什么题目不叫做清代学术呢？因为晚明的二十多年，已经开清代学术的先河，民国的十来年，也可以算清代学术的结束和蜕变。把最近三百年认做学术史上一个时代的单位，似还适当，所以定名为《近三百年学术史》。（梁启超，2003：1）

梁氏认为“三先生在当时学界各占一部分势力，而梨洲影响于后来者犹大”，故按时间顺序，先溯源明代，再论明清之际。明代因“王门下唯蕺山独盛”，故以“梨洲为中坚，先以夏峰、二曲，而浙东诸儒及穆堂附焉。清代阳明学之流风余韵，略具于是”（梁启超，2003：44）。对于梁启超《学术史》的修改，钱穆有深刻的观察：

二十年后梁任公写了《清代学术概论》一书，明年他懊悔了，讲清初学术不能只讲顾亭林、阎若璩；说他们是考据学的开山，但清初不完全是考据学。梁任公在清华大学研究所教书，这是当时中国唯一的一个研究所，只有梁任公与王国维两位教授。梁任公教课，写成《中国近三百年学术史》一部讲义。他讲清初不仅有顾亭林，还有黄梨洲、王船山、李二曲、陆桴亭等人，讲思想的，讲理学的，就是补正他《清代学术概论》一书的缺失。（钱穆，1998：861）

然观梁启超的改动仅是修正《清代学术概论》体例的不足，并不意味其观点发生变化。梁氏《学术史》虽列黄宗羲首位，却说“梨洲纯是一位过渡的人物，他有清代学者的精神，却不脱明代学者的面目。”而顾炎武虽列第二章，但梁氏仍认为“讲到“筭路蓝缕”之功，不能不推顾亭林为第一……对于晚明学风，表出堂堂正正的革命态度，影响于此后二百年思想界者极大”，提出“论清学开山之祖，舍亭林没有第二个人。”（梁启超，2003：50、59）

四十年代钱穆撰《清儒学案》，黄、顾、王三人的排列再发生变化，顾炎武位置上升，排在王夫之前。顾炎武地位的改变，反映出当时钱穆思想观点的变化，这可从他在大陆时期三次阅读《日知录》的体验上看出。钱穆首次阅读，在其早年乡间教书时，但限于学力，对所读内容只是一知半解，相关阅读心得见载于《国学概论·清代考据学》一章中。第二次在北大开设“近三百年学术史”

一课期间，为编撰顾炎武一章讲义而阅读，其见解皆反映在《学术史》一书中。第三次阅读，则在 1937 年 10 月因避难转至湖南衡阳期间（参见《讲堂遗录》；钱穆，1998：666）。钱穆晚年曾回忆他避难衡阳，第三次阅读《日知录》的经历：

忽觉有新悟，追悔所撰《近三百年学术史》顾亭林一章实未有如此清楚之见解，恐有失误。而手边无此书，遂向友人携此书者借来细读，幸未见甚大失误处。然念若今日撰此稿，恐当与前稿有不同处。从知厚积而薄发，急速成书之终非正辨也。（钱穆，1998：217）

据此推论，当时限于时间与材料等因素，钱穆对顾炎武的认识尚不够透彻，对其评价仍处于流动变化中。这可从他在四十年代所撰《清儒学案序目》对顾炎武排位及评价之变化上反映出来：

亭林推为清代开国儒宗。其学实事求是，务为经世致用，《日知录》一书规模尤闳阔。后之学者，各因其一端而申之，皆成专业。惟亭林犹得晚明讲学遗绪，故其书亦尚兢兢以世道人心为主，论学、论治皆推本焉，不似后人专务博雅考订。此亭林之所为卓绝也。（钱穆，1998：600）

钱穆在文中取章学诚《浙东学术》篇中的评价，称顾炎武为“开国儒宗”，高度评价其清代学术开山地位，但又据章学诚“上宗王、刘，下开二万，较之顾氏，源远而流长矣”一句，评黄氏为“正其继往开来之人也”。可见四十年代钱穆对顾炎武评价虽然已发生变化，然他对黄宗羲之评价仍较高。

而钱穆对顾炎武评价之定论，则要待六十年代归宗朱子后才大致定下，这可从收录进《论丛〈八〉》的《顾亭林学述》一文中见出。钱穆在文中承认自己在三十年代所撰《学术史》论顾炎武“经学即理学也”的不足，并提出修正意见：“最近我写朱子学的流

衍，讲到顾亭林，我再读他的《日知录》，就特别注意他‘经学即理学也’这句话。于是我写了一篇《顾亭林学述》，讲顾亭林的学问，才真明白顾亭林‘经学即理学也’怎么讲的。我对顾亭林的书至少读过三遍，才正式明白他这句话，我的《近三百年学术史》里，究竟是讲得笼统了。”（钱穆，1998：666）

## 二、《学术史》中考据学地位的消长

相较于梁启超《清代学术概论》一书观点的变动不居<sup>9</sup>，《国学概论》的观点或有修正，但无多大变动。1932年4月24日，钱穆写信给胡适，欣喜对方愿意加入讨论两汉经学今古文问题，并在信中提出自身的见解。据《素书楼余渚》记载：“民国十五年夏，穆在无锡编讲《国学概论》，始注意及此问题……上六点均详《国学概论》，六年来见解未有所变”（钱穆，1998：188、190）。1974年钱穆为中国文化学院研究生开设《经学大要》课程，讲孔子与六经关系时亦曾说道：“我今天只有把四十八年前所讲的重讲一遍”，仍然是采用《国学概论》的内容进行发挥”（钱穆，1998：274）。从中可知钱穆阅读细致沉潜，故所撰写内容，观点甚少改变。他本人对此亦极有自信：

大的问题在我《国学概论》一书中都说了。写《国学概论》时，我还在中学里教书，那时的中学生也能听。当然他们将来进了大学，听到别的讲法，或许认为我讲错了，或许忘记了我讲的，可是我自己很觉安慰，凡是我在小学、中学教过的学生，进了大学，他们会来告诉我，在大学听到某先生怎么讲，讲法与我的不同，他们认为我讲的对，某先生错了……（钱穆，1998：767）

<sup>9</sup>相关内容可参见徐雁平《〈清代学术概论〉考论》，页282—311。



钱穆对《国学概论》观点的补充或申述，主要集中在《清代考据学》一章，并在《学术史》中得到系统的反映。1931年夏天，钱穆往北大授课，第一年开设三门课，其中“上古史”、“秦汉史”是必修课，另一门选修课由教授自行决定。当时钱穆通过杂志阅读二十年代梁启超在清华大学讲授的《学术史》讲义，因“与任公意见相异，故特开此课程”，且讲法与梁启超立异，引起学术界注意。（钱穆，1998：166）

虽然钱穆早在二十年代撰成《国学概论》后，对清代学术研究的基本思路已定，但此时尚未构建出自身的清代学术研究体系。他在《讲堂遗录》中说道：“我在北京大学开讲“近三百年学术史”一课，并不是近三百年学术史已事先烂熟于胸中。我也不过知道一个大纲，临时教课临时准备的。不教这门课，《近三百年学术史》一书也不一定写得出来。”（钱穆，1998：665）钱穆的清代学术研究体系之建立与完善，是在此五年讲授《学术史》与修改、增补内容的过程中完成的。而授课对钱穆撰写《学术史》的帮助亦十分大，他自己曾说：

在北大教课时悟得新见解，加入《先秦诸子系年》与《学术史》中。又教“近三百年学术史”，编讲义写至《古文尚书》一案，适值春假，搁笔不能下，外面种种游乐亦都放弃，闷困旬日，忽然开悟，逐有《阎毛》之一章。此两书内此两节，皆极自得意，然皆因教课得之也。（钱穆，1998：64）

数年的授课过程，加上与当时北平学界的频密交流，钱穆得到颇多的启发，并系统对《国学概论·清代考据学》一章进行修正，尤其是所称引梁启超观点及其对史料考据的不足处进行修正。

1937年，《学术史》大致完稿，钱穆于是年1月19日撰《学术史·自序》一篇于北平之未学斋。钱穆在《自序》中提出他研究清代学术的重要观点：“窃谓近代学者每分汉宋疆域，不知宋学，则

亦不能知汉学，更无以平汉宋之是非。”（钱穆，1997：15）钱穆所提观点，在当时主流学界看来，被认为是反潮流的，他晚年曾回忆道：

我在北京大学讲“近三百年学术史”，我在这书的《序》上就说：“不知宋学，不能知汉学。”要讲近三百年学术史，你们先要懂宋学。那时候的大学生，这套道理都懂。后来抗战了，我在重庆遇到一位湖南人，他的年龄不轻，这位先生对我说：“钱先生你真胆大呀，你怎么敢在北京大学写这本《近三百年学术史》呀！”这位先生懂得我的《近三百年学术史》是反潮流的，今天你们不懂了。现在我们社会也不讲这一套了。（钱穆，1998：916）

据此可知，钱穆当时讲授《学术史》，因与梁、胡等主流论述立异，承受不少压力。故该书出版前夕，他即在《自序》中强调自己“岂敢进退前人，自适己意？”撰述《学术史》之目的是要仿效司马迁《史记》“亦将以明天人之际，通古今之变，备一家之言。”由于《学术史》颇有针对梁启超《学术史》而发，故该书内容“盖有详人之所略，略人之所详，而不必尽当于著作之先例者”。而对于外界的评价，或褒或贬，钱穆也只能无奈的表示“知我罪我，所不敢问也。”（钱穆，1997：18-19）

钱穆的观点力主清代学术导源于宋学，重视宋明理学对清代学术的影响。故《学术史》先以引论略述两宋学术概要，再继之以东林。而在评价当时学人学术思想的高下深浅时，便贯穿一条其是否有志于经世，是否心系天下安危的标准，此乃钱穆四十年代所撰《清儒学案》所提重要理论“每转益进”说的雏形。从1926年撰成《国学概论·清代考据学》到1937年《学术史》正式出版，钱穆的思想观点历经十年发展，逐渐摆脱时风影响，构建出自成一家的清代学术研究体系，并与梁启超分庭抗礼。

(一) 对考据学评价的转变

比较二十年代的《国学概论》与三十年代的《学术史》，钱穆对清代考据学的评价起了甚大的改变。《国学概论》第九章以《清代考据学》为标目，列出戴震、惠栋、江永、段玉裁、王引之、王念孙、阮元、凌廷堪、焦循、俞樾与孙诒让等清代重要考据学家，所收录学人多与《清代学术概论》相近。然这几位考据学者，仅6人被《学术史》收录，而6人中唯戴震、阮元、焦循与凌廷堪4人分别被列入第八、十章里作为主要人物进行叙述，而惠栋<sup>10</sup>、江永二人仅附录在第八章戴震之下。至《清儒学案》，惠栋与江永则被删除，仅剩戴震、焦循、阮元、凌廷堪四人分别被立案（见表3）。从《国学概论》到《清儒学案》，考据学人地位的改变反映出钱穆清代学术观点的转变。

表3钱穆清代学术撰述对乾嘉诸儒的取舍

国学概论	学术史	清儒学案序	论丛（八）
戴震	第八章 戴震	戴震《东原学案》 第三十四	戴震《记钞本戴东原〈孟子私淑录〉附《孟子私淑录》》
惠栋	惠栋[附]		
江永	江永[附]		
	程瑶田[附]	程瑶田《易畴学案》 第三十五	
段玉裁			段玉裁《读段懋堂〈经韵楼集〉》
王引之			

<sup>10</sup>刘师培《近代汉学变迁论》一文讨论第二期征实派时，已经将“惠氏之治《易》”附录在“江戴之学”部分进行论述。（章太炎、刘师培，2006：166）

王念孙			
孙诒让			
俞樾			

关乎钱穆与梁启超对清中期考据学的评价，吴、皖两派是否分帜乃两人立异的一大焦点。钱穆曾在《国学概论》中概括吴皖两派的特点：

皆能条理密栗，识断精审，上溯古义而断以己之律令，与苏学殊焉……余谓吴学务反宋，而转陷尊古。皖学初本阐宋，后乃诤宋。吴以革命始而得承统，皖以承统始而达革命，学风迁变，诚非先导者所得逆覩也。（钱穆，1997：311）

钱穆此部分的论述，标明参考章太炎《检论·清儒》与梁启超《清代学术概论》，可知他对吴、皖两派的基本判断，仍是继承章、梁二人的观点。然在关键的吴、皖两派是否分帜之问题，却与章、梁立异，认为“戴派之未能舍古以成学，即其不能舍古以寻是者，要为不可掩之事实。则惠、戴之为学，其根本非异趋，亦端可识矣。”（钱穆，1997：324）到《学术史》一书，钱穆在第八章以戴震为主，附录江永、惠栋与程瑶田。因江永与程瑶田是戴震的老师与同门，且三人皆是安徽歙县人，钱穆以二人附在戴震下，旨在厘清戴学渊源于朱子，其用意落在宋学对戴震的影响上。至于将惠栋也附录在戴震下，旨在考辨吴派与皖派在学术上的内在联系与影响，以化解由章太炎首发，梁启超倡导的“吴、皖分帜说”。

另外，《国学概论》屡有驳斥极力推崇戴震学说的梁启超、胡适，而相关批评在《学术史》中得到更为系统且深入的表述。从《学术史》第二章开始，钱穆虽未正面论及戴震，但在评论其他学

人的过程中，已穿插不少针对戴震而发的言论<sup>11</sup>，逐步消解梁、胡推崇戴震之说，为第八章全面评价戴震进行铺垫。钱穆与梁、胡因戴震而针锋相对，其原因是非常复杂的。刘巍曾指出其中一点，认为钱穆是基于现实层面上，不满且怀疑梁、胡二人对戴氏理欲观的认同发挥表达着“由是可以企及西洋之文明也”的诉求。钱穆出于一种后五四文化反省意识，对三十年代扭曲清代学术的言论，败坏的风气进行批判<sup>12</sup>。（刘巍，1999：63）

由于梁、胡诸人的推崇，戴震学术思想在当时学术界影响极大。1965年1月21日，钱穆与杨联陞通信，论及早年的《学术史》时，即提到当时论戴震《孟子字义疏证》因“震于时论梁胡诸人之见，下笔太罗嗦，不敢从扼要处深下砭箴”（钱穆，1998：228），可见在当时尊戴风气下，钱穆《学术史》的反潮流所承受的压力甚大。近人常据钱穆《学术史》批评戴震之言论，而断定他极端反对戴震。钱穆《学术史》虽对戴震多有批评，但考察他撰于1942年的《记钞本戴东原〈孟子私淑录〉》一文，对评价戴震却颇为持平：

然就书论之，要为近世杰作，乾嘉以来，未有能驾出其右者。纵言思之偏尚不免乎多瑕颡，而终自不掩其精光。若使东原得永其寿，学与年进，磨砢芒角，蹈于中和，祓濯染习，一臻平正，其修辞立说，必有异矣。（钱穆，1998：336）

《学术史》因要驳斥梁、胡论述，且对乾嘉考据学进行反思，故书中对戴震有较多的批评。而《记钞本戴东原〈孟子私淑录〉》一文，仅针对戴震及其著述进行研究，重点在于阐述其人其书的优点，故所论较为持平。从中可知，钱穆所撰文章、著作，对某学人

<sup>11</sup>据本文初步考察，钱穆《学术史》从第二章至第七章（戴震收录在第八章）对相关学人论述中，提及戴震有十余次，或是批评、或是与该章学人进行比较、或是驳斥梁启超与胡适对戴震的论述。

<sup>12</sup>钱穆与梁启超、胡适对于戴震展开的思想交涉，详细内容可参阅刘巍《二三十年代清代学术史整理中钱穆与梁启超胡适的学术思想交涉：以戴震研究为例》一文。

或赞扬、或批评，常因著述体例、动机、目的和侧重点不同而有所转变，无一硬性标准。对于外人的质疑，钱穆自认对戴震的评论有一标准，并非是非不分的。1955年5月19日，钱穆写信给徐复观，针对徐氏疑惑他对戴震时而批驳，时而赞扬作出解释，自认心中对戴震有一称量，并非没有定见<sup>13</sup>。故七十年代钱穆在课堂授课，谈到戴震《孟子字义疏证》，尽管有所批评，但仍坦诚说：“我并不喜欢戴东原，然而他这个人是可佩服的。”（钱穆，1998：897）

## （二）焦循、阮元、凌廷堪与乾嘉考据学

焦循、阮元与凌廷堪均见收于《国学概论》、《学术史》与《清儒学案》（见表4）。三人学问皆尊戴震，是当时考据名家，但钱穆《学术史》并不重视他们在考据学上的成就，而是把眼光投注到三人的汉宋兼采主张以及对汉学流弊的反思和批评上。清代的“汉宋调和”论，章太炎《清儒》仅列晚清陈澧一人，然钱穆认为早在乾嘉后期的汉学家，如焦循、阮元与凌廷堪等，已开始对汉学流弊进行反思与批评。故《学术史》第十章主要以阮元、焦循、程瑶田为代表，反映此时代三人的“汉宋调和”及汉学批判的思想。附录则以调和汉宋的许宗彦和极度反汉学的方东树进行比较，同时述及不少提出汉宋调和或批评汉学的人物。

<sup>13</sup> 《钱穆致徐复观信》：“弟写《中国思想史》，又把柏拉图、黑格尔与马克思一串批驳（详原书一九八—一九九）；又《中国思想讲话》（页52-54），又把来畅说了一番，此两处盼兄再一抽读。弟此两书皆极称戴东原，惟近作《王弼郭象说理》一文，又把东原批驳了，此非弟之无定见，弟自问对宋儒，对东原，弟心中有一称量……”（《素书楼余渚》；钱穆，1998：335）

表4钱穆清代学术撰述对乾嘉诸儒的取舍

国学概论	近三百年学术史	清儒学案序	中国学术思想史论丛（八）
焦循	第十章 焦 循	焦循《里堂学案》 第四十一	
阮元	阮 元	阮元《芸台学案》 第四十二	
凌廷堪	凌廷堪	凌廷堪《次仲学案》 第四十	
	许宗彦[附]		
方东树	方东树[附]		

在三人所处时代，乾嘉考据“为学问而学问”的方法已走到尽头，逐渐失去人心，途穷思变，往后学术思潮发展逐渐转向汉宋兼采的方向。钱穆认为焦循之学“主用思以求通”，与当时名物训诂逐字逐句的零碎考释学风颇有不同；阮元“颇主求义理，故成汉宋兼采之风”；而凌廷堪对当时汉学流弊颇有不满，有“不通世务，不切实用”、“好骂宋儒，而高自标置”、“意气日盛”等批评语，开近代批评乾嘉学风的先声。三人皆为汉学考据大家，却转而批评自身学派的弊端，透显出一个学术转变的新时期将到来的消息。同时钱穆又附录汉学批评者许宗彦，把攻击乾嘉汉学的方东树排在末端，以表达时代风气转变的观点。（武少民，2008：60-70）

到《清儒学案》，钱穆为此三人并列立案，但所看重的是他们在义理上之造诣。三人中，钱穆对焦循评价最高，认为“东原既卒……而义理之学无传者。独凌次仲以私淑而推极东原之意，往往偏至……（焦循）《说经》精粹，而言义理亦本东原，然较次仲为深笃矣。后世以戴、焦并称，非无由也”；次而阮元：“芸台早跻通显，扬历中外，所致提倡经学，为万流所倾仰，而其所自得者亦

精卓，其持论则与次仲伯仲之间，未逮里堂之醇正”；而以凌廷堪为殿：“次仲拨起市贩之间，《礼》学专门，亦精乐律，不失其乡先辈之遗风。能持论，一本东原而推之愈远，则不免于偏陷。”（钱穆，1998：612）《清儒学案序目》对三人的评价，主要通过考察他们在义理学上的高下深浅而展开，而并列立案的用意则在于对三人的学术成就进行比较。

### 三、“每转益进”说的确立

《清儒学案》撰成于1942年，全书约四五十万字。当时正处于抗战期间，因生活艰苦，钱穆字字皆亲手抄写，未再找人另抄副本。后抗战胜利还都，此稿尚未付印，遂由重庆中央国立编译馆装箱，雇江轮载返南京，不料箱子坠落江中，导致全稿佚失。所幸钱穆先将该稿《序目》提前刊于《四川省立图书馆集刊》第三期，故原书虽亡，仍然可通过《序目》，对该书内容精义一作窥究。《清儒学案》撰成后，柳诒徵奉委任校订之责，于1942年2月23日自重庆专程赴贵州遵义浙江大学晤钱穆。柳氏于3月2日始草《审查〈清儒学案〉报告》，且逐日摘抄原书，间加注语，至3月5日摘录竟。柳诒徵所抄录《清儒学案》原文长达12页，收录在其《日记》中，一定程度上弥补了《清儒学案》佚失的遗憾，对考察钱穆此书的一鳞半爪，其价值弥足珍贵<sup>14</sup>。故原书虽亡，然通过《清儒学案序目》，基本上能够把握该书内容精义与对学人之取舍。

从《学术史》到《清儒学案》，钱穆的清代学术研究经过约十多年的发展而臻完善，遂于《清儒学案》中确立他的重要观点——“每转益进”说。钱穆在《序目》中对此说作出精辟阐释：

<sup>14</sup>陈祖武《钱宾四先生与〈清儒学案〉》一文，据《清儒学案序目》对《清儒学案》内容进行初步的梳理与介绍，可参阅。



抑学术之事，每转而益进，途穷而必变。两汉经学，亦非能蔑弃先秦百家而别创其所谓经学也，彼乃包孕先秦百家而始为经学之新生。宋明理学，又岂仅包孕两汉隋唐之经学而已，彼盖并魏晋以来流布甚大之佛学而并包之，乃始有理学之新生焉。此每转益进之说也。（钱穆，1998：592）

徐雁平曾撰文对钱穆“每转益进”说的内容及其精义作出辨析：

至《清儒学案序》，人物变动更大，就其中所列人物而言，它几乎是“有清三百年理学大纲”。“有清三百年学术大流，论其精神，乃自沿续宋明理学一派”，这就从整体上消解了考据学的中心地位……乾嘉学术之所得，不过为宋明理学拾遗补阙而已。“学术之事，每转而益进，途穷而必变”，理学之统系并未断绝，至乾嘉之际又得新生。（徐雁平，2005：48）

钱穆并不认同所谓的乾嘉汉学兴盛而理学衰微之说，认为“清代经学，亦依然延续宋、元以来，而不过切磋琢磨之益精益纯而已。理学本包孕经学为再生，岂得据是而谓清代乃理学之衰世哉！”、“故以乾嘉上拟晚明诸遗老，则明遗之所得，在时势之激荡；乾嘉之所得，在经籍之沉浸。斯二者皆足以上补宋、明之未逮，弥缝其缺失，而增益其光耀者也”，他的《清儒学案》即以理学作为清代学术的脉络，划分清代学术的分期。（钱穆，1998：592）钱穆从历史脉络下手进行考察，重新审视宋明以来的理学传统，最终得以建构其最重要的清代学术理论——“每转益进”说。他在《序目·例言》中指出：“本篇所录，一以讲究心性义理，言续宋明以来公案者为主，其他经籍考据，概不旁及。庶以附诸黄、全两家之后，备晚近一千年理学升降之全。此乃着书体例所关，非

由抑汉扬宋，别具门户私见也”。（钱穆，1998：594）至此，钱穆早年在《国学概论》中标目的《清代考据学》到《清儒学案》完全被宋明八百年以来的理学传统所消解了。此点亦明确反映在《学术史》与《清儒学案》两书对清代学人取舍以及著述体例之改变上。

### （一）《清儒学案》收录凡例

本文以《学术史》与《清儒学案》目录所列人物进行统计，《学术史》共收录 50 位学人，《清儒学案》则收录 64 位学人，较《学术史》增加 14 位。其中《学术史》不收录，而《清儒学案》新增的人物有 43 人，分别是：

孙夏峰、张履祥、陆桴亭、胡承诺、谢文游、李颢、张尔岐、应搗谦、费密、汤斌、陆陇其、唐甄、刘献廷、彭定求、邵廷采、劳史、张伯行、杨名时、汪绂、陈宏谋、雷鋈、张秉直、韩念周、汪缙、彭绍升、恽敬、黄以周、姚学塽、潘咨、唐鉴、潘德舆、黄式三、夏炘、方垵、吴廷栋、李棠阶、鲁一同、郭嵩焘、刘蓉、刘融斋、张之洞、刘光蕡、郑果。

《学术史》收录，但《清儒学案》删减的人物有 31 人，分别是：

潘平格、吕留良、马驥、阎若璩、姚际恒、冯景、程延祚、胡渭、顾祖禹、万宇光、王懋竑、蔡上翔、惠栋、江永、袁枚、汪中、许宗彦、方东树、龚定庵、庄存与、庄述祖、刘逢禄、戴望、沈垚、潘德舆、朱一新、康有为、廖平、谭嗣同。

两书共同收录的人物仅有 21 人，分别是：

黄宗羲、陈确、王夫之、顾炎武、颜元、李塨、毛奇龄、李穆堂、朱泽沄、全祖望、戴震、程瑶田、章学诚、焦循、阮元、凌廷堪、魏源、曾国藩、罗泽南、陈澧、朱次琦。

从以上统计，可见两书对人物的取舍在数量上存有极大差距。对此 64 位案主的取舍标准，钱穆在《清儒学案序目》中道明：“本篇取舍权衡，绝不敢存门户之见，或汉或宋，或朱或陆，一体采橛，异同互见，见仁见智，俟之读者”，开门见山表明绝不存门户之见，所收录人物不以汉学、宋学、程朱抑或者陆王学派来作考量，而是根据其著述体例之要求作为收录标准。他在《序目》中论及清代学人之取舍标准：

惟汉学而专为考据者不录。朱陆而各务谩骂者亦不录。斯道之在斯世，本如日月光明，人所共睹，亦有语自因正，而落格套进空洞者亦不录。又如全谢山所讥，其书虽纯乎经，而其人则纯乎纬者亦不录。亦有其人确乎醇儒，言行无疵累，堪为后世矜式，而本篇亦多弃置。此则限于篇幅，与其人人备列，而人人省略，不如详其一二，使可为亲……亦有其人本非理学名家，其立言陈义，亦若有偏驳，而本篇颇加采录者。（钱穆，1998：597）

故从本节考论可见，自钱穆《学术史》开始，许多重要考据学者的地位开始动摇，《国学概论》里收录的王氏父子、段玉裁、俞樾、孙诒让等考据学者已无一席之地，因为他们皆不符合钱穆的取舍标准。至于惠栋和江永，因钱穆要用与戴震进行学术上之比较，探讨他们之间的联系与影响，故尚能以附录形式出现。然到以人物为中心的《清儒学案》，两人即不被予以立案。唯戴震、程瑶田、阮元、焦循与凌廷堪五人，因在义理上的成就而被收录。这种转移充分体现出钱穆的“每转益进”说——考据学的中心地位已经被八百年来的宋明理学传统给消解。

## （二）孙奇逢、陆世仪、李颀与清代理学

《国学概论》第九章虽以清代考据学为标榜，然书中亦附录许多重要理学人物。清初三大儒，孙奇逢、李颀论学“大本皆宗阳明”，能“博综切实，推廓良知功能，力矫晚明心学空疏放荡之弊”，于前人学说“不偏立宗旨，各采所长以为调和之意”。而陆世仪虽“不喜阳明，与夏峰、二曲不同”，然其“不偏立宗旨而为调和之说则同”。（钱穆，1997：282、284）三人思想多主调和程朱与陆王两派，《国学概论》已先叙述他们这一特色。

表5 钱穆清代学术撰述对清初儒者的取舍

国学概论	学术史	清儒学案序	中国学术思想史论丛（八）
孙奇逢		孙奇逢《夏峰学案》第一	
陆世仪		陆世仪《桴亭学案》第四	《陆桴亭学述》
李颀		李颀《二曲学案》第九	
		陆陇其《稼书学案》第十六	《陆稼书学述》
	吕留良[附]		

《学术史》前五章叙述晚明遗老，仅列黄宗羲、王夫之、顾炎武、颜元四大儒与若干位附录学人，孙、陆、李三人不被收录（见表五）。个中原因，《国学概论》概论清初学风时即提到：

夫学术犹果实也，成熟则烂而落，而新生之机，亦于是焉茁。清初诸儒，正值宋明理学烂败之余而茁其新生，凡此皆萌蘖之可见者也。故梨洲、乾初尚承蕺山之绪，不失王学传统，夏峰、二曲、桴亭则折衷朱、王之间，亭林则深摈理学于不论不议之列，船山则黜明而崇宋，习斋乃并宋

而斥之也。然其于六百年之理学穷而思变则一也。言夫其所建树，则梨洲、亭林、船山、习斋四家为尤大。

（钱穆，1997：291）

孙、李、陆是当时南、北与关中大儒，门生遍布天下，影响极大。然相较于黄、王、顾、颜四大家在清代学术史上的开创性与时代特色，三人的学术成就未免有所局限。限于篇幅与体例，加之钱穆对清代学者收录取舍标准之严格，故三人未被收录进《学术史》。这种局限直到钱穆撰写《清儒学案》，著述体例变回以学人为中心的传统学案体后方得以弥补。《清儒学案》为孙、陆、李各别立案，三人的学术思想亦得以被充分展开论述。例如钱穆为更好的撰写《二曲学案》，特地委托朋友代为收购清代关学遗书20余种，有清一代关学材料“网罗略尽”。此外，他又勤读李二曲集，采其言行以编撰新年谱，所花精力甚多，故钱穆认为《二曲学案》为全书最有价值的篇章之一。（钱穆，1998：291）

另外，吕留良与陆陇其皆属程朱学派，钱穆曾在《学术史》对二人的成学过程、志向与学术渊源详加考辨。钱穆对吕留良的评价更甚于陆陇其，他在《王白田学述》中说：“晚村获教于黄梨洲、张杨园，得闻理学家绪言，其学则一本朱子《四书》，不免为章句注释之学。稼书追随晚村，然晚村立志为遗民，稼书则进身清廷为循吏。晚村弃诸生之年，即稼书举乡试之年。此两人之学途径相似，而立身志节不同。”（钱穆，1998：301）钱穆《学术史》以吕留良附录在黄宗羲下，而陆陇其仅在论述吕留良时才进行比较论述。个中原因，盖因《学术史》撰成时间在抗战前夕，当时中华民族正面临生死存亡之际。钱穆因吕留良“发挥民族精神以不屈膝仕外姓为主”（钱穆，1997：91）的民族气节，甚为契合《学术史》思想主旨，故为之进行阐述。杨树达于1943年7月26日阅读钱穆《学术史》后，亦在其《日记》中赞扬此书能够“严夷夏之防”。（杨树达，1986：86）而到《清儒学案》，该书体例与主旨变为表彰清代理学，陆陇其因其学“为清廷所尊，首得从祀孔庙”

（钱穆，1998：605）的荣宠，故得以理学名臣之身份立案，吕留良则改为附录在《稼书学案》中论述。从《学术史》到《清儒学案》，吕、陆二人在二书中主从地位的变动，皆因著述体例之变化而决定。对此，钱穆《清儒学案序目》亦谓：“若读者以争论从祀圣庙之意见责备本编，则疏漏之罪，所不敢辞。”（钱穆，1998：597）从中即可见出钱穆著述体例与其思想观点的紧密联系，然其对陆稼书与吕留良的评价并未因此而有所改变。

#### 四、结语

在钱穆的清代学术研究著述中，《国学概论》、《中国近三百年学术史》、《清儒学案》及《中国学术思想史论丛（八）》在对清代学人的具体研究上，有不少独特且精到见解。其中著述撰写体例的转变，书中录取学人之取舍标准，对章、梁诸学人观点的吸取与批评，深刻反映出钱穆清代学术观变化的复杂性。本文即以此四书作为钱穆清代学术思想研究一个承先启后的体系来进行综合研究，考察其清代学术研究之发展历程，新范式的构建，以及梁、钱两个范式之间的消长，观点冲突与影响等问题。

上个世纪七十年代，钱穆在《朱子学提纲》第三十一章论及朱子学在清代的流衍时，曾对六十余年来弥漫学界的乾嘉考据风气作出批评：

民国以来，读书博古之风已息，言学者仅知有清儒，于清儒中仅知有乾嘉，于乾嘉中仅知有考据。乾嘉以前如梨洲、亭林，乾嘉以后如实斋、兰甫，其学之通博，已皆不能深知。又不喜言义理思想，其意若谓义理思想尽在西方，故仅求以乾嘉考据来重新估定传统上一切价值。奢言先秦诸子，亦借以为蹈瑕抵隙之助……（钱穆，1998：252）

二三十年代，梁启超的撰述形成当时清代学术研究的范式。考察钱穆成书于 1928 年的《国学概论》，书中多有称引梁启超等学人的观点，可知他早年亦处在此范式影响下。钱穆虽深受梁氏影响，但亦非全盘接受对方的论述，因为他在当时已逐渐形成自身对清代学术的基本见解，故书中屡对梁氏观点不足处进行驳斥。三十年代，钱穆在北大任教期间，因不满梁启超等主流派对清代学术的见解，遂开设与梁著同名课程“近三百年学术史”与之抗衡。开课的几年间，因受制于当时的主流论述，钱穆唯有采取或明或隐、或直接或曲折的方式，逐一消解梁启超的观点论述，并提出代替之说。

撰成于三十年代的《学术史》，是钱穆努力摆脱梁启超范式影响，建立自身新范式的重要标志。对于两个范式之间的斗争与消长，陈居渊曾在《20 世纪清代学术史研究范式的历史考察》一文中作出剖析：

至于同名异趣的《中国近三百年学术史》之间的差别，梁启超以汉学为主线，侧重于学术的宏观分析；钱穆则以宋学为导向，致力于学术内在联系的微观探究。如果说钱穆的“每转益进说”是出自消解梁、胡“尊汉黜宋”的“理学反动说”在学界的广泛影响力，并重塑宋学在清代学术史上的传统，那么它的客观社会效应，却是有意识地促成了清代学术研究范式的对立与紧张。（陈居渊，2007：

93）

钱穆开设此门课，向当时学界的权威范式进行挑战，其目的在于消解梁、胡范式在学界的广泛影响力。然钱穆要取代梁启超的旧说，必然要提出代替的新说。而钱穆新范式的建立必然要有所凭借，绝不可能闭门苦思冥想就能凭空构筑。钱穆相关观念的形成，一方面源于他多年苦读与在北大数年的授课；另一方面，又与当时诸多学人如章太炎、刘师培、柳诒徵，甚至与其观点相异的梁启超、胡适的影响是分不开的。陈祖武即指出这点：

近人治清代学术史，章太炎、梁任公、钱宾四三位大师，先后相继，鼎足而成。太严先生辟除榛莽，开风气之先声，首倡之功，最可纪念。任公先生大刀阔斧，建树尤多，所获已掩前哲而上。宾四先生深入底蕴，精进不已，独以深邃见识而得真髓。学如积薪，后来居上。以此而论章、梁、钱三位大师之清代学术史研究，承先启后，继往开来，总其成者无疑当属钱宾四先生。（陈祖武，1999：340）

“学如积薪，后来居上”，最终钱穆建立起自己的清代学术研究体系，形成能与梁启超分庭抗礼的新范式，并在相当长的时间内影响了该领域的研究进程。故罗志田曾说：“若说在相当长的时间里，‘清代学术史’或‘近三百年学术史’领域里影响最大的是梁、钱二氏的同名著作，或不为过。”（罗志田，2006：7）

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# **A Research of Qian Mu's Study on the Intellectual History of the Qing Dynasty**

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**Abstract:** This article explores the reading of *Zhongguo Jin San Bai Nian Xue Shu Shi* (《中国近三百年学术史》). Based on the book, we established the accepted requirements/standards for a (typical) scholar and combined with the principles which are found in *Guo Xue Gai Lun* (《国学概论》), *Qing Ru Xue An* (《清儒学案》) and *Zhongguo Xue Shu Si Xiang Shi Lun Cong (Vol.8)* (《中国学术思想史论丛(八)》), the mainstream of academic research system in the Qing Dynasty. From here we would be able to see clearly the transformation of academic ideology in Qian Mu study (Qing Dynasty) and its related writing styles.

**Keywords:** *Zhongguo Jin San Bai Nian Xue Shu Shi*, Qian Mu, academic history, Qing Dynasty



# 马新及印尼华文女作家的自传书写初探

马峰\*

**摘要** 马来西亚、新加坡及印尼的华文女作家有少量自传作品，其内容主要侧重于女性的自我省思。她们专注于女性议题，显现出不同程度的女性意识。女性的传记书写表现了内在的个体经验，所描绘的众多南洋女性则有为群体代言的意图。马来西亚的林玉玲、黄兼博，新加坡的思静、尤今、郁金香，印尼的曾三清，这些女作家的自传书写都较为突出。

**关键词** 马来西亚 新加坡 印尼 华文女作家 传记书写

## 前言

女作家的创作较多对个体生命的关注，从现实生活到精神世界，都能描摹得纤毫入微。其中，对自我的传记书写是最为直接的展露，不论女性意识是否强烈，其内在诉说足以让人回味无穷。一般而言，女性书写的自传既是鲜明的女性经验史，也具有家族史的成分。这些家族史异于“大叙事”、“大历史”，无论是虚构或据实，往往敏锐且细致地捕捉女性之间的情谊，尤其是母女之间的感情。（参见刘艺婉，2013：96）芭芭拉·约翰逊（Barbara Johnson）在《我的怪物/我的自我》中认为女作家采用自己的生活为写作的原始素材，有种默然抗争的态度，“对于女性自传作家来说，问题在于，一方面，作为唯一可行的文学方式去抵御男性自传的压抑，另一方面，去描绘对于男人而不是对于女人来讲纯属狂想的、符合女性理想的困难。”（张京媛，1992：98-99）查特济

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(Chatteyjee, Partha) 在《妇女与民族》一文中也提到, 女性自传最引人注目的特征是, 在一种关于时代更替、行为模式和习惯转变、价值观产生变化的叙述中, 揭示自我的主题如何仍然受到压抑。(参见陈顺馨、戴锦华, 2002: 259) 在她们的自传中, 女性的展现始终是主调, 社会历史则是其辅音。她们为何要书写自我, 是纯粹为自己倾诉, 还是为女性发声? 她们如何进行自我的书写, 又如何调度文本的虚实? 除了自我, 她们是否还传递出其他层面的意涵? 透过她们的传记文本, 能够直达作者的心灵深处进行剖析叩问。

自传是个体的自我诉说, 也是最为隐秘的自我书写。自传, 从英文 *autobiography* 一词的字源来看, 是“自己”(auto-) 对于“个人生平”(bios) 的“书写记录”(graphia), 即自述生平之著作。(参见陈玉玲, 1996: 2) 就其类型而言, 吴锡德曾对古今中外有关“我”的文本予以回顾, 并指出有关“自传”文体的认定本身就相当分歧复杂, 就其发展而言, 能分出“自传”、“自传体小说”、“自传虚构小说”, 后两类经过作家一定的艺术化处理。(参见吴锡德, 2002: 5-6) 赵白生探讨传记文学的虚构现象, 他认为自传作者叙述的不纯粹是事实, 也不纯粹是经验, 而是经验化的事实, 即自传事实。(参见赵白生, 2003: 26) 自传的内容并不是完全的真实, 叙述中难免带有润饰成分, 但以事实为基础却是毋庸置疑的。对自传的界定众说纷纭, 从其虚实程度划分, 大致可分为“较为贴近真实的散文体自传”与“带有一定虚构成分的自传体小说”。从广义上讲, 东南亚华文小说中有大量的现实成分, 此类作品中不时隐现作者的影子, 或零星的带有逼真的契合片段, 这都算是传记小说的潜在因子。正如张健所言, 小说中的人物来源分为“自己、观察所得、传闻或历史旧闻、全由想像”四类, 他认为没有一个小说家完全不写自己。(参见张健, 2002: 185) 不过, 从狭义上讲, 严格意义上的自传小说应以作者的个人经历为主体, 文本需要具有一定的真实性、贯穿性与完整性。麦克·本顿谈到传记与小说, 他强调人物描绘揭示出社会假面具背后的内在精神生活。

（参见 Michael Benton, 2009: 215）自传小说具有揭露性，它呈现着传记作者的内在真实，有较高的可信度，叙述故事的笔法又增添其生动性。在马新印三地，华文作家的自传书写不多，而女作家的自传小说更为少见。在为数不多的作品中，她们以自传的形式讲述发生在身边的故事，以近乎原汁原味的笔调描写当地华人的生存状态。在这些自传作品中，自传小说有其独特魅力，虚实相生的手法让其表现的面向更为广阔。

### 一、林玉玲、黄兼博：离境回望与本土视角

马华文学在东南亚地区可谓首屈一指，然而其传记书写却并不多见，带有回忆录性质的马共口述历史文本占有较大比重。其中，女作家们更是少有传记作品，尤其是自传小说的缺席。马华文学为何会出现自传小说文类的缺失呢？不妨以美籍马来西亚华人林玉玲（Shirley Geok-lin Lim）作为参照。她 1944 年出生于马六甲的土生华人家庭，1969 年五一三事件后，她离开马来西亚赴美国深造并长期定居当地，1973 年获得布兰戴斯大学英美文学博士学位。《月白的脸》<sup>1</sup>是她在美国用英文撰写的回忆录，属于真实的散文体自传范畴。李有成以“回家”为题对其进行探讨，并指出《月白的脸》是一个饶富“批判性离散文化政治”的文本，林玉玲对她的母国所采取的具有种族歧视的政治、经济及文化措施丝毫不假辞色。（参见李有成，2013: 120-121）除了文化政治的意涵，文本也蕴含着对离散身份的探讨，她因离乡去国而多了一层家国的离散情怀与批判意识。同时，她的生活体验让其女性意识与批判精神尤为明显。她讲到，在第一人生时期，她身为马来西亚女性，可以写同自己关系密切的亚洲女人；在第二人生时期，身为美籍亚裔移民，她的面向则

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<sup>1</sup>《月白的脸：一位亚裔美国人的家园回忆录》的中文版本由张琼惠翻译，并于 2001 年在台湾出版。原著题名为“Among the White Moon Faces: An Asian-American Memoir of Homelands (New York: The Feminist Pr., 1996)”，1997 年在新加坡出版时，其副题改为“Memoirs of a Nyonya Feminist”。

是所有肤色的女人；她将该书送给生命中的所有这些女人。（参见 Shirley Geok-lin Lim, 2001: 17）林玉玲有着独特的人生经历，她的传记包含着不同群体的女性记忆，也融合了复杂的区域、国别、族群色彩。抛开身份国籍与写作语种的层面，她当可代表一种马华女性的声音。域外之声给马来西亚华裔带来不少冲击，本土之声却寥落难寻。

以马华本土女作家而言，黄兼博的《兼博人生：广播、妇女关怀、信仰的如此一生》是难得一见的自传书写。她于 1929 年在巴生谷小镇出生，1949 年至 1984 年曾任马来西亚电台华文总监、海外广播总监等职。她从事广播事业长达 36 年，经历了国家独立前后的广播变革，也是吉隆坡首位在广播界任全职的华裔女子。她说，“我深知我是这个国家的公民，而我体内传承的是我先祖留给我的优良儒家文化价值观，以及作为基督徒的宇宙观、生命观。”（黄兼博，2013: 69）作为女性，她展现了职业女性的进取与魄力；作为政府公务员，她有强烈的公民意识与爱国热诚；作为华人，她秉持着华族的文化传统；作为基督徒，她有着广博的慈爱与关怀之心。她的纪实性自传非常难得，她不局限于个体家族式的传记呈现，而是具有广阔的社会视角，尤其是以华裔女性广播界拓荒者的形象出现。她参与了广播事业的变革与发展，其职业经历也记述着马来西亚国家广播事业的发展历程。马华女作家缺乏自传作品，推其原因，内在的或是鲜有波澜起伏的独特生命体验，而外在的族群境遇也让她难以尽述实情，其自传书写仍有待开拓。

## 二、思静、尤今、郁金香：苦难童年、文字因缘、 女性自立

新华女作家中，思静、尤今与郁金香都有传记类创作，她们采用回忆录或小说等形式，呈现出新华女性在不同时代的多样化生命体验。思静与尤今的创作同林玉玲、黄兼博相仿，皆可归入个人的“真实”回忆录，其不同之处在于前二者注重个体的家庭经验与往

事重现，而林玉玲因离乡去国而多了一层家国的离散情怀与批判意识，黄兼博则因公务员身份而多了一层职业使命与国家意识。思静<sup>2</sup>曾长期生活于新加坡牛车水，当年的旧人旧事旧情如梦相随，于是便将这些难以释怀的往事撰写成一系列的怀旧篇章。关于其创作道路，可以用“情之所至”来形容，她原初便是为了抒发郁结多年的情感。谈到写作素材，她说自己所写的东西多是生活中有感而发的实事，虽然只是渺小的个人经历，从中也反映了一点当年社会风貌。这些文章既有较长篇的自传式文稿，也有反映当年风俗的短篇。（参见思静，1994：6）1994年，她的第一部文集《我是妈姐的养女》问世，其中吐露切身经历的篇章最为精彩和感人。〈我是妈姐的养女〉是其代表作，这篇以童年回忆为主体的自传在新华文坛曾引起强烈反响。“妈姐”是指独身不嫁的广东女佣，在旧时代是一份不错的行当，如今早已遗忘于历史角落。作者身为贫家女，幼时一度被送养给妈姐，有道不尽的辛酸苦楚。在养女岁月里，她经受着妈姐的毒打，旁观琵琶仔的迎送悲辛，也目睹了公馆的侈靡兴衰。她的作品给人历史的穿越感，恍如重回当年的牛车水。此后，她又创作了《木屐踩过的岁月》与《牛车水不老情话》。黄叔麟指出其书写的“时代”意义，她写着一个从黑暗走向光明的时代，也写着一个时代的结束，这个结束了的时代，不仅仅是一个华人社会的时代，同时也是整个新加坡社会的一个时代。（思静，2004：序）黄佩卿也予以较高评价，她感性而真实地记录了早年以牛车水为中心的点滴民生民俗，为新加坡留下了战前一个南来移民最早聚居地的最珍贵史料。（参见思静，2005：序）思静是土生土长的牛车水女儿，个人的苦难童年是其创作的源泉，她的成功在于对华人的特殊群体、历史时代的见证与记录。

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<sup>2</sup>思静，原名伍甦女，字佩瑶。1934年生于新加坡，祖籍广东阳江。幼年生活坎坷，在养正学校读至小学四年级，因家贫母歿而辍学。她是大器晚成的写作者，1990年因参加《联合早报》的“看图写历史”比赛而踏上文坛。牛车水（China Town），即早期新加坡华人的主要聚居地。



相比之下，尤今<sup>3</sup>在良好的教育环境中成长，她的传记书写也更为系统、完整，不过给人的震撼性则弱于思静。她的传记创作数量惊人，著有《文字就是生命》（2005）、《七彩岁月》（2007）、《我是一尾沉默的鱼》（2009）、《没有选择的选择》（2009）。新加坡青年书局在 2010 年出版一套十卷本的“尤今作品选集”，这是对其创作的极大肯定。她在后记中谈到与文字终生厮守的美丽关系，“文字与我，已化成了一个圆融的整体，我感觉到血管里汨汨汨汨地流着的，就是一粒一粒的方块字。旅行，是我在写作以外的‘大爱’。”（参见尤今，2010：234）写作与旅行，二者是生命的驱动力，两大主题在其传记中也展露无遗。在四部传记中，《我是一尾沉默的鱼》可以视为其自传的代表作，通过家世变革、怡保童年、求学生涯、爱情姻缘、工作体验、旅行岁月等角度勾勒出自己的人生画面。她视文字为生命的全部，一年三百六十五天都与它痴缠不休。（参见尤今，2009：304）尤今一生与文字为伍，以写作为志业。与其他几位传记作者有较大差异，她的传记处处可见文字因缘。

同思静、尤今的散文体自传不同，郁金香<sup>4</sup>采用小说的形式表达自我。她的《夕阳斜晖》是第一部中篇自传小说，她在文中穿插一些真实的照片，并以自己的经历为参照，其故事具有回忆录的特质。然而，作品并不是纯粹的个人真实回忆，而是经过了精心剪辑与艺术加工。她也坦言创作中的虚实并陈，当然故事中的情节有些是虚构的，甚至是夸大的，但也有些是真实的，故事中好像有你也有我的影子，毕竟你我都生活在这个大时代的现实里。（参见郁金香，2012：104）真实的回忆与虚构的形象交织，因此该作品可归之

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<sup>3</sup>尤今，原名谭幼今，祖籍广东台山。1950 年出生于马来亚怡保，1958 年举家迁居新加坡，1973 年获南洋大学中文系荣誉学士。她自幼爱好写作，是新加坡的多产作家，曾担任过图书馆管理员、记者、副刊编辑、中学教师等职，足迹踏遍近百个国家，并出版一百多部著作。

<sup>4</sup>郁金香，原名翁金翠，祖籍福建莆田。1952 年出生于新加坡，1969 年毕业于立化政府华文中学。曾到英国学习美容，此后长期从事美容工作。郁金香的再婚伴侣是新加坡作家欧清池（笔名风沙雁），在其自传小说中，立亭所遇到的“高学历知识分子”即以欧清池为原型。

为自传体小说。女作家创作的自传体小说是女性自我心灵外化的重要途径，传达了女性人格精神的发展历程，郁金香的写作不仅呈现了女性个人的成长记忆和童年体验，还勾勒出职业女性群体的生命情态与鲜活历史。（参见张淑云，2013：12）文本以1952年至今的新加坡作为叙事时空，立亭则是故事的女主人公，其原型便是身为作者的郁金香。小说以立亭的人生历程为线索，以时间为发展脉络。立亭的童年记忆布满灰色阴霾，作者将真情流注于笔端，生动的呈现出一幅感人泪下的画面。母女俩相依为命，小立亭虽不解其中的苦楚，但却有一颗与母亲不离不弃的心。母亲的一生充满不幸，第一个丈夫薄情寡义，为了做“新中国有为的新青年”而返回大陆，最终却杳无音信；第二个丈夫是个小贩，虽能辛苦相守，晚年却碰上两个不孝的儿子。目睹母亲的辛酸，而自己的婚姻又遭遇坎坷。当情窦初开，她走进了婚姻的殿堂，孰料丈夫嗜赌为业，原本的忧心转为痛心、寒心。离婚后，她碰到一位从事文教工作的高学历知识分子，终于重新迎来感情的归依。来之不易的姻缘是幸福的，虽然要经受续弦继母的身份考验，但最终却换回苦尽甘来的家庭和睦。

在竞争激烈的新加坡，一位女性想要自食其力，想要立足于社会，就必须付出加倍的努力。立亭是一位普通的女性，她为自己拼搏出一条不平凡的人生路。虽然只有中学学历，她却勤于自学进修，求学英国是理想的起点，也是美容事业的转折点。作者身为美容师，跻身于新加坡美容界数十年。在美容院的小天地里，她接触到形形色色的人，这些都是其故事的素材来源。立亭与作者都从事美容业，美容院是个缩小的社会，如同“新闻交换站”，数不尽的人情世事汇集于此。情感的波折、家庭的纠葛、工作的苦楚，这些都是女性关心的话题。立亭倾听着顾客的喜怒哀乐，并真诚的关爱她们，美容院俨然变成了女性调剂身心的疗养所。在工作中，她认识到不同阶层的女性，有些最终成为赤诚相待的好友。芊蒂、逸兰、欣仪与立亭堪称“四姐妹”，彼此的姐妹情谊传递着丝丝温情。四姐妹的婚姻经历各异，婚姻观也不同，她们对女性的经济独

立却有着共识。美容院是女人的世界，众多女性虽历经磨难，但始终保持积极向上的情怀，并没有蹉跎岁月的沉沦。现代女性要勇于自立，立亨用自己的奋斗做了最好的诠释。

文本中不乏职业女性，她们除了关注人情，也忧心于世事。新加坡改制英文教学和南洋大学关闭，给华校生留下伤楚，也让他们更加坚韧。“这个时代的确亏待了我们这一批纯华校生，可是我们并没有自暴自弃，冥冥中好像有东西在指引着，才让我们混到今天的好日子，想想好像是时代造就了我们耶！”（郁金香，2012：32）同时，作品谈到英国、澳洲的排华以及对新移民问题的焦虑。海外华人常遭受不公平对待，此类种族的偏见反而让华人奋起。同时，中国赴海外的新移民良莠不齐，也亟需端正与反省。作者对社会问题的探讨多点到为止，其关注焦点始终在人情伦理。1952年至2012年，恰好是六十年的轮回，新加坡已有了天翻地覆的巨变。她将个人经历融入文本，描绘出一位新华女性的人生轨迹，由此也可窥见新加坡的社会变迁。故事尾声倾吐对生命的感触，正如那一抹夕阳斜晖，喻示对美好人生的不懈追求。对人生历程的回望，流露出无怨无悔的坦然释怀。（参见马峰，2013：12-13）虽经历风雨坎坷，但生命依旧亮丽，这是新华女性的自立赞歌。

### 三、曾三清：吐露印华女性的心声

印华女作家中，曾三清<sup>5</sup>的创作别树一帜，她是自传书写的践行者，可谓开创了印华自传小说的先河。她的一生充满悲辛与挣扎，也点染出印尼的大时代背景。她以个人经历勾勒印华女性的酸甜苦辣

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<sup>5</sup>曾三清，又名三亲、珊黛（珊妮黛薇）、山岱（山尼岱微），印尼语名字是 Sanny Dewi。1933年出生于印尼锡江，是第二代侨生。在日伪学校读完小学，1947年后投身教育界。1966年印尼当局全面封锁华校，失去教职后不断改行换业。虽然华教受到压制，但她却始终未放弃华文。1981年开始在印尼共和国广播电视台华语部工作，1986年在公正大学任汉语讲师，1995年在汉语辅导中心教会话。（曾三清，2010：4-7）锡江，印尼苏拉威西岛的一个城市，印尼语地名是 Makassar。

辣，也表现出当地华人的艰辛奋斗。《挣扎》是她的自传，因为故事情节、人物形象都极具生动性，又被称为自传体小说。从内容来看，其自传的真实性远远大于小说的虚构性。<sup>6</sup>她有不平则鸣的个性，作品不时流露出直率与真纯。她宣称，这本《挣扎》与其说向人类控诉，不如说只想证明，一个普通女人，在生活上所经过的许多事。有丝离奇的写实，有股平凡的冲动。（参见曾三清，1998：自序）该文写于1997年5月1日，有个人生活的磨难，有逝去岁月的伤楚，有女性真挚的呐喊。此时，她已年逾六十，一股“年轻的力量”让她重拾记忆，去书写生命中的曲折点滴。或许，女性越活得长久越内敛，自我纾解的能力也会越强大。文学能实现对个体的心理治疗，有排遣、宣泄的作用，而自传书写以最直接的倾诉使精神受压抑者的情感得到抒发与释放。她用饱含真情的笔，描绘出一个离奇而又真实的女性世界。既是真实的作者，又是文本中的人物，她以双重角色去预设自己的倾听者。她以自传话语去倾诉，并期望得到知音的共鸣。

曾三清是平凡而坚强的女人，她不断抒发为人女、人妻、人媳、人母、人师的生命体悟。多重身份的角色转换，让她在美梦与丑恶现实的边缘徘徊，也在虚幻与真实的世界苦苦挣扎。故事从“我”的出生开始，她巧借父母之口去讲述童年生活，也掺杂着自己的懵懂记忆，处处洋溢着家的温馨。十岁以后，因母亲始终没生男孩，于是温暖家庭变成冷酷战场。初中毕业后，她勇敢的反对父亲，毅然进入巴中师范班学习，从此踏上“为人师”的道路。华校封闭后，失去了赖以谋生的教职。面对女儿及华校学生的失学，她一度坚持为他们补习华文，并靠微薄的补习费补贴家用。袁霓是印华作协主席，她坦言跟曾三清学习华文的生涯，“一九六六年我在群进读书时她是我五年级丁班的级任老师，要上六年级时，全部华

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<sup>6</sup>曾三清提到《挣扎》为“自传体小说”，这种观点或许是受评论者的影响。东瑞说，“我们读这部自传，有一种读小说的快感。”（曾三清，1998：20）2012年4月24日下午3点，笔者进行电话访谈，曾三清认可“《挣扎》是真实自传。”综合两种提法，笔者认为《挣扎》是曾三清的自传，也是经过艺术加工的自传体小说。

校被封闭，失学的我还继续跟曾老师补习了几年。我后来会爱写作，与曾老师不无关系。”（曾三清，1998：173）曾三清钟爱华文教育，培养了一批批优秀的华文学子，这也让她在困难岁月里略感宽慰。失业后，她从事过家教、卖花生、做衣服、烫理发、出租新娘衣、广播员等工作，她以经济上的独立去维持家庭生计。生活的磨难并没有把她压垮，反而激起面对挑战的勇气，她从狭小的家庭走向广阔的职场与社会。面对婚姻，她不满传统礼俗，努力追求独立自主。然而，当重病的父亲以死逼婚，她在迷惘与痛苦中挣扎不已，最终向“尽孝”屈服而订婚。当父亲在病痛折磨中离去，家庭的重担开始落在—群女人的肩上，“我”毅然地退婚成功，大胆地反叛家乡的风俗观念。孰料，自由婚恋并没有想象中甜美，自主选择的丈夫却给了自己致命打击，为人妻的经历是那么不堪回首。初为人媳，让自己感觉像掉进了冷酷的冰窖，当明慧、淑慧<sup>7</sup>两个女儿陆续降世，她为做母亲而欣喜，也为丈夫及其家人的冷漠而痛心无奈。小雅在与曾三清进行访谈后如此记述：

“面对丈夫的不负责任，她只好自己肩负起抚养两个女儿的重任。比起普通女性，她的生活少了一份安逸，少了一份甜蜜，更多了一份艰辛，多了一份奔波劳累。因此，她的身上也就比普通女人多了一些坚强，多了一份勇敢，多了一份智慧。”（小雅，2010）

纵使生活困苦艰辛，她终于还是熬了过来。

娜姐莉·高柏（Natalie Goldberg）提到用写作去表达自己，走出寂寞，与所有曾经孤单的人相濡以沫并互相怜惜；写作时，引领自己在心里想起某人，想着要向他倾诉你的生活；透过写作，让自己靠向另一个寂寞的灵魂。（参见娜姐莉·高柏，2002：237）曾三

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<sup>7</sup>何明慧、何淑慧在印尼华文歌坛是小有名气的歌星，被誉为“姐妹花”。何淑慧还秉承母亲的文学才华，她创作的《山雾》是印华女作家的第一部长篇爱情小说。然而，她们的婚姻也充满波折与辛酸。

清在家庭中无疑是一个孤独的受压抑者，她的寂寞是不为人解的苦衷。在孤苦无告的深渊里挣扎了几十年后，她终于用笔发出声音，把自己释放给一切寂寞的心灵。她开始为自己写作，也为同命相怜的人写作，去倾诉女人的内心。在自传中发出压抑已久的心声：

跟丈夫的相处，不知是幸福还是不幸，晚年从完全了解到产生隔膜、矛盾，相对无言，形同陌路人。对他无视于家庭的观念，连带自私自利的心情，以及虚伪，狡狴，欺骗，阴险的行为，在他圆滑善变的态度下，掩饰得很完美。对他的劣性，并不是“知无不言，言无不尽”因为总要替自己保留一些“面子”。（曾三清，1998：后记）

她的难言苦衷，既是家庭的不幸，也是女性的悲歌，欲言又止的隐讳话语是真实的性情流露。一方面，难言之隐标示出女性的宽宏大量，这种弱势群体的无奈令人顿生恻隐。另一方面，隐忍也是中华传统价值观牢牢套在女性精神上的枷锁，深深烙印的妇德观念仍旧羁绊女性的抗争。她以情真意切的自传去抒写心路，其用意在于对现实中女性苦难的陈述，也是对标榜父权制的男性的抵御，以期引起人们的同情与正视。恰如破茧之蝶的挣扎，她以倾诉的方式去发人深省，以自我激励的方式去抚慰痛楚，而不是以激烈的方式去对抗。

20 世纪初，曾三清的父母追随先人足迹南下寻梦，成为寄居南洋的“新客”。父亲是一个平凡的乡下农夫兼木匠，因家境贫寒而背井离乡投靠锡江的亲戚。初到印尼，他就做起湖北人的老行当，学习镶牙的手艺，并以此维持家计。<sup>8</sup>母亲勤俭持家，在内忙于家务，在外则帮父亲找生意。南洋的创业之途遍布荆棘，父母克勤克俭撑起一个挡风避雨的家庭。经历了荷兰殖民统治、日治时期、印

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<sup>8</sup> 19 世纪 70 年代至日本南侵前夕，从印尼各籍的华侨职业情况来看，在从事商业活动的华侨中，湖北人多营镶牙业。（李学民、黄昆章，2005：237）由于地域、亲缘等因素影响，早期的华侨职业往往出现相同籍贯在某一行业中占优势的现象。

尼独立、苏哈托时代、改革时期，她的历史叙事采用在场视角，以“大我”的国家忧患为“面”，然而多轻描淡写，其政治反思与参与意识不明显。东瑞称《挣扎》是一部华人的血泪史，也是一部华人家庭奋斗史，更是一部华人女性的生存挣扎史。（参见曾三清，1998：序）作者说自己的回忆录像一面照妖镜，在镜前的自我剖析，映出一个女人的真身，也照出了心中之魔。以妖自嘲，恰恰反衬出坦然的情怀，这是敢于面对现实的勇气，在磨难中奋起，走出女性的挣扎。她的生命中有两个重要男人，父亲令她又爱又恨又眷恋，丈夫让她在期望与失望的痛苦中沉浮。母亲对男人的不满是以绝食抗拒，“我”的不满则以写作去倾诉。她所寻觅的女性之路并不明朗，然而她并没有放弃。她以职业女性的身份去实现经济的独立，以贤妻良母的形象去支撑家庭，以慈善仁爱之心去关注族群与社会。她的辛酸遭遇发人深省，她不懈追寻的勇气令人赞叹。由此而言，她是一位敢于倾诉、揭露、批评一切不公平现象的新女性。

### 结语

在这些传记作家中，黄兼博的亮点在于女性的职业光辉，林玉玲、思静以回忆录挖掘自我的伤痕岁月，尤今以四部传记勾勒自己多方位的生活画面，郁金香与曾三清则以实中带虚的自传小说去表现生命历程。林玉玲的学历与学术造诣最高，她有着强烈的女性意识与批判精神；黄兼博是长期从事广播事业的职业女性，其公务员身份洋溢着浓郁的爱国热忱；思静与曾三清最为年长，二人皆来自草根阶层，都以朴实的言辞展现女性的辛酸遭际，她们代表着隐忍且坚韧的女性；尤今与郁金香相对年轻，她们追求自我的意识也较强烈。就仅有的两部自传小说而论，郁金香与曾三清所处的时代与国情都有较大差异，后者的经历较前者更为曲折而丰富。二者的创作都以女性书写为核心，将真实的自我呈现于大众眼前，凸显出女性自立的坚韧与勇气，也展现出两国女性所面对的社会、家庭、爱情、工作等多重问题。相比之下，曾三清面临的困境尤甚，她经受

着更多的家国之恨、族群之痛、母语之伤，她的书写也感人至深。六位女作家都以娴熟的自传去书写，抒发出华人女性的心声。这些自传都具有在地化视角，深入当地的性别、族群、社会等领域，并对历史进行近乎原生态的逼真还原。就自传的真实度而言，它具有一定的历史学、社会学、人类学价值，堪称记录当地华人生态的报告文学。她们通过传记书写，极其真实地展露自我，表现出不同时代的女性成长轨迹。个体小传是对历史大传的补充，自我书写需要极大魄力，她们的行动将不断冲击马华、新华与印华女性的未来图景。

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# **Autobiographies of Malaysian, Singaporean and Indonesian Chinese Female Writers**

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**Abstract:** This article looks at some autobiographical works produced by Malaysian, Singaporean and Indonesian Chinese female writers, all of which focus mainly on woman's self-reflection and issues that affect women. These autobiographies explore their individual feelings and their desire to speak out for Southeast Asian women. Some of the autobiographies that are outstanding include those of Shirley Geok-lin Lim and Huang Jianbo from Malaysia, Si Jing, You Jin and Yu Jinxiang from Singapore, and Zeng Sanqing from Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Chinese female writers, autobiography writing



# 研究随笔



# 儒学复兴与当代社会的发展\*\*

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在儒学文化圈中，现代社会的发展与儒学的复兴是分不开的，这是由于历史的原因所形成。儒学要适应时代的发展，就必须现代化。包括儒学在内的任何思想文化既然是时代的产物，就必须适应社会历史发展的客观需要，而不是让社会的发展去适应某种思想。由此观点出发来看待儒学与现代社会的关系，便可得出这样的结论：儒学中凡有利于促进现代社会发展的思想因素，就应继承发扬和综合创新；凡阻碍现代社会发展的思想因素，就应批判和清理。儒学在当代社会及当代新文化中的位置，取决于儒学自身的价值，它在何种程度上能够满足现代化及现代社会的需要；以及人们对它进行现代审视、反思和诠释，如何去实现儒学的现代转化。儒学必须适应工业文明、商业文明的需求，应把现代文明中合理的内容吸收进去，包括全球意识，儒学中“天下为公”的思想，体现了一定程度的全球意识。

## 一、儒学复兴的背景

儒学自孔子时候起就自觉地传承着夏、商、周三代的文化并加以损益，从历史上看它曾是中华民族文化发育、成长的根，我们不能割裂这个文化传统。儒学在全球范围，虽不处于官学地位，但在

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中国有两千年时间，儒学居社会意识形态领域的正统地位。宋代新儒学即程朱理学还成为东亚国家如日本、朝鲜、越南等国家的官学，这是中国唯一输出外国而成为其官方学说的思想学说。然自清王朝被推翻以来，儒学已丧失了官学地位。儒学在近些年的复兴，具有历史和时代的必然性。在中国大陆及台港等地，提倡读经，诵读儒家经典已蔚然成风，以经典中体现的民族精神和精华作为人生的指导和行为的准则，是有益的，并已取得初步成效，令人注目。

在西方政治和西学的冲击下，中国仍连续 30 年快速发展。上世纪末，中国大陆学术界热烈讨论和合学与和谐思想文化，探讨儒学中可能蕴含着的有别于西方文化的普世价值。至新世纪初，随着经济和社会发展到一定的程度和阶段，中国大陆官方提出建设“和谐社会”的战略诉求，而在儒家思想中包含着大量的和谐、和合思想文化的资源则可资吸取和借鉴。从儒学特质看，有很强的包容性，各种思想、主张都可以吸纳、包容，这是儒学的特质。尽管人与自然相比，人的地位更为重要，但儒学并不把自然看作异己力量，而是主张人与自然和谐相处，认为天人是相通的，倡“天人合一”，“万物与吾一体”之说。这与西方文化重视人与自然，以及人与人之间的分别对立的观念确有不同。故中国文化十分注重和谐局面的保持，求大同存小异，成为人们普遍接受的思维原则。主张爱其所同，敬其所异。发扬此种精神，有利于维护世界和平及环境保护，也有助于维护民族团结和社会稳定。

在上世纪 80 年代的文化讨论中，“复兴儒学”的人士提出，儒家思想具有永恒的价值，传统儒学可以作为中国实现现代化的思想原则和精神动力，可以解决当代中国存在的问题。在学术讨论会上，有人提出宋明理学可以作为社会主义精神文明的“直接来源”，可以“拿来就用”。<sup>1</sup>也有大陆学者发表文章，强调“中国大陆当前最严重的问题不是民主政治与经济发展问题，而是民族生命四处飘荡，民族精神彻底丧失的问题，……而要安立民族生命，恢复民族精

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<sup>1</sup> 据 1981 年 10 月在杭州召开的国际宋明理学讨论会上冯友兰先生的发言。

神，就必须复兴儒学。”（蒋庆，1989）这些方面表明，“复兴儒学”思潮在当今中国大陆不断地漫延扩展，并产生了一定的影响。

儒学是历史的产物，今天在全球化、现代化的时代，我们应如何看待儒学复兴？我认为应该结合当代社会的发展来看，正因为儒家学说的内涵具有促进当代社会发展的一面，所以儒学复兴具有客观的历史必然性和当代价值。

回顾儒学发展的历史，儒学在以往各历史时期的发展，都是在回应了时代的挑战，解决当时重大社会问题之后才得以发展创新的。如宋代新儒学面对外来文化佛教的挑战和儒家经学式微、伦常扫地、思想失向，社会价值观念亟待重建的严峻局面和各种社会问题，当时学者就以儒家伦理为本位，批判地吸取佛、道精致的思辨哲学，结合社会发展的需要，创建以“天理”论为标志的理学思想体系，把儒学发展到一个新的阶段。

## 二、儒学的发展回应时代的挑战

当今时代，儒学要得到发展，也须认真回应时代的挑战，发挥儒学内在的固有价值，以解决当今世界和社会发展所面临的冲突和各种重大社会问题。这些挑战和问题包括：全球化和高新技术迅猛发展的挑战，文明之间和价值观的冲突，经济和政治利益的冲突，随着经济的发展而社会日益发生深刻变革的挑战，人与自然的冲突、生态环境破坏、人与社会的冲突、道德衰退、贪污腐化、家庭蜕变、毒品走私，以及长期存在而尚未得到很好解决的科技化、工业化与道德人文分裂的危机等等。

面对这些挑战，儒学理应做出积极的回应，化解冲突，解决矛盾和重大社会问题。在经济全球化和知识经济、高科技迅猛发展的背景下，使儒学与现代科技相结合，而不是相互脱节；积极参与文化交流，与西方等各种文明展开对话，既认同自己的文明价值，又尊重其他文化传统；发扬儒学把个人价值置于社会价值之中的价值观，化解人与社会的矛盾和冲突；推进和完善现代民主，把时代民



主政治与儒家基本的道德人文观念结合起来；继承和创新儒学的和谐精神及“仁者以天地万物为一体”、天人合一的环境保护思想，构建和谐社会、和谐世界，树立人与自然和谐相处的生态伦理观，以解决全球面临的生态问题；继承和改造儒学的“德治”思想及“天理治国论”，发扬其优长，使之与现代法治观念相结合，以治理道德衰退、贪污腐化、家庭蜕变等各种社会问题；并将儒家道德人文与现代科技、现代科学精神相结合，最终以道德理性主导工具理性和感性欲望，这正是一个民族和社会延续和正常发展的基本准则。

儒学复兴应与当代社会的发展紧密结合。儒学研究属文化建设的范畴，包括儒学在内的各种思想文化既然是时代的产物，就应适应时代变迁和社会发展的客观需要，而不是让社会的发展去适应某种思想文化。也就是说，儒学研究不是为了发思古之幽情，而是为了探讨和总结历史上思想文化发展的客观规律、发展线索、历史经验教训及对后世和现代社会的影响，为现代社会的发展提供一定的借鉴。因此，对儒学的研究，应把历史的观点与现实的观点结合起来，以探讨儒学与社会发展的关系。拓宽研究领域，贴近社会及思想文化发展的现实，对儒学及其影响作现代审视、反思，挖掘其现代意义，回应时代的挑战。并放眼东方和世界，在当今世界多元文化碰撞、交流与融合中，探讨儒学的东方文化意义，加强与东方及世界各国的学术文化交流，使儒学研究与现代社会、现代文明的发展相适应、相结合，克服其中的保守过时的成份和糟粕、流弊，弘扬其合理思想和超越时代的有价值的成份和精粹，为新时代建设和谐社会、和谐世界提供健康文明的启示。并在全球意识下，融合诸文明、诸文化之优长，而共同创造人类未来的新文化。我们现在已迈进一个全球化的新时代。西化和现代化理论所预设的以启蒙精神为主的欧美文明被奉为人类进步和发展的典范已受到了质疑，在新的全球化时代，现代化可以具有不同的文化形式，因为新时代的精神传统（包括西方之外的印度教、伊斯兰教、中国儒学中的儒学和佛道二教）所孕育的人文意识会与日俱增。只有通过对话

才能为全球社群开辟一条和平共存、同舟共济的康庄大道。虽然文明之间的矛盾不可能在一夜之间消解，但尽量减少因矛盾而激发的冲突，避免因冲突而导致的抗争是人类长治久安的当务之急。有学者指出，儒学中所体现的具有涵盖性的人文精神是中华民族可以提供全球社群的丰富资源。因此，除了大家熟悉的普世价值如自由、法治、人权、市场经济、民主政治和市民社会来自西方外，儒学中影响深远的儒家传统价值如“己所不欲，勿施于人”的恕道，“推己及人”的仁道，以及“和而不同”的共生共处之道亦是文明对话不可或缺的基本原则。这些儒学中的精华亦应成为普世价值，而对世界文明的发展和现代化做出贡献。儒学与西学的融合是在当代文化语境中传承和发展儒学，促使儒学走进新的文化境界的重要途径。儒学的传统正因为受到了西方观念的冲击，其中的糟粕被批判，儒学才可能被现代化所参照，它能够吸收西方的优秀价值，但亦要结合中国现代化的实际加以创新发展。因此，振兴儒学，要注重儒学的实践性，离开了现代化社会发展的实践的儒学是没有生命力的。

### 三、推广和谐思想

思考儒学复兴如何向世界扩散和发展方向的问题，其中一个重要的途经就是适应当今世界和平、发展、合作这三大人类社会的主题，而大力宣传推广儒学中的和谐思想，为建设和谐世界提供思想智慧的渊泉和理论指导，这具有十分重要的现实意义，也是儒学重要价值之所在。

作为中国传统学术文化的儒学，含有丰富的和谐、和合思想的内涵，儒学的一个重要精神，就是“和”，非常注重和谐，倡导和平，这形成儒学的一个突出特点，经过时代的创新改造和推广，可为当今时代建设和谐世界提供可资借鉴的理论依据。

众所周知，包括和、和合在内的和谐思想是儒学基本的人文精神的重要组成部分，在历史上产生了深远影响，至今也有重要的现

实借鉴意义和价值，值得认真地总结和吸取。和谐精神是中国文化和中华民族的基本精神之一。孔子提倡“和为贵”（《论语·学而》），《周易》重视人与自然、人与人之间的和谐统一关系。

儒家学派创始人孔子以和作为人文精神的核心，在处理人与人之间关系时，强调“君子和而不同，小人同而不和”（《论语·子路》）。既承认差异，又和合不同的事物，通过互济互补，达到统一、和谐。这与“同而不和”，取消不同事物的差异的专一观念形成对照。孔子门人有子曰：“礼之用，和为贵。先王之道斯为美，小大由之。”（《论语·学而》）这代表了孔子的思想，和指适合，亦指和谐，即礼与和是互相联系的，礼的作用是和，而和是维系礼的手段。认为治国处事、礼仪制度，以和为价值标准，来构建一个理想的和谐社会。

不仅孔子，孟子亦然，儒家代表人物孟子提出“天时不如地利，地利不如人和”（《孟子·公孙丑下》）的著名论断，强调与天时、地利相比，人和的重要性。

《易传》提出十分重要的太和观念，讲“保合太和，乃利贞”（《周易·乾卦·彖传》）。重视合与和的价值，认为保持完满的和谐，万物就能顺利发展。

先秦儒家著名人物荀子虽有天人相分的思想，但也重视和。他说：“义以分则和，和则一，一则多力，多力则强，强则胜物。”（《荀子·王制》）认为事物虽有分，但分之适宜则和，和即协调不同之事物，使之达到统一，统一则有力量，有力量则强，强则取胜外物，以为人类服务。

儒家中和思想也贯穿着和、和谐的原则，这在历史上产生了重要影响。《礼记·中庸》云：“喜怒哀乐之未发，谓之中；发而皆中节，谓之和。中也者，天下之大本也；和也者，天下之达道也。致中和，天地位焉，万物育焉。”意即喜怒哀乐等人的感情未发之前，谓之中，此中作为一种思想和伦理原则，存在于内，是天下万物的根本、人的感情的发源地。人的感情表现出来，符合了中的原

则，就是和。掌握了中和的道理，天地万物便有其根据，人的道德也才能达到尽善尽美的境界。

其后，历代学者都很重视《中庸》提出的中和之义，把它作为思想方法论及道德修养论的基本原则，强调一切事物都要符合中，中的运用要贯彻到人的感情流露等各种事物中去，防止违背中和的原则而出现种种偏激、不适当的行为。

儒家强调执其两端取其中，讲中和，不走极端，办事恰到好处，不偏不倚，既不过头，也无不及，对矛盾双方都提出规范和要求，不过分偏向一方，否则将导致统一体的破裂，这是儒家精神所反对的。由此而产生“和为贵”、“仇必和而解”的重和谐思想，在历史上影响深远。重和谐，重矛盾双方的统一，不走极端，不随意打破有机统一体，这不仅成为人们普遍遵循的思想方法，而且成为儒学文化精神的重要组成部分之一。持中重和，以中为原则，来实现天下和谐，这是儒家文化所注重和维护的。

儒学中的和谐思想的基本特征是强调天、地、人之间的和谐与统一，追求在调和机制中保持宇宙、自然与社会的和谐共荣。它不仅是一种崇高的社会理想，甚至是一种具有哲学意味的心灵境界。天下平和，世界大同，是建构和谐社会的价值追求。有学者指出，重视和提倡和谐思想，并不是不讲矛盾、斗争和冲突，而是既客观地承认矛盾、冲突和差异，又积极妥善地解决矛盾、冲突，把斗争限定在一定的适用范围内，使诸多异质要素、各个不同的事物在对立统一、相互依存的统一体中，求同存异，形成总体上的平衡、和谐、合作，由此促进事物的不断更新、发展。科学理解和大力弘扬和谐思想，加强对儒学和谐思想的研究和推广，是建设和谐世界的需要，具有重要的现实意义。促进人与人、人与自然、人与社会的和谐发展，是人类社会发展的永恒主题。“和而不同”的共生共处之道亦是文明对话不可或缺的基本原则。当今国际社会已进入新的和平与发展的时期，然经济、政治竞争，以及军事竞争亦影响着各国。对国家安全观和国家利益的各自不同的理解与追求，导致局部危机在热点地区时有发生，并有愈演愈烈的趋势。事实上，世界上

有许多国家和民族，有不同的文明与文化。不能只有一个模式、一种要求。那种以西方文明排斥其他文明，抹煞各种文明相互间的交流、吸取与融合，将文明的差异极端化，企图以西方文化及价值观为标准来规范当今社会及其发展方向的做法与世界文化多元发展的走向极不协调；以一国及个别国家的利益凌驾于世界各国利益之上的作为也极不得人心，因而遭到了许多国家和人民的反对。国际社会应该是多元而又互补的，既冲突又相交流合作的。国与国之间的冲突、矛盾难以避免，但不应诉诸武力，而应以和平的方式化解冲突，摒弃冷战思维。在这方面，儒学和谐思想可提供解决冲突、和平共处、互不干涉、共同发展的思想理论的指导，提供反对霸权主义、建设和谐世界的价值评判标准，使人类文明在迎接新时期的挑战中，相互吸取优长，融会贯通，而共同创造新时代人类未来的文明和文化。

儒家经典《尚书》的第一篇《尧典》就提出了“协和万邦”，强调以和睦、礼仪来协和天下之各国。《左传》隐公六年也说：“亲仁善邻，国之宝也。”这些正好表达了儒家文化礼仪天下，与邻为善，以邻为伴的和平友好的对外交往原则。我们应在和平共处原则基础上加强各个国家的友好合作。坚持与邻为善、以邻为伴的对外相处原则，推动区域合作机制建设，把务实合作上升到新水平，并扩大国家间的共同利益，妥善处理分歧，推进交流与合作。积极参与和开展多边外交，在国际和地区事务中发挥建设性作用。扩大和深化对外政治、经济和文化交流，建设和谐世界，为增进同世界各国人民之间的了解与友谊，增进各国人民福祉，实现互利双赢、互利多赢而努力。和谐世界的建立，应致力于实现各国的和谐共处，致力于实现全球经济的和谐发展，致力于实现不同文明的和谐进步。而儒学和谐文化可为此提供思想智慧的源泉，为世界开太平。这体现了儒学复兴促进当代社会发展的现实价值和意义。

以孔子为宗师的儒学文化，经时代的发展而注入生机，又能够与时俱进，回应时代的挑战而走向复兴。并以开放的精神，不断地广泛吸取外来文化的优长，有效地发展自身的理论，而成为时代精

神的精华。这些精神包括：开放精神、人文精神、和谐精神、理性主义精神、主体意识、忧患意识、求实精神、实践精神、重道德意识、积极有为奋发向上的自强精神、群体意识等等。这些精神构成当代儒学的特质，是儒学能够有效地回应时代的挑战，历经万难而与时俱进的内在生命源泉，不仅成为东亚地区的文化精神和伦理传统，而且亦辐射到世界各地，成为人类文明的重要组成部分，由此可见在文明对话中，复兴和发展儒学的重要性。

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Thesis





# **Teacher Burnout and its Relations to Perfectionism and Coping Strategies:**

## **A Conceptual Paper**

**Chong Yee Joan\***

**Abstract:** Balkin, White and Bodey (2002) defined teacher burnout as the loss of drive to continue in the teaching profession. Burnout syndrome occurs among teachers when teachers realize they are not reaching their ideal goals and develop symptoms including fatigue, hopelessness, lack of power, frustration, lack of enthusiasm, psychosomatic reactions, depression, anxiety (Talmor, Reiter & Feigin, 2005). Manassero, Buades, Torrens, Ramis, Vazquez and Ferrer (2006), reported that teachers suffer from pathological syndromes because of the changes in society, growing complexity of teacher's role and increased demands from school environment. The study foresees that neurotic perfectionism will predict teacher burnout and determine whether neurotic perfectionists would suffer from the burnout syndrome. In addition, it will test the mediation effect of coping strategies.

**Keywords:** teacher burnout, perfectionism, coping strategies

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## BACKGROUND

Burnout is a widespread concern and phenomenon across many disciplines. The term 'burnout' coined by Herbert Freudenberger in 1974, has been referred to those who suffered from the burnout syndrome: emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and reduction in personal accomplishment (Takayesu, Ramoska, Clark, Hansoti, Dougherty, Freeman, Weaver, Chang & Gross, 2014). The term 'burnout' was not widely used until the early eighties and was often used interchangeably with stress. Burnout is a potential result of prolonged exposure to stress and it is most common in human service occupations (McShane & Von Glinow, 2000). According to Maslach and Leiter (1997) there are three phases or components in burnout – emotional exhaustion (EE), depersonalisation (DP) and reduction in personal accomplishment (PA). Burnout is most common in individuals involved in caring professions such as education and healthcare services (Mukundan, Zare, Abdolvahed Zarifi, Umi Kalthom Abdul Manaf & Husniah Sahamid, 2015). As human service professionals often engage in helping clients with their problems, the working relation may be intensified because of the negative feelings such as anger, fear and aggression that clients may experience. These intense conditions can be frustrating and emotionally draining for human service workers and may lead to burnout. The significance of burnout research conducted to date has implied substantial costs to both individuals and organisations because of high turnover, absenteeism, attrition, decrease in performance, job dissatisfaction, diminished organisational commitment, lower quality of personal life and psychological well-being (Maslach & Leiter, 1997; Schwab, Jackson & Schuler, 1986).

Most of burnout studies focused on the effects of the environment factors but individual factors may also be causes of burnout (Jepson & Forrest, 2006). The same authors suggested that, in order to find interventions to reduce the problems of teacher's stress and burnout, it is considered important to identify the main contributory factors. Furthermore, in the teaching profession, teachers will be exposed to similar intrinsic job factors and environmental stressors are expected to be relatively constant for those working in similar settings. Findings from Jepson and Forrest (2006) also suggested that individual differences are

important to understand why some people suffer from work-related stress and others from the same work environment do not suffer from similar level of stress or burnout.

Personality variables have been used as moderators or mediators in most burnout research (Guglielme & Tatrow, 1998; Bakker, Van Der Zee, Lewig & Dollard, 2006). Personality variables have been associated with increased risk of burnout and mental ill health (Hochwalder, 2006; Kokkinos, 2007). Personality is a factor that cuts across all demographic variables and incorporates people's actions and perception. However, there are a few studies that have examined personality factors such as perfectionism and burnout. Perfectionism is more widely researched in psychopathology than in organisational psychology literatures. Early theorists such as Ellis, Adler and Horney (1946) in psychodynamics theory viewed perfectionism as a part of a personality construct and considered perfectionism as a dysfunctional characteristic that is strongly linked to psychological distress, job stress, depression, anxiety, hopelessness, workaholism and other psychological illness. Manassero, Buades, Torrens, Ramis, Vazquez and Ferrer (2006), suggested that teachers do suffer from pathological syndromes because of the changes in society and educational system. This led to the increase of teacher's role complexity and school environment demands. Pacht (1984), reported that neurotic perfectionism could be linked to numerous problems including Type A behaviour, depression, anxiety and compulsive personality disorder. Neurotic or maladaptive perfectionism refers to a person that sets a high personal standard, has an ideal expectation but is seldom satisfied with his or her own final achievement. Consequently, this may severely reduce his or her self-esteem. Psychodynamics theory explains that people choose teaching (or the ideal image of teaching) as their career firstly because they are able to find significance in their work, able to educate and inspire their students. Secondly, it is attributed to childhood experience, family dynamics, and familial vocational choices (Pines & Yanai, 2001). However, when a teacher's hopes and expectations (consciously or unconsciously) are unmet, he or she would feel hopeless and helpless and eventually experiences burnout (Pines, 2002). Therefore, neurotic perfectionism is important in predicting burnout.

The significance of the study is not only in theory, but also in practice. The study will probably provide valuable information particularly to teachers and other parties involved in policy making such as the Ministry of Education and school administrators on how to manage and hinder burnout, which may degrade teachers' performance. Teachers are valuable resources to the Malaysian job market as they are responsible for educating future Malaysian youths. Students may view teachers as important role models after their parents. Thus, dedicated, qualified and healthy (physically and mentally) teachers are those who are able to contribute to the well being of the society and the most crucial in educating and producing a large pool of well-educated, knowledge rich, physically and mentally fit and young Malaysians with high morality.

#### MALAYSIAN SCHOOL TEACHERS AND BURNOUT

In this study, Malaysian school teachers have been selected partly due to the problems faced by the teaching profession (NUTP, 2005). With the increasing pace of social change, there is a rise in demands on teachers, educational reforms, lack of resources, deteriorating social image of teachers, misbehaviour of students and demanding parents. These could possibly be factors behind teachers' distress and burnout (Toro & Ursu, 2006). As mentioned earlier, burnout is a phenomenon that usually occurs in human service occupations such as teaching. These human service occupations spend most of their time with people/clients. A teacher's job is a job of high demand and requires a lot of flexibility because teachers are not only involved in educating students with a wide range of learning abilities but they also need to provide enrichment activities to students. In 1996, a national report presented in the 45<sup>th</sup> session of the International Conference, Geneva, expressed that Malaysian society has a high expectation of teachers to handle multiple roles apart from teaching. The National Union of The Teaching Profession (NUTP) has also presented a report on teachers' stress to the Ministry of Education in 2006 and found that in 2005, 67% of the Malaysian teachers suffered from stress. The causes were attributed to the high expectation of demanding parents. Furthermore, there are about 50

cases of psychological illness among teachers each year, having an insurance payout of RM2million in total (NUTP, 2005). These cases mostly occur in urban areas or in schools where the population of students is high. This is consistent with burnout research findings that revealed most burnout cases occurred among young school teachers in secondary schools where teacher stress and burnout are more prevalent in a larger school system (Balkin, White & Bodey, 2002). In addition, the increased emphasis on the role of schools in creating a knowledge rich society from Malaysian schools has received a lot of pressure from various segments of society. On a daily basis, school teachers are subjected to school principals' and education department's demands. This phenomenon might partly explain why school teachers are vulnerable to stress and burnout. As mentioned, ideal expectations and perfection from teachers themselves and society may also have a negative impact on teachers' psychological well-being (Pines, 2002).

Bauer, Stamm, Virnich, Wissing, Muller, Wirsching and Schaarschmidt (2006) have noted that school teachers are significantly correlated with psychological and psychosomatic symptoms. Another study by Toro and Ursu (2006) indicated a high burnout level among teachers which showed a significant positive correlation between their irrational beliefs. The personality variable such as perfectionism in schoolteachers can be challenging because the work itself (teaching) can be ambiguous, over extended oneself for a good cause, too much attentiveness and expectations from oneself and others, which may lead to a stressful situation (Flett, Hewitt & Hallett, 1995). Renshaw in 1997, has identified at least fifteen problems contributed to burnout of teachers and one is perfection.

## PERFECTIONISM

In general, perfectionism has been widely studied among children and adolescents. Authors in perfectionism research, recognised that perfectionism has negative influence and consequence on individuals. These negative influences and consequences may affect the well-being of the person. The early definition of perfectionism arose from anecdotal observation and was mostly unidimensional in nature (Hewitt & Flett,

1991). As a result of further research, researchers such as Hewitt, Flett, Frost, Rosenblate (1990) developed the multidimensional model of perfectionism and introduced it in early 1990s. Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale – Hewitt and Flett (1991) and Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale- Frost et.al (1990) are widely used by researchers in perfectionism studies.

Early psychodynamic theorists such as Adler and Horney, viewed striving for perfection as an indicator of neuroticism and very similar to the idea of self-actualization (Hierarchy of Needs by Abraham Maslow). According to Adler (1951), “perfection” and “ideal” are negative connotations. Perfection, occurs when an individual sets an exceptionally high personal standard that one is unable to reach. Horney (1946) similarly described a person who strives for perfection as having a neurotic need. However, Hamachek (1978) pointed out the existence of two forms of perfectionism: normal versus neurotic perfectionism. Normal perfectionism, by itself, can be self-motivating. A normal perfectionist can set a high personal standard and yet able to accept failure and be satisfied with his/her effort. In contrast, a neurotic perfectionist is unable to accept minor mistakes and be satisfied with his/her achievement.

Higgin’s (1987) self-discrepancy theory can be readily applied to illustrate the inner conflicts faced by perfectionists. The self-discrepancy theory advocates three main domains of the self: (a) the actual self, (b) the ideal self and (c) the ought self. This theory proposes that people are motivated to reach a condition where their self-concept matches their personally relevant self guides (Higgins, 1989). In the case of neurotic perfectionists who set a high and unrealistic goal for themselves, they may find their inner conflict difficult to extinguish unless they adjust their expectations.

Fry (1995) conducted a research using perfectionism as a moderator between hassle and health outcomes (self-esteem, burnout and physical symptoms of ill health) among a sample of thirty-three women executives. Fry’s findings suggested that unrealistic expectation leads to emotional exhaustion and a reduced level of efficacy among women executives. Perfectionism is viewed as an ineffective coping effort and is vulnerable to burnout. Neurotic perfectionists always set an ideal and unrealistic high standard for themselves and others and may be prone to

burnout because one is always trying to reduce anxious concerns about weakness and yet never satisfied with the continued efforts to prove oneself. In 2005, Stoeber and Rennert conducted a study regarding perfectionism amongst school teachers and its relations with job stress, burnout, and coping. The study found that amongst teachers who strived for perfection, many experienced negative reactions to imperfection and stress as well as burnout. Therefore, it is proposed that,

*Proposition 1: It is predicted that perfectionism is significantly linked to burnout (emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and reduction in personal accomplishment).*

## COPING STRATEGIES

The second part of this study is to test the mediation effect of coping strategies. One of the most popular and widely used theories in stress and coping is the Transactional Theory of Stress and Coping, by Richard Lazarus and Susan Folkman (1987). According to Lazarus and Folkman (1987), coping refers to the behavioural and cognitive efforts one uses to manage the internal and external demands of a stressful situation. The theory identified two processes, cognitive appraisal and coping, as important mediators between stressful person-environment and outcomes. Coping can be classified into two main types: problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping. Problem-focused coping refers to cognitive and behavioural efforts in an attempt to change the source of stress. On the other hand, emotion-focused coping refers to reducing unwanted physical and emotional arousal associated with stress. It is hypothesised that in the long-term, problem-focused coping strategies are considered as much more effective or adaptive than emotion-focused coping strategies. One of the least effective coping strategies is the escape avoidant coping. Escape avoidant coping refers to a person who neither focuses on the source of the stress nor his or her reactions to the stress. Within coping literature, and specifically within the context of human service environment, escape-avoidant coping strategy is one of the coping styles that has consistently shown to be a less effective method and has often resulted in a high level of stress, strain and burnout. Hence, in burnout



research, effective and non-effective coping strategies play important roles for the effectiveness of a person's response to burnout. Research has indicated that effective coping strategies contribute to stress and strain reduction, while non-effective coping strategies have shown to relate to burnout.

*Proposition 2: Non-effective coping style is significantly related to burnout.*

## PERFECTIONISM AND COPING

In theory, perfectionism and coping relationship should exist for several reasons. Examining the relationship between perfectionism and coping may provide a clearer understanding of why some teachers who work in a similar environment and job demand do not suffer from stress and burnout. In the perfectionism research, both normal and neurotic perfectionism have been linked with coping (Stoeber & Rennet, 2005; O'Connor & O'Connor, 2003; Flett, Russo & Hewitt, 2004). Neurotic perfectionism has been associated with emotion-focused coping (e.g. avoidant), while normal perfectionism has been correlated with both problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping. Neurotic perfectionists often procrastinate and avoid situations due to overwhelming sense of hopelessness. Theoretically, such personality traits should lead a person to use emotion-focused coping strategies, especially escape-avoidant over problem-focused coping strategies, as they usually perceived their performance as not 'good enough'. Dunkley and Blankstein (2000) conducted a study, which used structural equation modeling (SEM) to examine the role of two mediators, 'coping' and 'hassle', in the relation between neurotic perfectionism and current distress symptoms, including (depression, anger, and psychosomatic distress). The result of the study shows that ineffective coping (e.g. avoidant) was significantly related to distress and their findings are consistent with past research (e.g. Endler, Cosway, Sadler & Deary, 2000) which suggests that coping styles play an important role in various adjustment outcomes. Furthermore, the result implies that ineffective coping in a stressful situation is an important mediator to explain the

relation between neurotic perfectionism and distress. However, there is a lack of empirical research to determine how coping style might mediate the relationship between perfectionism and burnout.

*Proposition 3: Coping style mediates the relationship between perfectionism and burnout.*

## CONCLUSION

“The burn-out is on the tread-mill of his or her own devising, even though he or she ascribes it to external forces.” (Freudenberger, 1977, pg.27). Burnout arises in response to expectations placed upon us either by ourselves or others and whether at home or workplace. The problem of burnout as proposed by Freudenberger is the inner-directedness, closeness to oneself, over-commitment and a result of striving for high personal achievement or superiority (Vanheule, 2001). In general, most burnout literatures attributed burnout to external forces especially to work life factor and did not clearly indicate whether burnout is self-inflicted through an inherent tendency to be perfect or having an irrational belief that teaching is a much more conducive profession compared to others. At the end of the day, teaching is not only about educating students but also teaching students about facts of life. The positive behaviours teachers display during the students’ developmental years will definitely have a profound impact on the students’ future development. Based on these brief literature reviews, it is proposed that a personality characteristic such as perfectionism will predict negative psychological outcomes such as stress, depression, anxiety, helplessness, hopelessness and other related health outcomes in clinical and non-clinical settings. In addition, coping strategies will mediate the relationship between perfectionism and burnout.

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# **Comparison of Degree of Politeness Used between Genders during Discussions in English in Malaysia**

**Prakash Velloo\* & Joanne Fernandez George\*\***

**Abstract:** This article is a preliminary study in Malaysia related to Brown and Levinson (1987)'s framework of politeness. It addresses the interrelationship between the polite language items used in a group discussion during a conversation. This article discusses the degree of politeness used and compares the genders in the usage of polite language. It also exposes the sociolinguistic instruments that can be employed in the investigation of similarities and differences in intercultural encounters in use of English in Malaysia. This helps to shed some light on the emerging field of inter-culturality which can trespass theoretical assumptions and move on to identify the right tools and means used in a discussion at a pragmatic level.

**Keywords:** politeness, genders, language forms

## COMMUNICATION AND POLITENESS

According to Tannen (1995), communication is not as simple as saying what you mean but how you say and what you mean is crucial and differs from one person saying and written form. He added that the degree of politeness used in language is learned through the behaviour of men and women.

Haas (1979) argued that male speech and female speech have been observed to differ in their form, topic, content and use. This leads to the assumption that all known societies appear to use language as one of the

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means of marking out in the context of gender differences. For instance, Lakoff (1973) claimed that colour words like beige, lavender and adjectives like adorable, charming are commonly used by women but only very rarely by men. Women are also said to have their own vocabulary for emphasising certain effects on them, words and expressions such as so good, such lovely etc.

Realising this gap of discussion between women's and men's speech communication and the variations in their degree of politeness across cultures and contexts, there is a need to pursue a research in this field to learn more about it in depth based on the Malaysian setting. With the varied differences in cultures, customs, traditions, beliefs and religions in the plural society of Malaysia, there are bound to be differences between the genders.

#### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To identify the differences of degree of politeness used in the discussion of men and women.
2. To find out which gender is more focused on the usage of the polite language forms in a discussion between both genders.

#### OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

The sociolinguistic theoretical framework surrounding politeness was explored in the pivotal work of Brown and Levinson (1978), who stressed the importance of politeness in avoiding communication breakdown between individuals.

Gender is defined as the relations between men and women, both perceptual and material. Gender is not determined biologically, as a result of sexual characteristics of either women or men, but is constructed socially. It is a central organising principle of societies, and often governs the processes of production and reproduction, consumption and distribution. Despite this definition, gender is often misunderstood as being the promotion of women only. According to Bravo-Baumann (2000), gender relations affect household security, family well-being, planning, production and many other aspects of life.

## PAST STUDIES RELATED TO POLITENESS IN SPEAKING

Lakoff (1973) had argued that women have a different way of speaking from men. This is a way of speaking that reflects and produces a subordinate position in society. This argument was also used to assert that the powerless language of women disqualifies them from positions of power and authority. Thus, language itself serves as a tool of oppression. Language is learned as part of learning 'to be a woman', imposed on women by their societal norms, and in turn it keeps women in their place. Thus, the concept of gender is a social construction.

From the early age, girls are made conscious in almost every society about their gender. They are reminded that they are female and 'must speak' in the specific way and 'must not speak' in the way that their gender does not allow them to. Thus, focusing on language, we could see the primary tool of thought and perception is at the heart of who we are as individuals. We should remind ourselves and made conscious regarding this matter. Thus, the attempt is done to create the gender by either being a powerful gender or powerless gender. It is a commonly argued and accepted idea that most of the societies are patriarchal, the one that are in favour of men and are controlled and dominated by men. There are always arguments between genders to assert that women are oppressed and are powerless gender. It is also argued that this status of being a powerless gender also forces them to use different tactics such as being more polite and subservient to men in their speaking conversations.

According to Wang (2006), Korean language has neither grammatical gender nor gender-exclusive forms used only by men or women. The way of gender difference in Korean language is to look at the relative frequency of certain features occurring differently between men and women. Thus, Wang (2006) introduced several politeness devices and strategies of women which were originally included in Brown and Levinson's study (1987) to investigate whether Korean women use more polite forms than Korean men and other females outside of Korea. Tag questions are used frequently in both men's and women's language, but Wang (2006) said that using tag questions as a politeness device happens more in women's language. Hedges are widely used in Korea since modesty and humility are valued highly in Korean society. They are one of the most common politeness devices in women's language in general,



and also the Korean language has many hedges such as *chom* 'a little,' *mwo* 'something like that,' *kulsse* 'well, and several others. Using indirect request forms to reduce the impose by leaving a space for the final decision of the addressee, avoiding taboo words, and avoiding interruption and overlapping are linguistic strategies actively used among Korean women.

People in the past were smart; this is because they deployed different mechanisms to show politeness. Some of these mechanisms and strategies include ideas like being tactful, modest, and nice to other people. Politeness is a set of behaviours which can be inferred unequivocally. It describes the behaviour which is so called formal and distancing with the intention of not to intrude or impose other genders in a communication. This is implied by expressing respect towards the person being talked and avoiding offending them no matter in what way also. It is the behaviour which actively expresses positive concern for others. At the same time, it is non-imposing, distancing behaviour (Holmes, 1995). The widely discussed concept in politeness is that of "face". In pragmatics, the face is the public self-image. The politeness in oneself is showing the awareness and caring for another person's face. While according to Yule (1996), it has both a negative and a positive face. The negative face is the need to be independent and to have freedom from imposition. The positive face is the need to be connected, to belong, and to be a member of the group. It can be understood that the negative face is something happening in oneself while the positive face is the outer look of a person.

Furthermore, according to Bassiouney (2009), politeness is related to power and solidarity as politeness reflects a behaviour which expresses positive concern for others. It involves the social distance between people and involves various factors such as how much experience they have shared, how many social characteristics they share (religion, sex, age, region of origin, race, occupation, interests, etc.), how far they are prepared to share intimacies, and other factors. A distinction is made between negative politeness and positive politeness. The first is associated with power and the second with solidarity. Thus, negative politeness aims to preserve the addressee's freedom of action and space. It is a means of underlying the hierarchy and distance between the speaker

and addressee whereas, positive politeness, on the other hand, is associated with solidarity.

According to traditional Chinese culture, there was no discrimination toward women. Just as the Book of Songs: Women are beautiful, and men like such kind of women and like to pursue them. In traditional Chinese culture, men are masculine, while women are feminine. However, the Yin can restraint the Yang, that is to say, women can conquer men by their weakness, gentleness and softness.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Thirty two post SPM (Sijil Peperiksaan Malaysia) which is called Malaysian Certificate of Education respondents were interviewed in this study. They were selected from various backgrounds of education and occupation. Sixteen of them were female participants and the other sixteen were male participants. They were divided into eight groups consisting of four members in each group. There were two males and two females in each group. The participants were all Malay students from various backgrounds. Some students were excellent in their English language but some did have mother tongue interference in using the English Language. Their English proficiency level was intermediate in SPM (Sijil Peperiksaan Malaysia) examination. The ages were between eighteen and twenty.

In this study, all the data collected were based on group discussion of the participants. The tool used in the research was audio recorder. Each group was given the same topic of discussion. Therefore, the instruments used were interview questions where by each group got the same topic to be discussed.

This research was done by dividing all the thirty two participants simultaneously in groups of four. Each group was given a topic to be discussed. While the discussion was going on, the conversation was audio recorded. Each group member was named as M1, M2, F1 and F2 in each group. The audio recording was then reviewed to identify the strategies of politeness used. Later, the recording was replayed and the politeness strategy used was marked (as below).

Table 1: Criteria for showing politeness among respondents in each group  
(Adopted from Brown and Levinson (1987)).

CRITERIA FOR SHOWING POLITNESS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	S1	S2	S3	S4	
1) Thanking					
2) Taking blame and apologising					
3) Softening the force of requests					
4) Tag question					
5) Hedging					
<b>TOTAL</b>					

The above criteria were gathered from students' conversations in their group discussion based on the topic given. These data were later converted into percentage by gender and also by criteria. The figures will determine the differences of degree of politeness used between men and women.

## FINDINGS

Table 2: Results of Group 1 showing frequency of politeness of items tested

CRITERIA FOR SHOWING POLITNESS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	S1	S2	S3	S4	
1) Thanking	0	0	0	0	0
2) Taking blame and apologising	2	1	3	3	9
3) Softening the force of requests	0	0	4	3	7
4) Tag question	1	0	2	1	4
5) Hedging	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	3	1	9	7	

The above results are the outcome of Group 1. During the conversation, nobody used the thanking criteria but everyone used ‘taking blame and apologising’. On the other hand, ‘softening the force of requests’ was not seen in both the males but the females used it frequently. The tag question criteria was not used at all by Speaker 2 (male).

Table 3: Results of Group 2 showing frequency of politeness of items

CRITERIA FOR SHOWING POLITENESS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	S1	S2	S3	S4	
1) Thanking	0	0	0	0	0
2) Taking blame and apologising	0	0	2	3	5
3) Softening the force of requests	3	4	2	1	10
4) Tag question	3	4	2	1	10
5) Hedging	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	6	8	6	5	

During the conversation, nobody used the ‘thanking’ criterion. ‘Taking blame and apologising’ was only used by the female respondents in their group conversation. Furthermore, ‘softening the force of requests’ and ‘tag question’ criteria had equal amount of usage by both the genders as in the above table. Lastly, the hedging criteria was not used in the conversation.

Table 4: Results of Group 3 showing frequency of politeness of items tested

CRITERIA FOR SHOWING POLITENESS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	S1	S2	S3	S4	
1) Thanking	0	0	0	0	0
2) Taking blame and apologising	3	4	0	1	8
3) Softening the force of requests	1	2	4	1	8
4) Tag question	2	1	3	2	8
5) Hedging	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	6	7	7	4	

During the conversation, nobody used the ‘thanking’ criteria. The ‘taking blame’ and ‘apologising’ criteria was not only used by respondent 3 (female). Next, ‘softening the force of requests’ was used by everyone but speaker 3 used it frequently compared to the other speakers. Moreover, ‘tag question’ was used by everyone as seen in the above table. Lastly, ‘hedging’ was not famous among the respondents in the conversation.

Table 5: Results of group 4 showing frequency of politeness of items tested

CRITERIA FOR SHOWING POLITNESS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	S1	S2	S3	S4	
1) Thanking	0	0	0	0	0
2) Taking blame and apologising	2	1	4	2	9
3) Softening the force of requests	2	2	0	3	7
4) Tag question	2	0	1	2	5
5) Hedging	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	6	3	5	7	

During the conversation, nobody used ‘thanking’. ‘Taking blame and apologising’ was used by everyone and respondent 3 (female) used the most compared to others. Furthermore, ‘softening the force of requests’ was used by everyone except respondent 3 in the conversation. Next, the ‘tag question’ criterion was used by all except respondent 2 (male). The ‘hedging’ criterion was not used by anyone in the conversation.

Table 6: Results of Group 5 showing frequency of politeness of items tested

CRITERIA FOR SHOWING POLITENESS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	S1	S2	S3	S4	
1) Thanking	0	0	0	0	0
2) Taking blame and apologising	2	1	3	2	8
3) Softening the force of requests	1	0	1	0	2
4) Tag question	2	0	1	3	6
5) Hedging	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	5	1	5	5	

The above results are the outcome of Group 5. During the conversation, nobody used the 'thanking' criteria. However, the second criterion which is 'taking blame and apologising' was used by every member. 'Softening the force of requests' was not used by Speaker 2 (male) and Speaker 3 (female) in the conversation. The 'tag question' was used by every member except Speaker 2 (male). On the other hand, 'hedging' was not used at all by anyone.



Table 7: Results of group 6 showing frequency of politeness of items tested

CRITERIA FOR SHOWING POLITNESS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	S1	S2	S3	S4	
1) Thanking	0	0	0	0	0
2) Taking blame and apologising	1	3	1	0	5
3) Softening the force of requests	2	1	3	2	8
4) Tag question	4	0	2	3	9
5) Hedging	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	7	4	6	5	

The above results are the outcome of Group 6. During the conversation, nobody used the 'thanking' requests. However, 'taking blame and apologising' was used by every speaker except Speaker 4 (female). 'Softening the force of requests' was used by every member in the conversation but Speaker 2 (male) only used it once in the conversation. Furthermore, Speaker 1 (male) frequently used the 'tag question' criterion compared to the other members and Speaker 2 (male) did not use it during the conversation. Lastly, 'hedging' was not used by anyone in the conversation.

Table 8: Results of Group 7 showing frequency of politeness of items tested

CRITERIA FOR SHOWING POLITENESS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	S1	S2	S3	S4	
1) Thanking	0	0	0	0	0
2) Taking blame and apologising	0	1	2	1	4
3) Softening the force of requests	1	2	2	1	6
4) Tag question	1	0	3	1	5
5) Hedging	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	2	3	7	3	

The above results are the outcomes of Group 7. During the conversation, nobody used the ‘thanking’ criterion. The ‘taking blame and apologising’ criterion was not used by Speaker 1 (male) but the other members used it in the conversation. Next, ‘softening the force of requests’ was used by all the speakers in the conversation. Furthermore, ‘tag question’ criterion was frequently used by Speaker 3 (female) only but Speaker 2 (male) did not use it at all. Lastly, ‘hedging’ was not used by any of the speakers.

Table 9: Results of Group 8 showing frequency of politeness of items tested

CRITERIA FOR SHOWING POLITENESS	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL
	S1	S2	S3	S4	
1) Thanking	0	0	0	0	0
2) Taking blame and apologising	0	0	2	2	4
3) Softening the force of requests	0	1	2	3	6
4) Tag question	0	0	2	1	3
5) Hedging	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	0	1	6	5	

The above results are the outcome of Group 8. During the conversation, nobody used the ‘thanking’ criteria. ‘Taking blame and apologising’ was not used at all by the male speakers, only the female speakers used it in the conversation. Next, ‘softening the force of requests’ was not used by Speaker 1 (male) but the other speakers used it in the conversation. Moreover, ‘tag question’ criterion was not famous among the male speakers as compared to the female speakers in the group conversation. Lastly, all the speakers did not use the ‘hedging’ criterion in the conversation.

Table 10: Overall results showing frequency of politeness by each criterion

CRITERIA	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3		Group 4		Group 5		Group 6		Group 7		Group 8		TOTAL
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1) Thanking	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2) Taking blame and apologising	3	6	1	3	7	1	3	6	3	5	4	1	1	3	0	4	51
3) Softening the force of requests	0	7	0	5	3	5	4	3	1	1	3	5	3	3	1	5	49
4) Tag question	1	3	7	3	3	5	2	3	2	4	4	5	1	4	0	3	50
5) Hedging	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	4	16	8	11	13	11	9	12	6	10	11	11	5	10	1	12	

$$1) \text{ **Thanking** } = \frac{\text{Total politeness items under thanking criteria}}{\text{Total politeness items under all criteria}} \times 100 \%$$

$$= \frac{0}{150} \times 100 \%$$

$$= 0.00 \%$$

$$2) \text{ **Taking blame and apologising** } =$$

$$\frac{\text{Total politeness items under taking blame and apologising}}{\text{Total politeness items under all criteria}} \times 100 \%$$

$$= \frac{51}{150} \times 100 \%$$

$$= 34.00 \%$$

$$3) \text{ **Softening the force of requests** } =$$

$$\frac{\text{Total politeness items under softening the force of requests}}{\text{Total politeness items under all criteria}} \times 100 \%$$

$$= \frac{49}{150} \times 100 \%$$

$$= 32.67 \%$$

$$4) \text{ **Tag question** } = \frac{\text{Total politeness items under tag question}}{\text{Total politeness items under all criteria}} \times 100 \%$$

$$= \frac{50}{150} \times 100 \%$$

$$= 33.33 \%$$

$$5) \text{ **Hedging** } = \frac{\text{Total politeness items under tag question}}{\text{Total politeness items under all criteria}} \times 100 \%$$

$$= \frac{0}{150} \times 100 \%$$

$$= 0.00 \%$$

The above results were the outcomes based on each criterion by group. It is clear that ‘taking blame and apologising’ criterion which contributed 34% was the most common criterion used by the reopndents.

Next is ‘tag question’ criterion taking the second place with 33.33%. This is followed by ‘softening the force of requests’ criterion which was used by the respondents and contributes 32.67%. Finally, neither ‘thanking’ nor ‘hedging’ was used by any of the respondents in their group conversation.

Table 11: Overall results showing frequency of politeness by gender

CRITERIA	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5	Group 6	Group 7	Group 8	TOTAL
1) Male	4	8	13	9	6	11	5	1	57
2) Female	16	11	11	12	10	11	10	12	93
<b>TOTAL</b>	20	19	24	21	16	22	15	13	

$$\text{Male} = \frac{\text{Items used by male}}{\text{Total items used by male and fe male}} \times 100 \%$$

$$= \frac{57}{150} \times 100 \%$$

$$= 38.00 \%$$

$$\text{Female} = \frac{\text{Items used by female}}{\text{Total items used by male and female}} \times 100 \%$$

$$= \frac{93}{150} \times 100 \%$$

$$= 62.00 \%$$

Based on the above table, female respondents showed more politeness during the group conversation compared to the male respondents.

## DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

It could be probably concluded that ‘taking blame and apologising’ criterion is the most popular as it recorded the highest percentage which is 34%. This criterion was the favourite throughout the data collection process. Each gender took the blame for the mistakes or wrong structures constructed by them during the discussion whereby the other speakers pointed out their mistakes. This indicates that all the respondents were concerned of what they were speaking throughout the conversation. Besides that, no matter whether they were male or female, they were willing to apologise when they tend to have an argument in their conversation. From the calculation done, a static statement regarding the degree of politeness could be seen throughout the conversation.

Furthermore, ‘tag question’ recorded 33.33% and stood as the second favourite criterion used during a conversation. The usage of modal verbs in conversation was shown by the presence of ‘tag question’ criterion. This criterion helped to soften the request of what was demanded during the conversation. Furthermore, ‘please’ could be asked when something was to be accomplished.

‘Softening the force of request’ contributed 32.67% of the items in the study. This dealt with weakening of voice tone in expressions. Basically, softening the force of requests mainly focused on the intonation of voice while the conversation took place.

‘Thanking and hedging’ had been the least favourite criterion used during data collection. The use of the word ‘thank’ should be seen as multifunctional, signalling both the end of the conversation and the desire to counteract any face damage inflicted by the directive or request but it was not seen in the conversation. This was because nobody had used it during the conversation. Based on Table 10, it is safe to say that only three criteria were used by both genders in the discussions.

## COMPARISON OF RESULTS BY GENDER

Table 11 shows the comparison of results between genders in the group conversation. The female respondents tend to be more focussed on the polite language forms in a conversation compared to the males. This statement is further strengthened with the proof that all the criteria (except Group 3) show female respondents using more polite items. On the other hand, male respondents contributed 24% fewer polite items during the conversation.

## CONCLUSION

This study proves that Malaysians did use the politeness criteria whenever a discussion was held. However, they faced difficulties in showing their politeness when the group discussions were going on. Furthermore, the findings also revealed that the least expected choice among the politeness items used were ‘thanking’ and ‘hedging’ criteria. Thus, the polite language used only focused on the other three criteria as shown in Table 10.

This study also proved that the female respondents used more polite language forms in a conversation compared to the males. In fact, the female respondents from all the groups except Group 3 used more polite items.



## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Future studies could embark on the criteria for showing politeness in the future generation. Future studies also could seek ideas from their respondents on helping them to achieve the static degree of politeness and also figure out which gender use more polite language in a conversation. The degree of politeness among other ethnic groups in Malaysia could also be explored.

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***Spinning Gasing:***  
**Contesting Inter-ethnic Romance in Malaysian**  
**Cinema**

**Lee Yuen Beng\***

**Abstract:** In the year 2000, Teck Tan's *Spinning Gasing* became the first Malaysian film in almost fifty years to explore the subject matter of Sino-Malay romance. As the first locally made English feature film, *Spinning Gasing* narrates how characters caught in between the demands of culture, religion, tradition and modernisation explore issues conveniently ignored by its mainstream counterparts. This allows *Spinning Gasing* to contest competing notions of "Malaysian-ness" by presenting a dichotomy of a "new" multi-ethnic cinema versus the "old" ethno-centric cinema. The film uses transnational methods to highlight issues that are heavily national in nature, documents the changes in Malaysia today and challenges the representation of Malaysians on screen and achieves this by reintroducing non-Malay casts, storylines, and plots that explore the rising ethnic and cultural divides. Based on this development, the employment of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural elements locate *Spinning Gasing* as an attempt to portray a more accurate and balanced visibility of other ethnic groups in place of an essentially homogenous projection. This paper examines how *Spinning Gasing* contests and re-negotiates issues of diversity, tolerance, integration, and acceptance in Malaysia today by examining the state of Sino-Malay relations.

**Keywords:** Sino-Malay, race and ethnicity, Malaysian cinema, inter-ethnic relationships

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## INTRODUCTION

Teck Tan's *Spinning Gasing* (2000) explored issues of ethnicity and religion within the setting of a five member musical band.<sup>1</sup> As the first Malaysian made English feature film, *Spinning Gasing* was a black-humoured attempt at depicting a pragmatist's view of the Malaysian society. Consisting of an English speaking multi-ethnic cast, this film was a direct and bold criticism against issues of racial, religious and sexual intolerance, stereotyping and sensitivity. While most Malaysian produced films Malaysia have sidestepped these issues which are deemed too sensitive for open discussion, *Spinning Gasing*'s innovative ideas of tackling and contesting tabooed issues led it to face an initial ban by the Malaysian Film Censorship Board (LPF).<sup>2</sup> One of the issues the film discussed was on Sino-Malay relations. The film then premiered at the Hawaii International Film Festival in 2000 but made its Malaysian premiere on 18 October 2001, over 12 months after extensively exhibited at overseas film festivals. A heavily censored version with 25 cuts was allowed for screening in local commercial mainstream cinemas.

*Spinning Gasing* was co-produced by Niche Film Sdn. Bhd. and Spinning Gasing Sdn. Bhd., internationally distributed by Buena Vista Columbia Tristar Films (Malaysia) Sdn. Bhd., and has won the Netpac Award Special Mention at the Hawaiian International Film Festival 2000 (USA), and Best Actress Award at the Cinemaya Festival of Asian Films

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<sup>1</sup> While *Spinning Gasing* remains Teck Tan's only feature film, his list of achievements include the ATOM Awards Special Prize for *My Tiger's Eyes* (1993); the AWGIE Awards for Best Original Television nomination for *The Family Spirit* (1994); Playbox Asialink Playwriting Prize for *Pontianak* (1995) and; the Bronze Medal for the New York International Film and TV Festival for the documentary *The Chinese Diggers* (1998). As a returning expatriate filmmaker, Teck Tan returned to Malaysia in 1997 after working in the Australian film industry. Tan cites the works of renowned filmmakers such as Bernardo Berolucci, Pier Paolo Passolini, Francis Ford Coppola, and Sergei Eisenstein as having influenced his work. He was also exposed to theatrical works of Bertold Bercht and Samuel Beckett. He started his film career by making experimental films with the Super 8 moving camera and has worked on television commercials, telemovies and mini-series before working on *Spinning Gasing*.

<sup>2</sup> The film was disqualified from the Festival Filem Malaysia 16 (16<sup>th</sup> Malaysian Film Festival) for reasons cited as 'technical'.

India (Cinefan) 2001. Produced on a budget of MYR2.5 million (US\$610 000) and spanning over a period of almost 12 months, *Spinning Gasing* however failed to make an impression at the local commercial cinemas and only garnered a gross return of MYR484 000 (US\$ 121 000). Despite being a box office failure, *Spinning Gasing* emerged as a bold revelation in Malaysian filmmaking. In spite of employing the stereotypical “boy meets girl” storyline, elements of heavy romantic and melodramatic scenes were absent from this film. Produced in an era where ethnicity and religion had become the most relevant basis for people’s recognition to one another, at the time of the film’s release, it remained uncertain how Malaysian audiences would react towards a film that employed differing issues, subject matter and themes that departed from Malaysian mainstream cinema. Furthermore, the film would become the first film in over 50 years to touch on the tabooed subject matter of Sino-Malay interethnic romance and reintroduced non-Malay casts as an attempt to portray a more accurate and balanced visibility of other ethnic groups. This paper therefore examined how *Spinning Gasing* contests and re-negotiated issues of diversity, tolerance, integration, and acceptance in Malaysia today by examining the state of Sino-Malay relations.

## RACE AND ETHNICITY IN MALAYSIA

In defining the nature of ethnicity, it must be understood that the nature of ethnic relations in Malaysia is uniquely different as the matter of ethnicity has always been deeply embedded in the lives of Malaysians, at the workplace, schools, and politics. The concepts of race and ethnicity appear difficult to be distinguished for race contains an ethnic dimension while ethnicity seems generally to be racialised (Gracia, 2007), and both concepts are often used interchangeably in Malaysia. Both concepts however have negative connotations and labelling that promote prejudice, discrimination, and abuse, for these concepts support the status quo of inferiority imposed on dominated groups by dominant groups to control and oppress (Gracia, 2007). This matter is further complicated as religion becomes the key marker of ethnic boundaries and symbol of differentiation (Chee, 2010: 99-110). Ethnicity, race and religion are commonly used in official and non-official discourses. Filing a form for the application of a banking account requires for the declaration of

ethnicity and religion. The Malaysian identification card (MyKad) categorises Malaysians into two different categories, those who are 'Islam' and 'non-Islam'. This method of defining an ethnic community through its distinctive physical characteristics, language, religion, customs, institutions or cultural traits is a wrong-end with significant consequences towards ethnic relations and cannot be an adequate method of positive public administration (Corlett, 2007).

*Spinning Gasing* departed from the typical Malaysian film built around stereotypical storylines featuring 'tried and tested', monotonous entertainment that contained melodramatic elements of '*suka*' (love), '*duka*' (tragedy), and '*gurau senda*' (comedy) (Lee, 2012). The attempt at highlighting other ethnic groups contested the notion of Malaysian cinema popularly known as 'Malay cinema', which employed melodramatic storylines, Malay actors, highlighted the Malay community, and used the Malay language. It failed to remember the other ethnic communities of Chinese, Indians, and other indigenous populations that constituted 40 per cent of the Malaysian population.

In general, the band metaphorically represented Malaysia's official ethnic demographic makeup that was made up of the Malays and *Bumiputeras* (65.1 per cent), Chinese (26.0 per cent), Indians (7.7 per cent) and Others (1.2 per cent) (Department of Statistics 2001). The film's multi-ethnic cast also seemed too carefully conceived and schematic in reflecting the Malaysian ethnic demographics with an ethnic Malay (Yati), Chinese (Harry Lee), Indian (JJ), and the Others (Chantal, a Eurasian). The character of Ariff represented the hybridity in Malaysia's ethnic setting for a Malaysian Indian played this Malay character. The characters were not homogeneously mono-ethnic and departed from the stereotypical appearances, mind-sets and personalities of characters commonly portrayed in mainstream Malaysian cinema. The film criticised predetermined identities and highlighted issues of belonging and marginalization through the clash between modern and traditional values and beliefs.<sup>3</sup> The film contested the need for change in how society views religious values, inter-ethnic relationships, and

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<sup>3</sup> Article 11 of the Malaysian Federal Constitution states that 'Every person has the right to profess and practice his religion and to propagate it' but State law and, in respect of the Federal Territories, federal law may control or restrict the

sexuality. Such situations represent the clash between modern values and beliefs against traditional ones.

This dilemma caused the five characters to face the predicament of having to delicately balance between the new and old, the modern and traditional, a dilemma similarly faced by young adults in Malaysia. This struggle in delicately balancing such issues was represented by the film's title, *Spinning Gasing* (Spinning Top). Such dilemmas caused by the delicateness keeping balance with the dizzying pace of life in modern Malaysia is similar to the *gasing's* spinner who struggles to keep the *gasing* balanced. In particular, there is a need to constantly keep in balance the delicate Sino-Malay relations.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SINO-MALAY RELATIONSHIPS IN MALAYSIA AND MALAYSIAN CINEMA

Historically, the power struggle has been common between the dominant ethnic Malays and Chinese that form the largest and second largest ethnic groups respectively.<sup>5</sup> Ethnic tensions between these ethnic groups existed due to an economic rift of the British 'divide and rule' policy.<sup>6</sup> This tension was further felt throughout the course of nation building, when questions were raised on the matter of Chinese

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propagation of any religion among Muslims. A marriage between a non-Muslim and a Muslim however requires for the non-Muslim to convert into Islam before the marriage can be legalized.

<sup>4</sup> The *gasing* or top is a traditional game popular in the East Coast states of Peninsular Malaysia. The objective of the game is to keep the *gasing* spinning for as long as possible.

<sup>5</sup> Mahathir Mohammad stressed that the Chinese were responsible for the Malay economic backwardness by preventing them from having much participation in the economy; while the Chinese saw the Malays as holding the political reins of the country, dominating the civil service and endorsing policies that discriminated the Chinese (1970).

<sup>6</sup> Based on principles of primordial racial incompatibility, the distribution of wealth amongst ethnic groups was imbalanced. The Chinese controlled the financial capitals of tin mines, ports and financial institutions. The Malays remained in the rural villages as fishermen, paddy planters or lowly ranked civil servants whilst the Indians worked the plantations. The creation of racially segregated trades had masked the actual purpose of limiting interactions to hinder any great deal of interaction between the three main ethnic groups. This



contributions towards the building of the Malay nation.<sup>7</sup> Sino-Malay relations became further strained during World War Two and the Communist Emergency from 1948-1960.<sup>8</sup> Further dissatisfaction that arose due to economic imbalance, political supremacy, language and citizenship finally led towards the racial riots on 13 May 1969 (Butcher, 2001: 37). The communal relationship between the Malays and Chinese has since remained rocky.

After these incidents, the Malays have placed themselves as the 'Self' and the other ethnic groups as the 'Others'.<sup>9</sup> This form of ethnic

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reduced the possibilities of a united nationalistic consensus, which could lead towards a rebellion. The delineation of economic roles based on the lines of ethnicity created a racially segregated plural society. The inequality in the sharing of the nation's wealth ultimately caused a rift that created feelings of disparity and distrust (Brown, 1996: 217).

<sup>7</sup> Whilst Malay nationalism was at its peak towards the struggle for political independence from the British, the migrants in Malaya in search of a temporary fortune had their nationalism set on their countries of origin. However, it would be biased to generalize all immigrants as unpatriotic for there had existed a small number of locally born migrants who claimed Malaya as their homeland (Kahn, 2001: 122).

<sup>8</sup> The transitional period between the Japanese exodus and British takeover saw The Malayan People's Anti Japanese Army (MPAJA) and the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) of mainly Chinese carry out acts of retribution towards individuals associated with the Japanese. The Malays were primary targets. In return, the Malays assembled under rural communities and religious organizations in retaliation. Feelings of fear, suspicion and detestation led to rampant acts of vengeance (Andaya and Andaya, 2001: 263). The MPAJA/MCP claimed their rights as administrators while the Malays, distressed by the British plans in creating a community of equal political status called for the restoration of the Malay sultans (Verma, 2004: 28). Negotiations for a joint British-MCP government failed due to the refusal of the Malays and British in accepting the MCP communist ideology. This led to the MCP feeling 'betrayed' that led to the Emergency (1948-1960). This led to Malay and Chinese racial clashes caused by distrust caused by the predominantly Chinese MCP ideologies not being accepted by the Malays.

<sup>9</sup> Post-independence Sino-Malay relationships are grouped into three phases. In the first phase (1957-1969), the Alliance coalition allowed the Chinese a higher level and even-handed political involvement. This period allowed the Chinese to thrive economically. The second phase (1970-1990) of the New Economic Policy (NEP) era saw the growing domination of UMNO in the Alliance coalition (to be renamed Barisan Nasional (National Front) after the 1969 racial riots) and introduction of affirmative policies to elevate the *Bumiputera* economic standings. Currently, the National Development Policy (NDP) and Vision 2020 that stresses for a more united Malaysian society have created a

segregation placed a “fixity” on how the ethnic groups viewed each other. The difficulty of a “shared space of representation” between the Malays and Chinese can be seen as the Self being confronted by its Other (Bhabha, 2004: 66). The 1969 riots and the confrontations preceding it demonstrated the political primacy of the Malays and their intensity in defending this shared space. The riots demonstrated that the distrust, prejudice and loathing deeply rooted in the ethnic communities remain present. This situation has led to the need for constant renegotiations of political and cultural standings between the ethnic groups and is also present in Malaysian cinema.

Despite being a multi-ethnic society, the subject matter of inter-ethnic romance remained relatively untouched in Malaysian cinema. Local censorship guidelines under the pretence of fear of offending in a multi-ethnic and religious society have labelled themes of race, religion, politics, crime, violence, brutality and horror, as ‘sensitive and precarious issues’ (Lent, 1990: 197). Cinematic discussions of racial dominion, diplomatically sensitive issues, disrespect of religion, and the glorification of communism have been traditionally banned, repressed or are beyond discussion (ibid.). Discussions about inter-ethnic romance was also lacking due to the presence of a political and power struggle between the Malays and Chinese which had resulted in a historical precedent for the rejection of interracial romances between the Malays and Chinese. The subject matter of inter-ethnic romance was however first discussed in L. Krishnan’s *Selamat Tinggal Kekasihku* (1955). The issue of inter-ethnic romance between the Malay and Chinese ethnic communities was sensitive and taboo due to the ethnic tensions during the World War Two Japanese Occupation and Communist Insurgence during the time of the film’s release.

*Selamat Tinggal Kekasihku* was well accepted by the majority of audiences but faced fierce protests from the Malay majority town of Kota Bharu. This was because the film firstly tested the boundaries of religious sensitivities when the protagonist played by Roomai Noor had gotten drunk due to his misery and troubles for the consumption of alcohol amongst Muslims is forbidden and frowned upon (Hassan, 2006).

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more liberalised and favourable economic and political environment for the Chinese (Heng, 1998: 51).

Secondly, the honour and dignity of the Malay community was further tarnished when the Malay boy had to die for the Chinese girl and thirdly, the image of a dog constantly appearing in the film was heavily opposed for dogs are considered *haram* (unclean) in Islam (Hamzah, 2004).

After *Selamat Tinggal Kekasihku*, P. Ramlee directed two films that touched on inter-ethnic romance. The first, *Sesudah Subuh* (1967) revolved around the romance between Ariffin, a Malay male and Alice, a Chinese female while *Gerimis* criticized the obstacles surrounding inter-ethnic romance. For the first time in Malaysian cinema, Ramlee chose to criticize the objections towards inter-ethnic romance between Leela, an Indian female and Kamal, a Malay male. In 1979, family objections towards inter-ethnic romance between Zamri, a Malay male and Marina, a Chinese female, were once again discussed in *Esok Masih Ada* (Jins Shamsuddin). The subject matter of inter-ethnic romance between a Malay male (Azam) and a Chinese female (Mei Ling) was once again contested in *Anak Sarawak* (Rahim Razali, 1989) and in 1997, Harith Iskander's directorial debut and only feature film, departed from the discourse of Sino-Malay romantic relationships in *Hanya Kawan*. The film discussed about the inter-ethnic romance between Hans, a male from the *Lain-lain* ethnic group, and Ella, a Malay female.

It was only when Yasmin Ahmad's *Sepet* won the Best Film Award over *Puteri Gunung Ledang* at the 18<sup>th</sup> Malaysian Film Fest that the subject matter of inter-ethnic romance again faced great protests, criticisms and also praise in the Malay media, academic circles and by politicians. While *Sepet* resembled *Selamat Tinggal Kekasihku* in testing and pushing the boundaries of ethnic tensions between the Chinese and Malay communities, in a reversal of roles, the Chinese male character in *Sepet* had instead met his death in a motor vehicle accident. *Sepet* had also directly and boldly criticized certain aspects of the Malay culture and contemporary Malaysia. As such, these films that contest Sino-Malay relationship have emerged as a platform that further contests the narratives of inter-ethnic romances between these two ethnic groups.

#### SPINNING GASING AND SINO-MALAY NEGOTIATIONS

*Spinning Gasing* is described as a road movie that revolves around Harry Lee, the over ambitious Chinese male protagonist obsessed with

forming a successful contemporary dance music band. On the surface, *Spinning Gasing* narrates Harry's struggle between his musical career and love life. Harry, who returns home after a string of unsuccessful efforts at obtaining a tertiary overseas education, becomes fixated on achieving fame and fortune. The recruitment for his band begins during his trip from the airport when he coaxes his childhood friend, Yatie into joining him. Often referring to the band as "D.J. Harry Lee and his awesome dance band", the band's recruitment is completed with Ariff, J.J. and the sensual Chantal as their lead singer. Chantal's recruitment immediately creates an anxiety within the band when Harry becomes sexually involved with her, unknowing that Yatie harbours a secret affection for him. Such forms of sexual anxiety between Harry and Yati are present throughout the film's discourse for the main plot revolves around Harry and Yati's search for compatibility in their ethnic and religious differences. This anxiety inadvertently presents the band with both professional and personal obstacles.

The story continues with the band's struggle in making a reputation by performing at small-scale functions. Harry's haste for fame and fortune regrettably leads them to be pursued by loan sharks demanding for a loan repayment. He hurriedly gathers everyone and in a hurried evacuation from the city, unwillingly accepts a deal to perform as the resident band in an island resort belonging to Azri, the lecherous and pampered son of a wealthy businessman. The band's exodus begins by a lone journey along a misty mountainous road. Such a journey signals the idea of a transition. The characters are mystically undergoing a transitional phase, both in time and thought, and the silence that befalls the band members adds to the eeriness. In a strange twist of events, they miss the daily boat to the island and are forced to take sanctuary in a small Malay town. The town located in the coastal town of Terengganu is a conservative town of strong religious and moral values. Upon arrival, a sticker of Quranic verses on the rear window of a slow moving vehicle seems to remind them to toe the line in this town. In respecting the religious ambience of the town, Ariff changes into something "more conservative". Their friendships become strained due to tensions that arise in the town. Their religious and spiritual resonance becomes

heightened when they witness a *khalwat* (close proximity) raid in the hotel by the religious police.<sup>10</sup> This incident forces them to reassess and renegotiate their upholding of modern values and beliefs against their traditional ones.

## RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC NEGOTIATIONS

*Spinning Gasing* is a criticism of society's pluralist outlook towards inter-ethnic and inter-religious relationships. The film criticises this point through its prominent discussion of ethnic and religious segregation to demonstrate the plurality in Malaysian society. It criticises society's need of changing its pluralist approach so that the formation of a *Bangsa Malaysia* can be achieved. The film then highlights the reasons why couple involved in inter-ethnic romances continue to face resistance from certain quarters of society. In *Spinning Gasing*, focusing on Harry and Yati's love affair can derive the examples of such resistance. The issue of conversion, a change in identity and lifestyles, and societal and familial objections, brings about such differences. On the surface, Yati and Harry struggle in search for common ground by contesting and negotiating ethnic and religious differences. The resistance that keep Harry and Yati from marrying or having any long-term romance is continuously echoed and reaffirmed by Chantal. She frankly tells Harry and Yati that their love was not possible due to religious boundaries by stating 'cannot *campur* you two. Impossible to mix'. This statement of "impossible to mix" is caused by the prohibitions of both religion and society. Chantal then states 'Harry and I...no problem' to confirm her point that as non-Muslims, she and Harry would face no forms of resistance. As if to reiterate the stand of "impossible to mix", a scene at the beginning of the films shows Harry and Yati floating abreast in water whilst holding hands. The two however, begin to drift apart.

The religious differences that keep Harry and Yati apart seem to be reverberated by the characters witnessing the "Ulek Mayang" dance rehearsal at the seaside. Their chancing upon the dance occurs as a

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<sup>10</sup> In Malaysia, the offence of *Khalwat* occurs when two Muslims (unmarried and of the opposite sex) are caught in a secluded area. This is considered as an act of adultery, regardless of whether sexual intercourse had occurred.

prophecy and admonition towards the “impossible to mix” statement. Yati explains to the group that the dance and its song lyrics narrate the legend of a forbidden love between fishermen lost at sea and seven beautiful spirits of the sea who fall in love with them.’ Yati describes this love affair as ‘an impossible love’. This impossibility, that separates the mystical from the earthly, is present in the lyrics that state: ‘...*Ku tahu asal usul mu. Yang laut balik ke laut. Yang darat balik ke darat...*’ (I know of your origins. Let those from the sea return to the sea. Let those from land return to land). In this scene, the “impossible love” symbolically represents how Harry and Yati, like the fishermen and spirits, are caught in differing worlds separated by religious differences. The song and dance tells Harry and Yati that their love was impossible due their ethnicity and religion. This sentiment is later echoed by Chantal who tells Yati to ‘stick to your own kind, it’s a lot easier’. The occurrence of the Ulek Mayang also allows Yati to reaffirm her sense of Malay-ness. She separates from her friends and as she joins in the dance, the camera fixes its gaze on her. She looks up to find that Harry too has been gazing at her all along. In a sudden moment of epiphany, the situation of the moment sets upon her. The camera captures Harry’s bewilderment while Yati too stops dancing. She realises that the “impossible love” she had mentioned earlier is in fact referring to the love affair between her and Harry. The idea of an “impossible love” is reiterated once again as the Ulek Mayang is shown for the second time. Occurring after the *khalwat* raid, Yati finds herself on the seaside, dressed in a costume while dancing alongside the Ulek Mayang dancers. She looks bewildered, as she understands the position she is in caused by this “impossible love”. The lyrics of the Ulek Mayang continue hauntingly non-diegetically as the scene returns to the hotel. Harry wanders around and catches a glimpse of Yati. She sees him but they could only stare at each of other from different floors. They do not acknowledge each other but silently retreat. It dawns upon that them that they are physically separated for they are “impossible to mix” due to their “impossible love”.

In the final scenes of the film, Harry and Yati become more aware that they are “impossible to mix” by understanding the physical restraints caused by religion, society, and ethnicity. They are further made aware of this physical restraint when they are accused by Chantal of committing *khalwat* when she witnesses Harry tenderly rubbing oil into Yati’s hair in

a secluded location. After this incident, they become increasingly separated by physical restraints as Yati begins to reaffirm her “Malayness” and her inclination with Malay history and the *syair*. It is through the *syair* that she realises their incompatibility caused by religious and cultural barriers because it is understood between them that Harry would be required to convert for the relationship to work out. She however misconstrues Harry’s desire about knowing more about the *syair* as an acceptance the circumstances. Upon realising that his interest in the Malay culture was for nothing more than to synergize her *syair* with his dance music, she realises that the cultural differences between them are just too great. She finally realises for her to accept Harry, he would need to love her as well as her culture and religion. She however realises that this is something Harry was not prepared to do. Even as Harry tried to convince her of his desire to convert, she rejects him for she realises he was only willing to do so for the sake of their love, and not her culture and religion. As such, Yati’s rejection of Harry demonstrates the insurmountable barriers and resistance caused by religious and cultural differences that continue to persist in inter-ethnic relationships.

The scenes discussed above represent a dilemma currently faced by a generation of Malaysians caught between the interstices of the modern and traditional. In general, *Spinning Gasing* pushed the boundaries of society, culture and religion when the film contested the culturally sensitive and taboo issue of inter-ethnic love. The film attempted to make clear to Malaysians that in a multi-ethnic nation, inter-ethnic romances are normal occurrences. As such, the creation of a Malaysian nation can only begin when individuals treated each other as equals regardless of ethnicity, lineage and religion. However, the ending of the film marks the filmmaker’s submission to pressure from society when the characters were forced to separate at the end. The film suggests the prohibition of inter-ethnic romance in Malaysia, and that no matter how great one’s love for each other is, individuals from different ethnic backgrounds should best “remain friends” due to pressure from society and religion. While the film’s ending reaffirms the society’s frowning upon the inter-ethnic romance between Chinese and Malay individuals for Harry and Yati’s romance never occurred, the film’s contestation of ethnicity, religion and sexuality challenges the common filmic discussions of Malaysian commercial mainstream cinema. The five characters also represent a side

of Malaysia attempting to reclaim their positions in society. The film deconstructs the homogenous Malay cinema that only portrays problems of Malay casts speaking only in the Malay language. The five characters discussed above represent the “unseen characters” of “unseen Malaysians” previously negated in Malaysian cinema. In *Spinning Gasing*, such forms of differences were contested in the musical band that served as the platform that allowed for the contestation and negotiation of their “Malaysian-ness”.

## CONCLUSION

The changing Malaysian socio-political and cultural landscape has led to an increase in ethnic awareness amongst Malaysians. This awareness currently experienced by a generation of Malaysians exposed and emancipated by Western notions of democracy, meritocracy and liberal speech acknowledges the idea that ethnicity in Malaysia is still undergoing contestation and renegotiation. Such contestations and renegotiations are also heavily present in post-2000 Malaysian cinema. The changing backdrop of Malaysian cinema began with *Spinning Gasing* attempting to create a “Malaysian” film with a multi-ethnic representation by deconstructing Malaysian cinema previously shaped by elements of race and ethnicity. The hegemonic representation of a Malay-centric commercial Malaysian mainstream industry is challenged by the presentation of a different side of Malaysia that is more receptive of other ethnic minorities. This film becomes an attempt in reclaiming the “Malaysian-ness” of cinema by re-introducing the “multi” in Malaysian multiculturalism with the embracement of the *Bangsa* Malaysia concept. As such, the film has deconstructed elements of Malay homogeneity present in Malaysian cinema, by asserting the idea that ethnicity in Malaysia and the Malaysian national identity is still undergoing contestation and renegotiation.

The discussion of ethnicity in *Spinning Gasing* has openly challenged censorship regulations that prohibit the discussion of ethnicity in locally made films. As ethnicity and religion often interweave in Malaysia, the prohibition of discussing inter-ethnic romance inadvertently prohibits the discussion of religions. As such, the film’s contestation and negotiation of inter-ethnic love (focusing on Sino-Malay



relationships) concurrently challenges the prohibition of discussing religion in cinema. By crossing inter-ethnic and religious boundaries, *Spinning Gasing* challenges the prohibition of openly examining the complex, “sensitive”, and taboo relationships. Led by the resurgence of interest of inter-ethnic relations in Malaysian cinema this film then contests the ethnic and religious tensions caused by political and economic differences.

Breaking away from these restrictions had created an innovative and fresh form of aesthetic articulation in the Malaysian cinematic space that deconstructs and challenges the stereotyped representations present in commercial Malaysian mainstream cinema. In *Spinning Gasing*, such contestations and negotiations occur in spaces and platforms that allow for the contestation and negotiation of ethnic and national identities. This platform is a metaphorical representation for the establishment of a much-needed space for open negotiations and contestations of ethnic and national identity in society. The storyline of the film explores the unseen anxiety that lies beneath the mantle of a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic nation often depicted as a harmonious society existing without the outbreak of any serious ethnic violence. It also presents religion as the other underlying force that causes further resistance. *Spinning Gasing* though transnational in either its methods of production, distribution or exhibition, discusses issues that are entirely national. The film demonstrates how the transnational elements and links adopted have helped overcome the obstacles and hindrance in discussing matters that have been neglected by commercial Malaysian mainstream cinema.

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# **The Acceptance of the Dominant Ideology in Malay Film Production:**

## **A Textual Analysis on the Portrayals of Minority Ethnic in Mamat Khalid Film “*Estet*” (2010)**

**Afeez Nawfal Mohd Isa\***

**Abstract:** This article is a preliminary study of the dominant ideology in Malaysian film production. One of the main elements highlighted in this article is the portrayal of the minority ethnic (Indian) character in the mainstream media in Malay film production. The argument on the ethnicity portrayal is related to the dominant ideology that creates the way for Malay film makers to try to include the element of multiculturalism in their work. However, it turns out to only serve the ideology of the state and to enhance the status quo of their systems. This article commences with the debate on the concept and the theoretical thoughts on this ideology and its apparatus. While this is discussed, it tries to introduce the discourse in the production of films in Malaysia and how it still falls under the dominant ideology of the state system.

**Keywords:** ideology, dominant ideology, representation, minority ethnics, Malay films

### FILM ISSUES AS THEY HAPPEN IN MALAYSIA

One of the members of Parliament under the ruling party (Barisan Nasional) or National Front and Chairman of the National Film Development Corporation Malaysia (FINAS) Datuk Azalina Othman's

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made a statement opens the debate on the nature and status of media in Malaysia.

From her statement, the message that is intended is to maintain the status quo of the state over the media industries including the film industry in Malaysia. Thus, it is clear that the film industry landscape in Malaysia is still under the same idea on the ruling party yet reflecting the agenda of the dominant ideology in the production activities and the content by itself.

Referring to Azalina's (2015) statement: "The best is, we need to set the UMNO leaders because to me, whether (agreed) or not, creative industries are spearheaded by the Malays." (Fathin Athirah, 2015)

The above can be understood in two main areas:

1. Malaysian film industry is practically controlled by the government.
2. The Malaysian film industry focusses too much on the Malay film (Filem Melayu) per se.

This issue became really controversial due to the argument from Azalina on the censorship problem which is believed to have stunted the qualities of the artistic element in film production. Azalina was referring to the problem regarding Film Censorship Board (LPF) which narrowed the intellectualities of film depiction and there is a need to review in terms of the film guidelines in Malaysia.

Moreover, Azalina's (2015) argument that some of the scenes should not be "cut-off" due to the creative purposes received some feedback from the Islamic professionals and public figures. The Perak Mufti was against Azalina's statements and came out with a strong and concrete reason which was reported by Malay Daily Sinar where he warned Muslim ministers against deriding and belittling Islamic laws, as they risked breaching their oath of loyalty that was made in the name of Allah (God). Her remark was also enraged by the independent preacher Datuk Mohd Kazim Elias who urged her to "repent" on the statements that were against Islamic law and practice. (Muhammad Shamsul, 2015)

## DEBATE: THE BEGINNING

It is noticed now that media in Malaysia is not living in a vacuum. This can be explained from the issues above. While the issues are still

debatable, this issue can be discussed from the perspective of the dominant ideology and the question of qualities in the media industry especially films. Besides attempting to understand the concept of ideology in the first place, the interrelation of ideology with the issues on the quality of our industry nowadays can be focussed.

From here, it is best to understand the concept of dominant ideology that affected the film industries in terms of their content. The focus of this article further clarifies some questions which are:

- i. How did the dominant ideology in Malaysia affect the way Malay film production portrayed Malaysian minority ethnic (Indian)?
- ii. What kind of portrayals has been depicted in portraying the minority ethnic in Malay film production?

Based on these questions, one has to be clear that it is not a simple understanding of the interrelations between these two factors. From the early stage of these articles, there is a need to scrutinise the concept of dominant ideology based on the basic understanding and soon to connect the aspect of quality in film content.

The approach of this article needs the structuralism with the hope that it can help to notify the question that has been raised. From here, this article will discuss the historical background on the theoretical concepts and the Malaysian system of political economy. From here, the discussion to understand the reality of Malay film production when it comes to the issues about content will be made.

Before the issue concerned in this study is discussed in detail, it is best to understand the main point of view by this quotation:

“Analysis of cinema as an industry and institution should provide a holistic view which will explain the phenomenon as a whole, not merely as an industry with autonomous social and economic power. ...Furthermore cinema is not an autonomous institution. It operates within a larger social system of the society and not in a vacuum. The product of cinema is also partly a reflection of the social system and the norms, values and ideas that exist in the society” (Mahyuddin, 2009).

From the quotation above, it is crucial for us to understand that the notion of film for the sake of arts can no longer be applied in this debate.

A film that seems to be a “dream industry” does not really work as a story in living fantasy. Bordwell (2011) mentioned that all the stories that have been structured in a film are interrelated with human social life whether the character was built from a non-human element or a human being.

This perspective serves to explain the relation of social cultural thoughts which need to be suited in the so call “dream industry” which can reveal the social reality of the portrayal of film where (time and space) it has been produced. Thus, the arguments on the question that were raised above need to be clarified with a clear theoretical thought on the ideology and the emergence of the concept that falls under the Marxist theoretical framework.

The theoretical framework of Marxism thoughts on the concept of ideology needs to be discussed. It will help to clarify the real ideology that suits the dealing with the portrayal of minority ethnics in Malay film production. To understand the concept of dominant ideology in film industry, it does not only need to rely on one perspective of Marxism thoughts. Thus, the so called neo Marxist thoughts need to be added on since it has a lot of explanations that can be used when we finalise our analysis.

## THE CONCEPT OF IDEOLOGY

When it comes to the concept of ideology, it seems that a winding road has to be crossed to understand the early establishment of these concepts. However, due to the limitations of this research, the discussion on ideology will commence from Eagleton (1991)’s definition.

According to Eagleton (1991), the concept of ideology ranges from a broad understanding that needs to focus on the areas and perspectives of an argument. Based on the basic definition, there are 16 concepts that have to be referred about the concepts of ideology which are:

- i. The process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life;
- ii. The body of idea characteristics of a particular social group or class;
- iii. Ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
- iv. False ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;

- v. Systematically distorted communication;
- vi. That which offers a position for a subject;
- vii. Forms of thought motivated by social interest;
- viii. Identity thinking;
- ix. Socially necessary illusion;
  - x. The conjecture of discourse and power;
  - xi. The medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world;
- xii. Action oriented sets of beliefs;
- xiii. The confusion of linguistics and phenomenal reality;
- xiv. Semiotic closure;
- xv. The indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure;
- xvi. The process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality.  
(Eagleton, 1990: 2)

From the wide range of perspectives on ideology, it can be understood that the ideological concept developed by certain phenomenon followed with a wide angle of understanding. Thus, it is a good chance here to scrutinize and explore in-depth on this particular concept. Especially when it comes to understanding the issue of state power and the relations with the content in film texts such as — *Estet* by Mamat Khalid (2010).

From what was given by Eagleton (1991), some of the definitions highlighted would lead to the other concepts of ideology which fall under the paradigm of critical socials. There are three definitions that can best be the turning point to discuss the next level of the ideological concept which are:

- i. The process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life.
- ii. Ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power.
- iii. False ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power.

In the first place, the theory about ideology in films falls under the umbrella of social critical theory and cultural studies. The theory of films was also inherited from some of the theories of linguistics and psychoanalysis. Thus, to understand the emergence of ideological theory, it is best to look at the philosophical thoughts of film studies briefly. This



process of theoretical development will help us to relate to the way films started to focus more complex theories such as the theory of ideologies.

There are two major thoughts in film studies that need to be revealed when we want to start to look at the main concern of these studies which are the theories of formalism and realism in films. From these two theoretical thoughts, it can be understood what is the best when it comes to ideology in films. According to Easthope (1993), films tend to focus these two major areas which help to explain the phenomenon that we need to understand.

The formalism thought adopts the philosophical concept of artistic element and focused on the formal, or technical, elements of a film: i.e., the lighting, scoring, sound and set design, use of colour, shot composition, and editing. In addition, formalism thoughts looked into the technical aspects to allow the audience to be aware of “watching” movies. Realism, in contrast, is more concerned with focusing on creating a documentary styled film making and the techniques stressed on the actual field with a very limited dependency on technology. Realism is more concerned with portraying the films for the audience in a manner that everything is in real life.

From the explanation in these two areas of films studies, it can be said that films have been divided into two basic techniques that affected the style of film making all over the world. Thus, it is a useful tool to us here to get a further view that films use a formalism style of production and at the same time try to portray them in “real” as it happens in our lives.

However, when it comes to looking at the ideology of film making in the sense of meaning in their discourse, it can probably be assumed that these two theoretical thoughts are not really clear to help highlight the issues with respect to a dominant ideology. As a result, Easthope (1993) argued on the technical description from both sides of the theories and lost the focus on explaining the context of film and the dominant ideology on representations.

#### WHAT IS (DOMINANT) IDEOLOGY?

The question on the dominant ideology is the next level of thoughts that need to be discussed at this point. Once an ideology emerged with

the concept of “dominance”, it will be referred to the greater context of power that controls the others. In this case what is being controlled is from the group that has the autonomy of a certain class. Thereby, according to Thomas (1997): “Ideology is invoked sometimes in reference to false ideas, sometimes to mean class-related ideas, and sometimes just to denote generic beliefs. However, once the term is modified by ‘dominant’, a more consistent understanding emerges.” (Thomas, 1997: 75)

From the combined words of “dominant”, ideology has become a clearer concept in this study. What makes it consistent from the quotation above is best focussed on three things that can explain the definition of dominant ideology which are:

1. A set of ideas, world views, central beliefs, discourse;
2. An empowered group; and
3. A subordinate group or groups.

In arguing the concept of dominant ideology, several of the concepts need to be focussed in this study. Since it cannot fit all the debate regarding the definitions of dominant ideology in one study, only a few interrelated concepts will be the purpose of this study.

In this preliminary argument on dominant ideology, the main concepts of dominant ideology by Marx are referred. One of the most important points is to understand the concept of dominant ideology in the political economy as a traditional thought. Even though Marx did not really stress on an ideological concept, the basic notion of this article still remains under the roots of Marxism. (Purvis & Alan, 1993)

According to the original thoughts of Marx, the question of ideology needs to refer to the case of base/superstructure. This means that the basic understanding by ideology needs to look at the class struggle. For Marx, ideology functions as the superstructure of civilization: the conventions and culture that make up the dominant ideas of a society. For Marx, it is the materiality of human production that directly influences ideology: “Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life”.

Marx’s first point is related to show a picture of how the style of industries or so called cultural industries (including film industries in Malaysia) are operated. According to Golding & Murdock (1996), political economy is interested in the interplay between economic organisation and political, social and cultural life.

Political economy brings the notions that the film industry in Malaysia (specifically) needs to look in the area of socio-political discourse to cater the representations of what have been depicted in Malay film productions such as the discourse of minorities portrayal in the mainstream film production in Malaysia. The interest in bringing political economy issues in this study is to explain the needs for crucial understanding on the capitalistic mode of production in film industries in Malaysia.

From this point, it is clear that film industries or cultural industries have been serving as a capitalist product or commodity that follows the dominant cultural system. This is in line with the comment of Golding & Murdock (1996):

“In practice this directs attention to two key issues. The first is the pattern of ownership of such institutions and the consequences of this pattern for control over their activities. The second is the nature of the relationship between state regulation and communications institutions” (Golding & Murdock, 1996: 19).

In this film or media industries, the states by the ruling party have become the major institutions which controlled the activities under media. Either explicitly or implicitly, the touch from the states is inevitable. Since they are the ones who control of the political economy, it serves to follow the ideas and the system that they have implemented.

According to Thomas (1997):

“Dominant ideology is thus regarded as a particular set of ideas (possibly among other sets of social-class) which emanate from and uphold the ruling class; however, it is further argued that this set of dominant ideas is, nonetheless, subordinate to supervening economic conditions” (Thomas, 1997: 76).

With this statement, it is clear that the ruling party had put a set of ideas to be followed and accepted in society that would eventually lead people to accept the idea as something that is natural. Through determination, economy controlled by the states would lead the film production to the limited idea of representations.

To explain how the states rule the ideas in film representation, the perspectives should be explored; it is not directly controlled by the states. However, the states apparatus under certain institutions, and the strategy of maintaining the status quo can be remain. From here, the concept of dominant ideology needs to be shifted to what has been discussed by the neo-Marxist scholar who was famous with the theory of Ideology State Apparatus (ISA).

Althusser (1971) who was a French Marxist scholar claimed that everything that was produced by the media through the states can reflect the individuals who were being affected. From the media, all the representations become common and unquestionable because there are ideologies in the name of interpellation. From here, Althusser tried to explain that the people or audience became subjects to certain social practices that were depicted in the media. The reasons why it happened in this way, according to him are: "Because an individual subject always exceeds the identities assigned, acceptance of them involves misrecognition; despite this, however, individuals acquiesce in these identities are precisely subjected by them." (Lapsley & Westlake, 1995: 8)

From the way that was argued, societies (people) in certain social classes can be subjected by using ideological state apparatus, as Althusser called them- church, family, educational system, trade unions, media etc- and it is these rather than the repressive state apparatus of police and courts that play the major role in securing the reproduction of social relations.

By giving this view for the second level of thought in ideology, then the early stage of ideology could be accepted where the political economy is yet to be included in the state apparatus ideology by Althusser. The combination of these two understandings on ideology create the relevant discussions on the dominant ideology that tie up the whole film industry movement in Malaysia in the name of Malay mainstream film production.

The credibility of Marxist's thoughts in the area of film studies in dealing with the concepts of dominant ideology could be enhanced. It is harsh to mention here that the classical Marxist thoughts are not applicable and need to be dumped from this study. For this study, both the thoughts need to be gathered, thereby, the realities of Malaysian

creative industry fall under these dimensions of thoughts. This can help to explain the phenomenon in a more systematic manner.

According to Purvis & Hunt (1993):

“The theory of ideology we propose supplements discourse theory rather than opposing it. It is a version of ideology theory that is different from that bequeathed by Marx. Retained and moved into central prominence is a key feature of the critical thrust of Marx's account, namely, its focus on the way in which the interpellation of subject positions operates systematically to reinforce and reproduce dominant social relations - it is this that is described as the 'directionality' of ideology theory. This directionality is captured by employing ideological analysis to focus upon the effects of discursive practices, which we term 'ideology effects'” (Purvis & Hunt, 1993: 473).

This shows that ideology can be explained systematically not only on the theoretical base, it is also the way it can be practised systematically in media. This practice happens unconsciously while the people (audience) are controlled to watch the ideas that are displayed on the screen. The task here is not to condemn the text that has become a part of the ideology of the states. It is the process of trying to explore and reveal the way it is portrayed and explain the interrelations between the images of film discourse behind the representations.

## FILM AND GOVERNMENT IN MALAYSIA

This study probably signals that there are strong links that need to be explained when reflecting the state role in media. The landscape of media in Malaysia generally has a strong influence over the practice of media. This can be explained from what was mentioned by Mustapha Kamal (2005):

“It is a truism that the mass media, like any other social institution, do not operate in a social vacuum. There are forces in society that interact with the media, each trying to gain access to the media in the hope of exercising influence and control. This often involves the

state, political parties, corporate entities, lobby groups, and civil society groups, among others” (Mustapha Kamal, 2005: 25).

In the case of Malaysia applying an ambiguous democracy system, it has affected the relations between the mainstream media and the ruling party to become so strong in promoting the so called national agenda under the ideology of the prolific party in Malaysia namely Barisan Nasional (National Front). The protection of media practices was found so clearly when it comes to the news agencies whether under the ownership of a ministry or a private organisation.

Under the democratic constitutional system, it may not be right to say that media institutions in Malaysia were controlled and ruled by the governmental ministry. However the practice in Malaysia was to form institutions that monitor the process of production or publications of any media in Malaysia. The institutions have been developed to play their roles in some of the media and carry out the regulations and inspections in the name of nurturing and developing the industries to align with the national agenda.

Thus, what can be seen in Malaysian film industries since in the beginning of the colonial era to the transformation of Malaya to Malaysia is that there is one institution so called FINAS (The National Film Development Corporation Malaysia) acting as the major apparatus to nation building in the film development in Malaysia. According to Herwina & Zarith (2012):

“Films were introduced to Malaysia (then was known as Malaya) during the colonial era in the 1930’s. However, it was only in the 1970s that the government realised the importance of nurturing the indigenous film industry. The film industry was rationalised with the establishment of FINAS (National Film Development Corporation), a government agency responsible for the development of the industry” (Herwina & Zarith, 2012: 199).

Under this state apparatus, FINAS has become one of the important institutions in dealing with some regulations and controls. FINAS has aligned most of the agenda from the government and at the same time maintained the films as a cultural industry following the mainstream

ideology. By putting FINAS as the medium in dealing with the development of films in Malaysia, it must be understood that the Malaysian film industry in the name of capitalism practice has done its role to commoditise the quantities rather than the qualities of local (Malay) films. Yet again as mentioned by Herwina & Zarith (2012):

“Since then, the government has played an important role in promoting the development of the indigenous film industry. At present, the film industry shows impressive development (by local standards) judging from the increased number of films produced. In the case of feature films, the number of cinema admissions has increased remarkably over the years” (Herwina & Zarith, 2012: 200).

When the industry focuses more on the economics of the products, all the forms of commodities in the film industry become one of the major elements in the dominant ideology which is the struggle of maintaining the profits in the name of capitalism. What makes it fall under the false consciousness puts the element of national responsibilities under the states to develop the industry besides the reality to maintain the control of media under the states. As mentioned in the quote:

“This is of crucial importance to the nation’s economic, social and intellectual property development. The Malaysian Government believes that this effort would benefit, develop and further support the industry. These incentives will not only promote the creation of quality creative content, it will also make Malaysia a preferred destination and film production hub.”

Yet again, the states who control the media by using the states’ apparatus, become the states’ responsibility to enhance their status quo. However, in the name of nationalism for the purpose of not to control the process of the cultural industries, they ‘protect’ the industries to make sure that the workers under these industries can survive and depend on the power of the states. As a result, the state apparatus such as FINAS was found as an agency to develop the industries to be aligned with the agenda of the ruling one. This can be explained by the statements below:

“In the case of Malaysian film industry, its contribution to the economy is insignificant. However, under the current condition of globalization, the government has made considerable effort to uplift the standard of the indigenous film industry. FINAS is an agency authorized by the government to spearhead the development of the indigenous film industry. Indeed, one of the mission statements of FINAS is for the indigenous film industry to achieve an international standard. Traditionally, the films produced were mainly targeted at local consumption” (Herwina Rosnan Et Al., 2010: 326).

## MALAY FILM AND THE DOMINATION

Since the end of the P. Ramlee era, majority of the mainstream production was produced by the bumiputera or Malay ethnic in Malaysia. Since it became dominant in Malaysia, the film business is considered as Malaysian film production in this country. This study has no intention to say that none of the production come from the non-bumiputera. However, there is a heavy portion of business which was run by the Malay film production.

Thus, this is the reality that happened in Malaysia and can be explained by Mahadi J. Murat (2008):

“A film in Malay language, which deals with the question of Malay, which carries success stories named Malaysia in Malay films and movies. Malay films that deal with the question of public and non-Malays in Malaysia are classified as Malaysian film. Automatic Malay movies to the Malaysian film without anyone telling her or tell it is Malaysia's national film when the Federation of Malaya and Malaya became Malaysia in 1963.”

In the end, the mainstream film industry in Malaysia puts the main film in a narrow scope of limitation on portraying Malaysian films. This happens due to the film production which seems to be manipulated by the Malay films that only we can see to portray the ‘Malayness’ culture despite showing the wider picture of multiculturalism in Malaysia.

In this matter, Mahadi J. Murat (2008) had a clear explanation on the situation whereas most of the non-Malay films were considered not as



Malaysian films and towards the end just Malay films only can be put as Malaysian films, despite the real multiculturalism identity of Malaysia which was not focused in the Malay film production.

While in particular, film as it serves the mainstream ideology of the states in Malaysia, tries to portray the multiculturalism just on the genre of patriotism. This is the lack of sensitivity that helps to show the reality of Malaysians in films in Malaysia.

The media should play an important role in producing citizens who love their country or basically just patriotic citizens. Electronic media for example, should broadcast more stories with patriotic themes at all times and not only during the month of independence or anniversary of the country itself. For example, the movies *Hati Malaya 1957*, *Bukit Kepung*, *Pasir Salak* and many more.

Unfortunately what is being depicted in Malay films when it comes to the portrayal of nationalism issues seems just to enhance the idea of dominance in the entertainment products. This is clearly being expressed by Mahyuddin (2009):

“Overall, the film is more focussed on ideology to inculcate values patriotism to the country and the importance of loving the country that actually is loading agenda of the indirect government which wanted to love this country and its people did not question the status quo of the ruling elite.”

In this situation, Malaysian film makers who are being dominated by the Malays started to sense the new style of film-making by focusing on the aspects of multiculturalism. However, the question is still in the area of whether there is any new paradigm in film portraying the national identity or is it still trapped in the same situation under the dominant idea of the states? Generally, any ideas on multiculturalism can lead to a crucial and sensitive issue in Malaysia. This was mentioned as below:

“Malaysia being a multicultural society, citizens have always been exhorted to handle issues of multiculturalism delicately and in a very positive light, so as to not pose a threat to racial harmony in Malaysia. Very often, representatives from the three main races in Malaysia are represented in advertisements, television programs or

films, together, to represent the harmony and unity amongst the various races in Malaysia” (Herwina & Zarith, 2012: 200).

#### ESTET (2010): THE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION

For the purpose of this writing, a non-detailed elaboration will become the strong research hold of this writing. Otherwise, this article will be trying to come out with the basic thoughts of dominant ideology in the portrayal of minority ethnic (Indian) in Malay film production. The focus is only concerned on the basic areas of characters in the film and a few of the scenes that reflect the reality of the latest Malaysian national agenda which is the ideology of 1 Malaysia.

#### **The brief synopsis:**

The story begins with Cinta Manis estate which is shocked by the news of a football match to be held with Red Cobra Estate 20 years after not contesting. Farid and Shashi are two estate workers who were acquainted since birth. They both often hope that other estate workers save the oppression on a daily basis by the estate clerk, Mr Pooniah. Not surprisingly, a pretty girl, Geetha was captivated by the heroism and truth of Farid and Shashi’s heart. Each estate resident represented the estate to win the competition. Training sessions and team selection were conducted by Subramaniam who is Geetha’s father who was appointed as their coach. Various styles of red and surplus were used by Subramaniam to resolve and educate the young men.

#### PRELIMINARY STUDIES

From the brief synopsis above, it is clear that the film generally tried to portray the elements of multiculturalism in it. The title of the movie ‘Estet’ by itself was a synonym to the Indian ethnic who were brought by the British since the colonial era to Malaya. However the time and space in this film that was directed by one of the very famous directors (Mamat Khalid) to show a cynical satire was not clear. While Mamat Khalid was not aware of the existence year of the story in his films, he still tried to maintain some of the props and setting in the era of 1970s and 1980s in

this film. This becomes one of his benchmarks from the previous work in other films such as *Rock* (2005). There are two areas of studies focused in the discussion related to dominant Ideology which were:

1. The minority ethnics in male characters
2. The struggle of women representations

## THE CHARACTERS IN THE FILM

This study focusses on the main characters who were portrayed in this film which were playing the characters of four main actors and actors/actresses who were, Farid, Shashi, Gheeta and Siti. By looking at these characters, the centre of this study is trying to explain the dominant ideology that appeared in this film especially when we focus on the character building. From all mainstream films in the world, Mamat Khalid's local film also brought the idea to put men as the centre of the story. Here, it can be put that, the main dominant ideology that was applied in this film is to put the patriarchal system in this movie.

The patriarchy system is very obvious in a lot of mainstream movies which is to believe that the majority of film makers in the world accept it in the mainstream film production. This also happened in 'Estet' where Farid and Shashi were the focus in the story that brought all the flow of the story to the end. From this system, we would understand that women characters are becoming the object in the films. In particular, Juliana & Mahyuddin (2009) explained that:

"The values of patriarchy that was the main focus of the film describes in general ideas and values relating to men and women in a society that has been stereotyped and should be generally accepted. The women described the character and diversity of nature negative while the male characters are portrayed most of the time have the positive nature" (Juliana & Mahyuddin, 2009: 57).

To be accepted here means that it is considered under the dominant ideology system that naturally has become unquestionable to the people in the society especially to the viewers. From here on, the discussion will bring to the dilemma on portraying the male characters by trying to challenge the nature in Malay films where the minority ethnic try to

portray in *Estet*. It is not a matter of producing the new wave of depiction on male characters but, from the other perspectives to maintain the agenda of the upper class in the latest Malaysian agenda that was brought by the 6th Prime Minister of Malaysia which introduced the concept of one Malaysia.

Before this is discussed further, it is good to look at how the minority portrayal of male characters has been depicted. To understand the situation of the male minority characters in this film, the element of dependencies between the male minority characters with the Malay characters in some of the scenes was well depicted. The central issue still relied on the male domination in this film by these two characters. Most of the scenes in this film included two characters who became the anchor of the narrative structure and in this sense we generally will think that yes, it portrays the mainstream style of character representations in this film.

However, it is also clear in this film that there is also the element of class struggle between these two characters where Shashi as a minority ethnic somehow followed Farid who become the top character in the film. Besides that, concerning the marketing strategy of this film, putting Farid Kamil as the Malaysian film star, will straight away bring to the point that the mainstream film will always lead the star actor or actress to become dominant in his/her films. From this domination of characters in the Malay film it can be said that it still serves as the dominant system of idea even though they bring the element of multiculturalism in film representations.

In this sense, what was hoped from the representations of *Estet* (2010) was to support the dominant agenda from the state. By showing the element of unity in this film, it is hoped that the struggle of the class and races in Malaysia can be 'imagined' by the audience (society) which is not really the issue that has not been settled. Instead of showing the 'harmony' in multiculturalism in Malaysia, it can bring the society to the control of the states. According to Higson, in Mahyuddin (2011):

“Furthermore, it is also conceivable to define a nation in this imaginary context as “a secured and shared identity and sense of belonging, on to a carefully demarcated geo-political space” (Higson, 2000: 64). The nation that is being formed here is a space

with specific cultural, economic and political boundaries where individuals are provided with a social communicative space, which in turn functions as a force to maintain the existence of the nation. Hence, this will encourage these individuals “to imagine themselves as a member of a coherent, organic community, rooted in the geographical space, with well-established indigenous traditions.”

Whatever depiction that appears in any mainstream text in film when it comes to the Malay films is the ideology of Malays within the context of national culture. This has become another way to identify the dominant ideology from the states where the ideology is to try to crossover the multiculturalism thoughts into one whole identity by trying to promote among the consensus of being under the same culture that is dominated by the dominant ethnics. Echoes to this point of view, can be seconded by Mahyuddin (2011: 98) who mentioned: “First, this policy tries to assimilate other ethnic groups under the cultural hegemony of Malay culture. This aspect of national culture has been stressed by government officials as the most important element of national culture, and its authority can never be questioned.”

As a result, from this view, the character of the minority ethnics is exaggerated as one of the main characters with the Malay character in *Estet* (2010), yet maintaining the dominant social class. This is the ideology that needs to be maintained to make sure that the idea of the ruling party aligns with the concept of national culture and the political agenda especially the concept of 1 Malaysia.

Looking at the portrayal of the minority ethnic in Mamat Khalid’s (2010) film titled, *Estet*, it is clear that the main character Sashi represented Indians and tried to stay in the centre of the story. However, to maintain the dominant ideology of mainstream in Malay film production, the main character needed to be able to work with the Malay characters that possess the power of the social class among the races in Malaysia.

From here, nation building in the name of the national identity of ‘Malaysia’ can be argued due to the ambiguous concept of the national culture which still puts the Malay culture as the encapsulating culture to close the gap in the cultural diversity in Malaysia. Towards the end of the film, the character of the minority ethnic in *Estet* (2010) was still needed

to assimilate the dominant class character and very much dependant on the Malay character.

Thus, turning back to the question of ideology in films generally and Estet (2010) specifically, one has to agree to the practice of every single film in Malaysia which does not separate itself from the ideology even when it comes to the national identity (Zakir, 2010: 23). In addition, ideology is about winning the dominant power which is trying to maintain the status quo of the system in the Malaysian film representation. Moreover, what is said for the sake of portraying the unity among races in Malaysia only tries to change the way the films need to be produced in the name of commodification for profits.

## THE STRUGGLE OF WOMEN REPRESENTATION

The first part of this paper discussed the role of the male minority ethnic in Estet (2010). Now, the discussion is on the women representations in this film. By looking at the women representation in this film, the scope is narrowed to discuss the main female character in this film which was Geetha and the supporting actress who was Siti.

In the previous section, the male character was noticed to have become dominant in the mainstream films because then follow the mainstream ideology which is to accept the power of the male dominant race in Malay films with the hope to develop the whole story in Estet (2010). At least, man as the minority ethnic in Estet (2010), had a privilege to be dominant in its role for the whole story development. Unfortunately, the female character seemed to be the minority ethnic in Estet (2010) and the depiction was biased and there was stereotyping of women representation like any other mainstream movies in Malaysia. Before the discussion on the role of female minority ethnic in Estet (2010), views that can further highlight the debate of the conflicts in this film are as below:

According to Stam (2000):

“For Mulvey, the cinema choreographs three kinds of “gaze”: that of the camera, that of the spectator, induced to voyeuristically identify with a masculinist gaze at women. Dominant cinema rein scribes patriarchal conventions by privileging the male in terms of both

narrative and spectacle. The male is made active subject of the narrative and the female the passive object of spectatorial gaze defined as male” (2000: 174).

From this view, it is clear that the women representation in *Estet* (2010) is still being suppressed by the power of the dominant ideology of film which puts the patriarchal system as a privilege in narrating the story. This happens in most of the scenes in this film. One of the important roles that can be seen is proving the male domination over the female character as the power of ‘male gaze’ over the female characters such as Geetha.

When feminism was analysed in terms of gender and sexuality, the scope typically emphasised the imbalance between the two classes and the oppression of male and female gender. In the end, the theory of feminism will see a conflict between these two classes in social institutions (Afeez, 2013: 51).

Thus, what can be seen is even the films were trying to support the national ideology such as 1 Malaysia concept but yet it was still being haunted by the inequality of the realities that was portrayed in the films; *Estet* (2010). Even though this study has limitation on discussing the feminist theoretical thoughts, it needs to understand that film, while debating the gender related issues, needs for feminist attention. While offering basic thoughts on it, more concrete explanation is initiated when the issue on dominant ideology in women representation in *Estet* (2010) is stressed.

To scrutinise the question of women representation in the structure of mainstream films and to give a clear picture on the representation of the dominant ideology in films such as *Estet* (2010), the wider scope of the feminist point of view should be analysed and this can best be explained by Anderson (2005):

“Feminist theory and research should not underestimate the constraint and power relationship that social structures generate, especially against those with the least power to negotiate their way through these structures, namely, those most oppressed by class and race and sexuality and gender. This leads to the second major theme in contemporary feminist scholarship: the intersctionality of gender,

race and class. These studies make clear that analyses of power, structure, and agency are central to feminist theorising” (2005: 56).

Thus, what is suggested here is to look at the way Mamat Khalid (2010) tried to represent the women especially in the portrayal of the minority women such as Geetha at the first place. As mentioned in the mainstream and stereotypical women representations, Geetha was an object of male gaze not only from the eyes of the spectators but in the film itself it did not become an object among the male minority characters but more than that, it became the object of the dominant ethnic in that particular film. From here, what can be perceived in this depiction is the women who were being suppressed as usual under the stereotypical circumstances were not just targeted under the general situation but also had to accept the dominant mainstream (Malay film) in the struggle of being represented in the films.

From some of the scenes in the film, it is understood that even though Geetha was found as a passive and naïve character as it meant to be, Mamat Khalid (2010) tried to bring women to the next level of representation where they were portrayed as objects in the whole story. Geetha tried to be subjective in half of the film before it moved to the end. This can be seen in the way Mamat Khalid tried to show that instead of women being controlled by the objective label in their role, Geetha seemed to become the reason why the community in *Estet* (2010) needed to win the inter football match in their ‘kampong’. There must be a male character who will be the active character and bring all the scenes together and turn the story in films as explained by Hayward (2007): “The motivation of the characters moves the story along to make a ‘realist’ narrative. In mainstream cinema it is traditionally the male who is the prime motivator of the narrative, that is, it is his actions that set the narrative in motion.”

What is clear is the incident between Geetha and her family which brought the women to control towards the men motivation to solve the women problems in *Estet* (2010). The desire of women’s needs in this film had to be fulfilled by the action of men and even though there was no strong motivation by men, just to make sure that the problem between Geetha and his family who have owed a lot of money from the protagonist character Pooniah. However, the notion that there was still a



strong relation with the dominant ideology on women in their role in films cannot be avoided.

This can be explained by Hayward (1997)'s thoughts: "However, female characters can also act as a prime object. For example when the woman is at the centre of the enigma around which the film revolves, as is often the case in film noir, she is still usually the object not the subject of the narrative" (1997: 251).

Whatever discussed here is not literally projected in the film which is just a comedy genre but it is clear that women in some of the plots are beginning to develop to become prime objects that seem to change to become subjects to bring down the male functions in films. Yet again, the women are still in the same cliché where they need males to take control of the position of the narrative structure in *Estet* (2010).

## END OF THE DEBATE

Based on the brief study on *Estet* (2010), produced by one of the well-known Malay directors Mamat Khalid (2010), it can be concluded here that the mainstream film makes try to portray the Malay films to expose the equilibrium of multiculturalism in the name of 'Malaysian' film context. However, this does not mean that the idea of Malaysian film is applied or it is successful in this film.

From the point of view of the mainstream film makers, it can be said that what was done by Mamat Khalid is the effort of shifting the Malay film production to the next level of being truly a Malaysian film in the sense of showing the element of multiculturalism. However, thoughts were referred by the concept and theoretical framework of Ideology in the sense of a critical social perspective to conclude what is the reality that can be summarised.

Before a conclusion is drawn from this preliminary study, what is important is that while looking at film representations, it is not only to think at the fantasy level. Even feature films can be about the artificial life that is produced by the film maker and yet fixed to the sphere of the social reality. This social reality works in two situations which are:

- i. A film does not move around arts. A film needs to look at the wider picture in the reality life of where it is produced.

- ii. Film still works under the name of ideology whether it is inside or outside of its time and space.

From the above, there are a few thoughts:

- i. From the point of view discussed earlier, the mainstream films are still being dominated by the Malay production and is still tied up with the idea from the national agenda of the ruling party. This can be seen in the way the film *Estet* (2010) tried to support the latest national agenda (1 Malaysia) under the new Prime Minister. It can give a clear scenario on the way films are directed in Malaysia where they still take their bow to the power of the states by portraying the 'goodness' and the 'natural' view of cultural diversity in Malaysia. By saying 'natural' here is to understand that it is under the concept of false consciousness by putting all the reality into their idea of reality.
- ii. In trying to put the element of multiculturalism by showing the cultural diversity of characters in the environment of an Indian ethnic area such as Cinta Manis estate, it is still insufficient to prove that Mamat Khalid's work has already achieved the real Malaysian film production. This can be shown from the role of the Malay character that still falls under the idea of the dominant ethnic in Malay film production. Farid was the symbol of bumiputera in that film and played the leading role. In comparison, Shashi's role tried to align with Farid but failed to bring this Indian character to match with Farid's character. This is the main point that Mamat Khalid was not aware of the sense of character roles in *Estet* (2010). It was supposed to be interrelated with the Indians and Sashi should be the main male character that anchors the story.
- iii. The last element that can be seen to support the dominant ideology of mainstream film is by looking at the patriarchy system in this film. Mamat Khalid still played with the typical stereotype depiction of women in his film. By looking at Geetha's character in *Estet* (2010), besides being too dependent towards the male role as a trigger of this film, the portrayal of Geetha in Mamat Khalid's work was very naive when it seemed that she as an Indian lady could still be caught in the middle of two men Farid and Sashi as her companion in this film.

It seemed that Geetha really fell in love with Farid and this gave a clear idea that Geetha as a minority (Indian) character still had to accept the dominant ethnic in this film that unconsciously would lead to the enhancement of the status quo of the national agenda under the concept of unity in multiculturalism.

From what has been discussed, it is crucial for the next study to look at this perspective in more detail and critically on the perspectives of history and discourse on the issue of ethnicity and inequality of the multiracial community in Malaysia. These details will enable verification within the framework of the ideology and the dominant ideology by means of the sphere of critical social theory. It also can best explain the social reality of the Malaysian film industry.

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