



许文荣博士

南方 喧哗

马华文学的政治抵抗诗学

The Study of Political Resistance Poetics of Malaysian Literature in Chinese

南方学院学术丛书第六种

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藏书章

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阅 览



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**谨以此书献给洪天赐教授、林水椽教授及
郑良树教授三位恩师，
感谢他们在信仰、人格及学术上
给予我毕生受用不尽的启迪。**

中文摘要

文学与政治有着非常微妙的关系，我们可以从中国诗学或西方诗学中找到强而有力的根据。文学作为一种表意系统与话语策略，无法与社会、历史脱离关系。无论如何，在不同的时代与社会语境中，文学的政治诗学策略有着不同的表征模式，不能混为一谈，因此进行较具体与微观的研究是有必要的。

本书选择了马来西亚华文文学（简称马华文学）的政治抵抗诗学作为研究论题，意在探讨处于马来西亚的政治语境中，华文文学对官方的马来文化—知识话语霸权的回应，在抵抗与主体性重建的过程中，构筑了怎样的诗学模式。

詹姆逊的观点也可以用来关照马华文学。他说，第三世界的（文学）文本均含有寓言的结构，特别是作为西方主导表达形式的小说，看起来虽然是个人的经验及带有相当多的利比多潜力（libidinal dynamic），但总是以民族寓言的形式投射政治。我们发现，马华文学作为一种第三国家内部的文学机制之一，暗合了詹氏所表达的观点，即有着浓厚的民族寓言的政治抵抗表征。本书尝试通过微观的文本分析阐释与分析它的文本与话语的形式及内涵。在方法论上，本书提供了一个新的研究视域，即从文学的视角去审察马来西亚的华人的政治抵抗。过去类似的研究一般只是从政治、经济、文化及教育的视界切入，鲜少从诗学的角度探讨，因此本书开拓了一个新的研究路径。

本书主要从三个部分展开论述。第一部分共两章，聚焦于讲述文学与政治的微妙关系。第一章主要从宏观理论的角度论证了中西文论中的政治诗学；第二章则转入较具体的马来西亚政治语境来审视马华文学与政治的联系。在中国的文论中，自孔子提出“诗可以怨”后，不少文学家、文论家如司马迁、韩愈、欧阳修等延续了这一传统，使中国文学建构本身独特的政治表征范式。此外，在西方文学的人文传统中，由于具有对人性阴暗面的认识论架构，文学对人性、社会的批判更是严厉与尖锐。当代的新马克思主义、解构主义与后殖民主义等话语，就是在这种

独特的政治诗学传统中发展出来的文化批判机制。中西政治诗学的机制可以为我们的研究提供一个很恰当的语境，使我们的研究有着坚实的理论基础。

马来西亚的政治语境使作为从属族群的华文文学，在马来精英分子的“马来知识—文化”话语一体化的企图下，别无选择地须承担着诗学抵抗的角色。中文的被排挤使中文书写成为拯救语言的策略，马华文学不被承认为国家文学使它更能站在边缘的阵线上呐喊，“文化—知识”的被挤压使文学书写成为再生产“文化—知识”话语的机制，并成为建构主体性的符号资本。

在第二部分的论述中，我们主要以微观的文本分析阐释马华文学的具体文本，以揭示马华文学政治抵抗诗学的各种形态，第三章到第七章的论述都在这个范畴内。我们所选择的主要是小说文本，因为我们认为，就如詹姆逊与巴赫金所说的那样，小说文本的表征结构使它较其他文体具有更优越的政治指涉功能。我们的阐释重点是对隐蔽的潜文本（深层文本）进行政治无意识的分析，并关注文本策略与话语形构的政治表征。

我们发现了马华文学政治抵抗诗学的五种最普遍/典型的形态，即召唤民族文化（第三章）、挪用他者的策略（第四章）、互文性（第五章）、诡异/魔幻书写（第六章）以及离散意识（第七章）。召唤民族文化是试图转化民族语言文化与原生意识俾成为抵抗的资本，同时建构有别于官方/主导话语的自身知识—文化话语范式。熟练掌握中文的能力以及对中国文学与文化符码的认知，使马华作家能够相当成功地掌握这种符号资本并且可以再生产新的民族文化话语。

“他者”经常成为关照自我的镜子，就如孔子所说：“见贤思齐，见不贤而内自省也”。“他者性”在文学的表征机制中，更可以成为建构“自我”的对立面。例如，在殖民话语中，殖民者藉着把被殖民者“他者化”，并以二元对立的策略矮化“他者”以建构自我的优越性。马华文学在殖民时代即关注“他者性”的挪用以消解“他者”的霸权话语。一般以逆反二元对立的范式嘲讽“他者”并寻找“自我”主体的合法性。独立后面对以马来精英分子为代表的官方话语霸权时，也以对族

群他者的调侃与对自我主体的“圣化”，颠覆主导族群/官方权威化的符号表征。

互文性一方面强调文本之间的互涉关系（狭义），一方面主张文本与社会语境之间的微妙关系（广义）。无论如何，两者都轻视甚至否定了作者作为作品的话语源头与唯一的著作权，并认为文本是一个受多元影响的话语生产。同样的，在文本诠释上，作者意图作为唯一阐释指标也被消解，而主张更多元的阐释范式，使文本的意义更宽泛化。把互文性的意义重新放置在马华社会—政治大文本的语境上去阐释，我们发现马华文学互文性的各种策略，尤其是杂锦拼贴、滑稽戏仿或者自我意识的后设互文本，都具有打破主导/官方话语独断的企图。在否定主导话语（类作家）的平台上，微妙地表达了国家知识—文化话语形构应兼收并蓄、多元互动的愿望。

诡异/魔幻的书写形态除了是一种美学形式外，我们也发现了它以隐蔽的表征机制，不动声色地蚕食权力意志的内在企图。诡异/魔幻书写使表征系统更趋向模棱与歧义，使表意指涉形成多种可能性，这种歧义是反对主宰者一元诠释的隐喻。此外，马华文学的诡异书写也反映了华人以隐蔽的形式抵抗主导民族，这样可避免误入禁区，特别是政治论述在马来西亚仍然有许多禁忌，以及在抵抗主导民族的同时，也不想与他们正式的决裂。

我们发觉，马华文学的离散话语是以一种近于超国家主义的意识去质疑（马来）民族—国家的狭隘观念，这项话语可以表现在两种形态上，一是身体的迁徙，即身体可以从一个国家移民到另一个国家；二是心理上的漂泊，虽然身体并没有迁移，不过在心理上却抵抗官方/主导权力的挤压，把自身孤立于官方/主导认同以外，建构本身的符号世界。马华文学的离散话语涉及这两种形式，在“用情不专”、“难兄难弟”、“漂泊心境”的具体内在指涉下，形成独特的离散诗学。“用情不专”藉着情感上的矛盾而转移恋爱对象来隐喻在现实政治的压抑下而转移效忠对象。“难兄难弟”藉着海外华裔同胞的苦难而批判在地国土著政府的霸权，“漂泊心境”则和祖辈的南来似乎有着心理上的联系，类似荣格所称的集体无意识，使海外华裔有着继续漂泊的无意识冲动。

我们把以上五种政治抵抗的范式称为“微观/隐蔽的反话语”。微观/隐蔽是因为马华文学的抵抗诗学已从独立前的批判现实主义宏观/口号抗争，转向现代主义/后现代主义诗学的微观权力抵抗。这种抵抗隐蔽在文本与话语潜在结构当中，而非激昂的政治宣告式对抗。至于反话语是马华抵抗诗学的总趋势，因为马华文学并非如马来文学那样与官方同谋，而是抵抗主导/官方话语的挤压，因此它在本质上与功能上都是在消解与嘲讽主导/官方话语。

本书更作出了一个大胆的假设，即马华文学的第二符号世界的建构。马华抵抗诗学除了解构主导/官方话语之外，更建构了华裔的自我主体性与独特的表征机制，开拓了不同于主导/官方世界的民族观（离散意识对抗民族—国家）；文本观（互文本对抗单一文本）；自我意识（挪用他者对抗自我合法化）及表意形式（隐蔽的对抗公开的）等。倘若以巴赫金的观点来阐释，这种趋向是有其可被接纳的合理性。由于从属族群（包括边缘族群、少数族群、附属族群、属下群体以及巴赫金所谓的民间群体）的对抗诗学策略是要颠覆与消解主导话语，它不可能取代主导话语，也不可能（在整体上）被主导话语所接纳，因此它的唯一出路就是建构自身的符号系统，以便继续生产抵抗话语与官方抗衡。

这本书为马来西亚的华人研究提供了一个新视点，即文学的维度。这是将来在这项研究场域中所不能避开或忽略的。另外，也为政治抵抗诗学的研究增添了一个新的个案/模式，即马华文学的个案/模式，将来可以作为这方面研究的参照点。

关键词

马华文学；政治抵抗诗学；话语霸权；文本分析；隐蔽的反话语；第二符号世界。

ABSTRACT

Literature and politics have a very delicate relationship, for which we shall gather plenty of evidence in Chinese or Western Poetics. As a signifying system and discursive mechanism, literature cannot be separated from society, culture, politics, history etc. However, political poetics of literature is seen in various representative patterns and these must not be confused. It is, therefore, necessary to conduct a concrete and thorough study in this particular field.

We have chosen the political resistance poetics of Malaysian Literature in Chinese as the topic of study, to explore the way literature in Chinese responded to the official Malay-Culture in the context of Malaysian Politics — Knowledge discursive hegemony. In particular, what pattern of poetics has been composed in the process of the resistance and self-reconstruction?

Fredric Jameson's perspective is applicable to our survey of the Malaysian Literature in Chinese. He pointed out that the third world's texts contain the structure of allegory. This is manifested particularly in novels, a dominant western form of expression. Although these third world novels seem to describe individual experience and embrace plenty of *libidinal dynamics*, they often employ national allegories to reflect politics. We have discovered that, Malaysian Literature in Chinese, as one of the local literary institutions in a third world country, contains much of the national allegories with the political resistance messages, the connotation of which we hope to find through microscopic textual study. In this regard, this book presents a new research perspective, namely studying the political resistance of the Chinese Malaysians through a literary perspective. Previous research generally adopted the perspective of politics, economics, culture and education, and scarcely the literary/poetical perspective. Hence, this book has opened up a new approach of study in this particular field.

This book discusses the topic in three main sections. The first section is focused on the delicate relationship between literature and politics. Chapter One mainly reviews the political poetics from the macroscopic perspective of Chinese and Western literary theories. Chapter Two turns to the particular context of Malaysian politics to examine the relation between Malaysian Literature in Chinese and politics. In Chinese literary theory, from Confucius' first advocacy of "poetry as an expression of grievance", through the continuing input of other literary theorists such as Sima Qian, Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu, Chinese literature has formed its own distinctive paradigm of political representation. In the case of Western poetics, because Western humanistic tradition adheres to the concept of human imperfection, their criticism of humanity and society has been even more unequivocal. The critical mechanisms of Neo-Marxism, deconstructionism, post-colonialism, etc., evolved from this unique tradition of political poetics. The structure of Chinese and Western political poetics provides a suitable context and sound theoretical evidence for our study.

As the literature of a subordinate ethnic group in the Malaysian political context, and particularly in view of the intention of the Malay elite to construct the Malay Knowledge-Culture hegemony, literature in Chinese has no choice but to assume the role of poetical resistance. The marginalisation of the Chinese Language led to the role of Chinese literary works in language preservation. Its very exclusion from the National Literature has thrust the literature in Chinese forward as a voice of protest at the margin. The repression of the Chinese knowledge-culture has further led to the function of literature in Chinese as a mechanism of reproducing knowledge-culture discourse and the symbolic capital in the construction of Chinese subjectivity/'selves'.

In the second section, from chapters three to seven, we employ the microscopic textual study, to interpret the actual texts, so as to demonstrate the various forms of political resistance poetics in Malaysian Literature in Chinese. The texts chosen are mainly short stories for we agree with Jameson and Bakhtin's notion that the

representative structure of the short story makes it more effective than other literary genres in the function of political signifying. Our interpretations are focused on the hidden sub-texts, through analysis of political unconsciousness and attention to textual strategies and the political representation of the form of discourses.

We discover five typical type of political resistance poetics of Malaysian Literature in Chinese, i.e., the call of ethnic culture (Chapter Three), the appropriation of 'Others' (Chapter Four), the intertextuality (Chapter Five), the mystical/magical writings (Chapter Six) and the diaspora consciousness (Chapter Seven). The call of ethnic culture attempts to transfer the ethnic language-culture and primordial consciousness to be the resistant capital, at the same time constructing the discursive form of knowledge-culture that is differentiated from the official/dominant discourse. The proficiency in Chinese among Malaysian Chinese writers and their knowledge of the Chinese literary/cultural signifier allow them to successfully handle these symbolic capitals and reproduce the ethnic cultural discourse.

'Others' always act as a mirror of selves, as in the saying of Confucius, "meet a virtuous man and think of being his equal, meet a wicked man and conduct self-reflection". Furthermore, the portrayal of 'Others' in the literary representative mechanisms also portrays the opposite side of constructing 'selves'. For instance, in the colonial discourse, by making the colonial subjects (locals) the 'Others' and thus making them inferior, a dichotomy is used to construct their superior 'Selves'. Malaysian Literature in Chinese has been concerned with the appropriation of 'Others' to dismantle the hegemonic discourse of 'Others', usually with the method of counter-dichotomy to ridicule 'Others' and instituting the legitimacy of 'Selves'. In the post-independence period of official discursive hegemony represented by the Malay elite, Malaysian Literature of Chinese derided ethnical 'Others' glorified 'Selves', thus upsetting the symbolic representation of the dominant ethnic group or authority.

Intertextuality emphasises the interrelation among the texts (narrow sense) and also asserts the delicate relationship between the texts and social context (wide sense). In either case, intertextuality denies the writer as the source of the work and its discourse and ignores his accorded rights as the sole author. Text is also regarded as a product of a discourse under multiple influences. Correspondingly, in terms of textual interpretation, the intention of the writer as the primary benchmark for interpretation has also been disregarded, thus advocating diversity in interpretation. Placing the significance of intertextuality in the mega-text of Malaysian Chinese socio-political context, we discovered that the various strategies of intertextuality employed by Malaysian Literature in Chinese, particularly 'cut and paste', mimicry and 'meta-textual' types of intertext, all attempted to break the arbitrariness of dominant/official discourse. In denying dominant discourse (which parallels the writer of text), the intertextuality delicately expressed the desire of the Chinese for the constitution of a state knowledge-culture by an 'all-inclusive' interaction and synergism.

Mystical/magical writings is not only a form of aesthetics; we have also discovered that its hidden representational mechanism, which undemonstratively nibbled the arrogance of authoritative will. Mystical/magical writings' representational system tends to be more ambiguous and obscure, thereby turning the signifying meaning into various possibilities. This creates the metaphor of anti mono-interpretation of dominant group. Furthermore, mystical/magical writings also reflected the covert Chinese resistance against the dominant ethnic group in its avoidance of the prohibited area, since political discourse in Malaysia still has many taboos. Also, in resisting the dominant ethnic group, they have no intention to formally break the relationship with the latter.

We discovered that, diaspora discourse of Malaysian Literature in Chinese, in approximating the sense of transnationalism, casts doubts on the narrow-minded (Malay) nation-state. In general, diaspora discourse manifests itself in two modes: one's physical transmigration

in which one moves from one country to another; and the vagrancy of psyche where one resisted the oppression of the official/dominant power psychologically, although one does not move about physically. One does so by isolating oneself from the official/dominant identification and constructing one's own symbolic world. Correspondingly, the diaspora discourse of Malaysian Literature in Chinese also deals with the two above-mentioned modes of intertextuality, thus actualising 'unfaithful love', 'fellow sufferers' and 'vagrant spirits' by which the unique form of Diaspora poetics emerged. In 'unfaithful love', the allusions of inconsistent love that leads to changes of love partners, parallel a shift in loyalty of the politically oppressed. 'Fellow sufferers', by demonstrating the affliction of certain Overseas Chinese, criticised the local indigenous government. 'Vagrant spirits', seemingly shared the same mentality as their ancestors who migrated to Malaysia, in their 'collective unconsciousness' (Carl Jung). This might be the reason why Overseas Chinese continue to have the unconscious impulse of vagrancy.

We define the five aforementioned political resistant modes as 'microscopic/hidden counter-discourse'. 'Microscopic/hidden' because the resistant poetics of Malaysian Literature in Chinese had undergone the paradigm shift from the realism type of macroscopic/slogan resistance in the pre-independent era to the modernism/post-modernism type of microscopic power resistance. Such resistance lurks in the sub-structure of texts and discourses instead of passionate political proclamation. 'Counter-discourse', on the other hand, is the general trend that Chinese resistant poetics (in the context of Malaysian literature) is heading. It is to be differentiated from Malay Literature which collaborates with the officials. It instead resists the pressure from the dominant/official discourses, thus essentially and functionally, diluting and sneering at dominant/official discourses.

In this book, we also boldly assumes that apart from deconstructing the dominant/official discourse, Malaysian Literature in Chinese has also constructed a mechanism of 'selves' and a unique representative

mechanism. In doing so, it has exploited its own national viewpoint (diaspora consciousness vs. nation-state) and sets itself apart from the dominant/official world which emphasises ethnography. It also takes on a different textual style (intertexts vs. mono-text), cultivates self-awareness (through appropriation of 'others' vs. self-legitimacy); and signifying form (hidden vs. open), among others. In Bahtin's point of view, this tendency has its acceptable rationality. In view of the resistant poetical strategy of the subordinate ethnic group (including marginal/minority/sub-ethnics and subaltern/folk groups, etc.,) to undermine and dilute the dominant discourse, it is impossible to replace the dominant discourse or be accepted by the dominant discourse. Hence, the only way out is to construct its own signifying system, in order to keep on producing the counter-discourse to oppose the official hegemony.

This book offers a new perspective for the study of Chinese Malaysians, namely the perspective of literature, which cannot be ignored by future studies in this particular field. Furthermore, it provides a new case/model for the study of political resistant poetics, namely the case/model of Malaysian Literature in Chinese.

Key Words

Malaysia Literature in Chinese; Political Resistance Poetics; Discursive Hegemony Textual Study; Hidden Counter-discourse; Second Symbolic World.

序

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东亚系主任

马来西亚的官方意识形态独尊马来文，强调只有用国语——马来文——书写的文学作品，才能称之为国家文学。相形之下，其他族裔的文学都只能称之为族群文学。自一九五七年建国以来，马来西亚内部族裔间的矛盾一直暗潮汹涌，华裔对语言、文化自主性的追求，尤其成为争议焦点。一九六九年「五一三」事件后，马华社会所受到的箝制已与日俱增，一九七一年国家文化大会独尊土著文化的决议，不过再一次坐实了国家霸权无所不在的威力。

但在权力当局强大的排华政策下，一种新的对抗方式悄然诞生。当书写逐渐成为不可能时，文字反而散发出前所未见的号召力量。马来西亚华裔的写作传统由来有自，但多以侨寓或移民体裁为大宗。是在六七十年代种族政治的风雨中，一辈学子文人才猛然惊觉，在他们所赖以安身立命的土地，与所坚持的文化遗产间，竟有了如此艰难的抉择。他们遂决心以那不为官方认可的文字，记录下他们的彷徨忧患、他们的怨怼反抗。笔锋也许强弱有别，但一种凛然的姿态在在不容忽视。我们今天论马华文学主体性的生成，自当始自于此。

许文荣博士的《南方喧哗：马华文学的政治抵抗诗学》即以马来西亚种族政治为背景，叙述现代马华文学从无到有的一页历史。作为马华知识分子的一员，许对文学与政治间的纠缠必有切身之痛。他钻研六、七十年代以来马华小说及诗歌中所透露的政治讯息，除了见证作家的抗争意识，想来也不乏一抒个人块垒的用心吧。许的专著旁征博引，但基本以四位作者，潘雨桐、小黑、黄锦树、黎紫书，作为讨论的坐标点。

对许而言，这四位作家在性别、辈分、创作环境、题材风格上各有不同，但在思索马华族群何去何从的「终极关怀」上，他们显出殊途同归的意向。

许文荣以五种方式描写马华政治文学的书写策略。从对华族文化精髓的怀想，到对「他者」的命名挪用，到文本内外的指涉，到魔幻诡异风格的操作，以迄离散意识的形成，层层推演，颇能见他的用心之深。他借镜了不少当代理论，如民族主义论，众声喧哗论，后殖民论等，但如何将理论付诸他所关切的历史情境，是他念兹在兹的目的。许也不是天真的文化批判论者。他明白文学所焕发力量，虽然可深可久，但面对实际政治权力的颠预残酷，纸上文章哪里是对手。他因此并不讳言马华文学的抵抗姿态基本是迂回辗转，喻而多讽的。而他所构想的抗议终点，不是煽动族裔之间摊牌，而是再度展开族裔对话的可能。

对于亲历这些年马华文化处境者而言，许文荣的结论是谨慎而充满善意的。文学与政治间的相互抗争，非自今始。他一定知道，在极度的政治压力下，文学的最后出路往往是沉默——被迫消音的沉默，自我抗议的沉默。观照全球方兴未艾的族裔政治现象，马华文学的未来其实充满太多变数。也正因此，许文荣的研究在此时出现，毋宁提醒我们马华文学的存在，是多么弥足珍贵的事实。但马华文学的延续，才需要作家，以及当权者，以更大的勇气与智慧来促成。许文荣的专作叩问了联串议题，暂时难有新解。但行文之间，我们不难得见他的关怀之广，感触之深，值得任何华文文学研究者的敬重。是为序。

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