

**THE NORMATIVE STANDARD OF MANDARIN IN TAIWAN:  
AN ANALYSIS OF VARIATION IN METAPRAGMATIC DISCOURSE**

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It has been argued for many years that a new standard of Mandarin is developing within Taiwan, distinct from the official form based on the Beijing pronunciation, as well as the non-standard vernacular, Taiwan-guoyu. The parameters by which this new standard, Taiwanese Mandarin, may be recognized, however, and the extent to which it exists in common perceptions, remain largely unknown.

In order to better describe this variety, interviews were conducted in the north and south of Taiwan to elicit metapragmatic reports on the linguistic characteristics of highly standard and non-standard speech to mark opposing ends of a continuum of standardness. The inner area of this spectrum reveals the shape of a normative standard of Mandarin in common language ideologies. A quantitative sociolinguistic analysis was also conducted to measure usage of the segments elicited in these reports.

Participants indicated that the prescribed form of the retroflex initials [tʂ], [tʂʰ], and [ʂ] creates distance within interaction and marks speakers as ‘weird’ or ‘strange’. Though it represents the standardized form, it is socially disfavored in general usage, thus marking one end of the continuum. In contrast, deletion of the labial feature in [w], [f], and [y], was most highly associated with a crude lack of sophistication, ruralness, and low education, marking the other end of the continuum.

In the quantitative analyses, the non-prescribed labial segments were associated with low SES, older age, and factors of local identity. The prescribed retroflex correlated with higher SES, and northern identity, and showed a change over time toward more prescribed usage. The youngest age category, however, showed a reversal of this trend. An intermediate category of the retroflex initials patterned very similarly to the prescribed form, however it was free of negative qualitative associations. Thus Taiwanese Mandarin is marked by the absence of prescribed retroflex and non-prescribed labial forms, and presence of the intermediate retroflex.

Some also questioned the basic existence of a ‘standard’ Mandarin in Taiwan, or explicitly affirmed the notion of a Taiwanese Mandarin. It is evident that the nature of standard Mandarin in Taiwan is in a state of sharp ideological and behavioral change.

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## PREFACE

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

It is a commonplace within sociolinguistics that language both reflects and informs broad underlying social practice. It is generally understood in this view that the relation between formal linguistic structure and sociocultural factors is fundamentally dialectic in nature. Shared ideas about language structure and use, for instance, can shape the construction of community, affect patterns of language change, and ultimately influence social conceptions of language – including how, or whether, a given form may be differentiated from others. In this understanding, examining the ideologies held toward different language varieties can provide insight into the underlying structures of power and hierarchy involved in group relations, and provide strong insight into the course of social and linguistic transformations within a given society.

The factors of language contact within Taiwan provide a strong opportunity to elucidate these notions. The language spoken by ‘the people of Taiwan’ has been a core battleground throughout Taiwan’s modern history, as different political regimes construed language as a tool for pacification and assimilation of the island’s people. Though Taiwan has for centuries been a ‘multi-lingual’ and ‘multi-cultural’ society, comprised of ethnically distinct tribes of Malayo-Polynesian descent and dialectally different Chinese immigrants, it has faced succeeding linguistic assimilation policies by both Japanese (1895-1945) and Chinese (1945-?) powers. As the political winds shifted again in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, native or indigenous languages served as

a point of unification in efforts to mobilize and rally support for stronger democracy and political recognition of minority groups. Currently, language policies favor maintenance of minority languages, though Mandarin continues to be socially and politically dominant, and increasingly considered the default or neutral language of communication (Simpson, 2007).

The Mandarin Chinese currently spoken in Taiwan, however, has witnessed change as well. It has become clear that the most widespread form of Mandarin used in Taiwan now differs significantly from the official variety, which is based on the Beijing pronunciation. These differences include syntactic (P. Chen, 1999; Duanmu, 2000; Kubler, 1981, 1985; Kuo, 2005), phonological (P. Chen, 1999; Duanmu, 2000; Kubler, 1981, 1985; Kuo, 2005), and lexical characteristics (Du, 1999; Kubler, 1981, 1985). These changes are largely due to factors of language contact, when an immediate shift to Standard Mandarin was forced upon speakers of Southern Min, Hakka, and a number of Austronesian languages. The official standard of Mandarin has not been altered in Taiwan since its inception in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (C. W. C. Li, 2004).

Several linguists (P. Chen, 1999; Chung, 2006; Kubler, 1985; Kuo, 2005; C. C. Li, 1985) have claimed that localized features entail an emerging new ‘de facto’ standard of Mandarin in Taiwan<sup>1</sup>. This ‘de facto standard’ may also be linked to a nascent common identity (e.g. Kubler, 1985; Kuo, 2004b; K.-P. Tse, 2000) in which divergent groups are to find possible unity through a new sense of belonging to the island (see also Ash, 2002; Corcuff, 2002; S. F. Huang, 2000; K.-P. Tse, 2000; Wachman, 1994).

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<sup>1</sup> Research has pointed to a multiplicity of varieties of Standard Mandarin in different regions in China as well (C. W. C. Li, 2004; D. C. S. Li, 2006), with increasing degrees of acceptance of non-standard variation (D. C. S. Li, 2006). Though discussion of such variation is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The precise social and linguistic nature of this emerging variety, however, is not clearly understood. Typically, discussions of Mandarin variation in Taiwan contrast localized features with the prescribed standard alone (Chung, 2006; Kubler, 1985; Kuo, 2005; Qiu, 1992; Wang, 2004). Currently, two versions of Mandarin in Taiwan are popularly recognized: Standard Mandarin and the non-standard vernacular, Taiwan-guoyu. As it represents a mixed language, or basilectal form, speech labeled as Taiwan-guoyu has a very low conception in society, as indicated by language attitudes studies (e.g. Brubaker, 2003; Feifel, 1994). Some academics (P. Chen, 1999; Kuo, 2004b, 2005; C. C. Li, 1985; Qiu, 1992; Wang, 2004) have also posited a third non-standard variant, which is also affected by factors of language contact (Kuo, 2005), but is used by those with an unmarked level of education or status. This variety is sometimes referred to as Taiwanese-Mandarin (Kuo, 2004a). Both Taiwanese-Mandarin and Taiwan-guoyu, however, have been characterized in the literature as the most common form of Mandarin on the island, and both have been linked to the emerging Taiwan-islander identity (see e.g. Kubler, 1985; Kuo, 2004b). However, if Taiwanese-Mandarin and Taiwan-guoyu are both widespread yet socially distinct, it is uncertain how they are differentiated, particularly in terms of who speaks them and how they are otherwise socially patterned throughout the broader population. Nevertheless, few to no attempts have been made thus far to systematically differentiate these two non-standard variants, if such differences exist, in broad social and linguistic terms. Therefore, the parameters by which Taiwanese-Mandarin may be recognized in society, and the extent to which it exists in common perceptions, remain largely unknown.

This study, therefore, aims to provide greater social and linguistic definition to the concept of Taiwanese-Mandarin. As the three varieties are said to represent differing degrees of ‘standardness’, a continuum model with ‘highly standard’ and ‘highly non-standard’ marking



opposing sides (Baran, 2007; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006) is used to conceptualize where each variety lies within this spectrum. As standard languages, distinguished from ‘standardized’ languages, are based upon the ascription of social value (Milroy, 2001), they are highly dependent on the language ideologies dominant in the social and cultural discourse. Participant reports or performances of ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ language behavior, derived through interview data, reflect this discourse. A linguistic analysis of these utterances ultimately reveals the features which commonly characterize the three forms of Mandarin, thus differentiating and giving shape to these ‘varieties’ along the continuum of standardness. A quantitative variationist analysis will also help to verify participant reports, and provide a level of statistical regularity to measure social variation in actual usage of the features in question. As the data will show, precise articulation of the retroflex initials [ʈʂ-], [ʈʂʰ-], [ʂ-], though standard, is often stigmatized and disfavored in common usage, considered overly formal at best, and serves to demarcate the ‘highly standard’ side of the continuum, while the ‘highly non-standard’ form of Mandarin is marked by deletion of the labial feature in the segments [f], [uo] and [y]. Taiwanese-Mandarin, therefore, is primarily represented, at a minimum, by language behavior that is devoid of these characteristics.

By examining the metapragmatic processes through which Taiwanese-Mandarin may be defined, this research illuminates the central role that language ideologies play in the description and formation of standard languages. It also provides clear contrast to the difference between ‘standard’ and ‘standardized’ languages (Milroy, 2001), or a ‘formal standard’ from an ‘informal standard’ (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998). As Milroy (2001) writes, “the standard/non-standard dichotomy is itself driven by an ideology – it depends on prior acceptance of the ideology of standardization and on the centrality of the standard variety” (p. 534). Through the

development of Taiwanese-Mandarin, speakers in Taiwan are moving away from the standardized form, which indicates a change in ‘centrality’ of the formal standard of Mandarin. The methodology employed here also provides an empirical method of identifying linguistic features that distinguish different language varieties along a continuum of standardness, see e.g., (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998).

Briefly, this dissertation will be organized as follows. Before the methods and goals of this research can be effectively presented, it is necessary to lay out in detail the historical and sociopolitical context in which Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan is embedded. This is the aim of Chapter 2. The section following, in Chapter 3, examines in detail the social and linguistic characteristics of divergent varieties of Mandarin in Taiwan. Chapter 4 will lay out the methodological processes employed in this study, while Chapter 5 presents the results. Chapter 6 then will further discuss the implications of these data.

## 2.0 SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to discuss language ideologies in relation to a Taiwan-centered identity, it is important to understand how the people have been both connected and disconnected from the mainland throughout history. Furthermore, an examination of the language contact situation and factors of language shift are crucial to understanding the political, economic, and cultural conditions on which language ideologies in Taiwan are based.

To serve as a brief orientation, the island of Taiwan is located to the east of mainland China, separated by the 220km wide Taiwan Strait [see MAP, Appendix D]. It is the largest body of land between Japan and the Philippine islands, and is approximately the size of West Virginia (Chuang, 2000). Though the vast majority (~98%) of people in Taiwan are of Han Chinese descent, the population of just over 22 million is commonly considered to consist of four primary ethnic distinctions: Aborigine (combined) 1.7%, Hakka 12%, Southern Min 73.3%, and Mainlanders 13% (S. F. Huang, 1993). At least 58% of people in Taiwan live in urban areas, and the literacy rate is just over 93% (Chuang, 2000).

It should be noted that the major conflict discussed in the following sections are based on divisions *within* the same ethnicity: those Han Chinese that immigrated to Taiwan before 1895 and those that immigrated after 1945. These groups are often labeled ‘*běnnshěngrén*’ [本省人] (“local province people”) and ‘*wàishěngrén*’ [外省人] (“outer province people”), respectively. Huang Shu-Min et al. (1994) argue that the Chinese term used for ethnicity, ‘*mínzú*’ [民族], more

accurately conveys the notion of ‘nationality’. They advocate the expression ‘*mínqún*’ [民群] to indicate a sense of ethnicity in which patrilineality, locality, and language are defining features. In this sense then, *běnnshěngrén* and *wàishěngrén* may be analyzed as divergent ethnic groups, or *mínqún*.

## 2.1 DEVELOPMENT OF TAIWANESE IDENTITY

### 2.1.1 European Colonization

Although it is not clear exactly when the first people settled in Taiwan, the island was populated thousands of years ago by several aborigine groups of Austro-Polynesian descent. As mainland Han Chinese immigration developed, the aborigine groups living in the western plains of Taiwan were gradually dominated and assimilated into Han culture. Those living in the central mountainous areas, however, were less subject to Chinese domination and have maintained distinct cultural identities to this day. Currently the aborigine ethnic category is comprised of ten tribes, each of which possesses a separate language of the Austronesian-Formosan language family (Chiung, 2001).

Though Taiwan had been used as temporary fishing camps for locals from the mainland for many years, sustained immigration of Han Chinese to the island didn’t occur until regional trade increased as a result of new awareness to the area among western nations (Wills, 1999). Taiwan was first encountered by Western powers in the mid-sixteenth century after a Portuguese ship capsized on the island. They stayed only long enough to dub the landmass ‘Ilha Formosa’ (Beautiful Island) before moving on to a more permanent location in Macao. In the 1630's, the

Dutch built a fort on the island in efforts to establish a colony for the Dutch East India Company. As the Dutch further secured their claim, they encouraged immigration from the mainland to boost production for trade of sugar cane and rice, and effectively initiated an agricultural revolution on the island. Dutch Christian missionaries also developed the first orthographic system for Taiwanese languages during this time, although it was not widely popularized (Chiung, 1999).

The first major influx of Han Chinese, however, began around the middle of the seventeenth century. Facing long periods of famine, civil war and lawlessness during the prolonged collapse of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), many Chinese were forced to relocate to the island. Some of these migrants were Ming loyalists who overwhelmed the Dutch stronghold in 1661 and subsequently utilized the territory as a base for piracy and raids against the ascendant Qing dynasty.

In 1683 Qing forces invaded the island to purge the Ming elements, and established Taiwan as a prefecture of the mainland. In the following centuries, Taiwan was fully integrated into the mainland Chinese empire, with numerous Taiwanese able to attend traditional educational academies and sit for national civil service examinations, which allowed entrance into national-level government posts throughout China. Qing rulers, however, largely treated the territory with passive neglect, as it had a fixed reputation as a backwater territory and a haven for pirates. Corruption was widespread among officials appointed to Taiwan, and many revolts and rebellions by the Taiwanese took place as a result (Mo, 2000). Not until several foreign powers expressed overt interest in obtaining the territory did Qing rulers take measures to fully incorporate the island into the empire (Mo, 2000). It became an official province in 1887.

### **2.1.2 Chinese Immigration: Qing Dynasty**

With sustained immigration, Han Chinese came to dominate the island. The great majority of Chinese immigrants were from coastal cities of what is now Fujian province, neighboring Taiwan across the strait. According to a 1924 census, 83.1% of the Han Chinese in Taiwan originated from Fujian, a full 80% of which came from only two cities in the province—Quanzhou and Zhangzhou (Chiung, 2001). Accordingly, their Chinese dialect, Southern Min, is also one of the major languages of Taiwan and is still the mother-tongue of a large percentage of the people today. Another primary group of Chinese immigrants are the Hakka, an ethnic group with wide pockets of distribution throughout many areas of China. Although widely disbursed they tend to maintain a distinct culture and language (C.-M. Huang, 1997). The Hakka in Taiwan emigrated largely from two cities, one in Zhejiang province and the other in Guangdong province (Chiung, 2001).

Although the majority of Chinese immigrants shared a common background and dialect, they were in no way unified as a people when they first arrived. Group rivalry, based on city of origin, was commonplace, and violent confrontations often occurred over settlements of land and other resources (Hsiao, 2000). After approximately two hundred years on the island, however, commonalities in folk music, religious beliefs, and co-residence came to replace co-origin on the mainland as integrating features (D. S. Chen, 2001). In addition, ancestor worship gradually began to focus on a lineage based in Taiwan rather than the mainland (D. S. Chen, 2001). Together, these characteristics signify a shift “from an immigrant to a native society” (D. S. Chen, 2001, p. 63).

It is also important to note that a common national vernacular was not established in China until the 1920's, and so the official ‘standardized’ oral language throughout China was

only used by the few government administrators sent to the island. This language, termed ‘*guānfāng yǔyán*’ [官方語言], meaning “officials’ language” or “Mandarins’ Chinese”, had only a small impact upon the speaking practices of the majority of the population, and the Southern Min dialect remained the most dominant language on the island (Sandel, 2003).

### **2.1.3 Japanese Colonization**

Despite the developing attachment to the island, it wasn’t until 1895 that a distinct identity as ‘islanders’ began to develop. In that year, the Qing dynasty was forced to cede Taiwan to Japanese control following defeat in the first Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895). As a result, many Taiwanese felt betrayed and forsaken by their Chinese compatriots, and a sense of alienation from the mainland has been a core sentiment of the Taiwanese ever since. “This bitterness springs from a sense of being deserted by the motherland, of being put under oppressive foreign rule, and of being helpless in shaping their own future” (K.-P. Tse, 2000, p. 158). In fact, shortly before the Japanese arrived, a group of elite Taiwanese attempted the establishment of an independent Republic of Taiwan. Their efforts were, however, quite short-lived (Morris, 2002). A sense of alienation from the mainland has been a core sentiment of the Taiwanese mind-set ever since.

The presence of a contrastive dominant culture, and status as a subjugated people, were instrumental in the formation of a common sense of identity among the Taiwanese. Distinct social markers presented by the Japanese served to differentiate the colonizers and the colonized, and inter-group terms such as ‘Taiwanese people’ and ‘Taiwanese language’ were introduced to unite the Han Chinese, sometimes including the Hakka as well (Hsiao, 2000). During this time, the Taiwanese began to develop a sharply defined sense of ethnicity, and the so-called

‘Taiwanese’ then emerged as a new ethnic category (S. M. Huang, et al., 1994). In order to protect local Taiwanese culture and language, intellectuals established journals and magazines, and formed opposition groups to call for representation of Taiwanese interests at the national level in Japan. Eventually, the Japanese did grant an elective local government in 1935, but it was primarily a superficial measure to relieve tension on the island (Mo, 2000).

The intentions of the Japanese imperialists, however, were to fully transform the island into a natural extension of the fatherland, in both cultural and economic terms. In society, many Taiwanese were pressured to assimilate by assuming Japanese surnames and dressing in Japanese clothing, and those who did received a greater amount of rationed food (Golovachev, 2007). Language policies in the media and schools ensured the spread of Japanese. Shortly after the colonists arrived, schools were established to teach the ‘national language’ and instill the qualities of proper imperial citizenship (Hsiao, 2000). By 1937, the number of Taiwanese who could comprehend Japanese rose to 37.9%, though in 1944 official estimates placed the number at 80% (Hsiao, 2000). Speakers of Japanese had a medial role in the colonial ‘caste’ system, above those who spoke only their mother-tongue, and below the Japanese themselves (Golovachev, 2007). In fact, as Heylen (2005) writes, one implicit purpose of the Japanese language policies was to establish a hierarchy where the Japanese language was ‘culturally superior’ to the Chinese languages. However, Southern Min continued to be the language of wider spoken communication.

In the end, though, many people had come to appreciate certain aspects of Japanese culture and control. During their fifty years of colonization, the Japanese developed an efficient administrative system, and created new infrastructure, a modernized agriculture, and an industrialized economy. In addition, the enrollment rate for elementary school children in 1944



was 81%, the highest in Asia (S. F. Huang, 2000). All told, it led to greater economic development and a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, and toward the end of WWII, Taiwan had become “the most progressive area in Asia outside Japan” (Mo, 2000, p. 69).

Although Japanese had become the dominant language in the public sphere, by the mid-1940’s language use was stratified by age as well as social class. The upper classes, primarily, were fluent in Japanese (C.-M. Huang, 1997), who had the most to gain through close association with dominant political powers. In terms of age, the older generation relied on native languages, the middle generation had mixed native tongue/Japanese ability, and the younger generation tended toward use of Japanese (Hsiao, 2000), which is typical in cases of language shift. It is important to note, however, that local Taiwanese languages were still quite active in informal, particularly home, domains. As a Taiwanese linguist in 1946 commented: “The roots and trunks of the native tongues have not been shaken, but the function of their branches and leaves has changed” (Hsiao, 2000, p. 51).

#### **2.1.4 Chinese Immigration (Redux): Republic of China**

As World War II raged on in Europe and the Pacific, allied leaders in attendance at the 1943 Cairo Conference determined that Taiwan would be handed over to mainland Chinese rule following the resolution of the war. Accordingly, the Republic of China (ROC), which had replaced the Qing dynasty in 1912, took full control of the island in 1945. As a result, thousands of soldiers and officials arrived to install the new government and establish control. In addition, streams of refugees from the mainland poured in along with them. Between 1945 and 1949 alone, nearly two million government workers, soldiers, and refugees immigrated to Taiwan

(Hsiao, 2000). Today, these people, popularly referred to as Mainlanders (*wàishěng rén*), now form approximately 15% of the population.

Although they came from many different parts of China and spoke a wide variety of dialects, they were united by a recently-developed national language, Standard Mandarin, which served as a common lingua franca. This standardized form of Chinese had been formulated and spread by the ROC government in the 1930s with the goal of unifying the linguistically diverse nation under a single vernacular. The name given to this form, ‘*guó-yǔ*’ [國語] (literally “nation-language”), reflects the common ideologies under which it was devised. It was based highly on the variety of Mandarin spoken in Beijing, which is particularly marked by the use of the retroflex initials [ʈʂ-], [ʈʂʰ-], [ʂ-], [ʐ-] and final retroflex [-r]. However, less than half (43%) of the Mainlander immigrants originated from any Mandarin-dialect region [see Appendix D], and even fewer were from an area close to Beijing (based on Kuo, 2005). Therefore, though they had the benefit of a common vernacular, it was for most not their first language, and those who were able to use the prescribed Beijing pronunciation were very few in number.

Initially, Taiwanese and Mainlander communities were rather segregated following retrocession. When they first arrived in Taiwan, ROC government and military officials naturally occupied the houses, schools, and living arrangements left vacant when the Japanese evacuated the island. Although Japanese policies were intended to assimilate the Taiwanese population, they did not attempt to do so through mixed communities and social institutions. Consequently, Japanese schools and housing arrangements were largely separated from those of the native Taiwanese. As the Mainlanders essentially picked up where the Japanese left off, the tendency segregated residential areas was carried over into the ROC state (Gates, 1981). The

majority of Mainlander immigrants settled in these northern urban areas, and even in recent years, sixty-seven percent of Mainlanders live in the greater Taipei area alone (Chiung, 1999).

Taiwanese sentiments toward the Mainlanders were initially quite high following retrocession, as they were overjoyed to be free from the yoke of colonialism. They also expected equal and fair treatment from their Chinese counterparts. These feelings quickly disintegrated, however, when it became clear that the Mainlanders would not live up to expectations. Buffeted by years of government corruption, Western imperialism and war, the mainland of China did not have the stability to maintain a strong course of development until after 1949. When the Mainlanders arrived on the island, many were viewed by the Taiwanese as ‘country bumpkins’, less modern and sophisticated than the Japanese, and through their influence, the Taiwanese themselves. This also caused the Taiwanese to see themselves as very different from the newly-arrived Mainlanders (Wachman, 1994).

In addition, officials of the Kuomintang (KMT), the ruling political party of the ROC, did not fully trust the Taiwanese due to the relative success of the Japanese assimilation policies. Shortly after retrocession, the spread of the national language was considered an important objective for the KMT to establish full control. Due to the ubiquitous presence of Japanese culture and language on the island, policies were quickly initiated to ‘de-Japanize’ and ‘re-Sinicize’ the population. Language use was a key measure in these endeavors, as “Mainlander officials often claimed that the Taiwanese were still ‘enslaved’ to Japanese culture because they had no command of Mandarin” (Hsiao, 2000, p. 55). The majority of government positions were subsequently filled by officials from the mainland instead of native Taiwanese. The first governor-general of the new province claimed that in order “to build up *China’s Taiwan*, first of all, [Taiwanese] must learn the national language. It is very dangerous to conduct direct

elections for the posts of district chiefs and city mayors right now because [the island would thus] become *Taiwanese Taiwan*” (Hsiao, 2000, p. 55, italics in original).

Furthermore, as the end of World War II revived hostilities between the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) on the mainland, much of the economic wealth and resources developed under the Japanese were confiscated and sold by the Mainlanders to finance the continuation of the civil war. Consequently, many Taiwanese came to see the ROC as “the Japanese colonial system revived” (Hsiao, 2000, p. 56).

### **2.1.5 The Question of Provincial Origin**

These factors lead to heightened tensions between the Taiwanese and the recently arrived mainlanders. On February 28, 1947, a street disturbance in which a Taiwanese man was shot by police ignited a two-week long series of revolts on the island. During the revolts, many Mainlanders were assaulted or killed, and rampaging crowds occupied government buildings, took over radio stations, attacked police stations and looted arms (Hsiao, 2000). In fact, it was not unusual for insurgents to question a Mainlander using local Taiwanese languages, and if that person could not respond in the same language, it would often result in beating or death (Hsiao, 2000). Officials privately came to the conclusion that Japanese influence was the primary cause of the insurgency, due largely to the fact that chants and slogans were conveyed in Japanese and Southern Min.

In the midst of the chaos, the Taiwanese became organized and pressed the government for ambitious retributions to atone for the incident. They demanded an apology from the governor, political reforms and increased liberalization, disarmament of the military and finally,

self-rule. Although the government responded sympathetically at first, the increasingly radical demands put them in a difficult situation.

Ultimately, the insurrection resulted in a massacre in which approximately 15,000 Taiwanese were killed under a declaration of martial law (S. F. Huang, 2000). A large majority were among the elite or politically prominent, and of those who survived, many withdrew from politics and participation in the government (N.-T. Wu, 1994). Others resigned themselves to exile to organize opposition groups bent on removing the KMT regime. Many Taiwanese felt that the brutal counter-insurgency was designed to systematically eradicate the political and intellectual elite of Taiwan (Wachman, 1994). Popularly referred to as 2-28, this incident reinforced the antagonism between the Mainlanders and the native Taiwanese, and “proved to be the critical watershed of Taiwanese consciousness” (S. F. Huang, 2000, p. 141). Although this deep division between Mainlanders and Taiwanese is gradually growing less distinct in recent years, it still has great impact on Taiwanese society today. The degree to which it affects language usage will be discussed in further areas.

## **2.2 SOCIAL CHANGE THROUGH LANGUAGE POLICY**

### **2.2.1 KMT Hegemony: Shift to Standard Mandarin**

Martial law remained in effect for nearly forty years, and through their dominance in the ruling structures of the ROC, Mandarin-speaking Mainlanders effectively subjugated the Taiwanese majority. The national language was promoted as a symbol of unity with the mainland, and the goal of assimilating the Taiwanese became more urgent following the revolt.

After 2-28, use of any language other than Mandarin was considered “a threat to national cohesion and unity” (Hsiao, 1997, pp. 306-307).

Use of the ‘national language’ acquired greater significance following the events of 1949. In that year, with popular support from the Chinese masses, the communist forces successfully routed the armies of the ROC and founded the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in Beijing. In a hasty retreat, the ROC government was able to flee en masse to Taiwan. The KMT rejected official recognition of their defeat, however, and maintained the conviction that they were the rightful rulers of the Chinese motherland. Refusing to relinquish claims of total sovereignty, they proclaimed that the stay in Taiwan of the central government, and Mainlanders in particular, would be only temporary, and vowed that the ROC would soon restore control on the mainland, drive out the Communist ‘bandits’, and reunite China under the ROC banner. Furthermore, in light of the radical Communist ideology to eradicate the outdated ‘bourgeois’ conceptions within Chinese society, the KMT felt that they were the lawful representation of ‘authentic’ Chinese culture. The degree of ‘Chineseness’ of the ROC state, then, was seen as a measure to validate these claims, and ultimately, the legitimacy of KMT rule over the mainland.

As a result, the proliferation of Mandarin took on greater symbolic significance in Taiwan. As Ping Chen (1999) writes, “If the language planning policy of the KMT government in Taiwan differed in any way from the policy it held on the mainland before 1949, or from that of the CCP on the mainland after 1949, it is that the official measures adopted to promote the standard language became harsher, sterner, and more effective” (p. 234). Under the ideology enforced by KMT policies, Taiwanese were required to abolish their sense of localism by sacrificing their native dialects for a national Chinese identity and the Mandarin language (Hsiao, 1997). After years of struggle for self-determination and cultural preservation under Japanese

rule, the Taiwanese were now forced to accept an ‘authentic’ Chinese ideology and language imposed by the KMT. In other words, they were forcibly resigned to adopt certain aspects of Chinese language and culture which they did not identify with, and to relinquish those that they did.

The authoritarian, one-party governmental system contributed greatly to the state’s ability to instigate the spread of Mandarin. Despite outward assertions of democratic principles and ideals, the ROC was in fact “more similar to the communist states it claimed to oppose than the democratic ones it claimed to emulate” (Wachman, 1994, p. 131). The ruling structure of Taiwan was primarily based on a model of Leninist political organization, bestowing all political, social, and economic resources in society to KMT control (N.-T. Wu, 1994). In addition, most officially sanctioned non-governmental organizations, such as trade unions or sporting clubs, were in fact founded by the KMT to prevent oppositional alliances and to weed out potential communist insurgents. Subsequently the KMT had an influence in nearly all spheres of Taiwanese society (Feifel, 1994), establishing a de facto Mandarin-only policy throughout the island.

The first step the KMT took to ensure the spread of Mandarin was to enforce its use in the public education system. In 1946, the Commission on the Promotion of Mandarin (CPM) established the national language as the sole language of instruction at all levels of education (Hsiao, 1997). Instructors were hired with just a basic education and rudimentary understanding of standard Chinese (K.-P. Tse, 1986). Although Mandarin had been the language of education on the mainland since 1929, Taiwan was the only non-Mandarin region throughout China in which all classes at all levels, including the first grade, were conducted entirely in the national

language (Cheng, 1979). The initial effect of this policy left many students, those who were formerly educated in Japanese, functionally illiterate (Hsiao, 1997).

Restrictions on the use of non-Mandarin languages in the schools grew increasingly severe throughout the following decades. In 1956, the Department of Education made it a punishable offence to speak non-Mandarin languages during class time. Taiwanese students could be fined one dollar for speaking their native tongue, or have a ‘dog card’ hung around their neck signifying that non-Mandarin speakers were more like dogs than human beings (C.-M. Huang, 1997). Harsher forms of punishment were not uncommon. By 1964, these rules were extended to domains beyond the classroom, and consequently, use of non-Mandarin languages at any point at school was outlawed.

As Dell Hymes (1971) has observed, ‘colonial’ powers often work to “persuade the colonized that they, or ways in which they differ, are inferior – [and] convince the stigmatized that the stigma is deserved” (p. 1) In Taiwan, students were made to feel ashamed of speaking their native languages, and by extension, being Taiwanese. Alan Wachman (1994) writes:

“Taiwanese came to feel that their dialect, literature, poetry, songs, and drama were all inferior to Mandarin and the cultural works of the mainland[...] [and that] their dialect was somehow less dignified, dirtier, than Mandarin. Taiwanese who spoke Mandarin encumbered with a Taiwanese accent felt vulnerable each time they opened their mouths and ashamed that culturally—and perhaps, inherently—they were inferior to Mainlanders” (p. 108).

The media also worked toward similar ends. Despite the preference among advertisers’ for Southern-Min broadcasts, large government subsidies for Mandarin-language programs effectively ensured their prevalence on TV (Young, 1988). Hsiao A Chin (2000) argues that the low budgets accorded to non-Mandarin programs helped to lower the prestige of the Southern Min dialect. In addition, “the characters in these [Southern Min] programs were of low socio-economic status: illiterates, peasants, workers, fishermen, elders, and especially old women.



Thus [Southern Min] was represented as a marker of backwardness, vulgarity, ignorance, femininity, and aging” (Hsiao, 2000, p. 130).

However, given the demographic situation of the population, programs in Southern Min grew increasingly popular. When the first television station was created in Taiwan in 1962, the KMT specified that non-Mandarin programming could not exceed 16 percent of total broadcast time (Hsiao, 2000). Within a few years, however, nearly half of prime-time programs were broadcast in Southern Min (C.-M. Huang, 1997). By 1972, the government imposed stronger restrictions to curb non-Mandarin languages, stating that ‘dialect’ programming may not exceed more than one hour per day, in two half-hour segments (Young, 1988). In 1976, the Law of Radio Broadcasting and Television Programming (RBTP) defined the acceptable ratio of native language to national language programming and stipulated that the percentage of non-Mandarin languages must decline thereafter on a yearly basis (C.-M. Huang, 1997).

Non-Mandarin languages were prohibited in other areas of society as well. For instance, ROC law requires compulsory military service for all men over the age of 18, and the ban on non-Mandarin languages was strictly enforced in the armed forces. In the late 1940’s and early 1950’s, the military published manuals for teaching Mandarin during basic training, and even encouraged young men to take Mandarin courses before enrolling (Chang, 1996).

Furthermore, fluency in Mandarin was a mandatory condition for government positions shortly after retrocession. This also helped to solidify Mainlander hegemony in the government. In 1965, the KMT declared that civil servants were to speak only the national language during office hours, and Mandarin was established as the language of the court of law. This was done regardless of whether or not those involved in court actions could understand the language (c.f. Hsiao, 1997). In the early 1980’s, efforts were made to prohibit any language but Mandarin in

meetings, official business, public speeches, and conversations that occurred in public. By this time, however, the liberalization movement had gained enough strength that popular objection forced the authorities to abandon such extreme measures (Hsiao, 1997).

### **2.2.2 Economic Growth and Language Shift**

Commonly, social and economic forces often operate concurrently to increase the pressure or motivation to conform to the language that is most dominant, or which could lead to a higher standard of living. In Taiwan, the dramatic economic developments and subsequent changes in social mobility for the Taiwanese increased the pressures to learn and speak Mandarin. They also, ironically, helped to bring about conditions in which the Taiwanese could attempt to maintain Southern Min.

After the ROC settled into Taiwan, the terribly high inflation that had plagued the government on the mainland also hit Taiwan, and the economy floundered. In addition, most of the developments accrued before WWII were either destroyed or sold off to finance the war against the communists. The Kuomintang, however, needed to transform the island into a ‘model province’ to demonstrate their ability to govern, and prove themselves to be “the good sovereign holding the ‘mandate of heaven’” (Feifel, 1994, p. 32). Therefore, the KMT initiated land reforms and embarked on a series of nine four-year economic development plans to rebuild the island. Taiwan also received a great amount of aid and advice from the United States in international, political, and institutional dimensions as well, particularly after the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 (Howe, 2001).

The land reforms undertaken by the KMT were the first step to revitalizing the economy. In 1952, Taiwan’s economy was still largely agricultural-based, with farm production making up

35.1% of the Gross Domestic Product (Mo, 2000). Over half of the population made its living through agriculture, and 52.4% lived in rural areas (W. H. Tsai, 1992). The new reform policies reduced rent, sold tens of thousands of hectares of land formerly owned by the Japanese, and compelled landlords to relinquish large portions of their property to the tenants who tilled it. Subsequently, land reform redistributed wealth in rural areas and eliminated the property base of the former landlords (Mo, 2000). These changes encouraged the rapid growth in production which helped to provide the capital needed for industrial expansion. A sharp population increase in the early 1950's, and the ensuing decrease in labor costs, also contributed significantly to industrialization.

The growth of industry led to rapid urbanization of the population throughout the 1960's and 70's. Under advice of U.S.-trained experts, the KMT strengthened industrial output through both public and state-owned enterprises and instituted policies to promote exports, ease trade restrictions, and encourage domestic and foreign investment (Mo, 2000). By 1980, only 18.4% of the workforce was involved in farming as the economy grew less dependent on agriculture (Mo, 2000). These changes led to a quick rise in the urban population, as many young people decided to leave the countryside and seek opportunities beyond the farm (Feifel, 1994). In less than thirty years, the number of people living in rural areas (with a population lower than 50,000) decreased by 22.7% (W. H. Tsai, 1992).

The rise in wealth had great impact on the educational system as well. In 1990, government expenditure per student was sixty-six times that of 1961, as the percentage of the Gross National Product spent on education more than doubled during the intervening years (W. H. Tsai, 1992). Illiteracy rates for those of 6 years and older dropped from 25.9% to 6.8% in the same time period. Student enrollment and the need for teachers also increased dramatically.

Between 1950 and 1980, 4,402 new public schools were built, and the number of full time teaching positions rose from 29,020 to 166,727 (Mo, 2000), an increase of 474%. Opportunities for higher education also surged ahead with the creation of new vocational schools, colleges, and universities. The greatest increase in student enrollment in Taiwan occurred in higher education, rising from 3.9% to 18.9% between 1962 and 1990 (W. H. Tsai, 1992). Subsequently, “within three decades, the number of college and university students had grown more than 80 times” (Mo, 2000, p. 82). As Mandarin was the sole language allowed in school, these developments clearly had a great impact on language shift.

In Chinese society, education has long been seen as the primary means of social advancement. Ever since the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Chinese citizens could enter into a secure and prestigious lifestyle as a government official by successfully completing the arduous Imperial Examination. Commerce, however, was considered to be of less worth to society, and it was often referred to as the ‘crooked road’ (Feifel, 1994). Academics on the other hand, is commonly thought of as the ‘white path’ toward prosperity. In some cases, children experience great pressure to excel at school, even at the expense of their health (Cheng R., 1979).

It is not surprising, then, that parents often encourage use of the national language among their children to prepare them for success in school. Parents seeking advancement for their children often “refuse to speak [Southern Min] to their infants and toddlers so as to prepare them better for the ‘good’ preschools, kindergartens, and elementary schools—i.e., those schools that educate children successfully for entrance into middle schools and colleges” (Gates, 1981, p. 265).

Upward mobility was possible, however, for those Taiwanese who conformed to the doctrines of the KMT. Advancement was open to those who readily accepted the ideology of the

KMT leadership, which many local people did (Feifel, 1994). Furthermore, industrialization not only meant a greater supply of blue-collar jobs, it also created a more urgent need for qualified administrators as well. Since proficiency in Mandarin was necessary to move beyond the factory floor, Mandarin became a key to a more prosperous lifestyle. Subsequently, urbanization resulted in an increase of daily interaction between Mainlanders and Taiwanese, particularly in the northern region where the Mainlanders were concentrated. Some Taiwanese were able to achieve entrance into the higher echelons of business, government, and the military as well. Therefore, these revolutions reinforced the shift to Mandarin Chinese, especially for the children who needed a common language to interact with their peers.

The combination of industrialization, urbanization, and an increase in educational opportunities contributed to the rise of the middle class among the Taiwanese, which helped to bring about greater political involvement. By 1983, middle class occupations, such as government personnel, administrative and managerial workers, staffs at educational institutions, and professional and technical workers, made up 28.4 percent of the total labor force in Taiwan (W. H. Tsai, 1992). With higher material wealth and social standing, the Taiwanese had a higher stake in the issues concerning the island and a greater awareness of political affairs. Subsequently, they “demanded a more meaningful [level of] participation in the government’s decision making process” (Mo, 2000, p. 102).

### **2.2.3 Government Liberalization: Language Maintenance**

Through these factors, the system of government gradually began a process of liberalization. Particularly, the Taiwanese middle class became more involved in the civil establishment, through voting and running for political office. By the early seventies, the

number of Taiwanese in the KMT was roughly equal to the number of Mainlander members (Hsiao, 2000). They were mostly in the local and district offices, however, and were still under-represented on the national level (N.-T. Wu, 1994). Still, they continued to make gains. By 1988, the percentage of Taiwanese on the KMT Central Committee, whose members select the more powerful Standing Committee, reached 32.8% [59/180]; in 1952, the percentage was only 3.1% [1/32] (N.-T. Wu, 1994).

In addition, after several decades, the mainland officials who came to power in the post-war period began to reach retirement age, and native Taiwanese were needed to take their place. In 1984, for instance, native-born Lee Tung Hui was promoted to the position of vice-president, and in 1988, became the first native-born President of the ROC and chairman of the KMT. President Lee recruited many Taiwanese into decision-making circles of his government, and essentially drove mainlanders out of the core of power (Mo, 2000). By 1992, Taiwanese membership in the KMT reached 70%, and in 1993 Taiwanese achieved a 57% majority in the ruling body of the KMT (Hsiao, 2000).

Ideological shifts within the government were also influenced by developments on the international level. For instance, in order to seek geo-political leverage against the Soviet Union, President Nixon announced plans in 1971 for the U.S. to pursue a policy of rapprochement with the People's Republic of China (PRC). The ROC subsequently relinquished their seat in the United Nations in anticipation of full recognition of PRC sovereignty on the mainland. Many nations dropped diplomatic relations with the ROC as a result, and with the loss of international support, the already weak claims to power over the Chinese motherland effectively disintegrated. Thereafter, many Mainlanders came to the realization that the island could no longer be considered a 'temporary' residence until the ROC reestablished power on the mainland.

Subsequently, the China-centered ideology pushed by the KMT lost a great amount of legitimacy, and urgency, within Taiwan.

These changes strengthened a coalition of opposition groups (called ‘*dāngwài*’ [黨外], Lit. “outside the party”) which were often formed along ethnic lines, challenging KMT rule. People were increasingly vocal about strengthening the status of their culture, language and identity. Altogether, these groups helped to spark an ethnic and linguistic ‘revitalization’ on the island. For instance, by the late 1980’s, Southern Min movies, pop songs, and literature grew to be quite prevalent, university students formed organizations to encourage the use of Southern Min, and others started journals and magazines to promote their mother-tongue (see Heylen (2012) for extensive overview). In addition, language began to serve as a means of unification, and use of Southern Min became “a symbol of political dissent and ethnic loyalty” (Hsiao, 2000, p. 133). It was the language used in meetings, rallies and protests, and it raised support among the majority of the populace.

In 1987, after one Taiwanese representative in the DPP refused to speak Mandarin during a meeting of the legislature, language use became a prominent issue throughout the island. It was the first of several such confrontations, which served to spark many discussions about language issues. Particularly, native languages came to openly signify attachment to the island and an indexation of ‘Taiwanese’ identity. As Joseph Hsu (1987) writes, “thus Taiwanese speakers become more conscious of their language, not so much as a means of communication but rather as an identifying marker” (p. 372). Several scholars, in fact, contend that mobilization around language was the root of Taiwanese nationalism (Heylen, 2005).

Although the formation of non-KMT political alliances was still forbidden under ROC law, the opposition groups officially merged into the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in

1986. The KMT, however, did not suppress the movement, and the tacit show of support helped to bring about a series of political reforms in subsequent years.

The most significant of these reforms was the repeal of martial law in 1987. The forty year span in which martial law stood after 2-28 made it “the longest period of uninterrupted martial law in world history” (Chuang, 2000, p. 14). Soon after the repeal, punishments for speaking non-Mandarin languages were banned, and television stations were allowed more time to broadcast in non-Mandarin languages. In addition, a group of DPP activists pressured for an inquiry into the 2-28 incident and turned the previously taboo topic into a public issue. In 1991 a committee was organized to open the existing archives and examine the incident, the findings of which “made it clear” that prominent high KMT officials “committed serious mistakes while using troops to suppress resistance” (Hsiao, 2000, p. 169). A monument was also commissioned to help atone for the event.

The DPP, however, intended to force further steps to make up for the China-centered policies of previous years. Among the objectives of the DPP platform are the goals to promote “greater Taiwanese ethnicity by advocating bilingual education, enhancing the study of Taiwan’s history and culture, and allowing Taiwan’s people to determine Taiwan’s future identity” (Mo, 2000, p. 102). In 1989, several DPP candidates on the mayoral level listed mother-tongue education as one of their campaign promises. Seven of them were elected to office, and each tried to initiate bilingual education programs in the elementary and junior high schools of their respective districts.

These programs, however, violated the Mandarin-only language policies of the KMT. As the city and county councils were still controlled by KMT officials, government funding was cut for the upstart programs. The DPP officials found a loophole, however, by offering the courses



on an extra-curricular basis for 40-50 minutes during the week (Mo, 2000). In addition, though the Ministry of Education declared that schools could not discriminate against non-Mandarin languages in the early 1990's, it also stipulated that mother-tongue education should not obstruct the promotion of Mandarin (C.-M. Huang, 1997). The program has been characterized as 'Mandarin-plus', as opposed to the 'Mandarin-only' policies under the KMT (Scott & Tiun, 2007). Subsequently, the main goal of the programs has been to "repair" and "preserve" ethnic languages (S.-C. Chen, 1996). Other districts, especially those run by the KMT, allowed the decision to hold native-language classes to be made by individual schools.

Taiwan-centered educational reforms were further promoted in 2000 and 2004 through the election of the DPP candidate, Chen Shui Bian, to the office of the presidency. In 2001 the Ministry of Education initiated 'native dialect' language course requirements for primary school students throughout the island. First through sixth grade students are now obligated to take one to two hours a week of Taiwanese, Hakka or an aboriginal language. The government also loosened restrictions on teacher certification, and increased teacher education with an emphasis on language training (News, 2001).

However, many critics see this as simply a token measure, not substantial enough to combat the effects of four decades of stringent Mandarin-only language policies. There is question, for instance, of the extent to which one hour per week of a language course will actually benefit either students or the vitality of the languages. Further, though the existence of mother-tongue education is significant in itself, much work needs to be done yet to improve curriculum development, teacher training and education, standardization and a common writing system, as well as modernization of the lexicon, and relatedly, raising attitudes toward the languages themselves (Scott and Tiun, 2007). Another complicating factor is that there is little

to no public support to include minority languages as the primary language of the classroom, where Mandarin continues to reign supreme (Simpson, 2007). As Huang Chuen Min (2001) argues, although significant reforms are being made, it still remains to be seen whether these adjustments are simply a “political compensation to ethnic minorities” (p. 132).

Not surprisingly, these developments have also aroused fears among other groups. Some think mother-tongue instruction will obstruct students’ learning of Mandarin, and others believe it will threaten the unity of the country by encouraging ethnic rivalry (S.-C. Chen, 1996). There were incidents, particularly in the south of Taiwan, of physical violence resulting from refusal (or inability) to speak Southern Min, or of taxi drivers ‘aggressively demanding’ that customers speak Southern Min, regardless of their usage of other minority languages (Simpson, 2007). Primarily, Hakka and aborigine groups are concerned that they will not receive sufficient resources and materials under the strength of the Southern Min majority, which is feared could become a new ‘Southern Min hegemony’ (C. Huang, 2010). For instance, given the preponderance of its speakers, Southern Min is the default or only course of choice for administrators facing constrained resources for mother-tongue education. Thus, the lesser-represented linguistic groups may feel that, in practice, ‘minority language education’ essentially entails ‘Southern Min language education’ alone (Lee, 2010). As Hakka and (particularly) aboriginal languages are showing signs of decline or decay (Lee, 2010; Scott & Tiun, 2007; Simpson, 2007), both groups continue to fear the loss of their native tongues, regardless of what degree of bilingual education the government is willing to provide (C.-M. Huang, 1997).

The vitality of minority languages is also complicated by the pressures to learn English as a foreign language. Private companies offering English language education began to proliferate

after the end of martial law in response to the desire for greater access to international education and job opportunities. Today, it is not uncommon for (more affluent) parents to enroll their pre-school children in age-appropriate English classes, ideally taught by a native speaker, for early exposure to the language. Further, civil service positions now require a minimum score on an English proficiency test (Simpson, 2007). In order to make English education more egalitarian and to ‘promote internationalization’ (M. H. Wu, 2011), English as a mandatory subject was extended throughout Taiwan to fifth and sixth graders in 2001 (Liao, 2010), and then further to the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade in 2003 (M. H. Wu, 2011). It was also stipulated, however, that English should not be prioritized over minority language education; in fact, schools were threatened with a reduction in funding if English education exceeded or preceded that of minority languages (M. H. Wu, 2011). Though the policy goal was not to replace Mandarin as the language of mass communication in Taiwan, but to encourage functional usage in international settings (S. C. Chen, 2003), it nevertheless represents further allocation of resources away from maintenance and revitalization of local minority languages.

At the same time, many Mainlanders have begun to worry about their own future status, and fear both potential discrimination and an uncertain future. Though Mainlanders still have many advantages in society, the opportunities for further generations to secure positions within the government are growing fewer, creating a need to find positions within the local economy (Feifel, 1994). As Southern Min is still a major language in some business circles, particularly outside of Taipei, the lack of basic Southern Min skills can be a disadvantage (Liao, 2010; Wachman, 1994). This reality is also expressed, in no small way, by the efforts of Mainlander officials within the KMT to learn native languages, particularly Southern Min. These developments represent the efforts of the KMT to become more ‘localized’ to garner support

from minority groups. On an interpersonal level, as language has been a marker of identity, some Mainlanders chose to keep silent at times in order to avoid revealing their non-native heritage (K. C. Li, 2002). For instance, inability to speak Taiwanese makes some Mainlanders feel “incompetent in their interactions with other ethnic groups, and uncertain about their [national] identity” (C.-M. Huang, 1997, p. 144). It is now popular for Mainlanders to learn Southern Min (K. C. Li, 2002).

#### **2.2.4 Reconciliation and Integration**

Although Taiwan continues to have a very heated and contentious political climate, in which language continues to play a strong role, the advent of democratization and liberalization paved the way for reconciliation and integration after decades of division. It was recognized early on, for instance, that the imposed China-centered ideology of the KMT regime had created, at best, an unhealthy situation, where society had been forced to maintain a false sense of attachment to ‘China’ while simultaneously ignoring, even disdaining, the realities of the current land in which they lived. Further, As recent generations of Mainlanders have come to identify more with the land in which they grew up, rather than the phantom homeland impressed upon them in school (Corcuff, 2002), it is largely believed that the differences between Mainlanders and native Taiwanese will dissipate. As Li Kuang Chun (2002) writes: “It is well agreed that first-generation Mainlanders will soon die out. All the early ethnic distrust due to opposed historical experiences will soon disappear. Besides, Taiwan itself is becoming more open and diversified. This increasing pluralism in terms of social composition will weaken the significance of ethnic categories” (p. 119).

Further, curriculum standards were developed in 1993 that included a new focus on Taiwanese history and culture, which reflect efforts to combat the effects of KMT ideologies through ‘localization’ or ‘nativization’ (namely, ‘*běntǔ huà*’, [本土化] Lit. “native-soil-ize”). For example, previous curricula concentrated heavily on a Chinese political identity, particularly dealing with cross-straits relations, and included few if any chapters about Taiwanese minority groups or native cultures. The new curricula, however, included subjects on ‘loving one’s homeland’ and ‘understanding Taiwan’, and incorporate a Taiwan-centered recognition rather than a purely Chinese one (C.-M. Huang, 1997). These efforts are designed to alter the focus of Taiwanese society “from the present forward to what Taiwan must be, rather than from the present backward to cling to an ideal that was not realized” (Wachman, 1994, p. 104).

Ideally, this new Taiwan-centered ideology encompasses all, and attempts to mold the island into a pluralistic union. At the heart of this notion is the fact that all major groups in Taiwan share a collective past and will inherit a similar future, and “must accept the culture they live with as a new form of Chinese culture” (Wachman, 1994, p. 104). This development is often characterized as a growing sense of a common ‘supra-ethnic’ identity, in which the major ethnic and linguistic groups may all be considered ‘Taiwanese’ based on their distinctive historical attachments to the island. This development may be evidenced in many ways, but is most directly measured through personal identity descriptors. For instance, telephone-based surveys show a consistent increase in the proportion of those who claim a solely ‘Taiwanese’ ethnicity, from 17.6% of respondents in 1992 to 54.2% in 2011, while a hybrid ‘both Taiwanese and Chinese’ identity has slightly declined from 46.4% to 39.0% (Election Study Center, 2011). During the same time period, however, a purely ‘Chinese’ identity has decreased sharply, from 25.5% to 4.1% in 2011 (Election Study Center, 2011).

At the very least, it may be said that multiculturalism and tolerance of ethnic differences are the ideologies that dominate current Taiwanese society. One example of this is an attempt by the DPP to cement in language policy an apparently more equal standing between different linguistic groups. The proposed Language Equality Law of 2003, for instance, would have elevated the languages of *all* major ethnic groups, including Southern Min, Hakka, Mandarin, and the Austronesian languages, to the status of ‘national language’. Among other things, the law also included components which would have required the government to provide courses to teach all the national languages with less disparity between them (Lee, 2010). However, charges of ‘language chauvinism’ were leveled against the DPP by the KMT, as well as by Hakka and aboriginal groups, as only Southern Min was referred to as ‘Taiwanese’<sup>2</sup> in the wording of the law (M. H. Wu, 2011). The law was ultimately rejected, but it nevertheless represents the central importance placed on integration where all groups could equally desire to be considered ‘Taiwanese’. As Scott and Tiun (2007) write, the fact that different ethnic groups wanted to claim equal status as ‘Taiwanese’ in response to the Language Equality Law “seems to suggest that a supra-ethnicity, somewhat similar to Taiwan national identity, is forming” (p. 58-59).

A level of ethnic integration is also evidenced through language practices in Mandarin in Taiwan as well. For instance, during the early years of the KMT regime, spoken Mandarin had many negative connotations for ‘native Taiwanese’, associated as it was with subjugation under the mainlander ruling class. In more recent years, however, as the ethnic and political distinctions between mainlanders and *běnnshěngrén* has dissipated, the link between Mandarin and political dominance has decreased or disappeared (Simpson, 2007). Given the spread of the

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<sup>2</sup> In actuality, Southern Min has been referred to colloquially within Taiwan as ‘Taiwanese’ (*Táiyǔ* [台语] or *Táiwānhuà* [台灣話] Lit. “Taiwanese-language”) since the period of Japanese occupation due to the historical numerical majority of its speakers on the island.

language, Mandarin has assumed a more neutral position as a lingua franca. As Simpson (2007) writes, “Mandarin Chinese is coming to be used more and more on Taiwan without any negative symbolic association, and is assuming the status of a common language among much of the heavily bilingual population of the island (p. 256).

The 2008 presidential campaign marked a return to KMT control of the presidency in the election of Taipei mayor Ma Ying-Jie, who promised economic rapprochement with China. It was during this academic year that data were collected for this research. Within just a short time of his inauguration, new policies were agreed upon to open the island to direct flights from China, an increase in the number of Chinese tourists allowed to arrive each day, and to open Taiwanese businesses to direct (though limited) investment from China. Though the economic incentives of rapprochement with China are clear, some fear that increased dependence on the mainland will lead to eventual reunification. As Simpson (2007) and Friedman (Friedman, 2004) argue, however, the development of a separate Taiwanese identity must be maintained. As Simpson (2007) writes, the “establishment of a national identity on Taiwan is a critically important *survival need* for those who hope that Taiwan will continue to enjoy some form of existence independent from the PRC (p. 253, italics in original).

It is not clear, however, exactly what long-range implications this rapprochement with China will have for language and ethnic relations within Taiwan. However, as the shift toward ‘Taiwanese’ rather than ‘Chinese’ ascriptions of identity appears to continue unabated (Election Study Center, 2011), the cultural focus on pluralism and multiculturalism, as well as an integration of Taiwanese identity, does not show signs of receding any time soon. And certainly, given the continued dominance of Mandarin within Taiwanese society and the apparent lack of public or political will to attempt to replace it, it seems apparent that Mandarin is most likely to

continue to be the most dominant language, and most widely associated with the emerging ‘pan-ethnic’ identity (Kubler, 1985; Kuo, 2004b; K.-P. Tse, 2000). The way in which Mandarin in Taiwan can be thought to relate to this development, however, will be explored in the following chapters.



### **3.0 MANDARIN VARIETIES IN TAIWAN**

#### **3.1 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING**

Although the revitalization efforts of native languages have been significant, the post-war language policies designed to install Mandarin Chinese as the national language clearly have been enormously successful. Currently within Taiwan, at least 95% of the population can communicate in Mandarin Chinese, both orally and in writing (K.-P. Tse, 1986). It remains the language used in education, despite the initiation of native dialect language courses. Although Southern Min continues to be a very prominent language, estimated to be the native tongue of over 75% of the people (Cheng, 1994), its use tends to be stratified by age. That is, in a situation very similar to the status of Japanese before retrocession, the older generation predominantly uses local dialects, the middle generation uses both local dialects and Mandarin, and the young primarily use Mandarin (Chuang, 2000). Other studies have indicated that the younger a Taiwanese person is, “the lesser his or her ability to speak the mother tongue” (Hsiao, 1997, p. 308). In Southern Min-speaking families, 84% of children are able to speak Mandarin before they enter primary school; by the time they reach six years old, the number climbs to 94% (Chang, 1996). It seems that the ‘primary mechanism’ for shift, a lack of intergenerational transmission of the traditional tongue (Paulston, 1994), is clearly a characteristic of language behavior in Taiwan.

For several years, however, linguists have noticed the emergence of a unique form of Mandarin highly influenced by the language contact situation in Taiwan. As referenced earlier, in accordance with early ROC language policies, the standard of Mandarin propagated by the government and used in schools is based on the Beijing dialect. In fact, language teachers in Taiwan pay a lot of attention to ‘correct’ (Beijing) pronunciation in order to reduce the prevalence of a ‘local’ accent in spoken Mandarin (Lin, 2001). In actual practice, however, the Mandarin spoken by non-native speakers has been the model outside of the classroom environment (Cheng, 1985)<sup>3</sup>. The Mandarin spoken on the island has been influenced not only by the preponderance of Southern Min speakers, but also by the fact that the majority of Mainlander immigrants were from the southern areas of China, where Mandarin is not a native dialect [see Appendix D]. That is, in the influx of Chinese speakers from the mainland, people from many different Chinese dialect areas arrived on the island. The majority were from non-Mandarin speaking areas in the south, and nearly 38% were from the three coastal provinces across the strait from Taiwan (D. M. Li, 1970). Only 0.85% were from the city of Beijing itself (D. M. Li, 1970). Thus, non-Mandarin speakers among the Mainlanders were, in fact, “politically and economically more powerful than Mandarin speakers” (Cheng, 1985, p. 354).

Thus, after fifty years, the Mandarin most commonly spoken in Taiwan has come to differ from that of the Beijing standard in terms of phonological, syntactical, and lexical features (Kubler, 1985). As David Li (1985) writes, some of these differences have “gradually been recognized by speakers from the mainland, including those from the [Beijing] area” (p. 125). Therefore, it seems clear that, after fifty years of divergent social, economic, and political

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<sup>3</sup> This is true for most speakers in China as well, given the spread of the language to non-Mandarin dialect areas on the mainland (C. W. C. Li, 2004). However, Li (2006) writes that researchers increasingly consider local varieties of Standard Mandarin in China as “legitimate terminal goals of the learning process” (p. 162), which is different from the pedagogical approaches in Taiwan as described by Lin (2001).

developments, the Mandarin most commonly spoken in Taiwan has characteristics that differentiate it from the Standard Mandarin derived from the Beijing dialect. Du Ying (1999) claims that “the gap between the two lexicons across the Straits reflects the gap between the two cultures, and both will widen as long as the two sides are separated” (p. 158-159). In fact, though in China the formal standard has been revised several times (in 1956, 1957, 1962, and 1985) to better reflect the language of the Beijing ‘proletariat’, the standard in Taiwan continues to be based on the 1926 formulation, which favors the educated elite (C. W. C. Li, 2004). David Li (1985) argues that in the unknown future, “the linguistic differences between Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan and Mandarin Chinese in Beijing will be widened to the extent that people from both sides of the Taiwan Straits will have greater difficulty in attaining mutual intelligibility without effort” (p. 123). Further, in a matched-guise language attitude study, Feifel (1994) found that middle and primary school students were less able than older groups to differentiate ‘ethnolinguistic’ status based on Standard Mandarin or Taiwan-guoyu guises. He concludes from this that “the languages spoken by local and mainlander pupils have become very similar” (Feifel, 1994, p. 206)

Other linguists contend that a ‘Taiwanese’ version of Mandarin is, or will be, an identity marker of the island’s people. Cornelius Kubler (1985), for example, argues for this possibility, suggesting that a localized variety can either be characterized as ‘Mandarin spoken with mistakes’, or a different form altogether. He states, however, that since these features are increasingly common among native Mandarin speakers in Taiwan, it is not right to say that their native language is ‘incorrect’. As Kubler (1985) writes, “there is developing in Taiwan today a kind of ‘standard’ Taiwan Mandarin spoken by the great majority of both native Taiwanese and Mainlanders. This is the type of Mandarin learned by almost all Taiwan children as their native

language and is the speech form most likely, some day, to be the native language of all” (p. 174). Kubler termed this variety ‘Taiwan-guoyu’, and the term has been popularized to denote spoken mandarin with heavy Taiwanese characteristics.

It is quite clear, however, that Taiwan-guoyu does not enjoy a respectable position within society, and is not considered a ‘proper’ linguistic practice. Matched-guise language attitude studies, for instance, have indicated that Taiwan-guoyu speakers rank lowest in status in comparison to those using Standard Mandarin or Southern Min, and are often associated with lower class, little education, ruralness, and lack of sophistication (Brubaker, 2003; Feifel, 1994). Tse (2000) also questions the relation between Taiwan-guoyu and an emergent sense of identity, yet states that since this variety was still rated low on Feifel’s (1994) ‘status’ factor, “this prediction may not materialize in the foreseeable future” (K.-P. Tse, 2000, p. 163).

Though the possibility that Taiwan-guoyu could become the dominant standard of Mandarin on the island is highly unlikely, the notion of a non-standard variety common to the people of Taiwan continues to engage academics. As Qiu writes (1992), “Mandarin popularized in Taiwan... is now a language of Taiwan’s own, rather different from the commonly so-called ‘orthodox [standard] Chinese’” (p. 156, translation Wang, 2004). Some (see e.g., P. Chen, 1999; Chung, 2006; Kuo, 2005; C. C. Li, 1985; Qiu, 1992; Wang, 2004) posit a variety that is neither formally standard nor likely to be stigmatized in society, and may in fact be closely linked to the emerging pan-Taiwan identity (Kuo, 2004a, 2005). The theoretical basis for such an ‘acceptable’, or more normative, non-standard form will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

### 3.2 CONTINUUM OF STANDARDNESS

We see, therefore, that though two language varieties are commonly perceived to exist, a third has been discussed in the literature. More recently, some (Baran, 2007; Brubaker, 2007) have postulated that Mandarin variation in Taiwan is best thought to exist on a continuum. Baran (2007), for instance, presents a model for the languages of Taiwan which adopts notions of both notions of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1971) and a creole continuum (DeCamp, 1971). In this formulation, standard Mandarin represents the H language in a diglossic situation, and Southern Min (and other minority language varieties) the L variant. Variation *within* Mandarin, however, exists on a creole continuum, where standard Mandarin represents the acrolect and Taiwan-guoyu, as a mix of the acrolect and features from the L language (Southern Min), the basilect. Taiwan-guoyu, in this way, does not represent a discrete language variety, but is rather a linguistic stereotype whose features occupy different points on a spectrum ranging from ‘closest’ to the standard to ‘farthest’ from the standard (Baran, 2007). It also implies social evaluation, rather than a purely ‘dialectal continuum’ (J. K. Chambers & Trudgill, 1998) where linguistic features ‘blend’ from one variety to another across different geographical regions. Though Baran (2007) does not argue for the notion of an intermediate standard variety, this conceptualization provides a very useful model for Mandarin variation in Taiwan.

As it relates to notions of standardness formulated on social evaluation, Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (1998, 2006) present a similar representation for dialectal patterns based on a continuum model. Based on the dialectology of American English, they distinguish three primary language varieties along what they call a ‘continuum of standardness’. This includes a formal or prescriptive standard, a normative informal standard, and a non-standard or vernacular

dialect. As I will show, these may correspond as well in the Taiwanese context to Standard Mandarin, Taiwanese-Mandarin, and Taiwan-guoyu, respectively.

### **3.2.1 Formal standard: Standard Mandarin**

The formal standard refers to a language form that is prescribed, or largely determined or codified by a select few in society. It may be developed and maintained through language academies (e.g., in France or Spain) or through published authorities such as dictionaries, language textbooks, or grammar and usage handbooks. It is often maintained and perpetuated through societal institutions such as the educational system or the media. This form often tends to be very resistant to change, and some features are included even though actual “usage will border on obsolescence” (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, p. 10).

Standard Mandarin inherently fits this description, as it was originally an invented or contrived language invented for political and ideological purposes. As stated earlier, the language was created in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century with the thought of unifying the linguistically diverse people under a single standard vernacular. Though some advocated separate regional standards (Ramsey, 1987), nationalist sentiments prevailed, and a single standard language was firmly established by 1932. Though the language was supplemented with a number of words and phrases from different Chinese dialects (Norman, 1988), the phonological system was formulated entirely from the dialect of ‘educated’ speakers of Mandarin in Beijing (P. Chen, 1999).

As described previously, the most characteristic features of the Beijing accent is the marked use of the retroflex initials [ʈʂ-], [ʈʂʰ-], [ʂ-], [ʐ-] and final retroflex [-r]. Accurate articulation of these sounds, however, is rarely achieved outside of Beijing, as retroflex features

are not present in most other dialects of China (Ramsey, 1987). The standard has been promoted with such effectiveness, however, that prescribed use of this form is now the ‘idealized form’ of Chinese speech, even “the mark of elegant [Beijing] pronunciation” (Ramsey, 1987, p. 43). In Taiwan, ability to pronounce the prescribed retroflex has been described as a ‘key factor’ in determining whether or not one speaks Mandarin well (Kubler, 1985).

Though strong Chinese nationalist ideology has largely (but not fully) diminished in the wake of liberalization and democratization of the late 80’s and 90’s, history, in some ways, remains unchanged. The formal standard has not officially been changed in Taiwan since it’s formulation (Kuo, 2004b; C. W. C. Li, 2004). The Beijing-area accent, therefore, continues to be the standard employed and promoted in schools today (Kuo, 2004b; Lin, 2001), and represents the prescribed or formal standard on the continuum of standardness.

### **3.2.2 Non-standard: Taiwan-guoyu**

On the opposite end of the continuum are non-standard or vernacular dialects. These varieties are defined by the presence of socially stigmatized features deemed unacceptable by more ‘standard’ speakers (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006). Though there tends to be a core set of characteristics, there is great variability between speakers such that no one uses all of the structures specified. Further, though no formal description can be agreed upon, people have no difficulty identifying speakers belonging on this end of the continuum (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006).

The non-standard vernacular most widely recognized to exist in Taiwan is typically labeled Taiwan-guoyu, popularly referring to a mixed variety resulting from first-language interference among native speakers of Southern Min. This variety is often considered in relation

to inadequate education or limited access to qualified teachers (Feifel, 1994; Hsu, 1987; Kuo, 2005; C. C. Li, 1985; K.-P. Tse, 1986; Young, 1988; Young, Huang, Ochoa, & Kuhlman, 1992). Initial descriptions of the variety were, in fact, developed to assist teaching Standard Mandarin to Southern Min speakers or foreigners studying Chinese in Taiwan (Kubler, 1979; Kuo, 2005).

### 3.2.2.1 Syntactic differences

There are several syntactic differences that have been described as characteristic of local speakers of Mandarin (Cheng, 1985; Kubler, 1985). For instance, a contrast between habitual and future action is always overtly expressed by an auxiliary verb in Taiwanese (*beh* ‘want’ for future, and *u* ‘do, have’ for actualization), though this distinction can be neutralized in Standard Mandarin. Localized features of Mandarin in Taiwan differ from Standard Mandarin in this respect as well.

**Table 1.** Taiwan-guoyu: Habitual vs. Future

TAIWAN-GUOYU: HABITUAL VS. FUTURE			
HABITUAL:		FUTURE:	
‘do you eat beef?’		‘Are you going to eat that piece of beef?’	
MD:	你吃不吃牛肉? <i>nǐ chī bù chī niú ròu</i> you eat-not-eat beef	MD:	那塊牛肉你吃不吃? <i>nà kuài niú ròu nǐ chī bù chī</i> that-piece beef you eat-not-eat
TM:	你有沒有吃牛肉? <i>nǐ yǒu méi yǒu chī niúròu</i> you have-not-have eat beef	TM:	那塊牛肉你要不要吃? <i>nà kuài niú ròu nǐ yào bú yào chī</i> that-piece beef you want-not-want eat?
SM:	lí ū chiàh gū–bah bô? you have eat beef not.have	SM:	hit-tè gū–bah lí beh chiàh m̄? that-piece beef you want eat not
(Cheng R., 1985, p. 355)			

Furthermore, the contrast between simple past and perfective aspect is neutralized in Standard Mandarin in affirmative and interrogative sentences, while it is clearly marked in Southern Min. Standard Mandarin does make this contrast in negation, however, through the use



of ‘*méiyǒu*’ [沒有] (“did not”) for past and ‘*hái méiyǒu*’ [還沒有] (“not yet”) for perfective.

Mandarin in Taiwan, however, often follows the pattern of Southern Min.

Table 2. Taiwan-guoyu: Simple Past vs. Perfective

TAIWAN-GUOYU: SIMPLE PAST VS. PERFECTIVE			
SIMPLE PAST:		PERFECTIVE	
a): ‘did you eat the beef?’		a): ‘Have you eaten the beef?’	
MD:	牛肉你吃了沒有? <i>niú-ròu nǐ chī le méi-yǒu</i> beef you eat ASP not-have	MD:	牛肉你吃了沒有? <i>niú-ròu nǐ chī le méi-yǒu</i> beef you eat ASP not-have
TM:	牛肉你吃了沒有? <i>niú-ròu nǐ yǒu-méi-yǒu chī</i> beef you have-not-have eat	TM:	牛肉你吃了沒有? <i>niú-ròu nǐ chī le méi-yǒu</i> beef you eat ASP not-have
SM:	gû-bah lí ū chiàh bô? beef you have eat not.have	SM:	gû-bah lí chiàh bōe? beef you eat not.yet
b): ‘Yes, I did.’		b): ‘Yes, I have.’	
MD:	我吃了。 <i>wǒ chī le</i> I eat ASP	MD:	我吃了。 <i>wǒ chī le</i> I eat ASP
TM:	有，我有吃。 <i>yǒu, wǒ yǒu chī</i> have I have eat	TM:	有，我吃了。 <i>yǒu, wǒ chī le</i> have I eat ASP
SM:	ū, góa ū. have I have	SM:	chiàh a. eat ASP
c): ‘No, I didn’t.’		c): ‘No, I haven’t.’	
MD:	我沒吃。 <i>wǒ měi chī</i> I not eat	MD:	我還沒吃呢。 <i>wǒ hái méi chī ne</i> I yet not eat ASP
TM:	沒有，我沒有吃。 <i>méi-yǒu, wǒ méi-yǒu chī</i> not-have I not-have eat	TM:	沒有，我還沒有吃。 <i>méi-yǒu, wǒ hái méi-yǒu chī</i> not-have I yet not-have eat
SM:	bô, góa bô (chiàh) not.have I not.have eat	SM:	iáu-bōe, góa iáu-bōe not-yet I not-yet eat

(Cheng R., 1985, p. 359)

### 3.2.2.2 Phonetic differences

The most characteristic phonological feature of the Mandarin spoken in Taiwan is the merger between retroflex initials and the corresponding dental or alveolar forms. This leads to

potential ambiguity where ‘*zhū*’ [tʂu] (豬, “pig”) may be pronounced as ‘*zū*’ [tsu] (租, “to rent”); ‘*chū*’ [tʂʰu] (出, “to go out”) becomes ‘*cū*’ [tsʰu] (粗, “coarse”); and ‘*shù*’ [ʂu] (樹, “tree”) is merged with ‘*sù*’ [su] (速, “velocity”). There is also the lack of a final [-ɿ] [兒] suffix commonly used in Beijing Mandarin. For instance, ‘*yī diǎn*’ [i tʰiæn] (一點, “a little”) may be pronounced as ‘*yī diǎnr*’ [i tʰiɑɿ] (一點兒). Crucially, these retroflex fricatives of Beijing Mandarin are not present in the majority of Chinese dialects, including Southern Min (Norman, 1988), and the dentalization of retroflex sounds is in fact common throughout many areas of China (Li, 2004).

Many other differences also exist among the phonetic qualities of other sounds as well. Several studies have discussed these disparities; however, many inconsistencies exist between reports. Table 3 below, which is adapted from Kuo (2005), compares the findings of five separate studies that examine localized characteristics of Mandarin phonology in Taiwan. The standard sounds believed to alternate are presented in each row, categorized by the degree of agreement found between each study.

Table 3. Phonological accounts of Taiwan-guoyu

PHONOLOGICAL ACCOUNTS OF TAIWAN-GUOYU							
Degree of Agreement	Standard Mandarin IPA		Chien (1971)*	Kubler (1979)	S.M. Wu (1990)*	Ye (1991), 1995*	Duanmu (2000)
5	/tʂ/	→	[ts]	[ts]	[ts]	[ts]	[ts]
5	/tʂʰ/	→	[tsʰ]	[tsʰ]	[tsʰ]	[tsʰ]	[tsʰ]
5	/ʂ/	→	[s]	[s]	[s]	[s], [ç]	[s]
5	/y/	→	[i]	[i]	[i], [u], Ø	[i]	[i]
4	/f/	→	[ɸ]	[ɸ]	[p], [pʰ], [x]	[x]	
4	/ɤ/	→	[o]	[o], [ɔ]	[o]	[uo]	
4	/ue/, /uo/	→	[ɔ]	[o], [ɔ]	[o]	[o]	
4	/ei/	→	[e]	[e]	[ie], [e]	[e]	
4	/z/	→		[dz]_V	[l]	[z], [l]	[z], [l]
3	/eu/, /ou/	→	[o]	[o], [ɔ]	[uo]		
3	/ieu/, /iou/	→	[io]	[io], [iɔ]	[io], [iu]		
3	/ɾ/	→		Ø		[ɻ]	[ɻ]
3	/ɺ/	→		[u]	[ ]		[u]
2	/iŋ/	→		[n]		[n]	
2	/əŋ/	→		[n]		[n]	
2	/uei/	→		[ei], [e]	[u]		
2	/n/	→	[l]	[l]			
2	/l/	→	[n]	[ɺ], [n]			
1	/ts/	→		[tʂ]♦			
1	/tsʰ/	→		[tʂʰ]♦			
1	/s/	→		[ʂ]♦			
1	/yan/	→			[en], [ien]		
1	/e/	→			[ie]		
1	/ie/	→			[ei], [e]		
1	/ien/	→			[en]		
1	/u/	→				[uo]	
1	/ə/	→		[E]			

\* (c.f. Kuo, 2005)  
♦ cases of overcorrection

It is apparent from this table that there is largely no clear conception of what constitutes the phonology of localized Mandarin in Taiwan. Of 27 alternations, only four ‘core’ features are

<sup>4</sup> Kuo (2005) cites Chien’s (1971) unpublished master’s thesis as including an alternation here of /z/→/z/.

mentioned by all five studies. The most consistent phonetic markers are found in the retroflex initials [tʂ] and [tʂʰ], which alternate with their dental correlates [ts] and [tsʰ]. Though /ɕ/ and /y/ are mentioned in each description, there is minor disagreement on their surface realization. Alternations found in four of the five studies indicate more consistency across studies, but there is an increased amount of discrepancy in the surface forms of these features. Descriptions of the /-iŋ/, /-əŋ/, and /n/ alternations had no disagreement on their surface realizations; however, they were each mentioned in only two of the five reports. It is important to indicate that though some ‘core’ phonological features can be identified, accounts are at variance in many ways, and no definitive conception of the form exists.

The status and power associated with speakers of this variety, however, are more clearly understood. As stated above, speakers of this variety are often associated with lower class, little education, ruralness, and lack of sophistication (Brubaker, 2003; Feifel, 1994). These notions continued to be perpetuated in the media, as “actors and actresses speaking ‘[Taiwan-guoyu]’ usually land parts such as idiots, hillbillies or domestic maids,... while those speaking ‘[Standard Mandarin]’ get roles as leading men or women in love stories” (Ko, 2005, p. 2). Thus, although it has been described as representative of ‘a great majority’ of people in Taiwan (P. Chen, 1999; Feifel, 1994; Kubler, 1985), it is obviously a highly marked form in common conceptions. The next section will show that reports of the informal standard in Taiwan are also incomplete, and that more work is necessary to define the normative form of Mandarin.

Although Taiwan-guoyu may be spoken by ‘a great majority’ of people in Taiwan, it seems clear that it is socially stigmatized within Taiwanese society (Kubler, 1985; Feifel, 1994; Chen, 1999). As there are also many inconsistencies in reports of this variety, it fittingly

represents the vernacular non-standard on Wolfram & Schilling-Estes' (2006) continuum of standardness.

### **3.2.3 Informal standard**

An informal standard occupies the middle area of the continuum of standardness, and is primarily demarcated by a *lack* of the features that characterize the varieties on the opposing ends of the spectrum. It is worth discussing at this point how such an 'informal standard' variety may be delineated at all.

First of all, it is important to note the difference between a 'standard' language and a 'standardized' language, which often overlap conceptually but are not interchangeable. A standardized language, obviously, has gone through a process of standardization, which Milroy (2001) describes as "the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects" (p. 531). This is typically performed by some hegemonic institution, such as government or any type of centralized power, that is able to promote a degree of 'invariance' or 'uniformity' on the structure of a language. As human behavior is inherently variable, a standardized language is an idealized form, and is not something that a person actually speaks (Milroy, 1999). Standardization also opens the practice of language to moralistic labels such as 'correct' or 'incorrect' usage of speech forms.

The term 'standard', however, has often been operationalized in linguistic research in a number of different ways (e.g., 'prestige' or 'carefulness'), and may relate closely, particularly in folk understandings, to the standardized form. However, as Milroy (2001) relates, all notions of the term 'standard', outside of uniformity, are "evaluative, and are at best consequences of the standard ideology itself rather than as definitive of the process of standardization" (p. 533). In

other words, the ‘standard’ (as opposed to the *standardized*) form is based on ascription of social ‘value’, and is therefore based upon the language ideologies at play within society.

Language ideologies are thus central to the description of an informal standard. Though this construct has been conceptualized in a number of different ways (Woolard, 1998; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), the term here will refer to the fundamental “sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). Based on this, it is through discourse (articulation), including non-linguistic and non-explicit forms, within a community that ‘sets of beliefs about language’ may be shared and reified; then through ‘rationalization’ or ‘justification’, notions of the relative ‘value’ ascribed to different language forms are established. Thus, metapragmatic processes are fundamental to the development of ‘acceptable’ or ‘unacceptable’ notions of language behavior within a community, which become ‘presupposed’ within a cultural context and available for strategic use within interaction (Silverstein, 1976), leading to the normalization of linguistic practice within that community. Social discourse, then, creates, reifies, and sustains or alters language ideologies, which in turn affect the linguistic behavior of the community, and ultimately, the subsequent nature of the language itself (Silverstein, 1998; Woolard, 1998; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). As Silverstein (1998) writes, “[l]anguages are only relatively stable—hence, when perduring, classifiable—outcomes of dialectical valorizing processes among populations of people” (p. 402).

From this perspective, language ideologies are implicit in the boundaries drawn between language varieties and linguistic communities (Irvine & Gal, 1999; Silverstein, 1998). As Irvine & Gal (1999) relate, ideologies mediate the choices individuals make in detecting, and then describing, differences in the way people speak, which ultimately informs how varieties are

differentiated. They further describe language ideologies within this process as “the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them” (Irvine & Gal, 1999, p. 35). Standard language varieties can therefore be understood as ideological constructs driven by metapragmatic function (Silverstein, 1998), formed in cultural discourse and cemented in ‘common sense’ notions of acceptable language behavior (Milroy, 2001). This may lead to processes of standardization, but as not all standard languages are ‘standardized’, it is not a requirement. However, the degree of normativity is central to the basis of an ideologically ‘standard’ language. As Milroy (1999) states, “language is necessarily, among other things, a normative phenomenon” (p. 25).

Within this understanding, then, the prescribed variety of Mandarin represents the ‘standardized’ form. It is, in fact, the only ‘native’ (i.e., Sinitic or Malayo-Polynesian) language in Taiwan that may be described in this way. However, the relative authority of the prescribed form as the nominal ‘standard’ depends on the language ideologies most widespread among the population. As I will show, this currently appears to be in a state of ambiguity within Taiwan.

One example of this ambiguity is the attempts in the academic literature to differentiate a more acceptable (i.e., normative) variety of Mandarin from other versions in Taiwan. Chen (1999), for instance, describes Standard (prescribed) Mandarin in Taiwan as an ‘adopted exonormative variety’. More characteristic of speakers on the island, however, is an ‘endonormative’ form or ‘de facto standard’, which is marked by more traditional pronunciation of ‘polyphonous’ characters, lower frequency of weak stress and rhotacization, an apparent merger between velar and alveolar nasals following a high or mid-vowel, and retroflex initials

that are undifferentiated from their dental correlates<sup>5</sup> (P. Chen, 1999). He writes that these features are prevalent in the common speech of ‘an overwhelming majority’, including the ‘well-educated’ and ‘well-positioned’ in society (P. Chen, 1999, p. 47). Chen (1999) writes, however, that stigmatized features of Taiwan-guoyu are also evident in the natural speech of the majority of ‘local residents’<sup>6</sup>. He lists four alternations, citing Kubler (1985), that are among ‘the most important’ distinctions of this variety: /ɔn/→[En], /y/→[i], /əŋ/→[ɔŋ] following a labial initial, a collapsed distinction between [l] and [r], and interchangeable [n] and [l] sounds (P. Chen, 1999). Though he states that social categories can affect the extent of deviation from the ‘de facto’ standard, he maintains that these two varieties “differ mainly in terms of popular attitudes towards them” (p. 48).

However, if both the ‘de facto’ standard and Taiwan-guoyu are spoken by “a majority”, and they are differentiated primarily by attitudes, it is not fully clear how they may in fact be differentiated. Typical language attitude studies do not problematize the degree of awareness of the linguistic variables in the varieties examined (Preston, 2000), therefore the segmental information on which these varieties are discriminated has not been determined. That is to say, attitude studies do not provide much help in understanding where the lines might be drawn between these varieties. Further, the rationale by which some aspects of Taiwan-guoyu are deemed ‘more important’ than others is not discussed (P. Chen, 1999). Thus, if both forms are distinguishable yet each are spoken by “a majority”, it is essential to identify which segments carry the weight of negative bias in order to differentiate these forms.

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<sup>5</sup> Many of these features are actually common in the Mandarin of speakers in the south of China, or non-Mandarin dialect areas (see Appendix D).

<sup>6</sup> It is not known whether Chen (1999) aims to differentiate *běnnshěngrén* from ‘mainlanders’ by this term. As discussed earlier, some argue that Taiwan-guoyu is no longer limited to such differentiation.



Li's (1985) discussion of standardization of Mandarin in Taiwan also presents three different varieties: 'Standard Peking Mandarin', 'Standard Taiwanese Mandarin', and 'Sub-standard Taiwanese-Mandarin'. The first represents the prescribed standard, while 'Standard Taiwanese Mandarin' represents the most 'acceptable' form on the island as it is distinctive of the social elite and members of the media. It is distinguished by the lack of a final syllabic [-r], less salient pronunciation of retroflex initials, as well as unspecified lexical and syntactic characteristics. 'Sub-standard Taiwanese-Mandarin', however, is 'unacceptable to the educated', and is marked by greater phonological and syntactic interference from Southern Min. These characteristics include unrounding of rounded vowels or semi-vowels, misarticulated labial-dental sounds, a reciprocal switch between lax and tense vowels through vowel deletion/insertion, and failure to articulate retroflex initials (C. C. Li, 1985).

Li (1985) adds, however, that the 'substandard' is largely a factor of age, spoken by the generation of native Taiwanese first introduced to Mandarin shortly after 1945. He writes that problems with the stigmatized variety were "gradually eliminated" through increased economic and educational development, and states that this variety was "often ridiculed between 1949 and 1975" (C. C. Li, 1985, pp. 127-128). He relates as well that Standard Taiwanese-Mandarin is characteristic of people under 30 in Taiwan, regardless of their status as mainlander or native Taiwanese (C. C. Li, 1985). If the difference between 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' forms is so strongly a function of age, however, then the 'substandard' variety would now exist only among those older than nearly 60 years of age. Either younger generations are not socially stigmatized by the localized vernacular, or Li's (1985) variety is now something of a different sort.

Kuo (2004b, 2005), however, is perhaps the first to overtly link an informal standard of Mandarin to an emerging island-wide identity in Taiwan. In her dissertation, Kuo (2005) refutes the belief that primary non-standard variants originated through first-language interference from Southern Min. She argues rather, that Taiwanese-Mandarin is a koine emerging through processes of leveling, which refers to a reduction in linguistic differences between speakers of mutually intelligible dialects (Kerswill, 2002). She states that as the Beijing-area immigrants following 1945 were a small minority of the mainlander population, the standardized features peculiar to their dialect were lost in the new common variety. In her description, Taiwanese-Mandarin differs from Standard Mandarin in terms of intonation, grammatical and lexical features, and particularly the lack of retroflex initials (Kuo, 2004b, 2005).

Like Li (1985), however, she states that Taiwan-guoyu is distinct from this variety as a function of age, referring to the former as the “so-called ‘non-standard’ Mandarin spoken by the less privileged at the beginning of the promotion of [Standard Mandarin]” (Kuo, 2004b, p. 1). The linguistic features that characterize Taiwan-guoyu are not discussed. In her framework, further, Taiwanese-Mandarin is portrayed as representative of *all* possible variants of Mandarin in Taiwan, regardless of any distinction based on ethnicity, class, age, education, or geographic region (Kuo, 2004b, 2005). The fact that the formal standard is still propagated and used by some on the island is also not recognized within this rubric, however. Importantly, this definition does not account for Mandarin variation internal to the island.

However, recognition of these variables is an integral component of an ‘informal standard’ within a society. As this form is defined by the *absence* of socially stigmatized features, or “determined more by what it is *not* than by what it is” (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, p. 12), it is ideologically driven by conceptions of what is not normative in mainstream

society. Though the authors admit that ideologies can be very subjective, they state that “there is a consensus in rating speakers at the more extreme ends of the continuum” regardless of the person making the judgment (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998, p. 12). Though one of the strengths of Kuo’s (2005) formulation is the emphasis on pluralism, as it divorces the common form of Mandarin from ethnolinguistic distinctions, it remains necessary to illuminate the ‘ends of the continuum’ in common language ideologies before a Taiwanese-Mandarin style of speech can be more clearly understood.

Therefore, if such a variety can be said to be in emergence in Taiwan, it must be conceptually differentiated from both Standard Mandarin and Taiwan-guoyu in order to understand the social and linguistic parameters which make it unique. Though brief descriptions of an informal standard in Taiwan have been presented in the literature, these studies have either been limited in demographic breadth by targeting one age group or region, or are ambiguous in their methods and description. The social and linguistic aspects by which a ‘Taiwanese-Mandarin’ style of speech may be identified, therefore, have not been set out in a systematic manner. This dissertation attempts to answer, then, the following questions. What linguistic features typically mark the formal standard and vernacular non-standard in common conceptions within Taiwan? What social characteristics are typically associated with speakers of these variants, and how do the linguistic features actually pattern throughout society? Finally, to what extent may a Taiwanese-Mandarin style of speech be said to exist in Taiwan? The following chapter will detail how these questions will be examined in this study.

## **4.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1 DATA COLLECTION**

In order to address these questions, a series of semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews were conducted in Taiwan with the goal, primarily, to elicit metapragmatic reports or performances of standard and non-standard speech forms of Mandarin in order to reveal the linguistic features upon which participants' ideologies of Mandarin variation are based. The interviews also provided recorded data for a descriptive and quantitative analysis of the elicited features in actual language usage. That is, the spoken text of each recording was coded for variation on the linguistic features that were most frequently reported to frame these different language varieties. Statistical regression was then performed to show the correlations between the elicited variables and social-categorical factors based on the demographic data of the participants. Thus, the prevalence and type of features given in the metapragmatic reports were available for statistical analysis to indicate how conceptions pattern according to social-categorical information. These processes will be discussed in greater detail in further sections.

#### **4.1.1 Semi-Structured Interviews**

The questions used in the interview sessions are listed in Appendix A. They were first composed in English but then translated into Standard Mandarin, and then re-translated again

into English by a native speaker of Mandarin in Taiwan to test for accuracy. All interviews, however, were conducted in Mandarin by this investigator. It is important to point out that the more formal context of the interview, as well as my identity as a foreigner and non-native Chinese speaker, predisposed the talk to more standard patterns of speech and had an unknown impact on the ultimate content of the interviews. In those cases where participants code-switched to English for a word or full phrase, the switch was not ratified in order to ensure the interview was conducted in Mandarin to the greatest extent possible. As it was important to evoke notions of speakers rather than conceptions of varieties as a whole, questions initially referred to language varieties only in terms of ‘standard’ [標準] and ‘non-standard’ [不標準]. Once common labels for the language varieties were introduced into the discussion by the participant, however, they were used freely. As in a semi-structured interview format, some questions were worded differently in actual usage, raised in a different order, or not asked at all, depending on the degree to which the information was addressed through previous answers. Participants were also surveyed as to whether they agree with the notion of a ‘de facto’ standard of Mandarin present on the island that is different from the prescribed formal standard.

Given the primary goal of the interview protocol, little time was available to elicit different styles of speech as in more traditional sociolinguistic interviews (see e.g., Briggs, 1986; Feagin, 2002; Labov, 1972b). Certain highly standard features of speech (e.g. retroflex), for instance, may only surface in more formal contexts (Chung, 2006). In order to establish a baseline of formal speech and to derive a sample with a great degree of attention paid to speech, participants were also asked to read a word list focusing primarily on retroflex features (H. Yang, 1997), however, based on the results of a pilot study (Brubaker, 2007), certain words were added to gauge pronunciation of the labial feature as well. The reading list took place at the end of the

discussion so that the style throughout the interview was not pre-conditioned to highly standard forms, and so that metapragmatic elicitations were provided fully by the interviewee, and not prompted or conditioned by the reading list.

#### 4.1.2 Sampling & Participants

Interviewees were selected through participant-networking, or a “friend of a friend” method of sampling (Feagin, 2002), where each participant was solicited for friends or relatives who might consent to be interviewed. The goal was to derive an understanding of language behavior over a broad spectrum of the population rather than a localized network or community of practice. In some cases, participants were asked to provide potential contacts who meet certain criteria in order to ensure a more balanced sample. These criteria included social variables that were selected for the variationist analysis. Broadly, these include age (young, middle, old), social class (low, middle, high), region (north and south), and ethnicity (‘native

**Table 4.** Participant Demographics

PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS					
REGION			GENDER		
North:	81	51%	Female:	80	51%
South:	77	49%	Male:	78	49%
AGE			SES		
Young (18-36):	56	35%	Lower:	40	25%
Middle (37-51):	54	34%	Middle:	71	45%
Old (52-):	48	30%	Upper:	47	30%
ETHNICITY			MOTHER-TONGUE		
Southern Min:	84	53%	Southern Min:	61	39%
Mainlander:	59	37%	Mandarin:	77	49%
Hakka:	4	3%	Both SM & M:	13	8%
Aborigine:	4	3%	Hakka:	2	8%
Other:	7	4%	Aborigine:	4	3%
total n=158					

Taiwanese’ and ‘Mainlanders’). Although more research on the sociolinguistic tendencies of lesser-represented ethnic minorities, such as the Hakka or aboriginal groups, is greatly needed, it was nevertheless deemed to be

beyond the limits of this study at this point in time to include these populations as separate categories. In the end, these variables altogether create 36 data cells ( $3*3*2*2=36$ ). Gender was also taken into account, so that two male and two female participants provided speech data for each cell. Thus a total of 144 participants ( $36*4=144$ ) were required. As it was not possible to know the exact demographics of the participant prior to meeting, there was some redundancy among certain cells, while others were not completely filled. Ultimately, 158 people were interviewed for this project. The demographics of the participant sample is provided in Table 4. As Hakka and aboriginal groups were not included as separate categories, they were excluded as potential outliers from the quantitative, but not qualitative, analysis. Therefore, the total number of participants for the quantitative analysis was 150. Each interview was then transcribed roughly for the qualitative analysis. Each utterance that counted as a metapragmatic report or performance, as described below (Section 4.2.1), was excerpted and transcribed in greater detail.

### **4.1.3 Social Variables**

#### **4.1.3.1 Age**

As discussed previously, the extent to which negatively evaluated linguistic features pattern in society as a function of age has not been reliably established. Li (1985) and Kuo (2004b) both relate Taiwan-guoyu to the generations of Taiwanese speakers who first experienced the effects of early KMT language shift policies, that is, those above sixty years old sampled in this study. It is clear, however, that stigmatized features of non-standard Mandarin continue to characterize segments of the young adult population as well (Baran, 2003, 2007; Su, 2005). In previous variationist analyses, Lo (1990) and Yang (1997) both found that age is not a significant factor in variation of the velar and retroflex features, respectively. Yang (1997)

argues that this is indication that the retroflex and velar are stable variables that are not experiencing language change. However, as Yang's (1997) study examined reading style alone, it is not clear to what extent the same result may apply to more casual speech. Further, it is also not known how this factor applies to the other variables that have been elicited in this study. As age is typically a central factor in analyses of linguistic variation, dating back to Labov's (1963) study of Martha's Vineyard, this factor will also be included here. Sampling methods therefore aimed to obtain a cross-section of three adult age groups: young (18-36), middle (37-51), and old (51+). In the end, the age of participants ranged from 18 to 71, a difference of 53 years. Subsequently, for the quantitative analysis, the age category was expanded from three to five categories, broken down by decade of birth. The expanded groups for the quantitative analysis is represented in Table 5.

**Table 5.** Age Demographic, 5 Categories

AGE DEMOGRAPHIC, 5 CATEGORIES			
Category		Number	%
Young	19-30	33	22%
Young-Middle	31-40	43	29%
Middle	41-50	26	17%
Middle-Old	51-60	35	23%
Old	61-	13	9%

#### 4.1.3.2 Socioeconomic Status

As socioeconomic status is a central concept in sociolinguistic research (Ash, 2002) it will also be examined in this study. It is important to note, however, that some academics argue that social class is not a meaningful construct within Taiwan, as the anti-communist ideologies of the KMT regime worked to repudiate the notion of 'class membership' within society (Marsh, 2002, 2003). Marsh (1996) argues that though objective methods of social stratification do correlate with subjective social class identification in a forced-choice question format, they are



likely to deny membership in a social class if allowed to opt out. In a 1991 survey, for instance, only 37.6% of respondents felt that they belonged to a social class, while 53.2% said they did not (Marsh, 1996). Naturally, however, the distinctions between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, are still very salient in society, and Gates (1987) indicates that level of education may be a strong correlate of class in Taiwan. Yang's (1990) variationist study also found that education was a significant predictor of variation of the retroflex feature, where higher education correlated with higher usage of the standard, although social class per se was not measured.

For the purposes of this research, however, social class will be based on an index measuring occupation, education, and income (see Appendix C). These factors are among those most commonly used in sociolinguistic studies (Ash, 2002; J.K. Chambers, 2003), and have been used in objective measures of class in previous research in Taiwan (Lo, 1990; Marsh, 2002, 2003). In Lo's (1990) work, for instance, there was a significant effect between objective measures of class, based on occupation, education, income, and rural/urban background, and usage of non-standard variants of /-iŋ/ and /-əŋ/, where those of higher SES had a higher mean score of usage of the standard variant. In order to account for family background, parents' occupation, education, and income will also be recorded, however the participants' individual factors will be weighted more heavily (see Appendix C). The occupation scale is based on Tsai and Chiu's (1991) Socioeconomic Index for Standard Occupational Categories in Taiwan. Educational level is defined by highest degree completed, or present enrollment, in Graduate school, University & College, Junior College, Senior high school & vocational school, Junior high school & vocational school, and Primary school. Level of income is adapted from the ROC annual Survey of Family Income and Expenditure (National Statistics, 2007), and is based on statistics indicating the upper limit of each decile of disposable income in 2005. In cases where

participants were full-time students and not a part of the workforce, they were asked to base their judgment on occupational goal and projected income according to their academic major. The SES category was also expanded from three categories to five for the quantitative analysis as well, and is represented in Table 6.

**Table 6.** SES Demographic, 5 Categories

SES DEMOGRAPHIC, 5 CATEGORIES		
Category	Number	%
Low	13	9%
Medium-Low	30	20%
Medium	41	27%
Medium-High	45	30%
High	21	14%

#### **4.1.3.3 Region**

As Su (2005) makes clear in her dissertation, there are several linguistic distinctions which contribute to a perceived difference between the people of northern and southern regions of Taiwan. People in the north, for instance, are perceived to speak more standard Mandarin, and use the standard to a greater degree in both home and public domains. This is also understandable given the fact that, as discussed earlier, most economic development has been centered in the north, particularly around the capital, Taipei. Those in the south, however, are believed to speak Southern Min in the home to a greater extent, and in some cases, local institutional settings as well (Su, 2005). As Su (2005) states, “through linguistic and discursive practices, the North and the South are constructed as cultural places distinctive from each other” (p. 320). Therefore, the degree to which regional factors impact the standard and non-standard Mandarin forms must be evaluated. Interviews were conducted in Taipei in the north, and Tainan in the south, as both cities are considered the cultural center of their respective regions (Su, 2005). This will also provide some comparison with Lo’s (1990) research in Taipei, and

Yang's (1997) work in Tainan. Participants' regional identity are based on self-ascription. This also addresses issues of migration, as interviewees may have been raised in, and still 'identify with', a different region than the one in which they currently live or where the interviewed was conducted.

#### **4.1.3.4 Ethnicity and First Language**

The ethnic and linguistic background of participants were also collected in order to measure the degree to which Taiwanese-Mandarin may truly be considered a 'pan-ethnic' variety (Kuo, 2004b). Previous research on variation of Mandarin in Taiwan did find a relation between ethnicity and usage of the /eŋ/ or /iŋ/ variables (Lo, 1990). Although Lo (1990) did not find a similar correlation with participants' first-language, it is possible for other linguistic variables to show a first-language influence on Mandarin variation. Therefore participants were asked to provide a brief self-report of their speaking and listening ability in Mandarin and their most proficient minority language [see Appendix A]. As language is also an important marker of ethnic distinction in the Chinese cultural context (S. M. Huang, et al., 1994; Shih, 2000), demographic questions also included participants' mother-tongue, defined as the first language spoken as a child. Although the most primary group distinction in recent Taiwanese history has involved divisions *within* the same (Han) Chinese ethnicity, Huang Shu-Min et al. (1994) advocate a sense of ethnicity in which patrilineality, locality, and language are defining features. Thus, the traditional divergence between mainlander and native Taiwanese groups may be analyzed in ethnic terms, as has often been the case in this context. Ethnic background was defined based on self-ascription (Fought, 2002; Giles, 1979). A separate category was assigned to those who were of mixed-descent and chose not to favor one heritage over the other.

## 4.2 DATA ANALYSIS

### 4.2.1 Metapragmatic Reports

As discussed previously, language ideologies are fundamental to the processes of linguistic differentiation. Metapragmatic processes, through cultural discourse or social interaction, influence the perception of differences in the way people speak, and thus mediate the boundaries drawn between speech communities (Irvine & Gal, 1999; Silverstein, 1998). As Irvine & Gal (1999) state, language ideologies relate to “the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them” (p. 35). With this perspective, elicited metapragmatic views of speech will reveal the language ideologies used to actively frame different varieties within society. As linguistic distinctions also inform the differentiation of varieties within language ideologies (Irvine & Gal, 1999), then explicit portrayals of standard or non-standard speech will reflect the features upon which these distinctions are perceived and detected.

Therefore, elicited reports of Standard Mandarin and Taiwan-guoyu speech will reveal the most salient linguistic parameters ‘presupposed’, or shared within the cultural context, as markers of these varieties. These reports will be defined here as any metapragmatic description or performance of a speech pattern discursively marked as standard or non-standard. Though such an operationalization of ‘metapragmatics’ defines the term rather narrowly, as social evaluations may be expressed in much less overt ways, it is necessary for the purposes described here. Further examination of these data will then supply the linguistic features that effectively reflect a ‘normative’ Taiwanese-Mandarin style of speech in common ideologies.

It is important to reiterate here that such performances reflect social, rather than linguistic, evaluation. For instance, the terms ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ were not classified by the investigator, but were implicitly defined through the course of the interaction by participants themselves. Thus the metapragmatic elicitation is a verbal representation of their personal ideologies and conceptions. That is, when participants perform the evaluative utterances (as exemplified below), they ascribe phonetic form to social qualities or behaviors, or groups of people who share those qualities or behaviors. These qualities/behaviors are presupposed in the cultural context to lie within (for standard) or outside of (for non-standard) ‘mainstream’ levels of acceptability, which is predominantly established by the cultural and social discourse.

This process was effectively piloted in previous research from which the example in Table 7, below, was derived (Brubaker, 2005, 2005b, 2006). This example indicates how metapragmatic reports were compiled and analyzed for the relevant linguistic features. As indicated, a total of eight tokens in three excerpts were provided by this speaker, Yahtyng (a pseudonym<sup>7</sup>). In the first excerpt, Yahtyng presents a standard form, ‘hongqu2’, which she alternates with its non-standard pronunciation, ‘hongqu4’, indicating a difference in lexical intonation in the Mandarin of Southern Min speakers. In the second excerpt, she mimics a pattern of her father’s talk that, to her, identifies him as a member of this non-standard speech community. Again, she first provides the standard form to contrast with her conception of the non-standard, respectively, [fəŋ ʂan ɕin uŋ hɿ ts<sup>w</sup>oo ʂɿ] and [həŋ san ɕin jəu ho tso sɿ]. These syllables show the following alternations: [f]→[h], [ʂ]→[s], [u]→[j], [uŋ]→[əu], [ɿ]→[o], and [ts<sup>w</sup>]→[ts]. In the third excerpt, Yahtyng reports a particular sound that is often

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<sup>7</sup> Some pseudonyms may represent people interviewed for this or the pilot study, though the names used here in no way reflect the actual speaker of the quoted text.

mispronounced by certain speakers. Though the alternate of the variant is not given in this case, it can be inferred from Token #2, where [f]→[h]. As in this example, all elicited syllables were transcribed based on Duanmu’s (2000) phonological description of Standard Mandarin.

**Table 7.** Elicited Metapragmatic Response, example

ELICITED METAPRAGMATIC RESPONSE, EXAMPLE					
Excerpt	Standard		Non-Standard	Alternation	Token #
ONE (Report): ‘hongqu2’ now like Southern Min people, people who speak Southern Min say it like ‘hongqu4’	Tone2	→	Tone4	Tone2 →Tone4	1
TWO (Performance): The one I can most distinguish is [Southern Min] accent, like my dad, ah, like when my father speaks Chinese- speaks Mandarin, like eh, ‘[fəŋ ʂan ʈin ɕuŋ hɿɿ ts <sup>w</sup> oo ʂɿɿ]’ [standard], but he’s ‘[həŋ san ʈin jəu ho tso sɿɿ]’ [non-standard]	fəŋ	→	əŋ	[f] → [h]	2
	ʂan	→	san	[ʂ] → [s]	3
	ɕuŋ	→	jəu	[ɕ] → [j]	4
	xɿɿ	→	xo	[ɿ] → [o]	5
	ts <sup>w</sup> oo	→	tso	[ <sup>w</sup> o] → [o]	6
	ʂɿɿ	→	sɿɿ	[ʂ] → [s]	7
THREE (Report): there are some people who just can’t help it, like my father, he just can’t do anything about it, to pronounce that [f] sound very well	f	→	h	[f] → [h]	8

It is important to note that two syllables may have different lexical meanings but exhibit the same alternation, such as where [ʂan]→[san] (山, “mountain”) (token #3) and [ʂɿɿ]→[sɿɿ] (事, “affair/matter”) (token #7) both show [ʂ]→[s]. Given the high frequency of homonyms in Chinese, this was in fact a quite common occurrence. In such cases, they were considered as two separate points of data (tokens) to maintain the lexical distinction. Iterative use of a syllable with the same lexical meaning, however, counted as only one token. Additionally, syllables which contrasted in *both* the onset and the rhyme provided two distinct tokens. The number of tokens, then, is one measure of the degree of saliency of the reported feature within peoples’ perceptions. However, due to the redundancy from similar syllables, it also inflates the representation of a given alternation. Listing the number of unique speakers per alternation (as in Table 8 in Section 5.1), rather than just the sum total, corrects for this redundancy. Applied to the data in Table 7

above, for example, the [ʂ]→[s] alternation has one speaker but two tokens. This distinction will also provide a more accurate measure of the distribution throughout the population, and could indicate, for example, if given elicited alternations might be affected by the social-categorical information of the participants.

All tokens were then grouped together according to their more standard segment, and then further categorized by type of alternation. This data is provided in Table 8 below in Section 5.1. The few cases where particular alternations had less than 3 tokens, or were cited by less than 3 speakers, were considered outliers and thus discarded. These results were then used to select the linguistic variables for use in the quantitative analysis, as will be discussed in greater detail later on. These variables were the retroflex initials and three labial segments.

#### **4.2.2 Variationist Analyses**

It is essential, as well, to determine the degree to which participants' metapragmatic reports match actual linguistic practice. That is, it is important to assess whether the language ideologies elicited from participants accurately reflect the broad tendencies of language behavior in Taiwan, as seen through statistical regularity. Therefore, a quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of language behavior was performed in order to examine the social parameters affecting usage of the standard and non-standard variables derived from the metapragmatic reports. Each recording, including the interview and reading word-list, were coded for the linguistic variables marking standard and non-standard varieties derived from participants' metapragmatic reports. The coding was conducted auditorially, and an intermediate form was included as a separate category for each retroflex variable. Statistical regression (Varbrul) was used to model how these features pattern according to demographic information.

The speech within each interview was then coded for the linguistic variables selected based on the metapragmatic reports. As a speaker's talk can vary throughout the course of the interview, as the participant becomes more comfortable to speak, for instance, the speech was coded at the beginning of five equal segments within each interview, based on total length of the recording. Within each of these segments, the talk was coded until ten tokens for each linguistic variable was obtained. That is, for each instance in which a syllable contained any one of the linguistic variables in question, a decision was made whether it was produced in either its prescribed or non-standard form. For the retroflex initials, however, where the alternation is considered a continuous variable, three categories were constructed. As the retroflex sound has a broad range of realization in Taiwan, it may vary from the full retroflex, to an intermediate palato-alveolar articulation, and then to the fully dental form (Chung, 2006, p. 200). Thus the assigned categories represent the full retroflex ([tʂ], [tʂʰ], [ʂ]), palato-alveolar variant ([tʃ], [tʃʰ], [ʃ]), and full dental forms ([ts], [tsʰ], [s]). These data were then recorded in a spreadsheet, along with the time in the interview the syllable was uttered, the syllable itself in pinyin and IPA, as well as the immediate linguistic context (preceding and following syllable) in both pinyin and IPA, and the lexical word in which the syllable appeared. In order to ensure a variety of lexical conditions, a given word would not be coded after it was used five times, or once for each equal division of the interview. Occasionally, only a few tokens were available in the talk in a given section, particularly for less-lengthy interviews, so that in some cases there were less than ten tokens of a given variable in each section. Additionally, data from certain speakers were removed when there were fewer than three tokens in a given category, or when speakers' speech behavior exhibited no variation at all (most typically, involving no tokens of the 'standard'



variant). The data were then compiled and the variation was analyzed using Rbrul (Johnson, 2009, 2011; Team, 2011).

In the process of the analysis, categories were reduced when they appeared to behave similarly within the regression, that is, when the logodds showed a very small difference (0.2 or less). However, this step was not performed when the categories were clearly distinct, such as if a different category intervened. For instance, Old→Medium-Old was an acceptable reduction, but Old→Medium was not as it skipped the intermediate category Medium-Old. Linguistic factors were reduced prior to quantitative analysis of the social factors. The final results will be discussed in the following section.

## **5.0 RESEARCH RESULTS**

### **5.1 QUALITATIVE**

#### **5.1.1 Metapragmatic Reports**

In total, 117 speakers provided 31 different alternations, with 882 tokens, of forms used to mark the non-standard speech of Mandarin in Taiwan. These results were compiled in Table 8. Hypothesis 1 stated that in participants' conceptions use of the prescribed retroflex feature will continue to be related as a marker of overly standard speech, and non-prescribed use of the both the retroflex and labial feature will mark extreme non-standard speech. The analysis of the data shows that this hypothesis is supported.

Participants' conceptions of highly standard speech revolved solely around the retroflex sounds. However, it was difficult for some speakers to produce highly standard speech in their metapragmatic reports, as participants were more able to comment on deviance from the standard rather than the standard itself. This shows that Taiwanese, like North Americans, are "more likely to make comments about non-standardness than they are to comment on standardness" (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, p. 13). However, some responses showed a clear conception of difference between the standard of Mandarin spoken in Beijing and that in Taiwan. As this

fundamentally relates to the ambiguous nature of the standard of Mandarin in Taiwan, it will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Conceptions of non-standard speech were elicited at a much higher rate. Results indicate that speakers tend to organize their conception of non-standard speech around 4 basic phonetic features: retroflex, labial, palatal, and nasal. As shown in Table 8, alternations included reduction of the retroflex initials to their dental variants ( $[tʂ] \rightarrow [ts]$ ,  $[tʂ^h] \rightarrow [ts^h]$ ,  $[ʂ] \rightarrow [s]$ ), as well as the apical vowel ( $[z] \rightarrow [z]$ ) which follows the retroflex initials in certain syllables. The change from retroflex fricative to lateral approximant in  $[z] \rightarrow [l]$  was often mentioned as well. Alternations involving the labial feature exhibited three common patterns over a number of different syllable types, namely elision of the labiodental  $[f]$  ( $[f] \leftrightarrow [h]$ ), unrounding of the  $[y]$  vowel ( $[y] \rightarrow [i]$ ), and deletion or insertion of the labial-velar  $[w]$  ( $[w] \leftrightarrow [\emptyset]$ ). Palatal alternations involved deletion of the  $[j]$  glide, as well as change in place of articulation from palatal  $[ç]$  to alveolar  $[s]$ . The nasal alternations included change from alveolar  $[n]$  to velar  $[ŋ]$  ( $[n] \rightarrow [ŋ]$ ) and vice versa ( $[ŋ] \rightarrow [n]$ ). In some cases, two syllables were reported in succession, such as ‘en and eng’ for example, indicating that both alternations were considered possible (hence  $[ŋ] \leftrightarrow [n]$ ). This table also indicates that the retroflex ( $n=417$ ) and labial features ( $n=444$ ) were the most commonly-reported sounds produced in participants’ elicitations. These features also had the greatest number of unique speakers reporting these sound differences (retroflex,  $n=99$ ; labial,  $n=94$ ). To reiterate, as a single speaker could produce more than one alternation, a simple sum of the total number of speakers would entail the redundancy of counting a given speaker more than once. Thus the total number of speakers for a given alternation type reflects only those who mentioned at least one alternation of that type, and is not a simple sum as with the number of tokens. For example, though 77 speakers in the sample

mentioned the [ʂ]→[s] alternation, and 44 reported [tʂ]→[ts], a total of 99 people produced or mentioned any single token of retroflex variation in the aggregate of retroflex alternations. Similarly, 37 speakers mentioned [w]→∅, 93 speakers produced any alternation involving deletion or insertion of [w], and 94 reported any labial alternation at all during the course of the interview. Thus all but one of those who mentioned a labial alternation in his or her elicitations included an alternation involving deletion or insertion of [w]. This provides a more accurate measurement of the distribution of each alternation type throughout the sample.

**Table 8.** Elicited Alternations by Type

Type	Alternation, IPA	Alternation, Pinyin	#Speakers	#Tokens
Retroflex	ʂ→s	shi→si	77	170
	-ə→∅	dian'r→dian	53	74
	ʈʂ→ts	zhi→zi	44	70
	ʈʂ <sup>h</sup> →ts <sup>h</sup>	chi→ci	41	59
	ʐ→z	shi'r→shi/si	21	26
	ʐ→l	re→le	15	18
	TOTAL		99	417
Labial [f]→[h]	f→h	fa→hua	52	82
	h→f	hua→fa	24	19
	TOTAL		64	101
Labial [y]→[i]	y→i	yu→yi	18	21
	<sup>w</sup> yy→ii	qu→qi	8	9
	TOTAL		25	30
Labial [w]<-->∅	ʐ→ <sup>w</sup> uu	shi→shu	46	69
	w→∅	wo→o	37	55
	<sup>w</sup> oo→oo	guo→go	31	41
	a→ <sup>w</sup> a	fa→hua	26	53
	ʐ→ <sup>w</sup> uu	zi→zu	13	15
	əi→ <sup>w</sup> əi	fei→hui	10	11
	<sup>w</sup> oo→əu	guo→gou	9	12
	<sup>w</sup> ee→ee	xue→sei	8	16
	<sup>w</sup> a→a	hua→fa	8	10
	<sup>w</sup> yy→ii	qu→qi	8	9
	ən→ <sup>w</sup> ən	fen→hun	7	8
	<sup>w</sup> oo→ɾɾ	guo→ge	6	7
	<sup>w</sup> uu→ʐʐ	zhu→zi	3	4
	<sup>w</sup> əi→əi	hui→fei	3	3
	TOTAL		93	313
TOTAL LABIAL			94	444
Palatal	ʎæ→ə	nian→nen	24	25
	ɕ→s	xie→sei	7	11
	j→∅	yan→an	8	9
	<sup>h</sup> ʎæ→ <sup>h</sup> ə	tian→ten	8	9
	TOTAL		37	63
Nasal	ŋ→n	gang→gan	20	27
	ŋ <--> n	eng/en	16	22
	n→ŋ	guan→guang	10	13
	TOTAL		38	65

Based on a brief analysis, there was relative parity in terms of the social background of those providing elicitations. Table 9, for instance, shows the number and percentage of unique speakers providing any sort of alternation, distributed by social category. We see that older speakers (25%) were less able to provide an elicitation compared to middle-age (38%) and

younger speakers (37%), though older speakers still approximate their share of one third of all elicitations provided.

**Table 9.** Tokens Provided, by Social Category

<b>TOKENS PROVIDED, BY SOCIAL CATEGORY</b>			
<b>Social Category</b>		<b># Speakers</b>	<b>% of Category</b>
<b>AGE</b>	Young	43	37%
	Medium	45	38%
	Old	29	25%
<b>SES</b>	Low	25	21%
	Medium	54	46%
	High	38	32%
<b>REGION</b>	North	60	51%
	South	57	49%
<b>GENDER</b>	Male	56	48%
	Female	61	52%
<b>ETHNICITY</b>	Mainlander	53	45%
	Běnsǎnggrén	64	55%

The differences between groups is greater for socioeconomic status, as those of lower SES (21%) were less likely to provide any alternation,

and the middle SES group (46%) was much higher than the high SES group (32%). However, in terms of region, gender, and ethnicity, the categories were much more equal. These relationships, however, also match, to a greater or lesser extent, the proportion of respondents in each demographic category as well. A very similar distribution (not shown) is found when the aggregated retroflex and labial alternations are considered separately. As there were no major outliers, this indicates that social categorical information did not have a clear impact on the type of alternations provided. It is also important to note that no elicitations were provided in 41 (26%) of the interviews conducted. This indicates, at the very least, that the highly standard or

non-standard language forms for these speakers had little to no metapragmatic transparency, which Silverstein (2001), defines as ‘the extent to which native speakers are able to duplicate the form under discussion in metapragmatic discourse of its usage’ (p. 396)

Ultimately, though Table 8 lists the features predominantly used to frame conceptions of non-standardness in metapragmatic reports, the alternations alone do not indicate the level of acceptability, or degree of normativity, associated with these forms. It is necessary to view the context in which the dominant patterns were elicited. This will be the main concern of the final chapter, however, as the following section will outline the results of the quantitative analysis.

## 5.2 QUANTITATIVE

Based on the results from the metapragmatic reports, the variables chosen for the quantitative analysis included the retroflex initial sounds ([tʂ], [tʂʰ], [ʂ]) in relation to their dental and palato-alveolar variants, and the labial sounds involving [wo] and [wʊ], [f], and [y] in relation to the variants where the labial is deleted. The retroflex initials were chosen as they form the clearest natural class within the range of retroflex sounds elicited, and most importantly, were mentioned by nearly every speaker who reported a retroflex alternation (n=97 of 99). Similarly, [wo] or [wʊ] was selected as the most common grouping within the list of [w]<-->∅ alternations, and had the greatest number of unique speakers in the alternation type (n=60, of 93). The [f] and [y] sounds were added as well in order to include all the categories of labial sounds mentioned in the elicitations. The palatal and nasal alternation types were not selected for analysis in this work due to time and scope limitations. In every case, speaker was selected as a significant factor in the logistic regression.

The quantitative aspect of this study was designed to examine the following hypotheses. Based on previous discussion, particularly section 4.1.3 above, *Hypothesis 1* is formulated to state that female, northern, upper class speakers of mainlander descent and Mandarin mother-tongue will show the most standard use of the full retroflex feature. Although Yang's (1997) research showed no relation between age and the standard retroflex variable, many participants expressed the view that younger speakers exhibit more standard patterns of speech. As Yang's (1997) research examined reading styles alone, and participants' views reflect casual speech, which was also the style analyzed in this study, Hypothesis 1 also holds that younger speakers will show higher usage of the full retroflex feature. *Hypothesis 2* states that there will be no correlation between usage of the intermediate [ʃ] variable and any of the social factors examined, as this would indicate an even distribution in usage of the variable across groups, which would be reflective of a highly normative style of speech. *Hypothesis 3* states that male speakers from the south, of low social economic status, of native Taiwanese descent and mother-tongue, and of advanced age will exhibit a significantly lower precedence of standard use of the labial feature. The results of the quantitative analysis for each of these social factors will be discussed individually below.

### **5.2.1 Age**

#### **(a) Age: Full Retroflex**

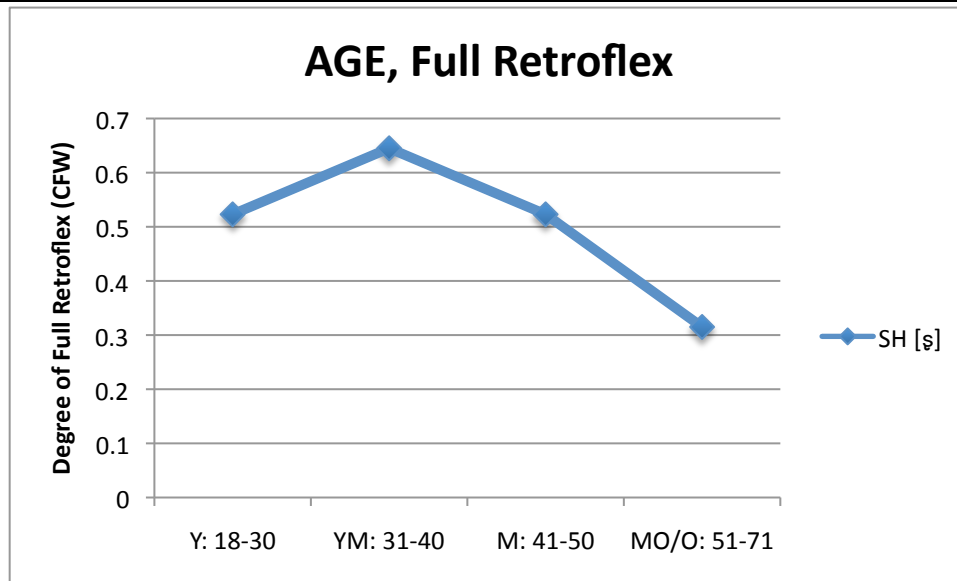
Hypothesis 1 states that there will be no relation between age and usage of the full retroflex feature. The null hypothesis was accepted for the aggregated retroflex category, as well as the ZH [ʃ] and CH [ʃ<sup>h</sup>] categories. However, the null hypothesis for the SH [ʃ] category was rejected. Speakers below the age of 50 use the standard SH [ʃ] sound more frequently than the



older categories, and those of the Younger-Middle (YM) group use it the most. It should be noted that the Middle-Old (MO) and Old (O) groups were reduced to one category, as the age groups behaved very similarly in the regression.

**Table 10.** Age, Full Retroflex

AGE, FULL RETROFLEX					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Full Retroflex	Logodds	Tokens
All Retroflex	n/a				
ZH [tʂ]	n/a				
CH [tʂʰ]	n/a				
SH [ʂ]	Y: 18-30	0.523	0.143	0.092	999
	YM: 31-40	0.645	0.254	0.595	1349
	M: 41-50	0.523	0.163	0.091	903
	MO: 51-60, O: 61-71	0.315	0.079	-0.779	1079



**Figure 1.** Age, Full Retroflex

**(b) Age: Intermediate Retroflex**

The hypothesis that frequency of the intermediate retroflex variable would show no correlation with age was supported; however, this finding was not true for all variables. The

null hypothesis was supported with the zh [tʃ] and sh [ʃ] variables, but rejected with the ch [tʃʰ] and aggregated intermediate categories. For the variables that did show a correlation, there was a decrease in frequency of the intermediate variable as age increases, with the highest rate among the Young-Middle (YM) age group. The ch [tʃʰ] variable showed a small increase in frequency among the Old (O) age group in comparison to the Middle-Old (MO) group, however both groups behaved very similarly in the regression for the All Intermediate category and were thus reduced.

**Table 11.** Age, Intermediate Retroflex

AGE, INTERMEDIATE RETROFLEX					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Intermediate Retroflex	Logodds	Tokens
All Intermediate Retroflex	Y: 18-30	0.557	0.187	0.228	4140
	YM: 31-40	0.647	0.241	0.607	5352
	M: 41-50	0.463	0.153	-0.15	3496
	MO: 51-60, O: 61-71	0.335	0.082	-0.685	5889
	zh [tʃ]	n/a			
ch [tʃʰ]	Y: 18-30	0.585	0.197	0.345	1092
	YM: 31-40	0.717	0.261	0.929	1550
	M: 41-50	0.484	0.16	-0.063	930
	MO: 51-60	0.314	0.079	-0.78	1232
	O: 61-71	0.394	0.105	-0.432	305
sh [ʃ]	n/a				

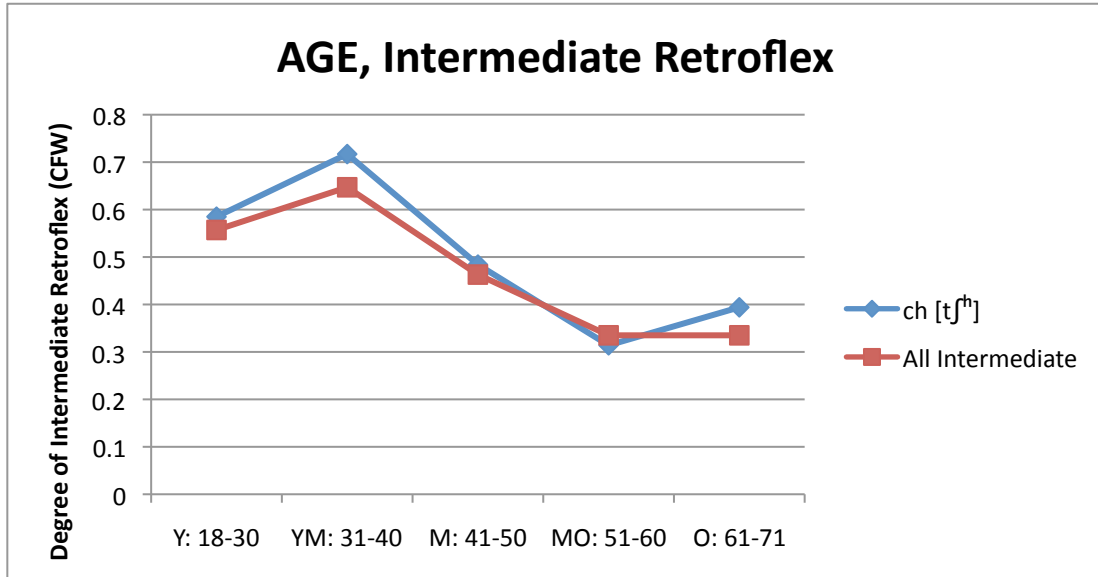


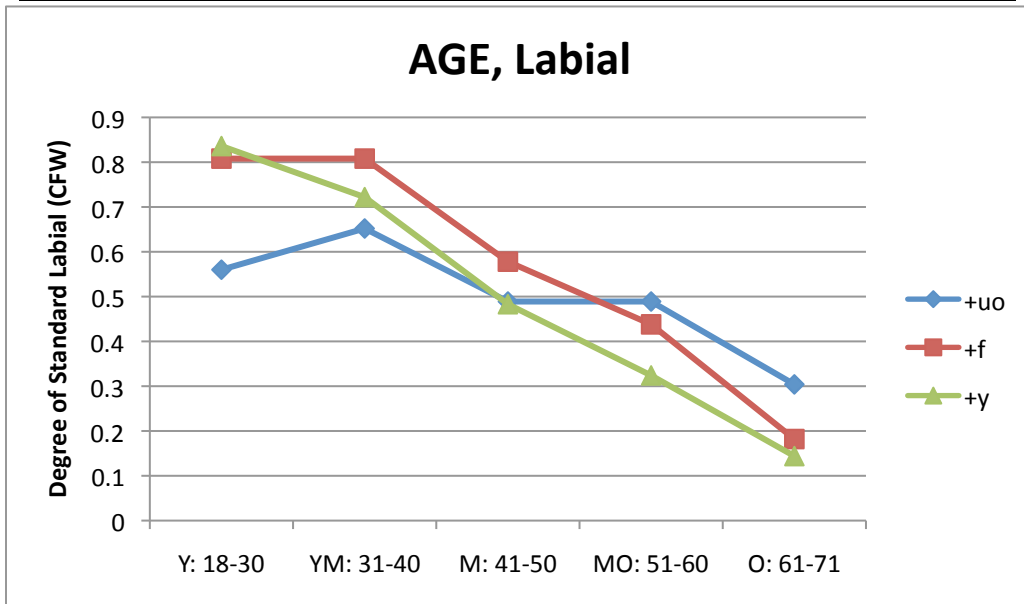
Figure 2. Age, Intermediate Retroflex

**(c) Age: Labial**

It was hypothesized that younger speakers would exhibit greater degree of usage of the prescribed labial feature in the labial segments examined. As the results in Table 12 demonstrate, younger speakers do, in fact, use the prescribed labial feature more frequently for each of the +uo, +f, and +y variables. As shown in Figure 3 the trend clearly indicates that as age increases, the frequency of prescribed usage of the labial decreases. This relationship is strongest for the +y variable, as each group showed a significant difference between them. The +uo variable also shows a similar trend, despite a slight increase between the Young (Y) and Young-Middle (YM) categories. It should also be noted that categories were reduced for the Young (Y) and Young-Middle (YM) groups for the +f variable, and Middle (M) and Middle-Old (MO) groups for the +uo variable, as the regression did not indicate a highly significant difference among them.

**Table 12.** Age, Labial

AGE, LABIAL					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Full Labial	Logodds	Tokens
+uo	Y: 18-30	0.56	0.779	0.243	1541
	YM: 31-40	0.652	0.83	0.627	2070
	M: 41-50, MO: 51-60	0.489	0.707	-0.043	2878
	O: 61-71	0.304	0.526	-0.826	608
+f	Y: 18-30, YM: 31-40	0.808	0.934	1.439	1283
	M: 41-50	0.578	0.749	0.314	764
	MO: 51-60	0.438	0.725	-0.248	1273
	O: 61-71	0.182	0.462	-1.505	396
+y	Y: 18-30	0.836	0.952	1.63	587
	YM: 31-40	0.722	0.935	0.955	1132
	M: 41-50	0.483	0.846	-0.069	1018
	MO: 51-60	0.324	0.8	-0.737	1342
	O: 61-71	0.144	0.601	-1.78	449



**Figure 3.** Age, Labial

## 5.2.2 Socioeconomic Status

### (a) Socioeconomic Status: Full Retroflex

Hypothesis 1 for the socioeconomic status factor stated that Higher SES groups would exhibit greater frequency of full retroflex usage. This hypothesis was supported; however, this result was reliable only when the retroflex segments were taken in the aggregate. In other words, the null hypothesis was supported for the individual retroflex sounds, but rejected when the sounds were considered as one unit. Thus, in the aggregate there is a clear trend toward higher frequency of usage as SES increases.

**Table 13.** Socioeconomic Status, Full Retroflex

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, FULL RETROFLEX					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Full Retroflex	Logodds	Tokens
All Retroflex	High	0.687	0.169	0.784	2445
	Medium-High	0.623	0.097	0.5	4412
	Medium	0.567	0.079	0.27	4337
	Medium-Low	0.375	0.037	-0.511	1978
	Low	0.26	0.026	-1.043	655
ZH [tʂ]	n/a				
CH [tʂʰ]	n/a				
SH [ʂ]	n/a				

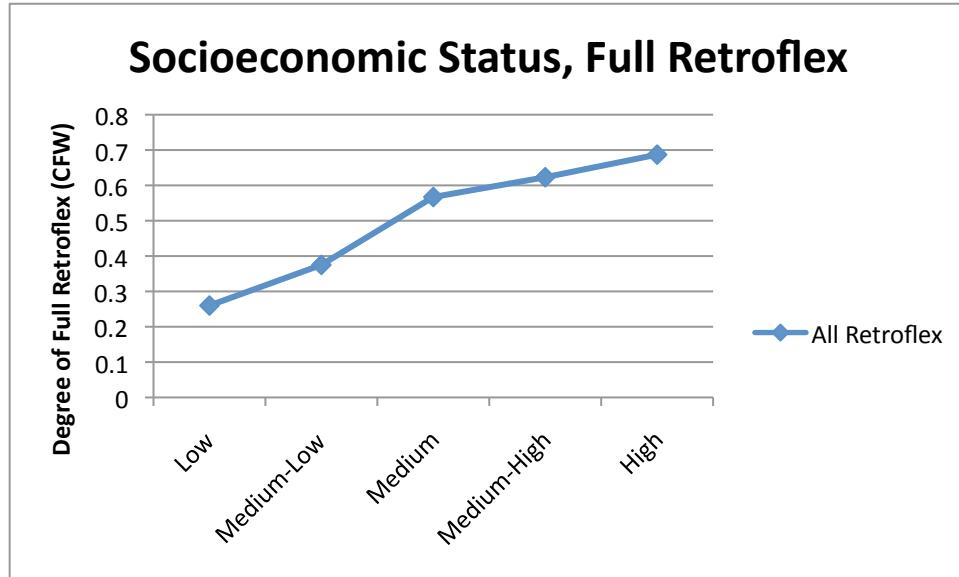


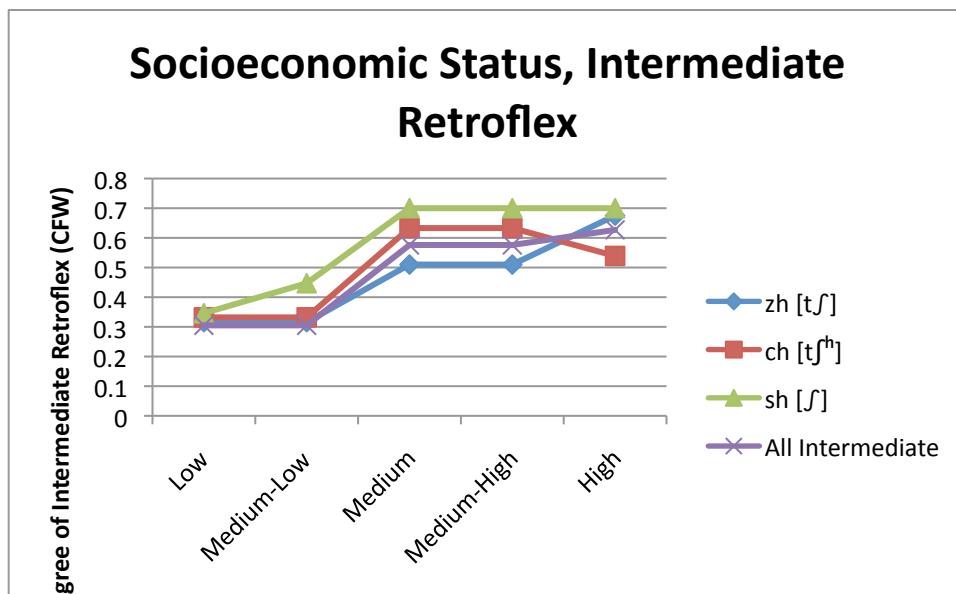
Figure 4. Socioeconomic Status, Full Retroflex

#### (b) Socioeconomic Status: Intermediate Retroflex

Hypothesis 2 proposed that frequency of the intermediate variables would show no correlation with socioeconomic status. However, the null hypothesis was rejected for all variables. That is to say, there was a significant correlation between SES and frequency of usage of the intermediate retroflex variable, showing a clear trend where lower SES speakers demonstrate a lower rate of the intermediate variable than higher SES groups. There was also a strong tendency for the Middle SES group to pattern similarly with the Medium-High category, as they were reduced into one group for each variable. The Low SES category also tended to pattern with speakers in the Medium-Low category, and so were combined for the All Intermediate, zh [tʃ] and ch [tʃʰ] variables into one group. The sh [ʃ] variable remained distinct, however, as the Low and Medium-Low groups remained separate, while the High SES group patterned with the Medium-High group, and so was combined with the High/Medium-High category.

**Table 14.** Socioeconomic Status, Intermediate Retroflex

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, INTERMEDIATE RETROFLEX					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Intermediate Retroflex	Logodds	Tokens
All Intermediate Retroflex	High	0.627	0.268	0.518	2325
	Medium-High, Medium	0.576	0.182	0.305	10886
	Medium-Low, Low	0.305	0.084	-0.823	5666
zh [tʃ]	High	0.675	0.32	0.731	751
	Medium-High, Medium	0.51	0.21	0.042	3692
	Medium-Low, Low	0.316	0.126	-0.773	1733
ch [tʃʰ]	High	0.539	0.243	0.158	736
	Medium-High, Medium	0.633	0.2	0.544	2929
	Medium-Low, Low	0.332	0.091	-0.701	1444
sh [ʃ]	High, Medium-High, Medium	0.7	0.228	0.85	3613
	Medium-Low	0.447	0.129	-0.211	745
	Low	0.346	0.102	-0.639	274



**Figure 5.** Socioeconomic Status, Intermediate Retroflex

**(c) Socioeconomic Status: Labial**

Hypothesis 3 stated that speakers of higher socioeconomic status would show a higher frequency of usage of the standard labial variables. Results indicate that the null hypothesis should be rejected. The relationship is true for each of the labial segments, however it is most clear in the +f variable, as there was a significant difference between all SES groups for this sound. The +y variable also showed a clear decrease in standard usage of the labial feature among lower SES groups. The Medium-Low and Low groups, however, were combined into one category. The +uo variable showed a similar tendency as well, however the relationship was not as strong as the other variables. For instance, categories were reduced for the +uo variable to only two groups (High/Medium-High/Medium, and Medium-Low/Low), and the centered factor weight does not show a very strong tendency.

**Table 15.** Socioeconomic Status, Labial

<b>SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, LABIAL</b>					
<b>Application Value</b>	<b>Factor</b>	<b>Centered Factor Weight</b>	<b>Proportion Full Labial</b>	<b>Logodds</b>	<b>Tokens</b>
+uo	High, Medium-High, Medium	0.569	0.769	0.279	5156
	Medium-Low, Low	0.431	0.673	-0.279	1941
+f	High	0.824	0.961	1.543	461
	Medium-High	0.592	0.787	0.372	1232
	Medium	0.394	0.761	-0.431	795
	Medium-Low	0.287	0.718	-0.908	909
	Low	0.36	0.646	-0.576	319
+y	High	0.677	0.939	0.741	610
	Medium-High	0.551	0.817	0.203	1362
	Medium	0.47	0.884	-0.121	1105
	Medium-Low, Low	0.305	0.799	-0.823	1451



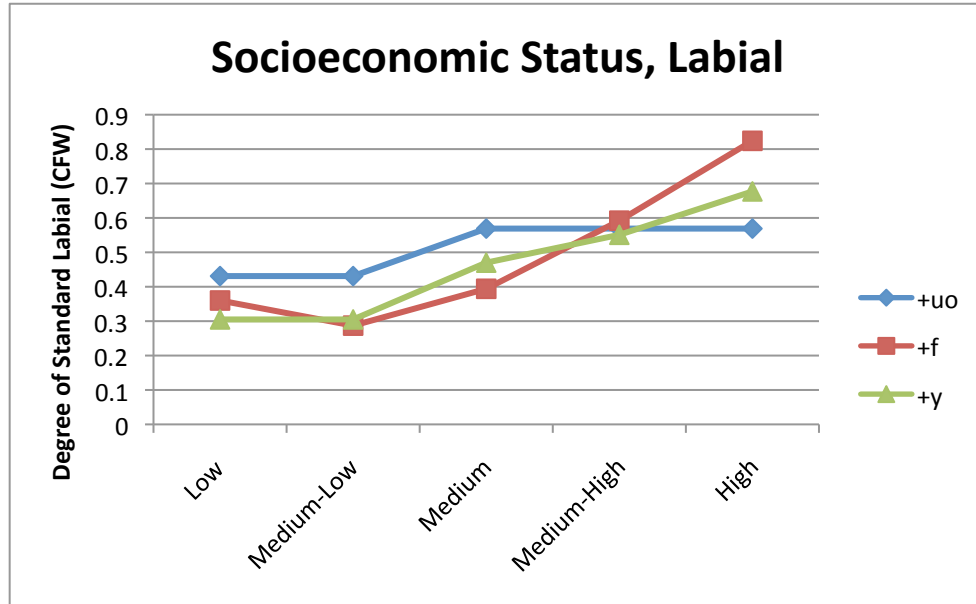


Figure 6. Socioeconomic Status, Labial

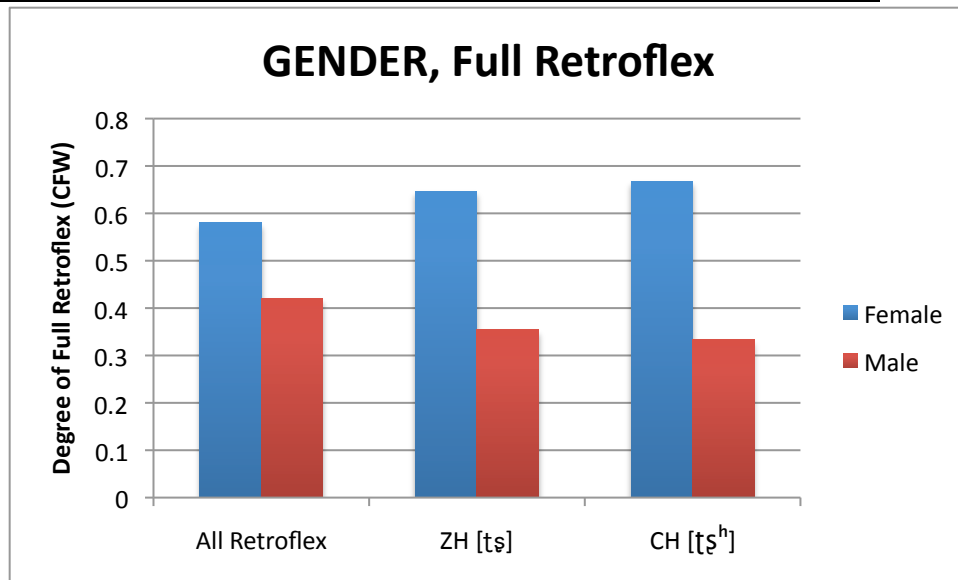
### 5.2.3 Gender

#### (a) Gender: Full Retroflex

Hypothesis 1 proposes that female speakers will exhibit greater frequency of use of the full retroflex feature. The null hypothesis was rejected for the aggregated retroflex sounds, as well as ZH [tʂ], and CH [tʂʰ], though it was accepted for the SH [ʂ] variable. Particularly as the full retroflex category, in which the individual sounds were analyzed as one unit, showed a significant correlation, the results indicate that female speakers in this sample used the full retroflex segment at a greater frequency than their male counterparts.

**Table 16.** Gender, Full Retroflex

<b>GENDER, FULL RETROFLEX</b>					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Full Retroflex	Logodds	Tokens
All Retroflex	Female	0.58	0.121	0.325	7956
	Male	0.42	0.053	-0.325	5871
ZH [tʂ]	Female	0.646	0.151	0.603	1347
	Male	0.354	0.055	-0.603	1075
CH [tʂʰ]	Female	0.667	0.206	0.693	1130
	Male	0.333	0.069	-0.693	823
SH [ʂ]	n/a				



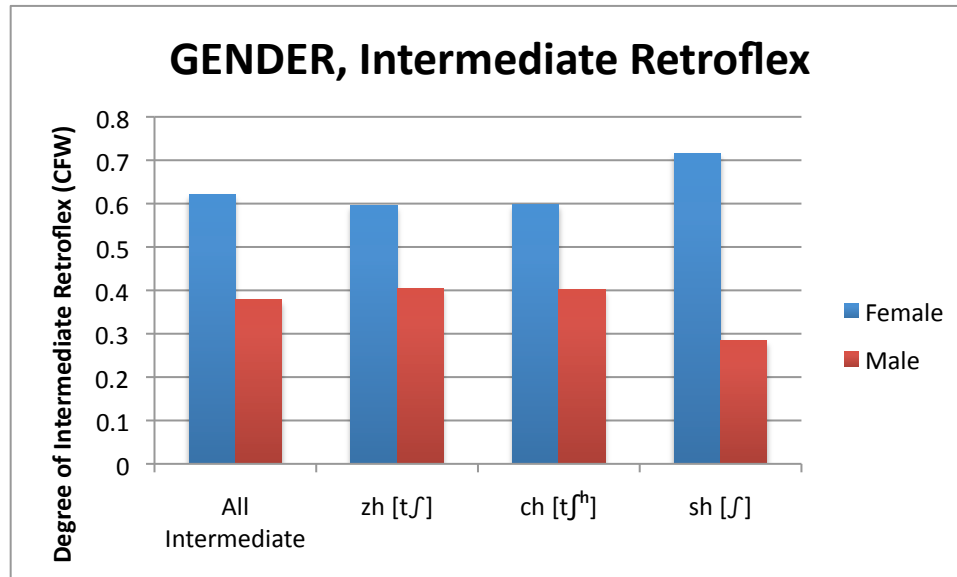
**Figure 7.** Gender, Full Retroflex

**(b) Gender: Intermediate Retroflex**

Hypothesis 2 states that there will be no interaction between gender and usage of the intermediate retroflex. The null hypothesis was rejected on all counts for gender. For all of the retroflex variables, female speakers were clearly more likely to use the intermediate category than male speakers. This difference is strongest for the sh [ʂ] variable, while the weightings are rather consistent among the zh [tʂ], ch [tʂʰ], and aggregated intermediate categories.

**Table 17.** Gender, Intermediate Retroflex

<b>GENDER, INTERMEDIATE RETROFLEX</b>					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Intermediate Retroflex	Logodds	Tokens
All Intermediate Retroflex	Female	0.622	0.225	0.496	9323
	Male	0.378	0.103	-0.496	9554
zh [tʃ]	Female	0.596	0.248	0.387	3220
	Male	0.404	0.147	-0.387	2956
ch [tʃʰ]	Female	0.598	0.222	0.395	2495
	Male	0.402	0.131	-0.395	2614
sh [ʃ]	Female	0.715	0.305	0.919	2423
	Male	0.285	0.095	-0.919	2209



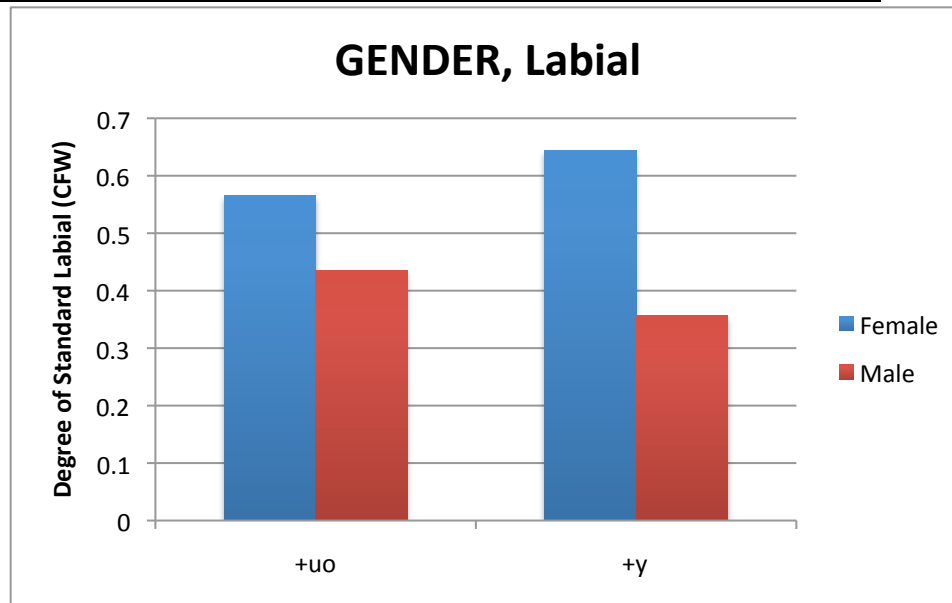
**Figure 8.** Gender, Intermediate Retroflex

**(c) Gender: Labial**

Hypothesis 3 stated that females will show greater frequency of usage of the prescribed labial variables. The results indicate that the null hypothesis may be rejected for the +uo and +y variable, however must be accepted for the +f variable. Females in the sample do exhibit more-frequent use of the labial feature in the +uo and +y segments, however not with the +f sound.

**Table 18.** Gender, Labial

<b>GENDER, LABIAL</b>					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Full Labial	Logodds	Tokens
+uo	Female	0.578	0.804	0.314	3538
	Male	0.422	0.682	-0.314	3559
+f	n/a				
+y	Female	0.644	0.905	0.595	1950
	Male	0.356	0.798	-0.595	2578



**Figure 9.** Gender, Labial

## 5.2.4 Region

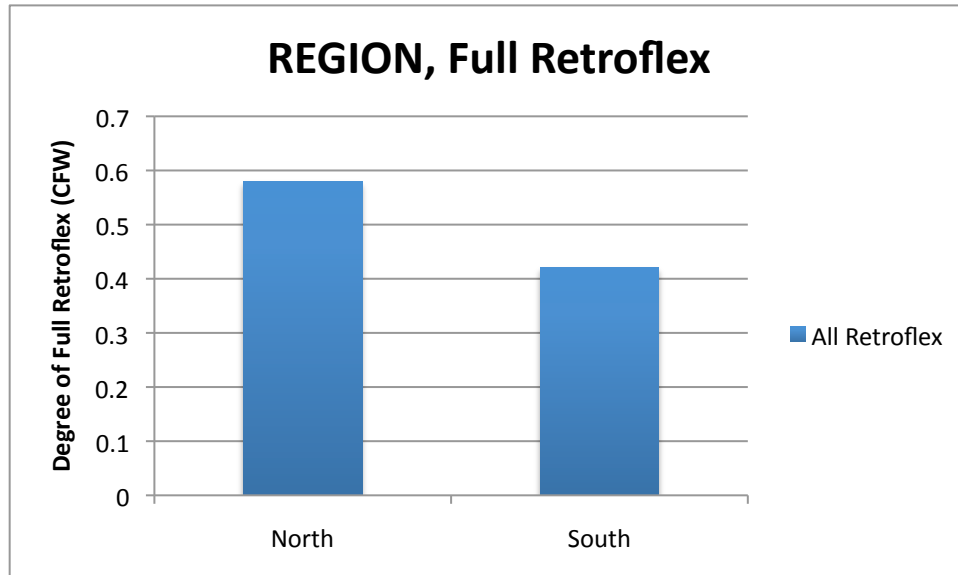
### (a) Region: Full Retroflex

Hypothesis 1 stated that speakers who identify with the Northern region of Taiwan will have greater usage of the full retroflex feature. Similar to the SES factor above, this hypothesis was accepted when the segments were considered as one unit, but rejected for each individual

variable. The results do show a clear tendency favoring standard usage among northerners when the segments are considered as one.

**Table 19. Region, Full Retroflex**

REGION, FULL RETROFLEX					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Full Retroflex	Logodds	Tokens
All Retroflex	North	0.579	0.119	0.319	7471
	South	0.421	0.06	-0.319	6356
ZH [tʂ]	n/a				
CH [tʂʰ]	n/a				
SH [ʂ]	n/a				



**Figure 10. Region, Full Retroflex**

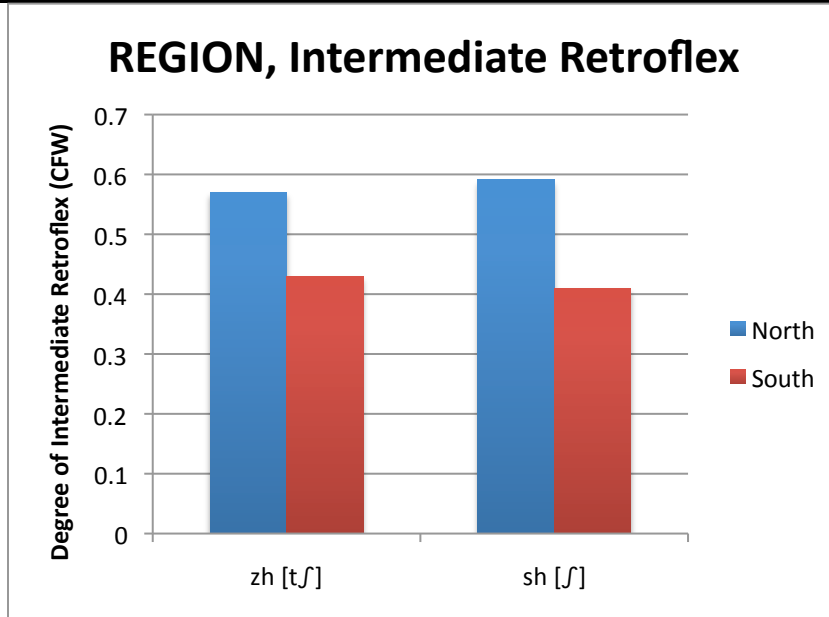
**(b) Region: Intermediate Retroflex**

Hypothesis 2 states that region will not have an effect on the frequency of the intermediate retroflex variable. The null hypothesis was accepted in the case of the aggregated category as well as the individual zh [tʂ] and ch [tʂʰ] sounds. The null hypothesis was rejected,

however, in the case of the sh [ʃ] variable, where speakers in the north are more likely to use the intermediate retroflex variable.

**Table 20.** Region, Intermediate Retroflex

REGION, INTERMEDIATE RETROFLEX					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Intermediate Retroflex	Logodds	Tokens
All Intermediate Retroflex	n/a				
zh [tʃ]	North	0.57	0.232	0.28	3129
	South	0.43	0.167	0.28	3047
ch [tʰ]	n/a				
sh [ʃ]	North	0.591	0.251	0.37	2414
	South	0.409	0.155	-0.37	2218



**Figure 11.** Region, Intermediate Retroflex

### **(c) Region: Labial**

Although it was hypothesized that speakers in the north of Taiwan would show a higher tendency for standard use of the labial feature, no interaction was observed. Thus, the null hypothesis was accepted.

## **5.2.5 Ethnicity**

### **(a) Ethnicity: Full Retroflex**

Hypothesis 1 stated that Mainlanders would exhibit greater frequency of the full retroflex feature, however the null hypothesis was accepted. Thus, this factor was not selected as significant for any of the variables examined.

### **(b) Ethnicity: Intermediate Retroflex**

Hypothesis 2 stated that there would be no correlation between ethnicity and usage of the intermediate variable. The null hypothesis was accepted. Thus, this factor was not selected as significant for any of the variables examined.

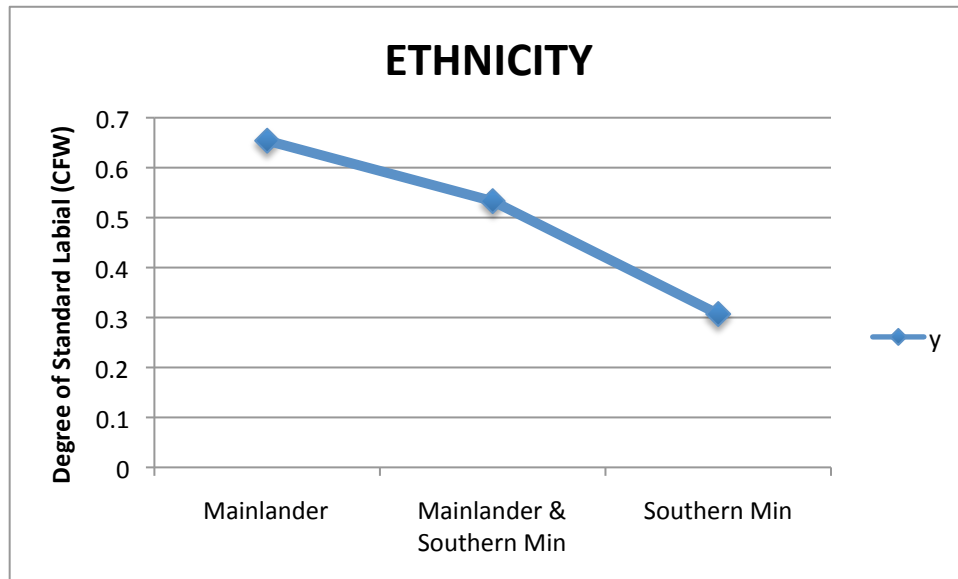
### **(c) Ethnicity: Labial**

Hypothesis 3 stated that speakers of Mainlanders would show greater frequency of standard use of the labial feature. No interaction was found between ethnicity and the +uo or +f variables, however. A significant relationship was shown, however, for the +y variable, where the null hypothesis may be rejected. Results show that as the degree of salience of 'native Taiwanese' identity increases (from both Mainlander and Southern Min, to Southern Min only) the prevalence of standard usage of the +y variable decreases. Note that, as discussed in Section

4.1.2, those Hakka and Aboriginal speakers interviewed for this study were not included in the quantitative analysis, thus the ethnicity factor examined only Mainlanders and Southern Min-speaking *běnsǎngren* (or those who identified with both).

**Table 21.** Ethnicity, Labial

ETHNICITY, LABIAL					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Full Labial	Logodds	Tokens
+uo	n/a				
+f	n/a				
+y	Mainlander	0.654	0.911	0.636	1732
	Mainlander & Southern Min	0.533	0.753	0.13	147
	Southern Min	0.307	0.801	-0.815	2649



**Figure 12.** Ethnicity, Labial



## 5.2.6 Mother-Tongue

### (a) Mother-Tongue: Full Retroflex

It was hypothesized that the mother-tongue of speakers in Taiwan would be a significant factor in standard usage of the retroflex. This was, in fact, exhibited in the SH [ʂ] and aggregated variables. Although speakers of Southern Min show the highest rate of the full retroflex, for both the SH [ʂ] and aggregate groups, there is not a great difference between those stating Southern Min as their mother-tongue and those stating Mandarin as their mother-tongue. However, those claiming both Southern Min and Mandarin as their mother-tongue showed much less tendency to use the full retroflex feature.

Table 22. Mother-Tongue, Full Retroflex

MOTHER-TONGUE, FULL RETROFLEX					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Full Retroflex	Logodds	Tokens
All Retroflex	Southern Min	0.633	0.093	0.546	4555
	Mandarin	0.574	0.105	0.297	7870
	Southern Min & Mandarin	0.301	0.016	-0.842	1402
ZH [tʂ]	n/a				
CH [tʂʰ]	n/a				
SH [ʂ]	Southern Min	0.664	0.178	0.681	1396
	Mandarin	0.597	0.175	0.392	2589
	Southern Min & Mandarin	0.255	0.043	-1.074	345

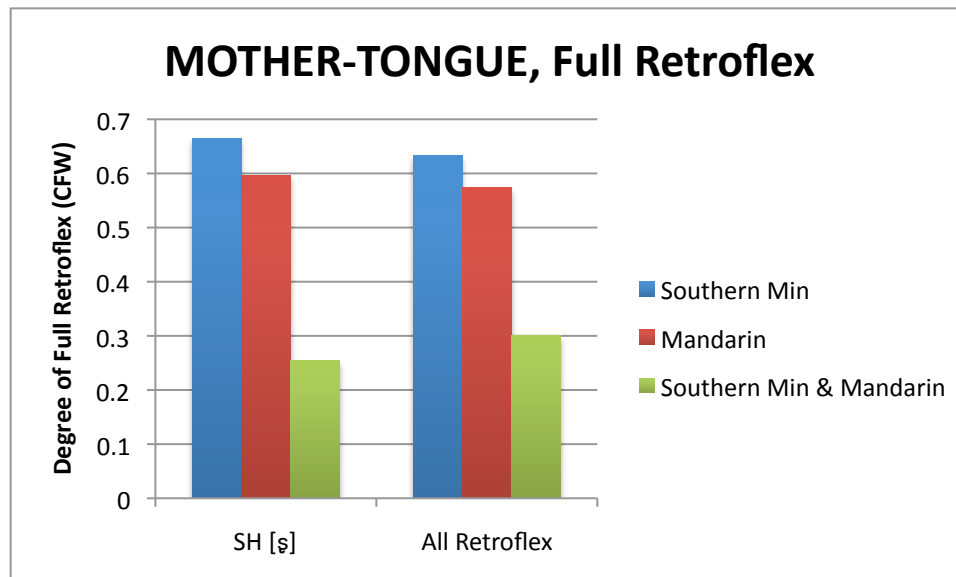


Figure 13. Mother-Tongue, Full Retroflex

**(b) Mother-Tongue: Intermediate Retroflex**

Hypothesis 2 proposed that there would be no correlation between mother-tongue and usage of the intermediate variable. As the null hypothesis was accepted, this factor was not selected as significant for any of the variables examined.

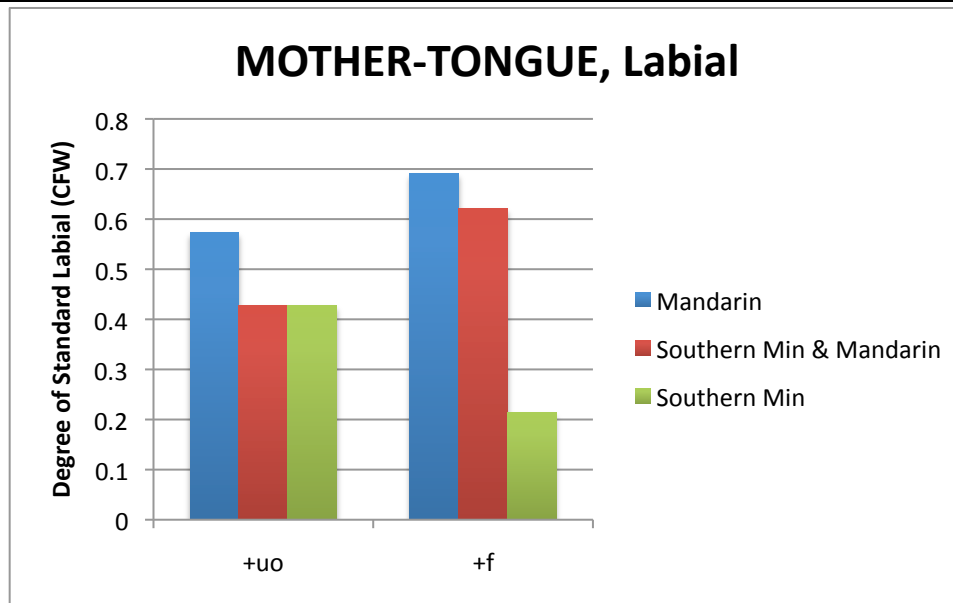
**(c) Mother-Tongue: Labial**

It was proposed in hypothesis 3 that speakers with Mandarin as their mother-tongue would show higher usage of prescribed labial sounds. The null hypothesis was rejected for both the +uo and +f variables, but not the +y variable. As the results show, respondents who claim Mandarin as their mother-tongue were more likely to use the prescribed labial feature in the +uo and +f variables than both those who claim Southern Min & Mandarin and Southern Min alone as their mother-tongue. Though Southern Min mother-tongue speakers patterned with those

claiming both languages as their mother-tongue for the +uo variable, there was a precipitous drop-off for Southern Min mother-tongue speakers for the +f variable.

**Table 23.** Mother-Tongue, Labial

<b>MOTHER-TONGUE, LABIAL</b>					
Application Value	Factor	Centered Factor Weight	Proportion Full Labial	Logodds	Tokens
+uo	Mandarin	0.573	0.811	0.296	3633
	Mandarin & Southern Min, Southern Min	0.427	0.671	-0.296	3464
+f	Mandarin	0.692	0.906	0.809	1610
	Mandarin & Southern Min	0.621	0.932	0.495	351
	Southern Min	0.214	0.622	-1.304	1755
+y	n/a				



**Figure 14.** Mother-Tongue, Labial

## 6.0 DISCUSSION

As views of language behavior are not generated within a vacuum, they inherently reflect certain sociocultural and historical factors embedded within the broader cultural context. Thus, the relative ‘acceptability’ of the non-standard features can be understood by relation to the macro-level social meaning indexed by these forms (Hanks, 2001; Silverstein, 1976, 2003). That is, though the results above present the features used to frame conceptions of non-standardness in Taiwan, they do not necessarily indicate the level of acceptability or degree of normativity associated with these forms. As discussed above, this is central to the formulation of an informal standard of speech based on language ideologies, and more particularly, the negative evidence necessary to indicate where its boundaries lie. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss all of the results within the context in which the metapragmatic statements were elicited.

A caveat and a note need to be addressed, however, before this discussion may begin. It should be stated here, for instance, that though generalizations may be made from the text of the interviews regarding the social meanings participants link to language behavior in Taiwan, they do not necessarily reflect the views and experiences of all people in Taiwan. Some, for instance, may base their judgments on their own experiences rather than the language ideologies in cultural discourse, or possibly make no judgments at all (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008). As noted previously, a portion of participants provided no metapragmatic elicitations of standard or non-standard forms during the course of the interview. The quantitative results, however, provide a

measure of statistical regularity to back up and support, or refute, the substantive ideologies participants hold toward sociolinguistic variation of Mandarin in Taiwan. It should also be noted that, when the text from an interview is presented below, a brief breakdown of the basic demographics of the participant is provided, showing Age (A), SES (S), Region (R), Ethnicity (E), and Gender (G). Additionally, identifying markers have also been replaced with pseudonyms, which in no way reflect the true identity of the given speaker.

### 6.1 FORMAL STANDARD: FULL RETROFLEX

Previous discussion has stated that prescribed use of the retroflex feature is the mark of standard speech in Taiwan, and this was clearly supported in the text of the interviews. In fact, quite a few speakers directly named the retroflex feature itself (*'juǎn shé'* [捲舌], lit. “rolled tongue”) to describe conceptions of highly standard speech. As shown in Table 8 above, the lack of the retroflex feature was the most-cited marker of non-standard speech (417 tokens among 99 speakers), and it was most typically contrasted with the standardized form. This indicates that ideologies of standardness continue to revolve around the prescribed variant, which most likely results from efforts by educators to ensure its accurate production (Lin, 2001). Consider the following excerpt from Lin, a former educator in Taipei (A:63 S:H R:n E:w G:f), who clearly links the retroflex to conceptions of standardness based on the norm prescribed by language educators. When asked if she considers her own Mandarin to be standard or non-standard, she replied:

Lin: Not standard enough, not standard enough, because a lot of retroflex sounds I am not accustomed to using [...] For instance [wo tʂʰ fæn] (I eat rice) a lot of people here say [wo tsʰz fæn], the retroflex, [lau ʂ] (teacher) they may say [lau sz]. That kind of sound.

B: And you speak like that.

Lin: Sometimes. Sometimes I do.

B: But you also feel that's non-standard...

Lin: Yeah, it's not correct based on the exams at my school. If you're supposed to use the retroflex then you should use it, that's what's correct.

Lin: 不夠標準，不夠標準，因為很多捲舌的音。我沒有習慣〔。。。〕

像譬如說 [wo tʂʰ fæn] [我吃飯]，很多人在這邊會講 [wo tsʰz fæn]，就是那個捲舌音，[lau ʂ] 他會說 [lau sz]。這樣子的音。

B: 你也會這樣說

Lin: 我偶然也會這樣，偶然也會。

B: 可是你也覺得那個是不標準的

Lin: 對。對以我在學校要考試的那個，那個標準來看那個是不正確的。所以要該捲舌的就要捲，才叫做正確的

Here, Lin directly relates a sense of her own inadequacy, and that of others, to non-standard usage of the retroflex sounds. In my response for clarification, she demonstrates the alternation between the standard retroflex and the dental variant in 'chi fan' [tʂʰ] → [tsʰ] and 'laoshi' [ʂ] → [sz], specifically marking the latter as non-standard, and directly linking the former to the prescriptive standard taught in school and enforced in language examinations. Lin also makes use of a common saying, which was used by many other speakers in a similar context, stating that "if you're supposed to use the retroflex then you should use it", or '該捲舌就要捲'. This clearly marks that the prescribed norm of the retroflex initials continues to be the basis on which judgments of standardness are centered upon, based on its emphasis during language education.

Relatedly, in many cases, usage or non-usage of the standard retroflex was associated with high quality of education, being raised in a good environment, or simply a strong amount of concentration or personal effort. For instance, Pei (A:25 S:M R:s E:b G:f), who works for an international trading company, states that her own use of Mandarin is non-standard because "I don't deliberately use the retroflex, that is, say [tʂ pʰæn] (this side), I don't do that [...] I don't

deliberately think ‘ah, needs to be retroflexed’<sup>8</sup>”. She specifically links the conception of her speech as non-standard to her non-usage of the formal retroflex, stating “it’s those [tʂ] [tʂʰ] [ʂ] [r], those sounds I am not mindful of... such as [tʂ pʰæn] I can say [ts pʰæn].<sup>9</sup>” Throughout this excerpt, Pei provides an alternation between the standard retroflex and the dental variant [ʂ]→[ts], in use of the phrase ‘zhe bian’ (this side), where the isolated retroflex sounds were pronounced with great attention to speech to be highly accurate to the prescribed form. More importantly, she relates her sense of non-standardness to the lack of effort she puts into attending to her speech, as she does not ‘deliberately’ [刻意的] use the standard retroflex and isn’t ‘mindful’ [不會去在意] of using it, and can not ‘deliberately think’ [不會刻意想到] about the retroflex for each word as she speaks. In effect, she says (and demonstrates) that the prescribed retroflex is something she has to concentrate on in order to pronounce with great clarity, and it is not something that is part of her natural form of speech. Nevertheless, it remains to her the clear benchmark of standard speech.

For two participants in Taipei, Shih (A:33 S:M R:n E:w G:f) and Ying (A:47 S:M R:n E:w G:f), who were interviewed concurrently, this lack of attention paid to speech is given a more moralistic tone, implying that non-standard articulation of the retroflex is due to poor effort or laziness in Mandarin language education. This relates closely to factors of education and socioeconomic status, which is discussed in a later section.

B: But you still think [lau sz] (teacher) is non-standard  
 Shih: yeah  
 Ying: yeah  
 Shih: because [sz] in [lau sz], that [sz] doesn’t have the retroflex  
 Ying: yeah, that’s because he’s lazy /laughs/

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<sup>8</sup> 我就不會刻意去捲舌就是去說[tʂ pʰæn]我不會。。。就不會刻意去強調‘啊這個字要捲舌’。

<sup>9</sup> 就是那個[tʂ] [tʂʰ] [ʂ] [r] 在那些發音上我比較不會去在意。。。像[tʂ pʰæn] 我會說[ts pʰæn]。

Shih: /laughs/ yeah, that's really lazy, or maybe it's because his tongue can't make the sound

Ying: because he didn't practice.

Shih: yeah, yeah, he didn't practice the retroflex sound, because for language, as long as people can understand it, it's ok, basically, you don't need to be that deliberate if everyone understands, unless it's necessary for work and you need to purposefully speak that well.

B:可是[lausz]還是不標準

Shih: 對

Ying: 對

Shih: 因為 [sz] [lausz]那個[sz]就沒有捲舌啊

Ying: 對那就是他懶惰 /laughs/

Shih: /laughs/ 對那就是懶惰，也有可能他舌頭沒有辦法捲嘛

Ying: 因為他沒有去練習

Shih: 對對對沒有練習捲舌音因為語言就是聽得懂就好了。基本上人家聽得懂不需要刻意 除非你有工作上的需要 要刻意講得這麼好這樣子。

Here both Shih and Ying attest that the dental variant of [ʂ] is non-standard due to lack of retroflex, but also attribute the non-standard form to laziness [懶惰] or lack of practice [練習]. Although the terms were used in a joking manner, it clearly implies that the non-standard form is related to lack of personal effort. This is applied in a stative sense through the word 'lazy' but also in an agentive way through 'lack of practice'. The latter term can also be considered as a comment on efforts to learn the standard form during school, as if there were not enough drills or exercises performed in order to master the challenging sounds. However, Shih and Ying also relate that the prescribed retroflex is not required in order to communicate with most people. It is only those whose work depends on standard pronunciation [工作需要] who need to speak with a standard accent. These attitudes also imply the inverse idea, that to acquire the proper retroflex sound takes hard work and effort, and that it is only certain types of jobs where such pronunciation is necessary.

It was clear from the data that many participants do, in fact, associate highly standard speech with high education or powerful positions within a business or educational institution.



Given the importance that is placed on education in Chinese/Taiwanese culture (as discussed above in section 3.2.2), the link between standard speech and learnedness is understandable. For instance, when asked to describe the background of people with standard speech, one speaker, Wanpyng (A:43 S:H R:n E:w G:m), described four categories of workers common in Chinese conceptions. However, only the educated class is linked to standard speech. He stated that “the first thing that comes to mind is higher educational level, ... it’s very clear in China: shi; nong; gong; shang. Shi [士] is educated people; nong [農] is farmers; gong [工] is related to factory work; then shang [商] is business. We often say standard Mandarin speakers are ‘shi’, the others are not so standard.<sup>10</sup>” Others were more specific in describing the sort of occupation associated with their conception of standard speakers, such as one speaker (A:M S:M R:s E:b G:m) who described such a person as “a high intellectual, or he’s in a large-scale company, maybe a supervisor, or in a rather high position.<sup>11</sup>” More specifically, respondents most commonly considered reporters or broadcasters, and teachers/professors, closely in relation to their conception of speakers with more standard speech patterns. As Mei (A:22 S:M R:s E:b G:f), a college student in Tainan, stated, “when we speak we don’t speak the way that broadcasters talk, like [ʂ tʂ<sup>hw</sup>æŋ] (Sichuan province). But we say it as [sz tʂ<sup>hw</sup>æŋ]<sup>12</sup>”. Thus we see that education and occupation were each important to participants’ notions of social stratification of language usage in Taiwan.

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<sup>10</sup> 第一個他教育水準很高。。。。中國很清楚：士，農，工，商；‘士’就是讀書的人；‘農’就是種田的嘛；‘工’就是在工廠，做事的嘛；哪‘商’就是作生意的嘛。哪我們就會講得說標準國語的人是屬於‘士’。哪其他就是不這麼標準。

<sup>11</sup> 我會講得他可能是一個高知識份子。或者是他是一個。。。比較大的公司裡面的經理人材，或者是比較職務高的人。

<sup>12</sup> 我們講話不會講得跟主播講得一樣，說[ʂ tʂ<sup>hw</sup>æŋ]但是我們會講[sz tʂ<sup>hw</sup>æŋ]，是一樣的。

It is apparent that, based on the quantitative analysis, there is in fact a significant correlation between usage of the full retroflex feature and factors of socioeconomic status, which in this analysis combined occupation, education, and income (see Appendix C). Table 13, for instance, shows a clear correlation between a speaker's social status and the proportion of full retroflex. The higher the measure of social status, the more likely the speaker is to use the full retroflex. It should be noted, however, that this relationship only holds when the retroflex variables are considered together. When they are examined individually, there is no significant relationship. This correlates somewhat with Yang's (1997) previous research, which shows an association between the retroflex feature and educational level. However, to my knowledge this is the first study of language variation in Taiwan to measure socioeconomic status based on the constellation of occupation, income, and education.

A similar correlation was found between region and degree of full retroflex. That is, speakers in the north showed a higher proportion of the standard retroflex, as shown in Table 19. Again, this association only held when the retroflex variables were evaluated as a class of features, and not as individual units. This correlation, however, follows common ideologies that speakers in the north are considered to speak more standard Mandarin. As discussed previously, the north, particularly in Taipei, is the economic and political center on the island, and therefore has the greatest amount of access to upward mobility through mainstream structures of power. The shift to Mandarin has also been greatest in the north, and there is a common sense that Mandarin is more commonly used in the north while Southern Min is more commonly spoken in the south. This is, in fact, also verified by participants' self-report of the proportion of Mandarin they speak during the day. In response to the question 'what percentage of the time do you speak Mandarin?', Northerners on average stated that they used Mandarin 84% of the time, while

Southerners reported using it only 62% of the time. A difference in rate of usage was often cited as a reason for the regional difference in standard speech. As one speaker (TB63: A:60 S:H R:n E:b G:m) in Taipei relates, “Northerners speak rather standard, maybe it’s because they speak Mandarin more often. Now, Taiwanese in the south use [Southern Min] more, so when they speak Mandarin it’s not as fluent as Northerners.<sup>13</sup>” Others stated that it was due to differences in education, as “the so-called non-standard in the south is because teachers didn’t strictly require [standard speech], but in Taipei it was very strictly required.<sup>14</sup>” (Wanpyng; A:43 S:H R:n E:w G:m).

It is very clear, therefore, that the full retroflex is widely considered in common ideologies to be associated with standard speech. It was not only linked in many elicitations, where participants explicitly performed the full retroflex as an example of their conception of ‘standard Mandarin’, but it was also linked in common conceptions to speakers with more or better education, positions of power within business, and location in the regional center of economic and political power within Taiwan. These conceptions were also corroborated by the quantitative data to show that speakers in the north, and those with higher SES, do in fact have a higher rate of usage of the full retroflex.

However, some reports indicate that use of the retroflex is actually too precise, or too proper, in ordinary situations. Several informants, in fact, indicated that prescribed use of the retroflex is actually considered deviant within society. As Zhishuo (A:29 S:M R:n E:b G:m) succinctly stated, if you “hear the official pronunciation prescribed by the government, the formal pronunciation, it can feel weird.... it sounds very standard to us, but when we hear it, it

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<sup>13</sup> 我覺得如果講標準來講，北部的人講國語比較標準，可能跟北部人經常使用國語有關。那中南部的台灣人講台語機會比較多，所以他講國語就是沒那麼流利。

<sup>14</sup> 南部之所以，他們所謂的不標準，是因為老師沒有很嚴格的要求它。在台北是非常嚴格的要求。

feels strange.<sup>15</sup>” In this case, Zhishuo explicitly referenced the ‘government prescribed’ form as something that sounds ‘standard’, yet at the same time, when it is encountered it gives a ‘strange’ feeling [會覺得怪怪的].

That something can be both standard and ‘strange’ is also exemplified by Dangliang (A:35 S:H R:n E:w G:m) in Taipei, a northerner of high SES. In response to the question whether he likes the sound of highly standard speech, he replied:

Dangliang: it’s okay... but if you say [the person] is very standard, sometimes you feel he’s very careful and accurate in word choice and pronunciation. It feels uncomfortable.

B: what if he uses heavy retroflex?

Dangliang: Then it’s uncomfortable. ... I should say, it sounds unnatural.

B: so you think it’s strange

Dangliang: yeah, it’s strange (...) maybe it’s because of his Mandarin retroflex or other sounds, maybe I’m afraid I won’t understand, so I’ll listen very carefully. I feel rather tired when it’s straining or not natural.

Dangliang: 如果說他很標準，但是他感覺每個字都去咬文嚼字，這樣子反而聽起來會不舒服

B: 如果他用很重的捲舌？

Dangliang: 那應該就不舒服的吧

B: 為什麼不舒服？

Dangliang: (...) 應該是說他聽起來不自然吧

B: 所以你覺得奇怪

Dangliang: 對就是奇怪 (...) 可能是因為他國語捲舌，可能有些音啊可能怕聽不懂，你就會特別去仔細聽，所以會感覺比較吃力，而你吃力不自然所以感覺比較累。

In this excerpt, Dangliang relates the sound of very standard Mandarin to feelings of discomfort, which, after a prompt, he associates with the full retroflex feature. He relates that very standard speech may be difficult to understand, which leads to feeling tired because it requires a greater degree of concentration. Although Dangliang was unique among the participants in stating such

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<sup>15</sup> 聽政府就規定下來的那種正式的發音會講得怪怪的。。。給我們聽起來是很標準，可是聽起來的感覺就會怪怪的。

a strong reaction, the sense that very standard speech is ‘unnatural’ [不自然], ‘strange’ [怪怪的], or highly marked, was shared by a number of different people.

The description of highly standard Mandarin as strange or weird also implies a sense of ‘otherness’, or distance, within interaction. This was described very clearly by Yuping (TB24 A:34 S:H R:n E:w G:f), a mainlander from Taipei of high SES. She related, “we will think it seems to be deliberate if you use strong retroflex ... but it’s also a little strange if you use it too deliberately.... If you have friends who use retroflex very deliberately, actually some people might laugh at them. People might say ‘why are you talking like people from the mainland?’ /laughs/ ... but generally speaking, it can be a little unusual if your retroflex is too clear. No one speaks that way in Taiwan nowadays.<sup>16</sup>” Here, Yuping states that it is not appropriate to use the standard retroflex too ‘deliberately’ [故意的/刻意的], if one does so, in fact, it can be considered ‘strange’ [怪怪的] and may even be worthy of rebuke [會笑他們]. Based on the way she might jokingly chide a friend who ‘deliberately’ speaks that way, such usage is linked to speakers from China [你怎麼講話像大陸一樣]. She further states very explicitly that a very ‘clear’ [清楚] retroflex is not indicative of speakers from Taiwan [在台灣沒有人這樣講話]. This clearly relates the sense of ‘otherness’ or ‘foreignness’ that many people associated with usage of the full retroflex form.

That such standard usage of the retroflex may engender very strong feelings is also evident from the interview with two college students (interviewed together) in Tainan, Mei (A:22 S:M R:s E:b G:f) and Yueh (A:22 S:L R:s E:b G:f). During the response to whether they like the sound of standard Mandarin, they replied [‘\_’ indicates overlap]:

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<sup>16</sup>如果說捲舌捲得兇我們會覺得好像是故意的。。。可是如果你太故意去捲舌的話你會覺得很，有一點怪怪的。。。可是如果你有朋友捲舌很刻意的話，其實有一些會笑他們。就會說‘你怎麼講話像大陸一樣’。。。一般來說如果捲舌捲得太清楚的話會有一點不習慣。因為在台灣沒有人這樣講話。

Mei: it's not that I don't like how it sounds, it depends on where you are, \_if today  
 Yueh: \_in a speech contest  
 Mei: yeah  
 Yueh: everyone will require that you \_must speak with high articulation  
 Mei: \_must speak very standard  
 Yueh: the more standard the better, but if you talk that way in general conversation, if you use that pronunciation  
 Mei: we will feel /exclaims/ agh! \_it's so painful!  
 Yueh: \_how strange! It's like literature class.  
 Mei: .../mimics formal speech/... although standard Mandarin sounds very nice, if we ordinarily say /emphasizes full retroflex/ [wo kən ni ʂ<sup>w</sup>o] (I say to you), /laughs/ like that  
 Yueh: I would really want to smack her /laughs/  
 Mei: yeah, it would be really painful to hear!

Mei:不是我不喜歡聽，要看你在哪裡\_\_如果今天  
 Yueh: \_\_在演講比賽  
 Mei: 對  
 Yueh: 大家都要求你\_\_一定講很字正腔圓  
 Mei: \_\_一定講很標準  
 Yueh: 越標準越好，可是如果你一般這樣溝通的話，你講這種發音  
 Mei: 我們會覺得/exclaims/啊\_\_好痛苦  
 Yueh: \_\_好奇怪好像是國文課  
 Mei: .../mimics formal speech/... 標準的國語聽起來很好聽但是我們如果一般說 /emphasizes full retroflex/ [wo kən ni ʂ<sup>w</sup>o] /laughs/ 這樣子  
 Yueh: 這樣我會很想打他/laughs/  
 Mei:對，我會很痛苦

In this excerpt both Mei and Yueh relate that standard Mandarin is appropriate, and sounds good, in certain situations, such as a speech contest where very formal speech is required. Mei, in fact, mimics such speech, producing highly articulated sounds with clear enunciation of the retroflex features. However, they state that if this register would be employed in 'normal' speech, particularly emphasizing the full retroflex in [ʂ<sup>w</sup>o], then it would be 'strange' [奇怪], even 'painful' [痛苦], to hear. Yueh further states that such speech would engender a strong enough affective response to warrant feelings of violence.

Several informants stated explicitly that social distance may be established through overly precise speech. Pei, for instance, (TB66: A:25 S:M R:s E:b G:f), described her potential

impression upon meeting someone with very standard Mandarin as “not very friendly, that is, I would feel a little oppressed... you would feel like, he has an attitude, or, rather serious.... when I hear people speaking with very standard pronunciation, I feel they are not so amiable; that is, it feels like there is distance between us, based on the first impression.<sup>17</sup>” Jingan (TB71: A:31 S:H R:n E:w G:m), a mainlander in Taipei of high SES, stated that when speaking very standard Mandarin (English in italics), “everyone can think you’re strange, ... because it can be a bit *too much*. Because you’re ‘standard’, you’re different from people. People think you’re not the same as them, and if you’re different, it creates distance, it immediately creates a feeling of distance,... like it’s too clear... unnatural, very artificial, a little like *pretentious*.<sup>18</sup>” Jingan does, in fact, have speech patterns that closely conform to the prescribed standard. He chooses to speak with such distinction, as he says later, because “I think that’s what you should do... because it’s the correct way.<sup>19</sup>” He also values it as his mother-tongue. However, he pays a price for such standard speech by being negatively evaluated as ‘unnatural’, ‘artificial’, and ‘pretentious’,<sup>20</sup> therefore, as he says, creating a sense of distance from others.

This sense of distance, however, can lead some people, especially those who were raised by their parents to speak more standard Mandarin, to actually disprefer using such standard speech. It is worth noting that several of those who remarked that highly standard speech can be considered ‘weird’ or ‘strange’ were actually among the category of people most likely, whether

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<sup>17</sup> 感覺就是不那麼親切 會覺得比較壓迫感。。。你會覺得他的態度比較站在比較高的地方的那種感覺，比較嚴肅啦。。。聽到如果口音很標準的人，我會覺得好像沒那麼的親切；就會覺得距離比較遠一點，就剛開始的第一印象啊。

<sup>18</sup> 對大部分來講你是一個， 他會覺得你很奇怪。。。就會覺得有一點*too much*。。。我覺得可能因為標準所以你跟人家不一樣， 你講得方式就不一樣。那人家會覺得你跟他不一樣， 那不一樣你就會產生，立刻產生一個距離感。。。太清楚太清楚。。。不自然， 很做作。。。有點像*pretentious*。

<sup>19</sup> 我覺得那個是應該的。。。因為是正確的。

<sup>20</sup> It is worth noting that such views are not constrained to the Taiwanese context alone, as some speakers in China may also negatively evaluate the Beijing accent along similar sentiments (Li, 2004).

based on ideological or quantitative evidence, to actually speak more standard retroflex. For instance, Jingan, Yuping and Dangliang were all of high SES, lived in the north, and are Mainlanders, whom many associated with highly standard speech. However, one of the best examples comes from Chinese as a Foreign Language teachers [CFL], who sometimes feel compelled to mask their ability to use the standard retroflex outside of class or other professional situations. As one Mandarin teacher (A:44 S:M R:n E:B G:F) in Taipei related, “I know some teachers say that they speak standard at school, but when they go home they want to change [to non-standard]. Because if they don’t change, some people around them may feel it is strange.<sup>21</sup>” Another CFL teacher, who was interviewed for the pilot study, confirmed that other Taiwanese people are sometimes “surprised and unwilling to talk” when confronted with her manner of speech. She recounts that:

“[One time] my classmate and her boyfriend came to visit, and he heard the way we were speaking, then later I heard that he told her ‘when I hear the way that you talk, I am really afraid of speaking’... because he felt that language can really show one’s ‘level’... people can think ‘ah, you speak such standard Mandarin, but my Mandarin isn’t so standard, so I am afraid to speak’, yeah, [it happens in] lots of situations.”

“我的同學的男朋友,對,然後他們一起來,然後聽到我們說話的時候,然後我聽說後來他跟我的同學說“聽到你們講話我都不敢說話” Bb:為什麼? 8:因為他覺得語言真的可以看出那個水平....人家會覺得“啊你講那麼標準的中文,那我這個中文不標準,所以我不太敢講話”,對,很多情況”

In order to counter such reactions, she reports that she doesn’t “pay attention to the retroflex” when with friends. This is because, as she says, “it can really create a sense of distance. It seems that I’m not from the same group, or don’t speak the same language, so I really don’t pay

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<sup>21</sup> 我知道有的老師會說他在學校的時候他說標準的,回家的話他要改變,因為他如果不改變的話,跟別人在一起覺得讓別人覺得怪怪。有的人會這麼說。



attention to [the retroflex] that much.<sup>22</sup>” By her avoidance of this standard feature, she thus reveals it to be a very strong ideological source of power within interaction.

Nieying (A:39 S:M R:n E:w G:f), a mainlander in Taipei whose parents are from Beijing, talks about this as well. She says that:

Nieying: when I was little, when I spoke Mandarin, other people thought I was really strange, too standard – not good. So I learned to speak some Taiwan-guoyu, because it was more amiable and everyone spoke that way. Now, if you are the only person speaking standard Mandarin, it can feel quite lonely. Everyone thinks you are a Mainlander – no one welcomed Mainlanders [then] – so speaking non-standard Mandarin was better /laughs/. Really.

B: can you mimic non-standard Mandarin?

Nieying: [ni ts<sup>h</sup> səmə toŋ xi a] (what are you eating?); also for instance [kau s zəmə jaŋ a] (how was the exam?)’. The critical thing is, don’t use retroflex and you’re fine.”

Nieying: 我小時候講國語的時候別的人會覺得我很奇怪，太標準—不好。所以我會學講台灣國語，比較親切，大家就這樣講。那你一個人講一個標準的國語會覺得很孤單的，因為別人會覺得你是外省人—大家不歡迎外省人—所以要講不標準的國語比較好。/laughs/ 真的。

B:你會摹仿不標準的國語嗎？

Nieying: [ni ts<sup>h</sup> səmə toŋ xi a] 還有比方說[kau s zəmə jaŋ a]就是記要不要捲舌就好了。

Here, Nieying specifically states that she spoke very standard Mandarin, which identified her as a mainlander and also set her apart from others in a negative way. As a result, she decided to ‘learn’ to speak Taiwan-guoyu. She explicitly links the avoidance behavior to use of the retroflex feature, as she provides alternations on the [tʂ<sup>h</sup>] and [ʂ] retroflex segments in [ni ts<sup>h</sup> səmə] and [kausz], where the prescribed form is [ni tʂ<sup>h</sup> səmə] and [kaus]. She also states overtly that ‘the critical thing is not to use the retroflex’. One Mainlander, Jingyu, in the pilot study expressed the same position. However, when further asked why he would imitate non-standard speech, he related that (English in italics) “some people may not be able to express themselves at

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<sup>22</sup> 我可能比較不會注意捲舌，對，因為有時候會讓他們產生距離就是...會跟他們好像我跟你不一樣的群，講一樣的話，所以我可能就不太會那麼注意。

times when they hear you speak Standard Mandarin. So, when I'm trying to *communicate*, I have to let the other person feel comfortable, and then they might talk with you more freely.<sup>23</sup>” Therefore, standard speech, marked by proper use of the retroflex, is again associated with the ideological power to establish barriers within interaction. It therefore carries great sociocultural weight in Taiwanese society.

It is very clear why status as a mainlander plays a role in the desire to mask more standard speech. As the ROC following retrocession was dominated by mainlanders in the KMT party, decisions made by the government reflected strongly on the more recent immigrants. The party's need to secure and maintain hegemony on the island was often expressed in violent ways; the most significant of which was the use of martial force following an insurrection that began on 2-28-1947, resulting in the death of thousands. As discussed earlier (Section 2.1), this event, commonly referred to as 228, crystallized the division that emerged between mainlander and native Taiwanese. Though it is now largely dissipating, particularly among subsequent generations, it is a societal wound which the island still struggles to overcome (Hsiao, 2000; S. F. Huang, 2000; K.-P. Tse, 2000; Wachman, 1994). Now, with the advent of liberalization, some mainlanders fear the potential of 'reawakened' ethnic reprisals (Shih, 2000), and rely on minority or non-standard languages to portray their sense of localness (K. C. Li, 2002). As Jingyu stated, he maintains a Taiwan-guoyu guise particularly because he is not proficient in Southern Min.

The link between standard speech and mainlanders and their descendents was corroborated in many of the interviews conducted. One speaker (A:18 S:M R:s E:b G:f) in Tainan, in response to the question of who speaks standard Mandarin, replied “Mainlanders. B:

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<sup>23</sup> 因為這樣的話會比較容易溝通, 會覺得(?)有一種親和力, 覺得會有一種認同感覺; 覺得你是他可以跟你溝通。有的人他聽到你講標準的國語的時候, 他有一些不能表達的時候。因為我溝通*communicate* 的時候必需要讓對方覺得舒服他才會跟你講。

why? 62: Because they speak /emphasizes retroflex/ [təu ɣ tʂə jaŋ] (just like this).<sup>24</sup> Others stated that they were sometimes mistakenly labeled as mainlanders by having more standard speech.

As first generation mainlanders came from divergent dialect areas of China, however, they did not have a standard or even common accent of Mandarin. As Kuo (2005) shows, few among the original Mandarin-speaking population had the retroflex sound in their native phonemic inventories. Those who did were very much in the minority. Therefore, prescribed use of the retroflex never really existed en masse among mainlanders on the island. Any perceived linguistic commonality among the mainlander population may be based on divergence from more homogeneous patterns of locally-accented Mandarin among native Taiwanese. In fact, the quantitative data from Section 5.2.1.5 indicate that there is no statistical difference in usage of the full retroflex based on ethnicity. Therefore, though there could still be differences in the way Mainlanders and Southern Min speakers use Mandarin, it does not appear to be based upon the retroflex, despite the assumptions of many participants.

In the decades after retrocession, however, first-generation mainlanders dominated the KMT-controlled media and educational systems that spread the formal standard variety. As nationalist dogma naturally considered the Beijing pronunciation, and use of the retroflex, to be most orthodox and authentic, it therefore shaped ideologies of what Standard Mandarin was, and still is, supposed to be. As Lin (2001) writes, language teachers “are very concerned with correct pronunciation of Mandarin in the ‘pure’ Beijing form, and much teaching time is spent on eliminating the ‘Taiwan’ accent in speaking Mandarin” (p. 38). The perceived ‘standardness’ of

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<sup>24</sup> TN62:外省人吧。B:為什麼? TN62:因為他們講話[təu ɣ tʂə jaŋ]

the mainlander accent, therefore, was conceptualized through indexical association to the structural power of the KMT regime rather than any common pattern of speech.

Broadly stated, indexicality refers to the function by which meaning, either referential or non-referential, is supplied to an utterance by linking it to the context in which it was produced (Hanks, 2001; Silverstein, 1976, 2003). Through reification, certain structures, words, or phonological features may become indexically linked to people, events, ideologies (and so on) that are shared within the interaction. This construct, therefore, links micro-level speech patterns to collective macro-level values, attitudes, and conceptions within the broader speech community. As Hanks (2001) states, any linguistic form may be indexical in the case that “it stands for its object neither by [iconic] resemblance to it, nor by sheer convention, but by contiguity with it.... [such that] the indexical and what it stands for are in a sense co-present in the context of utterance” (p. 119).

Prescriptive use of the retroflex, then, is for many indexically linked to the structural and ideological power of the previous hegemonic KMT regime. Precise articulation of the retroflex, therefore, calls into the interaction connotations of hierarchical power, imperialism, and ethnic division, thus leading to greater sense of ‘distance’, and ascription of labels such as ‘pretentious’, to its users. Though the state has become more liberalized in recent years, the formal standard of language has not (Kuo, 2004b; C. W. C. Li, 2004). It therefore remains tied, for many, to the excesses of the past KMT regime, and the nationalist ideologies they effectively imposed. It is understandable then that some, particularly those with little traditional connection to structural power or orthodox Chinese culture, feel uncomfortable or intimidated when confronted with its use, or feel lead to temptations toward physical violence.

Thus, as usage of the prescribed retroflex was marked as ‘weird’ or ‘strange’, has power to create a strong sense of distance within communication, and is a marker of ‘otherness’ within Taiwan, we can say that the prescribed retroflex is positioned on the ‘too standard’ side of the continuum. As the standard retroflex is “too standard for everyday conversation”, it represents a ‘super standard’ form (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, p. 13), and thus marks one extreme end of the continuum.

## **6.2 TAIWAN-GUOYU: NON-PRESCRIBED LABIAL**

As the previous discussion shows, the retroflex series of sounds were highly related in peoples’ conceptions with standard and non-standard speech. Accurate articulation of the prescribed retroflex form was the fundamental benchmark by which participants measured the standardness of Mandarin in Taiwan, due the effects of its emphasis by language educators. Many felt that they were not ‘standard’ speakers if their production of the retroflex was not strong or good enough. It is no wonder, then, as it was provided by 99 participants, that variation of the retroflex feature was the most-often cited set of unique alternations. Non-standard associations of the retroflex will be discussed further below.

However, when considered as a group, the set of labial alternations was nearly equivalent, at 94 speakers, and even surpassed the retroflex in number of tokens (444). From the set of alternations in Table 8, we see certain subgroups of labial alternations as well. For instance, the deletion or insertion of the [w] sound [93 speakers, 313 tokens] formed the bulk of the entire labial category, followed by elision of the labial feature in [f]→[h] [64 speakers, 101 tokens]. Although it was not elicited as often, the [y]→[i] alternation [25 speakers, 30 tokens]

also fundamentally differs by a contrast in the labial feature, and so patterns similarly with the broader labial category. As the total number of speakers and tokens is nearly equivalent or surpasses the retroflex, it is apparent that variation on the labial feature also figures prominently in participants' conception of non-standard speech.

It is also apparent from the text of the interviews that non-standard pronunciation of the labial feature carries a strong negative stigma. Low social value, for instance, was commonly ascribed to variation on the labial sounds by many participants, for instance. One speaker, Tsunghsien (TN30 A:37 S:M R:s E:b G:m), described two public figures as very non-standard because “they have the so-called Taiwan-guoyu, like Taiwan [kə i] (Mandarin), the peasant-like local accent. Like that... [fufu k<sup>w</sup>əi pai] (lie prostrate to pray), they may say [huhu k<sup>w</sup>əi pai], they can't distinguish that sound... this rather indicates Taiwan-guoyu accent.<sup>25</sup>” In this excerpt, Tsunghsien provides all three types of labial alternations commonly elicited by participants. He first mimics the non-standard form, where the prescribed version of ‘guoyu’ [k<sup>w</sup>o y] (Mandarin) is pronounced as [kə i], which provides both a [w]→∅ and [y]→[i] type of alternation. Tsunghsien also contrasts the standard pronunciation of ‘fufu’ with the non-standard [huhu], which represents an [f]→[h] alternation. These sounds are directly described as a ‘thick rural accent’ [濃濃的鄉音], which implies low-income speakers, and other factors associated with low socioeconomic status. He also links these sounds as fundamental indicators of the Taiwan-guoyu accent, which thus carries the same degree of negative stigma. The public figures he described, however, were both former presidents of Taiwan (Chen Shuibian and Li Tenghui).

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<sup>25</sup> “他們有帶濃濃的鄉音就是台灣國語，台灣[kə i]啊，這樣子。。。。俯伏跪拜[fufu k<sup>w</sup>əi pai]就是俯伏然後跪下去拜他們會講[huhu k<sup>w</sup>əi pai]。他們那個音分不出來。。。。這個比較屬於台灣國語的強調。

It was clear throughout the interviews that Taiwan-guoyu, and non-standard pronunciation of the labial, marks speakers as low in social status, and with little education or sophistication. As Wanpyng (A:43 S:H R:n E:w G:m) related, when you hear Taiwan-guoyu “that kind of behavior shows that you don’t have a lot of academic potential, you’re not very capable... it can reflect that the person is rather uncultured, not really intelligent, he doesn’t understand much, he hasn’t had much education.”<sup>26</sup> For another speaker, Peng (A:26 S:M R:s E:b G:m), such language behavior is also a mark of ‘otherness’ or distance. As he states, when someone speaks Taiwan-guoyu, (English in italics) “we think this person is very... ‘song’ [俗氣], you know, just *very funny*,... it’s really strange if you speak like that, like [wo ɕ ɕəi] (who am I), in Taiwan-guoyu it sounds like [o su səi] .... As soon as you hear it, people will say ‘yeah, this is Taiwan-guoyu.’<sup>27</sup>” In this excerpt, Peng provides three alternations in clear association to his conception of Taiwan-guoyu. This includes two labial alternations in [w]→[ø] and [z]→[u], and one retroflex alternation in [ɕ]→[s]. He explicitly describes the non-standard variants with words such as ‘strange’ [怪怪的], and ‘fun’ [好玩] or ‘funny’, which imply a strong lack of normativity or distance. This was echoed by Kuei-e (A:46 S:L R:s E:b G:f), who said that these alternations represent “very ‘standard’ Taiwan-guoyu” and describes such speech as “ridiculous... very ‘song’”, and states, “I just think his current level is very low<sup>28</sup>”. Tellingly, both use the Southern Min word ‘song’, which has achieved widespread usage in Taiwan, and commonly refers to an acute lack of sophistication and rural style and characteristics (Su, 2005). Kuei-e

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<sup>26</sup> 那種行為就是表示你是一個還沒有學習力的人，沒有能力的人。。。會反射以為他是比較沒有文化，比較沒有知識的，他不了解，沒有讀過書的。

<sup>27</sup> 講得這個人，我們台灣話有一個叫很‘song’[俗氣]，你知道嗎？，就是*very funny*。。。講話到那個樣子就會奇怪啊。譬如說[wo ɕ ɕəi]。哪台灣國語就會[o su səi]...你一聽就知道是不標準的，人家是‘ya,這個是台灣國語’

<sup>28</sup> 很好笑怎麼能把台灣國語講成這樣子。。。我講得很‘song’。。。就覺得他的事實水平很底。

also directly states this as marking a person with a very low ‘level’. The association between non-standard labial sounds and low socioeconomic status was, in fact, supported by the quantitative data as well. As Table 16 above indicates, each labial variable showed a significant correlation between social status and usage of the standard variant, where lower SES speakers showed a greater tendency toward non-standard usage.

The lack of sophistication and negative stigma associated with Taiwan-guoyu was also evident in a common anecdote. This was expressed most clearly by a speaker in the pilot study, a 26 year old student of Taiwan-studies in Taipei, who further reflects the degree to which the non-standard labial is considered anathema within conceptions of proper refinement. He relates a common joke in which a woman, described as very ‘beautiful’ [漂亮], ‘elegant’ [有氣質], and ‘graceful’ [優雅], is accidentally struck by an errantly kicked ball. In her response, which is the culmination of the joke, “she turns around and says [su s<sup>w</sup>əi] (who was it?), like that.... [su s<sup>w</sup>əi] [sz səi],... like she’s speaking Taiwan-guoyu.<sup>29</sup>” Here, the intended humor rests on a stark contrast between her ‘crude’ speech behavior and her ‘refined’ outward appearance. After repeating the non-standard form [su s<sup>w</sup>əi] and providing a standard as a point of reference ([sz səi]), he labels her speech as Taiwan-guoyu. His ‘standard’ pronunciation, however, lacks the prescriptive retroflex in [ʂ səi]. Therefore, it is the labial alteration itself that marks crude speech in his conceptions. As it is a common joke, it also indicates widespread basis for the humorous effect in society. This indicates, therefore, that non-standard production of the labial feature commonly indexes speakers considered to have little education, refinement, or sophistication.

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<sup>29</sup> 就是某台灣某知名大學啊,然後文學系啊,那有一個很漂亮的女生,那這個女生她就是很有氣質 她就穿那種白色的衣服,然後很有氣質,頭髮很長,然後每天都...手上都抱一大堆書,然後走在校園,然後很優雅很優雅這樣,然後結果有一天她背著書走在校園的時候啊,她就不小心被後面的....一顆足球踢到頭,然後結果她一回頭就說 [su s<sup>w</sup>əi] 是誰,這樣....[su s<sup>w</sup>əi] [s<sup>w</sup> səi] 這樣子,就是她就是用講一個一種台灣國語情形。



This anecdote also provides a potent example of the ideologies surrounding gendered use of language. There are, for instance, high expectations for women, particularly those of higher socioeconomic status, to develop a strong sense of ‘refinement’, or ‘*qìzhì*’ [氣質], in their behavior and outward appearance (Su, 2005, 2008). This is strongly related to language behavior, and is especially violated through presence of linguistic forms associated with Taiwan-guoyu (Su, 2008). As the quantitative data indicate (Table 18), gender does play a role in variation of the pronunciation of [w] and [y], where men show greater tendency to usage of the non-standard labial. Thus the gender status of the protagonist in the anecdote above is central to the humor built up in the contrast between outward appearance and crude language. However, as Su (2008) relates, though it is more acceptable for men to use less-standard language, the sense of *qìzhì* and ‘proper’ language usage is not restricted to females alone. This was further ratified by Mei (TN71,-2), who joked that if “next time you have a beautiful woman come over to you and say ‘[ni i kə rən ma]?’ (are you alone?), if you say ‘[o su i kə lun]’ (I am alone), then they’ll run away /laughs/.<sup>30</sup>” In other words, women as well, particularly those with *qìzhì*, can find such non-standard pronunciation to be a highly undesirable characteristic. Additionally, we again see ‘crude’ language behavior characterized by a high degree of saliency of the non-standard labial feature, as the standard [wo ʂ ikə rən] contrasts with [o su i kə lun] with three labial alternations ([w]→[ø], [r]→[u], and [ə]→[u]).

Taiwan-guoyu was also frequently attributed to other aspects of a person’s background beyond social class and gender. Common themes included having been raised in a Southern Min-speaking environment and growing up in the southern part of Taiwan. In fact, the quantitative data indicated a significant effect for both ethnicity and mother-tongue. Ethnicity

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<sup>30</sup> 下次有美女過來說‘你一個人嗎？[ni i kə rən ma]?’然後你說‘我是一個人[o su i kə lun]’然後她就跑掉/laughs/

only showed a weak effect, however, as only the [y] variable was significant; however, [w] and [f] were both significant for the mother-tongue factor. From Tables 21 and 23, it is apparent that both of these factors show a similar trend. That is, Mainlander ethnicity and Mandarin mother-tongue show highest proportion of the prescribed form. The ‘mixed’ categories of language and ethnicity (Mandarin & Southern Min) score in the middle, while full identification as ‘native Taiwanese’ and Southern Min mother-tongue exhibit the lowest proportion of prescribed labial usage. This suggests a positive correlation, where when identification with ‘native’ aspects of identity increase, then non-standard usage of the labial feature increases as well.

There is also a clear correlation between age and non-standard usage of the labial feature, where older speakers show a higher tendency of usage of the non-standard markers. This is consistent with previous descriptions of Taiwan-guoyu in the literature (Kuo, 2004a; C. C. Li, 1985) that primarily link the language form to early learners of Mandarin. In fact, when paired with the quantitative data on the ethnicity and first-language factors just discussed, this provides greater empirical support to the notion that Taiwan-guoyu may be attributed primarily to first-language interference. The results on the age factor also indicate that, with the shift to standardized Mandarin imposed by the KMT, along with greater access to Mandarin through increased educational opportunities and improved Mandarin language education, stigmatized non-standard production of the labial feature may become even less common in the future. There was, in fact, little overlap between age categories, which indicates a marked and consistent change over time.

From this perspective, it is not a surprise that Taiwan-guoyu was also described in positive terms relating to higher degree of feelings of solidarity. As one speaker (A:33 S:M R:n E:b G:f) relates, Taiwan-guoyu reminds her of her older family members growing up who did

not speak Mandarin well. As she says, “I’m from that culture. My family members all spoke Southern Min when I was little.... Then, later, when I hear Southern Min-style Mandarin, I feel like I’m back in that environment when I was a kid B: so it makes you feel really comfortable TB43: yeah, really warm.<sup>31</sup>” This sense of solidarity may also be experienced by people who were *not* born in a Southern Min-speaking environment, as Jingan (A:37 S:H R:n E:w G:m) related. When asked to describe his reaction to speakers of Taiwan-guoyu, he replied (English in italics): “earlier I thought they really don’t speak well, it sounds really bad, but later, I realized that this language is in your blood, it’s a part of the culture.... Earlier it was thought to be bad, ... people would ridicule you if you spoke Taiwan-guoyu. But one day I felt ‘eh, this is our language’. Even if it was not spoken well, it is cute, extremely amiable... because they are *my people*, my compatriots.<sup>32</sup>” This indicates a possible revalorization of Taiwan-guoyu as a language of solidarity, providing potential unity to the disparate people of Taiwan. There is also, for instance, evidence of usage of stigmatized forms among more standard speakers for the purpose of making jokes (Brubaker, 2007; Su, 2005), which could also lead to a change of association with these stigmatized forms.

It is certain that such attitudes also relate to current political ideologies that support local Taiwanese linguistic and cultural characteristics. As discussed in section 2.2.3, democratization has led to powerful initiatives (referred to collectively as *běntúhuà* [本土化] or “nativization”), to promote local Taiwanese languages and culture in order to reverse the effects of the imposed

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<sup>31</sup> TB43: 因為我是來自於那個文化，就是我小時候，我旁邊的親人家人他們都是講台灣話。。。那可是聽到那種台灣式的國語，會讓我覺得就像我小時候的那個環境一樣。B: 所以你覺得很舒服 TB43: 很親切對啊

<sup>32</sup> 以前都覺得啊講不好，很難聽，可是後來在發現，覺得這個東西那個話已經變成你血液裡面的，文化裡面的一部分，。。。你以前覺得啊講得不好，以前台灣的文化還會笑這些人講話，啊你講台灣國語大家會笑你，可是有一天有發覺‘這才是我們的語言’，講得不好才覺得很可愛，對，非常的親切。。。因為他們是 *my people* 我同胞。

Chinese nationalist ideologies. As another speaker (A:54 S:M R:s E:b G:m) stated, “Taiwan-guoyu sounds rather comfortable, it has a ‘local’ *běntú* feeling<sup>33</sup>”. As Silverstein (1985, 2003) shows, political ideologies can affect the discourse around ‘acceptable’ language usage, subsequently changing and affecting the nature of the language. Silverstein (1998) writes that “[l]anguage seems potentially to bear an inherently double relationship to the larger cultural processes of which it is both emblematic and enabling”, and in this view, language is itself “a precipitate of sociocultural process” (p. 402). Therefore it is possible that such attitudes may eventually revalorize certain non-standard features of speech.

However, though nativization ideologies have led to maintenance policies for local languages, among other things, it has not necessarily affected the type of status associated with factors of local identity. Baran (2003), for instance, argues that nativization efforts actually reinforce the association of Southern Min to traditional rural life, as localization promises less rewards than the opportunities and social advancement of globalization. She writes that “the *běntú* [nativized] identity has a negative connotation for young people, who tend to associate it with low-prestige culture” (p. 14). This is also supported by extensive survey data (S.-L. Tsai, 2010) showing that English and Chinese proficiency have a large impact on social mobility in Taiwan, while minority languages do not. As Tsai (2010) writes, “the ability to speak a native language that lacks institutional support at the national level does not lead to a lucrative occupational or economic return” (p. 238). It is also worth noting that the winner of the 2005 Miss Taiwan Beauty Pageant nearly renounced her title following bitter criticism and scorn over her non-standard Mandarin accent (Soong, 2005). She was derisively labeled by the media as ‘*hěn tái*’ [很台], or ‘very Taiwanese’, which indicates the negative conceptions of localized

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<sup>33</sup> 台灣國語聽起來比較舒服，有那個本土的感覺

linguistic and cultural aspects (Hsiao, 2000; Ko, 2005).

Thus we see from this discussion that Taiwan-guoyu, conceptualized particularly around non-standard production of the labial feature, is associated with a crude lack of sophistication, and is a marker of ruralness, low education, and low socioeconomic status, and thus non-normative in common usage. Therefore it represents a notional boundary in common language ideologies, providing definition to the non-standard vernacular style of speech.

### **6.3 INFORMAL STANDARD: INTERMEDIATE RETROFLEX**

As stated previously, the informal standard on the continuum of standardness is ideologically defined through negative evidence. As Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) write, “if a person’s speech is free of socially disfavored structures, then it is considered standard” (p. 13). Discussion so far has pointed out that both the full retroflex and non-standard labial, as they are associated with strong negative characteristics, are highly marked or stigmatized in common usage. As they therefore may be considered non-normative, they provide some definition to the inner spectrum between ‘too standard’ and ‘too non-standard’ on the continuum. However, as phonetic realization of the retroflex is a continuous, rather than discrete, variable, it may be considered to exist along a continuum as well (Chung, 2006), and thus has potential to provide positive evidence as well.

To begin with, though a non-standard retroflex form was commonly implicated in participants’ metapragmatic elicitations of non-standard speech (Table 8), there is reason to believe that non-standard forms of the retroflex carry less stigma than use of the non-standard labial feature. This was evident, for instance, from the speakers who used the non-standard

labial to portray Taiwan-guoyu, but lacked the full retroflex in their careful depictions of the standard. This was best exemplified by one speaker in the pilot study, who stated that: “[lauʂ] (teacher), you can say that that’s Standard Mandarin, ... but if it’s really non-standard Mandarin, he would say [lausu], it’s not [lausz], he says [lausu].... We would say he’s speaking Taiwan-guoyu, which means that he speaks very non-standard.”<sup>34</sup> Here, the speaker contrasts the standard and non-standard in two separate instances. Though the non-standard form ‘[lausu]’ remains constant, her production of the formal version appears as both [lauʂ] and [lausz]. The first example provides the syllable in citation form, isolated from connected speech, with much attention paid to her speech. The second, pronounced in the dentalized variant, presents a more ‘natural’ form with less focus on its production. No effort was initiated to repair the missing retroflex, however, indicating that it was not essential to her to mark the syllable as standard. Therefore, her notion of the very non-standard rests primarily on the rounded quality of the vowel. Thus we see that alternation on the labial feature has a greater association to highly non-standard speech than alternation on the retroflex alone.

In a few reports, participants linked the labial alternation to Taiwan-guoyu, while the dental form of the retroflex was explicitly portrayed to be distinctive from this. Ying (A:47 S:M R:n E:w G:f), for instance, reflected this directly when she stated “we often say [lausz] (teacher), but we won’t say it’s Taiwan-guoyu. But if you say [lausu] then that is Taiwan-guoyu... We would only say its [the former] pronunciation is non-standard, but if he says it as [lausu] then we know it is Taiwan-guoyu.”<sup>35</sup> In her conceptualization, then, it is only when the non-standard

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<sup>34</sup> 老師[lauʂ],你會覺得它是標準華語吧,...但是如果很不標準台灣國語的話,他可能講[lausu],它不是[lausz],他講[lausu]... 那這個我們會講他這個人講的是台灣國語,那個意思是他講得很不標準。

<sup>35</sup> 我們平常說‘老師 [lausz]’,我們也不會說是台灣國語。可是你說[lausu] 它就是台灣國語。。。我們只會說他發音不標準,可是他如果說成[lausu]我們就知道他是台灣國語。

labial segment is appended (in [lausu]) that it may be considered Taiwan-guoyu; otherwise, with the dental variant only (in [lausz]), it is simply ‘non-standard’. She therefore makes a distinction between ‘non-standard’ speech and ‘Taiwan-guoyu’, where the latter relates to a constellation of indexical associations (Sections 3.2.3, 6.2), while the social meaning of the former is left unspecified. This was ratified as well by Mei (A:22 S:M R:s E:b G:f), who stated that “Taiwan-guoyu is like [o su] and [wo sz]... the middle is [wo sz ikə rən] but the standard is [wo ʃ ikə rən]. Can you tell the difference?<sup>36</sup>” In this excerpt as well, the two labial alternations in [o su] are linked to speakers of Taiwan-guoyu, but the retroflex alternation alone [ʃ]→[sz] is considered distinct or different from such apparently negative connotations. Mei also describes the dental variant as a ‘middle’ form, distinct from the standard. These excerpts indicate that non-standard production of the labial feature weighs more heavily in their evaluations of non-standard speech than dentalization of the retroflex initial alone.

Some speakers implied more directly that usage of the dental variant is widespread throughout Taiwan, and may in fact be acceptable in common usage. For Tsunghsien (A:37 S:M R:s E:b G:m), in fact, it is specifically described as a ‘standard’ form in Taiwan, particularly in contradistinction to the prevalence of the full retroflex in the Mandarin in China. He states that:

Tsunghsien: I don’t really use the retroflex – [tɛ<sup>w</sup>æŋ ʃə] (retroflex), [tɛ<sup>w</sup>æŋ sə]. I speak Mandarin the way it is commonly used in Taiwan, the [heavily retroflexed] Mandarin of the mainland is not really used in Taiwan.... I think we are already rather standard, because it’s how we learned as kids.... I don’t often use the retroflex, very seldom, very seldom. Most of the time I will say [hən sau] (very seldom) instead of [hən ʃau].

B: But you still think that’s standard?

Tsunghsien: Yes, yes, yes.

Tsunghsien:我就會不太用捲舌音呢 – [tɛ<sup>w</sup>æŋ ʃə], [tɛ<sup>w</sup>æŋ sə]。我用一般我們台灣比較常用的這個國語，那大陸像他們，他們大陸用得這個普通話就是我們所說的國語，

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<sup>36</sup> 台灣國語就是‘我是 [o su]’啊，跟[wo sz]。 。 。 中間就是‘我是一個人[wo sz ikə rən]’ 但是標準就是[wo ʃ ikə rən]。你聽得出來嗎？

是比較台灣不常用的。 。 。 我會覺得我們已經很標準的，因為我們小時候所學得啦。 。 。 捲舌音我不常用，很少，很少。我大部分都會說[hən sau]不會說[hən ʂau]。 B:可是你還是覺得標準。  
Tsunghsien: 對，對，對。

In this excerpt, Tsunghsien not only characterizes his own speech with the dentalized retroflex, but generalizes it to ‘common’ usage throughout Taiwan as well. Further, he explicitly describes, and emphatically confirms, his conception of the dentalized retroflex as a standard form, as it was acquired during his formative years.

This is not to argue, however, that the dental realization of the retroflex has been completely revalorized as ‘standard’. It still, for instance, patterns throughout the population in similar ways as the non-standard labial. That is, the dental form shows greater usage among older speakers (Table 10), shows higher frequency among lower socioeconomic groups (Table 13), and is used more by male speakers (Table 16), all of which are similar trends in the quantitative data for the non-standard labial. However, some participants reported the dentalized retroflex as an ‘acceptable’ variant, while there were no such reports for the non-standard labial variants. This further supports the notion that non-standard retroflex forms are less centrally linked to negative conceptions of Taiwan-guoyu in comparison to variation on the labial feature.

The association in the quantitative data between age and usage of the dental form of the retroflex also provides support of this view. As mentioned, the age factor, for both the labial and retroflex forms, shows a dominant trend toward decreased usage of the non-standard form among younger groups. As there is little to no overlap between age categories for all variables, the progression has been gradual and consistent, showing gain in ‘standard’ speech for each generation (i.e., decade of birth). As economics and educational opportunities have developed, speakers have become less and less ‘non-standard’ in their speech patterns (Section 6.2). Crucially, however, there is a drop-off among the youngest age category for the retroflex



variables, indicating increased usage of the dentalized form among 18-30 year olds throughout Taiwan. During the period the data was collected, the oldest in this category were eight years of age at the end of martial law in 1987. Therefore the participants in this age category received the bulk of their primary and secondary education during or after the end of one-party rule and the liberalization of language policies (Section 2.2.3), which illustrates a possible effect that nativization policies have had on language practices in Taiwan. This suggests as well that the trend toward greater usage of dental forms is likely to continue, as it would be highly difficult to reverse the shift in education policy and language ideologies. The labial features (Table 12), with the exception of [uo], however, do not show a similar drop in the youngest category, indicating a continued trend disfavoring their usage.

It is important to note, further, that the quantitative results show a greater usage of the dentalized retroflex in the south of Taiwan (Table 19), however no effect was found between region and non-standard usage of the labial . Further, as discussed in Section 6.1, teachers in the south may be perceived to be less standard, and less strictly enforce standard speech, than in the north. Thus, the degree of acquisition and usage of the dentalized retroflex, however, is not equal across the two regions in Taiwan. It may therefore be less common and more marked in the north, and thus have a different degree of acceptability in its usage. However, the labial feature showed no significant difference in usage according to region, which indicates that the non-standard labial is more widespread geographically. This suggests that negative connotations of the labial feature may be more consistent throughout Taiwan, yet the acceptability of dental alternations of the retroflex is more complex and varied.

Nevertheless, if, as described earlier in Section 6.1, prescriptive usage of the retroflex is highly marked and socially disfavored within Taiwan, then it follows that some *non*-standard

form of the retroflex is, in fact, highly acceptable within common language ideologies. As the retroflex is a continuous variable, with differing degrees of retroflexion possible (Chung, 2006), there is a strong possibility that an intermediate retroflex variable could fulfill this role. Chung (2006), for instance, describes the potential realization of Mandarin retroflex initials as having a “broad range, from fully retracted, to post-alveolar [tʃ], [tʃʰ] and [ʃ], and finally the dentalized [ts], [tsʰ] and [s] forms” (p. 200). Tse (1998) has also indicated that the retroflex among young speakers in Taiwan is differs acoustically from the dental variants, but not as distinct as the prescribed form (K.-P. Tse, 2000b), and therefore is also not characterized by complete dentalization. Baran (2007) and Chung (2006), in fact, both describe the intermediate form as the possible ‘default’ setting for Mandarin speakers in Taiwan.

To my knowledge, however, no studies have been conducted to examine how this variable may be socially stratified throughout broader society in Taiwan. From the quantitative data in this study it is possible to get a sense of how the intermediate form is socially patterned. In hypothesis 2 (Section 5.2.1), it was postulated that there would be no correlation between the intermediate retroflex form and any of the social factors analyzed. If the null hypothesis were rejected, it would strongly support its position as the ‘default’ or fully normative variable. In fact, it patterned in very similar ways as the full retroflex feature. For instance, as described earlier, both variables (Table 10, Table 11) show change in time toward more standard usage of the retroflex by younger speakers, except for the youngest age group who came of age after the period of martial law had ended. The factor for socioeconomic status (Table 13, Table 14) also shows similar trends for the two variables, where higher SES categories exhibited greater frequency in usage of the retroflex forms. The relationship was stronger for the intermediate variable, however, as the factor was significant for each individual intermediate retroflex initial

and as an aggregate, though it was only statistically meaningful for the full retroflex when the initials were taken as a group. Similarly, both variables were significant for region (Table 19, Table 20), though only in the aggregate for the full retroflex, and only for the ‘sh’ [ʃ] variable in the intermediate form. The factor for gender (Table 16, Table 17) showed comparable results, as female speakers had a higher tendency to use the more standard forms. The ethnicity factor was also not significant for neither the full nor intermediate retroflex. This strongly indicates that both forms are available for use, perhaps interchangeably, by much the same groups of people within Taiwan.

The presence of an intermediate variable was reported in a number of participants’ interviews. One participant, Shuping (A:31 S:H R:n E:w G:f), for instance, differentiated three retroflex variables, and related it specifically to different varieties of Mandarin. She stated that “the formal standard of Mandarin is [tʂən ʂ piau tʂun tə kʷoy] (‘formal standard of Mandarin’). We of course don’t speak that way, right? So we say [tʃən sz piau tʃun tə kʷoy]. The sound isn’t as correct, but it’s not the same as Taiwan-guoyu... Taiwan-guoyu will sound more like [tsən sz piau tsun tə kʷo y].<sup>37</sup>” In this excerpt, Shuping indicates that the standard involves full usage of the retroflex feature in [tʂən ʂ] and [tʂun], which she pronounces very slowly and deliberately and with a great amount of attention paid to her speech. She contrasts this with the same words, but presented in a more normal rate of speech, as [tʃən sz] and [tʃun], exhibiting the intermediate retroflex. This is then further differentiated from ‘Taiwan-guoyu’, which she characterizes with the full dental form in [tsən sz] and [tsun]. She also directly relates the non-normativity of the full retroflex form, stating it is not the way that ‘we’ speak. Though the community of referents

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<sup>37</sup> 像正式標準的國語，他唸得話就是這樣[tʂən ʂ piau tʂun tə kʷoy]（正式標準的國語）對啊。我們當然不是這樣講話啊，對不對？所以我們講是[tʃən sz piau tʃun tə kʷoy].那個音不會那麼正確，但是跟台灣國語當然不一樣。台灣國語可能會說成[tsən sz piau tsun tə kʷo y].

in her use of the ‘we’ is unstated, she does indicate her sense of the acceptability or normativity of the intermediate form, as it is what is used by her and other members of this group. Though she relates that the intermediate variable is non-standard, or not ‘correct’, she also states that it is different from Taiwan-guoyu, which she characterizes by usage of the dental variant. This indicates a different degree of acceptability of the intermediate form, as it marks the way in which her imagined community actually speaks, and is not indexical of speakers of the stigmatized non-standard variety.

Importantly, although the intermediate retroflex patterned similarly to the full retroflex in the quantitative data, and so both are used by the same groups of speakers, it can not be said that they share the same indexical associations. As discussed previously, highly standard speech as embodied in fully prescribed or heavy use of the retroflex feature establishes a sense of distance or ‘otherness’ within communication; however this was not found with the intermediate form. In fact, those who were able to describe an intermediate form portrayed it as the more normative or socially acceptable feature. One participant, Zhixian (A:35 S:M R:n E:w G:f), for example, describes three retroflex forms and the groups with which they are associated. She said that ‘native Taiwanese’ “don’t often use retroflex... [ts<sup>h</sup> pau lə ma] (are you full?). Typically we say [tʃ<sup>h</sup> pau lə ma], however in mainland China people would say [tʂ<sup>h</sup> pau lə ma], which is fully retroflexed.<sup>38</sup>” Here she represents three variables of the ‘ch’ [tʂ<sup>h</sup> ] retroflex initial, characterizing the fully dental variable [ts<sup>h</sup>] with *běnnshěngrén* and the full retroflex [tʂ<sup>h</sup>] with speakers in mainland China. The intermediate retroflex [tʃ<sup>h</sup>], however, was described as the ‘typical’ form, and was associated in her conceptions with an unmarked community. Similar to

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<sup>38</sup> 台灣人很少捲舌。對台灣人[ts<sup>h</sup> pau lə ma]，那如果一般我們來講是[tʃ<sup>h</sup> pau lə ma],那中國大陸他們來講是[tʂ<sup>h</sup> pau lə ma]，他們的[tʂ<sup>h</sup>]已經捲到。

the distinction between the dentalized retroflex and the non-standard labial, though the full retroflex carries negative associations and was often discussed by participants, there were no negative connotations associated with the intermediate retroflex form. This indicates a greater degree of acceptability, or normativity, of the intermediate variant.

It should be noted, however, that those portraying or even having awareness of an intermediate form of retroflex were plainly in the minority. It is clear that metapragmatic discourse on speech patterns within Taiwan tends to be focused on either the fully retroflexed or fully dentalized retroflex sounds, with rare recognition of a possible third option in between. As it appears to be largely unmarked in peoples' conceptions, it could be that it truly is the default retroflex form, which Chung (2006) describes as "sound[ing] natural and unaffected" (p. 202). As such it would not be widely available to metapragmatic comment, and thus have little metapragmatic transparency (Silverstein, 2001). In other terms, the intermediate retroflex may be considered a Labovian 'indicator' (Labov, 1972a), an '*n*-th order indexical' (Silverstein, 2003), or 'first-order indexical' (Johnstone, Andrus, & Danielson, 2006; Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008), as the frequency of usage correlates with certain social categories but is nevertheless below the level of common awareness. That is to say, it is hardly noticed by its speakers because there is a sense that simply "everybody speaks that way" (Johnstone, et al., 2006, p. 82). In contrast, the dentalized retroflex and non-standard labial variants are more akin to a linguistic 'stereotype' (Labov, 1972a) or third-order indexical (Johnstone, et al., 2006; Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008), as they are open to overt comment and may be used strategically for the performance of identity in discourse (see e.g., Baran, 2007; Brubaker, 2007; Su, 2004, 2005).

Therefore, as it patterns in close relation to the prescribed norm throughout society, yet is free of the negative associations ascribed to the full retroflex, and is distinct as well in usage and

conceptions from the fully dentalized retroflex, it is apparent that the intermediate retroflex form is most centrally located within the spectrum of the informal standard variety. The degree of acceptability of the dentalized retroflex, however, is more complex, and requires further examination before its relative degree of normativity may be more properly understood.

Therefore, as shown above, though precise articulation of the full retroflex feature continues to represent the prescriptive standard in common ideologies, participants indicated that its formal use marks one as ‘weird’ or ‘strange’, and creates a sense of distance or even intimidation in interaction. As it is therefore a socially disfavored ‘super standard’ feature, it marks one perimeter within the continuum of standardness. As non-standard articulation of the labial feature is also socially disfavored, considered as it is a marker of low education, lack of sophistication, and crudeness, it marks an opposing periphery within the continuum. The inner area of the spectrum represents the informal standard style of speech, and is therefore characterized in common language ideologies by the absence of full retroflex and non-standard labial, and presence of the intermediate (and to a lesser extent, the dentalized) retroflex variable. Based on the formulation of continuum models provided by Baran (2007) and Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2006), an informal standard of Taiwanese-Mandarin speech can be conceived as language behavior conducted in Mandarin that does not deviate to an unacceptable degree, based on standards of mainstream Taiwanese society, from the putative norm. This is graphically represented in Figure 15 below.

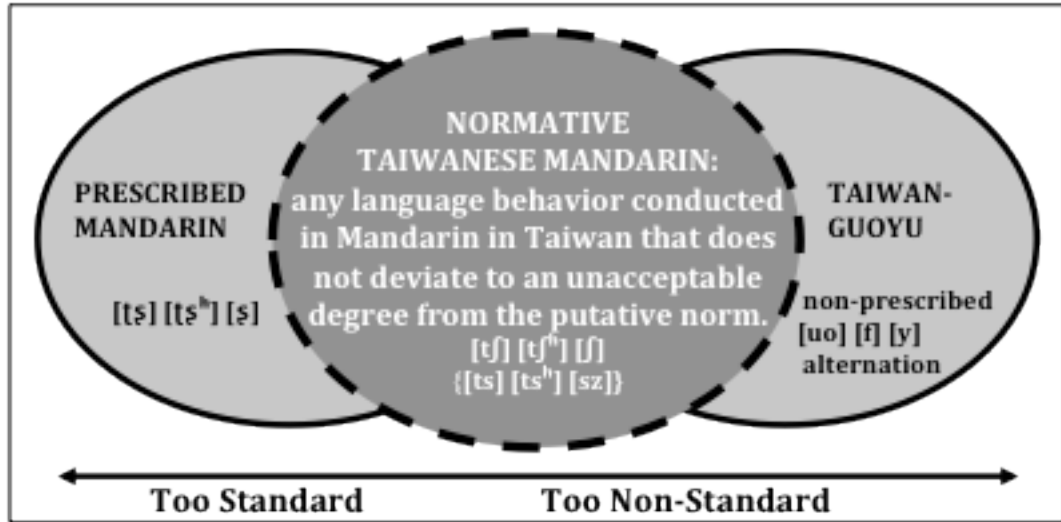


Figure 15. Continuum of Standardness in Taiwanese Context

#### 6.4 STANDARD LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES: A STATE OF CHANGE

Although the above provides a model for an informal standard style of speech in Taiwan, one central question remains to be discussed. That is, to what extent may a new ‘de facto’ standard of Mandarin be said to exist within Taiwan, based on peoples’ conceptions? Before addressing this question, however, it should be noted that, perhaps for similar reasons that elicitation of the intermediate retroflex were limited, cultural discourse on the formation of an ‘informal standard’ appears to be quite restricted. Though some agreed with it because it fit their preconceived notions, or because academic authorities (i.e., linguists) have discussed it, others denied its existence because they had not heard of it before and were not willing to commit to such a new idea. Nevertheless, a number of people attested to its form, even before questions designed to gauge its presence were even approached. Though it must be recognized that a good deal of variability exists in participants’ conceptions toward the existence of a Taiwanese

Mandarin form, there are several generalizations that may be formulated based on the content of the interviews.

First of all, it is apparent that awareness and understanding of the nature of the standard language variety is currently in a state of ambiguity within Taiwan. For instance, although the standardized form exists, and continues to be taught in primary schools and encouraged through speech competitions, there is wide recognition that few people ‘actually’ speak that way. That is, it is not perceived to be descriptive of the vast majority of Mandarin speakers in Taiwan, and there is even a sense of estrangement, as described above, toward its usage in common settings.

The prescriptive use of language in the media also reflects and reinforces this conception. This was described in particular in an interview with Kaisi (A:39 S:H R:n E:w G:m), a television news broadcaster and reporter in Taipei, who discussed some of the changes in policy toward standard speech within his profession. He stated that in the past, it was required to adhere to the prescribed retroflex in broadcasts. However,

Kaisi: now in Taiwan there is a trend not to sound as fluent as the Beijing style, not to sound as standard... so now broadcasters aren't required to speak as standard as the Beijing dialect [...]

B: so they don't require you to use highly standard retroflex?

Kaisi: No, not anymore, it's not like it was ten to twenty years ago. Now everything is according to colloquial speech. Now we emphasize colloquial speech, which is our common way of speaking....

Kaisi：現在在台灣有一個趨勢，沒有講得像京片子那麼溜，沒有講得那麼標準。就是北京話那個口音會比較重一點。那現在在台灣，大家講國語其實沒有那麼準，但是在台灣 接受度反而比較高，所以現在不管在播新聞，或者怎麼樣並不要求要去念到京片子這種標準。

B:可是他們不要求你用非常標準的捲舌

Kaisi：不會，現在已經不會了。已經不是像十幾二十年前那樣，現在都是以就是口語話為重。就是我們一般講話的方式來告訴觀眾。。。。

In this excerpt, Kaisi describes the fundamental changes in the enforcement of standard language ideologies he witnessed through his career as a television broadcaster. He states that although the



highly standard retroflex was enforced 10-20 years ago, roughly, following the end of martial law, it is now ‘colloquial’ speech that is favored and directed by broadcast news producers. As he contrasts colloquial speech with previous enforcement of the full retroflex, he states by implication that he is no longer directed to use the full retroflex variant during his broadcasts.

Given the power of the media in influencing public discourse, the shift this represents in language ideologies and ultimate impact on behavior can not be underestimated. Kaisi then relates the reason for this change in policy, which also reflects common understanding of the language ideologies surrounding the standardized retroflex form. After being asked for his opinion about the shift in policy, he states that

- 1 Kaisi: If we look at our work environment, TV news is made for the popular masses....,
- 2 you want people at the middle school level to understand, ... so you don't want your
- 3 spoken language to be too complex. So it's rather important that the general population
- 4 understands your speech
- 5 B: so if broadcasters use heavy retroflex you think
- 6 Kaisi: it can feel there's distance, the audience can feel 'this isn't the stuff we watch,
- 7 this isn't what we want' ... can feel it's like the language of government, that is,... it's
- 8 too formal, some may say that it's China's language, that is, the Beijing dialect
- 9 B: do they think people won't understand?
- 10 Kaisi: Not that they won't understand, but it just sounds strange.

- 1 Kaisi:像我們的工作環境來講，電視新聞是做給一般大眾看得。。。。
- 2 只要念過國中的人都要看懂，所以要做的比較前線，所以你口語講出來
- 3 不要太複雜，就是講出來的話，要一般大家
- 4 都聽得懂的話比較重要。
- 5 B:所以如果廣播者用很重的捲舌
- 6 Kaisi:會覺得有距離，觀眾會覺得，這不是我們看的東西，
- 7 這不是我們要的。。。會覺得那好像是官方語言。。。就是可能是
- 8 太正式的，有的人會解釋說那是中國的語言，就是北京話
- 9 B:你覺得他們會聽不懂？
- 10 Kaisi：不會聽不懂就聽起來怪。

Here, Kaisi relates the primary impulse in the business side of broadcast journalism, attracting viewers, as the impetus for the changes in policy described above. He states the importance of not speaking ‘above’ the intended audience, which in this case, is considered those with at least a

middle-school education. Although he at first begins to imply (lines 2-4) that the change from the standardized form of the retroflex was to make the language more comprehensible, he changes his explanation before a request for clarification (line 5) can be fully formulated (as it is then in line 9). He states, rather, that usage of the formal retroflex creates distance, that it is too formal, that it is like the language of government, and possibly too close to the Beijing style of speech, and ultimately, strange. In other words, the change was made to avoid alienating viewers through use of a power-laden register that evokes the language of government and a strong sense of ‘otherness’. It is important to note, as well, that the changes Kaisi describes relate to his employment at a formerly KMT owned and operated studio. He states that other news media outlets with more DPP-leaning tendencies have made much greater allowances in the use of non-standard speech forms among their broadcasters.

The excerpts from Kaisi all point to a massive liberalization of standard language ideologies around the period at the end of martial law, where it became more acceptable throughout society to speak in non-standard patterns. The effects of this have been felt on many levels, as expressed by several different participants. Kuei-e (A:46 S:L R:s E:b G:f), for instance, stated that “During KMT times, primary schools required [students to speak standard Mandarin]. But not in these days. Now it seems the teachers really don’t require it. It is good enough as long as people can understand what you’re saying.<sup>39</sup>” The final sentiment was often expressed by other participants through a common phrase, ‘as long as the other person understands, it’s fine’ [聽得懂就好了], which altogether reflects the degree to which non-standard speech is acceptable by some as long as comprehensibility is maintained (c.f. Chung, 2006), as well as its pragmatic

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<sup>39</sup> 以前，好像國民黨時代的時候會比較要求。現在老師好像也不要求了。他只要他說得你能聽，然後你說得他也懂就ok的啦。

role as a neutral language or lingua franca (Simpson, 2007). However, Kuei-e explicitly relates a change she perceives in the enforcement of the standard language in school, where students are no longer required to adhere to the standard form, but are instead expected to speak just well enough for proficient communication. Along similar lines, the words of Wanpyng (A:43 S:H R:n E:w G:m) point to the broad impact that liberalization has had on the language practices of the media and broader society. He related that now “the media has become non-standard, and it seems that everyone is non-standard. When we were younger, we were completely standard... you'd be laughed at, you would be looked down upon, if you didn't speak that way. So we know what is standard. But now,... they don't have that at all..., they don't have so-called ‘standard’ or ‘non-standard’.”<sup>40</sup> Similar to this, Ailan (TB33: A:42 S:M R:n E:w G:f) says “what exactly is standard Mandarin? No one can explain definitively what it is. Nowadays we don't emphasize speaking a very standard, very beautiful, very accurate Mandarin.”<sup>41</sup> These statements, particularly in ‘they don't know what is standard’ and ‘no one can say what it is’, are rather telling. As standardized Mandarin is essentially a contrived variety (Section 3.2.1), there is necessarily a definitive statement of what it is, or at least, what it is supposed to be. The implications of Wanpyng's and Ailan's statements, and others like it, are that Standard Mandarin is clearly no longer, socioculturally and ideologically, what it once had been in Taiwan.

This opens many questions about the central nature of the standardized form in language ideologies. The doubt toward the basic existence of a standard of Mandarin in Taiwan, as with Wanpyng and Ailan, was echoed by a number of different participants. Xinhua (A:27 S:M R:s

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<sup>40</sup> 媒體都不標準，大家都不標準啊。我們不是，我們小時候是完完全全的標準。。。不是這樣講話會被笑，會被瞧不起。所以我們知道這叫標準嗎。那現在叫不標準。他們不是啊他們根本就沒有這個。。。所謂的標準跟不標準。所以他們就沒有標準不標準。

<sup>41</sup> 現在台灣有一個現象是到底甚麼叫做標準的國語？沒有人可以一定說什麼叫做標準的國語，因為已經不在強調這個。。。那沒有人會像強調說他要講一個很標準的，很漂亮，音很準的國語。

E:w G:f), for instance, succinctly stated that in “you can definitely hear the retroflex in the Beijing dialect, however in Taiwan it’s never been that clear or strong. Would you therefore say the Mandarin in Taiwan is non-standard? It’s hard to say whether it’s standard or non-standard when everyone speaks this way.<sup>42</sup>” Or Kuntai (A:30 S:M R:s E:w G:m) who said that “in the end, what is ‘standard’? This is a big question... is it based on the speech of Beijing people? If that is the case, then no one in Taiwan is standard. But if it is based on the way the majority speak in Taiwan, then most people actually are standard.<sup>43</sup>” For Xinhua and Kuntai, this distance in language behavior calls into question the nature of the standard language itself, as, if few people actually speak in such a manner, can it really then be considered ‘standard’ in Taiwanese society? Their line of questioning, and Kuntai’s assertion that most people in Taiwan are ‘standard’ if the definition is derived from local language behavior, essentially evokes the notion of a ‘standard’ language based on normativity.

Others, in fact, were much more explicit and direct in making such a claim. Some participants, for example, asserted that Taiwan already *has* a different standard of Mandarin, based primarily on the sense that they do not speak like people from Beijing. Kaisi (TB26: A:39 S:H R:n E:w G:m), for example, describes this notion by saying “everyone thought Beijing Mandarin was the standard, but the trend shows that it’s not the standard. The standard is what everyone can find acceptable – that’s standard. It is like what I’m speaking with you now.<sup>44</sup>” Meihua (TN19; A:30 S:H R:s E:b G:f) provides perhaps the best example of this by saying:

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<sup>42</sup> 大陸方面北京的話那個捲舌音。。。它一定是一聽就出來，但是台灣的話不會那麼明顯。那你會說台灣的國語不標準？因為大家都用這樣子，所以也很難說它是標準還是不標準。

<sup>43</sup> 其實這個標準到底什麼叫做標準？這是一個很大的問題。。。是以現在北京人說的話當標準嗎？如果是這樣的話，台灣沒有人是標準的。那如果是台灣自己譬如說我們用台灣大部分人來講的話，其實大部分都算是標準。

<sup>44</sup> 像以前大家認為北京話才是標準的國語，但是現在已經趨勢就不是北京話是標準的國語，就是我們一般口語的標準國語，才是大家能接受的標準國語。就像我現在這樣跟你講的話。

“actually I think people in Taiwan don’t think the mainland retroflex is what we could consider standard Mandarin. We think that’s the mainland accent, or Beijing accent. I feel our Mandarin in Taiwan is not so strongly retroflexed, but it’s also not the Mandarin that mixes accents from other languages. It seems what Taiwan people feel is standard is standard Mandarin.<sup>45</sup>” In these excerpts, both Kaisi and Meihua assert support for the notion of a new standard of Mandarin based on normativity. They both relate that people no longer consider the Beijing accent, marked by the full retroflex sound, to be the actual standard within Taiwan. Rather, the standard is based on notions of acceptability (Kaisi) or popular notions of ‘whatever people feel is standard’ (Meihua).

These statements essentially refute the central authority of the standardized form. This is significant, as language ideologies are fundamental to the nature of formal standard languages. That is, if standardization is an “imposition of uniformity” (Milroy, 2001), but that ‘imposition’ is not widely agreed upon or adhered to, then its authority is diminished. Again, as Milroy (2001) states, “the standard/non-standard dichotomy is itself driven by an ideology – it depends on prior acceptance of the ideology of standardization and on the centrality of the standard variety” (p. 534). The point, once more, is to indicate that ideologies toward the standard language in Taiwan may be in a state of flux, where in the loss of a central power that strictly enforced its usage, some question the nature or even basic existence of a standard of Mandarin in Taiwan. As the quantitative data indicate a shift away from more standardized forms of the retroflex among younger speakers, the evidence for this doubt is expressed by the choices made in language behavior as well.

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<sup>45</sup> 其實我覺得，我們在台灣的人並不會覺得大陸捲舌捲得那麼厲害的國語，是我們台灣認為標準的國語。我們覺得那個是大陸腔，或是那個叫北平腔。我覺得我們台灣人講得國語就是捲舌捲得沒有很厲害，可是也沒有參雜了其他語言的腔調的那一種國語。好像在台灣人的認定中是標準的國語。

Importantly, the assertions questioning the standard of Mandarin in Taiwan have all been in contradistinction to stereotyped notions of speakers in Beijing, the primary geographic origin of the standardized form itself. In fact, many people referenced speech patterns in China, and Beijing in particular, in metapragmatic talk of the full retroflex feature (consider ‘why are you talking like people from the mainland?’<sup>46</sup> from Yuping in Section 6.1). It is worth noting that interview questions were not specifically designed to elicit cross-straits comparisons, as the focus was primarily on ideologies toward language and usage within Taiwan. However, some of those who made spontaneous comparisons of the speech patterns between Taiwan and China, particularly those who explicitly questioned the standard of Mandarin in Taiwan, drew on their own encounters with speakers from China while travelling abroad.

As discussed earlier (Section 3.2.3), such differentiation is essential to the formation of different language varieties. Once particular differences are noticed, they may possibly take root in the cultural discourse about language, and through processes of enregisterment (Agha, 2003; Johnstone, et al., 2006) potentially undergo a form of standardization. Certainly, such noticing has been going on for several decades. However, given even greater economic interaction between China and Taiwan, as discussed in Section 2.2.4, which includes new agreements to relax the restrictions on the number of tourists from China, people in Taiwan will not need to travel as far for such cross-stylistic encounters. That means there will be wider opportunity for linguistic differences to be noticed first-hand by a greater amount of people in Taiwan, with the potential for specific aspects to be taken up in metadiscursive practices and become solidified in

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<sup>46</sup> 你怎麼像大陸人一樣？

language ideologies. This, of course, entails that the same also leads to greater potential to affect language practices in China as well<sup>47</sup>.

Ultimately, although the notion of a new standard of Mandarin in Taiwan was not strongly represented throughout the sample of participants at the time the interview data was collected, there are indications that such a language form is developing in linguistic and ideological terms. The analysis presented here gives some indication of what shape an emerging standard could take. Meihua, in fact, encapsulated this quite succinctly when she stated (as described earlier), “I feel our Mandarin in Taiwan is not strongly retroflexed, but it’s also not the Mandarin that mixes accents from other languages” [i.e., Taiwan-guoyu]. The quantitative data indicate a shift as well away from standardized forms, which seems likely to continue in further generations given its indexical associations and ideologies toward its usage.

This discussion shows that examining metapragmatic elicitations of the ideologies of socially stratified language behavior allows clarification of a normative ‘informal standard’ style of Mandarin along a continuum of standardness (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998), and helps to underpin the ideological basis of standard languages (Milroy, 2001). Though not a comprehensive descriptive analysis of a dialectal variety, it indicates the general parameters, based on widespread language ideologies, of the most normative style of Mandarin used on the island. Further, this framework recognizes that dialectal variation *within* Mandarin is integral to its conception, and only in this way could it come to be representative or inclusive of the people of Taiwan. Paired with the quantitative data showing, in a semi-formal interview context, shift

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<sup>47</sup> There is indication that the Mandarin of Taiwan (and other economically influential regions outside of the Beijing area, such as Shanghai and Hong Kong) has already influenced language attitudes and behavior in Standard Mandarin in China (S. Chen, 1991; C. W. C. Li, 2004; Zhang, 2006).

toward the non-standard dental variant of the retroflex, it is evident that the nature of the standard of Mandarin is in a state of ideological and behavioral change.



## APPENDIX A

### SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

#### English

1. (Age) What is your age?
2. (Education) What is your highest level of education?
  - a. What is your parents' highest level of education?
3. (Occupation) What is your occupation?
  - a. What is your parents' occupation?
4. (Income) What is your yearly income?
  - a. What is your parents' yearly income?
5. (Birthplace) Where were you born?
  - a. Where were your parents born?
  - b. Where were your grandparents born?
6. (Region) How long have you been in the North/South?
  - a. Do you consider yourself a Northerner/Southerner?
7. (Mother-tongue) What is your mother-tongue? (the language you were first able to speak)
8. (Ethnicity) Do you consider yourself 'native Taiwanese' or Mainlander?
  - a. (Other languages) What other languages can you speak?
9. (Proficiency) How do you rate your language proficiency, in terms of speaking and listening, on the following scale?

a. proficiency, Mandarin

b. proficiency, other

very good: \_\_speaking    \_\_listening

not bad:    \_\_speaking    \_\_listening

a little:    \_\_speaking    \_\_listening

none:        \_\_speaking    \_\_listening

very good:    \_\_speaking    \_\_listening

not bad:        \_\_speaking    \_\_listening

a little:        \_\_speaking    \_\_listening

none:            \_\_speaking    \_\_listening

10. (Usage%) Comparing daily usage of Mandarin and other languages, what percentage do you use Mandarin?
-

11. Do you think the Mandarin that most people speak is standard or non-standard? Why?
12. When you usually speak Mandarin, is it standard or non-standard?
13. When you first meet someone, how can you tell whether s/he speaks standard or non-standard? How can you tell?
14. How do you differentiate who speaks highly standard and who speaks non-standard Mandarin?
  - a. In your opinion, what is the difference between standard and a common non-standard?
  - b. Can you give an example/mimic?
15. Who is a person in the media who speaks very standard Mandarin?
  - a. What about his/her language makes you think it is standard?
16. Do you know anyone who speaks highly standard Mandarin?
  - a. Describe what sort of person is most likely to speak this way.
17. Who is a person in the media who speaks very non-standard Mandarin?
  - a. In what way is it non-standard?
18. Do you know anyone who speaks highly non-standard Mandarin?
  - a. Describe what sort of person is most likely to speak this way.
19. If you go to a social gathering of ethnic-Chinese people, can you tell who is from Taiwan? How?
  - a. Can you tell by the way they speak Chinese?
20. Do you think there is a sort of standard Mandarin, not determined by the government, but based on how people in society are used to speaking it? Can you explain more?
21. Some linguists have said that there is an emerging Mandarin variety which is not the same as standard Mandarin or Táiwān-guóyǔ. Do you agree?
  - a. What differences do you think this variety has from standard Mandarin?
  - b. What differences do you think this variety has from Táiwān-guóyǔ?

Chinese

1. (Age) 你的年齡是多少？
2. (Education) 你的最高學歷？
  - a. 父母之最高學歷？
3. (Occupation) 你目前的 職業是什麼？
  - a. 你父母的 職業是什麼？
4. (Income) 你的年薪是多少？
  - a. 你父母的 年薪是多少？
5. (Birthplace) 你的出生地是哪裡？
  - a. 你父母的出生地是哪裡？
  - b. 你祖父母及外祖父母的出生地是哪裡？
6. (Region) 你再北部／南部住了多久？
  - a. 你認為你比較算是個北部人還是南部人？
7. (Mother-tongue) 你的母語是什麼？(你所說的第一種語言)
  - a. What is your mother-tongue? (the language you were first able to speak)
8. (Ethnicity) 你認為你是本省人還是外省人？
  - a. (Other languages) 其他所精通的語言嗎？
9. (Proficiency) 請勾選下列適合之選項
  - a. 國語精通度
  - b. 其他語言精通度

非常好	__說	__聽	非常好	__說	__聽
不錯	__說	__聽	不錯	__說	__聽
一點	__說	__聽	一點	__說	__聽
不會	__說	__聽	不會	__說	__聽

10. (Usage%) 每天說國語跟其他語言之比例: 國語是百分支多少？

- 
11. 在台灣，你覺得大部分人說的國語是標準還是不標準的國語？為什麼？
  12. 你平常 講國語 的時候，講得很標準還是不標準？哪裡不標準？
  13. 你剛認識一個人的時候，可能第一次見面，你怎麼 判斷他說國語說得標準還是不標準。用什麼方法 判斷？
  14. 你怎麼判斷 誰說國語說得非常標準還是不標準？
    - a. 你看，最標準國語跟普通的不標準的國語有什麼區別？
    - b. 這樣的區別，可以舉例嗎？可以模仿嗎？
  15. 可以指出哪一位台灣的 公眾人物說非常標準的國語？
    - a. 他所說的國語是有哪方面讓你認為是很標準的國語？
  16. 你有認識 誰說非常標準的國語嗎？
    - a. 請形容什麼樣的人 比較容易說這樣的國語？（從哪裡來？幾歲？）

17. 可以指出哪一位台灣的公眾人物說非常不標準的國語？
  - a. 他所說的國語是哪裡不標準？
18. 你有認識誰說非常不標準的國語嗎？
  - a. 請形容什麼樣的人比較容易說這樣的國語？（從哪裡來？幾歲？）
19. 如果你去一個漢人海外聯誼會，你可以判斷誰是台灣人嗎？是用什麼方法判斷的？
  - a. 你可以光光由他們講國語的方式來分辨嗎？
20. 你認為在台灣有一種標準國語，不是政府規定的，是社會上習慣用的構成一種標準？你可以解釋嗎？
21. 有一些語言學家說台灣有一種國語講話方式，叫做“台灣式的國語”跟標準的國語和台灣國語不一樣。以你的判斷，你跟他們同意嗎？（同意，不同意，不知道）
  - a. 你覺得這種台灣式國語和非常標準國語有什麼不同？可以舉例嗎？
  - b. 你覺得這種台灣式的國語和台灣國語有什麼不同？可以舉例嗎？

## APPENDIX B

### READING LIST

- |     |     |          |     |     |            |
|-----|-----|----------|-----|-----|------------|
| 1.  | 知識  | zhī shì  | 13. | 姿勢  | zī shì     |
| 2.  | 第二次 | dì èr cì | 14. | 濕了  | shī le     |
| 3.  | 方式  | fāng shì | 15. | 仍   | réng       |
| 4.  | 撕了  | sī le    | 16. | 當時  | dāng shí   |
| 5.  | 國語  | guó yǔ   | 17. | 茶花  | chá huā    |
| 6.  | 擦粉  | cā fěn   | 18. | 粉飾  | fěn shì    |
| 7.  | 註冊  | zhù cè   | 19. | 吃飯  | chī fàn    |
| 8.  | 冷   | lěng     | 20. | 租車  | zū chē     |
| 9.  | 但是  | dàn shì  | 21. | 兒子  | ér zi      |
| 10. | 出入  | chū rù   | 22. | 粗魯  | cū lǔ      |
| 11. | 第四日 | dì sì rì | 23. | 第十任 | dì shí rèn |
| 12. | 紫色  | zǐ sè    | 24. | 直射  | zhí shì    |

## APPENDIX C

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

SES = (Individual's Occupation+Education+Income) + [(Parents' Occupation+Education+Income)/2]

Upper	4.5	–	12
Upper Middle	12.5	–	20
Lower Middle	20.5	–	28
Lower	28.5	–	36

#### 1. Occupation

1. Professional and technical workers  
Research scientist, architect, engineer, economist, physician, dentist, medical worker, statistician, mathematician, systems analyst, accountant, teacher, author/journalist, artist, professional athlete.
2. Administrative and managerial workers  
Government administrator, Business executive.
3. Clerical workers  
Secretary/administrative assistant, stenographer/typist, post-office clerk/postman, telephone operator, office machine and electronic data processing operator, transport and communications supervisor.
4. Sales  
Sales inspector/procurement worker, international/wholesale/retail trade manager, salesman/sales agent, sales clerk, broker/auctioneer.
5. Laborers  
Catering/Lodging services manager or worker, housekeeper, cooks/waiter/bartender, building caretaker/cleaner, laundryman/dry cleaner, hairdresser/barber, public security worker.

6. Service workers

Farm manager/supervisor, farm owner, agricultural/animal husbandry worker, forestry-worker, fisherman.

7. Agricultural workers

Production supervisor/foreman, miner/quarryman/well-driller, metal/wood/chemical processor, food/beverage/tobacco processor, tailor/sewer, shoemaker/leather goods maker, machine/machine tool operator, plumber/welder, bricklayer/carpenter/painter/ construction worker, jewelry/glasswork/potter product maker, rubber/plastic/paper product maker, painter, transport equipment operator.

2. Education

1.	研究所：博士	Graduate school, PhD
2.	研究所：碩士	Graduate school, MA
3.	大學院校	College
4.	專科	Technical College
5.	高中，高職	High School
6.	國中，初職	Middle School
7.	國小	Primary School
8.	沒有收教育	No Education

3. Income (New Taiwanese Dollars)

1.	> 1,591,001
2.	1,227,000 – 1,591,000
3.	1,037,001 – 1,227,000
4.	895,001 – 1,037,000
5.	775,001 – 895,000
6.	663,001 – 775,000
7.	559,001 – 663,000
8.	437,001 – 559,000
9.	309,001 – 437,000
10.	< 310,000

## APPENDIX D

### CHINESE LINGUISTIC GROUPS



([http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle\\_east\\_and\\_asia/china\\_ling\\_90.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/china_ling_90.jpg))



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