

= Pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? =

Pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? ( pronounced [ pe? ? ue ? dzi ? ] , abbreviated POJ , literally vernacular writing , also known as Church Romanization ) is an orthography used to write variants of Southern Min Chinese , particularly Taiwanese Southern Min and Amoy Hokkien . Developed by Western missionaries working among the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia in the 19th century and refined by missionaries working in Xiamen and Tainan , it uses a modified Latin alphabet and some diacritics to represent the spoken language . After initial success in Fujian , POJ became most widespread in Taiwan and , in the mid @-@ 20th century , there were over 100 @,@ 000 people literate in POJ . A large amount of printed material , religious and secular , has been produced in the script , including Taiwan 's first newspaper , the Taiwan Church News .

In Taiwan under Japanese rule ( 1895 ? 1945 ) its use was suppressed and Pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? faced further countermeasures during the Kuomintang martial law period ( 1947 ? 1987 ) . In Fujian , use declined after the establishment of the People 's Republic of China ( 1949 ) and in the early 21st century the system was not in general use there . Taiwanese Christians , non @-@ native learners of Southern Min , and native @-@ speaker enthusiasts in Taiwan are among those that continue to use Pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? . Full native computer support was developed in 2004 , and users can now call on fonts , input methods , and extensive online dictionaries . Rival writing systems have evolved , and there is ongoing debate within the Taiwanese mother tongue movement as to which system should be used . Versions of pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? have been devised for other Chinese varieties , including Hakka and Teochew Southern Min .

= = Name = =

The name pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? ( Chinese : ??? ; pinyin : Báihuà zì ) means " vernacular writing , " written characters representing everyday spoken language . The name vernacular writing could be applied to many kinds of writing , romanized and character @-@ based , but the term pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? is commonly restricted to the Southern Min romanization system developed by Presbyterian missionaries in the 19th century .

The missionaries who invented and refined the system used , instead of the name pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? , various other terms , such as " Romanized Amoy Vernacular " and " Romanized Amoy Colloquial . " The origins of the system and its extensive use in the Christian community have led to it being known by some modern writers as " Church Romanization " ( ????? ; Jiàohuì Lu?m?zì ; Kàu @-@ h?e Lô @-@ má @-@ j? ) and is often abbreviated in POJ itself to Kàu @-@ lô . ( ?? ; Jiàolu? ) There is some debate on whether " pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? " or " Church Romanization " is the more appropriate name .

Objections to " pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? " are that it can refer to more than one system and that both literary and colloquial register Southern Min appear in the system and so describing it as " vernacular " writing might be inaccurate . Objections to " Church Romanization " are that some non @-@ Christians and some secular writing use it . One commentator observes that POJ " today is largely disassociated from its former religious purposes . " The term " romanization " is also disliked by some , who see it as belittling the status of pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? by identifying it as a supplementary phonetic system instead of a fully @-@ fledged orthography . Sources disagree on which of the two is more commonly used .

= = History = =

The history of Peh @-@ oe @-@ ji has been heavily influenced by official attitudes towards the Southern Min vernaculars and the Christian organizations that propagated it . Early documents point to the purpose of the creation of POJ as being pedagogical in nature , closely allied to educating Christian converts .

= = = Early development = = =

The first people to use a romanized script to write Southern Min were Spanish missionaries in Manila in the 16th century . However , it was used mainly as a teaching aid for Spanish learners of Southern Min , and seems not to have had any influence on the development of pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? . In the early 19th century , China was closed to Christian missionaries , who instead proselytized to overseas Chinese communities in South East Asia . The earliest origins of the system are found in a small vocabulary first printed in 1820 by Walter Henry Medhurst , who went on to publish the Dictionary of the Hok @-@ kènn Dialect of the Chinese Language , According to the Reading and Colloquial Idioms in 1832 .

This dictionary represents the first major reference work in POJ , although the romanization within was quite different from the modern system , and has been dubbed Early Church Romanization by one scholar of the subject . Medhurst , who was stationed in Malacca , was influenced by Robert Morrison 's romanization of Mandarin Chinese , but had to innovate in several areas to reflect major differences between Mandarin and Southern Min . Several important developments occurred in Medhurst 's work , especially the application of consistent tone markings ( influenced by contemporary linguistic studies of Sanskrit , which was becoming of more mainstream interest to Western scholars ) . Medhurst was convinced that accurate representation and reproduction of the tonal structure of Southern Min was vital to comprehension :

Respecting these tones of the Chinese language , some difference of opinion has been obtained , and while some have considered them of first importance , others have paid them little or no intention . The author inclines decidedly to the former opinion ; having found , from uniform experience , that without strict attention to tones , it is impossible for a person to make himself understood in Hok @-@ kènn .

The system expounded by Medhurst influenced later dictionary compilers with regard to tonal notation and initials , but both his complicated vowel system and his emphasis on the literary register of Southern Min were dropped by later writers . Following on from Medhurst 's work , Samuel Wells Williams became the chief proponent of major changes in the orthography devised by Morrison and adapted by Medhurst . Through personal communication and letters and articles printed in The Chinese Repository a consensus was arrived at for the new version of POJ , although Williams ' suggestions were largely not followed .

The first major work to represent this new orthography was Elihu Doty 's Anglo @-@ Chinese Manual with Romanized Colloquial in the Amoy Dialect , published in 1853 . The manual can therefore be regarded as the first presentation of a pre @-@ modern POJ , a significant step onwards from Medhurst 's orthography and different from today 's system in only a few details . From this point on various authors adjusted some of the consonants and vowels , but the system of tone marks from Doty 's Manual survives intact in modern POJ . John Van Nest Talmage has traditionally been regarded as the founder of POJ among the community which uses the orthography , although it now seems that he was an early promoter of the system , rather than its inventor .

In 1842 the Treaty of Nanking was concluded , which included among its provisions the creation of treaty ports in which Christian missionaries would be free to preach . Xiamen ( then known as Amoy ) was one of these treaty ports , and British , Canadian and American missionaries moved in to start preaching to the local inhabitants . These missionaries , housed in the cantonment of Gulangyu , created reference works and religious tracts , including a bible translation . Naturally , they based the pronunciation of their romanization on the speech of Xiamen , which became the de facto standard when they eventually moved into other areas of the Hokkien Sprachraum , most notably Taiwan . The 1858 Treaty of Tianjin officially opened Taiwan to western missionaries , and missionary societies were quick to send men to work in the field , usually after a sojourn in Xiamen to acquire the rudiments of the language .

= = = Maturity = = =

Quanzhou and Zhangzhou are two major varieties of Southern Min , and in Xiamen they combined

to form something " not Quan , not Zhang " ? i.e. not one or the other , but rather a fusion , which became known as Amoy Dialect or Amoy Chinese . In Taiwan , with its mixture of migrants from both Quanzhou and Zhangzhou , the linguistic situation was similar ; although the resulting blend in the southern city of Tainan differed from the Xiamen blend , it was close enough that the missionaries could ignore the differences and import their system wholesale .

The fact that religious tracts , dictionaries , and teaching guides already existed in the Xiamen tongue meant that the missionaries in Taiwan could begin proselytizing immediately , without the intervening time needed to write those materials . Missionary opinion was divided on whether POJ was desirable as an end in itself as a full @-@ fledged orthography , or as a means to literacy in Chinese characters . William Campbell described POJ as a step on the road to reading and writing the characters , claiming that to promote it as an independent writing system would inflame nationalist passions in China , where characters were considered a sacred part of Chinese culture . Taking the other side , Thomas Barclay believed that literacy in POJ should be a goal rather than a waypoint :

Soon after my arrival in Formosa I became firmly convinced of three things , and more than fifty years experience has strengthened my conviction . The first was that if you are to have a healthy , living Church it is necessary that all the members , men and women , read the Scriptures for themselves ; second , that this end can never be attained by the use of the Chinese character ; third , that it can be attained by the use of the alphabetic script , this Romanised Vernacular .

A great boon to the promotion of POJ in Taiwan came in 1880 when James Laidlaw Maxwell , a medical missionary based in Tainan , donated a small printing press to the local church , which Thomas Barclay learned how to operate in 1881 before founding the Presbyterian Church Press in 1884 . Subsequently the Taiwan Prefectural City Church News , which first appeared in 1885 and was produced by Barclay 's Presbyterian Church of Taiwan Press , became the first printed newspaper in Taiwan .

As other authors made their own alterations to the conventions laid down by Medhurst and Doty , pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? evolved and eventually settled into its current form . Ernest Tipson 's 1934 pocket dictionary was the first reference work to reflect this modern spelling . Between Medhurst 's dictionary of 1832 and the standardization of POJ in Tipson 's time , there were a number of works published , which can be used to chart the change over time of pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? :

Competition for POJ was introduced during the Japanese era in Taiwan ( 1895 ? 1945 ) in the form of Taiwanese kana , a system designed as a teaching aid and pronunciation guide , rather than an independent orthography like POJ . From the 1930s onwards , with the increasing militarization of Japan and the K?minka movement encouraging Taiwanese people to " Japanize " , there were a raft of measures taken against native languages , including Taiwanese . While these moves resulted in a suppression of POJ , they were " a logical consequence of increasing the amount of education in Japanese , rather than an explicit attempt to ban a particular Taiwanese orthography in favor of Taiwanese kana " .

The Second Sino @-@ Japanese War beginning in 1937 brought stricter measures into force , and along with the outlawing of romanized Taiwanese , various publications were prohibited and Confucian @-@ style shob? ( Chinese : ?? ; pinyin : sh?fáng ; Pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? : su @-@ pâng ) ? private schools which taught Classical Chinese with literary Southern Min pronunciation ? were closed down in 1939 . The Japanese authorities came to perceive POJ as an obstacle to Japanization and also suspected that POJ was being used to hide " concealed codes and secret revolutionary messages " . In the climate of the ongoing war the government banned the Taiwan Church News in 1942 as it was written in POJ .

= = = After World War II = = =

Initially the Kuomintang government in Taiwan had a liberal attitude towards " local dialects " ( i.e. non @-@ Mandarin varieties of Chinese ) . The National Languages Committee produced booklets outlining versions of Bopomofo for writing the Taiwanese tongue , these being intended for newly arrived government officials from outside Taiwan as well as local Taiwanese . The first government

action against native languages came in 1953 , when the use of Taiwanese or Japanese for instruction was forbidden . The next move to suppress the movement came in 1955 , when the use of POJ for proselytizing was outlawed . At that point in time there were 115 @,@ 000 people literate in POJ in Taiwan , Fujian , and southeast Asia .

Two years later , missionaries were banned from using romanized bibles , and the use of " native languages " ( i.e. Taiwanese Hakka , Hakka , and the non @-@ Sinitic Formosan languages ) in church work became illegal . The ban on POJ bibles was overturned in 1959 , but churches were " encouraged " to use character bibles instead . Government activities against POJ intensified in the late 1960s and early 1970s , when several publications were banned or seized in an effort to prevent the spread of the romanization . In 1964 use of Taiwanese in schools or official settings was forbidden , and transgression in schools punished with beatings , fines and humiliation . The Taiwan Church News ( printed in POJ ) was banned in 1969 , and only allowed to return a year later when the publishers agreed to print it in Chinese characters .

In 1974 , the Government Information Office banned A Dictionary of Southern Min , with a government official saying : " We have no objection to the dictionary being used by foreigners . They could use it in mimeographed form . But we don 't want it published as a book and sold publicly because of the Romanization it contains . Chinese should not be learning Chinese through Romanization . " Also in the 1970s , a POJ New Testament translation known as the " Red Cover Bible " ( Âng @-@ phoê Sèng @-@ keng ) was confiscated and banned by the Nationalist regime . Official moves against native languages continued into the 1980s , the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior decided in 1984 to forbid missionaries to use " local dialects " and romanizations in their work .

With the ending of martial law in 1987 , the restrictions on " local languages " were quietly lifted , resulting in growing interest in Taiwanese writing during the 1990s . For the first time since the 1950s , Taiwanese language and literature was discussed and debated openly in newspapers and journals . There was also support from the then opposition party , the Democratic Progressive Party , for writing in the language . From a total of 26 documented orthographies for Taiwanese in 1987 ( including defunct systems ) , there were a further 38 invented from 1987 to 1999 , including 30 different romanizations , six adaptations of bopomofo and two hangul @-@ like systems . Some commentators believe that the Kuomintang , while steering clear of outright banning of the native language movements after the end of martial law , took a " divide and conquer " approach by promoting Taiwanese Language Phonetic Alphabet ( TLPA ) , an alternative to POJ , which was at the time the choice of the majority inside the nativization movement .

Native language education has remained a fiercely debated topic in Taiwan into the 21st century and is the subject of much political wrangling .

= = Current system = =

The current system of pe ? h @-@ ?e @-@ j? has been stable since the 1930s , with a few minor exceptions ( detailed below ) . There is a fair degree of similarity with the Vietnamese alphabet , including the ? b / p / ph ? distinction and the use of ? ? ? in Vietnamese compared with ? o ? ? in POJ . POJ uses the following letters and combinations :

Chinese phonology traditionally divides syllables in Chinese into three parts ; firstly the initial , a consonant or consonant blend which appears at the beginning of the syllable , secondly the final , consisting of a medial vowel ( optional ) , a nucleus vowel , and an optional ending ; and finally the tone , which is applied to the whole syllable . In terms of the non @-@ tonal ( i.e. phonemic ) features , the nucleus vowel is the only required part of a licit consonant in Chinese varieties . Unlike Mandarin but like other southern varieties of Chinese , Taiwanese has final stop consonants with no audible release , a feature that has been preserved from Middle Chinese . There is some debate as to whether these stops are a tonal feature or a phonemic one , with some authorities distinguishing between ? -h ? as a tonal feature , and ? -p ? , ? -t ? , and ? -k ? as phonemic features . Southern Min dialects also have an optional nasal property , which is written with a superscript ? ? ? and usually identified as being part of the vowel .

A legitimate syllable in Hokkien takes the form ( initial ) + ( medial vowel ) + nucleus + ( stop ) + tone , where items in parenthesis indicate optional components .

The initials are :

Vowels :

Coda endings :

POJ has a limited amount of legitimate syllables , although sources disagree on some particular instances of these syllables . The following table contains all the licit spellings of POJ syllables , based on a number of sources :

=== Tone markings ===

In standard Amoy or Taiwanese Hokkien there are seven distinct tones , which by convention are numbered 1 ? 8 , with number 6 omitted ( tone 6 used to be a distinct tone , but has long since merged with tone 2 ) . Tones 1 and 4 are both represented without a diacritic , and can be distinguished from each other by the syllable ending , which is a vowel , ? -n ? , ? -m ? , or ? -ng ? for tone 1 , and ? -h ? , ? -k ? , ? -p ? , and ? -t ? for tone 4 .

Southern Min dialects undergo considerable tone sandhi , i.e. changes to the tone depending on the position of the syllable in any given sentence or utterance . However , like pinyin for Mandarin Chinese , POJ always marks the citation tone ( i.e. the original , pre @-@ sandhi tone ) rather than the tone which is actually spoken . This means that when reading aloud the reader must adjust the tone markings on the page to account for sandhi . Some textbooks for learners of Southern Min mark both the citation tone and the sandhi tone to assist the learner .

There is some debate as to the correct placement of tone marks in the case of diphthongs and triphthongs , particularly those which include ? oa ? and ? oe ? . Most modern writers follow six rules :

If the syllable has one vowel , that vowel should be tone @-@ marked ; viz . ? t? ? , ? lán? ? , ? chhu ? t ?

If a diphthong contains ? i ? or ? u ? , the tone mark goes above the other vowel ; viz . ? ia ? h ? , ? kiò ? , ? táu ?

If a diphthong includes both ? i ? and ? u ? , mark the ? u ? ; viz . ? iû ? , ? ùi ?

If the final is made up of three or more letters , mark the second vowel ( except when rules 2 and 3 apply ) ; viz . ? goán ? , ? o?i ? , ? khiáu ?

If ? o ? occurs with ? a ? or ? e ? , mark the ? o ? ; viz . ? àa ? , ? thóe ?

If the syllable has no vowel , mark the nasal consonant ; viz . ? m ? ? , ? ?g ? , ? mn ? g ?

=== Hyphens ===

A single hyphen is used to indicate a compound . What constitutes a compound is controversial , with some authors equating it to a " word " in English , and others not willing to limit it to the English concept of a word . Examples from POJ include ? sì @-@ cha ? p ? " forty " , ? bé @-@ hì @-@ thôn ? " circus " , and ? hōe @-@ ho ? k ? " recover ( from illness ) " . The rule @-@ based sandhi behaviour of tones in compounds has not yet been clearly defined by linguists . A double hyphen -- ? is used when POJ is deployed as an orthography ( rather than as a transcription system ) to indicate that the following syllable should be pronounced in the neutral tone . It also marks to the reader that the preceding syllable does not undergo tone sandhi , as it would were the following syllable non @-@ neutral . Morphemes following a double hyphen are often ( but not always ) grammatical function words .

=== Audio examples ===

=== Regional differences ===

In addition to the standard syllables detailed above , there are several regional variations of Hokkien speech which can be represented with non @-@ standard or semi @-@ standard spellings . In the Zhangzhou dialect , spoken in Zhangzhou and parts of Taiwan close to it , particularly the northeastern coast around Yilan City , the final ? ng ? is replaced with ? ui? ? , for example in " egg " ? nui? ? and " cooked rice " ? pui? ? .

= = Texts = =

Due to POJ 's origins in the church , much of the material in the script is religious in nature , including several Bible translations , books of hymns , and guides to morality . The Tainan Church Press , established in 1884 , has been printing POJ materials ever since , with periods of quiet when POJ was suppressed in the early 1940s and from around 1955 to 1987 . In the period to 1955 , over 2 @.@ 3 million volumes of POJ books were printed , and one study in 2002 catalogued 840 different POJ texts in existence . Besides a Southern Min version of Wikipedia in the orthography , there are teaching materials , religious texts , and books about linguistics , medicine and geography .

Lán ê Kiù @-@ chú lâ @-@ so ? Ki @-@ tok ê Sin @-@ iok ( 1873 translation of the New Testament )

L?i @-@ go? @-@ kho Khàn @-@ h? ? -ha ? k , by George Gushue @-@ Taylor , 1917

Chinese ? English dictionary of the vernacular or spoken language of Amoy , by Carstairs Douglas , 1873

Lear Ông , translation of King Lear by T? H?i @-@ hun

= = Computing = =

POJ was initially not well supported by word @-@ processing applications due to the special diacritics needed to write it . Support has now improved and there are now sufficient resources to both enter and display POJ correctly . Several input methods exist to enter Unicode @-@ compliant POJ , including OpenVanilla ( OS X and Microsoft Windows ) , the cross @-@ platform Tai @-@ lo Input Method released by the Taiwanese Ministry of Education , and the Firefox add @-@ on Transliterator , which allows in @-@ browser POJ input . When POJ was first used in word @-@ processing applications it was not fully supported by the Unicode standard , thus necessitating work @-@ arounds . One employed was encoding the necessary characters in the " Private Use " section of Unicode , but this required both the writer and the reader to have the correct custom font installed . Another solution was to replace troublesome characters with near equivalents , for example substituting ? ä ? for ? ? ? or using a standard ? o ? followed by an interpunct to represent ? o ? ? . With the introduction into Unicode 4 @.@ 1 @.@ 0 of the combining character COMBINING DOT ABOVE RIGHT ( U + 0358 ) in 2004 , all the necessary characters were present to write regular POJ without the need for workarounds . However , even after the addition of these characters , there are still relatively few fonts which are able to properly render the script , including the combining characters . Some of those which can are Charis SIL , DejaVu , Doulos SIL , Linux Libertine , and Taigi Unicode .

= = Han @-@ Romanization mixed script = =

One of the most popular modern ways of writing Taiwanese is by using a mixed orthography called Hàn @-@ lô ( simplified Chinese : ?? ; traditional Chinese : ?? ; pinyin : Hàn @-@ Luó ; literally Chinese @-@ Roman ) , and sometimes Han @-@ Romanization mixed script , a style not unlike written Japanese or ( historically ) Korean . In fact , the term Hàn @-@ lô does not describe one specific system , but covers any kind of writing in Southern Min which features both Chinese characters and romanization . That romanization is usually POJ , although recently some texts have begun appearing with Tâi @-@ lô spellings too . The problem with using only Chinese characters to write Southern Min is that there are many morphemes ( estimated to be around 15 percent of

running text ) which are not definitively associated with a particular character . Various strategies have been developed to deal with the issue , including creating new characters , allocating Chinese characters used in written Mandarin with similar meanings ( but dissimilar etymology ) to represent the missing characters , or using romanization for the " missing 15 % " . There are two rationales for using mixed orthography writing , with two different aims . The first is to allow native speakers ( almost all of whom can already write Chinese characters ) to make use of their knowledge of characters , while replacing the missing 15 % with romanization . The second is to wean character literates off using them gradually , to be replaced eventually by fully romanized text . Examples of modern texts in Hà n @-@ lô include religious , pedagogical , scholarly , and literary works , such as :

Chang Yu @-@ hong . Principles of POJ .

Babuja A. Sidaia . A @-@ Chhûn .

= = Adaptations for other Chinese varieties = =

POJ has been adapted for several other varieties of Chinese , with varying degrees of success . For Hakka , missionaries and others have produced a Bible translation , hymn book , textbooks , and dictionaries . Materials produced in the orthography , called Pha ? k @-@ fa @-@ s? , include :

Hak @-@ ngi S?n @-@ kin , Sin @-@ yuk lau S? @-@ phien : Hien @-@ thoi Thoi @-@ van Hak @-@ ngi Yit @-@ pun ( Hakka Bible , New Testament and Psalms : Today 's Taiwan Hakka Version ) . Bible Society . 1993 .

Phang Tet @-@ siu ( 1994 ) . Thai @-@ ka Loi Hok Hak @-@ fa ( Everybody Learn Hakka ) . Taipei : Southern Materials Center . ISBN 957 @-@ 638 @-@ 017 @-@ 0 .

Phang Tet @-@ siu ( 1996 ) . Hak @-@ ka @-@ fa Fat @-@ yim S? @-@ tien ( Hakka Pronunciation Dictionary ) . Taipei : Southern Materials Center . ISBN 957 @-@ 638 @-@ 359 @-@ 5 .

Hak @-@ ka S?n @-@ s? ( Hakka Hymns ) . Tainan : PCT Press . 1999 . ISBN 957 @-@ 8349 @-@ 75 @-@ 0 .

A modified version of POJ has also been created for Teochew .

= = Current status = =

Most native Southern Min speakers in Taiwan are unfamiliar with POJ or any other writing system for the variety , commonly asserting that " Taiwanese has no writing " , or , if they are made aware of POJ , considering romanization as the " low " form of writing , in contrast with the " high " form ( Chinese characters ) . For those who are introduced to POJ alongside Hà n @-@ lô and completely Chinese character @-@ based systems , a clear preference has been shown for all @-@ character systems , with all @-@ romanization systems at the bottom of the preference list , likely because of the preexisting familiarity of readers with Chinese characters .

POJ remains the Taiwanese orthography " with the richest inventory of written work , including dictionaries , textbooks , literature [ ... ] and other publications in many areas " . A 1999 estimate put the number of literate POJ users at around 100 @,@ 000 , and secular organizations have been formed to promote the use of romanization among Taiwanese speakers .

Outside Taiwan , POJ is rarely used . For example , in Fujian , Xiamen University uses a romanization known as Bbánlám pìngy?m , based on Pinyin . In other areas where Hokkien is spoken , such as Singapore , the Speak Mandarin Campaign is underway to actively discourage people from speaking Hokkien or other non @-@ Mandarin varieties in favour of switching to Mandarin instead .

In 2006 , Taiwan 's Ministry of Education chose an official romanization for use in teaching Southern Min in the state school system . POJ was one of the candidate systems , along with Daighi tongiong pingim , but a compromise system , the Taiwanese Romanization System or Tâi @-@ Lô , was chosen in the end . Tâi @-@ Lô retains most of the orthographic standards of POJ , including the tone marks , while changing the troublesome ? o ? ? character for ? oo ? , swapping ? ts ? for ?

ch ㄔ, and replacing ㄛ in diphthongs with ㄨ. Supporters of Taiwanese writing are in general deeply suspicious of government involvement, given the history of official suppression of native languages, making it unclear whether Tâi @-@ Lô or POJ will become the dominant system in the future.