## 學阿拉伯語或日語或中文?: 語言政策在中國穆斯林學校,1931-1945

韓麗 (Kelly A. Hammond)

美國阿肯色大學歷史系助理教授

漢學研究中心獎助訪問學人

對日本佔領下的中國穆斯林而言,中文是他們的日常生活用語,日文係提升社經 地位有利的官方語言,阿拉伯語則為宗教禮拜所需。儘管生活中殊少使用,學習阿拉 伯語是中國穆斯林獲得宗教認同,以及感受自己在伊斯蘭社群(烏瑪,umma)中一份 子的方式。為了探討日本帝國如何尋求在穆斯林圈內的統治合理化,我採用日本對中 國佔領區穆斯林學校推行日語的政策報告,及日本學者的研究成果,以衡量佔領區內 穆斯林學校日語學習的情況。同時也檢證中國民族主義者對這些政策的回應。日本帝 國主義者博取中國穆斯林人口支持的方法之一,是資助現存的經學院(madrasahs)來 開設新的學校。然而,當他們試著降低穆斯林學生學習阿拉伯語的時數,並以日語取 而代之時,穆斯林社區的宗教認同便受到了威脅。關於這些語言政策的辯論是在地方 上的穆斯林人口、日本統治者、以及中國民族主義者之間往來折衝這一點,提供我們 深入了解阿拉伯語作為禮拜用語,對中國穆斯林的重要性。此外,圍繞著伊斯蘭教育 的討論,可以略窺日本統治者如何想像中國穆斯林在他們日益擴張的亞洲版圖中的位 置,以及中國民族主義者如何想像中國穆斯林在中國民族國家的定位。

## To learn Arabic, Japanese, or Chinese: Language policy at Muslim schools in China, 1931-1945

For Sino-Muslims living in occupied China, Chinese was the transactional language of daily life, Japanese was the bureaucratic language that potentially provided opportunities for advancement and economic benefits, and Arabic was the liturgical language. Arabic was not used frequently in daily life, but learning Arabic was important for Islamic religious identity and for Sino-Muslims to consider themselves part of the community of Islamic believers, known as the *umma*. Probing into imperial Japan's quest to legitimize itself within the Islamic sphere, this paper uses policy reports and academic writing produced by Japanese scholars to assess the state of Japanese-language acquisition at Muslim schools in occupied China. It also

examines Chinese Nationalist responses to these policies. Japanese imperialists were eager to gain the support of Sino-Muslim populations who came under their control, and one of the ways they did this was by providing funding to existing madrasahs to open new schools for Muslims. However, when Japanese imperialists attempted to lessen the number of hours that Muslim students spent learning Arabic and replace these hours with Japanese language instruction, they threatened the religious identity of Muslim communities. The ways that the debates over language were mediated between local Muslim populations, Japanese imperial officials, and the Chinese Nationalists provide insight into the importance of Arabic as a liturgical language for Muslims in China. The discussions surrounding Islamic education also provide a glimpse into some of the ways that the Japanese imagined Sino-Muslim populations fitting into their growing empire throughout Asia, as well as the ways that Chinese Nationalists imagined the place of Sino-Muslims within the Chinese nation-state.

## 主講人簡介:

韓麗(Kelly A. Hammond),加拿大籍,韓教授係美國喬治城大學東亞歷史博士, 現任教於美國阿肯色大學歷史系。主要研究 1931-45 年日本在華佔領區的穆斯林,藉 此再思考日本帝國主義在東北亞的發展,以及中華民國對日戰爭時期之社會狀態。本 年獲得漢學研究中心「外籍學人來臺研究漢學獎助」,來臺灣研究主題為『「戰時合作」: 二戰時日本帝國主義與中國回民的合作關係』。