VARIATION, NORMS AND PRESCRIBED STANDARD IN THE MANDARIN CHINESE SPOKEN IN SINGAPORE

GRAHAM LOCK

The University of Sydney

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The prescribed standard for Mandarin in Singapore is
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is examined from the point of view both of those involved
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speakers of the language.

It is suggested that there are de-facto target norms for
Mandarin in Singapore which differ from the prescribed
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and grammar which are relatively invariant in the speech
of almost all the informants are described. It is
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the results of interlingual interference and faulty

learning. Explanation for the adoption or not of standard features is sought in terms of their salience and social evaluation.

A number of nonstandard features which are highly variable in the data are also examined, broadly using the approach pioneered by William Labov for the investigation of linguistic variation and change. Five phonological and one grammatical variable are investigated, in four cases using a computer assisted variable rule analysis. Evidence is sought for linguistic constraints on the variation as well as relationships with the two modes within the interview situation ("talking" and "reading aloud") and with the speaker related factors of <u>level of education</u>, <u>age</u>, <u>sex</u> and <u>mother tongue</u>.

Findings for the speaker related factors provide evidence for sociolectal variation and for diachronic change towards standard variants. Evaluations by Singapore speakers of short recorded samples of Singapore Mandarin also point to the existence of socially marked variation. Some evidence is also presented for registerial variation It is suggested that the development of these kinds of variation is to be expected in a "transplanted" language which is in the process of "indigenizing".

Finally, various interlingual phenomena are explored through analyses of four samples of "mixed" Mandarin. It is argued that linguistic behaviour in this area is

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DEDICATION

To my parents

Frances and Eric Lock

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Themes of this Thesis

This thesis is about what has happened and what may be happening to spoken Mandarin, which is basically a northern dialect of Chinese, in the multilingual environment of the Southeast Asian island state of Singapore. This will involve a number of related sub-themes, the major ones of which may be characterized as *language indigenization, language prescription* and *language contact.*

1.1.1 Language Indigenization

Language indigenization or *language nativization* are terms which have been used to describe the processes of adaptation a language may undergo when it has been transplanted to a different cultural environment and has come to be used in an increasing number of contexts and for an increasing number of social purposes by speakers for whom it is not (or has only very recently become) a native language. Not surprisingly, English is the language which has received the most attention in this area, including studies of Indian English (e.g., Kachru

1976 and 1980), Nigerian English (e.g., Ubahakwe 1979),
Filipino English (e.g., Llamzon 1969) and Singapore
English (e.g., Platt and Weber 1980). Such studies have
shown how these "transplanted" varieties of English have
developed norms of usage quite distinct from those of the
traditionally English speaking areas and also often quite
distinct from the target norms which may continue to be
prescribed in their educational systems.

As Richards (1979) points out, indigenized varieties will
exhibit both categorical and variable features which
differ from those of the parent language. Categorical
features may account for the distinctiveness of a
particular variety (e.g., "Singapore English" or "Indian
English"). However, as the language comes to be used by
more speakers, in a greater variety of contexts and for a
greater variety of purposes, it may develop a range of
sociolectal and registerial[1] variation also quite
distinct from such variation in the parent language.

Mandarin, too, is a language which has spread well beyond
its "home" in Northern China. Although most speakers of
Mandarin as a second language have as their mother
tongues languages (or "dialects", see 1.2.2) much more
closely related to Mandarin than, for example, Indian
languages are to English[2], similar kinds of
indigenization phenomena might be expected. Some work has
begun on these "non-native" varieties of Mandarin (see
references in Chapter Two) and there has already been a

certain amount of controversy over whether two standard
norms rather than one norm for Mandarin should be
recognized (e.g., Kratochvil 1973).

One theme of this study, therefore, will be to consider
whether there has developed in Singapore a unique or
distinctive variety of Mandarin[3] and, related to this,
whether Singapore Mandarin (or Singapore *Huayu* as we
shall be calling it, see 1.2.1) may also have developed
or be developing the kinds of sociolectal and registerial
variation which might be expected of an "indigenized"
language. Much of the investigation of such variation
will broadly follow the quantitative approach pioneered
by William Labov, originally for the study of linguistic
variation and change in monolingual speech communities
(e.g., Labov 1966, Labov 1972b).

1.1.2 Language Prescription

A second theme of this thesis concerns language
prescription. In Singapore, language prescription has
involved the vigorous promotion of the prescibed
exonormative standard, based upon the speech of Beijing.
It is the possible results rather than the processes of
such language prescription that will be the major concern
of this thesis. In other words, we will consider what
evidence there is that speakers of Mandarin in Singapore
may be moving towards the use of a variety or varieties
of the language closer to the prescribed standard.

Possible motivations for this kind of diachronic change will also be considered, again taking into account the work of Labov (e.g., Labov 1963).

1.1.3 Language Contact

The third theme is that of language contact. A great deal of research has been carried out into language contact phenomena since Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact*, published in 1953. A multilingual environment such as Singapore has provided and will no doubt continue to provide a rich field for the investigation of such phenomena (see, for example, papers in Afendras and Kuo eds. 1980).

The development of Mandarin in Singapore has inevitably been affected by contact both with the languages or dialects which are the mother tongues of most of its speakers and with the other languages (particularly English and Malay) spoken in the Republic. Although investigation of the origins of nonstandard features in Singapore Mandarin will not be a major theme of this study (i.e., this thesis is not primarily about language transfer or interference), some account will be taken of language contact phenomena. The patterning of some of the highly variable features in Singapore Mandarin will be examined for evidence of a relationship between the variation and the mother tongues of the speakers. A preliminary investigation into borrowing, code-

switching, code-mixing and related phenomena in Singapore Mandarin will also be undertaken.

1.2 Some Terms and Definitions

1.2.1 Mandarin, Putonghua, Guoyu and Huayu

Mandarin will be used as a cover term for i) the Mandarin or Northern Chinese (<u>Beifang</u>) dialects which are spoken natively in China and include the dialect of Beijing, and ii) the variety or varieties of Chinese known as *Putonghua* ("Common Language" or "General Language") in China, *Guoyu* ("National Language") in Taiwan and *Huayu* ("Chinese Language") in Singapore. The prescribed standards for Putonghua, Guoyu and Huayu are all based upon, though not identical with, Beijing dialect (see Chapter Six). When varieties of Mandarin spoken in either China (apart from the Northern Chinese dialects), Taiwan or Singapore are specifically referred to, the terms Putonghua, Guoyu and Huayu will be used respectively.

1.2.2 Dialects of Chinese

Following normal usage in sinology (and in China and Singapore) the term *dialect* will be used for any variety of Chinese other than Putonghua, Guoyu or Huayu. This implies nothing about the linguistic status of a variety

so labelled, although it may say a great deal about its social or sociolinguistic status.

In referring to Chinese dialects, the commonly accepted groupings and labels will be used (controversies concerning the classification of Chinese dialects need not concern us in this thesis). These are the i) the *Mandarin* dialects (see 1.2.1 above), which may be further subdivided into the Northern (Huabei) group, the Northwestern (Xibei) group, the Southwestern (Xinan) group and the Jianghuai or River dialects group; ii) the *Wu* dialects (including Shanghainese); iii) the *Xiang* (or Hunanese) dialects; iv) the *Gan* (or Jiangxi) dialects; v) the *Kejia* (or Hakka) dialects; v) the *Yue* (or Cantonese dialects) and vi) the *Min* dialects, which may be further subdivided into *Minbei* (or Northern Min) dialects and *Minnan* (or Southern Min) dialects (for further information on the classification of Chinese dialects see Ramsay 1987 or Li 1973). In general, only the Mandarin, Cantonese (Yue) and Minnan dialects will concern us in this thesis. In addition, following normal Singapore usage, the term *Hokkien* will be used to refer to the variety or varieties of *Minnan* dialect spoken in Singapore, of which the standard form is the speech of Xiamen (Amoy). Other Minnan dialects spoken in Singapore that will be referred are *Teochew* (Chaozhouhua in Mandarin) and *Hainanese* (Hainanhua or qiongzhouhua in Mandarin, sometimes also referred to as "Hailam").

1.2.3 Prescribed Standard and Norm

The term *prescribed standard* will be used to refer to a variety of a language which has official status or sanction and the use of which is prescibed by political, educational and/or linguistic authorities. In this thesis, prescribed standard will be distiguished from (de-facto) *norm* which will be used to refer to forms of linguistic behaviour which are widely shared by speakers and/or are considered appropriate (in particular contexts) by most speakers. Where a particular feature appears to be generally regarded (as opposed to just by the prescriptivists) as a valid target feature for Singapore speakers to adopt, it will be referred to as a *target feature* and so part of a *target norm*.

Following Le Page's terminology, norms may also be *focussed*, i.e., where there is great deal of regularity and shared linguistic behaviour or *diffuse*, i.e., where there is much less regularity and shared linguistic behaviour (Le Page 1978).

1.2.4 *Zi* and *Yunmu*

The term *zi* will be used instead of the rather clumsy "morpho-syllable" to refer to this basic structure of Chinese phonology and grammar. Where the written forms of *zi* (often called "characters") are specifically referred to, the term *written zi* will be used. The traditional term

yunmu (often translated as "rhyme") will be used in

preference to "final" to refer to all phonetic features

of the syllable after the (optional) initial consonant.

The term *(syllable) final (consonant)* will therefore be

reserved for the last phonetic segment of a syllable.

1.2.5 Other Terms and Conventions

Other terms will be defined if necessary when first

introduced. Phonetic transcriptions (within square

brackets) follow the conventions of the International

Phonetic Alphabet (Revised to 1979). Phonetic

transcriptions of the Beijing Mandarin pronunciation

generally follow those of Professor M.A.K. Halliday (see

Appendix One), which form the basis of his phonological

analyses of the Mandarin syllable (Halliday 1959 and

1985). These transcriptions have been followed primarily

because they give an amount of phonetic detail not

generally present in other transcriptions, including

phonetic variation. However, they have also been checked

against samples of standard pronunciation as represented

in the *Chinese Conversation* cassette tapes recorded at

the Beijing Languages Institute (published by Commercial

Press, Beijing 1982) and the speech of several students

from Beijing studying in Australia and New Zealand. Note

that in the phonetic transcriptions of Mandarin [b], [d],

[g] etc. represent consonants with early voice onset

(i.e., voiced on release) and [p], [t] and [k] etc.

represent consonants with late voice onset (i.e. voiced after "aspiration").

Underlined transcriptions are in <u>Hanyu Pinyin Zimu</u> (or just *Pinyin*), the official Chinese system for romanizing Putonghua. Quotations of sentence length or above from Chinese sources or from the recorded interviews are given in Pinyin in the body of the text and in written zi in Appendix Seven.

NOTES

1. Throughout this thesis, the term *register* (adjective: *registerial*) will be used to refer to language variation according to context and use. *Sociolect* (adjective: *sociolectal*) will be used to refer to variation according to the social identity of the user. For a succinct overview of the differences between registerial and dialectal (including sociolectal) variation see Halliday and Hasan (1985:43).

2. Although by no means all such speakers. Many of China's minority nationalities speak languages unrelated or only distantly related to Chinese. See Ramsay 1987.

3. No attempt will be made in this thesis to elucidate the linguistic relationships between Singapore Huayu and the variety or varieties of Mandarin spoken in Malaysia. Given the great similarities between the two countries in ethnic, linguistic and, until comparatively recently, educational backgrounds, it is not surprising that the Mandarin spoken in both countries should share many characteristics. However, no systematic data on Malaysian Mandarin is at present available.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PRESENT STUDY AND PREVIOUS SOCIOLINGUISTIC

STUDIES OF CHINESE

2.1 Approaches to the Study of Variation in Chinese

The present study of variation and change in Singapore Huayu inevitably draws upon earlier studies of Chinese, particularly those whose which come within the scope of what is generally called "sociolinguistics". Such studies have taken a number of different approaches, all of which have relevance to the study of Huayu in Singapore.

Singapore Huayu is a variety of Mandarin, and we may thus wish to elucidate its relationship with other dialects of Mandarin spoken in China as well as with varieties of Putonghua and Guoyu. In other words, we might want to adopt the perspective of *dialectology* or *dialect geography*.

On the other hand, we may wish to investigate patterns of sociolectal and registerial variation in the language, and the relationship between such variation and linguistic change. In other words, to take the quantitative approach to linguistic variation that has

characterized much work in sociolinguistics over the last two decades.

However, unlike English in New York and Norwich, or Mandarin in Beijing, Huayu in Singapore is a "transplanted" variety and it is learned as a second (if not third or fourth) language by most of its speakers. We might therefore wish to view the development of Huayu in Singapore from the perspective of *language contact* and look for evidence of *language transfer features*. Alternatively, recognizing that the prescribed standard for Huayu in Singapore is essentially exonormative, our concerns might be primarily pedagogical, aiming to describe the "mistakes" or deviations from the prescribed standard in the speech of Singaporeans in order to help them master a more standard like variety.

Each of these approaches has something to offer to the study of Huayu in Singapore. However, no single one of the approaches seems entirely adequate for the purposes of the present study.

2.2 Dialectology in China

During this century, a tremendous amount of work has been done on Chinese dialects. This has included both linguistic descriptions of particular dialects and general surveys of dialects. Published reports, in particular the *Hanyu Fangyan Gaiyao* (Outline of Chinese

Dialects) by Yuan Jiahua et al (1960), the *Hanyu Fangyin Zihui* (A Dictionary of Dialect Pronunciations) (Beijing Daxue 1962) and the *Hanyu Fangyan Cihui* (A Dictionary of Dialect Words) (Beijing Daxue 1964), are invaluable resources for anyone working in the field. In the present study, such sources will be drawn upon in comparing features of Singapore Huayu with those of other dialects of Mandarin and in considering the "uniqueness" or otherwise of Singapore Huayu.

However, like dialectology in the West, at least until fairly recently, these studies have not paid much attention to variability in speech, other than geographical variability. Much of the information in the dialect surveys is, in fact, based upon the pronunciations of lists of written zi, and variation is usually noted only for those dialects which have distinct wen and bai strata in the phonology, i.e., where zi have both reading and "colloquial" pronunciations.

2.3. Studies of Linguistic Variation and Change in Native Speaker Varieties of Chinese.

Within roughly the last decade, work has begun on Chinese dialects using the approach to investigating linguistic variation and change pioneered by William Labov.

Bauer (1979) is a study of variation between final [ŋ] and [n] in the speech of a Hong Kong Cantonese informant.

[ŋ] is identified as the conservative variant and [n] the innovative variant. Bauer finds that the change is complete in syllables with low vowels and in progress for syllables with mid vowels. Bauer's Doctoral thesis (Bauer 1982) investigates two more variables in Hong Kong Cantonese, syllabic [ŋ] ∽ [m̩] (also reported in Bauer 1986) and initial [kʷo]∽[ko], using data drawn from sociolinguistic interviews with 75 Hong Kong informants. In each case, the first (and Standard Cantonese) variant is identified as the conservative variant. Using the perspective of *lexical diffusion* (see Chen M. 1972 and Wang W.S.Y. ed. 1978), Bauer identifies the environments in which the innovations probably began. He also finds that, in the case of the first variable, the [k] variant is almost categorical in the speech of those under 35, and in the case of the second variable, the change to [n] is being led by young males.

Pan (1982) reports on a similar study of linguistic variables in Hong Kong Cantonese. This study also looks at variation between [kʷo] and [k] as well as between initial [n] and [l] and between initial [ŋ] and [ʔ]. In each case, the former of each pair is identified as the conservative variant. From quantitative analysis of data elicted in sociolinguistic interviews with two groups of informants, Pan finds that the group with the older mean age consistently used more conservative variants. He also finds evidence for stylistic shift, with both groups using a higher percentage of the conservative variants in

careful speech. Findings from a matched guise study of these variables also allow Pan to conclude that the conservative forms are perceived to be more prestigious than the innovative forms and that the direction of change is therefore **away from** the prestige standard.

Barale (1982) is a study of variation in the loss of the final nasal consonants [ŋ] and [n] and nasalization of the preceding vowel in Beijing Mandarin. The data comes from from recorded interviews with 18 speakers and, as in the present study, is analysed quantitatively using a variable rule computer programme to investigate the effects of both social factors and linguistic environment on the variation. Barale finds that for both [n] and [ŋ] the nasalization is favoured by high front vowels and low vowels and that [ŋ] is more likely to be retained than [n]. She also finds that retention of the final consonants (identified as the conservative variant)[1] is favoured by "professionals" more strongly than "workers".

Such studies are important contributions to the study of Chinese dialects. The present study will undertake similar quantitative investigations of phonological variation in Singapore Huayu, including several variables comparable to those investigated in the above studies (e.g., (ng) in Chapter Ten, (n) in Chapter Thirteen). However, there are also some important differences between this study and previous studies of

sociolinguistic variation in native speaker varieties of Chinese. Unlike Cantonese in Hong Kong and Mandarin in Beijing, Huayu in Singapore is the mother tongue of only a tiny minority of its speakers and, as we shall see, any change appears to be towards the prescribed standard variety. Thus, the possible effects of both language contact and of language prescription must also be taken into account. Moreover, in order to explore the possibility of a norm or norms distinct from the prescribed standard, it will be necessary to consider relatively invariant nonstandard features, as well as highly variable features.

Grammatical variation and change in Chinese has not yet been investigated using systematicaly gathered data and quantitative analysis (at least, as far as the present author is aware). However, occasional observations have been made which are of relevance to the present study.

In an article in *Zhongguo Yuwen*, Chen Jianmin (1982) comments on the disappearance from Beijing speech of certain localisms in favour of more widely used Putonghua forms and, more interestingly from the point of view of the present study, notes influences from southern dialects on Beijing speech, including the use of the verb qù "go" directly before a place name, the use (although still rare) of the positive perfective auxiliary yǒu before the lexical verb in interrogatives and the occasional use of the comparative structure ADJ + guo.

All of these grammatical constructions are common in
Singapore Huayu (see p.229, p.216 and Appendix Five).Such
constructions have also been previously noted in the
Mandarin of other speakers with a southern dialect
background (especially the qù + PLACE and yǒu
constructions, see references to Chao 1976 and Cheng 1985
below). However, it is interesting that they may now also
be occasionally heard in Beijing speech, which is
regarded as the basis for the standard language (see
Chapter Six).

2.4 Studies of Language Contact

2.4.1 Native Speaker Varieties

A certain amount of work has been done on language
contact phenomena in native speaker varieties of Chinese
which are in contact with, or have been in contact with,
other languages or other dialects of Chinese.

The collection of papers by Chao Yuen Ren entitled
Aspects of Chinese Sociolinguistics (Chao 1976) contains
a number of interesting observations. In the chapter
entitled *Interlingual and Interdialectal Borrowings in
Chinese* (originally published as Chao 1970), Chao looks
at the processes of *phonetic adaptation,* (or *phonic
transfer*) and of *loan translation* (or *calque*) in the
borrowing of foreign words into Chinese. He also notes
cases of *structural borrowing,* i.e., the borrowing of

structural features of a foreign language without either

direct borrowing or translating of any foreign word, for

example, the extention in use of the Mandarin bèi + VERB

construction to all contexts in which English would use

the passive voice, or the use of the perfective particle

le for all cases of reference to the past, where English

would use the past tense -ed suffix. In this chapter

Chao also distinguishes *true borrowings* from the mixing

by bilingual speakers into their speech of foreign words

which are not adapted to the phonology of the recipient

language. He uses the term *skipants* to refer to the

latter and in a subsequent chapter examines the phonology

and grammar of such *skipants* in the speech of Mandarin

speaking Chinese in America.

In the case of interdialectal borrowings, Chao similarly

distinguishes *true borrowings*, which are used by native

speakers of the recipient dialect, from the carrying over

of features of their native dialect by speakers trying to

speak another dialect. The pre-verbal use of the positive

perfective auxiliary yǒu by Cantonese and Hokkien

speakers who learn Mandarin as a second language he

therefore does not consider a *true borrowing*.

Ts'ou (1975) looks at interlingual phenomena involving

Cantonese and English and identifies five modes of

linguistic assimilation: linguistic importations

(including phonetic adaptations and loan translations);

linguistic substitutions (the replacement of elements in

the recipient language by elements from the donor language); code-switching; bilingualism and residual interference. He proposes the hypothesis that these five modes correlate with phases in the progression of cultural assimilation.

Gibbons (1979a) is a phonological, grammatical and lexical description of the mixed campus language ("U-gay-wa") of students at the University of Hong Kong. U-gay-wa is predominantly Cantonese with English admixture, including a small "autonomous" element distinct from both source languages. In Gibbons (1979b), he suggests that the process which U-gay-wa is undergoing might best be described as *koinéisation* (Gibbon's 1979b will be further referred to in Chapter Fifteen).

The kinds of interlingual and interdialectal phenomena investigated in such studies are also to be found in Singapore Huayu. However, as will be argued in Chapter Fifteen, in samples of "mixed" or "Rojak" Huayu, it is not always possible to make neat distinctions among, for example, Chao's *true borrowings*, *skipants* and *carryovers* or between *code-switching* and the various kinds of *borrowing*.

2.4.2 Language Contact and Non-Native or "New" Varieties

of Mandarin

Of more central relevance to this thesis are studies of

varieties of Putonghua or Guoyu in areas where dialects

very different from those of Beijing and closely related

dialects are spoken.

Lehmann (ed. 1975) reports a number of observations made

by a delegation of American linguists to China in 1974.

They note a number of nonstandard variants in the

Putonghua spoken in various parts of China, many of which

are also to be heard in Singapore Huayu. Their

observations are, of course, unsystematic. However, they

provide some useful points of comparison between

Singapore Huayu and varieties of Putonghua spoken in

China and will be drawn upon at relevant places in this

thesis.

Kubler (1981) is a study of the Guoyu spoken in Taiwan.

Kubler's main concern is to account for nonstandard

features in Taiwan Guoyu in terms of influences from

Southern Min and to a much smaller extent from Japanese,

English and Southern Mandarin. Many of the nonstandard

phonological, grammatical and lexical features of Taiwan

Guoyu noted by Kubler are also to be found in Singapore

Huayu and throughout this thesis comparisons will be made

between the two varieties of Mandarin, frequently drawing

on Kubler's work.

Kubler's study takes the perspective of language contact,
i.e., he is concerned to elucidate the mutual influences
that the languages in contact (in this case primarily
Southern Min and Mandarin) have on one another.
Deviations from standard Mandarin in the Guoyu spoken in
Taiwan are thus seen as the effects of language transfer.
However, Kubler does also recognize that more than
simply linguistic interference or "faulty learning" may
be involved. He points out, for example, that Taiwan
Mandarin is spoken not only by native Taiwanese (i.e.,
those whose mother tongue is Southern Min) "but also by
the younger generation of mainlanders who have spent
their childhood in Taiwan and are monolingual in
Mandarin" (p.51) and that "even if they could reproduce
the sounds of Standard Mandarin with complete accuracy,
many Taiwanese would not wish to simply because they
would sound 'different' from their compatriots" (p.59).
This is a point that the present thesis will explore
further in the case of Singapore Huayu.

Cheng (1985) is a grammatical comparison of Taiwanese
Southern Min, Taiwan Guoyu and Beijing Mandarin. Whilst
also basically a study of language contact, he goes
further than Kubler in identifying three kinds of
phenomena leading to differences between Beijing Mandarin
and Taiwan Guoyu. Firstly, transfer of features from
Taiwanese Southern Min into Taiwan Guoyu, secondly,
adoption into Taiwan Guoyu of features which are simple

and regular and thirdly, a tendency for Taiwan Guoyu to
favour what is universal in the non-Mandarin dialects of
South China and to disfavour certain features of Beijing
Mandarin which, he argues, are characteristic of Altaic
languages. Several of the nonstandard grammatical
features of Singapore Huayu that will be described in the
present study, including uses of the verbal auxiliary yǒu
(with both past and non-past reference, see p.216 and
p.224) and the qù / lái + PLACE construction (p.229), are
also described by Cheng for Taiwan Guoyu and further
reference to his work will be made in the relevant
sections.

However, whilst the perspective of language contact is
useful in explaining the origins of certain linguistic
features, such studies do not address the question of
sociolinguisic variation and cannot account for many of
the changes a "transplanted" variety of a language may
undergo as as it comes to be used in a variety of
contexts, for a variety of purposes by its "new"
speakers.

2.5 Studies of Singapore Huayu

It has long been recognized that the Huayu spoken in
Singapore or Singapore and Malaysia diverges in many
respect from standard Mandarin. Png Poh Seng, in a paper
published in 1967, noted many nonstandard features in the
"Malayan pronunciation of Mandarin" which are also
characteristic of the samples of Singapore Huayu recorded

in 1983 for the present thesis, including <u>o</u> for standard <u>uo</u> (p.208, this thesis), <u>i</u> for <u>ü</u> (Chapter Nine); <u>en</u> and <u>an</u> for <u>eng</u> and <u>ang</u> (Chapter Eleven); <u>s</u>, <u>c</u>, and <u>z</u> for <u>sh</u>, <u>ch</u> and <u>zh</u> (p.186); <u>l</u> for initial <u>r</u> (Chapter Ten); <u>l</u> for initial <u>n</u> (Chapter Thirteen) and the use of a <u>rusheng</u> tone (Chapter Twelve). Png claims that there was at that time very little socially related variation in the pronunciation of Huayu in Malaya and Singapore (see quote p.75, this thesis) and his main concen is simply to list the major deviations from the standard language and give some examples. Nevertheless, he does distinguish between nonstandard features which are fairly general and those which are characteristic of speakers of particular dialect mother tongues, although some of his comments (e.g. that <u>l</u> for <u>r</u> is a rather infrequent deviation most characteristic of Hokkien and Teochew speakers) do not hold for the present data.

In a paper published two years later (Xie 1969), Xie Yunfei[3] notes not only nonstandard features of pronunciation in Singapore Huayu, but also a number of lexical borrowings from Malay, English and the Chinese dialects spoken in Singapore as well as several nonstandard features of grammar, including the qù + PLACE construction and the perfective yǒu + VERB construction.

During the 1970's and early 1980's a number of articles appearing in journals such as *Yuwen* (published by the

Singapore Chinese Second language Teachers' Society) and occasionally in the press continued to draw attention to nonstandard features in Singapore Huayu. However, such articles do not usually go beyond citing the most salient of the features already noted by Png, particularly those which may lead to the pronunciation as homophones zi which are heterophones in standard Mandarin. The assumption is generally that such nonstandard features are due to mother tongue interference and faulty learning. Such studies are, of course, pedagogically oriented, written for teachers or laymen, and their concern is to help Singapore speakers to achieve a more standard like pronunciation rather than to provide detailed linguist or sociolinguistic analyses. However, they do give a useful indication of what nonstandard features are most salient to teachers and speakers of Huayu in Singapore. A good example of this genre is an article published in *Yuwen* in 1976 which provides a list of oppositions that Singapore speakers need to master (these are: the initial consonants: zh v. z, ch v. c, sh v.s , n v. l and the yunmu ("rhymes", see p.7) i v. ü, an v. ang, en v. eng) and concludes by saying that:

Qishi, zhidao haizimen shuo yi kou biaozhun Huayu, zheng shi laoshide zeren. Biaozhun Huayu bing bu yinggai zhi shi guangboyuan huo mouxie zhuanye

rénshìde zhuānlìpǐn. Wǒmen xīwàng zài rèxīnde

tóngdàomende nǔlìxia, wǒmende Huáyǔ, néng yìtiāntiān

zhàozhe biāozhǔnde dàolu màijìn!

(In fact, it is the responsibility of teachers to
lead children to speak standard Huayu. Standard
Huayu is certainly not just the privileged property
of broadcasters or certain specialists. We hope that
with the hard work of our enthusiastic colleagues
our Huayu can day by day stride ahead towards the
standard!)

(Chen Y.Q. 1976:29. See Appendix Seven for version
in written zi)

A less prescriptive view is expressed in an article by Wu
Yuanhua, also published in *Yuwen* (Wu 1977), on lexical
borrowings in both spoken and written Singapore Huayu. Wu
gives many examples of borrowings from English, Malay,
Tamil and Chinese dialects and notes that the processes
of borrowing include both phonetic adaptation and loan
translation (calque) as well as combinations of the two
(see Appendix Six), but that unlike standard Mandarin,
Singapore Huayu shows a preference for phonetic
adaptation over loan translation. Wu does not deplore
such borrowing but sees them as enriching the language:

Bùtóng yǔyánde hùxiāng yǐngxiǎng shi zhèngchángde

qíngxing, yǔyán yǔ yǔyánde jiēchù shi shèhùi fāzhǎn

lìshǐde bìrán jíeguǒ. Zhè zhǒng jiēchu yě bìrán
yǐnqǐ yǔyánde rónghé, cóng yǔyánde rónghé kěyǐ
kànchu wénhùa jiāolíu. Xītélè céngjīng qǐtú jìn
fèichu xiànzài Déguóyǔzhōngde wàiláicí, yǐ "chún
Rìěrmàn yǔcí" zuòwéi Déguóde yǔyán, dànshi tāde
zhèzhǒng xiǎngfǎ, gēn tā wàngtú zhēngfú shìjiede
yěxīn tóng guīyú jìn.

(For different languages to influence one another is
a normal phenomenon, contact between languages is an
inevitable result of the history of social
development. Such contact inevitably also leads to
linguistic blending, and in linguistic blending one
can see cultural exchange. Hitler once planned to
completely eradicate foreign borrowings from modern
German in order to make "pure Germanic vocabulary"
the language of Germany. But this plan, like his
vainglorious ambition to conquer the world, came to
nought.)

Lock (1982) provides an overview of the status and roles
of Huayu in Singapore and, following the approach of
earlier studies, lists and gives examples of the most
salient divergences in pronunciation and lexis from
standard Mandarin. It was, in fact, awareness of the
inadequacies of this approach to describe and account
for the range of variation and possible directions of
change in Singapore Huayu that motivated the author to
carry out the more systematic gathering and analysis of
data that has led to the present thesis.

The most interesting and important studies of Singapore
Huayu that have appeared to date are those of Chen
Chungyu, a linguist working at the Chinese language and
Research Centre of the National University of Singapore.
Chen C.Y. (1982b) is a study of <u>rusheng</u> in Singapore
Huayu, a feature to which Chapter Twelve of this thesis
is also devoted. In the same year, Chen published a study
of segmental features of Singapore Huayu pronunciation
(Chen C.Y. 1982c, reprinted as Chen C.Y. 1986), many of
which will be described in detail in Chapters Seven to
Eleven and Chapter Thirteen of this thesis. Chen C.Y.
(1984) is a study of certain lexical features in
Singapore Huayu which are the result of influences from
the southern dialects (see Appendix Six).

For her studies of features of pronunciation in Singapore
Huayu, Chen recorded and analyzed the pronunciations of
ten informants reading lists of zi. The ten informants
were either students or administrative staff of the
former Nanyang University and included two from each of
the following dialect mother tongue groups: Hainanese,
Cantonese, Hokkien, Hakka and Teochew. In a series of
tables, Chen compares the percentages of "correct"
readings of certain variable features in different
phonological environments and by the five different
dialect groups.

Like previous studies of Singapore Huayu, Chen's concern is essentially pedagogical, i.e., to describe the "mistakes" made by Singapore speakers as an aid to the teaching of standard Huayu. However, her work is the first to be based upon quantitative analyses of recorded data. Her study differs from the present study in that her data base is much smaller, only reading pronunciations are represented and only phonological environment and the informants' mother tongues are taken into account as possible constraints on the variation. However, throughout this thesis, comparisons will be made with Chen's findings wherever relevant. For convenience, all such references will be to the more accessible 1986 version of Chen's work, except for references to _rusheng_ (Chen C.Y. 1982b has not been reprinted elsewhere).

Finally, Ng (1985) reports a study of the pronunciation of the retroflex (in the standard language) initial consonant _sh_ in the Huayu of 10 Singaporeans between the ages of 20 and 25, all currently pursuing tertiary education in Australia. The variable is identified as the presence or absence of retroflexion. Ng used a modified Labovian methodology to elicit five styles, ranging from "free speech" (the least careful or formal style, see 5.3.2 this thesis) to tongue twisters (the most careful or formal style). She found that the more careful the speech style, the greater the frequency of the standard retroflex variant. She also found that her female

informants had higher levels of the retroflex variant than males in all styles except the tongue twisters.

It is interesting that this same feature was found to exhibit no significant variation in the data used for the present study. Possible reasons for this difference in findings will be considered and and it will be argued that, despite Ng's findings, such initial retroflexion has not yet become a feature of the Huayu of most Singaporeans, other than in certain atypical contexts (see p.141 and p.142).

Thus, previous studies have identified a number of nonstandard features of phonology, lexis and, to a lesser extent, grammar in the Huayu spoken in Singapore. However, in most cases, it has been assumed that such features are the result of linguistic interference and faulty learning. There has been no consideration (apart from occasionally in the case of lexis) of the possibility that there may be target or de-facto norms for Singapore speakers other than the prescribed standard. As far as the present author is able to ascertain, no study, apart from Ng (1985), has attempted any systematic investigation of sociolectal or registerial variation in Singapore Huayu, or has considered the possible directions of linguistic change and factors which may affect such change.

2.6 The Perspective of the Present Study

The studies of Chinese considered above fall into the following general categories: a) studies in the tradition of dialectology or dialect geography b) studies of phonological variables in native speaker varieties (such as Beijing Mandarin or Hong Kong Cantonese), broadly following Labovian approaches to data collection and analysis; c) observations (usually anecdotal) of grammatical and lexical changes in Beijing Mandarin and Putonghua; d) studies of borrowing, code-switching and related interlingual phenomena; e) studies of non-native or "new" varieties of Mandarin, such as Taiwan Guoyu, from the perspective of language contact.

All of these approaches have some relevance to the study of Huayu in Singapore. However, none of them would appear to be sufficient to addresss the complexity of the sociolinguistic situation of Huayu in Singapore. In taking the three perspectives outined in Chapter One, i.e.: i) *language indigenization*, which involves the consideration of possible internal norms, the investigation of sociolectal and registerial variation and the consideration of the uniqueness or otherwise of Singapore Huayu; ii) *language contact*, which recognizes the influences on Singapore Huayu of other languages and dialects and iii) *language prescription*, which recognizes the role of the exonormative standard, the present study seeks to to combine many of the features of previous

studies of variation in Chinese (including Singapore Huayu) and to some extent to go beyond them. The adoption of a narrower focus, whilst enabling greater depth in the study of one area, would risk losing sight of many of the most fascinating aspects of what has happened and is happening to Huayu in Singapore.

NOTES

1. This variation was also noted by M.A.K. Halliday in Beijing in 1947-1949 (see Appendix One). It may, therefore, be a comparatively stable variable.

2. To be more precise, the type of Southern Min "spoken in the environs of Taibei, Taiwan" (p.3c). The Taiwanese Southern Min dialects are closely related to the variety or varieties of Southern Min spoken in Singapore and known as "Hokkien".

3. In references to articles in Chinese, the romanization of the author's name will be given in Pinyin (i.e., according to the Mandarin pronunciation) except where a romanization according to a dialect pronunciation is included in the article referred to.

CHAPTER THREE

HUAYU IN SINGAPORE

3.1 Introduction

Mandarin or *Huayu* is one of the four official languages
of Singapore, the other three being English, Malay and
Tamil. It also often described as the "mother tongue" of
Singaporeans of Chinese ethnicity. However, the true
mother tongues (i.e., languages first learned in infancy)
of the vast majority of Singapore's approximately two
million Chinese Singaporeans are a number of southern
Chinese dialects. The 1980 census gives the following
breakdown of Singapore Chinese by dialect group: Hokkien
43.1%, Teochew 22.1%, Cantonese 16.5%, Hainanese 7.1%,
Hakka 7.4%, Foochow 1.7% and several others all below 1%.
Of these dialects only Hokkien and Teochew are generally
considered to have a fairly high level of mutual
intelligibility. It should be noted, however, that the
percentages refer to membership of sub-ethnic groupings
for which language labels are used and do not necessarily
represent the mother tongues actually spoken by all
members of a particular group. In Singapore, dialect
group membership is an official category inherited from
one's father irrespective of what languages or dialects
the family may actually speak at home. However, the

figures do give a fair idea of the range of Chinese
dialects spoken as mother tongues in Singapore and their
relative numerical strengths.

As well as being an official language, Huayu in Singapore
is a language of everyday use and, for over half a
century, has been a major medium of education. However,
the status and roles of Huayu in Singapore have undergone
great changes over the years and the present period in
particular is a period of rapid change and
sociolinguistic realignment. In order to understand the
linguistic changes which may be taking place in Singapore
Huayu, it is necessary to know something of the history
of the language in Singapore and of its present status
and roles.

Section 2 of this chapter will therefore review the
history of Huayu in Singapore, Section 3 will look at
available information on its present status and roles,
Section 4 will consider some influences on the linguistic
development of Singapore Huayu and Section 5 will outline
the major dimensions of variation in the language today.

3.2 The History of Huayu in Singapore

3.2.1 Pre-Mandarin Times

At the time of the founding of the British settlement of
Singapore in 1819, there were said to be a small number

of Chinese engaged in the cultivation of pepper and gambier, as well as about 100 Malays, and a few families of *Orang Laut* (literally "sea people") (Marriott 1923). However, the ancestors of the vast majority of today's Chinese Singaporeans are later immigrants from China. By 1901, the population of Singapore had risen to 220,344 and by 1921 to 425,912 of whom 317,491 (74.5%) were Chinese. This remains roughly the proportion of Chinese in the population today.

The migrants came mainly from the southeastern provinces of Guangdong and Fujian[1], a region of China in which dialect differences are particularly great and complex. Social groupings along dialect lines were of very great importance in colonial Singapore and Malaya, including secret societies (of great importance in the 19th century, at least), clan and village-of-origin associations, and the dialect group or *huiguan* (also spelt "huay kuan" and "wui kun") associations (Freedman 1957). Such organizations provided the majority of the immigrants from China with their primary sense of identity, security and allegience. Chinese of one dialect group may have some awareness of a degree of alikeness with members of other dialect groups, but on the whole the different groups often tended to regard one another as foreigners or even enemies (Purcell 1967).

Huiguan associations, such as the Hokkien Huiguan founded in 1860, became particularly important and

influential institutions throughout the colonial period. They assisted needy members, carried out religious duties, helped in settling disputes and provided a social focus for their members. There was also economic specialization along dialect lines from the earliest days of Singapore and this persisted until quite recent times with, for example, the Cantonese being dominant among the artisans and restaurateurs and the Hokkiens dominant among the merchants (Neville 1969).

Until at least the 1920's, and for much longer in many cases, language use does seem to have been by and large coterminous with dialect group membership. For many Chinese living in Singapore and Malaya knowledge of their home dialect and perhaps the dominant dialect of the area (if this was different) would have been sufficient for most purposes and contexts. However, it became increasingly common for Chinese Singaporeans, especially men, to speak several dialects (Murray 1971). According to Ts'ou (1980), dialect diglossia was imported from China, with the H (high) varieties - usually the speech of the regional capitals or cultural centres - used for the local opera form, religious ceremonies, public speeches and education, and the L (low) varieties - usually originally local, rural forms of speech - used with family and friends. However, given the social composition of the immigrants (mainly of uneducated, peasant background), it is unlikely that the H varieties were widely known or used.

Some use was also made of Malay, especially the simplified so-called "Bazaar Malay", for inter-ethnic communication, although it is difficult to know how widely. English was restricted to a small elite, many of whom (apart from the colonial British, of course) were members of the Straits Chinese or Peranakan community whose roots in the area go back to long before the establishment of Singapore by the British (see Clammer 1980)

Prior to 1900, education in Chinese in most cases meant learning by rote the Chinese classics in "traditional" schools (see Purcell 1967:225 for a description of such schools) or attending one of the few Chinese medium schools organized by christian missionary groups (Doraisamy ed. 1969). In both these types of school, Chinese dialects were the media of instruction.

3.2.2 The Introduction and Spread of Guoyu

The years 1900-1919 were a period of rapid expansion and "modernization" for Chinese education in Singapore, including the opening of night schools for adults which pioneered the use of Guoyu ("National Language" or Mandarin, later to be called Huayu) (Doraisamy ed. 1969). However, it was not until the 1920's that, influenced by the National Language Movement in China, there was a widespread movement by Chinese schools in Singapore to

adopt Guoyu as their medium of instruction. By 1930, nearly all Chinese schools in Singapore were using Guoyu as their medium of instruction (Murray 1971), although one of the informants for this study reports receiving some primary education through Cantonese in a Singapore school as late as the end of the 1930's.

The introduction and spread of Guoyu through the Chinese schools cut across the dialect group loyalties dividing the Singapore Chinese community and was associated with the growth of Chinese nationalism and political activism among Chinese in Singapore, generally directly influenced by events in China such as the May Fourth Movement and subsequent anti-Japanese agitation. As Murray (1971) puts it: "The unifying effects of Mandarin across Chinese speech-groups - not simply as a *lingua franca* amongst the younger generation but as a cultural and political symbol - would be hard to overemphasize" (p.62).

This fact was not lost on the colonial authorities. They were particularly worried by the influence of China over Chinese schools. Curricula, trained teachers and textbooks all came from China, and the Guomindang Government of China continued the Imperial policy of regarding education of the Nanyang Chinese as its direct concern. In 1920, the colonial government introduced a bill to control schools and teachers through registration, followed by an amendment in 1925 which, among other things, empowered the Director of Education

to refuse to register a teacher and to make provisions to
punish an unregistered teacher who continued to teach.
These ordinances were passed despite vigorous opposition
from sections of the the Chinese population. In addition,
in 1923, grants-in-aid were introduced for Chinese
schools provided they were willing to submit to
inspection. However, one purpose of such grants was to
"encourage and assist the education of Chinese-speaking
children through the medium of their own domestic dialect
or dialects which they understand" and the teaching of
Guoyu was not to be grant earning (quoted in Doraisamy
ed. 1969:88-89).

In the event, few Chinese schools applied for such grants
and through the 1920's and 1930's Chinese medium
education continued to be supported mainly by the
Chinese community itself. The orientation towards and
political influence from China also continued, as did
the colonial governments attempts to exert control over
the schools (for details see Doraisamy ed. 1969 and
Wilson 1978)

By the time of the outbreak of the Pacific War (1941),
roughly half of all Chinese children in Singapore between
the ages of 5 and 14 were enrolled in school (60,000 of
an estimated 120,000), almost two thirds in Chinese
(i.e., Guoyu or Huayu) medium schools (Murray 1971).
However, whilst Chinese medium education was a force for
unity among a Chinese population divided along dialect

group lines, the schism between the Chinese medium

educated Chinese and the English medium educated

Chinese had grown and hardened. Whilst the Chinese medium

schools looked to China for their curriculum, their

trained teachers and textbooks, the English medium

schools "focussed attention on England, Europe and the

British Empire" (Wilson 1978:29). Unlike Chinese medium

education, English medium education, which was now

beginning to cater for more and more "sinkeh" (Mand:

xinke - migrants from China) as well as Peranakan, was

strongly supported by the colonial administration and

generally neither Guoyu nor Chinese dialects were taught

in such schools. This linguistic and cultural division

was compounded by economic divisions, as the English

educated group were increasingly able to gain access to

more prestigeous positions in government, commerce and

the professions (Wilson 1978).

3.2.3 From the End of the Japanese Occupation to Self Government

An indication of the spread of Huayu (or *Guoyu* as it was

then still usually called) in both Singapore and Malaya

by the end of the Japanese occupation and its political

significance is given by Purcell. He writes that:

Mandarin became also a kind of political badge. An

observer returning to Malaya after the Japanese

occupation was bound to be impressed by the progress

the movement had made among the leftists. They all

spoke Mandarin of a sort and were unwilling to speak

their own dialect.

(Purcell 1967:233).

In the post war period there was a great demand for

education and Chinese schools in Singapore "sprang up

like mushrooms" (Doraisamy ed. 1969:90). During the

1950's, the politicization of Singapore Chinese youth

through these schools became a mass phenomenon (Murray

1971). It is not necessary here to consider the possible

contributions of communist influence, anti-colonial

sentiments and educational and economic grievances to the

unrest (see Murray 1971:83ff). However, it is clear that

at least some of the opposition was directed at what was

felt to be a threat to Chinese education from the

government's attempts to control the schools and to

strongly support English medium education. The Ten Years

Programme of 1947, an attempt to deal with the problems

of a fragmented educational system, promised increased

financial support for "vernacular" education which would

lead eventually to universal free primary education

through the media of Chinese, Malay, Tamil or English.

Nevertheless, in practice, the main thrust of colonial

policy remained the encouragement of the English stream,

which it saw as producing an English educated elite with

loyalties directed towards Singapore (Gopinathan 1974).

However, events such as the mass Chinese student

demonstration against the National Service Act in 1954

and the Hock Lee bus riots of 1955 convinced the government that something more had to be done about Chinese education.

In 1955 an all-party committee to look into Chinese medium education was appointed by the first largely elected (25 out of 32 seats in the Legislative Assembly) government of Singapore. The following year, the Committee recommended, among other things, the adoption of the principle of equality of treatment for all streams (i.e., Huayu , English, Malay and Tamil), the use in all schools of common and nationally-oriented curricula and the encouragement of bilingualism at primary levels and trilingualism at secondary levels. These recommendations were on the whole welcomed by the Chinese community (Gopinathan 1974).

Lee Kuan Yew was a member of the All-Party Committee and after the victory of the Peoples Action Party in the 1959 election, the principles of the report became the basis for later developments in Singapore's education system, although the principle of trilingualism was quietly dropped after Singapore's withdrawal from Malaysia in 1965 (Malay would have been the third language for most students of Chinese ethnicity).

The rise of the PAP was due largely to the party's espousal of an anti-English educated, anti-colonial ideology and the ability of its originally mainly

English educated leaders to mobilize the Chinese educated in their support. Lee Kuan Yew provides a fascinating example of the political significance of language, particularly Huayu, in this process. Lee was educated almost entirely in English, having attended the elite Raffles College in Singapore and Cambridge University in England. Returning to Singapore he studied both Hokkien and Huayu and in the elections campaigned in both of these languages. As Murray (1971) puts it "Although Hokkien would have been sufficient to reach most of the Chinese masses, Mandarin was vital to establish his political and 'ethnic' credentials with Chinese youth" (p.86).

3.2.4 The Decline of Chinese Medium Education

Paradoxically, however, the next few decade saw the intensification of a trend that had begun in the years before Singapore gained internal self goverment (full independence did not come until 1965 after the separation from Malaysia) - the decline in Chinese medium education in face of competition from the English stream. From 1956 to 1964, there was a constant decline (with the exception of one year) in primary one enrolments into Chinese stream schools and a constant increase (again with the exception of one year) in primary one enrolments into English stream schools (Doraisamy ed.1969:98), although Murray estimates that it was not until 1962 that primary one enrolments of Chinese children into English stream

schools finally outnumbered those enroling in the Chinese stream (Murray 1971:97-98). The drift away from the Chinese stream into the English stream continued through the 1960's and 1970's and by 1976, 86.06% of total primary one enrolments (all ethnic groups) were into the English stream and only 13.75% into the Chinese stream (Straits Times 26/2/1977).

This decline may have been due partly to increasing access to English medium education. However, more important was the perception by parents of the greater opportunities for educational and economic advancement offered by an English medium education.

The high point of Chinese medium education in Singapore can perhaps be seen as the establishment in 1956 of a Chinese medium university – Nanyang University. Until then, tertiary level education had been available only in English and, prior to 1949 at least, graduates from Singapore's Chinese middle schools had had to go to China to further their education, as the English medium University of Singapore was virtually closed to graduates of Chinese stream middle schools (Murray 1971). Nanyang University was very much a Chinese community venture. In 1953 a founding committee was created led by the Singapore millionaire Tan Lark Sye. A popular fund raising campaign raised money by contributions from hawkers, trishaw drivers, taxi drivers and coolies as well as from businessmen such as Tan, and the site for

the university in the west of the island was donated by the Hokkien Huiguan.

The fate of Nanyang University is perhaps symbolic of the fate of Chinese medium education as a whole. In 1959, the Nanyang University Ordinance was passed giving legitimacy to the university. However, because of doubts about the university's academic standards the government did not recognize NU degrees for nine years.

In the tradition of the Chinese medium middle schools, a high level of political activity continued among the student body at Nanyang University until at least the middle 1960's, the most public expressions being the 1964 rioting between students and police, after NU student leaders and graduates were arrested for "pro-communist activities", and the 1965 lecture boycott and demonstrations.

In 1975, the Government and the Nanyang University council begin a policy of increasing the use of English as a medium of instruction and by 1977, almost all subjects were being taught in English. However, the university continued to draw the bulk on its students from Chinese stream middle schools and the language and cultural environment on the university's Jurong campus remained firmly Chinese. In 1978, Lee Kuan Yew claimed in an address to the Historical Society of Nanyang University that since 1960 when Singapore University

began admitting Chinese stream students Nanyang
University had lost the cream of its Chinese medium
students. A significant number had also gone abroad to
study. This had led to a lowering of standards at the
university.

In the same year, the Joint Campus scheme was launched
under which first year Nanyang University students
attended classes together with students of Singapore
University on the latter university's campus. Finally, in
1980, following the recommendations of the Dainton
Report, Nanyang University was merged with the
traditionally English medium Singapore University to form
the National University of Singapore.

3.2.5 Increasing Study of Huayu as a Second School
       Language

Along with the decrease in the numbers of students
receiving their education through the medium of Huayu as
a first school language, there was an increase in the
number of students learning Huayu as a second school
language, as bilingual policies were implemented. It
should be noted here that in the Singapore context, *first
language* always means the major language of instruction
in school and *second language* always means the second
language studied at school. Neither term, of course,
tells us anything about what other language or dialects a
student may have learned before attending school nor do

they necessarily indicate which language a person is most proficient in.

A requirement was introduced in 1966 that a second language should be studied throughout the four years of secondary school. The second language would be English in Chinese medium schools and normally Huayu for ethnic Chinese students in English medium schools. This particularly affected the English stream. Previously, Huayu had been only an optional subject in English stream schools and usually studied for only two years (Murray 1971). Subsequently, oral and written examinations in the L2 were made part of the Primary School Leaving Examination and in the Singapore-Cambridge General Certificate of Education Examination. However, a compulsory pass was not required.

The next step was an increase in the exposure time for the second language and its use as a medium of instruction in certain subject areas. By 1968, Science and Arithmetic were taught in English in most Chinese (and other non-English stream) primary schools (Gopinathan 1974) and Civics and History were taught in the "mother tongue" (Huayu, in the case of ethnic Chinese students) in English medium schools. In 1972, an increase was announced in exposure time for the second language at primary level and, according to Gopinathan (1974) exposure time had already reached 42% by 1974. In 1974 also, a new subject - Education for Living - integrating

Civics, History and Geography was introduced in the lower primary classes to be taught entirely in the "mother tongue".

There were, however, difficulties in implementing some of these policies and the results were not always as the planners had hoped. A persistant problem was the lack of suitably qualified teachers. In 1971, for example, the teaching of History at primary 3 level through Huayu in English medium schools was discontinued due to a shortage of teachers able to teach it and the fact that the the students' level of Huayu was judged as not sufficiently high for them to learn history through it. According to the 1979 Goh Report (see 3.2.6 below), "If examinations were to be taken as the best available instrument in gauging the competency level of the pupils in a subject, then more than 60% of the pupils do not attain the minimum competency level in one or both languages".

Thus, by the latter half of the 1970's it was clear that the outlook for Chinese medium education was bleak. However, many more students than before were learning Huayu as a second school language and the amount of exposure such students were getting to Huayu had increased greatly, although the results were not always satisfactory.

3.2.6 The Goh Report and the End of Chinese Medium
Education

The so-called "Goh Report" of 1979, i.e., the report on
education by a team of systems engineers under Dr. Goh
Keng Swee, set the pattern for developments in Singapore
education in the 1980's. The report recommended that the
first three years of primary school (from 6 years old)
would concentrate on language learning, with every child
being taught English and their "mother tongue" (i.e.,
Huayu in the case of those identified as ethnically
Chinese). At the end of primary 3, pupils would be put
into three streams on the basis of examination results
and intelligence tests: (i) the "Normal Bilingual Stream"
in which pupils would continue to study two languages and
finish their primary education in 6 years; (ii) the
"Extended Bilingual Stream" in which pupils would also
continue to study two languages but would be expected to
take an extra one or two years to complete their primary
education and (iii) the "Monolingual Stream" in which
pupils would study only one language and at the end of
their primary education proceed to vocational training.
The recommendations originally proposed that that the
language of instruction in the monolingual stream should
be the pupils "mother tongue". However, after a good deal
of parental opposition, it was announced in 1981 that the
language of instruction of ethnic Chinese monolingual
stream pupils would be switched from Huayu to English on
a voluntary basis. A large proportion of such pupils did

in fact switch, leaving only 33% in the monolingual Huayu stream.

Pupils from the two bilingual streams would be again channelled into three streams for secondary education on the basis of their results in the Primary School Leaving Examination. Those entering the "Special Bilingual Stream" would take both English and Huayu at first language level. Those entering the "Normal Bilingual Stream" would take English at first language level and their "mother tongue" at second language level. Those entering the "Ordinary Stream" would take English as a first language and their "mother tongue" at a lower level of difficulty (called L3), with the expectation that they should be able at least read the local news and write simple sentences in their second language.

At pre-university level, the medium of instruction would be English, although a second language would still be compulsory and a pass in the second language would be necessary for entry into university.

These recommendations made no explicit mention of the remaining Chinese medium schools. However, in late 1983 it was announced that all pupils in Singapore schools would take English as their first language by 1987 (Straits Times 22/12/83). One reason given was that only 260 pupils had enrolled for the 1984 Chinese stream

primary one intake. This was less than 1% of the total

enrolment of 38,000.

However, the Special Assistance Plan Schools or the

"Super Schools" arrangement was to continue. This was a

plan, announced in 1978, to preserve the best of the

traditional Chinese medium schools. The SAP schools are

special bilingual schools which offer both English and

Huayu at first language levels, i.e., the "Special

Bilingual Stream" recommended by the Goh Report.

The era of Chinese medium education in Singapore is thus

now finally at an end. English is to be the first

(school) language of all Singapore students, with only

the roughly 8% "high flyers" identified by the Primary

School Leaving Examination being given the opportunity to

also study Huayu at first language level. However, more

students than ever before are now learning Huayu as a

second (school) language.

3.2.7 The Speak Mandarin (Huayu) Campaign

One major counter current to this demise of Chinese

medium education has been the *Speak Mandarin Campaign*.

The official aims of the campaign, launched by the Prime

Minister in 1979, are to make Huayu the common spoken

language among Chinese Singaporeans - both English

educated and Chinese educated - and to eventually

eliminate entirely the use of Chinese dialects in
Singapore. As Lee Kuan Yew put it:

> We should try within 5 years to make all the young,
> those in school, in university and who have just
> finished school or university to drop the use of
> dialect , speak in Mandarin, unless it is to their
> grandparents.

> In 10 years , we should be able to get Mandarin
> established as the language of the coffeeshop, of
> the hawker centre, of the shops. Of course, together
> with English.
> (Straits Times 24/11/79)

The major targets of the campaign were identified as the
"English educated and the less-educated among the Chinese
Singaporeans" (The Mirror 15/12/79), with the Chinese
educated expected to take a leading role in the creation
of a Huayu speaking environment. Noss (1984)
distinguishes three official arguments in support of the
campaign: the educational argument, essentially that
speaking a Chinese dialect at home puts an unnecessary
extra burden on a child who must study two other
languages - Huayu and English at school; the practical
argument, that Huayu can be the lingua franca among the
Chinese, and the cultural argument, that Huayu can
transmit the Chinese cultural heritage. Within the
"cultural argument" can perhaps also be identified two

related but slightly different arguments. Firstly that
Huayu can be (as it has long been in Singapore) a symbol
of "Chineseness", that speaking Huayu is part of what it
means to be Chinese. Secondly, the "pollution" argument,
that Singaporeans need their "mother tongues" to provide
them with the "cultural ballast" necessary to ward off
noxious influences from the West. It is very interesting
to contrast the symbolic value of Huayu as exemplified in
some of the arguments put forward in this area with its
value in earlier decades. Whilst Huayu is still used as a
symbol of "Chineseness", the association in the present
campaign is with Confucianism, "traditional Asian
values", respect and loyalty rather than anti-
colonialism, Marxism and revolution. For example, in a
forum (in Huayu) on the campaign with journalists from
the Chinese press Lee Kuan Yew claimed that his world
view had changed since he had learned Chinese and that:

> The relations between man and man are not new. It is
> a problem as old as man's history. How a society
> organises itself; how courteous a man should be -
> all this reasoning, as well as its philosophical
> basis, is very valuable.

> If you translate it, you lose all its sense of
> genuineness. Some people say this is Confucian
> thinking, but there is much content in Confucianism
> which is of great help in solving our present
> problems and could be our guiding compass.

> The relationship between the ruler and his officials
> may be an old idea but it has its principles. The
> relationships between father and son, husband and
> wife, among brothers and friends - these same
> principles have been passed down over some 4,000
> years in the same language.
> (Translation according to the Straits Times 10/1/80)

Similarly, Minister Without Portfolio, Lim Chee Onn
speaking at the launching of Speak Mandarin month in 1982
said:

> ...since Mandarin is the mother tongue of the
> Chinese, a knowledge of Mandarin is useful in the
> propagation of Confucianism to keep alive such
> traditional virtues as benevolence, love, loyalty
> and truthfulness.
> (Straits Times 9/10/82)

It is not necessary here to try to assess this and the
other arguments in favour of Huayu (see Newman 1986) or
to chart the course of the campaign in great detail.
However, in attempting to make some assessment of the
present situation and likely future of Huayu in
Singapore, it is necessary to take into account the
intensity of the campaign, easily underestimated if one
has no experience of such campaigns in a country in which

there is little public opposition to government
initiatives and the government can mobilize considerable
official and semi-official resources as well as the mass
media behind its policies. As Harrison puts it: "The
campaigning for Mandarin has not, as far as can be
established, used sky-writing. To find such an omission
has been difficult" (Harrison 1980). As it happens, the
campaign has come close to sky-writing with its use of
large slogan-carrying helium balloons (Nanyang Siang Pau
7/10/82). The following account, then, is not intended as
an exhaustive description of the Speak Mandarin Campaign.
Rather, it is an attempt to give an impression of the
resources that have been and still are being mobilized in
support of the campaign.

The campaign has been vigorously promoted on a number of
fronts since its official launching by the Prime Minister
in 1979. The campaign has also been very long lasting,
even by Singapore standards. In 1981, after two years of
the campaign, it was announced that in every year October
was to be designated Promote Mandarin Month (Tuiguang
Huayu Yue, Nanyang Siang Pau 6/10/81). A slightly
different group is targetted each year. In 1981 the
emphasis was to continue to be on "public places like
coffeeshops, hawker centres, markets, restaurants and
emporiums" (Sunday Times 4/10/81). In 1982, Chinese
workers (Huazú gongyou) were targetted (Nanyang Siang Pau
9/10/82) and in 1983, the focus was to be on hawkers
(Straits Times 18/10/83).

Three general areas of activity can be identified: i)
publicising the aims and rationale of the campaign; ii)
organization of courses in Mandarin and iii)
administrative measures in support of the campaign.

3.2.7.1 Publicity

The mass media have, of course, played a key role here.
Activities of the campaign are fully covered, often on
the front page with banner headlines. For example, soon
after the launching of the campaign, the Nanyang Siang
Pau devoted most of its front page to a report of a
meeting organized by the Singapore Chinese Chamber of
Commerce and Industry of 800 representatives of Huiguan
and other bodies at which motions pledging support for
the Campaign were passed (Nanyang Siang Pau 20/2/79).

Throughout the campaign, major speeches on the subject by
government ministers (particularly Lee Kuan Yew) have
been published in full in both the Chinese and English
press (see also Platt 1985 for the reporting of the
campaign in the English Language press).

The press, particularly the Chinese press, have also
been active in other publicity activities. For example,
thousands of posters with slogans such as "Speak more
Mandarin and less dialects (dūo jiǎng Huáyú, shǎo jiǎng
fāngyán)" and "Use English between different

communities, use Mandarin with the Chinese community (gè

zú zhijian yong yingyu, Huazú zhijian yong Huayu)" were

printed and distributed by the Nanyang Siang Pau and Sin

Chew Jit Poh to hawkers, shopkeepers and taxi-drivers.

The Ministry of Culture has also been involved in such

activities, being reported to have distributed 400,000

posters, stickers, booklets and badges by October 1981

(The Mirror 1/10/81). Banners have also been put up at

bus depots, and posters at bus stops, hawker (cooked

food) centres, markets and such like public places.

Television has been important, particularly in

broadcasting various forums and panel discussions, the

two most notable being one in English ln 1979 led by Lee

Kuan Yew and one in Huayu the following January in

Mandarin, also led by Lee. Television has also been used

to advertise the campaign, most notably by broadcasting

between programmes short dialogues showing people using

Huayu in public places such as hawker centres, post

offices and on buses.

Forums and panel discussions have also been organized at

local level at various community centres and other

institutions.

3.2.7.2   Teaching Huayu

Considerable effort has been put into organising various

kinds of Huayu classes outside the normal school system.

Lessons in conversational Huayu have been broadcast on
television and radio, and a Huayu course recorded on
cassettes was said to have sold 10,000 in the first three
weeks of going on sale (Straits Times 23/1/80). The
Ministry of Culture devised a conversational Huayu
course for civil servants, which all ethnic Chinese civil
servants (except Peranakan) who had to deal with the
public but could not speak Huayu were required to take
(Straits Times 15/1/80). By May 1981, the first batch of
2,359 government officers were reported to have completed
the course (The Mirror 1/10/81). Huayu classes were also
organized by the People's Associations at various
community centres and by July 1981, 1,062 people were
said to have enrolled in such classes (The Mirror
1/10/81)

3.2.7.3 Administrative Measures

In 1979, all government ministries, departments and
statutory boards were instructed to man their counters
with Huayu speaking staff and Chinese officers were told
to stop using dialects while on duty when speaking among
themselves (Straits Time 25/9/79). It was subsequently
announced that proficiency in Huayu would be taken into
account in the promotion of Chinese civil servants (The
Mirror 15/12/79). Taxi-drivers of Chinese ethnicity were
also required to pass an oral test in Huayu in order to
get their licences (Straits Times 1/10/79).

Following the beginning of the Speak Mandarin Campaign,
the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation agreed to step up
its reduction in dialect radio programmes and by 1982,
only short news bulletins and certain traditional
cultural items such as provincial Chinese operas were
still using dialects. The commercial network, Rediffusion
was at first a little slower in reducing dialects and in
1980 the Ministry of Culture announced that Rediffusion
would have to renew its licence every year instead of
every ten years, as the Ministry had "drawn up guidelines
for more use of Huayu over Rediffusion and its serious
implementation would be a condition for renewing the
broadcasting station's licence." (Straits Times 13/6/80).
In 1982, Rediffusion announced that it intended to
achieve 97% Huayu in its Chinese broadcasts by the end of
the year (Straits Times 26/11/82).

Television channels were also required to phase out
dialect programmes. An announcement in late 1979 that the
very popular Hong Kong Cantonese serials would in future
be dubbed into Huayu provoked a considerable amount of
public opposition, which was aired particularly in the
English language press (e.g., Straits Times 2/11/79).
However, the policy was implemented.

3.3 The Roles and Status of Huayu Today

Huayu in Singapore today is clearly in a critical
transitional phase. On the one hand, with the end of

Chinese medium education its traditional speech community - the Chinese educated - will continue to shrink and eventually disappear. On the other hand, there are the increasing emphasis on the requirement of a second school language (Huayu for the ethnic Chinese) and the now almost decade long efforts of the Speak Mandarin campaign to popularize the everyday use of the language by Chinese Singaporeans.

It is, unfortunately, hard to confidently assess present trends as much of the available data is somewhat unreliable. Some of the evidence that will be considered below is inevitably either anecdotal or self report, and in many cases not based upon representative samples. Even the data from the most comprehensive survey, the 1980 census, must be treated with caution. The census was carried out less than one year after the start of the Speak Mandarin Campaign and it is possible that informants might have been tempted to exaggerate the extent of their use of the language. Moreover, there is also the danger that responses will be couched or interpreted in terms of pre-determined categories. For example, Le Page writes that "The enumerators also tell me that the later questions about who spoke what language to whom were frequently either answered by one member of the household for everybody, or sometimes discussed in what was clearly their normal mixed code by several before they came up with an answer couched in terms of a specific 'language' or 'dialect'" (Le Page 1984:120).

Nevertheless, current trends in the use of Huayu in Singapore will be crucial to the future of the language in the country, and this section will review such evidence as is available and can be used, albeit with caution.

3.3.1 Huayu in Schools

The changing status of Huayu in education has already been considered. In future, English will be the first (school) language of the vast majority of Singapore's school population, with Huayu as the second language of those designated as of Chinese ethnicity. However, this does not mean that English will necessarily be the dominant language (i.e., language they are most proficient in) of all these students. For example, several informants in the present study claimed that they spoke Huayu "more fluently and naturally" than English, despite the fact that their secondary education had been entirely in English (see p.128). There is also evidence that the education system, particularly at primary levels, is an area in which the Speak Mandarin Campaign has been particularly successful. Singaporeans or visitors returning to Singapore after a few years away are often quite surprised to hear primary school students or students in the lower years of secondary school speaking Huayu quite naturally to one another where previously they would have expected to hear dialects or

English being used. In many primary schools, particularly
those in some of the new towns, the playground appears to
have become an almost entirely Huayu speaking environment
and the students in such schools are very often much more
fluent in Huayu than in English. Principals and staff
(particularly senior or older staff) at such schools will
sometimes even privately complain that the Speak Mandarin
Campaign has "gone too far" and that the teaching of
English in their schools is being seriously undermined.
In some cases, non-ethnic Chinese parents have removed
their children from such schools for this reason[2]. As
such primary school students move up through the system,
the linguistic environment higher up the system will
clearly also be affected. Already in 1983, several
English stream educated informants expressed to the
author their surprise to find on returning to their
traditionally English medium secondary schools that
pupils were using Huayu in contexts in which only English
and / or dialects would previously have been used.

3.3.2 Huayu as an Intra-Ethnic Lingua Franca

Hokkien has long been the dialect most widely understood
by Chinese Singaporeans, and indeed by Singaporeans of
all ethnic groups. According to a 1978 Survey Research
Singapore survey quoted in Kuo (1980), Hokkien was
understood by over 75% of the population and by 97% of
the Chinese ethnic group, although according to the 1980
census, Hokkiens make up only only about 43% of the

Chinese population of Singapore. Similarly, of the sample
of 46 used for the present study, 8 or 17% claimed to be
able to speak Hokkien at least "quite well", although it
was not the language they had first learned in infancy
(see p.125).

On the face of it, Hokkien seems to be the obvious choice
for a lingua franca among the Chinese. However, its low
status precludes Hokkien from being an appropriate choice
in many more public or formal contexts. As a "dialect",
Hokkien is not regarded as a "proper language". Moreover,
a form of Hokkien has developed incorporating a number of
loan words and expressions from the other dialects and
languages. This variety of Hokkien is known as "Rojak
Hokkien" ("rojak" is a kind of local salad, see Chapter
Fifteen) or simply "Singapore Hokkien" and has been much
deplored. Indeed, one of the reasons for the Speak
Mandarin Campaign was given as the fear of such a
"creolized" language becoming a common language in
Singapore, with, for example, comparison made to the
"valueless" creole of Mauritius (e.g., Forum with Lee
Kuan Yew reported in the Straits Times 10/1/80). Thus,
whilst we might expect Hokkien to persist as a lingua
franca in those domains in which the L(ow) language
(following the usage of Fishman 1971) might typically be
used, for example hawker centres, markets, coffee shops,
among friends and the like, it is in the more public or
formal domains that an increased use of Huayu might be

expected. However, it is in such domains that it is often in competition with English.

It is not easy at this stage to get a clear picture of trends that may be emerging. Huayu tends to be quite widely used in certain types of stores, particularly the chain of Chinese emporiums, and in certain localities, for example markets in Jurong where a large number of Chinese workers from Malaysia (who may be less conversant with Hokkien and English) live and work. However, English seems to be more widely used in places such as the fashionable shopping centres along Orchard Road. In hawker centres, dialects together with English and Malay (the latter language particularly, of course, at Malay foodstalls) seem to be holding their own, despite a great deal of effort directed towards stallholders by activists of the Speak Mandarin Campaign. However, school students have sometimes been observed taking the initiative in using Huayu with hawkers. It is also the writer's experience that if the customer uses Huayu at Chinese foodstalls, in most cases the hawker is able and willing to reply in Huayu , although some of the Huayu terms for local foods as recommended by the Mandarin Standardization Committee (see Chapter Six) are felt to be very awkward and will not always be understood. Similarly, taxi drivers are generally able and more than willing to use Huayu if the passenger uses it first and the chance of having a sustained conversation with a Chinese taxi driver is indoubtedly higher if Mandarin is

the language used than if English is the language used.
In 1981, it was announced that 97% of Chinese taxi
drivers in Singapore could speak Huayu (Sunday Times
20/9/81).

A report prepared by Dr. Eddie Kuo of the National
University of Singapore on surveys of language use in
coffeeshops and restaurants carried out for the Ministry
of Culture by the Chinese press (Nanyang Siang Pau and
Lianhe Zaobao) in 1981, 1982 and 1983 seemed to show no
clear increase in the use of Huayu over the three years.
Many customers who claimed that they could speak Huayu
apparently did not use Huayu in such establishments and
the findings suggested that there had in fact been a
decline in the use of Huayu by customers between 1982 and
1983. Overall, the use of Huayu by customers in coffee
shops and restaurants was reported to be low, the
majority of customers (70%) claiming that dialects were
generally used (*The Use of Mandarin in Restaurants and
Coffee Shops: a comparison of 1981, 1982 and 1983 surveys*
by Eddie C.Y. Kuo, as quoted in Anderson 1985). However,
as with most of the data presently available, these
findings must be treated with caution as they are based
upon interviews of customers and workers carried out
mainly by secondary and university students and, as Dr.
Kuo admits, the survey was not based upon a random sample
and the results may not be strictly comparable from year
to year (The Sunday Times 23/10/83).

Huayu may be making headway in some more formal domains.
The Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, some
huiguan and other Chinese-based institutions now use
mainly Huayu in conducting meetings and Huayu can be
heard more in governent and quasi government
organizations which deal with the general public.
However, it would be rash to claim that Huayu has already
become the major *lingua franca* among Chinese
Singaporeans.

3.3.3 Television and Radio

Radio and in particular television are likely to have a
great influence on the maintenance and possible spread of
Huayu . According to 1980 statistics, 90% of Singaporeans
aged 15 and above lived in homes with at least one
television set and about 65% of them watched some
television in an average day (Straits Times 14/9/80). In
1981, 9 out of the 10 most popular television programmes
were in Huayu, with the last surviving Cantonese serial -
The Brothers - topping the list. Such Hong Kong made
programmes have continued to be very popular in
Singapore, despite now being dubbed into Huayu.

3.3.4 Huayu in the Home

The most comprehesive source of data on language use in
the home is the 1980 census, which included questions on
what languages or dialects are spoken in the household

and what principal language or dialect ("by definition the one he used most frequently but not necessarily exclusively") an individual uses at home with various family members. The relevant findings for the Chinese ethnic group are set out below.

Table 3.1 Private Households where the Head of Household is Chinese by Languages Spoken

Mono-lingual

Huayu	8.4 %
Hokkien	29.1 %
Teochew	13.4 %
Cantonese	13.8 %
Other Chinese dialects	6.0 %
English	8.5 %
Malay	0.3 %
Others	0.05 %

Multi-lingual

Huayu and Chinese Dialects (without English)	12.5 %
Huayu and English (with or without dialects)	3.8 %

Two or More Chinese

Dialects   3.4 %

English and Malay   0.3 %

English and Tamil   0.003 %

English and Non-official

Languages   0.02 %

Other Combinations   0.4%

Total No. of Households: 318,209   (100%)

Source: 1980 Census of Population, Release 8, Table 81

This indicates that, not surprisingly, Chinese dialects are dominant in homes. However, whilst slightly more households claimed to be monolingual in English than monolingual in Huayu , the total claimed use of Huayu either alone or combination is 24.7 %, compared to only 12.6 % for English.

Table 3.2 <u>Chinese Aged 5 Years and Over by Principal</u>

<u>Language Spoken to Parents</u>

Huayu   7.4 %

Hokkien   40.8 %

Teochew   20.2 %

Cantonese   16.1 %

Other Chinese Dialects 10.1 %

English   5.4 %

Total individuals: 898,092 (100%)

Households with no parents are excluded

Source: Census of Population 1980, Release 8, Table 10

Table 3.3 <u>Chinese Aged 5 Years and Over by Principal</u>

<u>Language Spoken to Siblings</u>

Huayu   12.4 %

Hokkien   35.8 %

Teochew   16.5 %

Cantonese   12.8 %

Other Chinese Dialects 7.3 %

English   14.8 %

Others   0.3

Total no. of individuals: 868,564 (100%)

This excludes cases where are no brothers or sisters in
the household.

Source: Census of Population 1980, Release 8, Table 10

This indicates that both Huayu and English are more likely to be used with siblings than with parents. This is hardly surprising, as the younger generation are likely to have received more education and therefore more exposure to these languages than the older generation. Tables 3.4 and 3.5 are even more interesting (note that these tables include all ethnic groups).

Table 3.4 Persons Aged 5 Years and Over by Age Group and Principal Language Spoken to Parents

| | AGE | | | |
	5-14	15-24	25-39	40 and over
Huayu	11.6	2.3	1.2	0.8
Chinese Dialects	54.4	70.0	78.1	82.5
English	9.0	4.8	3.9	3.2
Malay	17.1	18.0	12.6	10.7
Tamil	3.3	3.6	3.0	1.8
Others	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.0

Source: Census of Population 1980, Release no. 3, Table 8.2

Table 3.5 <u>Persons Aged 5 Years and Over by Age Group and</u>
<u>Principal Language Spoken to Siblings</u>

| | AGE | | | |
	5-14	15-24	25-39	40 and Over
Huayu	14.4	7.0	6.0	2.6
Chinese Dialects	51.8	55.7	62.1	68.7
English	12.5	16.2	16.3	9.4
Malay	17.0	17.3	12.4	14.2
Tamil	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.3
Others	1.3	0.8	0.7	1.8

Source: as for table 4 above

This indicates a definite trend for those in the younger
age groups to use Huayu both with their parents and each
other. Although dialects still predominate, more of the
5-14 age group claimed to use Huayu than English to both
parents and siblings and fewer claimed to use English to
siblings than those in the 15-24 age group. This may well

be a result of the increased emphasis in primary schools
on language learning in general and, in particular, the
increasingly widespread use of Huayu in many primary
schools.

3.3.5 The Future for Huayu in Singapore

Ten years ago, the future for Huayu in Singapore looked
very bleak. Chinese medium education was on its last legs
and there seemed no role for Huayu in a society in which
English was the major language in the public domains of
commerce, industry, government, law, education and so on
and, among the Chinese, dialects were well entrenched in
the private domains of the home, among friends and so on.
However, much has happened in the last ten years. Even if
all the posters, slogans, speeches and so on may turn out
to have little lasting effect on patterns of language use
among adults, particularly in private domains, there is
evidence that a substantial portion of the generation of
Chinese children who have begun their primary education
since the late 1970's are growing up using Huayu rather
than dialects among themselves and perhaps developing
greater proficiency in Huayu than in English. Today,
predicting the future sociolinguistic profile of
Singapore is not so easy as it seemed ten years ago.

3.4 The Linguistic Development of Singapore Huayu

3.4.1 Development of a "Chinese Educated" Norm

As we have seen, until quite recently the vast majority
of speakers of Huayu in Singapore were products of
Chinese medium education. Huayu became for many a
language of everyday use as well as a medium of
instruction at school. It also had political and cultural
significance and was felt to be part of what it meant to
be Chinese. It is among this group that a distinct
Singapore Huayu or Singapore / Malayan Huayu developed.

The mother tongue dialects of the majority of learners
of Huayu in Singapore inevitably influenced they way they
spoke the language. Certain lexical items and
grammatical patterns in Singapore Huayu are probably in
origin calques of expressions in one or other of the
southern dialects (for example, the yŏu+Verb
constructions, see 7.3.1 and 7.3.2). Some of the
pronunciation features of Singapore Huayu can also be
traced to influences from southern dialects, though often
less conclusively (see, for example, 12.13).

Another possible influence on the development of
Singapore Huayu was the Mandarin pronunciation of the
early teachers. As we have seen, for most of the first
three decades of the history of Huayu in Singapore, China
was the main source of trained teachers for the Chinese

schools. However, many of these may have come from areas in which the Mandarin pronunciation was quite different from the standard Beijing pronunciation. As Purcell, referring to the period of the 1920's and 1930's, notes: "Kuoyu was taught with varying success. Many of the teachers came from provinces in China where the Mandarin spoken was not pure" (Purcell 1967:223). Thus, many of the features of Singapore Huayu can be argued , with equal plausibility, as originating in interference from southern dialects, such as Hokkien and Cantonese, or from non standard dialects of Mandarin (see, for example, rusheng 12.13).

The other languages spoken in Singapore and Malaya (as it then was), especially Malay and English also provided elements for Singapore Huayu. Malay tended to supply words peculiar to the local environment and /or Malay culture and English supplied mainly words in the area of technology (particularly transport), government and the legal system.

The variety of Mandarin that developed was, however, not just a hodge podge of language transfer features. Graduates from the Chinese middle schools and later also from Nanyang University provided speech models of a de-facto educated norm and Singapore Huayu seems to have developed into a reasonably *focussed* (to use Le Page's 1978 term) variety. For example, in an article published in 1967, Png Poh Seng notes many of the same nonstandard

features of the Huayu spoken in Singapore and Malaya as
are described in the present study and states that:

> The subjects from whom the examples have been
> derived range from school pupils to workers,
> shopkeepers, merchants, teachers and university
> graduates. It is interesting to note that with few
> exceptions (comprising mainly those who have studied
> in China, including Taiwan) the difference in
> Mandarin pronunciation between, say, a local
> university graduate and a shopkeeper is not very
> marked....It reflects among other things, the
> relative absence of social classification in the
> schools attended by the Chinese educated group in
> Singapore and Malaya.
>
> (Png 1967:47)

This may be an exaggeration. However, as has been
outlined earlier in this chapter, until fairly recently
speakers of Huayu in Singapore were nearly all products
of a very similar education in which Huayu was the major
(and in some cases virtually the only) medium of
instruction and communication. Chinese medium education
tended to promote loyalties and values quite different
from those promoted by English medium education.
Moreover, the graduates of Chinese medium middle schools
or from Nanyang University often found themselves at a
disadvantage in the job market when compared to graduates
from English medium secondary schools or the University
of Singapore. The Chinese educated were thus in many

ways a distinct group with Huayu as their badge of identity and solidarity[3]. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that the Huayu spoken by this group should exhibit less variation and have a more focussed norm than may be the case with the Huayu spoken in Singapore today.

Another possible reason for the relative homogeneity of the Singapore Huayu in earlier decades is that the great concern to acquire a more standard Beijing-like Mandarin is a relatively recent phenomenon. According to several informants, in the Chinese medium schools until quite recently, the teachers progressively used more and more Huayu in the classroom until the students were able to use the language themselves. The students simply imitated the pronunciation of their teachers. Prior to the introduction of Hanyu Pinyin romanization (see below), there seems to have been little attempt to systematically teach the phonetics of the Beijing pronunciation, although the *Zhuyin Fuhao* (see p.145) was sometimes taught and used mainly for reference purposes.

At least two factors have affected this picture of a relatively focussed Singapore Huayu speech community. One is increased range in those learning Huayu and the other is an increasing concern with the exonormative Beijing based standard.

3.4.2 A Changing Speech Community

The changes in the education system outlined above have meant that the "Chinese educated" as a distict group is disappearing and that the proportion of Singaporeans learning Huayu as a first school language has become smaller and smaller and the proportion learning it as a second language has become greater. This, together with the recent pressure on those adult Chinese who do not know the language to learn it, has resulted in a great deal of variation among Chinese Singaporeans in their exposure to, proficiency in and use of Huayu . The Singapore Huayu speech community today is very much what Saville-Troike calls a "soft shelled" speech community (Saville-Troike 1982). This inevitably has an effect on the degree of variation in the language.

3.4.3 Contending Norms

Efforts to promote the prescribed standard for Singapore Huayu have, in effect, set up a contending norm for Singapore speakers. The standard for Huayu in Singapore has always been exonormative, i.e., has always been essentially the same as for *Guoyu* (later *Putonghua*) in China. However, as mentioned above, the Huayu that developed in Singapore had a de-facto norm that differed from the prescribed standard in various respects. The great concern about the gap between the way Singaporeans spoke Huayu and the prescribed standard seems to be a

relatively recent phenomenon. The Speak Mandarin
Campaign, in particular, has been concerned with
promoting not only greater use of Huayu but also the use
of a more standard variety of the language.

Measures taken to promote the prescribed standard have
included the introduction and popularization of the Hanyu
Pinyin system of romanization, the re-training of
teachers of Chinese, the preparation of new teaching
materials, the publicizing of standardized terms and the
ensuring that models of "correct" pronunciation are
presented over the air. Some of these measures will be
briefly described below (greater detail on the prescribed
standard and its status will be given in Chapter Six)

3.4.3.1 Hanyu Pinyin and the Promotion of the Prescribed
Standard

The Hanyu Pinyin (or just "Pinyin") system of
romanization of the standard pronunciation is now widely
used in the teaching of Huayu in Singapore. This system
recognizes distinctions not generally made by Singapore
speakers, such as between retroflex and dental initials
(7.2.1). It also does not recognize some distinctions
which many Singapore speakers do make, such as between
rusheng and non-rusheng zi (see Chapter Eleven). This, of
course, does not necessarily mean that learners will
adopt a more standard like pronunciation, particularly
as, according to Bloom, Pinyin "is imposed on students in

Primary Four, long after they have become proficient in a

Southern Chinese accent that deviates from that

represented by Pinyin at several important points, so

that the new spelling system comes across at first as a

fresh and apparently arbitrary burden on the children

rather than as an aid to learning" (Bloom 1986:382).

However, since January 1981, Chinese pre-primary and

Primary One students have had to at least get used to the

Pinyin spellings and the Huayu pronunciations of their

own names, as the Ministry of Education required that

from January that year only Pinyin (and therefore Huayu

and not dialect) versions of their names were to be used

in school (Straits Times 6/3/81 and 16/3/81).

Efforts have also been made to promote the use of Pinyin

outside the school system, as part of the Speak Mandarin

Campaign. Booklets and posters giving the Pinyin names of

foods were distributed to stallholders in hawker centres

and markets (Straits Times 5/1/81) and it was made

compulsory for Chinese stallholders moving into new

markets to display menus in Pinyin (English translations

optional). This involves not only spelling according to

the standard pronunciation but also using the

standardized Huayu names for local foods. The results of

these efforts may be somewhat mixed. Many names of local

foods are rather strange or even quite unrecognizable in

Pinyin. As one stallholder was reported as saying, the

change in name did not matter very much to hawkers and

customers and that "Most of my customers still order 'bah

kut teh' (pork rib and tea) instead of <u>rou gu cha</u>."

(Straits Times 3/6/81). The Pinyin foodnames displayed on

a stall photographed in the same article in fact had five

mistakes in nine zi (<u>Yapeng zhouzha cincai roukoucha</u> for

<u>Yaping zhufan xiancai rougucha</u> "Yaping pig's entrails,

salted vegetables, pork rib tea").

3.4.3.2 The Prescribed Standard in Schools

Much effort has also gone into "improving" the

pronunciation of teachers of Chinese in schools and

presenting recorded models of the standard pronunciation.

This will be covered in more detail in Chapter Six.

3.4.3.3 The Prescribed Standard in Broadcasting

Announcers of the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation are

required to present a model of pronunciation as close to

the standard as possible (for more details, see Chapter

Six). Lessons on the standard pronunciation have also

been broadcast on radio and television, often presenting

in amusing ways the supposed misunderstandings that can

arise if local Huayu pronunciations are used.

3.4.3.4 The Prescribed Standard in The Press

The press has also had a role to play in increasing

awareness of the prescribed standard. This has included

printing the lists of standardized terms for foods

recommended by the Mandarin Standardization Committee (Nanyang Siang Pau 24/8/80), lessons in Pinyin and occasional articles on common pronunciation mistakes. The press has also tried to encourage the belief that the development of a standard pronunciation is both a desirable and realizable goal for Singapore speakers. For example, three announcers of Radio Singapore were praised for having not been:

> afraid to speak standard Mandarin, even though their peers showed scorn at their limitation [sic ?imitation] of the Beijing accent.

> But, they knew they were doing the right thing and so, went ahead to work hard at it

> Today, they are enjoying the sweet fruits of success. They speak good Mandarin to millions of listeners here and far beyond out national frontier, much to the admiration of those who scorned them during those trying years.
> (Straits Times 15/10/79)

Thus, speakers of Huayu in Singapore are increasingly being exposed to and urged to adopt a standard variety different from the old de-facto "Chinese educated norm".

3.5 Some Dimensions of Variation in Singapore
   Huayu

We shall now consider what are likely to be the major
dimensions of sociolinguistic variation in Singapore
Huayu, in the light of the above discussion of the
development and current status of the language in
Singapore. An indication will also be given of which
areas will be the main focii of this study.

3.5.1 Competition between the Prescribed Standard and De-
    facto Norm(s)

Competition between the prescribed standard and the de-
facto norm or norms can be seen as the source of much
variation in Singapore Huayu. As we have seen,
Singaporean speakers are exposed to standard or very
near standard varieties of Huayu in the mass media and to
some extent through the education system, and are under
increasing pressure to adopt the prescribed standard
variety as a target norm. However, they may also be
exposed to (and use) quite different varieties of Huayu
in their interactions with other Singaporeans, including
the variety used by even the most educated "Chinese
educated" for decades. Much spoken Singapore Huayu
exhibits a great deal of variation between nonstandard
and standard (or near standard) features. It will be
argued that some nonstandard features of Singapore Huayu
may be giving way under pressure from the the prescribed

standard, whilst other nonstandard features show no sign of doing so, except perhaps in certain atypical contexts. In other words, a new de-facto norm for Singapore Huayu may be developing which will be a compromise between an earlier norm or norms and the prescribed standard.

Chapter Seven will identify and describe some of the nonstandard features which do not seem to be giving way in face of the pressure from the prescribed standard and Chapters Nine to Fourteen will look at patterns of variation in the occurrence of some of the most variable nonstandard features, some of which may be undergoing diachronic change towards the prescribed standard.

3.5.1.1 Linguistic Change, Salience and Social Evaluation

The notion of *salience* will be used in attempts to explain why some nonstandard features are subject to change whilst others appear not to be. Salience is a term used to refer to characteristics which make a particular linguistic feature more prominent than another. Trudgill (1986) places great importance on salience as a factor in inter-dialectal accommodation and imitation[4]. The claim in the present thesis is that change in the direction of the standard variety is most likely to occur where the difference between a particular nonstandard feature and its standard equivalent is most salient. In the case of

phonological features, salience may be related to phonological status and phonetic distance. In other words, where phonological contrast is involved, the difference between two features is more likely to be salient to speakers. Similarly, the greater the phonetic distance between two features the more salient the difference is likely to be. The notion of salience will be used not only to try to explain why some nonstandard features are subject to change whilst others seem not to be, but also why some phonological environments seem to favour a certain variant more than other environments. It will be argued that a particular standard feature may be acquired first in environments in which it is most prominent or salient.

It may also be that differences at certain levels of language are likely to be less salient than differences at other levels. Thus, in general, speakers seem to be much less aware of grammatical differences between Singapore Huayu and the prescribed standard than of phonological and lexical differences.

However, awareness by speakers that a particular feature of Singapore Huayu diverges from the prescribed standard may not alone be sufficient to motivate them to adopt its standard equivalent. A further motivating factor may be *social evaluation* of the feature. If, for example, there has developed a generally shared evaluation of a particular standard feature as characteristic of "good

Huayu" or "educated Huayu" and of its nonstandard
equivalent as characteristic of "bad Huayu" or
"uneducated Huayu", then speakers may be more motivated
to adopt the standard variant. On the other hand, as
Trudgill (1986) points out, a feature may sometimes be
"too salient". In other words, it may become a *stereotype*
(see 3.5.3 below) and its adoption resisted. Thus, in the
case of the present study, certain features of the
prescribed standard seem to be perceived as stereotypical
of Beijing Mandarin and as inappropriate for use when
Singaporeans are talking to other Singaporeans.   These
are the kinds of social motivations for linguistic
change which have been much investigated in (usually)
monolingual speech communities by Labov (e.g., Labov
1963, Labov 1966) and others inspired by his pioneering
work.

3.5.2 Proficiency Variation

As we have seen, Huayu is at least a second language for
the majority of its speakers in Singapore and speakers
differ greatly in the amount of formal instruction they
have had in the language and in their exposure to and use
of the language in their daily lives. Differences in
levels of proficiency are therefore a dimension of
variation which needs to be taken into account.
Unfortunately, however, proficiency is a somewhat
difficult concept to apply in the present study. We do
not want to measure proficiency in terms of closeness of

approximation to the prescribed standard forms, as this ignores the possibility of contending target norms and sociolectal variation. Generally, in this study proficiency has been equated with fluency and communicative effectiveness in Huayu. Excessive hesitation and frequent and obvious mother tongue transfer are seen as possible symptoms of low proficiency in Huayu (although, of course, low proficiency need not be the only motivation for such types of linguistic behaviour). Speakers who exhibited such symptoms were therefore not included among the 46 informants from whom the bulk of the data for this study is drawn (see Chapter Five). However, this dimension of variation will be relevant in the investigation of language contact phenomena (especially in Chapter Fifteen).

3.5.3 Sociolectal Variation

This refers to linguistic variation which is related to aspects of the social identity of the speaker. Such sociolectal variation has been the focus of much work in sociolinguistics since Labov's study of the social stratification of English in New York (Labov 1966). This dimension of variation is, of course, closely related to the question of motivation for linguistic change (social evaluation) discussed at 3.5.1.1 above and to the question of language indigenization. In Singapore, sociolectal variation is likely to be multi-dimensional, with factors such as age, sex, class (which itself may

subsume various parameters), level of education, medium of education, parents' or siblings' media of education, mother tongue, dialect group membership (not necessarily the same as mother tongue, see p.133), religious affiliation and so on, all possibly related to differences in linguistic behaviour. In the present study, four of these factors will be investigated: mother tongue, level of education, sex and age group.

3.5.4   Registerial Variation

This is variation according to the social contexts in which the language is being used and the purposes for which it is being used (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964). In the process of indigenization in its new cultural context, Singapore Huayu may have developed forms of registerial variation different from those in the standard language.

There is, of course, frequently a close inter-connection between sociolectal variation and registerial variation, with certain social dialects being associated with certain registers (Halliday and Hasan 1985). Labov, in fact, distinguishes three kinds of linguistic variables, which he calls *indicators, markers and stereotypes*. *Indicators* show patterns of variation related only to the social identities of the speakers, i.e., they are involved only in sociolectal variation. *Markers* in addition show patterns of variation related to the

context of situation, i.e., they are also involved in registerial variation. *Stereotypes* are markers which are salient enough to members of the speech community to be overtly commented upon or imitated (Labov 1966, 1970, 1972b). In Singapore Huayu, we shall also find evidence for these three types of linguistic variable.

Speakers of Singapore Huayu inevitably differ greatly in the range of registerial variation they control. Speakers who use Huayu in a large number of contexts of situation are clearly likely to have a much greater range of functional variation in their Huayu (although not necessarily realised in the same way as in the Mandarin spoken by monolinguals outside Singapore) than speakers who use Huayu in only very restricted contexts of situation.

As most of the linguistic data for this study comes from a single register - that of the sociolinguistic interview - it will not be possible to investigate in any depth the extent to which Singapore Huayu may have developed unique forms of registerial variation. However, some use will be made of anecdotal evidence for a limited discussion of particular forms of registerial variation (14.6 and 15.8). Also, within the interview data, a difference in *mode* (the role language is playing in the speech situation, Halliday 1978) will be investigated, in this case the difference between "talking" and "reading aloud". This essentially makes use of Labov's notion of a

dimension of "style" which is "measured by the amount of
attention paid to speech" (Labov 1972b:208), i.e., in
careful, self monitored speech, there is likely to be a
higher frequency of prestige phonological variants than
in less careful speech and such variants are likely also
to be associated with more formal contexts of situation.
Registerial variation will also be touched upon in the
investigation of the particle la (Chapter Fourteen).

3.5.5 Variation Related to Language Contact

Variation related to language contact may take a number
of forms. Firstly, there are features which are variable
in the speech of all or most speakers of Singapore Huayu,
whatever their mother tongues. However, the patterns of
variation may be related to differences in the speakers'
mother tongues, indicating some kind of language transfer
effect. For example, speakers with one mother tongue may
use the standard variant significantly more frequently
than speakers with another mother tongue. If the mother
tongue of the first group has a feature similar to the
standard variant, it can be hypothesized that this makes
it "easier" for this group to acquire the standard
variant. Such features may also be related to sociolectal
and registerial variation, illustrating the "crossover"
from interference feature to sociolinguistic marker that
might be expected in an "indigenizing" situation (see,
for example, the (ü) variable, Chapter Nine).

Secondly, there are features that are much more sporadic
in occurrence and can be much more directly attributable
to language contact. Such language contact phenomena
range from switching between Huayu and other clearly
distinct languages or dialects (i.e., what is usually
called "code-switching"), through various kinds of
borrowing and calquing to varieties of speech which
exhibit such a degree of convergence or amalgamation that
one hesitates to label them as Huayu at all.

The occurrence of these kinds of language contact
phenomena may often be related to the proficiency
dimension. However, what are clearly language transfer
elements can also sometimes be exploited by perfectly
proficient speakers for the purposes of registerial
variation (see 15.8).

The above language contact phenomena need to be clearly
distinguished from what may be called substratum features
(Robins 1980). These are features which may have
originated in language transfer, but are now learned as
part of a general norm for Singapore Huayu. Thus, for
example, lack of retroflexion (both syllable initially
and syllable finally, see Chapter Seven) in the Singapore
Huayu of most speakers could be related to the lack of
such a feature in the southern dialects spoken in
Singapore. However, a non-retroflex variety is now
learned by Singapore speakers as a general norm.
Similarly, the yŏu+VERB [non past] construction (see

7.3.2) may be calque of a Hokkien construction. However, it is now also part of a general norm for Singapore speakers, whatever their mother tongue may be.

NOTES

1. *Fujian*, *Fukien* (or *Fukkien*) and *Hokkien* all refer to the same province and are based on the Mandarin, Cantonese and Hokkien pronunciations of the name respectively. Generally, only the first two terms are used in English to refer to the province, whilst *Hokkien* is used to refer to the *Minnan* (Southern Min) dialects of which the standard form is the speech of Xiamen (Amoy).

2. I am grateful to expatriate lecturers at the Singapore Institute of Education for much of this information.

3. As in any generalization, there is a danger of exaggeration here. As Benjamin (1976) remarks: "..Singaporeans can frequently argue, for example, about the supposedly different attitudes to life of the Chinese educated as opposed to the English educated, conveniently ignoring the fact that very many groups of siblings who continue to live in the same households are split along these lines" (p.121). This is so. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that at least until the 1960's there were real differences between the Chinese educated and English educated worlds. For example Lee Kuan Yew recalls:

    we [= the mainly English educated founders of the PAP] drew up plans for the setting up of the PAP. Then one day in 1954 we came into contact with the Chinese-educated world.....We bridged a gap to the

Chinese-educated world -- a world teeming with
vitality, dynamism and revolution, a world which the
communists had been working for the past thirty
years with considerable success.

(Quoted in Murray 1971:86-87)

4. Although this chapter was written before I had access
to Trudgill (1986), his discussion of salience and
dialect contact has been very useful in clarifying my
ideas in this area.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROSODIC / SYSTEMIC PHONOLOGY AND VARIABLE RULE ANALYSIS

4.1 Prosodic / Systemic Phonology

The perspective provided by Professor M.A.K. Halliday's prosodic / systemic analysis of the Mandarin syllable (Halliday 1985), has been found useful in the description of certain phonological features of Singapore Huayu and in the interpretation of their patterns of variation. As prosodic / systemic phonology is not well known and, in particular, Halliday's 1985 analysis is not yet available in published form, some basic principles of prosodic / systemic phonology will be briefly reviewed and features of Halliday's analysis which are relevant to this study will be described.

As the name *prosodic / systemic* suggests, systemic phonology is a development from the approach generally known as *prosodic analysis* which is associated with the "London School" of linguistics and particularly with the name of J.R. Firth (see Firth 1948). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive account of either prosodic analysis or systemic phonology (for overviews of prosodic analysis see Robins 1957, Hill 1966 and Sommerstein 1977, for systemic phonology see

Prakasam 1972 and 1977, and Mock 1985). However, some basic principles of prosodic analysis and their development in systemic phonology will be outlined below.

4.1.1   Prosodies, Phonematic Units and Realizations

It has, of course, always been recognized that the "cutting up" of the phonic substance into minimal segments strung out in a linear sequence is a step in abstraction, albeit a useful abstraction for the development of phonetics and phonology. However, much phonological analysis (both structural and generative) has tended to take this segmentation for granted. This has sometimes required the exercise of a certain amount of ingenuity in phonological analysis and representation to account for what Sommerstein calls "feature smear" which "occurs whenever the same phonetic peculiarity, or set of closely related phonic peculiarities, are found in several successive segments over a domain clearly delimitable in phonological terms" (Sommerstein 1977:24).

In prosodic analysis, such "smeared features" may be treated non-segmentally and abstracted as *prosodies*. In other words, they may be treated analagously to the ways features of tone and intonation are regularly treated even in segmental phonologies. It is interesting that in recent years, phonologists in America have begun to develop very similar forms of non-segmental analyses (see, for example, Goldsmith 1979 and 1987).

It is also worth noting that the segmentation
characteristic of much modern phonology does not always
accord with native intuition, particularly in languages
which do not have a long history of alphabetization. The
Chinese syllable, for example, was traditionally divided
into the *shengmu* -(optional) initial consonant - and the
yunmu (sometimes called "rhyme" or "final") - everything
else in the syllable. Thus, for example, a syllable such
as guang (in the Pinyin transcription of Standard
Mandarin) would be analyzed as g+uang. Even today,
despite the widespread use in China of Pinyin
romanization as a teaching aid, students still "spell"
Chinese syllables (or zi) in this way, i.e., by first
saying the *shengmu* usually followed by [ə] and then the
yunmu and finally the whole syllable (see Ramsay 1987).
The further segmention of the *yunmu* of, for example
guang, into a glide, nuclear vowel and final nasal stop
is very much western inspired.

Prosodic Analysis recognizes various kinds of prosodies,
although some more in theory than practice. In principle,
any feature which is "smeared" or has implications beyond
a single phonetic segment may be regarded as a prosody
(Bendor-Samuel 1966). The major types which will concern
us here are *distributive* and *demarcative* (or *diagnostic*)
prosodies (Robins 1957).

Distributive prosodies are features which are realized continuously or discontinuously over a particular structure. There may thus be distributive prosodies of phonological structures such as the syllable, the foot and the tone group or of grammatical structures such as the word and the clause. This thesis will be concerned with prosodies only at the level of the syllable.

A demarcative prosody may be any feature which is diagnostic of a particular place in a structure (whether or not it is realized phonetically over more than one segment). The most common type of such prosodies described in the literature is the *junction prosody* which marks a boundary between two structural units, for example between two syllables or two morphemes. However, in principle any feature which marks a particular place in a structure (e.g., syllable initial, nucleus or final) can be treated prosodically (Firth 1948, Robins 1957).

In a prosodic analysis, phonetic elements which are "left over" once all prosodies have been abstracted (i.e., have no implications beyond a single segment or place) are known as *phonematic units.* Exponence or *realization* statements (the latter term is now generally preferred) link prosodies and phonematic units with the phonic substance, i.e., they give an explicit account of the phonetic realizations of the prosodies and phonematic units. It is worth noting that prosodic analysts have generally been concerned to account for the maximum

amount of phonic detail, i.e., their phonological analyses have generally been based upon much "narrower" phonetic transcriptions than phonologists of other schools.

Halliday's 1985 systemic analysis of the Mandarin syllable (described in greater detail below) dispenses entirely with phonematic units. That is, the phonetics of the syllable are generated entirely prosodically. This is achieved by making use of the notion of demarcative prosodies. Thus, for example, some of the selections in the PLACE system have no effect beyond one segment. However, they mark a specific structural place (the syllable onset) and can therefore be treated as prosodies of the syllable.

4.1.2 Polysystemicity

Prosodic analysis is polysystemic in that it recognizes that there may be different systems of phonological options for different grammatical classes, different strata of the lexis (for example, loan words and "native" words, Henderson 1951) and for different structural places. Moreover, there need be no identification between an option (or *term*) in one system and that in another system which has a phonetically similar realization. i.e., there is no "biuniqueness" requirement and complementary distribution is no grounds for grouping phonetic realizations into single units. Thus, for

example, the alveolar nasal stop which occurs finally in the Mandarin syllable need not be identified with the alveolar nasal stop which occurs syllable initially.

Systemic phonology is similarly polysystemic in that there are different systems for different structures and a phonetic realization of an option in one system is not identified with a similar phonetic realization of an option in another system. However, unlike in prosodic analysis, the systems are integrated into networks. Systemic phonology has not, so far at least, attempted separate analyses of, for example, different grammatical classes or different lexical strata, although there is, in principle, no reason why this should not be done.

4.1.3 Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic

It is sometimes said that prosodic analysis pays more attention to the syntagmatic axis and less to the paradigmatic axis than other approaches (see, for example, Lass 1984). This is true only in the sense that, unlike phonemic analysis, a prosodic analysis does not imply that all options in the phonology are open at each segment in a linear string. However, prosodic analysis and, even more explicitly, systemic phonology are, like systemic grammar in general, essentially paradigmatic in orientation. That is, the choice among features in a system is primary and syntagmatic relations are the

result of realizations of particular (paradigmatic) choices.

4.1.4 System and Network

Taking essentially the same approach to phonological analysis as prosodic analysis, systemic phonology in addition utilizes the techniques of systemic linguistics for the formal representation of systems and their integration into *networks*. This aspect of systemic phonology is not of direct relevance to this thesis. However, very briefly, a system is a set of mutually exclusive options or terms each with the same *entry conditions* (i.e., an option in a prior system). Systems are organized into networks such that systems of more abstract or less *delicate* options are prior to and provide the entry conditions for systems of more delicate options. As with prosodic analysis, options and combinations of options are linked to the phonic substance by statements of exponence or realization. A sample of Halliday's 1985 system network for the Mandarin syllable is given in Appendix Two.

4.2 Halliday's 1985 Systemic Phonological Analysis of the Mandarin Syllable

As Halliday's 1985 Systemic Phonological analysis of the Mandarin Syllable is not yet available in published form, its major features will be outlined here.

Both Halliday 1959 and Halliday 1985 are essentially
prosodic analyses of the Mandarin syllable. However, the
major differences in the latter work is that firstly,
the phonetics of the syllable are accounted for entirely
prosodically and secondly, the sets of paradigmatic
options are represented as systems and integrated into a
network using the techniques mentioned above.

4.2.1 The Phonetic Data

The phonetic data was collected in Beijing in 1947-1949.
Some of this data is given in Appendix One.

4.2.2   Posture Prosodies

Examination of the phonetic quality of the vowels which
are written a in Pinyin, reveals some regular patterns.
Comparing syllables such as zhao, zhai and zha, there
are clear differences in the quality of the a:

ʤʐɐɔ   ʤʐɑɛ   ʤʐɑ

i.e., in segmental terms, the a can be said to be
"conditioned" by or to "assimilate to" the quality of the
following vocalic element.

On the other hand, if the a is preceded by an u or i as
in zhua or jia, there is no such "conditioning" effect,
other than some slight (and variable) fronting in jia.

$$d_z\check{z}'a \sim d_z z'a \qquad d_z\check{z}^ua$$

However, if the a occurs between the two vowels, as in
jiao and zhuai, the "assimilatory" effect is again
present. For example:

$$d_z\check{z}'v\mathfrak{d} \qquad d_z\check{z}^u\mathfrak{x}\varepsilon$$

Thus, the vowel nucleus is dominated by the syllable
periphery, with regressive effects being stronger than
progressive effects.

This pattern is paralleled in the nasal syllables, with
the front nasal n having exactly the same "assimilatory
effect" as i and the back nasal ng having exactly the
same "assimilatory effect" as u. For example:

$$d_z\check{z}v\mathfrak{y} \qquad d_z\check{z}\mathfrak{x}\cap$$
$$d_z\check{z}'v\mathfrak{y} \qquad d_z\check{z}^u\mathfrak{x}\cap$$

Thus, phonologically, ng and n can be regarded as nasal
"equivalents" of final u and i. However, whilst there
are no oral syllables such as *jiai and *zhuau, there are
nasal syllables such as jian and zhuang. In these cases,
the "assimilatory effect" on the a is even greater. For
example:

$$d_\iota'\varepsilon\cap \qquad d_z\check{z}^u\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{y}$$

In other words, the i and the n or the u and the ng are
both "pulling" in the same direction.

Prosodically, the Mandarin syllable can thus be conceptualized as having a structure with a beginning at which certain effects take place and an ending with effects flowing backwards.

These initial and final movements or *postures* are symbolized as y, realized by fronting and raising; w, realized by backing and rounding and a, neutral i.e., neither of the other two.

These two systems of initial and final posture prosodies, each consisting of the terms y, w and a, entirely account for the quality of the vocalic nuclei of all syllables (not just those with low vowels exemplified above), with the exception of a three way opposition in height (see 4.2.4 below). Thus, for example, there is a perceptible phonetic difference between the vowel nuclei of jin [dʐin] and jing [dʐiɻ] and between the vowel nuclei of zhen [dʐʑn] and zheng [dʐʑŋ], although these sometimes tend to get "edited out" in segmental analyses.

There are, however, some systematic gaps in the phonology. Most notably, there are no oral y-y or w-w syllables. In other words, in oral syllables either neutral (a) or shifting postures must be selected.

In segmental analyses (both phonemic and generative) of, for example, the syllables with a low vowel nucleus looked at above, an a̱ phoneme or "underlying" low vowel is posited, conditioned by preceding and following segments (see Hartman 1944 and Cheng 1973a). However, this does not show so clearly the nature of the processes working in from the syllable margins. Moreover, the recognition of ng̱ and ṉ as nasal "equivalents" of u̱ and i̱ makes for a more economical analysis and accounts for more of the phonetic facts, for example, the tendency for rounding to persist throughout nasal syllables which have w̱ postures initially and finally (e.g., zhuang [ʤɤŋ]) but for the rounding to start late or finish early in nasal syllables which have y̱ initially or finally (e.g. jiang [ʤɤŋ] and zhuan [ʤɤn]). Moreover, the characteristic "dipping" in vowel quality that occurs in syllables such as jing [ʤɪŋ] and zhun [ʤʊn] can be seen as a phenomenon of the transition from one posture to another.

There are other advantages in the prosodic analysis. Firstly, it can account in a more motivated way for "free" as well as "allophonic" variation. As the data in Appendix One illustrates, the least stable (i.e., showing most variation) syllables are those such as zhuan and jiang, in which the initial and final postures are "pulling" in different directions (as compared, for example, to zhuang and jian). In other words, there is likely to be more variation in syllables in which there

is "tension" between the two forces exerted from the syllable margins.

Secondly, as shown in Appendix One, the nasal syllables have variants with no final stop. However, such variants of n̠ syllables do not become homophonous with corresponding n̠g syllables, as the opposition is still present in the vowel qualities. In a prosodic analysis, the w̠ and y̠ postures are seen as realized in the vowel whether or not there is a following stop. However, in a segmental analysis, the differences in vowel quality are conditioned by the place of articulation of the final stop. Accounting for the contrast between these variants of n̠g and n̠ syllables where there is no final stop therefore becomes less plausible and economical (see also 11.4.1).

4.2.3 The u̠ Syllables

There are 19 syllables (21, counting two uncommon variants) in Mandarin in which the initial posture is high front and rounded (see Chapter Nine). It would be possible to account for these simply by adding a fourth term (w̠y̠) to the system of initial posture prosodies. However, there is a gain in generalization if they are analyzed as labialized versions of the set of syllables with high unrounded initial posture. In other words, if they are regarded has having simultaneously selected y̠

and w initial postures. There are no oral syllables with initial ʍ posture and final y or w posture. If posture is regarded as simultaneous selection of y and w, this can be explained as observance of the restriction on oral y-y and w-w syllables. It also accounts for the quality of the vowel nucleus in syllables such as juan [dʑɣɤn] as opposed to the quality in syllables such as jian [dʑɛn]. The initial w posture in the former keeps the vowel low.

4.2.4 Height Prosodies

The other system of prosodies of relevance to this thesis is that of *height*, of which the terms are I - high (tongue lowered by the minimum necessary to achieve a vocalic quality); Ǝ - mid and A - low.

4.2.5 Halliday's Analysis and This Thesis

This thesis is not "about" systemic phonology. However, the non-segmental perspective on the Mandarin syllable provided by the analysis has proved useful at a number of points. For example, the (ng) variable can be better understood as variable acquisition of a syllable final prosodic option (Chapter Eleven), the (ü) variable can be better understood in terms of the realization of initial posture prosodies constrained by other syllable prosodies (Chapter Nine) and constraints on the (r) variable are

better accounted for in terms of the prosodic configuration of the entire syllable (Chapter Ten).

The prosodic or systemic perspective also allows us to make a more fundamental generalization about Singapore Huayu. Much of the phonological variation and divergencies from standard Mandarin pronunciation can be seen in terms of a tendency for Singapore speakers to have variable and generally much weaker realizations of the strong w/y prosodic movements of Beijing Mandarin. This will be illustrated in discussion of the (ng) variable (Chapter Eleven). It is also exemplified in the lack of labiovelar glide after front consonants (7.3.6) and in the usual Singapore Huayu pronunciation of the Yunmu üan (7.2.4).

This general tendency of Singapore Huayu pronunciation can be seen against the background of the southern Chinese dialects spoken in Singapore, which are generally much more weakly prosodic than Mandarin. For example, the the phonetic differences among the vocalic nuclei of Cantonese [sa:n], [sa:m] and [sa:ŋ] and among the vocalic nuclei of Hokkien [sɛn], [sɛm] and [sɛŋ] are much smaller than between the two sets of nasal finals in Mandarin (as shown at 4.2.2 above).

4.3 Generative Phonology, Systemic Phonology and Variable
     Rules

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to embark upon a

comparison of generative and systemic phonologies.

However, a number of points do need to be noted. Both

approaches agree in rejecting "linearity" and

"biuniqueness". In other word, unlike structural

phonemics, the abstract units of analysis do not follow a

linear string corresponding to the phonetic segments. Nor

is there a "biunique" relationship between phonological

unit and phonetic realization. However, unlike Systemic

Phonology but like structural phonemics, Generative

Phonology is essentially a segmental phonology and thus

non-segmental or "smeared" features are "placed" in a

particular segment and their presence in adjacent

segments accounted for by various processes of

assimilation.

This has a number of consequences for the investigation

of linguistic variation. William Labov and the

"variationist" school have attempted to integrate their

discoveries about linguistic variation into mainstream

American linguistics; in other words to bring back the

social and the diachronic into Chomsky's linguistic world

of the "ideal speaker hearer" (Chomsky 1965) and to

breach the rigid dichotomy of "competence" versus

"performance". The concept of the *variable rule* was

introduced by Labov (1969) and refined and extended in

Cedergren and Sankoff (1974) and elsewhere as an attempt to give a formal account for systematic linguistic variation. It was couched in the formalism of transformational generative grammar and generative phonology and was presented as a refinement of the concept of the optional rule. The arguments over whether such a probabilistic element can be legitimately introduced into TG theory (Kay and McDaniel 1979, Sankoff and Labov 1979) need not concern us here.

The basic formulation of a variable rule is as follows:

$$x \longrightarrow \langle y \rangle \ / \ \begin{array}{c} \langle \text{feature 1} \rangle \\ \langle \text{feature 2} \rangle \\ \langle \text{feature 3} \rangle \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} \langle \text{feature 1} \rangle \\ \langle \text{feature 2} \rangle \\ \langle \text{feature 3} \rangle \\ \text{etc.} \end{array}$$

The features of the environment within the angled brackets are mutually exclusive and may be ordered or ranked according to the extent to which they favour application of the rule.

This kind of formulation has a number of consequences. Firstly, it implies that variation takes place in one segment and is constrained by preceding and following segments. It also implies that related changes in other segments, for example in the backness of vowels preceding the consonant in a [ŋ] → [n] rule are to be regarded as subsequent assimilations. This segmental bias is, of course, intrinsic to generative phonology and to most

other phonological models other than prosodic and systemic (and more recently autosegmental and metrical). A non-segmental approach, however, allows us to view a particular variable feature as extending beyond a single segment and as possibly constrained by the prosodic configuration of (at least) the entire syllable.

A related implication of the GP based variable rule formulation is that the form to the left of the arrow is to be taken as the underlying (in some psychological sense) form or as the earlier or "original" form, whilst the form to the right represents the surface or new form.

This assumption of directionality or process may be one we wish to avoid in particular cases. Le Page (1978), for example, points out that the kind of variable rule used by Labov (1969) to model copula deletion in varieties of Black American English - with the copula to the left of the arrow - and used by Sankoff and Labov (1979) to model variable t/d deletion - with the t/d to the left of the arrow - is not appropriate for modelling variable data such as that from speakers of Belize Creole. The Creole word has been completely uninflected for at least 200 years and rather than deleting inflectional endings, speakers could be regarded as adding them as they come under the influence of education. Similarly, they cannot be regarded as deleting the copula, as the basic Creole grammar has no copula.

This is somewhat analagous to the situation with Singapore Huayu, where the fairly recent promotion of a standard variety may be producing changes in earlier norms. In such a situation, we would not wish to assume that, for example, a particular standard variant was in any sense "underlying" or "original".

It should be pointed out that it is quite possible, as this study intends to do, to make use, of the statistical techniques developed for variable rule analysis without necessarily working within the framework of TG grammar or Generative Phonology. As Sankoff and Labov (1979) point out:

> Though the methodology of variable rules was motivated by and developed in conjunction with the project to incorporate variability in generative grammar, it would be a mistake to think that this methodology is logically tied to a particular grammatical formalism, or a particular domain of grammar such as phonology or morphology. Wherever a choice process is postulated in linguistic performance, especially choice which is conditioned by a number of cross cutting linguistic and / or extralinguistic factors, a variable rule analysis, which is after all a statistically general way for handling conditioned binomial variables of all types, can be fruitfully undertaken.
>
> (Sankoff and Labov 1979:217)

The next section will explain how variable rule as a statistical technique has been used in this thesis.

4.4 Variable Rule Analysis of Variable Linguistic Data

The quantitative analysis of the variable linguistic data in this thesis uses the techniques of variable rule analysis, without, as mentioned above, implying a commitment to the theoretical construct of the "variable rule". The technique and the mathematical model involved has been well described in the literature (see Cedergren and Sankoff 1974, Guy 1975) and will only be outlined here

The VARBRUL 2 programme written by David Sankoff is used in the analyses presented in Chapters Nine to Twelve. The programme uses a multiple regression technique for analysing variable data and searching for factors conditioning the variation. The advantage of the programme is that it estimates the effects of each of the conditioning factors independently of and controlling for the effects of all the other factors. It also allows testing for the statistical significance of any effect.

In a variable rule analysis, the *variable* is the variable linguistic feature under investigation. In this study, each variable consists of a nonstandard *variant* and its equivalent standard or standard-like variant. *Factors* are

the linguistic and non-linguistic (e.g., social
characteristics of the speakers) features of the
environment or context which are hypothesized to
condition the variation. In other words, the contextual
factors are the independent variables and the linguistic
variable is the dependent variable. The factors are
organized into *factor groups* consisting of mutually
exclusive factors (e.g., factors of "age" or of
"phonological environment"). The VARBRUL 2 programme
yields a *weighting* for each factor. This represents a
particular factor's contribution to the "application of
the rule" relative to the other factors in the same
factor group. In the analyses in this thesis,
"application of the rule" means occurrence of the
nonstandard variant. In each case, a weighting of above
.5 indicates that the factor in question favours the
"application of the rule" (i.e., occurrence of the
nonstandard variant) and a weighting of below .5
indicates that the factor disfavours it. A weighting of
1.0 would indicate categorical occurrence of the
nonstandard variant whenever the factor in question is
present in the context and a weighting of 0.0 would
indicate categorical non occurrence (although the
programme excludes such factors from the final results as
"knockout factors").

An important part of the technique is *significance
testing*. At the end of each run of the VARBRUL 2
programme a *log-likelihood* value is given. This measures

the *goodness of fit* between the data and the model
constructed by the analysis. This allows us to test the
statistical significance of the effects on the variation
of individual factors and of whole factor groups.

To test the significance of a factor group, the analysis
is run twice, once with and once without the factor
group. The log-likelihood will normally be larger in the
second run as there will be some loss of fit to the data.
The significance of this difference is calculated by
subtracting the log-likelihood of the first run from the
log-likelihood of the second run and multiplying by 2.
The result can then by looked up on a chi square table
under the degrees of freedom equal to the number of
factors in the group minus 1. As is usual in the social
sciences, the significance level for rejecting the null
hypothesis in the analyses in this thesis is set at 0.05
(i.e., where there is a 5 or less chance in 100 that the
difference between the results of the two runs is
random). A chi square result of above .05 does not, of
course, prove that there is no relationship between the
factors in the group and the variation. It simply means
that we cannot assume with a reasonable level of
confidence that there is a relationship.

Testing for the significance of individual factors is
much the same. Two or more factors from the same factor
group in the first run may be combined in the second run,
the difference in log-likelihoods doubled and the result

checked on a chi square table under the degrees of freedom equal to the change in the number of factors in the group.

Such significance testing was a crucial part of the analyses of all of the variables described in Chapters nine to twelve. Factor groups were omitted and factors combined wherever it seemed "reasonable" to do so, i.e., where the differences in weightings in the initial runs were not great and combining factors made linguistic or social sense (e.g., where two factors identify two similar places of articulation or two adjacent age groups) and at each stage, significance testing was carried out. The object was to account for the variation with the minimum number of factors but with no statistically significant loss of fit to the data.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INFORMANTS AND THE INTERVIEWS

5.1 The Informants

The aims of this study ideally require that the speakers
from whom data is to be collected should be as
representative as possible of the total population of
Huayu speakers in Singapore and cover as many of the
dimensions of social variation as might possibly be
relevant to linguistic variation. However, practical
considerations also require that the study should be
within the resources of a single (unfunded) researcher.
It has therefore been necessary to find a balance between
representativeness and feasibility.

5.1.1 Pilot Study

Ten interviews with Huayu speaking Singaporeans were
recorded for the purposes of a pilot study. The
interviewees were colleagues and students at the National
University of Singapore and "ordinary people" approached
in a shopping centre and hawker centre (cooked food
centre) in the Bukit Timah area. From the pilot study,
the variable features to be focussed on in the main study
were tentatively identified. The pilot study also made it

clear that it would be feasible to use "strangers" as informants. Most of those approached in the shopping centre and hawker centre appeared to show no reluctance to being interviewed. However, the pilot study suggested that changes should be made to the question schedule, in particular eliminating questions not seen to be relevant to the declared purpose of the interviews.

5.1.2 Initial Selection of Informants for the Main Study

The population to be investigated in this thesis may be defined as "residents of Singapore (including permanent residents of at least ten years standing who were born in Malaysia) who are proficient speakers of Huayu." "Proficient" is, of course, rather a vague term. For the purposes of this study, any speaker able to use Huayu to give information and express opinions without excessive hesitation or switching to other languages or dialects was deemed to be proficient in Huayu. However, no attempt was made to draw a random sample of such speakers. Even given massive resources, this would have been difficult or impossible, as no list of "proficient speakers of Huayu" exists to provide a sampling frame from which a random representative sample might have been drawn. However, an attempt was made to select a group of informants who would encompass as great a range of relevant social variables as possible.

This was done by taking advantage of the highly stratified nature of housing in Singapore.

Singapore is very much a city of flats. In 1981, about 69% of the population lived in Housing and Development Board (HDB) public flats and this was expected to rise to about 75% by 1985 (*Singapore: Facts and Pictures 1982*). The other categories of housing recognized in the 1980 census are <u>bungalows, semi-detached and terrace housing</u>, <u>private flats</u>, <u>shophouses</u> and <u>attap or zinc roofed houses</u>. Public flats are further sub-categorized into 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 room flats, which generally accord with differences in the income levels of the tenants (see Hassan 1977 and Yeh ed. 1975). Outside the public sector, occupants of private flats, bungalows and semi-detached houses tend to be in the higher income groups. In the absence of more detailed demographic information such as Labov had access to in his 1966 study (from the Mobilization for Youth Youth Survey, see Labov 1966), this provides the researcher with a convenient starting point for the selection of informants.

Two broad types of housing were identified. Firstly, 1, 2 and 3 room public flats (representing lower income housing) and secondly, 5 room flats, semi-detached houses and bungalows (representing higher income housing). A number of housing areas throughout Singapore were selected, including some older housing estates, newer housing estates, areas of fairly new suburban houses and areas of older houses nearer the city centre. Within the public housing estates, blocks were selected according to

whether they consisted mainly of 1, 2, 3 or 5 room
flats. Within each block, every third floor was selected
and every third door on a selected floor, with the
exception of "point blocks" of 5 room flats (2 per floor)
where 1 flat per floor was selected. In areas of semi-
detached houses and bungalows, every third house was
approached. Where the occupants were not Chinese or were
unwilling to be interviewed, their immediate neighbours
were approached.

5.1.3 Approaching Informants

The interviews were carried out in early 1983. In each
case, the procedure was to present identification and to
explain that the purposes of the research were to find
out about language use in Singapore and what people
thought about a number of language and educational issues
and to discover what the Huayu Singaporeans ordinarily
used was like. Whilst methodologically, it might have
been preferable not to reveal that Huayu itself would be
the object of research, it was necessary to include this
in order to justify conducting the interviews in Huayu in
cases in which the informants also spoke English, as
English would have been the most likely language choice
to use with an obviously foreign interviewer. In several
cases, it was necessary to emphasize that although the
researcher was from the university, he was not carrying
out research for any official organization, would be
taking the data overseas and would not record any names.

Within each household, an attempt was made to interview informants of both sexes and of different generations. What often happened was that the member of the household considered to speak the "best" Huayu would be pushed forward first. The researcher would later ask him or her to try to persuade more reluctant members of the household to participate.

5.1.4 Refusal Rates

Of households in 1,2, and 3 room flats approached, about 25% refused to be interviewed, excluding non-Chinese housholds. Of households in 5 room flats, semi-detached houses and bungalows approached, the refual rate was about 39%. The most common reason given for refusal was something like "We don't speak Huayu here" or "We don't speak Huayu well enough" (although this was sometimes said in Huayu and in most cases the researcher's initial approach using Huayu seemed to be understood), followed by something like "I'm sorry, it is not convenient just now". The difference between the refusal rates for the two groups may be partly due to the fact that in the 1, 2 and 3 room flats the doors were often open onto the balconies and it was easier to make a personal approach. With the other types of housing, doors were often closed and behind locked grills. It is more difficult to make out a case for entry to an invisible occupant looking through a spy hole. Households in both groups who did

admit the interviewer, however, were usually very cooperative and often extremely hospitable.

Getting a range of informants within households was inevitably difficult, particularly across generations. Partly this was because older potential informants were less likely to be proficient in Huayu, or at least less willing to expose their Huayu before younger and better educated family members.

Clearly, then, there is an element of self selection in the informants interviewed. The group consists of informants who were able and willing to participate in an interview conducted in Huayu, and contains relatively few informants with little education and above 50 years of age. However, this simply reflects the fact that such people are less likely to be proficient in Huayu.

5.1.5 The Sample of University Graduates

In the course of doing the fieldwork in this way, it became clear that insufficient interviews would be recorded with informants at the "very top" end of the level of education scale. It was necessary to get such samples by recruiting through networks. Seven of the nine university graduates in the sample were therefore recruited in this way.

5.1.6 Selecting the Final Sample

Altogether 97 interviews were recorded. However, during transcribing and coding, it became necessary to reduce the sample size in order to be able to investigate in detail a number of linguistic variables within a reasonable time limit. The final selection of 46 recordings was selected on the following grounds:

i) Recordings that were of poor quality were not used. Very often this was because a television had been left on in the same room, occasionally it was because of excessive traffic or other noise from the street.

ii) Recordings in which the informants were very unresponsive were regarded as unsuccessful interviews and were not used. In a few cases, informants limited each response to a few words.

iii) Recordings of interviews in which many people took part were discarded. The interviews were often carried out with other family members and friends present. Inevitably, in some cases, many people responded to the questions and became involved in the discussions, and from the recordings it is not always possible to sort out who is who.

iv) Recordings in which the informants spoke with great hesitation and / or switched often into English or a

Chinese dialect were not used. Such recordings often did not yield sufficient data in Huayu and the informant did may not have been a sufficiently proficient speaker of Huayu.

v) Recordings in which the informant had lived in Singapore for less than ten years were not used.

vi) Recordings in which the informant's mother tongue was anything other than Cantonese, Hokkien or Huayu were not used. This was in order to reduce the number of "mother tongue" factors that would have to be taken account of in the analysis of the linguistic variation. Cantonese and Hokkien were the most numerous of the mother tongues represented in the sample of 97 (the third largest was Teochew) and the two dialects belong to different dialect groups and so any differences in language transfer or "interference" might be expected to be clearer than with two more closely related dialects (such as Hokkien and Teochew). Inclusion of all the mother tongues represented would have meant many more factors, some identifying only one or two informants.

Recordings of informants with Huayu as mother tongue were included despite the fact that there are only 3 such informants. These are informants whose (originally dialect speaking) parents chose to use only Huayu with their children from the beginning. It was felt that such

informants might provide interesting samples of a variety

of fully indigenized or mother tongue Singapore Huayu.

5.1.7 Characteristics of the Final Selection of

     Informants

The final selection of informants includes 22 residents

of the 1,2 and 3 room public flats housing type and 24

residents of the 5 room flats, semi-detached houses and

bungalows housing type. There are 26 males and 20

females. Their ages range from 15 to 56 and their

educational levels range from nil to university graduates

(for more details see Appendix Three).

Thus, the final selection of informants contains several

dimensions of variation in social identity which can be

investigated for sociolectal variation.

5.1.8 Linguistic Profile of the Informants

As mentioned above, the final sample of informants was

restricted to those who claimed either Hokkien (23

informants), Cantonese (20 informants) or Huayu (3

informants) as their mother tongues (i.e., first

languages learned infancy). However, the range of

languages and dialects the informants claimed to speak

illustrates patterns of individual multilingualism

typical of Singapore.

Table 5.1 <u>Numbers of Informants by Languages /Dialects</u>

<u>Spoken in Addition to Huayu</u>

	quite fluently	a little
English	33	5
Hokkien	31	6
Cantonese	29	8
Teochew	6	12
Malay	7	11
Japanese	2	0
Hakka	1	3
Hainanese	0	5
Foochow	0	1
Shanghainese	0	1
Dutch	0	1
German	0	1

Note that the language in addition to Huayu known by the largest number of informants is English. Cantonese was spoken "quite fluently" by 9 informants for whom it was not a mother tongue, and Hokkien was spoken "quite fluently" by 8 informants for whom it was not a mother tongue. None of these findings are surprising. One would expect English to be well known in view of its role in the education system and pre-eminent role in Singapore as a whole . Hokkien is the majority Chinese dialect in Singapore and plays the role of an informal lingua franca. Cantonese, also, is to some extent a lingua franca and has a certain status from its connection with

Hong Kong, particularly through Hong Kong pop songs, films and television programmes (very popular and much watched on video now that the Singapore Broacasting Corporation is required to dub them into Huayu).

The breakdown of first school languages of the informants illustrates the difficulty of any longer dividing Chinese Singaporeans into distinct "Chinese educated" and "English educated" groups.

Table 5.2 Numbers of Informants by First School
            Languages

Huayu at both primary and secondary levels: 20

Huayu at primary level, English at secondary: 8

English at both primary and secondary levels: 9

Huayu at primary, both Huayu and English
                                    at secondary: 1

Huayu at primary, no secondary: 5
(in one case, primary education not finished)

Primary education in Cantonese: 2
(in one case, with "a little Huayu" and primary education completed, in the other case only three months primary education)

No formal education at all: 1

The informants were also asked which language they spoke most fluently and most naturally.

Table 5.3 <u>Numbers of Informants by Languages / Dialects Claimed to Speak "Most Fluently" and "Most Naturally"</u>

Huayu	22
Cantonese	20
Hokkien	20
English	4
Teochew	2
Malay	1

The total is greater than 46 as some informants claimed to use most naturally and to be equally fluent in more than one language or dialect. In such cases, the combinations were as follows:

Dialect mother tongue + Huayu: 13

Dialect mother tongue + one other dialect: 4

Dialect mother tongue + English: 2

Dialect mother tongue + Huayu + English: 1

Dialect mother tongue + Huayu + Malay: 1

Thus, excluding the 3 informants who were brought up with Huayu as their mother tongue, 17 claimed to be equally as fluent in Huayu as in their mother tongue and 4 claimed to be more fluent in Huayu than in their mother tongue. It is also worth noting that of the 24 for whom Huayu was the first language of education throughout, 15 claimed Huayu as the language or one of the languages they were most fluent in. On the other hand, of the 9 for whom English was a first language of education thoroughout, only 2 claimed English as a language they were most fluent in and 1 claimed Huayu. Of the 8 for whom Huayu was the first language of primary education and English the second language, 5 claimed Huayu as a language they were most fluent in and none claimed English.

This illustrates that one cannot always make simple assumptions about a Singaporean's likely proficiency in a particular language simply on the basis of his or her first school language. A good example of this is an informant who is the only one in his family to have attended an English medium school. All his siblings have attended Chinese medium schools and they all speak Huayu to one another at home. Consequently, he is much more proficient in Huayu than in English.

5.2 Factor Groups and Factors used in the Analyses of Linguistic Variation

In the analyses of linguistic variation presented in Chapters Nine to Fourteen, the factor groups relating to characteristics of the speakers are as follows:

Age

Level of Education

Mother Tongue

5.2.1 Age

Age factors were included in order to investigate the possibility of linguistic change in progress. In other words, data on apparent time is used as evidence for real time (Labov 1966). The factors in this group are as follows:

1. 15 - 20
2. 21 - 30
3. 31 - 40
4. 41 - 56

The youngest informant is 15 and the oldest is 56.

5.2.2 Level of Education

A more fine grained measure of social status was needed than the crude division according to two broad types of housing. A level of education hierarchy is easy to

operate and is based upon information that informants were generally happy to give. It was far less easy, for example, to gain reliable information on individual and family incomes.

Level of education appears also to be a measure of social status very relevant to the present study of linguistic variation. Education is greatly valued in Singapore society and is a source of social prestige as well as occupational advancement. Moreover, the terms "educated" and "uneducated" are quite commonly heard in relation to the ways people speak, and mastery of the official languages (particularly English and Huayu) is taken as a mark of an educated person.

Some indication of this can be seen in the judgements of samples of spoken Huayu made in the evaluation tests (Chapter Eight). The judges showed themselves willing to use labels such as "educated" and "uneducated" about the speakers and to estimate, generally quite accurately, the speakers' likely levels of education. It is also worth noting that a hierarchy of speakers based upon the means of judgements about their likely levels of education gave exactly the same ranking as a hierarchy based upon the means of judgements about their likely occupational status. This indicates that level of education might correlate quite closely with other measures of social status (see p.241).

The factors in this group are as follows:

1. <u>Not Completed Primary</u> (or just <u><Primary</u>)

2. <u>Completed Primary</u>

3. <u>Completed Lower Secondary</u> (this means either 3 years secondary education in the former Chinese medium school system or 4 years in the English medium school system. Two students currently studying in secondary 4 are included under this category)

4. <u>Completed Upper Secondary</u> (this means 3 years of upper secondary in the former Chinese medium system or 2 to 3 years "pre-university" in the present system)

5. <u>Completed Post-Secondary Training</u> (in the case of informants in this study, this means either polytechnic courses or teacher training)

4. <u>Completed a University Degree</u>
   (One university student who had not yet graduated was included in this category)

As with all the factor groups in the analyses, factors in this group have been combined wherever reasonable with no

statistically significant (at the 0.05 level) loss of fit to the data. This is particularly important in the case of the factor ≤Primary, as it identifies only 3 informants. The variable rule programme can cope with this, provided that co-linearity is avoided, which it is in this case (i.e., the 3 informants identified by the factor ≤Primary are not also uniquely identified by a factor in another factor group). However, it is unsatisfactory to have a factor identifying only 3 informants. Wherever possible, therefore, the factor ≤primary has been collapsed with (at least) the factor primary. However, where this has not been possible, the weighting for the ≤primary factor has been treated with caution and the raw scores for the 3 informants involved looked at separately.

5.2.3 Mother Tongue

The factors in this factor group refer to the language or dialect which the informants claim to have learned first in infancy. They are as follows:

1. Cantonese
2. Hokkien
3. Huayu

As explained earlier, the factor Huayu identifies informants whose parents chose not to use their home dialects with them from the earliest age. These

informants claim to know very little or nothing of their ancestral dialects. While it is useful to have informants with this background in the sample, the factor identifies only 3 such informants and findings must therefore be treated with some caution. In each case, the raw figures for these informants will be looked at separately.

5.3   The Interviews

All interviews were conducted by myself. No attempt was made to conceal the fact that the interviews were being recorded. However, this was kept as unobtrusive as possible by taping a small microphone to the folder containing the reading lists and other documents. The interviews were all carried out in the informants' homes and range in length from about half an hour to over one hour.

5.3.1 The Question Schedule

The basic question schedule for the interviews is given in Appendix Four. The schedule is divided into three parts. Part one consists of questions designed to elicit information relevant to the interviewee's social identity (age, education, occupation, income, marital status etc.) and information on the informant's language repertoire and language use (i.e. which languages / dialects they usually use with whom in which contexts). Part two

consists of questions which seek to elicit the
informant's attitudes and opinions on such topics as what
is the best or most correct Huayu and who speaks it, the
success or otherwise of the Speak Mandarin Campaign, the
desirability of banning dialects from the mass media, the
usefulness of knowing Huayu in Singapore and so on.
Part three of the interview consists of "word lists" or
common two zi expressions containing phonological
features to be investigated in this study, followed by
"minimal pairs", i.e., pairs of zi, some of which are
differentiated in the standard pronunciation only by the
features to be investigated, as well as some pairs which
are homophonous in the standard language but may not be
in the southern dialects or some varieties of Singapore
Huayu.

5.3.2 The Recorded Interview and Registerial or Stylistic Variation

The recorded interview has been a procedure much used in
sociolinguistic research since Labov's 1966 study. It has
the advantage of getting clear recordings from one
informant at a time, who can be placed in terms of
certain social variables. It can also enable variations
in topic or field and in the effects of different
participants to be controlled for (particularly when a
single interviewer is used for all interviews, as in the
present study).

However, as has been often pointed out (see, for example, Milroy 1980, Chapter Two), the sociolinguistic interview may be quite unsuitable for gathering certain kinds of data. As Milroy points out, the recorded interview is an institutionalized register (or "speech event" as she calls it) in our culture. This is equally the case in Singapore. For example, recorded interviews are regular features in such radio programmes as *Meiri Zazhi* ("Daily Magazine"). Such a register is associated with a tenor characterized by maximum distance or minimum solidarity between informants, i.e., in Labov's terms a context in which a more "formal" or "careful" speech style (Labov 1966) might be expected. The elicitation in a recorded interview of language appropriate to less formal contexts is not easy.

Labov and other researchers using his techniques have been very aware of this problem, particularly in view of their concern to study the "vernacular" (see, for example, Labov 1966 Chapter Four and Milroy 1980:23-24). Techniques developed by Labov in order to elicit a range of styles, including the most informal, spontaneous and unmonitored style, involve having the interviewee perform different tasks (e.g., recounting personal experiences, reading wordlists). In order to elicit the most informal end of the range, researchers do such things as manipulating the topics of the interview so that the interviewee might become more emotionally involved in what he or she is saying (and thus less "careful" about

speech) and leaving the recorder running when
participants change (i.e., where there is speech with a
third person).

Some of these techniques were tried in the present study,
with varying degrees of success. The question schedule
for the pilot study included questions designed to elicit
personal narratives from the interviewees, including one
modelled on Labov's famous "Danger of Death" question
(Labov 1966) and questions designed to get the speaker
talking about the area he or she lives in and its
advantages and disadvantages or the ways it has changed
over the years. These were not particularly successful.
Whilst understanding why I should want to question them
on their educational and linguistic background and seek
their comments on a range of language and educational
issues, many informants were puzzled at why I should want
wanted to ask these other questions. The "Danger of
Death" question, in particular, provoked little response.
Perhaps Singapore is not such a dangerous place to live
in as New York! It is also likely that this is a
culturally inappropriate question for an "outsider" to
ask.

Inclusion of such questions not obviously relevant to the
stated purposes of the interview also made the interviews
over long, as it was felt necessary to retain all the
other questions pertaining to the interviewee's social
identity, language repertoire and language use as well as

questions designed to elicit attitudes and opinions towards various aspects of Huayu in Singapore.

Nevertheless, there was some success in moving away from the institutionalized register of the recorded interview. The researcher explained that he was a student and that the recordings were purely for personal research. The question / answer structure of the formal interview was avoided as far as possible. The question schedule was memorized and was used very flexibily. Every effort was made to encourage the interviewee to continue talking (even if not directly related to the questions) by giving feedback, prompting and inserting follow up questions. Fortunately, such is the high profile that matters of language have in Singapore that many of the interviewees had quite clear and definite opinions they seemed anxious to express (perhaps the fact that the interviewer was an "outsider" was an advantage in this case). The recorder was also left running during interruptions (e.g., telephone calls, see p.374) and, where possible, after the end of the interview had been marked in some way (usually by my thanking them for their time) when there was a tendency for interviewees to turn the tables and start questioning the interviewer.

Inevitably, some interviews were more successful than others in this regard. In some cases, informants were very interactive and appeared to become very involved in what they were saying. In particular, moves away from a

more formal definition of the context by the informant
were often marked by greater frequency of modal
particles and tags which require feedback or reaction
from the interviewer. For example (such features are
underlined):

Informant. ...Huayu há , dao xianzai a , jiu shi
shuo, hái you qiántu la. Búguo hó, jianglai, wó kan
háishi hui táotai, suiran ni hui jiang huayu...zhi
shi ni hui jiang ma, genben ni dou meiyou xie, hó ?
Ni hui jiang, ni bú hui xie, méige ren dou hui jiang
ma, bu hui xie, zui zhuyao shi xie, jiashi ni bú hui
xie dehua, ni hui jiang dou meiyou yong, dui ma? Ni
kan jieshang, yige lizi lái jiang, jieshangde
zhaopai, na xie jieming há , gen...huozhe shi qu na
yige bumen, huoshi qu airport na bian, hái bu shi
yong yingwen duo ma?

Interviewer feijichang bu shi yong huawen ma?

Informant: meiyou, meiyou, xianzai zai Changi
Airport meiyou le, dou shi yong yingyu duo. Huayu
hái shi, jianglai hui bei táotai, suoyi shi zhei
yang jiang a, huayu, huayu ni hui jiang, bu hui yong
ye shi meiyou yong, shi ma? Zheige shi hen
zhongyaode yige wenti.

[See Appendix Seven for version in written zi]

TRANSLATION

Informant: Huayu up to now, so to speak, still has a future. However, in the future, I think it will be pushed out. Although you can speak Huayu....you will be able only to speak it but not write it, eh? You will be able to speak it but you won't be able to write it, everyone will be able to speak it but not write it. The most important is writing. If you can't write it, being able to speak it is no use, right? You see in the streets, for example, street signs, street names, and ....or if you go to a department, or to the airport, isn't it English that is mainly used?

Interviewer: Isn't Chinese used at the airport?

Informant: No, No. At Changi Airport not any more, they all use mainly English. Huayu is, in the future will be pushed out. So I say, if you can speak Huayu but cannot write it, it is useless, isn't it? This is a big problem.

No systematic and quantifiable linguistic differences were found between the first two parts of the interview, the first part where the informants answered questions relevant to their social identity and language repertoire and the section in which the informants were encouraged to express opinions on a number of issues. There is,

however, sometimes a quantifiable difference in the informants behaviour on some of the phonological variables between the "talking" sections of the interviews and the "reading aloud" sections of the interviews. In terms of register, this represents a difference in mode, i.e. related to the role of the language in the situation (Halliday 1978). Taking Labov's notion that the "reading aloud" mode forms a context in which the maximum amount of attention is paid to speech and in which more "prestige" variants are likely to be elicited (Labov 1970), a mode factor group consisting of the factors talking and reading is used in the variable rule analyses (Chapters Nine to Twelve).

5.3.3 The "Outsider" as Interviewer

The language of a recorded interview reflects in its tenor (using the term following Halliday 1978) the relationships among participants just as any other text or piece of discourse does. Much attention has been paid in the literature to the likely differing effects of having an interviewer who is an "outsider" and having an interviewer who is an "insider" (see, for example, Douglas-Cowrie 1978). In the present study, the interviewer as a non-Chinese and a non-Singaporean is most definitely an outsider.

It is necessary to consider how this might effect the language elicited. General observation suggests that

many (particularly younger) speakers of Singapore Huayu

when talking with speakers of more standard varieties of

Mandarin from outside Singapore are able to use certain

standard phonological features they would not normally

use with other Singaporeans. Evidence suggests, however,

that the variety of language used by the interviewer

might be a crucial factor in eliciting such variants. For

example, Ng (1985) in a quantitative study of use of

retroflex initials by 10 Singaporean students elicited a

much higher percentage of retroflexes than in the present

study (see 7.2.1). However, as Ng herself puts it:

> When a Singaporean speaks to another Singaporean in
> a non formal conversational situation, relatively
> fewer retroflexes are used. In this experiment, the
> Singapore Mandarin interviewer deliberately used
> retroflexes during the interviews. Several subjects
> did comment on this fact. In this case, the
> interlocutor-interviewer effect could have induced a
> higher percentage of retroflexes.
>
> (Ng 1985:36)

The interviewer in the present study speaks a variety of

Mandarin marked as "foreign" (so I am told by Singapore

friends). The most salient non-native features seem to be

certain intonation patterns, occasional mistakes in

lexical tone and a tendency to have weaker aspiration in

aspirated plosives than native speakers. A few of he

interviewees did comment on my pronunciation. One said

that my intonation (<u>yīndiào</u>) was "sometimes too high" and
two others commented that my Mandarin was "better" or
"more correct" than theirs. This latter comment seems to
suggest that there could be features in my Mandarin which
are "too standard" than would be appropriate for speech
among Singaporeans. However, analysis of my pronunciation
as used during the recorded interviews shows, for
example, that initial retroflex consonants are as rare
as in Singapore Huayu in general. This was not a
deliberate policy but reflects years of living in
Singapore (I studied Mandarin at the School of Oriental
and African Studies in London, but only achieved any kind
of spoken competence in the language whilst in Singapore)
and perhaps unconscious accommodation to the speech of
the interviewees. Erization (see 7.2.2) is similiarly
rare, <u>x</u> before <u>i</u> tends not to be palatal (see 7.2.5), <u>h</u>
rarely has audible velar friction (see 7.2.3) and there
is frequently no labiovelar glide following in syllables
such as <u>tuo</u> and <u>duo</u> (see 7.2.6), although I do tend to
have a labiovelar glide after <u>s</u> (or <u>sh</u>). I also use
Singapore lexis such as <u>bāshā</u> ("basar" or "market"),
<u>bāshì</u> ("bus") and the term <u>Huáyǔ</u> itself.

All of the above features can be considered part of a
general de-facto spoken norm for Singapore Huayu (see
Chapter Seven) However, in terms of the more variable
features, I consistently use the standard or standard
like variants of the variables (ü), (r), (ng), <u>rusheng</u>
and (n) (Chapters Nine to Thirteen) and do not use

nonstandard particles such as _la_ (Chapter Fourteen).
Thus, the variety of Mandarin used by the interviewer is
much closer to an educated Singapore Huayu than to
standard Putongua and as such is perhaps less likely to
have elicited an "outsider's" variety of Mandarin.

Further evidence that the speech elicited in the
interviews was not in any way atypical of the varieties
of Huayu used when Singaporeans speak with Singaporeans
comes from the evaluation tests (Chapter Eight). Of the
156 comments made on the samples, only two can perhaps be
interpreted as referring to something "unnatural" or
"atypical" about the samples. Both these comments were
(more or less): "She speaks like a teacher". However,
both comments were made of sample 3 in the test, the
speaker of which is indeed a teacher and in fact was not
interviewed as part of the main sample but as part of the
"Huayu Specialists" group (see 6.6.1). Comments on other
samples by the judges include things such as "Average -
on the street Mandarin"; "An average worker type"; "A
typical Singapore Chinese" and "She speaks like a normal
person".

CHAPTER SIX

THE PRESCRIBED STANDARD AND ITS STATUS

This chapter is about the prescribed standard for Huayu

in Singapore - how it is defined and how it relates to

Putonghua in China and Guoyu in Taiwan. It is also about

perceptions of and attitudes towards this standard in

Singapore. It is a truism of sociolinguistics that people

do not speak exactly how they think they speak and still

less how they think they ought to speak. Nevertheless,

some acceptance by speakers of the prescibed standard as

a desirable and practical target norm would seem to be a

necessary, though not sufficient, condition for greater

adoption of features of this standard. Direct questioning

of informants can also provide evidence of what

nonstandard linguistic features are sufficiently salient

to be overtly commented upon.

6.1 The Development of a Standard for Spoken Chinese

6.1.1 Guanhua and Guoyu

Whilst *Guānhùa*, literally "Officials' Language" more

usually called "Mandarin", had for a long time been an

informal lingua franca amongst imperial officials in

China, the search for a national standard for the spoken

language did not really begin until after the Republican

Revolution of 1911. A Conference on the Unification of Pronunciation was convened in Beijing in 1913 and after heated argument it was resolved that the national standard should be based upon Mandarin (for an entertaining summary of the arguments see Ramsay 1987). However, it was not until 1919 that a *Dictionary of National Pronunciation* (Gúoyin Cídian)was published. This dictionary gave the pronunciation of characters (zi) using a system of phonetic notation derived from characters. This notation came to be called *Zhuyin Fuhao* "Phonetic Symbols" and is still in use today, particularly in Taiwan.

However, the *Guoyin Cidian* did not solve the problem of a national standard pronunciation. The dictionary did not set down the pronunciations of any variety of Mandarin actually spoken. It was , in fact, an artificial pronunciation which preserved features which have been lost in most Mandarin dialects, for example rùshēng (see Chapter Twelve). For some time, the National Language of China had only one speaker - the linguist Y.R. Chao - who was commissoned to make a set of records illustrating this pronunciation (see Chao 1976). Finally, however, in 1932 the National Language Unification Commission published the *Vocabulary of National Pronunciation for Everyday Use* (Gúoyin Chángyòng Zìhùi) which marked each character (zi) according to its pronunciation in Beijing dialect.

6.1.2 Putonghua

Despite the publication of the *Guoyin Changyong Zihui*
arguments over the national standard continued until the
"Academic Conference on the Normalization of Modern
Chinese" (<u>Xiàndài Hànyǔ Guīfàn Wèntí Xuéshu Huìyì</u>)
convened in 1955, six years after the founding of the
Peoples Republic of China. This conference resolved that
the standard language or *Putonghua* ("Common" or
"General Language", the term which from then on
superceded *Guoyu* in China) should be based upon:

   1. The pronunciation of Beijing dialect
      (<u>Běijīnghùa</u>).

   2. The grammar and lexis of the northern Chinese
      dialects (<u>Běifānghùa</u>), with exemplary works of
      Modern Chinese Colloquial (<u>Báihùa</u>) Literature
      providing the grammatical model.

The choice of these criteria is not particularly
surprising. Beijing has been the political and cultural
centre of China for at least seven hundred years and
Beijing pronunciation had been the basis of the old
Guanhua and of the *Guoyu* promoted by the Republican
government. The northern dialects do not differ much in
grammar and lexis and are spoken by over 70% of the
Chinese speaking (Han) population of China (Zhan 1981).
Moreover, any literature in *Baihua* ("plain speech" or

"colloquial language") written over the last four or five
hundred years nearly always uses a grammar and lexis
based on the northern Chinese dialects (Wang 1956).

6.2 Flexibility or "Fuzziness" in the Standard for
Putonghua

6.2.1 Pronunciation

By and large the criterion for the standard pronunciation
is fairly well defined, although the standard is, of
course, evolving in that as Beijing pronunciation
changes, so will the standard pronunciation. There are,
however, three areas in which there is a small amount of
"fuzziness" in drawing the line between what is and what
is not to be considered standard. One feature about which
there has been some controversy is what is sometimes
called "erization" or -r suffixation (see Chao 1968:228-
236). The consensus appears to be that the very great
use of erization common in colloquial Beijing speech is
not appropriate to the standard language. However,
erization should generally be retained where there is a
meaning difference between an "erized" and a plain form
(for more details see 7.2.2 and Barnes 1977).

Another small area of fuzziness in the pronunciation norm
is in the extent of qingsheng or toneless syllables.
Again the consensus appears to be that the extent of
qingsheng characteristic of Beijing dialect need not be

insisted upon but that the feature should be retained where a meaning difference is involved. Both erization and qīngshēng will be further discussed in Chapter Seven.

Finally, there is the question of words which are pronounced in two or more ways even within Beijing dialect. In 1957, 1959 and 1962 three tables of *Words with Variant Readings Examined (Draft)* were published. The work of examining such variant pronunciations was resumed in 1982 (for more details see Zhou 1986). This area of "fuzziness" in the standard pronunciation will not concern us much in this thesis, except to note a few pronunciations occasionally occurring in Singapore Huayu that seem similar to alternate Beijing pronunciations which are no longer recognized as standard (see p.339).

6.2.2 Grammar

The standard grammar is also fairly well defined, as the northern dialects do not differ a great deal in their grammar, although again there may be some fuzzy areas where the standard language is being influenced by a particular southern dialect grammatical feature (see, for example, 7.3.1.4).

6.2.3 Lexis

It is in the area of lexis that the standard allows greatest flexibility. The criterion for the standard lexicon as stated above rather begs the question. Further clarifications have made it clear that, while the lexicon of Beijing dialect as the representative dialect of B̆eifānghùa is to be the basis of the Putonghua lexicon, certain Beijing localisms are to be rejected in favour of more widely understood terms. It has also often been stated that the standard vocabulary should be prepared to accept useful items not only from other dialects, but also from the classical language and from foreign languages. For example, *Xiandai Hanyu* (Modern Chinese) published in Beijing in 1963 states:

> Pútōnghùa yifāngmiàn dàliáng xīshōu gèdì fāngyán
> zhōng fùyu biǎoxiànlide cíyu hé gǔdai wàilaide
> cíyu, yīfāngmiàn pàichi shǎoshu beijīng fāngyán
> suǒ teyóude cíyu. Zhei jiù shide pútōnghùa neń
> chǎoyùe gè fāngyán zhīshàng, bǐ rènhé fāngyánde
> neiróng dōu fēngfù, bǐ rènhé fāngyán dōu gèng
> fùyu biǎoxiànli.

> (Putonghua on the one hand absorbs a great many words rich in expressiveness from different dialects as well as ancient and foreign words and on the other hand rejects a small number of words restricted to ʼBeijing dialect. This

makes Putonghua able to transcend the dialects,

to be richer in content than any dialect and to

be more expressive than any dialect.)

(Beijing Daxue 1963:4)

This clearly allows for a flexible and evolving norm in

the area of lexis.

6.3 The Practical Embodiment of Standard

Putonghua

The pronunciation used by announcers of Beijing radio is

often cited as a practical guide to the standard

pronunciation. In addition, the Pinyin system of

romanisation of the standard language which has

superceded the *Zhuyin Fuhao* in China, is widely used as a

teaching aid and is used to indicate the pronunciation of

characters in dictionaries published in China (and

Singapore).

Dictionaries published in China such as *Xiandai Hanyu*

Cidian (Dictionary of Modern Chinese) are taken as

convenient references for the standard lexis (as well as

pronunciation). This dictionary, published in 1977,

organizes entries according to Pinyin romanization and,

for example, marks as ko̯u items considered "colloquial"

and as fāng items considered to be "dialectal".

However, as stated above, the norm in this area is rather

flexible and evolving. To keep up with current terminology it is necessary to refer to sources such as national newspapers and the latest works of literature being published in China, most of which ordinary Singaporeans do not have access to.

6.4 Putonghua in China Today

Considerable headway has been made in China in popularizing Putonghua throughout the non-Mandarin speaking areas of southern China. As Ramsay comments:

> Throughout the South an increasing number of ordinary people, adults as well as children, are becoming familiar with Putonghua and are even able to speak it. Recent visitors to South China have noted that it is now possible in almost any Southern city to shop, buy tickets, or ask directions using only the standard language. With it, it is even possible, they say, to strike up conversations in the streets. As any old hand will attest, this is a far cry from prerevolutionary China, where any outsider who did not know the local dialect would quickly find himself hopelessly lost.
>
> (Ramsay 1987:29)

However, in such a large and linguistically diverse country as China, there are inevitably considerable

divergences in the Putonghua spoken in many areas from the prescribed standard. Ramsay also notes that:

> In North China, this policy has been of little or no consequence. Broad discrepancies from the Peking norm are tolerated as acceptable variations in the Common Language, and people who speak natively any dialect of Mandarin have simply continued to use the same speech patterns that they have always used.
>
> (Ramsay 1987:27)

In non-native Mandarin speaking areas where Putonghua is learned as a second dialect (or language), the local dialects inevitably have an influence and local varieties of Putonghua appear to be developing. James Wrenn, a member of a delegation of American linguists who visited China in 1974 writes:

> ..... it would seem from our very unsystematic observations that except for some sociolinguistic groups (some university professors, some female high school teachers of Chinese trained in Peking, and female guides at museums and exhibition halls), the phonological criterion is under stress. The other two (grammar of Northern Chinese and modern colloquial vocabuary) seem to be maintaining nicely. But it would seem that the final result of the popularization process will

result in a _Putonghua_ which will have eliminated

the final nasal distinction, the retroflex

initial distinctions and some unpredictable

shifts in either n/l or r/l initial distinction,

or perhaps both, and perhaps some equally

unpredicatable shifts in the tonal system, that

may merely reflect some particular items.

(Wrenn 1975:226).

However, not everyone agrees about the likely result of

the popularization process. In a review of the

published findings of the delegation (Lehmann ed. 1975),

Liao comments that:

It follows naturally that many regional varieties

of Putonghua have developed. Nevertheless, in

contrast to the contributors predictions, my

guess is that the retroflex-dental distinction

will be maintained in the emerging common

language, though it will take a few generations

to gain a footing in the regional varieties

(Liao 1977b:138)

Whatever may be the outcome of the popularization

process of Putonghua in China, all of the divergences

from the prescribed standard mentioned by Wrenn are also

to be found in Singapore Huayu, as we shall see in the

following chapters.

6.5 Guoyu in Taiwan

6.5.1 The Standard

In Taiwan, the older term *Guoyu* "National" or "State

Language", continues to be used for the standard

language. Like Putonghua in China, the prescribed

standard for Guoyu is based upon Beijing dialect. Guoyu

has been defined as "the language based on the everyday

speech of an educated native speaker of the Peking

dialect (one that has had at least secondary education)

as the standard" (Hsu 1979:119). There has been some

controversy between those who take this as implying that

there is little or no difference between Guoyu and

Beijing dialect and those who make a clear distinction

between Guoyu and Beijing dialect. However, the received

opinion appears to be that Guoyu, like Putonghua, does

not include certain colloquialisms or localisms

characteristic of Beijing dialect, including, as with

Putonghua, the extent of erization characteristic of

colloquial Beijing speech (see Barnes 1974).

The criterion for standard Guoyu pronunciation differs

slightly from that of Putonghua in that it is based upon

an earlier norm, that embodied in the Gúoyīn Chángyòng

Zìhùi first published in 1932. Thus no official account

is taken of any changes in Beijing pronunciation since

this time. The standard for Guoyu also differs from

Putonghua in not explicitly allowing lexical items from

other dialects, from classical literature or borrowings from other languages. Standard Guoyu also, of course, takes no account of the lexical innovations and usages which have followed from the great social and political changes which have taken place in China since 1949. Nevertheless, the differences between Putonghua and Guoyu should not be exaggerated. They are still very much the "same language".

6.5.2 Popularization of Guoyu in Taiwan

Efforts to popularize Guoyu in Taiwan since 1949 seem by and large to have been quite successful. Tse writes that "although there are no official statistics, an estimate that over 95% of the population can now communicate through the National Language, both orally and in writing, would be a conservative one" (Tse 1986:27).

Given that the popularization and development of Guoyu in Taiwan has taken place against the background of the local Taiwanese dialects as well as coming after years of Japanese occupation, it is not surprising that there are differences between the forms of Guoyu used every day in Taiwan and the prescribed standard (see Kubler 1981 and Cheng 1985). Many of these divergences will be referred to in later chapters and compared to similar features in Singapore Huayu.

6.6   The Standard for Singapore Huayu

6.6.1 The "Huayu Specialists" View

The official or prescribed standard for Huayu in

Singapore is essentially the same as that for Putonghua

in China. That is, it is defined by the criteria set out

at 6.1.2 above. However, in order to determine how this

might be interpreted in the Singapore context, a number

of "Huayu specialists" in Singapore were interviewed.

These include Dr. Loo Shaw Chang, Head of the Chinese

Language and Research Centre of the National University

of Singapore and Chairman of the Mandarin Standardization

Committee; Mr. Cheah Cheak Mun, Head of the Chinese

Section, Curriculum Development, Singapore Ministry of

Education; Mr. Foo Hua Lim, Controller of Radio 3

(Chinese Language Programmes), Singapore Broadcasting

Corporation; two teachers of Chinese (Huayu) who had

been seconded to work on curriculum development and one

secondary school teacher of Chinese as a second [school]

language.

The interpretation of comments made by these informants

and conclusions drawn from them are, of course, entirely

the author's responsibility. It should be pointed out

that several of these informants commented that they were

giving only personal opinions and, in the area of lexis

particularly, they were awaiting the publication of

authoritative lists of acceptable items from the

Mandarin Standardization Committee. Nevertheless, these
informants clearly represent the kinds of people likely
to have great influence on the development and
implementation of Standard Huayu in Singapore.

6.6.1.1 Their General View of the Standard

There was general agreemeent among this group of
specialists that the only divergences from the Putonghua
standard should be in those areas in which this Standard
itself is in fact somewhat fuzzy or flexible, i.e., the
extent of "erization" and qingsheng in pronunciation and
the acceptance into the lexicon of items not found in
Beijing dialect.

6.6.1.2 Erization

It was generally felt that speakers of Singapore Huayu
need not attempt to imitate the extent of erization
characteristic of Beijing dialect. All agreed that where
there was no difference between an erized form and a non-
erized form, erization could be dispensed with. Thus, for
example, there was no need insist on chànggēr instead of
chàngge to sing", or yiduǒhuār instead of yiduǒhuā "a
flower". However, the erization of forms such as yidiǎr
"a little" and yíkuàr "together" should be retained to
distinguish them from yidiǎn "one point" or "one o'clock"
and yíkuài "one piece" or "one dollar". They also all
agreed that the common (at least in Putonghua)

expression yíhuèr "a while" should retain its erization
in Singapore Huayu. Two of the school teachers, however,
noted that erization could be and in practice usually was
almost entirely avoided by using different expressions
with similar meanings, for example yíxià for yíhuèr,
yìdiǎndiǎn for yìdiǎr and yìqì for yíkuàr.

6.6.1.3 Lexis

All agreed that some divergences from the standard
lexicon of Putonghua could be allowed or even
encouraged. These could include borrowings from
Southern Chinese dialects and from the other languages
spoken in Singapore. However, all also expressed the need
for standardizing such terminology and eliminating many
of the nonstandard terms used in colloquial Singapore
Huayu. Each of the informants in this group were asked
which items on a list of non (Putonghua) standard terms
that Singapore speakers had been recorded using they
would consider suitable for inclusion as part of the
local standard. All agreed that loanwords such as lāsā
"laksa", shādiē "satay" and bādí "batik" which refer to
things in the local environment for which standard
equivalents do not exist could be accepted (all three are
from Malay, the first two food items, the last a type of
cloth). So too could loanwords which have wide currency
in Singapore such as bāshā "market" (from Malay), bāshì
bus", déshì "taxi", luóliche "lorry" and bāxiān[1]

"percent" (all from English) despite the fact that standard Putonghua equivalents do exist.

Terms such as bijia "pick up truck" (from English), a term which is used in the dialects and written (as 必甲) in contexts such as newspaper advertisements but seldom heard in Huayu speech in its fully "Huayu-ized" form (i.e., adapted to Huayu phonology, see p.409), were rejected by all the informants.

There was less agreement over borrowed or calque expressions from the dialects. All but one rejected daliren "big shot" (from Hokkien) as "dialect" and unacceptable. Three felt that baiwulong "to make a silly mistake" (from Cantonese/Hakka) was acceptable, two felt that it was rather colloquial but not completely unacceptable and one felt that it was a dialect term and therefore completely unacceptable. Similarly, chedapao "to boast, to talk big" (from Cantonese) was felt by three to be colloquial, but acceptable outside of formal contexts, and by three to be an unacceptable dialect expression. This will clearly continue to be the area of greatest "fuzziness" in the developing Singapore standard.

According to Dr. Loo Shaw Chang, Chairman of the Mandarin Standardization Committee, the basic principles that the Committee applies are that if there is a standard term used in China for a term used in Singapore, the committee

will seek to introduce the former term. However, certain terms widely used in Singapore have the advantage of being shorter or simpler than the standard Putonghua equivalents and might be considered for inclusion in the Singapore Huayu lexicon, for example the English loanword bāshì "bus" for Putonghua gōnggòngqìchē and diànnǎo literally "electric brain" for Putonghua diànzǐ jìsuànjī "computer". Where an appropriate term did not exist in the Putonghua lexicon, a term used locally might be introduced and if it met with positive feeedback included in the final recommendations of the committee.

In 1980 this Committee issued a booklet entitled *Food Items Commonly Found in Hawker Centres and Food Markets* including the recommended standardized terms for 415 food items in characters and Pinyin, as well as in English and the principal Chinese dialects. In October 1983, it was reported that the Committee had also compiled a list of 1000 non-food terms commonly used in Singapore and were in the process of checking dictionaries and other reference books to discover which of the terms were also in use in places such as China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Recommendations would eventually be released, feedback gained and final recommendations made after reconsideration (Straits Times 8/10/83).

6.6.1.4 Practical Embodiment of the Standard

Both Beijing Radio and dictionaries from China such as

the *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* (Modern Chinese Dictionary),

published in 1977, were mentioned as authorative sources

for the standard norm. However, as Singaporeans had no

access to Beijing Radio, it was felt that the Huayu

speaking announcers of the Singapore Broadcasting

Corporation were acceptable models for Singapore

speakers of Huayu.

A high standard is expected of such announcers.

Candidates fail the voice test used in the recruitment of

announcers if, for example, they fail to correctly

distinguish retroflex from dental initials (see 7.2.1),

use tones wrongly, including having lexical tone where

the the standard requires <u>qingsheng</u> (see 7.2.7), or are

unable to correctly read Pinyin. Although it was

recognized that inevitably some traces of "dialect

accent" remained, it was felt by the specialists that

announcers generally achieved a standard of Huayu very

close to standard Putonghua (much closer to the Beijing

based standard than American and Australian English is

to British English, as one informant put it). A small

amount of local lexis is used in broadcasting, generally

following the principles mentioned at 6.6.1.3 above. For

example, very widely used and fully integrated items

such as <u>bāshì</u> "bus", <u>déshì</u> "taxi" and <u>gūbén</u> "[parking]

coupon" are used in radio broadcasts. Announcers are

also expected to follow the principles outlined above in using "erization", e.g., forms such as yíhùer and yidiǎr must be "erized", although alternatives such as yìdiǎndiǎn are acceptable.

Teaching materials are another source of standard models. Again, the principles described above apply to the development of such materials. Thus, some local lexical items such as bāshì "bus", déshì "taxi" and luóliche "lorry" are currently used in local school textbooks (although the "rulings" of the Mandarin Standardization Committee are awaited) but not dialect calques such as bāiwǔlóng "to make a silly mistake". Dictionaries used by school students, although locally published, are based upon dictionaries published in China. Considerable use is also made of Pinyin romanization and recordings of the standard pronunciation. Teachers of Chinese are also sent in batches for retraining in the standard pronunciation so that they might present a more standard model of pronunciation to their students (inevitably, with rather mixed results, see comment p.165)

6.6.1.5   The Practicality of the Prescribed Standard

Each informant in the specialists group was asked how difficult he or she felt it would be for Singaporeans to master all features of the prescribed standard, whether there were any features it would be unnecessary or

impossible to master and how far the Huayu presently used every day in Singapore differed from the standard. All but two agreed that the standard as defined was a feasible norm for speakers of Huayu and that it contained no feature that Singaporeans should not or could not eventually master.

The two differing opinions came, perhaps significantly, from teachers (one currently teaching, one seconded to work on Curriculum Development). Whilst recognizing that the "real" standard was based upon Beijing dialect, one of these two said that:

Wǒmen méiyǒu bànfǎ qù gēn běijīngde, nàxīe beijīnghùa lái bǐ. Ni néんggou jiǎngde liúlì, nǐde yòngcí qiàdāng, nà wǒ júede zhèishi biāozhǔn.

(There is no way we can match ourselves with Beijing, the Beijing speech. If you can speak fluently, with proper wording, then I think that's standard.)

She went on to explain that, in her opinion, the most serious fault of Singapore speakers was their tendency to mix English and sometimes Malay into their Huayu, and that this should be strongly discouraged among school students. However, if, for example, a student said [tsɪ] for Standard [ʈɛʵʐ] (i.e. dental instead of retroflex place) or [si] for standard [ɕí] (i.e., dental instead

of palatal) this could not really be regarded as a mistake. The other teacher felt that whilst Singapore speakers might one day master the standard pronunciation, it would be very difficult to ever get general use of initial retroflexion. In having such reservations, they thus differed slightly from the other informants in this group, who all stated that there could be and need be no compromise on the criterion for the standard pronunciation.

Aside from this, there were also small differences among the informants in this group in their assessments of the difficulties to be overcome in reaching the target of a standard pronunciation. The non (school) teachers were, in general, somewhat more optimistic. They felt that outside the school system many people were making serious efforts to improve their pronunciation and that within the school system many secondary school students (and recent graduates from secondary schools) had mastered a variety of Huayu substantially more standard than that spoken by previous generations. This was even more true of the present generation of primary school students. Whilst some recognized that the Huayu pronunciation of many teachers of Chinese diverged quite considerably from the standard, the periods of retraining, the emphasis on Pinyin and the use in the classroom of recordings of standard speech was felt to be going a long way towards solving the problem.

As mentioned above, the school teachers tended to be a little less sanguine. One commented that the periods of training in Pinyin and the standard pronunciation often had little lasting effect on the pronunciation of the participating teachers. This was partly because the courses were too short and partly because many teachers were reluctant to suddenly change the way they spoke for fear of being laughed at. Another commented that with the encouragement for parents to use Huayu at home, students were being influenced by the nonstandard Huayu of their parents. All three felt that it would be a long time (if ever) before certain features of the standard such as retroflex initials were in general use.

6.6.2 Views of the Standard in the Press

Generally, the press follow the official line that the standard for Huayu must be basically exonormative and essentially the same as that for Putonghua. However, differing viewpoints occasionly surface. For example, "visiting expert" Professor Robert L. Cheng was reported as calling for Singapore to develop its own brand of Mandarin and quoted as saying that:

> A society where people regard there own things as
> inferior and thus try to conform with the
> standards of others is not healthy. When you

reach a certain standard of development you
should accept your own language and set your own
standards.

(Straits Times 10/10/81)

Seven days later, five Singaporeans were reported as
rejecting this suggestion. Ho Kah Leong, Parliamentary
Secretary (Education) was quoted as saying:

Singapore cannot develop its own brand of
Mandarin that may not be understood
internationally, otherwise we could be isolated.
We must set a standard for teaching purposes so
that even if we achieve 80 per cent success, we
are not far off the standard.

(Straits Times 17/10 81).

In the same article, Dr. Loo Shaw Chang, director of the
Chinese Language and Research Centre of the National
University of Singapore and Chairman of the Mandarin
Standardization Committee, was reported as saying that
Singapore should not deliberately develop its own brand
of Mandarin but should try to minimise the local
elements, and Ban Soon Wan, President of the Singapore
Association of Teachers of Chinese as a Second Language,
was reported as saying that Singapore must conform to
the basic vocabulary of standard Huayu. "Commonly used
local terms may enrich Mandarin, but this does not mean

that Singapore should create its own brand of the
language."

The difference between Professor Cheng and the official
Singapore view of the standard may be more apparent than
real. Whilst the Singaporeans clearly reject the view
that there could be an endonormative standard, in terms
of the actual linguistic features that Singapore
speakers should aim at, the area of disagreement does
not seem to be very great. The erization and qingsheng of
Beijing pronunciation are two features which Professor
Cheng is reported to have said were unnecessary for
Singaporeans to imitate and, as has been mentioned above,
both of these are areas where it is agreed that the
Singapore standard might diverge from Beijing
pronunciation (though the prescribed standard would
retain some erization and qingsheng). The only lexical
item mentioned in the article as acceptable in Professor
Cheng's view is the term bāshā "market". Whilst it is not
yet certain whether the Mandarin Standardization
Committee will "allow" this term, as mentioned above, it
was felt to be an acceptable item by all informants in
the Specialists Group.

A view of the desirable standard differing in the other
direction was expressed by Professor Robert Chang Hsiao
from Taiwan's National Normal University previous to
leaving Singapore after nine months as an advisor to the
Ministry of Education. He called on Singapore speakers

not only to strive for standard Huayu pronunciation but also to eliminate from their speech such local terms as luódi "bread", gānbāng "kampong" or "village", bāsha "market", báshì "bus", déshì "taxi" and so on for which there were appropriate standard terms and to use locally coined terms only when no standard term existed (Straits Times 24/3/81, Nanyang Siang Pau 25/3/81). This is clearly a more restrictive view of the standard than that espoused by the Singapore Huayu Specialists Group.

Occasionally, there has been recognition that insistence on the mastery of the standard might be counter productive to the aim of promoting wider use of Huayu. For example, in October 1983 Ch'ng Jit Koon, the Senior Parliamentary Secretary (Prime Minister's Office), was reported as calling for the emphasis to be on "quantity before quality".

> Among the Chinese in Singapore, he said, were
> older folk who did not have much education and
> those who had studied only English in colonial
> days. Pegging standards too high in the Mandarin
> drive would discourage these people and make them
> feel embarrassed about not being able to speak
> the language fluently and with the right accent,
> he said. The quality aspect could be promoted

only after a start has been made, said Mr. Ch'ng,

so that the Chinese could speak Mandarin and

speak it well.

(Straits Times 12/10/83)

In general, then, any public discussions about the
appropriate prescribed standard for Huayu in Singapore
have been restricted to arguments over the extent of
"erization" (if any) and _qingsheng_ that needs to be
encouraged and how much local lexis should be retained.
The assumption that all of the other major features of
the exonormative standard (i.e., those of standard
Putonghua) could and should be used by all Singapore
speakers, with the possible exception of those of the
older generation, is not usually publicly questioned.

6.6.3 Perceptions of Standard Huayu by "Laymen"

The responses of the 46 informants used for the main
study to certain questions in the interviews will now be
considered in order to gain some indication of attitudes
towards and perceptions of the prescribed standard by
non-specialist speakers of Singapore Huayu.

All the informants were asked what they thought was the
best or most correct kind of Mandarin and whether or not
Singaporeans should try to speak Huayu the way it was
spoken in Beijing or Taiwan. They were also asked how
they felt about the view that it did not really matter

how people spoke Huayu so long as they understood one another. Finally they were asked about what (if anything) they thought was wrong with the way they themselves spoke Huayu and with the way Singaporeans in general spoke the language. It is perhaps an indication of the great publicity and high public profile given to issues of language policy and language education in Singapore that all but two of the 46 interviewees had clear opinions on these issues.

6.6.3.1 What is the Best or most Correct Mandarin[1]?

The range of answers to this issue can be summarized as follows:

19% (i.e., 8 out of the 43 informants who expressed opinions on this issue): Beijing Mandarin represents the best, the most correct or most standard Mandarin and Singapore speakers ought to try to learn it. For example:

> Wǒ xiǎng nǐ yào jiǎng huáyu jiù jiǎngde
> bǐjiao zhǔn a, bǐjiao haoting. Beijing
> qiang haoting.

(I think that if you want to speak Mandarin, then you should speak [Mandarin which is] comparatively correct, comparatively pleasant to listen to. The Beijing accent is pleasant to listen to.)

Of the 8 informants whose responses fell into this category, 2 said that it would be possible only for the younger generation to learn Beijing Mandarin. It was already too late for speakers of their generation (one in her 40's one in her 50's).

7% (3 informants): Taiwan Mandarin is a more suitable model for Singapore speakers than Beijing Mandarin. For example:

Wǒ juéde wǒmen bù yīnggāi mófǎng tāmen, yīnwei tāmende huáyǔ, hǎoxiàng, tīngqǐlái hěn cìer, zhèiyàng a. Suǒyi rúguǒ xīnjiāpo ren yào xúe huáyǔ wǒ kàn zùi hǎo shi xúe táiwān, yīnwei táiwānde huáyǔ yǐjīng he wǒmen chàbuduǒ hěn jiējìn a.

(I think that we ought not to imitate them [=Beijing speakers], because their Mandarin, like, when you hear it it is very harsh. So if Singaporeans want to learn Mandarin we would do best to learn Taiwan [Mandarin] because Taiwan Mandarin is already quite close to ours.)

16% (7 informants): Beijing Mandarin represents the most standard or most correct Mandarin, but for some reason it is not suitable or possible for Singaporeans to learn it or imitate it. For example:

Běijīng shi zuì biāozhǔnde, búguò zai xīnjiāpō wǒ

juéde nàge shi hěn nán qu xuéde. Wǒmen zhèibian

shi nánfāngrén de yìge shèhùi, fújiàn, guǎngdōng,

fújiànshěng, guǎngdōngshěng, děng   ...nàge

jìshínían wǒmen súo jiēshōude xùnlìan, jiǎngde

húayu ...shi zhèipīrén chúanguolai gěi wǒmen de.

Dāngrán wǒmen xíguànle wǒmen zhèiyitàode húayu.

Wǒ juéde wǒmende húayu gēn bēijīngde huáyu chā

hěn yǔan.

(Beijing is the most standard, but in Singapore

I think that it is very hard to learn it. We are

a society of southerners here, Fujian,

Guangdong, Fujian province, Guangdong province

and so on ...the Mandarin we have been taught

and have spoken for decades...is that passed

down to us by these people. Naturally we got

into the habit of [using] our own Mandarin. I

think that our Mandarin is very different from

Beijing Mandarin.)

Běijīng húayu dāngrán zuì zhǔnde la.... wǒmen

búbi mófǎng tāmende. Gè difang yǒu tāmen zìjǐ

yǔyánde nèiróng. Ni bu kěnéng yìbǎi bāxīan gēn

běijīngde rén yíyàng.

(Beijing Mandarin is of course the most

correct..... we don't need to imitate their

[Mandarin]. Each place has its own language

content. You can't be one hundred percent the

same as people in Beijing.)

40% (17 informants): There is no need for Singaporeans to

learn or imitate someone else's Mandarin or to take its

standards from outside. This kind of answer is, in

effect, not much different from those of the 16%

mentioned above. For example:

Shěnwéi xīnjīapō rén yīnggāi shi rènwéi xīnjīapō

huáyǔ zuì hǎo la. Yīnwei tāmen shi....xīqǔ gè

fāngmiande zùihǎode jīnghúa... ránhòu rónghùa

chéngwéi xīnjiapō běnshénde yǔyán, suóyǐ yīnggāi

shì, yīnggāi shi zùihǎode.

(As Singaporeans we should recognise Singapore

Mandarin as the best. Because they

have...absorbed the very best essence of all

aspects...and then blended it into a language

of Singapore's very own, so it should be,

should be [regarded as] the best.)

Xīnjīapō huáyǔ yǒu xīnjīapō huáyǔ jiǎngfǎ.

Běijīng qiāng dehua hó, nǐ tīngxiàlái bǐjiao

cièr, bū dà hǎo tīng. [Interviewer: Táiwānde

ne?] Wǒ rènwéi měige rén yǒu měige rén de

fēnggé bǐjiao hao la. Bùyào xúe rénjia a.

(Singapore Mandarin has its own way of speaking.
As for the Beijing accent, it sounds rather
harsh, not very pleasant. [Interviewer: How
about Taiwan's?] I think it is best if everyone
has there own style. It's not necessary to learn
other people's.)

However, all of the 17 informants answering in this way
went on to reject the proposition that correctness is
unimportant so long as one is understood. They therefore
had some notion of an internal standard. When asked whose
Mandarin could serve as a model of correct Mandarin
within Singapore, some cited the Singapore broadcasting
Corporation, a couple cited the Mandarin taught in
schools and used by teachers of Chinese and some did not
give clear answers.

21% (9 informants): It does not matter much about
correctness so long as you are understood. For example:

Wǒ rènwéi rúguo jiǎngde míngbai jiù kěyi la.
Bù yòng shūo yīnggāi xué tāmende.

(I think that it is alright so long as you are
understood. There's no need to say that we
should learn theirs.)

zhǐ yào dàjiā nénggòu tīngdedǒngde huáyǔ,

bú huì tàiguo...fāngyán qiāng tài zhòng, wǒ

xiǎng dōu nénggòu jiēshōu la.

(As long as it is a Mandarin that everyone can

understand, without too strong a dialect accent,

then I think it can be accepted)

Bú xūyào la. Zhǐyào liúlì gēn tōngshùn

jiù kěyǐ la.

(It's not necessary [to learn Beijing or Taiwan

Mandarin]. As long as you are fluent and clear

it's alright.)

Thus only about 1/4 of the informants (11 out of 43) felt
that Singapore speakers should and could adopt an
external (Beijing or Taiwan based) variety as their
standard or target norm. The remaining 3/4 felt it was
either unnecessary or impractical for Singaporeans to
adopt an external model for their Huayu.

6.6.3.2 Recognition of Different Norms

Some of the informants were also quite explicit about
their recognition of two norms - the standard and the
way they speak (and had no intention of changing, at
least when speaking with other Singaporeans). For
example:

Haóxiàng "[sɿ]" a, "wǒ [sɿ] huárén" de "[sɿ]".

Xiànzai wǒ shi niàn "[sɿ]" a, búguò tāde

zhèngquède fāyīn shi   "[ʂʅ]", "wǒ [ʂʅ]

huárén".. .... Yīnwei mùqián a, xīnjiāpō nà xiē

xuéshēng xué huáyǔ a ..... wǒmen zhǐ shi,

haǒxiàng wǒ zhèiyàng a, tāmen súibiàn

jiāngchūlái, zhǐyào tāde zìjù zhèngquè a, rénjiā

tīngde qīngchu, wǒ jiù kěyǐ a. Bǐrú shuō nǐ

xiànzai jiào tāmen liànxí nà zhǒng zhèng...zhèi

zhǒng fāyīn a, tāmen hui juéde, haǒxiàng, hěn

máfan zhèiyàng, yīnwei jiào wǒ běnshēn, wǒ yě

shi zhèiyàng, wo, haǒxiàng, hěn máfan zhèiyàng,

haǒxiàng shi bù shùnkǒu.

(Like [sɿ], the [sɿ] in "Wo [sɿ] huaren [=I am

Chinese]." I am pronouncing it as [sɿ], "wo [sɿ]

huaren", but its correct pronunciation is "[ʂʅ]",

"wo [ʂʅ] huaren" .... Because at   present,

students learning Mandarin in Singapore, we just,

like, they speak anyhow, as long as the wording

is correct and others can understand, then it is

alright as far as I am concerned. Like, if you

ask them to practise the right....this sort of

pronunciation, they will feel, like, it's a lot

of trouble, because if you asked me to do it, I'd

be the same. I, like, would find it a lot of

trouble, awkward to speak.)

Zhèige kànfǎ hǎ, rúguǒ shi běndìrén a, xīnjīapo
rén duì xīnjīapo rén de hùa, zìjǐ hùa kěyǐ
chénglì la. Rúguǒ hó, wǒmen gēn wàiguó rén de
shíhou, gēn haǒxiàng nàxie zhōngguó taíběi
dehùa, zuì hǎo wǒmen bǐjiao zhùzhòng zhèngque
la.

(This opinion [that Singaporeans should speak
standard Mandarin] if it's locals, Singaporeans
to Singaporeans then our own speech can be
established. But if we are with foreigners, with
for example those from China or Taibei, then
it's best that we pay more attention to
correctness.)

In addition, Several informants showed explicit
recognition that norms had changed or were changing. For
example:

Wǒmen zhèiyídai rén jiǎngde húayǔ gēn xiànzàide xiǎo
haízi jiǎng húayǔ jiù yǒu yìdiǎn bùtóng, yīnwei
wǒmen yoǔ xie yīn háishi búgoù zhǔn, meíyoǔ xúedaò
pīnyīn.

(The Mandarin spoken by those of my generation
[a 45 year old] is a little different from
that spoken by children today, because we have
some sounds which are not standard enough, we
haven't learned Pinyin.)

Tāmen měicì pīpíng wǒ bú huì jiǎng tāmen lǎoshīde

zhèngquède huàyǔ. Dànshì wǒ kàn chàbuduō la,

guòdeqù.

(They [=my children] always criticise me for not

being able to speak the correct Mandarin of their

teacher. But I reckon it's good enough, it'll

do.)

6.6.3.3 What is Wrong with the Mandarin Spoken in
    Singapore?

By far the most common comment in this area was that

Singapore speakers are too fond of mixing elements from

other languages or dialects into their Mandarin. For

example:

Wǒmen bù xiǎoxīn dehuà, tōngcháng wǒmende yǔyán

lǐmìan huì yǒu hěn duō màlàihùa a, chànjiā

fāngyán....

(If we are not careful, in our language there

is often a lot of Malay, mixing in of dialect

....)

Wǒmen de Húayǔ shi chànchànde

(Our Huayu is all mixed)

Xīnjiāpōde huáyǔ yě shi, jiǎngqǐlái tīngqǐlái

chànde hěn duō zhǒng yǔyán xiàqu. Zhùyì tīng

dehùa, yǒushí chàn mǎláihùa yì liǎng jù a,
guǎngdong hùa, fújianhùa yě shì yǒu chàn
yìdiǎndǐan.

(Singapore Mandarin is also, when you speak it
when you hear it there is mixed in many
languages. If you listen   carefully, [you can]
sometimes [hear] a couple of phrases of Malay, a
little Cantonese and Hokkien also gets mixed in.)

"Accent" was mentioned, although much less often than
"mixing".   For example:

Yìxie xuésheng tāmen jiǎngde huáyǔ hěn....bú gòu
shuǐzhǔn a. Néng jiǎng dànshi haǒxiàng yǒu fújian
qiang a, huòshi guǎngdong qiāng.

(Some students they speak Mandarin very.... not
up to standard. They can speak but for example
they have a Hokkien accent or a Cantonese
accent.)

The only specific linguistic features mentioned as being
wrong in Singapore Mandarin (by just three informants)
are final particles. For example:

Wǒmen shuode huáyǔ bìng bu shi biaozhǔn. Wǒmen,
yǒushì xiǎo háizi tánhùa deshíhou, hěn duo,
nàxie bú bìyaode wéiyin.

(The Mandarin we speak is certainly not

standard. We, sometimes when children are

talking [they use], many, of those unnecessary

final sounds)

Wŏmen xīnjiāpō rén jiāng yīngyǔ yòngdao

hòumiànde "la", wŏmen jiǎng húayǔ yě shì yŏu

hěn dūo hòumian zhèixie wèiyīn.

(When we Singaporeans speak English we use "la"

at the end. When we speak Mandarin we also have

many such final sounds at the end)

6.7 Conclusion

Generally, the prescribed standard for Huayu in Singapore

differs from the prescribed standard for Putonghua in

China only in those areas in which the latter is itself

flexible or evolving. Most standardization efforts in

Singapore have been and continue to be directed towards

lexis, the area in which the line between standard and

nonstandard is at present most "fuzzy". Officially, at

least, there are to be no compromises on the question of

the standard pronunciation, and this is felt to be, in

the long term at least, a realizable target.

Not surprisingly, "laymen" speakers of Singapore Huayu

tend to be less prescriptive than the specialists who

are involved in developing and implementing the

standard. The majority of the "laymen" informants

rejected the necessity or feasibility of Singapore speakers taking outside models for their spoken Huayu. Thus, in the short term at least, it does not seem likely that there will be a wholesale adoption of the prescribed standard.

The hopes of the prescriptivists may be pinned on the next few generations, beginning with those now in primary school. However, it seems doubtful whether the exposure to the standard variety such students get through the mass media, recordings of standard speakers and so on will be able to fully counteract the nonstandard varieties they will continue to be exposed to both inside the classroom (few teachers are yet able to consistently present a standard model of pronunciation) and outside the classroom.

NOTES

1. There was not, in fact, complete agreement on this last item. One informant felt that bāxiān should be replaced by the standard Putonghua term baifenzhi.

2. In this section , for convenience the term Mandarin rather than Huayu, Guoyu and Putonghua will be used as a cover term for all the relevant varieties.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOME FEATURES OF A GENERAL NORM FOR SINGAPORE HUAYU

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at a number of nonstandard features which are very common in Singapore Huayu. These are features which seem to be relatively invariable (apart from, in some cases, some clearly phonologically constrained variation), both from speaker to speaker and within the speech of the same speaker. In this, they differ from the highly variable features which will be investigated in the chapters which follow.

It is suggested that these nonstandard features have not been much affected by pressure from the prescribed standard. There is little sign that they are less frequent in the speech of younger or more educated speakers or that they have become generally stigmatized. In other words, they are part of a general de-facto norm for speakers of Huayu in Singapore.

In the case of nonstandard features in **phonology**, the basis for the claim that they do not show significant sociolectal or diachronic variation is simply that (outside certain very restricted groups, for example, broadcasters, some language teachers and others

professionally concerned with the language) speakers of Huayu in Singapore use them almost categorically, i.e., they are seldom, if ever, "replaced" by their standard equivalents, or at least not in certain phonological environments. One exception to this is the category of *fewer qingsheng* (see 7.2.7 below).

Quite the same cannot be said of the nonstandard features of **grammar** looked at in this chapter. It cannot usually be said, for example, that their standard "equivalents" are never used by speakers. It has to be remembered that the concept of an "equivalent" at the level of grammar may be something quite different from at the level of phonology (see discussion at 7.3). However, these nonstandard grammatical features occur in speech samples from informants of all age groups and educational levels and, perhaps more importantly, speakers seem generally unaware that they are nonstandard or in any sense "incorrect".

There are various possible reasons why the use of certain nonstandard features might remain unaffected by the pressure from the prescribed standard. In some cases, speakers may be simply unaware that a particular feature of Singapore Huayu differs from the prescribed standard. As mentioned above, this is often the case with nonstandard features of grammar. In other cases, speakers may be aware of the difference but show little inclination to generally adopt the standard variant, although they may be able to "switch on" the standard

variant in certain very restricted contexts, such as when taking oral examinations or talking with speakers of more standard varieties from outside Singapore. Sometimes speakers can be quite explicit in their rejection of a particular standard feature as a target norm for Singapore speakers (i.e., it may have acquired a negative social evaluation).

The dividing line between these relatively invariant features and the highly variable features looked at in the following chapters is inevitably somewhat fuzzy. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt a quantitative analysis of all nonstandard features in Singapore Huayu or in the recorded data and therefore allocation of some of these features to one or the other category is inevitably somewhat tentative. It is always possible that further research might discover significant patterns of variation in some of these features that this study has not revealed.

7.2 Nonstandard Phonological Features

The nonstandard phonological features examined below are very common in the speech of all informants recorded for this study regardless of age, level of education or mother tongue. Whilst the standard or near standard variants of such features may occur very sporadically in the speech of some speakers (usually at the very beginnings of interviews or in the reading sections),

such occurrences are insignificant in number compared to the number of occurrences of the nonstandard variants.

These nonstandard phonological features may be divided into those which nearly always "replace" their standard equivalents in all phonological environments (eg. non-retroflex for standard retroflex initials and [h] for standard [x]) and those which nearly always "replace" their standard equivalents in certain phonological environments only (e.g., lack of labiovelar glide in certain syllable types). The features also differ in the effect they have on the phonological system as a whole, in particular whether they reduce options in particular systems, leading to the potential realization as homophones zi which are heterophones in the standard language, or whether they simply represent differences in the phonetic realizations of certain options. The following nonstandard features of phonology will be examined in this chapter: i) lack of initial retroflexion; ii) lack of final retroflexion; iii) [h] for [x]; iv) [ɣən] for [ɣæn]; v) [s] for [ɕ]; vi) lack of labiovelar glide in certain environments; vi) fewer qingsheng.

7.2.1 Lack of Initial Retroflexion

The standard pronunciation has a set of syllables beginning with the retroflex consonants [ʂ], [tʂʰ] and [tʂ] (written sh, ch and zh in Pinyin). In the

syllables <u>shi</u>, <u>chi</u> and <u>zhi</u> (i.e., syllables with initial
retroflexion and <u>I</u> height) the retroflexion extends
throughout the syllable and Karlgren's symbol [ʅ] is
usually used to indicate the retroflex high vowel in
these three syllables.

This syllable initial retroflexion is rare in the
recorded data and in the speech of Singaporeans in
general. 25 of the 46 informants have non-retroflexion
categorically in such syllables in which initial
retroflexion would be required in the standard
pronunciation (the pattern of variation with the initial
retroflex consonant written <u>r</u> in Pinyin is more complex
and will be dealt with separately in Chapter Ten). The
total number of instances of syllables with initial
retroflexion in the speech of the other 21 informants
is only 37, although the number of potential environments
(i.e., zi which have initial retroflexion in the standard
language) runs into many thousands. No speaker has more
than 5 such occurrences (most have only one or two) and
the great majority of such occurrences are near the
beginnings of interviews or in the readings of word
lists, i.e., in those sections of the interviews in which
speakers might be assumed to be paying maximum attention
to their speech.

This accords with the general observations of the author
that initial retroflexion in Singapore Huayu is generally
heard only in the speech of broadcasters and some

teachers of Chinese and is rare in most contexts in which Singaporeans are talking to Singaporeans.

Several of the informants who do occasionally use these consonants also showed hypercorrection, e.g., [ʂɤ] for standard [sɤ] in <u>yanse</u> "colour" (an item in the word lists) and [ʈʐ] for standard [sʐ] in <u>yisi</u> "idea" or "meaning", thus suggesting confusion over the standard distribution of the retroflexes.

Whilst the lack of retroflexion is a relatively invariant feature in the data, the precise phonetic character of the two affricates and one fricative "replacing" the retroflexes does show some variation. The place of articulation appears to vary from dental to alveolar to post-alveolar and the articulator from apical to laminal. All three show this variation. However, laminal post-alveolar realizations seem much more common with the affricates than the fricative, although the latter do occur. Such realizations might be transcribed [ʃ], [tʃʰ], and [dʒ] (although they are seldom as retracted as the English sounds usually so transcribed). The more front variants might be transcribed [s], [ts̺ʰ] and [dz]. In the syllables <u>shi</u> , <u>chi</u> and <u>zhi</u> the lack of retroflexion applies, of course, equally to the following vowel. Thus the distinction normally recognized in phonetic transcriptions of the standard pronunciation between the retroflex high vowel [ʅ] and the non-retroflex high vowel [ɿ] is neutralized.

7.2.1.1 Phonological Implications

The lack of initial retroflexion means that most speakers do not have a regular retroflex versus dental option in the place system. Although, as stated above, speakers do not always use dental realizations where the standard would require retroflex, realizations such as [ʃ], [tʃʰ] and [dʒ] do not serve to maintain a distinction between standard retroflex and dental initials, as the same speakers often have these post-alveolar realizations also for the dental series. Thus, for example, some speakers may pronounce both chóng "insect" and cóng "from" as [tʃʊŋ] (or [tʃɔŋ], see 11.4.2.3) whilst others may pronounce them both as [tsʌʊŋ] (or [tsʌɔŋ]). Lack of initial retroflexion thus creates many potential homophones for Singapore speakers.

7.2.1.2 Possible Reasons for the Persistence of Lack of
        Initial Retroflexion

The most obvious reason for the persistence of this nonstandard feature in Singapore Huayu is that retroflexion is a difficult articulatory gesture for Singapore speakers as no such feature exists in the southern dialects. However, some speakers undoubtedly are able to produce initial retroflexion and do so in some very restricted contexts (e.g., when speaking with Mandarin speakers from Northern China or when taking oral

examinations). It is likely that more is involved. Lack

of retroflexion may be a general norm for speakers more

than simply in the sense that it is generally absent

from their speech. Retroflexion also seems to be rejected

by many as part of the desirable target norm for

Singapore speakers. For example (from a secondary school

student):

> Like "si", the "si" in "wo si huaren". I am now
>
> pronouncing it as "si", "wo si huaren", but its
>
> correct pronunciation is "shi", "wo shi huaren".
>
> Because at present, students learning Huayu in
>
> Singapore, we just, like, they speak anyhow, as
>
> long as the wording is correct and others can
>
> understand, then it is alright as far as I am
>
> concerned. Like, if you now ask them to practise
>
> the right ....this sort of pronunciation, they will
>
> feel, like, it's a lot of trouble, because if you
>
> asked me to do it, I'd be the same. I, like, would
>
> find it a lot of trouble, awkward to speak.

In this quotation, si represents the non-retroflex [s⫟]

and shi the retroflex [ʂ⫟]. The original Huayu version of

this quotation is given in Pinyin on page 175.

Similarly, although the retroflex v. dental distinction

is part of the prescribed standard within the education

system, of the three teachers who were part of the "Huayu

Specialists" group (see 6.6), two recognized the

difficulty of teaching the distinction and admitted that
in practice one could not expect it to be generally
mastered.

Such comments clearly indicate that the feature is
salient to at least some Singapore speakers. That is,
they may be aware of the difference between syllables
with initial retroflexion and syllables without it and
that the latter are nonstandard or "incorrect". However,
they do not necessarily regard the standard retroflex
variants as valid targets for Singapore speakers. Other
comments to the author by Singapore speakers also suggest
that the use of retroflex variants may be evaluated
negatively as "putting it on" and regarded as a
specifically Beijing pronunciation inappropriate for
Singapore speakers. We may thus hypothesize that lack of
retroflexion is a feature in the Huayu of most
Singaporeans not simply because retoflexion is
"difficult" but also because it has become a marker of
"foreign-ness" or affectation.

7.2.1.3 Comparison with Other Studies

Chen Chungyu found initial retroflexion to be equally
rare in her data (Chen C.Y. 1986). Only 6.3% of the
potential retroflex readings examined were realized with
retroflexion. However, even this percentage is almost
entirely accounted for by retroflex readings from one of
her ten informants. All her other informants had non-

retroflexion categorically, except for one case in which a zi was read once without retroflexion and once with it.

Ng (1985) reports findings from a study of variation in these retroflex initials in samples from a group of ten Singapore speakers aged between 20 and 25 and pursuing tertiary education in Australia. Five styles (i.e., in Labov's sense of contexts in which differing degrees of attention are likely to be paid to speech) - "free speech", a read dialogue, word lists, minimal pairs and tongue twisters were investigated. She finds that whilst the retroflex variant of sh "is not very frequent in Singapore Mandarin", it is much more likely to occur than the other two retroflex variants (i.e., [$t\xi^h$] and [$d\xi$]). She also finds sh to be sensitive to style shift, with the lowest percentage of the retroflex variant occurring in the "free speech" style and the highest percentages occurring in minimal pairs and tongue twisters. However, she also finds "increased confusion as the contexts become more formal" (p.34) and that percentages of hypercorrection (i.e., retroflexion with standard non-retroflex s) increase similarly.

It is interesting that Ng's study should have elicited a generally much higher rate of retroflexion with sh than in the present study or in Chen's study. It is possible that the language of the interviewer may have had something to do with this. As Ng herself states:

From the experimenter's observation, it has been noted that Singapore Mandarin speakers tend to use more retroflexes when speaking to a Peking Mandarin speaker. The subjects have also reported similar observations themselves, saying that in such a situation, they actually feel pressurized into producing retroflexes. When a Singaporean speaks to another Singaporean in a non-formal conversational situation, relatively fewer retroflexes are used. In this experiment, the Singapore Mandarin interviewer deliberately used retroflexes during the interviews. Several subjects did comment on this fact. In this case, the interlocutor - interviewer effect could have induced a higher percentage of retroflexes. (Ng 1985:36).

This, in fact, appears to confirm the hypothesis of the present study that although some speakers may be able to produce initial retroflexion, the feature has not become part of any general norm for Singapore speakers, other than perhaps in very restricted contexts.

7.2.1.4 Comparison with Other Varieties of Mandarin

The Northern (Huabei) and Northwestern Mandarin dialects mostly have initial retroflexion. However, Southwestern Mandarin dialects south of the Yangzi River and the

Jianghuai Mandarin dialects generally lack this feature (Zhan 1981).

Initial retroflexion is also frequently absent or very variable in the Putonghua spoken as a second language or second dialect in other parts of China. Lehmann, for example, comments:

> In most areas we visited outside Peking we heard no distinction [between retroflex and dental initial consonants] - or great variability..... We rarely heard a speaker of Wu or Southeastern dialects who had mastered the distinction entirely.....In Canton we found the situation was informally recognized as beyond immediate solution, though some effort was made to teach the distinction, there were many more serious difficulties to overcome in teaching Putonghua.
>
> (Lehmann ed. 1975:34)

Similarly, Ramsay comments:

> In Southern dialects, and in some of the North as well, the retroflexes zh, ch and sh are not distinguished from the dental sounds z, c and s .....The problem is always discussed in Chinese schools, but in most places is regarded as insoluable. About the only people in the

provinces who approximate the pronunciation with any consistency are professional speakers, such as announcers and tour guides, and a few educators. The retroflex distinction is officially considered part of the standard language, but in practice most speakers of Putonghua get along without it.

(Ramsay 1987:42-43)

Kubler (1981) similarly notes that in Taiwan Guoyu, speakers also "tend to substitute" dentals for standard retroflex initials. He further comments that:

As a result of much time and effort, many children do learn to pronounce these sounds in slow and careful speech. However, a tendency at such times to overcompensate and retroflex all dentals [....] is evidence that the "psychological reality" of the distinction between the retroflex and non- retroflex classes no longer exists for these speakers.

(Kubler 1981:59)

Thus, whilst initial retroflexion remains part of the prescibed standard for Putonghua in China, Guoyu in Taiwan and Huayu in Singapore, there is nothing unique in

Singapore speakers honouring this more in the breach than the observance.

7.2.2 Lack of Final Retroflexion

7.2.2.1 Final Retroflexion in the Standard Pronunciation

A striking feature of Beijing dialect, particularly colloquial varieties, is the extent of syllable final retroflexion. There are two main types of such retroflexion. Firstly, there is the syllable written er in Pinyin which is in fact a retroflex central vowel, usually with some audible constriction. This may be transcribed phonetically as [ə˞] or [ɑ˞]. There are, in fact, only four commonly occurring zi of this type: 儿 ér "child" or "son", 而 ér as in 而且 erqie "moreover", 耳 er "ear" and 二 er "two".

Secondly, there are many zi which, particularly in colloquial Beijing speech, commonly have final vowel retroflex articulation which is usually considered as realizing -r suffixation or érhua "erization". According to Chao (1968), the -r suffix comes from three different etymons: i) li "in" which combines with zhe "this", na "that" and na "which" to form the locative deictics and locative interrogative zheli ~ zher "here", nali ~ nar "there" and nali ~ nar "where". ii) ri "day" used in "forming names of days with reference to the present" (Chao 1968:228-229). For example, jinri ~ jinr "today",

zuóri ~ zuór "yesterday" and mingri ~ mingr "tomorrow".

iii) the so called "diminutive suffix", originally ér "child, son" which now often has no clear diminutive meaning and most frequently acts as a noun marker, with some exceptions, such as the verb wàr "to play" and the adverbs yidiar "a little", yikuar "together" and yihuer "a moment, a short time".

The extensive erization characteristic of colloquial Beijing dialect is not considered part of the standard pronunciation. However, whilst this is an area in which the criteria are somewhat fuzzy, it is clear that some erization is considered part of the prescribed standard (see 6.6.1.2 and Barnes 1977).

The forms jīnr, zuór and mingr are not commonly used by speakers of Putonghua, Guoyu or Huayu outside Beijing and the standard equivalents formed with tian are perfectly acceptable and generally preferred. The erized forms are in fact marked either fāng "dialect" or kǒu "colloquial" in the *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian*. In other cases, where a zi has a non-erized and an erized form in Beijing dialect, the non-erized form is normally considered to be standard and is usually preferred. There are also a number of alternate forms in which either the -r suffix (i.e., erization) is used or a different suffix such as the "diminutive" suffix zi (e.g., xiao háir ~ xiǎo háizi "Child") or the locative suffix li (e.g., nǎr ~ nǎli "where?"). Both forms seem to be acceptable in the

standard, although the *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* marks both of the above erized forms as kŏu "colloquial".

However, where there exists no such alternate form (e.g., for yíhùer "a moment") or particularly where there is a meaning difference between an erized and a non-erized form (e.g., yíkuăr "together" versus yíkùai "one piece" or "one dollar") erization is required.

7.2.2.2 Final Retroflexion in the Singapore Data

In the recorded interviews, occurrences of the syllable er usually have little or no perceptible retroflexion and are realized by a plain central vowel that might be transcribed [ə̆].

Erization is also very rare. In fact, there is only one instance of erization - of the locative interrogative năr. Erized forms are usually avoided by using different suffixes, where such alternative forms are available in the standard language. The most common such suffixes are li and bian for the locatives, for example: nàli instead of nàr "there", zhèbian instead of zhèr "here" and zi for nouns, for example: háizi instead of háir "child".

Another strategy for avoiding items which should be erized according to the prescribed standard is to use non-erized synonyms. For example, yìqĭ instead of yíkuăr "together", yíxia instead of yíhùer "a moment" and yìdiăndiăn instead of yìdiăr "a little". However, there

are some occurrences of y̱ǐdi̱a̱n without erization, which
is definitely nonstandard.

Thus, lack of erization in the speech of the informants
only occasionally results in forms which are clearly
nonstandard. However, it does give a very different
"feel" to spoken Singapore Huayu as compared to standard
Putonghua or Guoyu which have a certain amount of
erization and even more so to colloquial Beijing speech,
with its extensive erization.

7.2.2.3 Possible Reason for the Persistence of Lack of
Final Retroflexion

Even more so than initial retroflexion, final
retroflexion is generally perceived in Singapore as a
stereotypical feature of Beijing speech which it is
unnecessary or even an affectation for Singaporeans to
imitate. For example:

> Yīnwei yào jiǎng běijīng qiāng yào jīngguó yìxiē
> xùnliàn a. Haóxiàng běijīng qiāng lǐmǐan, tā
> yǒu yìxiē "er", "shéme shìr", zheíyàng a,
> haóxiàng, tīngde hěn bú zìrán.

> (Because if you want to speak with the Beijing
> accent, you must have some training. Like in
> the Beijing accent, there are some "er", "sheme
> shir", like that, like, which sound very
> unnatural.)

7.2.2.5 Comparison with Other Varieties of Mandarin

Final retroflexion is not common in the Mandarin
dialects. According to Barnes, "erization appears to be
absent from the speech of many other Mandarin area
speakers" (Barnes 1977:211). It is also very often
absent from the Putonghua of many speakers in China with
Southern dialect backgrounds. Barnes also notes that in
Taiwan the speech of the younger generation "is in no
danger of succumbing to erh-ization" and that "there is
rarely sufficient time to firmly establish these
features. As a result, Mandarin is acquired as a second
language without erh-ization." (Barnes 1977:221).

As in Singapore, there appears to be a tendency among
Taiwanese speakers to reject as a valid target feature,
and even to stigmatize, retroflexion (both initially and
finally). Kubler, for example, recalls:

> being told by my roommates at a Taiwan
> university that my Chinese sounded "too
> feminine". When I asked for specific examples,
> retroflex sounds and the use of the suffix -er
> as well as a total lack of expletives were
> mentioned.
>
> (Kubler 1981:59)

Thus, as with initial retroflexion, there is nothing unique about Singapore Huayu in its de-facto rejection of an erized norm.

7.2.3 [h] for Standard [x] (h̲)

In the data, there is rarely any audible velar friction in environments requiring the initial consonant h̲ [x] in the standard language. Realizations seem to be fairly consistently the so-called glottal fricative [h].

7.2.3.1 Phonological Implications

The realization of the standard velar fricative as a glottal fricative in Singapore Huayu does not have any implications for the phonological system and does not lead to the production of homophones.

7.2.3.2 Possible Reasons for the Persistence of this Feature

Mandarin [x] generally corresponds to [h] in the southern dialects spoken in Singapore. As noted above, the use of [h] in Singapore Huayu does not affect the system or produce homophones. Moreover, Singapore speakers generally do not seem to be aware that it is a nonstandard feature. It is seldom commented upon or cited as a mistake that should be corrected.

7.2.3.3 Comparison with Other Varieties of Mandarin

Other Mandarin dialects spoken in China generally do have
this initial consonant as a velar fricative. However,
speakers of Putonghua from other dialect areas (in
which Beijing [x] generally corresponds to [h] or
occasionally [ɦ]) often pronounce h̲ as [h]. Liao notes
that when speakers of Southern Min in Taiwan begin to
learn Guoyu, 'they always substitute native [h] for [x]'
(Liao 1977a:87). The use of [h] by speakers of Singapore
Huayu is therefore not particularly distinctive.

7.2.4 [ɣɛ̞n] for Standard [ɣæn] (üa̲n̲)

In the Standard Pronunciation, the yunmu written as üa̲n̲
in Pinyin is pronounced [ɣæn]. In Singapore Huayu, the
vowel nucleus in this yunmu is nearly always
significantly higher, usually about [e̞]. In other words,
the quality of the vowel nucleus in üa̲n̲ is generally the
same as in the yunmu ia̲n̲.

7.2.4.1 Phonological Implications.

This realization of the vowel nucleus in üa̲n̲ does not
lead to the production of any homophones. However, it is
a instance of the tendency in Singapore Huayu for much
weaker realization of the strong y̲/w̲ prosodic postures
of the standard pronunciation. In Halliday's analysis
(described in Chapter Four) syllables with the üa̲n̲ yunmu

are analyzed as having simultaneous y and w initial

posture selection, as well as final y posture and A

height. In other words, they are regarded as labialized

versions of the initial y posture syllables which have

the ian yunmu. This explains why the vowel nucleus

should be [æ] rather than [e] (or [ɛ], the usual

pronunciation in the standard pronunciation of the

nucleus of ian), i.e., the w prosody keeps it low. In the

Singapore realizations, however, the w prosody does not

have this effect and thus the vowel nucleus in such

syllables is usually identical to the vowel nucleus in

the y posture ian syllables.

7.2.4.2 Possible Reasons for the Persistence of this

          Feature

This appears to be another case in which Singapore

speakers are generally not aware that this pronunciation

is nonstandard. As mentioned above, it has no impact on

the system and does not produce homophones.

7.2.4.3 Comparison With Chen C.Y. (1986)

Chen Chungyu (1986) similarly found that the nucleus

of üan was pronounced identically to the nucleus of

ian by all of her informants.

7.2.4.4 Comparison With Other Varieties of

Mandarin

The vowel nucleus of üan is similarly pronounced in some

Mandarin dialects, for example that of Xi'an of the

Northwest group and those of Nanjing and Yangzhou of the

Jianghuai group (Zhan 1981). It is also a widespread

pronunciation among speakers of Putonghua and Guoyu with

non Mandarin mother tongues. Chen Chungyu observes that:

"This is also the pronunciation in the speech of most, if

not all, speakers of a Southern dialect background

outside Singapore, such as in Taiwan" (Chen C.Y.

1986:146).

7.2.5 [s] For Standard [ɕ] (x)

In Standard Mandarin, there are three palatal consonants

x [ɕ], q [tɕʰ] and j [dʑ]. They are always followed

by rounded or unrounded high front glides or vowels [i]

and [y] (i.e., they occur only in syllables with initial

y or y + w prosodic postures). In the Singapore data,

the place of articulation of these initial consonants

appears to vary from as palatal as in the standard

language to dental, with a range of intermediate

articulations. However, the fricative x in unrounded

syllables comes close to being categorically non-palatal

in the speech of most speakers of all education levels,

ages and mother tongues. It is usually dental [s].

It is worth noting that whilst Cantonese has no such palatal consonant, Hokkien does, yet speakers with Hokkien as mother tongue also freqently realize x as [s]. This is one of several nonstandard features whose origins might be ascribed to a particular dialect yet have now become part of the norm for all speakers of Singapore Huayu, irrespective of their mother tongues.

Sometimes there is no palatality at all in the initial part of the syllable, for example, xiàng "like" or "similar" may be pronounced [ʂʊŋ], making it homophonous with shàng "on". However, this is much more variable and probably cannot be considered part of a general norm for Singapore Huayu.

7.2.5.1 Phonological Implications

The realization of x as [s] does not produce homophones so long as palatality is still present in the following vowel or glide, as in the standard pronunciation [s] does not co-occur with initial y posture. It is, however, interesting that x should be so much more likely to be realized as dental than q or j, as with the common Singapore Huayu realizations of the standard retroflexes and dentals, the affricates also have a tendency to be farther back than the fricatives (see p.188).

It is not clear why rounding should favour the retention
of palatality in x. Perhaps because this feature is
itself variable in Singapore Huayu (see Chapter Nine)
and combination of y and w posture seems to be a
difficult articulatory gesture for many speakers, such
syllables are more salient to speakers. Thus, if they
succeed in getting "right" the high front rounded posture
they are also likely to get "right" the other difficult
feature of such syllables - palatality in the
consonant.

7.2.5.2 Possible Reasons for the Persistence of this
Feature

The use of [s] for x is seldom commented upon and
Singapore speakers generally do not seem to be aware
that it diverges from the standard pronunciation. It has
no effect on the system and does not produce homophones.

7.2.5.3 Comparison With Chen C.Y. (1986)

Chen Chungyu (1986) similarly found that x is the most
likely of the palatals to be realized as a dental and
that palatality is much more likely to be retained in
syllables that are rounded in the standard
pronunciation. However, she concludes that this is a
lexically specific rather than phonetic tendency, as when
the tendency to realize standard [y] (i.e., syllables
with initial high front rounded posture) as [i] (i.e.,

unrounded, see Chapter Nine) is taken into account, the rates for "correct" readings in rounded and unrounded syllables are almost the same. This does not seem to be the case with the present data, as speakers seem to be equally likely to use [s] in unrounded syllables whether or not they are also unrounded in the standard pronunciation. For example, one gets [s^{i}en] for xuǎn "choose" as well as [s^{i}en] for xiān "first". However, more quantitative study of this feature would be necessary for an absolutely firm conclusion.

7.2.5.4 Comparison With Other Varieties of Mandarin

The Mandarin dialects generally all have initial [ɕ], although in some dialects initial [ɕ] in Beijing may correspond in some zi to [x] or, in a few cases [s].

According to Chen, the use of [s] for [ɕ] "does not appear to be a common feature in the speech of southerners elsewhere, such as in Taiwan. Since it is not a feature commoly shared by southerners elsewhere (e.g., in Taiwan) it is particularly distinctive to the ear of a non Singaporean" (Chen C.Y. 1986:122).

This suggests that this nonstandard feature is more distinctive of Singapore Huayu as a unique variety than other features so far considered. However, this feature is also to be heard in Cantonese speaking learners of

Putonghua or Guoyu elsewhere (for example, in Hong Kong) and its distinctiveness should not be exaggerated.

7.2.6 [o] for Standard [ᵘo]

In the standard pronunciation there are 14 syllables which may be transcribed C+[ᵘo] i.e., a rounded consonant, labiovelar glide and rounded half close vowel. In Pinyin they are written:

Dental Place	Aveolar Place	Retroflex Place	Velar Place
zuo	duo	zhuo	guo
cuo	tuo	chuo	kuo
suo	nuo	shuo	huo
	luo	ruo	

In the Singapore data, syllables of this type, with the exception of those with velar initials (or velar and glottal, as in Singapore h- is usually pronounced [h], see 7.2.3 above) are very commonly pronounced with no labiovelar glide. However, rounding is preserved throughout the syllable, although the height of the vowel is somewhat variable. Realizations range from C+[o] to C+[ɔ].

A few speakers sometimes lack the labiovelar glide also after velar initials, for example pronouncing guo as [gɔ]. However, in this environment lack of labiovelar

glide cannot be considered part of a general norm for
speakers of Singapore Huayu.

This feature is only tentatively include in this chapter
on relatively invariant features. The labiovelar glide
does occasionally occur even after non-velar initials.
However, it seems to be very sporadic in this
environment and many speakers both highly educated and
in the younger age groups lack the glide almost
categorically in this environment. However, further
quantitative investigation would be necessary to
absolutely confirm the observation that this feature
shows no significant tendency to be "replaced" by its
standard equivalent in the speech of any group.

7.2.6.1 Phonological Implications

The lack of labiovelar glide after non-velar consonants
in these syllables does not lead to the production of
homophones, as the preservation of rounding in the
syllables keeps them distinct from corresponding initial
a posture syllables (such as ze, de etc.). However, this
is further evidence of the tendency for Singapore Huayu
to have much weaker realization of the w / y postures
prosodies of the standard pronunciation.

7.2.6.2 Possible Reasons for the Persistence of this
    Feature

Singapore speakers generally do not seem to be aware of
the difference between the Singapore pronunciation of the
relevant syllables and the standard pronunciation. As
mentioned above, lack of labiovelar glide in these
environments has little effect on the system and does
not produce homophones.

7.2.6.3 Comparison With Chen C.Y. (1986)

Chen Chungyu (1986) similarly comments on this
pronunciation. In her study, 58.2% of readings of the uo
yunmu are "correct". However, as no details of initial
consonants are given, this cannot be compared to the
finding of the present study that this pronunciation is
much rarer after the non-velar consonants.

7.2.6.4 Comparison With Other Varieties of Mandarin

[o] often corresponds to Beijing [ᵘo] in Mandarin
dialects of the Southwest and Jianghuai groups and some
dialects of the Northwest (Zhan 1981). As in Singapore
Huayu, the labiovelar glide is more likely to be
"retained" after velar consonants than after front
consonants. Kubler also notes that speakers of Guoyu in
Taiwan "tend to substitute" [o] or [ɔ] for standard [uo]
(Kubler 1981:64).

Once again, there is nothing particularly distinctive about the Singapore pronunciation.

7.2.7 Fewer Qingsheng

A noticeable feature of the standard pronunciation based on the speech of Beijing dialect is the extent of qingsheng ("atonic" or "neutral tone") syllables, i.e., syllables which lack lexical tone and whose pitch and shape are determined by the intonation contour of the tone group they are part of and by the lexical tone of the preceding zi.

Such atonic syllables in the standard pronunciation fall into three main categories. Firstly, there are a small number of zi which never have lexical tone - for example final particles. Secondly, there are zi which have no tone when following a toned zi in certain polysyllabic words (see Kratochvil 1968:84). Thirdly, there is the tendency in allegro speech to "drop" tone from a large number of unstressed syllable.

This is another "fuzzy" area of the standard (see 6.2.1 and Chen 1982a). However, there is no doubt that Singapore speakers regularly have far fewer qingsheng than would be considered standard. In Singapore Huayu, zi have tone in environments in which they would never have tone in the standard pronunciation. For example, $\overline{\text{yifu}}$ for

standard ȳifu "clothes", m̄atóu for standard m̌atou "wharf", zh̄idào for standard zh̄idao "know". Moreover, in allegro speech, Singapore speakers tend to retain more toned syllables than speakers of the standard pronunciation. This is related to the tendency of Singapore Huayu to follow the southern dialects in having a more syllable timed rather than stressed timed rhythm.

Like the previous feature, this feature is included in this chapter only tentatively as no quantitative analysis has been carried out. It cannot be claimed that most speakers of Singapore Huayu never use qingsheng as they never or hardly ever use final retroflexion. It is certainly variable in Singapore Huayu and all informants have some qingsheng. However, there appears to be no sociolectal patterning in qingsheng variation, for example, there seems to be little difference in the rate of qingsheng between more educated and less educated and between younger and older informants. The tendency also persists in broadcasters of the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation, who might be regarded as speaking the most standard like variety of Huayu in Singapore. This may partly account for the comments from some informants that the occasional news items from China they see are much more difficult to understand than local items as the announcers "speak fast and indistinctly".

7.2.7.1 Phonological Implications

There are a few pairs of lexical items or expressions
which are distinguished by <u>qingsheng</u> in the standard
pronunciation, for example, mǎtou "wharf" and màtóu
"horse's head" However, in context such items are
unlikely to be confused in Singapore Huayu, even if both
are pronounced without <u>qingsheng</u>.

7.2.7.2 Comparison With Other Varieties of Mandarin

The tendency to have much less <u>qingsheng</u> than in the
standard pronunciation is quite common in the Putonghua
and Guoyu spoken in areas with Southern dialect
backgounds. Kubler, for example, reports that:

> The neutral tone occurs much less frequently
> in Taiwan Mandarin than in Standard
> Mandarin....This is one reason why Northern
> Chinese often describe Taiwan Mandarin
> sounding "heavier" and having a relatively
> staccato rhythm"
>   (Kubler 1981:68)

7.3 Grammatical Features

Like all the phonological features described in this
chapter, the following grammatical features are not part
of the prescribed standard grammar for Putonghua, Guoyu

or Huayu (although, as will be mentioned, there are fuzzy areas) and they occur in the speech of informants of all educational levels, ages and mother tongues. Also, Singapore speakers generally do not seem to be aware that they are nonstandard features. This is not particularly surprising, as the emphasis in the teaching of Chinese in Singapore schools (as elsewhere where the Standard language is taught as a second dialect, see Ramsay 1987) has always tended to be on vocabulary development (particularly the learning of written zi) and (in recent years, especially) on pronunciation. Grammar, particularly the highlighting of differences between the standard grammar and the grammar of the Southern dialects, has tended to be less explicity focussed upon.

However, unlike with some of the phonological features, it can rarely be claimed that a particular nonstandard grammatical feature occurs categorically or near categorically in the speech of all or most informants. Partly, this is because most such grammatical features are far less frequent than phonological features and it is therefore hard to obtain sufficient tokens to make quantitative claims. More importantly, however, a particular nonstandard grammatical feature often cannot be said to be a variant of a particular standard grammatical feature in quite the same way as, for example, the [s] in [si] (as in xī "west") can be said to be a nonstandard variant of standard [ɕ]. Whether the

zi is pronounced [si] or [ɕi] the meaning remains the same. However, where two features of **grammar** are involved, there is more than likely to be a meaning difference. For example, whilst in some contexts the nonstandard use of yŏu in sentences such as tāmen yŏu lái "they came/have come", might be said to be functionally equivalent to the perfective particle le, as a speaker of the standard language might produce tāmen láile in the same context, for a speaker of Singapore Huayu who has both constructions they are not necessarily equivalent. In this case, the Singapore speaker has an option for realizing temporal / aspectual meaning which the standard speaker does not have. Thus, counting the number of occurrence of the yŏu construction versus the le construction would reflect something very different from counting the number of occurrences of [si] versus [ɕi].

Thus, the claim that a particular nonstandard grammatical feature appears not to have been affected by pressure from the prescribed standard and that it can be regarded as part of a general de-facto internal norm for Singapore Huayu will be based entirely on the criteria that it occurs widely in the speech of well educated as well as less educated, young as well as old informants and that speakers do not seem to be aware that it is nonstandard.

7.3.1 The <u>You</u> + VERB Construction (past time)

7.3.1.1 The Verbal Auxiliaries <u>You</u> and <u>Meiyou</u> in Standard
         Mandarin

In Standard Mandarin, the negative of <u>yǒu</u> "have" - <u>méiyǒu</u>
"not have", sometimes just <u>méi</u> - can precede the lexical
verb in clauses with negative polarity and perfective
aspect. For example:

        Tā méiyǒu   lái

        He not-have come

        He hasn't come / He didn't come

<u>Meiyǒu</u> can also be used to form choice type
interrogatives with perfective aspect. For example:

        Tā láile   méiyǒu

        He come-LE   not-have

        Has he come? / Did he come?

It can also occur alone with the lexical verb ellipsed,
as in the negative answer to the above question:

        Meiyǒu

        Not-have

        No (he hasn't/ he didn't)

However, in declarative clauses with positive polarity and perfective aspect, the positive form of méiyŏu - yŏu "have"- cannot, in the standard language, precede the lexical verb. The particles le and guo are usually used to realize perfective aspect in such clauses. For example:

Tā láile

He come-LE

He has come / He came

Tā láiguo

He come-GUO

He has come / He [once] came

But not :   *Tā yŏu lái

He has come

In answers with positive polarity and perfective aspect, the verb is not ellipsed, but is repeated with the perfective particle.   For example:

Láile

Come-LE

Yes (he has come / he came)

Láiguo

Come-GUO

Yes (he has come / he [once] came)

As the translations suggests, there is some difference in
function between <u>le</u> and <u>guo</u>. <u>Le</u> simply provides an
orientation to the completeness or consequence of the
event whereas <u>guo</u> can suggest the additional meaning that
the event happened at least once at an indefinite time
in the past. Hence it is sometimes referred to as the
indefinite past marker (Chao 1968) or "experiential"
suffix[1].

7.3.1.2 Yŏu and Mĕiyŏu in Singapore Huayu

In the Singapore data, however, yŏu is commonly used
before the lexical verb in declarative clauses with
positive polarity (as it is in both Hokkien and
Cantonese). For example:

   1/Tāmen shi huì jiǎng biāozhǔn yìdiǎn   a, yīnwei

      They   is   can speak standard a-little A[2], because

      tāmen <u>yǒu xué</u>   ma.

      they   have study MA

      They can speak [Huayu which is] a little more

      standard because they have studied it.

   2/ Zhùzài Àozhōu   deshíhou, tāmen <u>yǒu fàng</u> Zhōngguó

      Live-in Australia when,   they   have show Chinese

      piān.

      film.

When I lived in Australia, they showed Chinese films
/ a Chinese film [so I have heard the Beijing
accent].

3/ Wǒ shàngcì yǒu zuògōng, hòulái xiǎo háizi   dúshu
   I last-time have work, later small children study

   yǐhòu jiù méiyǒu   zuògōng.
   after then not-have work

   I used to work, but later after the children [began]
    school I stopped working.

4/ Wǒmen jiǎng fāngyán deshíhou,   tāmen yǒu fákuǎn.
   We   speak dialect when   they have fine

   They used to fine us whenever we spoke dialect.

5/ Huì, yīnwei wǒ yǒu dúdào   standard one Malay.
   Can, because I have study-up-to

   I can [speak Malay], because I have studied Malay up
   to standard one.

6/ Malaiwén   wǒ yǒu xuéguo   yìdiǎn.
   Malay-language I have study-GUO a-little

   I have studied a little Malay.

7/ Gāngcái wǒ dàgai yǒu jiǎngguo.

Just-now I in-general have talk-GUO

I talked about that in general just now [so I don't
need to say any more].

8/ Nàge shíhou rìběn jūn yǒu lái.

That time   Japan army have come

At that time the Japanese army came [and so I didn't
get any more schooling].

The above examples, taken from the recorded data, suggest
that events realized with this construction are **always**
placed in the past, unlike with le (or liǎo as the non-
final perfective particle is sometimes pronounced in
Singapore Huayu, see Appendix 5). There is, for example,
no instance of the use of you mirroring the use of le in
hypotactic constructions in which it indicates the
completeness of the event in the beta clause with
reference to the event in the alpha clause. Thus the data
has, for example:

   Yǒushí   kànliǎo,   yǎnjing juéde tòng.
   Sometimes look-LIAO[=LE], eyes   feel   sore

   Sometimes after having watched [tv] my eyes feel
   sore.

and

jígéle yǐhòu caí   dédao lǎisēn.

passLE after only-then get   license

You only get a license after you have passed (the

test).

But nothing like:

*Yǒushí   yǒu kan, yǎnjing juéde tong

  Sometimes have look, eyes   feel   sore

or

*Yǒu jíge yǐhòu caí   dédào lǎisēn

  Have pass after only-then get   license

On the other hand, you is occasionally used where le or

guo would be very unlikely in the standard language. In

nos. 3 and 4 above, for example, you appears to have a

past iterative or habitual rather than perfective

function.

However, the majority of instances of this you

construction in the data appear to have a function very

similar to that of the "experiential" perfective

particle guo i.e., indicating that an event has taken

place at some indefinite time in the past but is still

relevant to the present, e.g., nos. 1 and 5 above,

although this may well be because many questions in the

interview invite the informants to talk about past educational and linguistic experiences. Interestingly, yǒu may also co-occur with guo (e.g., nos. 6 and 7). In such sentences, it appears to simply strengthen the function of the guo.

Thus, this yǒu + Verb construction in Singapore Huayu cannot be regarded as simply a nonstandard variant of the realizations of perfective aspect in the standard language. From the present data at least, it appears to be used only with past events and to occur in some environments in which neither le nor guo would be likely in the standard language. It thus represents an additional option for Singapore speakers in the realization of temporal / aspectual meaning.

7.3.1.3 Yǒu + VERB as Part of a General Norm for
          Singapore Huayu

This construction occurs widely in the speech of informants as highly educated as university lecturers and as young as secondary four students, and speakers do not generally seem to be aware that it is nonstandard.

7.3.1.4 Comparison With Other Varieties of Mandarin

This use of yǒu in pre-lexical verb position tends to occur in the Putonghua or Guoyu of speakers whose mother tongues are southern dialects in which yǒu is used in

this position, for example Cantonese and Hokkien. It is also an area in which the line between standard and nonstandard may be becoming somewhat fuzzy. Y.R. Chao, for example, refers to its use as "a very new borrowing from Cantonese and the Taiwanese form of southern Fukkien [i.e., Hokkien or Minnan] dialect" (Chao 1968:748). He comments that its use in sentences such as:

Ni you kanjian ta meiyou?

You have see   him not-have

Have you seen him? / Did you see him?

"is getting fairly acceptable among those in contact with southerners" but that the answer:

You

Have

Yes (I have / I did)

"still grates on northern ears" (Chao 1968:748).

Similarly, Chen Jianmin comments that in recent years the question forms you meiyou VERB ? and you VERB meiyou ? have begun to be heard in Beijing speech, although rarely, but not the answer you (Chen J.M. 1982).

Robert L. Cheng describes a similar construction in Taiwanese Guoyu. As with the Singapore examples, you+VERB

in this variety of Mandarin also seems to be associated only with past reference. Cheng suggests that the yǒu and le constructions in Taiwanese Guoyu represent a contrast similar to that in English between simple past and perfective (for details see Cheng 1985). However, this does not entirely fit the Singapore data, as the yǒu construction appears to overlap any such constrast. Thus, whilst in all the above examples of yóu+VERB the time reference is past, in numbers 1,5,6 and 7, the orientation is clearly to the completeness or consequences of the event and its current relevance rather than to its location at a specific time in the past.

7.3.2 Yǒu + VERB (non past)

There is another very common construction in Singapore Huayu which looks the same as the construction described above. However, its functions are different. In this construction, yǒu precedes either stative verbs or dynamic verbs where there is no possible past or perfective interpretation. For example:

    1.Zhèige   bǐjiào   yǒu biāozhǔn.

    This-CLASS[3] comparatively have standard

    This (way of speaking) is more standard.

2.Tā yǒu zài   ma?

He have is-at INTERROG-PART

Is he there?

3. Interviewer: Yīngwén bào nǐ huì kàn ma?

Can you read the English newspaper?

Interviewee: yǒu huì.

Have can

Yes, I can.

4. Interviewer: Nǐ měitiān kàn baozhǐ ma?

Do you read a paper every day?

Interviewee: Yǒu, yīngwén, húawén, wǒ liǎng zhǒng

Have, English, Chinese, I two types

dōu yǒu kàn.

all have read

Yes, I read both English and Chinese

newspapers.

5. Yǒushíhou yǒujiǎng fāngyán.

Sometimes have speak dialect

Sometimes we speak dialect.

6. Yīnwei měitiān zài diànshì yě <u>yǒu</u>

   Because every-day at television also have

   <u>bō</u>.

   broadcast.

   Because it is broadcast on the television every

   day.

7. Yǒushi   tàitai yě <u>yǒu xuǎn</u> nǎyige.

   Sometimes wife also have choose which-one

   Sometimes my wife also chooses which [programme

   we watch].

The negative <u>meíyǒu</u> -"not have"- is similarly used. For

example:

8. Mǎláiwén   xiànzài zhèbian xīnjiāpō

   Malay-language now   here   Singapore

   gēnběn   wánquán <u>meíyǒu yòngdào</u>, píngcháng

   basically completely not-have use,   ordinary

   gōngzuo shēnghóu fāngmian dōu wánquán   <u>mei</u>

   work   life   aspect   all completely not-

   <u>yǒu yòngdào</u>.

   have use.

   In Singapore nowadays, the Malay language is not

   used at all [by the Chinese], in ordinary work

   and life it is not used at all.

9. Interviewer: Nǐde taitai zài waimian zuoshi ma?

Does your wife go out to work?

Interviewee: Meiyou, tā meiyou zai waimian

Not-have, she not-have at outside

zuoshi.

work

No, she doesn't go out to work.

In the standard language, you and meiyou would not be used in any of the above examples.

The use of you before stative verbs, as in nos. 1 and 2, can perhaps be seen as an extension of the existential function of you which in the standard language occurs only before nouns. With dynamic verbs, in almost every occurrence in the data, there appears to be an iterative or habitual meaning, often in contexts in which the lexical verb alone would normally be used in the standard language. Once again, it is clear that this construction cannot simply be regarded as a nonstandard variant of a standard grammatical form. With the you + VERB (non past) construction, Singapore speakers may have an option in the realization of aspectual meanings that does not exist for speakers of the standard variety.

7.3.2.1 You + VERB (non past) as Part of a General Norm

This construction occurs in the speech of informants of all social and educational backgrounds. Moreover, a number of informants (including one teacher and some upper secondary school students) were asked what the difference was between a sentence with yǒu and the same sentence without the yǒu. The answers were either that there was no difference or that the sentence with yǒu was more emphatic. They all agreed that the construction was quite correct. One in fact said that the form with yǒu was the correct form but that speakers often left it out for the sake of convenience.

It is also worth noting that this construction is as likely to occur in the speech of those with Cantonese as a mother tongue as of those with Hokkien as a mother tongue, despite the fact that it may well originate as a calque of a similar Hokkien construction which does not occur in Cantonese¹. This is further evidence for general norms for Singapore Huayu irrespective of the mother tongue of speakers.

7.3.2.2 Comparison With Other Varieties of Mandarin

Cheng (1985) also mentions this use of yǒu + VERB to mark habitual events in Taiwanese Guoyu and relates it to a similar construction in Taiwanese Minnan dialect. However, it does not seem to have been noted in any other variety of Mandarin, although it seems quite possible

that it would occur in the Putonghua of other speakers
of Minnan dialects.

7.3.3 Qù / Lái   + PLACE

7.3.3.1 Qù and Lái in Standard Mandarin

With the verbs qù "go" and lái "come", Standard Mandarin
prefers a construction in which the prepositions[5] shàng
or dào, which may both be translated as "to", followed
by a place complement form a pre-posed prepositional
complement. For example:

        Wǒ yào   shàng Běijīng qù.

        I want   to   Beijing go

        I want to (or will) go to Beijing

        Tāmen gānggāng dào Guǎngzhōu lái.

        They just   to Guangzhou come

        They have just come to Guangzhou.

There are, in fact, a few common expressions in standard
Putonghua in which the place complement does sometimes
follow the verb. For example:

        Nǐ qù nǎr ?

        You go where?

        Where are you going?

Moreover, the construction seems to be creeping into Beijing speech, especially when the place complement is very short. For example:

> Qù Guǎngzhōu
>
> go Canton
>
> (I'm) going to Canton
> (quoted in Chen J.M. 1982)

However, the prepositional construction is still generally preferred in standard Putonghua.

7.3.3.2 Qù / Lái + PLACE in Singapore Huayu

In Singapore Huayu, as in many Southern dialects including Cantonese and Hokkien, the place complement quite regularly directly follows the verbs qù and lái. For example:

> Wǒ qù bāshā mǎi dōngxi.
>
> I go market buy things
>
> I'm going shopping in the market.

> Tāmen měinián lái Nándà dù
>
> They every-year come Nanyang-University study
>
> Huáwén.
>
> Chinese
>
> They come to Nanyang University every year to study Chinese

7.3.3.3 Qù + Lái PLACE as Part of a General Norm

This construction is also only tentatively included in this section. The construction with dào and (less frequently) shàng are also sometimes heard in Singapore Huayu, and it is not yet clear what different patterns of usage there may be between the two construction. However, the qù / lái + PLACE construction seems to be regularly used by Singapore speakers of all ages and educational levels, and there generally seems to be no feeling that it is in any way "wrong".

7.3.3.4 Comparison With Other Varieties of Mandarin

This construction is likely to be transferred into the Putonghua or Guoyu of speakers with Southern dialect mother tongues. Both Kubler (1981) and Cheng (1985) mention its use in Taiwanese Guoyu.

7.4 Conclusion

There are thus a number of nonstandard features of phonology and grammar which are widely used by Singapore speakers and may be regarded as part of a de-facto general norm for Singapore Huayu. Such features appear to be well entrenched in Singapore Huayu and do not as yet seem to be under serious threat from the prescribed standard. In some cases, this may be because speakers are

not generally aware of the difference between the local

form and the standard form. In other cases, speakers may

be aware that a local form is nonstandard. However, the

equivalent standard form (if any) has not been "accepted"

as part of a valid target norm for speakers and may even

be seen as marking foreignness or affectation.

Most of the nonstandard features described in this

chapter can also be found elsewhere in other varieties of

Mandarin and it is not possible to unequivocally identify

a single feature or "issogloss" that sets Singapore Huayu

off from all other dialects of Mandarin. However, the

particular combination of nonstandard may be peculiar to

Singapore Huayu (for further discussion of this, see

16.12).

NOTES

1. This is inevitably somewhat simplified. For further comments on _le_ see Chapter fourteen, and on _le_ and _guo_ see Wang (1975), Chao (1968) and Li and Thompson (1981).

2. Throughout this thesis, modal particles which are untranslatable or for which glosses would be unnecessary complicated for the task at hand are simply transcribed in upper case.

3. CLASS = _classifier_ or _measure_, see Chao 1968:58ff.

4. Standard Cantonese does not have this construction. However, such is the mutual influence on dialects in Singapore that local Cantonese speakers do sometimes use such a construction.

5. The word class to which _shang_ and _dào_ belong function in ways similar to both prepositions and verbs in English. In these constructions, they are sometimes referred to as "co-verbs".

CHAPTER EIGHT

LISTENER EVALUATION OF SAMPLES AND SOCIOLECTAL VARIATION

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter described nonstandard features of

Singapore Huayu which are either near categorical in the

speech of all the informants, or at least appear not to

show variation relatable to the social identities of the

speakers. The following chapters (Chapters Nine to

Fourteen), on the other hand, will consider features

which are highly variable in the data. Five phonological

variables and one grammatical variable will be

investigated quantitatively. This by no means exhausts

the number of variable features in the data. Some other

variable features which have been noted but not subjected

to quantitative analysis are listed in Appendix Five.

However, before considering any quantitative evidence for

relationships between the linguistic variables and

various social characteristics of the speakers, it is

worth considering what other evidence there might be for

a dimension of sociolectal variation in Singapore Huayu.

8.2 Listener Evaluations as Evidence for Sociolectal Variation

Many studies carried out in monolingual societies have shown that members of a speech community are willing and able to make judgements about aspects of speakers' social identities (as well as other affective factors, which will not be explored here) from short samples of recorded speech (see, for example, Labov 1966 Chap.11; Labov 1972b Chap.6; Giles and Powesland 1975). It is interesting to see to what extent this might also be true where the speech community is multilingual, as in Singapore, and where the speech samples are of a language that is the mother tongue of neither the speakers nor the judges. Clearly, if informants in Singapore are prepared to make judgements only about speakers' relative proficiencies in Huayu and their probable mother tongues, then interpretations of the linguistic variation that exists might best be sought solely in terms of differences in levels of proficiency and in mother tongue transfer. However, if informants are also prepared to make judgements about likely aspects of the social identities of the speakers, then this is some evidence in support of the indigenization hypothesis that the Huayu in Singapore has developed or is developing forms of sociolectal variation.

8.3 Eliciting Listener Evaluations

In order to gather some information about the kinds of
social evaluations speakers of Singapore Huayu might make
of other speakers, six recorded samples of Singapore
Huayu were played to 42 Huayu speaking Singaporeans. Each
sample lasts about one minute and in each case the
speaker is giving an opinion on the importance or
usefulness of knowing Huayu. All the speakers are within
the 20 to 35 age range. Three are men and three are
women. Five of the samples come from the main corpus of
46 recorded interviews. The sixth is from a recorded
interview with a teacher of Chinese in the "Huayu
Specialists" group (see Chapter Six).

The judges are all representatives of what might be
called the "educated, younger generation". Their ages
range from from 14 to 30 and they are all educated up to
at least secondary four level or, at the time of the
experiment, were in full time education.

Each sample was played twice and the informants filled
out a questionnaire (in English or Chinese) which first
asks them to give their general impression of each
speaker and his or her Huayu and then to evaluate each
speaker's (a) likely level of education, on a scale from
1 ("uneducated") to 7 ("very well educated, e.g.:
university graduate"); (b) likely occupational status,
also on a scale from 1 ("in a low status job, e.g.:

hawker, unskilled labourer") to 7 (in a high status job,
e.g.: doctor, lawyer"); and (c) likely mother tongue
dialect.

Note that unlike Labov's *Subjective Reaction Test* (a
variant of matched guise technique, see Labov 1966 and
Labov 1972), the purpose of this experiment is not to
test hypotheses about which linguistic features
informants may be reacting to in making judgements,
although some inferences can be made (see p.271 and
p.370). The purpose of this experiment is simply to
discover how far evaluations of spoken Singapore Huayu
made by educated, younger generation speakers might
resemble the kinds of social evaluations that native
speakers of a language typically make of the speech of
other native speakers.

8.4 The Informants' Willingness to Make Judgements

There are a total potential 238 responses to each of the
three questions (a), (b) and (c)[1]. However, the
informants were asked to leave blank any questions they
felt they could not at least make a reasonable guess at.
The number of actual responses to each question is as
follows:

Table 8.1   Numbers of Responses to Evaluation Questions

QUESTION	NUMBER OF RESPONSES	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POTENTIAL RESPONSES
(a) Education	235	98.7%
(b) Occupation	237	99.6%
(c) Dialect	197	82.8%

Thus, informants were prepared to make judgements about the speakers' likely levels of education and occupational statuses in over 98% of cases. However, they were subtantially less prepared to make judgements about the speakers' likely mother tongues. Two informants, in fact, wrote comments on the front of their questionnaires referring to the difficulty of guessing speakers' mother tongues. One wrote: "It is difficult to judge the speaker's mother tongue" and the other wrote: "In general, it is quite difficult to tell a person's mother tongue by listening to his/her conversation".

8.5 Accuracy of Judgements

8.5.1 Level of Education

In order to discover how accurate the informants' evaluations of the speakers' levels of education were, a ranking based upon the mean of the responses to question (a) for each sample was compared to the speakers' actual levels of education.

Table 8.2 Accuracy of Informants' Evaluations of
Educational Levels

RANKING	SAMPLE NO.	MEAN OF RESPONSES	ACTUAL LEVEL
1	3	5.5	upper sec. plus teacher training
2	6	4.9	upper sec. plus teacher training
3	2	4.6	upper secondary
4	4	3.9	upper secondary
5	5	3.4	lower secondary
6	1	3.2	primary

There is thus quite a close relationship between the
evaluations of speakers' levels of education based upon
short samples of spoken Huayu and the speakers' actual
levels of education.

8.5.2 Occupational Status

It is interesting to note that the means of reponses to
the occupational status question give exactly the same
ranking.

Table 8.3 The Informants' Evaluations of Occupational
          Status

RANKING	SAMPLE NO.	MEAN OF RESPONSES	ACTUAL OCCUPATION
1	3	5.3	Teacher
2	6	4.8	Teacher
3	2	4.5	Technician
4	4	3.6	Clerk
5	5	3.4	Housewife (Hus. = taxidriver)
6	1	3.2	Delivery man

This suggests that educational level, which has been used
as a factor group in the quantitative analyses (see
5.2.2), might also correlate well with other measures of
social prestige.

Note that the highest ranked sample came from one of the
teachers of Huayu in the "Huayu Specialists" group who
had been seconded to work on curriculum development. This
may account for the fact that this sample was ranked more
highly than that of the other speaker of equivalent
education level, who was also a teacher but neither
taught Huayu nor taught through the medium of Huayu (she
worked at an English medium school).

8.5.3 Mother Tongue

The following table shows the numbers of correct guesses
as to the mother tongue dialects of the speakers.

Table 8.4 Correct Guesses of Speakers' Mother Tongues

SUBJECT NO.	MOTHER TONGUE	NO. CORRECT	% CORRECT*
1	Hokkien	25	69.4%
2	Hokkien	12	41.4%
3	Teochew	5	14.3%
4	Hokkien	14	38.9%
5	Cantonese	9	32.1%
6	Cantonese	9	27.2%
TOTAL		74	37.6%

*The percentage refers to the percentage of informants who guessed correctly out of the total number of informants who attempted a guess at the mother tongue of the speaker in question.

Thus, with the exception of sample one, over 50% of the guesses at a speaker's mother tongue were incorrect. Informants, therefore, seem not only to be less willing to attempt to guess a speaker's mother tongue than to judge his or her likely educational level and occupational status, but also less able to do so accurately when they try.

Note that the speaker whose mother tongue was correctly guessed most often (no. 1) is also the speaker who was ranked lowest in terms of likely educational level and occupational status. Conversely, the two speakers whose mother tongues were correctly guessed least often (nos. 6 and 3) are the speakers who were ranked highest in terms

of likely educational level and occupational status. An
obvious conclusion seems to be that, while listeners may
often have difficulty in guessing speakers' mother
tongues, where they *can* perceive mother tongue
influence, they are more likely to judge the speaker to
be of lower educational level and occupational status.
This is perhaps exactly what one might expect in a
situation in which features which may have their origin
in mother tongue transfer have become or are in the
process of becoming socially evaluated and involved in
sociolectal variation.

8.6 Informants' Comments on the Samples

The first question on the questionnaire given to the
informants read: "What is your general impression of the
speaker and the way he or she talks ?"

This was designed to discover something of the
informants' initial reactions to the samples before being
directed to comment in particular areas. Responses can be
broadly divided into those which refer to the actual
language used and those which refer to the speakers
themselves.

8.6.1 Comments Referring to the Language

Some judges commented on specific aspects of the speaker's language. For example, the level of fluency or smoothness:

Jiǎnghuà bú gòu liúchàng.

(does not speak smoothly enough)

She speaks not fluently. She often uses zhèige, she repeats wǒ, wǒ, wǒ .

Others commented on accent or pronunciation:

Kěyǐ ràng tīngzhe míngbái qí suǒ yán, dàn kǒuyīn zhòng.

(The listener can understand what she says but the accent is heavy.)

Fāyīn bù zhǔn.

(Pronunciation not correct.)

However, none of the comments on accent or pronunciation referred to a *specific* dialect accent (i.e., there were no comments such as " the speaker has a strong Cantonese accent").

There were two comments on vocabulary, for example:

Xiāngdāng liúlì zhǐ shi yǒu xie dìfang yòngcí bù

qiàdāng.

(fairly fluent but in some places the words he uses

are not appropriate.)

and two comments on particles:

His Mandarin is very good but he has a lot of "ah"

and "la" in his talk.

At the end of every sentence there is the sound

"ah".

None of the above comments tell us much about the social

evaluation of samples of Huayu. However, they are

interesting in that they provide some evidence of which

specific linguistic features may be salient enough to be

overtly commented upon.

Most comments on the language of the samples, however,

do not refer to specific features, but are of a generally

evaluative nature. For example:

Wǒ yǐwéi tāde Huáyu hái kéyǐ.

(I think his Huayu is okay.)

Not good Mandarin.

He generally talks quite well.

Yikou hen piaoliangde Huayu.

(Beautiful Huayu.)

Again, such generally evaluative comments do not
necessarily point to a social evaluation of the speech
samples. They *could* in many cases be regarded simply as
comments on the proficiency of the speakers, of the kind
that might be made of learners in a foriegn language
situation. However, as is very well known, even in
monolingual speech communities, native speakers will make
similar comments about the speech of other native
speakers using terms such as "good", "bad", "ugly",
"beautiful" and so on, which really reflect social
evaluations of the speakers.

Some of the comments classified here as general
evaluations of the language do, in fact, clearly contain
an implicit social evaluation, for example:

Average on the street Mandarin.

8.6.2 Socially Evaluative Comments

There were also a range of comments which referred
explicitly to aspects of the social identities of the
speakers. Such comments make up about 15% of the total
number of comments and provide clear evidence for a
social evaluation of the speech samples.

Such comments referred to:

(a) the class or likely occupation of the speaker, e.g.:

An average worker type. The way he speaks shows he
is from the working class.

She speaks like a teacher.

Shuōhuàzhe shi yīge jiātíng zhǔfù.
(The speaker is a housewife.)

(b) the likely educational level of the speaker, e.g.:

Shuōhuàzhe shòuguo gāoshēn jiàoyù, jiǎngde yìkou
liúlì Huáyǔ.
(The speaker is highly educated and speaks fluent
Huayu.)

The speaker is not a well educated person and the
Chinese he speaks is not good Mandarin.

(c) the "averageness" of the speaker, for example:

A typical Singapore Chinese
She speaks like a normal person

(d) the age of the speaker (only two such comments),
e.g.:

Yìbān shàngniánjí rén suǒjiǎngde Huáyǔ.
(The kind of Huayu generally spoken by the older
generation.)

There was also one comment on the character of the

speaker:

He is a sort of easy going person

8.7 Conclusion

The results of this small experiment show that in
evaluating samples of speech, speakers of Singapore Huayu
do not restrict themselves to making judgements about the
relative proficiencies of the speakers nor to making
judgements about the likely mother tongues of the
speakers. They are also willing and able quite accurately
to make what are clearly *social* evaluations, in
particular evaluations of the likely levels of education
and occupational status of the speakers. This supports
the hypothesis that Singapore Huayu is developing or has
developed forms of sociolectal variation similar to those
which have been observed in monolingual communities. The
following chapters will consider quantitative evidence
for such sociolectal variation.

NOTE

1. This excludes some questions that could not be answered due to problems of audibility of one of the samples in one session.

CHAPTER NINE

THE (ü) VARIABLE

9.1 ü Syllables in the Standard Pronunciation

In the standard pronunciation, there is a set of
syllables with an initial rounded consonant (always
palatal except in lü and nü) followed by a rounded high
front glide or vowel, which may be transcribed
phonetically as [y] or [ɥ]. Such syllables thus combine
features of initial w and y postures and are treated in
Halliday (1985) as simultaneously selecting both of these
initial posture prosodies (see 4.2.3). For convenience,
this combined posture will here be symbolized as ᵧ.

There are 24 syllables with this feature in the standard
pronunciation. They are listed below in Pinyin
romanization.

xu	qu	ju	yu	lü	nü
xue	que	jue	yue	lüe	nüe
xun	qun	jun	yun		
xuan	quan	juan	yuan		
xiong	qiong	jiong	yong		

In all of these syllables, the rounding, which is part of the realization of ѡ̸ posture, begins with the initial consonant. In syllables along the top row (xu etc.) and syllables along the bottom row (xiong etc.) the rounding persists throughout the syllable. In syllables along lines two (xue etc.) and four (xuan etc.) the initial consonant and glide are rounded but the vowel nucleus is unrounded. In syllables along line three (xun etc.) rounding continues through the vowel nucleus but unrounding occurs before the final nasal. In such syllables, there is a perceptible change in vowel quality marking transition from rounded ___ posture to unrounded y posture. For example, xun is usually [ɕɥ³n] in the standard pronunciation.

9.2 u̲ Syllables in Singapore Huayu

9.2.1 The <ѡ̸> and <y̲> Variants[1]

In the Singapore data, the realization of the ѡ̸ posture in these syllables is variable. By far the most common nonstandard variant in the data is lack of rounding, or in prosodic terms, selection of y̲ rather than ѡ̸ (or w̲ + y̲) initial posture. This leads to a level of underdifferentiation between these syllables and a set which in the standard pronunciation are identical apart from having initial y̲ posture. This is the dimension of variation that will be investigated in this chapter, with (ü) symbolizing the variable (i.e., all instances in

which initial ʮ posture would be required in the standard pronunciation), <ʮ> symbolizing the standard rounded variant and <y> the nonstandard unrounded variant.

This, in fact, slightly simplifies the variation. Careful analysis of slow, clear pronunciations of these syllables by Singapore speakers shows that there is actually a rounding continuum, at least in the Huayu of some speakers. Two additional intermediate variants can be distinguished. One is close to the unrounded <y> variant but has some slight rounding. The other is closer to the <ʮ> variant but has significantly less rounding than in the standard pronunciation. However, in the stream of speech, it is possible to reliably distinguish only two variants - rounded (i.e., <ʮ>) and unrounded (i.e., <y>). A small number (less than 5% of the total number of tokens) of intermediate variants or variants coded as "not sure" have been excluded from the analysis.

9.2.2 Other Variants

There are two other much less frequent nonstandard variants of these syllables in the data.

1. <w>

In a few occurrences of some (ü) syllables in the data, there is rounding but the high frontness or palatality feature is present neither in the initial

consonant nor the following vowel or glide. In other words, the syllables can be classifed as having selected inital w̱ posture rather than w̸ (or y̱ + w̱). For example, [svn] or [sv³n] for standard [ɕɣʔn] as in x̱u̱ṉḻi̱a̱ṉ "to train", and [tsʰᵾɐn] for standard [tɕʰɣɐn] as in q̱u̱a̱ṉ "all". Having neither the <w̸> variant nor the <y̱> variant, such realizations have been excluded from the variable rule analysis.

2. i̱o̱ṉg̱

Syllables along the bottom row (i.e., all those with final w̱ posture) are almost invariable pronounced with the features of the w̸ posture "segmentalized". That is, they begin with an unrounded consonant and glide with rounding beginning only in the vowel nucleus. For example, [tɕʰʋŋ] for standard [tɕʰɣ̩ŋ] as in q̱i̱o̱ṉg̱ "poor". This is the usual pronunciation of these syllables in Singapore and they show no tendency to lose the rounding entirely, i.e., the w̸ posture is categorical in such syllables, even though its realization may be "segmentalized". Such syllables have therefore also been omitted from the variable rule analysis. This pronunciation is, in fact, quite common in the Putonghua of speakers who are not native speakers of Beijing dialect, as well as in several dialects of Mandarin spoken natively in parts of China (Zhan 1981). Some authorities also give a similar phonetic transcription of the

standard pronunciation (e.g., Kratochvil 1968).
However, in Beijing dialect, on which the standard
pronunciation is based, these syllables are rounded
from onset[2].

9.3 Variable Rule Analysis of (u)

Variation between <w̥> and <y̱> in the relevant syllables
is very widespread in the data, with only two informants
having the standard <w̥> variant categorically. This
variation was analyzed quantitatively using the variable
rule methodology described in Chapter Four. In all the
following tables of results, a weighting of .5 indicates
that the factor in question favours the nonstandard <y̱>
variant, whilst a weighting of below .5 disfavours <y̱>,
relative to the other factors in thee same factor group.

9.4 Phonological Environment

Four factors of phonological environment grouped into two
factor groups were used in the initial run of the
programme with the (ǚ) data. The two groups are Final
Posture and Scope of Realization.

9.4.1 Final Posture

The factors in this group were y̱ (i.e., all syllables
ending in ‑n) and a̱ (all other syllables). The hypothesis
was that y̱ final posture would favour the <y̱> variant,

thus maintaining the same unrounded prosodic posture throughout the syllable. However, comparison using the chi square test (see p.114) between the initial run and a subsequent run in which this factor group was omitted showed no statistically significant loss of fit to the data in the latter run. There is therefore no evidence for any effect of final posture on the (ü) variable and this factor group was omitted in the final run.

9.4.2 Scope of Realization

This group consists of the factors Glide and Nucleus, i.e., whether in the standard pronunciation the rounding associated with ↯ posture extends only through the initial consonant and glide, or whether it persists through the vowel nucleus.

The results for this factor group in the final run are set out below.

Table 9.1 Variable Rule Analysis of (ü): Scope of Realization

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <y>	% OF <y>	WEIGHTING
Glide	959	376	39%	.63
Nucleus	2014	362	18%	.37

Total tokens: 2973; Total <y>: 738 (25%)

The factor Glide clearly favours the nonstandard <y>
variant. A likely explanation for this is that when
rounding persists through the vowel nucleus, it is more
salient than when it ends earlier. This may be related to
the general hypothesis that speakers of Huayu in
Singapiore are more likely to acquire a feature of the
standard pronunciation in environments in which it is
most salient (see 3.5.1.1).

9.5 Mode

As explained in Chapter five, the two factors of mode
refer to the two sections of the interviews - the first
section consisting mainly of the informants giving
information about themselves and their language use and
then expressing their opinions on a number of topics, and
the second section in which informants read aloud word
lists (two zi expressions) and minimal pair lists. The
results for this factor group are as follows.

Table 9.2 Variable Rule Analysis of (ü): The Mode Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <y>	% OF <y>	WEIGHTING
Talking	2537	654	26%	.56
Reading	436	84	19%	.44

This suggests that speakers are likely to adjust their
speech in favour of the standard <w/> variant in contexts
in which more attention is likely to be paid to speech.

This provides evidence for the hypothesis that the <w̥> variant may be evaluated as "correct" or more prestigeous and may be associated with more formal speech.

9.5.1 Hypercorrection

There is further evidence that the <w̥> variant may be evaluated by Singapore speakers as the "correct", prestige or more formal variant. There are a number of occurrences in the data of syllables which in the standard pronunciation have unrounded y initial posture but are pronounced by informants with the rounded <w̥> variant, for example, [ly] for standard [li] as in lǐ "in" and [ʸen] for standard [ⁱɛn] as in yán "speech". Most such realizations occur in the reading sections and indicate that speakers are aware that y is sometimes "wrongly" used for w̥ and in careful speech they try to correct this. However, they are uncertain about which zi have which posture in the standard pronunciation, so they are sometimes led to use the <w̥> variant where it does not occur in the standard pronunciation. Such hypercorrection is often observed where speakers of one speech variety attempt to imitate a feature of another prestige variety (Knowles 1978, Trudgill 1983).

9.6 Age

The age factors used in the initial run are those listed at 5.2.1. Comparison using the chi square test between

the initial run and a subsequent run in which the factors 31-40 and 41-56 were collapsed showed no significant loss of fit to the data in the latter run. The results for this factor group in the final run are as follows.

Table 9.3 Variable Rule Analysis of (ü): The Age Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <y>	% OF <y>	WEIGHTING
15-20	751	94	12%	.27
21-30	724	206	28%	.48
31-56	1498	438	29%	.74

This suggests that younger informants are likely to use the standard variant more frequently than older informants. Given the developments in Singapore Huayu over the last few decades, in particular the increasing concern with an exonormative standard, it seems reasonable to interpret this as diachronic change, i.e., as evidence that in the case of this variable there may be a move towards greater use of the prescribed standard variant, perhaps beginning with those speakers who finished their formal education within roughly the last two decades.

9.7 Level of Education

The level of education factors used in the initial run are those listed at 5.2.2. Comparison using the chi square test between the initial run and a subsequent run

in which the factors <u>completed primary</u>, <u>completed lower secondary</u> and <u>completed upper secondary</u> were collapsed showed no statistically signficant loss of fit to the data in the latter run. The findings for this factor group in the final run are as follows.

<u>Table 9.4 Variable Rule Analysis of (ü): The Level of Education Factors</u>

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <u>y</u>	% OF <u>y</u>	WEIGHTING
<Prim.	127	81	64%	.87
Prim.to Upper Sec.	1792	502	28%	.58
Post Sec.	409	109	27%	.47
University	645	46	7%	.11

These findings show a clear relationship between the variable and level of education, suggesting that the more highly educated the informants are the more frequently they are likely to use the standard variant.

9.7.1 A Note on the Factor <u><Primary</u>

As pointed out in Chapter Five, weightings for the factor <u><primary</u> should be treated with some caution as it identifies only three informants. The raw scores for the performance of these three informants on this variable are as follows.

Informant One: 32 tokens, 13 (41%) as <y>

Informant Two: 31 tokens, 12 (39%) as <y>

Informant Three: 64 tokens, 56 (87%) as <y>

This shows that, as expected, all three informants identified by this factor have levels of <y> occurrence substantially higher than the group percentages for the other education levels. However, it is interesting that informant three should have over twice the levels of the other two. This informant is, in fact, the most highly educated of the three, having had nearly two years of primary education. At 45, he is also slightly younger than the other two. However, he is also the only member of the <primary group to both be male and have Hokkien as mother tongue, both favouring factors for <y> (see 9.8 and 9.9 below).

9.8 Sex

The results for this factor group are as follows.

Table 9.5 Variable Rule Analysis of (ü): The Sex Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <y>	% OF <y>	WEIGHTING
Female	1785	411	23%	.45
Male	1186	327	28%	.55

This suggests a relationship between this variable and the sex of the speakers. It is interesting that female

informants should use the variant hypothesized as associated with more "correct" or prestige speech more frequently than the males, as this accords with findings in culturally very different speech communities that women tend to be more sensitive to prestige variants than men (see, for example, Labov 1972:301-304).

9.9 Mother Tongue

The findings for this factor group are as follows.

Table 9.6 Variable Rule Analysis of (ü): The Mother Tongue Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <y>	% OF <y>	WEIGHTING
Hokkien	1544	547	35%	.64
Huayu	146	15	10%	.56
Cantonese	1283	176	14%	.30

These findings show that informants with Hokkien as mother tongue are likely to use the nonstandard variant more frequently than those with Cantonese as mother tongue. This is not particularly surprising, as Cantonese has a high front rounded vowel whereas Hokkien does not, and the <y> would presumably be easier for Cantonese speakers to master, although the distribution of this feature in Cantonese does not entirely correspond with Mandarin.

9.9.1 A Note on the Factor Huayu

As mentioned in Chapter Five, weightings for the factor Huayu must be treated with some caution as it identifies only three informants. The raw scores for these informants are as follows.

Informant One: 55 tokens, 11 (20%) realized as <y>

Informant Two: 65 tokens, 3 (5%) realized as <y>

Informant Three: 26 tokens, 1 (4%) realized as <y>

The performance of informant one on this variable differs substantially from that of the other two and has clearly skewed the weighting for this factor. There is no obvious reason why informant one should be an exception. He is a 16 year old secondary student and informant three is his sister. Like the other two informants in this group, he has been educated primarily through Huayu as first school language and claims to know little or nothing of his ancestral dialect (Hakka).

Thus, we can only note that two out of the three informants whose speech might be taken as representing a truly "indigenized" variety of Huayu have very low levels of the nonstandard variant of this variable, and that the weighting of .56 for this factor is skewed by the performance of one informant.

9.10 Comparison with Chen C.Y. (1986)

Although Chen Chungyu's data base is very different from
that used in the present study (see p.27), her results
show some similarity. She too found that a high front
vowel (i.e., the <w̦> variant, transcribed by Chen as ü̂)
was more likely to be"correctly" pronounced "where ü̈
functioned as the main vowel (as in ün and ü̈) than when
it functioned as a medial (as in üe and üan)" (Chen C.Y.
1986:138). She also found that her Cantonese informants
had a much higher level of correct readings (81.5%) than
her informants from the other dialect groups (the Hokkien
group scored 57.9% correct).

9.11 Comparison with Other varieties of Mandarin

This syllable initial high front rounded feature of the
standard pronunciation is also variable or absent in a
number of the Mandarin dialects spoken in China. The
Mandarin dialects of Yunnan and Guizhou generally have no
high front rounded glide or vowel at all. Other dialects
do have such a feature, but it does not always correspond
to [y] in the standard pronunciation. For example, in
Nanjing dialect the yunmu of 却 qúe "but" is [io⁷] and
of 魚 yú "fish" is [u], and in Hankou dialect the yunmu
of 却 qúe is [io] (Zhan 1981).

Speakers of Putonghua as a second dialect in China are
also sometimes heard to use <y> for standard <w̦> and

Kubler mentions the merger of the two in the Guoyu of

"many Taiwanese" (Kubler 1981:65). Similarly, Liao

(1977), in a study of the Mandarin reading pronunciations

of five informants from Taiwan, found the same

phenomenon, with üe being the most favouring environment

for the <y> variant, ü and üan less favouring and ün the

least favouring. This differs slightly from the findings

of the present study which would predict that ü would be

no more favouring than ün.

It is clear, then, that the use of an unrounded front

initial posture where the standard pronunciation would

require rounding is not a unique feature of Singapore

Huayu.

9.12 Conclusion

The evidence suggests that the variation investigated in

this chapter represents change in progress towards the

standard rounded <ẅ> variant of (ü), and that this

change may be motivated by a social evaluation which

associates the standard variant with more educated,

formal or "correct" speech. In this, the (ü) variable

looks very similar to the kinds of sociolinguistic

variables that have been investigated in many other,

mainly monolingual, communities.

However, the variable may also be affected by the

speakers' mother tongues, with speakers whose mother

tongue lacks a high front rounded posture being likely to use such a feature less frequently in their Huayu. The nonstandard <y̱> can therefore be said to bear some of the hallmark of an interference feature. Such a crossover from interference feature to social marker is what we might expect in a context in which Singapore Huayu has developed against the background of southern Chinese dialects, is learned as a second language (i.e., not mother tongue) by most of its speakers, yet is also a language of everyday use and the dominant language of a substantial number of its speakers.

The evidence also suggests that the standard <w̱/> variant is more llkely to occur in environments in which its phonetic realization persists longest in the syllable. This relates to the general hypothesis that a standard feature is more likely to be acquired in environments in which it is more salient.

NOTES

1. The prosodic postures y, w̸, w and a will be always underlined. When they represent variants of a variable, y and w̸ will also be enclosed within angled brackets (i.e., <y> and <w̸>). This is to clearly distinguish them from phonetic representations such as [y], [w] and [a].

2. Chao also transcribes the yunmu of such syllables as [ⁱʊ̃ŋ̍]. However, he adds a note that "the medial in iong is slightly rounded" (Chao 1968:23).

CHAPTER TEN

THE (r) VARIABLE

10.1 r- in Standard Huayu

The syllable initial consonant written as r- in Pinyin
is, in the standard pronunciation, a voiced retroflex
alveolo-palatal fricative and is usually transcribed
phonetically as [ʐ]. However, the extent of friction is
somewhat variable and it is sometimes characterized as a
retroflex continuant (e.g., Chao 1968) which may be
transcibed as [ɻ]. Table 10.1 lists all the r- initial
syllables in Pinyin, arranged according to initial and
final prosodic postures. Note that the r- initial never
occurs with initial y posture.

Table 10.1 r Initial Syllables in Standard Huayu

POSTURES

Initial/Final

a	a	ri	re			
a	w		rou	reng	rao	rang
a	y			ren		ran
w	a	ru	ruo		rua[1]	
w	w			rong		
w	y		rui	run		ruan

10.2 r- in Singapore Huayu

In the Singapore data, there is a great deal of variation
in the initial consonants of syllables having r- in the
standard pronunciation. The variation involves place of
articulation, extent of retroflexion and extent of
friction. The variants identified are as follows:

1. [ʐ] and [ɻ] - the standard variants, very rare
in the data, at least with the extent of
retroflexion usual in the standard pronunciation
(but see variant 4 below).

2. [l] - an alveolar lateral, sometimes pronounced
with some audible friction.

3. [n] - an alveolar nasal.

4. [ɹ] - a post-alveolar continuant. In careful
speech some speakers have slight retroflexion
bringing it closer to the standard variant [ɻ].

5. [r] - an apical flap.

6. [dz] - an alveolar or dental affricate. In
careful speech, a few speakers have slight
retroflexion, producing a variant between [dz] and
[ɖʐ].

7. [z] - similar to [dz] but without the initial closure. Sometime, however, it appears to be between [z] and [ʒ].

8. [j] - a palatal glide

There are no occurrences in the data of the syllables rua, rui, run and rao.

10.2.1 Complementary Distribution among the (r) Variants

There is a strong tendency towards complementary distribution among the above variants. [j] is almost entirely restricted to the syllable rong (the exception is an isolated occurrence in ri). [dz] occurs very commonly in ri syllables. Such syllables are often pronounced with friction throughout, i.e., the minimal lowering of the tongue which in the standard pronunciation produces the high vowel (usually transcribed as [ɿ], or [ʅ] when retroflex) does not take place. [dz] also occurs in the syllables ren, re, and reng but very rarely in other syllables. [z] (or [ʒ]) seems to have the same distribution but is much less frequent. [l] occurs in all syllables except rong (the [l] variant will be examined in greater detail below). This also seems to be the case with [n], although this variant is much less frequent. [ɭ] and [r] occur in all syllables.

10.2.2 Underdifferentiation of Standard Oppositions

Note that three of these nonstandard variants, [l], [n], [dz] and [j], may lead to underdifferentiation of oppositions in the standard pronunciation between the initial consonant r and the initial consonants l-, n-, z-, and y- (in certain environments only, of course).

10.2.3 Sociolinguistic Status of the (r) Variants

In the following analysis, the variants [ʐ], [ɻ], [ɻ], [r], [dz] and [z] have been classed together as potentially "standard - like", non-stigmatized variants as opposed to [l], which seems the most likely candidate for being recognized by Singapore speakers as "incorrect" or "uneducated" (i.e., a stigmatized variant). There are a number of reasons for this.

Firstly, [l] seems to be the most salient of the nonstandard variants to Singapore speakers. It is the variant most likely to be commented upon and labelled "incorrect" or "nonstandard", for example in the "Speak Better Mandarin" genre of lessons broadcast or published in the mass media.

In order to get some confirmation of this, a small experiment was carried out in which two Singapore informants, both under 25, university graduates and Chinese medium educated up to pre-university level, were

asked to mark as correct or incorrect a selection of pronunciations of r- syllables from the reading aloud sections of the recorded data. One of these informants marked as definitely incorrect only one reading - that of 让 ràng "yield" with initial [l], but hesitated over a reading of 入 rù with [l] as he was not sure whether "should be rù or lù in Pinyin." The other informant marked as incorrect readings of 让 ràng, 入 rù and 弱 ruò with initial [l]. It is significant that neither of them showed any hesitation in marking as correct readings of 入 rù, 热 rè, 肉 ròu and 人 rén with initial [ɻ], readings of 弱 ruò and 让 ràng with initial [r] and readings of 日 rì with both initial [dz] and initial [z].

Secondly, in the sections of the interviews with teachers of Huayu (see 6.6.1) in which they were asked how important they thought it was to correct certain errors, all agreed without hestitation that the [l] variant (in 人 rén) was wrong and should be corrected, whereas there was less certainty about the variants [ɻ] (in rén) and [dz] (in rì). One said they were both incorrect "as there should be no compromise with the Beijing pronunciation". However, the other two said that it was probably not worth trying to correct such pronunciations, one commenting that "retroflexion is very hard for Singapore speakers".

Thirdly, during the reading aloud section of the interview, one informant made the following comment on the pronunciation of <u>rou</u> "meat".

> Rúguo ni dú, haoxiang zheige yě yǒu liǎng zhǒng nianfǎ la, <u>loulei</u>, yǒu xie rén dú, yǒu xie rén shi dú <u>loulei</u>, yǒu xie ren shi dú <u>rou</u>, buguo <u>roulei</u> shi zhengquede la.
>
> (If you read it, for example this one also has two readings, <u>loulei</u>, some people read, some people read it as <u>loulei</u>, some people read it as <u>rou</u>, however <u>roulei</u> is correct.)

(Note: In the underlined syllables <u>l</u> = [l] and <u>r</u> = [ɻ], perhaps with some slight retroflexion.)

This clearly indicates recognition of just two variants, <u>r</u> ("correct") and <u>l</u> ("incorrect").

Finally, in the evaluation tests the two samples rated highest by the judges in terms of the speakers' likely level of education and status of occupation (see 8.5.1) contained 5 and 4 occurrences of the [ɻ] variant and no occurrences of the [l] variant, while the two samples rated lowest each had two occurrences of the [l] variant and none of the other variants. The former two samples attracted such comments as <u>fayin hen zhunque</u> "correct pronunciation", <u>piaoliangde Huayu</u> "beautiful Huayu", <u>shouguo gaodu jiaoyu</u> "highly educated", whereas the latter two attracted such comments as <u>fayin bu zhun</u>

"incorrect pronunciation", bù biāozhǔn "nonstandard"

and "not well educated." This does not, of course, prove

that it was this variable that the judges were responding

to in making their judgements. However, it does at least

indicate that the presence of non-retroflex variants such

as [ʌ]   does not prevent a favourable evaluation of a

speech sample.

The hypothesis is, then, that the nonstandard variants

 [ʌ], [r], [dz] and the less frequent [z]   are, with some

complementary distribution, "permissible" variants of r̲

in any emerging educated norm for Singapore Huayu,

whereas the [l] variant may be a stigmatized variant,

perceived as incorrect, nonstandard and (possibly)

uneducated.

10.3 Variable Rule Analysis of (r)

10.3.1 The Variable and the Variants

In the following analysis, (r) symbolizes the variable

(i.e., all occurrences of what would be the initial

consonant r̲ in the standard pronunciation), <1> the

nonstandard or potentially stigmatized variant and <r>

the other "standard-like" variants. In all the tables of

results, a weighting of above .5 indicates that the

factor in question favours the <1> variant and a

weighting of below .5 indicates that the factor

disfavours it, relative to other factors in the same group.

10.3.2 The Syllable rong

Occurrences of the syllable rong are excluded from the analysis as the <1> variant never (or very rarely) occurs in this environment. The initial segment of rong in the data is commonly [j] and this syllable seems to be something of a special case. [j] does not occur (apart from very rare exceptions) as a variant of (r) with any other yunmu. It is quite possible that this pronunciation of rong is due to the influence of southern dialects spoken in Singapore. Nearly all the occurrences of this syllable in the data are in the $c\acute{i}$ (or "word") róngyì "simple", which in Cantonese is pronounced with initial [j] and in Hokkien with initial [i] (Beijing Daxue 1964).

However, it is also worth noting that in Beijing dialect, on which the standard pronunciation is based, there is also a variant pronunciation of this zi with initial [j]. Modern dictionaries of the standard language (for example the *Hanyu Cidian*) give only róng as the pronunciation of this zi, but older dictionaries (e.g., *Mathews' Chinese English Dictionary*) also give the alternative pronunciation. In many other dialects of Mandarin spoken in China (for example those of Shenyang, Xi'an, Chengdu, Kunming and Yangzhou) this zi is also pronounced as [yŋ] or [ᶦoŋ] (Beijing Daxue 1964). As with several of the

features of Singapore Huayu, it is not always possible to
determine a single origin.

10.3.3 The [n] variant

Occurrences of the variant [n] were also excluded. The
number of occurences of [n] is very small and its status
is unclear, although it can probably be regarded as a
nonstandard, stigmatized variant similar to <l> (note
that in Singapore Huayu, there is also variation between
[n] and [l], see Chapter Thirteen).

10.4 Phonological Environment

As (r) occurs with a fairly small number of yunmu, it was
possible to include them all as factors in the variable
rule analysis. The factor group coding phonological
environment therefore consists of the following factors.

1. i
2. e   initial a posture, final a posture

3. ou
4. eng   initial a posture, final w posture
5. ang

6. en
7. an   initial a posture, final y posture

8. u
            } initial w posture, final a posture
9. uo

10. uan   initial w posture, final y posture

The results for this factor group are as follows.

Table 10.2 Variable Rule Analysis of (r): The Yunmu

       Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <l>	% OF <l>	WEIGHTING
uan	38	12	32%	.73
ang	39	13	33%	.72
u	316	96	30%	.65
uo	40	10	25%	.64
ou	66	13	20%	.58
eng	25	7	28%	.57
en	724	145	20%	.51
an	129	23	17%	.47
e	79	4	5%	.20
i	54	2	3%	.09

Total tokens of (r): 1510. Total no. of <l>: 325 (21%).

The relatively high weightings for uan, u and uo suggest that initial w posture favours the <l> variant more strongly than initial a posture, although ang seems to be an exception, see 10.4.1 below). The higher weightings for ang, ou and eng than for an and en similarly suggest

that final w̱ posture might favour <l>, although less
strongly than initial w̱ posture. Yunmu with a̱ postures
both initially and finally seem to be the least favouring
environments for <l>.

10.4.1 The Syllable rang

The yunmu ang seems to be an exception to the general
pattern, as it has a̱ initial posture yet is the second
most favouring environment for <l>. However, of the
relatively few tokens (39) of the ang yunmu in the data,
35 (including all 13 of the <l> variant) are
pronunciations of the zi 让 in rangbu "to give way". The
higher than predicted weighting for ang is therefore
somewhat unreliable and may reflect a lexically specific
tendency.

10.4.2 Recoding of Phonological Environment

The results of a second run in which the phonological
environment factors were recoded into two factor groups,
initial posture and final posture, are set out below.

Table 10.3 Variable Rule Analysis of (r): Initial and
        Final Posture Factors

INITIAL POSTURE	TOKENS	NO. OF <l>	% OF <l>	WEIGHTING
w	394	118	30%	.67
a	1116	207	18%	.33
FINAL POSTURE				
w	130	33	25%	.66
y	891	180	20%	.52
a	489	112	22%	.32

Comparison between the two runs using the chi square test
shows a statistically significant, though small, loss of
fit to the data at the .05 level of significance used in
this study (p. in fact = just slightly below .05, i.e.,
there is slightly less than a 1 in 20 probability that
the difference between the runs is due to chance).
However, the advantages of this latter run are that it
brings out the patterns in the data more clearly and
reduces the danger of having unreliably small numbers of
tokens for some factors.

10.4.3 Labiovelar Posture and the (r) Variants

The findings of the variable rule analysis clearly
indicate, then, that initial labiovelar posture strongly
favours the <l> variant. This accords with another

phenomenon in the data. Some occurrences of r- syllables
which have initial w posture in the standard
pronunciation are de-labialized (i.e., become homophonous
with a posture syllables) when pronounced with the [ʎ] or
[r] variants, for example [ʎɤ̃n] for ruan (standard
[ʐʷɤ̃n]. Thus, <l> appears to have a general tendency to
attract or be attracted to labialization, whilst [ʌ],
[r] and the other variants tend to repel it.

10.4.5 Final Posture

The evidence for the effects of final posture on the (r)
variation needs to be treated with some caution. It is
tempting to regard the higher weighting for w final
posture as consistent with a general hypothesis that
labiovelar posture anywhere in the syllable favours <l>.
However, this must be a somewhat tentative conclusion. It
is unfortunate that the one syllable which has w posture
both initially and finally - rong - should prove to be a
special case and have to be omitted from the analysis,
as we therefore have evidence for the effects of final w
posture as against y and a postures only in initial a
posture syllables.

It is also not entirely clear why final y posture should
favour the <l> variant so much more strongly than a
posture. However, the low weighting for a is partly due
to the very low likelihood of the syllables re and ri
being realized with <l> (5% and 3% respectively). This

may be due more to the fact that the vowels in these two syllables strongly attract the [dz] and [z] variants , which have been counted as "standard-like", than to the disfavouring of <l> by a posture. This may be particularly the case with ri in which the "vowel" is often realized simply by the continuation of the friction in [dz] or [z] (see 10.2.1).

10.5   Mode

Comparison using the chi square test between the initial run including all factors and a later run in which the mode factor group was omitted showed no statistically significant loss of fit to the data in the latter run. There is therefore no evidence of a shift away from <l> where the informants may be paying greater attention to their pronunciation.

10.6   Age

Comparison using the chi square test between the initial run with all the age factors and a run in which the factors 21-30, 31-40, and 41-56 were collapsed showed no statistically significant loss of fit to the data in the latter run. The results for this factor group in the final run are set out below.

Table 10.4 Variable Rule Analysis of (r): The Age Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <l>	% OF <l>	WEIGHTING
15-20	369	51	14%	.35
21-56	1141	274	24%	.65

This suggests that there may be a move towards the standard-like variants, but that move may have begun fairly recently with those still in formal education or those who have completed their education within the last decade.

10.7 Level of Education

Comparison using the chi square test between the initial run with all factors and a run in which all the factors above ≤primary were collapsed into a single factor showed no statistically significant loss of fit to the data in the latter run. The results for this factor in the final run are set out below.

Table 10.5 Variable Rule Analysis of (r): The Education
          Level Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <l>	% OF <l>	WEIGHTING
<Prim.	40	23	57%	.63
>Prim.	1470	301	20%	.37

This suggests that there could be an association between higher frequencies of the <l> variant and less educated speech. However, the only significant difference is between below primary level of education on the one hand and primary education and above on the other.

10.7.1 A Note on the Factor <u><primary</u>

All three informants identified by the factor <u><primary</u> have relatively high levels of the <l> variant, confirming the relationship between a less than primary level of education and higher fequencies of the nonstandard variant. However, one of the three has a much lower level than the other three. The raw scores are as follows:

<u>Informant 1</u>: 20 tokens, 6 (30%) realized as <l>
<u>Informant 2</u>: 9 tokens, 8 (89%) realized as <l>
<u>Informant 3</u>: 11 tokens, 9 (82%) realized as <l>

It is interesting that informant one should again be the odd one out (see 9.7.1). However, unlike with the (ü) variable, with (r) he has lower levels of the nonstandard variant than the other two informants. This might be explained by the fact, already noted in Chapter Nine, that he is slightly more educated and younger than the other two and that <u>male</u> and <u>Hokkien</u> do not favour the nonstandard variant of (r) as they do the nonstandard variant of (ü).

10.8 Sex

Table 10.6 Variable Rule Analysis of (r): The Sex Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <l>	% OF <l>	WEIGHTING
Female	647	158	24%	.56
Male	863	167	19%	.45

This shows that the factor _female_ slightly favours the <l> variant whilst the factor _male_ slightly disfavours it. If a similar trend were to show up in several of the variables, we might look for a social explanation - for example that in Singapore males may be more likely than females to participate in certain public domains in which more formal Huayu might be used. However, the only other variable to show a similar pattern is the _la_ particle (Chapter Fourteen) and it will be suggested that in this case it may be related to the modal function of the particle. None of the other phonological variable show this pattern. The (ü) variable, in fact, shows the opposite pattern (see Table 9.5). It would , therefore, be unwise to draw any firm conclusions from the fact that the factor _female_ slightly favours the nonstandard variant in a single phonological variable.

10.9 Mother Tongue

Table 10.7 Variable Rule Analysis of (r): The Mother

Tongue Factors

FACTORS	TOKENS	NO.OF <l>	% OF <l>	WEIGHTING
Cantonese	558	129	23%	.62
Hokkien	858	190	22%	.59
Huayu	94	6	6%	.30

The factor Cantonese favours the <l> variant only
marginally more than the factor Hokkien and this cannot
be taken as a clear evidence for mother tongue
interference.

Neither Hokkien nor Cantonese have an initial consonant
phonetically close to the r- in standard Huayu. The
Mandarin initial r- generally corresponds with Hokkien
[dz] (or [dʑ] before [i]), for example in the Hokkien
pronunciations of 然 rán, 任 rèn, 热 rè and 日 rì,
and [l] varying with [n], for example in the Hokkien
pronunciations of 软 ruǎn and 人 ren (Yuan et al
1968)[2].

Mandarin r- generally corresponds to Cantonese [j], as in
all the above zi. Thus, if anything, one might expect
speakers with Hokkien as a mother tongue to use the <l>
variant more frequently than speakers with Cantonese as a
mother tongue. It seems reasonable to conclude that

mother tongue interference does not have a great effect on the patterning of this variable.

10.9.1 A Note on the Huayu Factor

It is interesting that the factor Huayu so strongly disfavours <l>, suggesting that any "indigenized" variety of Singapore Huayu that the speech of these informants might be thought to represent is likely to retain only very low levels of the <l> variant. However, as previously pointed out, the results for this factor must be treated with some caution and need to be looked at in greater detail. The raw figures for these informants are as follows:

Informant 1: 29 tokens, 1 (3%) realized as <l>

Informant 2: 23 tokens, 5 (22%) realized as <l>

Informant 3: 42 tokens, 0 realized as <l>

Looking at only informants one and three, we might conclude that the nonstandard variant of (r) is almost entirely absent in this mother tongue variety of Huayu. However, as with (u) (see 9.9), informant two (the 16 year old schoolboy) is the odd one out, with a substantially higher level of the nonstandard variant than his sister or the other informant with Singapore Huayu as mother tongue. Again, there seems no obvious reason why this should be so.

10.10 Comparison with Chen C.Y. (1986)

Chen Chungyu identifies the nonstandard variants as [l], [n], [j] and [dz] and in her study, 25% of readings of standard r- zi are realized with initial [l] and 1.4% with initial [n]. Her findings for the phonological environments favouring [l] are substantially the same as in the present study. She finds that inital w prosodic syllables are the most favouring environment, r- being "replaced by /l/ or /n/" in 40% of such syllables (p.127). She differs slightly from the present study in that ri and re were found to have no tendency at all to be realized with [l] (there are just 2 and 4 such realizations respectively in the present study), and although she notes that 72.5% of the readings of the syllable rong had initial [j], she also observes 1 case of the r- in rong being "replaced by /l/ or /n/" and 1 case of it "varying with /l/ or /n/" (p.127).

10.11 Comparison With Other Varieties of Mandarin

Among dialects of Mandarin spoken in China, there is a great deal of variation in this initial consonant. Of the ten dialect points listed in Zhan (1981:99) representing the Mandarin dialects, one (Yangzhou) has initial [l] in 人 rén, 日 rì, 如 rú and 锐 rùi, one (Shenyang) has [l] in rùi but zero in 人 rén, 日 rì and 如 rú, one (Jinan) has [ʐ] in 人 rén and 日 rì but [l] in 如 rú and 锐 rùi, one (Hankou) has [n] and [l] in 人 rén, [l] in 锐 rùi

and zero in θ rì and χ0 rú and one (Chengdu) has [z]
for all four zi.

Initial [l] in standard r- syllables is also quite often
heard in the Putonghua spoken as a second dialect in
China. However, Kubler (1981) mentions only [dz] as a
nonstandard variant of r- in Taiwanese Mandarin.

Thus, the nonstandard variants of r- in Singapore Huayu
are not unique to this variety of Mandarin, although it
is possible that the use of the <l> variant may serve to
distinguish a Singapore "accent" from a Taiwanese
"accent".

10.12 Conclusion

Pressure from the prescribed standard does not seem to be
resulting in a significant movement towards use of the
standard retroflex realizations of r- and there is some
evidence of a range of acceptable nonstandard variants
with a strong tendency to complementary distribution.
However, there does seem to be a move away from what
appears to be the most salient nonstandard variant - <l>
- led by speakers below about twenty. There also seems to
be an association between a high frequency of the <l>
variant and the lowest level of education (not completed
primary) . However, despite the fact that the difference
between the <l> and <r> variants is salient to at least
some speakers (see 10.2.3) and that the <l> variant is

sometimes explicity referred to as incorrect, the present data does not show a significant shift away from <l> in the reading sections.

NOTES

1. The status of <u>rua</u> in Standard Huayu is somewhat doubtful. There is, in fact, only one zi in colloquial Beijing dialect with this form.

2. This is based upon the pronunciation of Xiamen (Amoy) city. In other varieties of Hokkien Mandarin <u>r-</u> may correspond with [dz] and [j],see, for example, Tay (1968)'s description of Eng Chun Hokkien. However, I have checked with a number of Hokkien speaking Singaporeans who assure me that the usual pronunciation of these latter zi in Singapore is with initial [l].

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE (ng) VARIABLE

11.1 Nasal Yunmu in Standard Huayu

The standard pronunciation has a set of nasal yunmu or
"rhymes" which normally end in a velar stop [ŋ]
(although actual closure may be variable, see 11.1.2
below) and are written with final ng in Pinyin. In terms
of Halliday's 1985 analysis, these are analyzed as
syllables selecting nasal resonance and final w posture,
which is realized by backing and rounding. The standard
pronunciation also has a corresponding set of nasal yunmu
which normally end in [n], are written with final n in
Pinyin and are analyzed as selecting y final posture,
which is realized by fronting and raising. These two sets
of nasal yunmu are set out in Table 11.1 in Pinyin
together with their major phonetic realizations in
Beijing Mandarin.

Table 11.1 Nasal Yunmu in Beijing Mandarin

(Based on Halliday 1985)

-ng (w posture)		-n (y posture)	
eng	ə̞ŋ	en	ə̟n
ing	ɪ̞ŋ	in	i̞n
ong	ʊŋ	un	ʊ̞ən
ang	ɐŋ	an	æn
uang	ᵘɐŋ	uan	ᵘæn
iang	ⁱɐŋ	ian	ˈɛn
iong	ɣᵛŋ	ün	yᵊn
		üan	ˣæn

+ = fronted relative to the cardinal value of the symbol

- = backed   relative to the cardinal value

ʟ = lowered relative to the cardinal value

11.2 Variation in Nasal Yunmu in Beijing Mandarin

In Beijing Mandarin, the major dimensions of variation in these yunmu are absence or presence of the final nasal stop ([n] or [ŋ]) and the extent to which the realization of the nasal prosody extends back from the syllable margin (Barale 1982, see also Appendix Two). Thus, for example, phonetic realizations of eng may be [ə̞ŋ], [ə̞̃ŋ] or [ə̞̃].

Note that even when there is no final nasal stop, nasal syllables differing only in final posture (i.e., w or y) do not become homophonous, as final posture choice

affects vowel quality as well as place of articulation
of the final nasal stop.

11.3 The (ng) Variable in Singapore Huayu

In Singapore Huayu, standard n̠ versus n̠g̠ yunmu (i.e.,
nasal yunmu with final y̱ versus w̱ postures) are
sometimes not differentiated. For example, zi such as
chén "dust" and chéng "city", or chuán "ship" and
chuáng "bed" may be homophonous. The commonest form this
underdifferentiation (from the viewpoint of the standard
pronunciation) takes is for yunmu belonging to the n̠g̠
class in the standard to be variably realized with final
[n] rather than [ŋ] by Singapore speakers. However, as
we shall see, this cannot always be regarded simply as
selection of y̱ posture instead of w̱ posture, as in some
cases the phonetic quality of the vowel nucleus may
suggest one posture whilst the place of articulation of
the final nasal stop suggests another. In analyzing the
variation, we will need to take into account not only
variable underdifferentiation or neutralization of w̱ v. y̱
final posture options in nasal yunmu but also the extent
to which the Singapore pronunciation approaches that of
the standard pronunciation in its phonetic realization
of the posture prosodies.

In the following variable rule analysis of this
variation, (ng) symbolizes the variable, i.e., all yunmu
in the data which belong to the n̠g̠ class (or in more

conventional variable rule terminology, all potential

environments for the application of the rule ng→ n).

[ŋ] is used to symbolize the standard variant and [n]

the nonstandard variant.

There are some cases in the data of nasal yunmu ending

with a final bilabial closure [m]. These can almost

always be explained as assimilations from a following

labial consonant, the most common of these is [fɐmm'ɛn]

for fāngmìan. These are excluded from the analysis.

There are also occurrences in the data of

underdifferentiation in the opposite direction - that is,

syllables having n̠, (i.e., y̠ posture) yunmu in the

standard pronunciation being realized with final [ŋ].

However, these are far fewer and will not be included in

the variable rule analysis (but see Table 11.4 p.306).

The yunmu iong and ong were found to have no tendency to

be realized with [n]. They have, therefore, also been

omitted from the variable rule analysis.

11.4 Phonological Environment: the Whole Yunmu

11.4.1 Results for the Factor Group Yunmu

For the purpose of the variable rule analysis, the ng

yunmu listed in Table 11.1 form the factors of one factor

group. The advantage of coding for the whole yunmu rather

than just the preceding phonological segment, as is

usually done in such analyses, is that it allows for a possible non-segmental interpretation of the results, avoiding an a priori assumption that the variable is placed in one segment and is conditioned only by immediately adjacent segments. The results for this factor group are given in Table 11.2. As in all the following tables, a weighting of above .5 indicates that the factor in question favours the nonstandard variant ([n]) and a weighting of below .5 indicates that the factor disfavours it, relative to other factors in the same group.

Table 11.2 Variable Rule Analysis of (ng): the Yunmu
Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS OF (ng)	TOTAL [n]	% [n]	WEIGHTING
eng	612	416	68%	.97
uang	319	52	16%	.56
ang	932	74	8%	.43
ing	1750	111	6%	.40
iang	1956	13	<1%	.05

TOTALS: 5569 tokens of (ng); 666 (12%) realizations as [n].

11.4.2 Discussion of Results

Table 11.2 shows that this variable is strongly phonologically constrained. In the data analysed, the standard yunmu eng is by far the most favouring environment for [n], iang is the least favouring (apart

from _iong_ and _ong_ for which [ŋ] is categorical, see
p.392) and _uang_, _ang_ and _ing_ are intermediate.

11.4.2.1 A Segmental View

Before considering these results from the non-segmental
or prosodic phonological perspective, it is worth
briefly illustrating some difficulties that arise in
attempting to incorporate these findings within the
formalism of segmental phonology, such is usual in
variable rule studies (see 4.3).

In segmental analyses (both structural and generative)
the difference between a syllable with an _ng_ yunmu and a
corresponding syllable with an _n_ yunmu is regarded
phonologically as a contrast between two places of
articulation in the final nasal stop segment, with other
phonetic differences resulting from regressive
assimilation. Thus, for example, Cheng (1973a) in a
generative treatment of Mandarin phonology gives the
underlying forms of _an_, _ang_, _ian_, _iang_, _uan_, _uang_ and
üan as /ɑn/, /ɑŋ/, /iɑn/, /iɑŋ/, /uɑn/, /uɑŋ/ and /üɑn/,
i.e., they all have the same underlying low vowel in the
nucleus. The phonetic forms are derived by the following
Backness Rule:

$$
a \longrightarrow
\begin{cases}
\alpha\ / & \begin{cases} \underline{\qquad} u \\ u \underline{\qquad} + \end{cases} \\
\\
a\ / & \begin{cases} \underline{\qquad} \begin{matrix} i \\ n \end{matrix} \\ i \underline{\qquad} + \end{cases}
\end{cases}
$$

(Cheng 1973a:18)

A further rule applies to the output of this rule to yield the form [i n] from underlying /i n/:

$$
a \longrightarrow \varepsilon / \ i \underline{\qquad} n
$$

(Cheng 1973a:19)

Thus, regressive assimilation accounts for the phonetic form of the underlying low vowel in all of these yunmu, with the exception of ian, for which both progressive and regressive assimilation must be posited.

This is essentially the same as a "classical" phonemic analysis of these finals in which the allophones of a phoneme /a/ would be [ɛ] after /i/ and before /n/, [a] before other occurences of [n] and [ɑ] before [ŋ] (e.g., Hartman 1944).

Note that the phonetic output of these rules is not quite so narrow as that of the transcriptions given in Table 11.1. One major difference is lack of recognition that in uang rounding usually persists throughout the syllable,

in Beijing Mandarin at least. An additional rule would be necessary to take account of this.

Similarly, Cheng does not recognize any phonetic differences between the vowels of en and eng (both given as [ə]) and between the vowels of in and ing (both given as [i]), although, of course, if he had recognised such differences, he could equally have accounted for them in terms of regressive assimilation.

The usual formulation of variable rules (as a refinement of the optional rule of generative phonology, see 4.3) incorporates the segmental bias of these kinds of analyses in that it implies that variation takes place in one segment and may be constrained by preceding and following segments. At first glance this should present no problem for representing the Singapore Huayu nasal yunmu variable. A basic variable rule for the (ng) variable might be formulated thus:

$$[+NAS] \longrightarrow \ <-BACK> / <V> \underline{\qquad} \# <F>$$

V would be the possible preceding vowel features ordered according to the findings of the statistical analysis and F would be any feature of the initial segment of the following syllable found to constrain the application of the rule, similarly ordered.

  ＃ indicates syllable or zi boundary.

However, if we attempt to interpret the results of the
variable rule analysis given in table two in terms of a
hierarchy of constraints in the immediately preceding
segment, we run into some difficulties. If we follow
Cheng (1973a) in regarding the vowel nucleus of _uang_ as
unrounded (as it very often is in Singapore Huayu, see
p.304), the following hierarchy seems to suggest itself:

$$[+NAS] \longrightarrow <-BACK> / \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -ROUND \\ +MID \\ +LOW \\ +HIGH \end{bmatrix}$$

This would show that nasal fronting is ruled out by
rounded vowels in the preceding segment (accounting for
ong and _iong_), is high for mid vowels (accounting for
eng), intermediate for low vowels (_ang_, _uang_ and _iang_)
and low for high vowels (_ing_).

However, this would predict that the weightings for _ang_,
uang, and _iang_ would all be identical, since in all these
yunmu the variable segment is preceded by a low vowel,
but as Table 11.2 shows, they are not the same. Neither
does the rule suggest any phonological motivation for
the hierarchy of constraints on nasal fronting.

The greatest difference in weighting is between _iang_ and
the other two. To account for the low weighting for _iang_
compared to _ang_ and _uang_, the rule could be rewritten:

$$[+\text{NAS}] \longrightarrow \langle-\text{BACK}\rangle \; / \; [+\text{BACK}] \; \overset{\text{G}}{} \; \overset{\text{V}}{[-\text{ROUND}]}$$
$$\begin{array}{c} +\text{MID} \\ +\text{LOW} \\ +\text{HIGH} \end{array}$$

This would block application of the rule when there is a front glide preceding the vowel nucleus (there is in fact some probability of application in this environment but it is very slight. However, this is a very unsatisfactory solution as there is no phonological motivation for a feature [+back] appearing two segments before the variable segment favouring the [-back] variant. As will be argued later, the differences in weightings among uang, ang and iang as well as among the other nasal finals are related to the degree of phonetic difference between the -n variant and the -ng variant of each pair. In other words, it is related the extent of differences in vowel qualities which in the segmental analyses are conditioned by the place of articulation of the following nasal stop. However, one cannot write into a variable rule a constraint on the application of the rule which surfaces only after the rule has been applied.

11.4.2.2 A Non-Segmental View

A non-segmental approach allows us to take into account the prosodic configuration of the whole syllable in trying to explain the results from the variable rule analysis. The variable is no longer seen as placed in the final segment and constrained by adjacent segments

but as variation between syllables with y final

prosodic posture (the -n set) and syllables with w final

prosodic posture (the -ng set). Vowel qualities in the

syllables are seen as determined by options in the

three prosodic systems of initial posture, final posture

and height. Thus the prosodic configurations for

syllables having the nasal yunmu under discussion in

this section are as follows (following Halliday 1985):

Table 11.3 Nasal Yunmu According to Syllable Prosodies of

Initial Posture, Final Posture and Height

FINAL POSTURE		w		y	
INITIAL POSTURE	HEIGHT				
a	∃	eng	ə̀ŋ	en	ə̀n
	A	ang	ʋ̀ŋ	an	æn
w	∃	ong	ʋ̀ŋ	un	ʋᵊn
	A	uang	ᵘɒ̀ŋ	uan	ᵘæn
y	∃	ing	ɪᵊŋ	in	ɩ̀n
	A	iang	ʲʋ̀ŋ	ian	˙ɛn
ɰ	∃	iong	ɣᵛŋ	ün	ɣᵊn
	A			(üan ɣæn)	

ɰ =simultaneous selection of w and y

Note that while the yunmu an, ang, uan, uang, ian, iang

and uan are all analysed as having selected the same

option in the height system (A or low), the phonetic

qualities of the vowel nuclei are not regarded as the

result of assimilation or of derivation from a single

underlying vowel. Rather they are part of the

realization of the simultaneous selection of options from

the three sets of syllable prosodies. Viewed in this

way, it is no longer surprising that yunmu such as eng,

ang, uang and iang should be shown to have different

effects on the variation, i.e., different likelihoods of

being realized with final [n], as they all have

different configurations of syllable prosodies.

Avoiding the usual variable rule formalism in dealing

with the present data has another advantage. As

mentioned in Chapter Four (4.3), the GP formula of

A→ B/ X_____Y used to write a variable rule assumes that

the element to the left of the arrow is in some sense

"underlying" (taking a synchronic perspective) or (taking

a diachronic perspective) an earlier or "original" form.

In the variable rule for the Singapore Huayu variable

(ng) given above, the implication is that a back nasal

variably "becomes" front in certain environments.

However, there is no reason to assume that speakers of

Singapore Huayu "have" underlying final /ŋ/ in any yunmu

which they pronounce with final [n], nor is there any

reason for believing that the [ŋ] variant in these yunmu

represents an earlier variety of Singapore Huayu.

Avoiding such a formalism, gives us the freedom to view

the variation from different perspectives. We may be

interested in how the standard language "changes" as it

is learned and used by those for whom it is not a mother tongue. In which case, we can think of the variation in terms of a ng to n directionality. However, we may instead be interested in how Singapore speakers may be moving closer to the standard language. In which case, we are thinking of a n to ng directionality, with speakers having to learn which zi have ng yunmu and which have n yunmu. Finally, we may view the variation as relatively stable (as seems to be the case with (ng), see 11.6), with neither of the variants being necessarily prior.

There are, therefore, some advantages in avoiding the segmental and dynamic biases of the usual variable rule formalism. However, the ranking shown in Table 11.2 has still not been fully explained. To begin to do this, we need to look more closely at the realizations of the relevant prosodies in the standard pronunciation and explore the extent to which speakers of Singapore Huayu approximate this strong prosodic system.

The w final posture in the w syllables backs and rounds while the y posture in the n syllables fronts and raises. However, the precise phonetic effects of final posture selection in any particular syllable depends upon its interaction with the other syllable prosodies. Looking back at Table 11.3, it is possible to make some generalizations. Firstly, where initial posture is neutral (a), the phonetic difference between y final

posture and w final posture is smaller than where the

initial posture is y or w. This is not surprising, since

when the two postures (initial and final) are the same,

the forces exerted from the syllable peripheries are both

pulling the same way and the effect on the vowel

qualities is much greater than if the y or w posture is

only final. Moreover, if the initial posture is y and the

final posture is w or vice versa, there are very often

audible phonetic phenomena associated with the transition

from one posture to the other. Thus, of the syllables

with Ǝ height, the difference between en   [ə̝n] and eng

[ə̝ŋ] (excluding the place of articulation of the final

nasal segment) is quite small - the vowel in en is

slightly fronter than the vowel in eng. With in [in] v.

ing [ɪ̝ŋ], un [ʊ̝ᵊn] v. ong [u̝ŋ] and ün [yᵊn] v. iong

[yᵿŋ], however, the differences are a little greater -

involving small differences in both height and fronting

as well as a change in vowel quality where there is a

transition from one posture to a different posture.

Similarly, of the syllables with A height, the

difference between an [ɤn] and ang [ɐŋ] is smaller than

the differences between uan [ᵘɤn] and uang [ᵘɒŋ] and

between ian [ⁱɛn] and iang [ⁱɐŋ].

Secondly, the effects of final posture choice are

generally somewhat smaller with Ǝ height syllables than

with A height syllables. This is again not surprising,

since where posture is partly realized by raising, the

effect is likely to be greater with low height. Thus, the

difference between en [ɔn] and eng [ɘŋ] is smaller than

between an [æn] and ang [ʌŋ], the difference between un

[ʋᵊn] and ong [u̞ŋ] is smaller than between uan [ᵘæn]

and uang [ᵘɒŋ] and the difference between in [i̞n] and ing

[ɪᵊŋ] is smaller than between ian [ⁱɛn] and iang [ⁱɒŋ].

It seems reasonable to suppose that the greater the

phonetic effect of final posture choice, the more

prominent or salient may be the difference between the ng

member and the n member of each pair, and that Singapore

speakers may be least likely to acquire or maintain ng v.

n oppositions in environments in which the differences

are most salient. In other words, standard ng yunmu may

be more likely to be realized as n yunmu where the two

are least differentiated phonetically. We might therefore

expect them to be: (i) less likely to acquire the eng v.

en opposition, where there is only a very small extra

"clue" in the vowel quality as to which final posture is

involved; (ii) somewhat more likely to acquire in v. ing,

un v. ong, an v. ang and un v. iong; and (iii) most

likely to acquire ian v. iang and uan v. uang in which

the two prosodies are most clearly differentiated.

This can go someway to explaining the results of the

variable rule analysis shown in Table 11.2. It might

explain why the weighting for eng is by far the highest,

why the figure for iang is very low and why those for

ang and ing are intermediate. However, it does not

explain why the figure for <u>uang</u> should be so high and those for <u>iong</u> and <u>ong</u> so low.

11.4.2.3 Phonetic Realizations of Nasal Yunmu in
         Singapore Huayu

In order to explore this further, it is necessary to look in more detail at the realizations of these yunmu by a Singapore speaker. Given below is a phonetic transcription of the pronunciation of these yunmu by a Chinese educated, fairly well educated (upper secondary level) speaker in his 20's, who might be considered a "typical" younger generation, educated speaker of Singapore Huayu.

<u>eng</u>	∂ŋ	<u>en</u> ∂n
<u>ing</u>	Iŋ ~ I²ŋ ~ iŋ	<u>in</u> In ~ in
<u>ong</u>	oŋ ~ ɔŋ	<u>un</u> ʊn ~ ʊ²n
<u>uang</u>	ᵘɐŋ ~ ᵘɐ̧ŋ ~ ᵘɐ̧ŋ	<u>uan</u> ᵘœn ~ ᵘɐ̧n
<u>ang</u>	ɐŋ	<u>an</u> œn ~ ɐ̧n
<u>iang</u>	ʌŋ ~ ɐŋ	<u>ian</u> ɛn
<u>iong</u>	ʊŋ	<u>un</u> yn ~ y²n

It is clear from the above that in Singapore Huayu - at least as far as represented by this speaker - the effect of posture selection tends not to have such a strong and consistent phonetic effect as in the standard pronunciation. If we pursue the hypothesis that where selection of final posture has least prosodic effect, the

ng and n   pairs are most likely to be underdifferentiated

(i.e., the [n] variant will be favoured), the patterns in

the above transcriptions seem to fit the findings of the

variable rule analysis fairly well. With en and eng

there is consistently no perceptible difference at all in

vowel quality. The phonetic difference between uang and

uan is smaller than in the standard pronunciation, as the

vowel nucleus tends to be less fronted in uan and less

backed in uang, and rounding in uang tends not to persist

beyond the glide. This may help to explain the higher

weighting for this yunmu in the variable rule analysis

than might otherwise have been expected. On the other

hand, the differences between ong and un and between ün

and iong are greater than in the standard pronunciation,

as the vowel of ong tends to be more open than in the

standard, and the separating out or segmentation of the

features of the y (or w plus y) posture prosody into an

unrounded consonant and front glide followed by a rounded

back vowel keep it quite distinct from ün. Ong and iong

are the two ng yunmu that show no tendency to "become" n

yunmu in the data.

11.4.2.4 in and ing

However, the above transcription would suggest that the

weighting for ing should be much greater than Table 11.2

shows, as the prosodic effects of final posture selection

in ing and in are very inconsistent, with the vowel

quality sometimes suggesting one posture while the place

of articulation of the stop suggests the other.

On closer examination, the in v. ing pair turns out to be somewhat unusual. So far only realization of standard ng yunmu as n yunmu has been considered. This is by far the most common type of nonstandard realization of nasal yunmu in the data. However, there are also some occurrences in the opposite "direction", i.e., standard n yunmu realized with final [ŋ]. As the majority of such realizations occur in the reading sections, the temptation is to regard them all as hypercorrections. However, as the following table shows, the in v. ing pair is an exception to the general pattern, as there are more occurrences of standard in yunmu realized with [ŋ] than vice versa.

Table 11.4 Percentages of [n] and [ŋ] Realizations
            Compared

STANDARD (ng) YUNMU	% REALIZED AS [n]	STANDARD (n) YUNMU	%REALIZED AS [ŋ]
eng	68%	en	<1%
uang	16%	uan	2%
ang	8%	an	2%
ing	6%	in	32%
iang	<1%	ian	<1%

This suggests that if we look at this variable in terms of underdifferentiation between pairs of standard ng v. n yunmu, rather than simply "replacement" of standard [ŋ] by [n], the level of underdifferentiation between ing and

in is much closer to what we might predict from observations of the strength of the prosodic effect of the final posture. We thus have a a rough hierarchy based on *likelihood of underdifferentiation* which corresponds with a hierarchy based on extent of phonetic difference between the members of each pair.

eng v. en   no phonetic difference (apart from place of
               articulation of the final nasal segment) /
               high rate of underdifferentiation

in v. ing   inconsistent phonetic difference / fairly
               high rate of underdifferentiation

uang v. uan
               intermediate degree of phonetic difference
               / intermediate rate of
               underdifferentiation.
ang v. an

ian v. iang
un v. ong   large phonetic difference / nil or very low
               rates of underdifferentiation.
un v. iong

Thus, at least one aspect of the pattern of variation in nasal yunmu in the Singapore data can best be understood in terms of the speakers' acquisition of the relevant prosodic system of the standard pronunciation as a whole, rather than as variation in a final nasal stop

segment constrained by adjacent phonological segments.
There is a clear relationship between the strength of
the prosodic effect of final posture selection and the
likelihood that a particular pair will be kept distinct.
Another way of expressing this would be that the more
the functional load of the opposition is spread through
the syllable, the more likely it is to be maintained or
acquired.

11.5   Phonological Environment: the Following Segment

11.5.1 Results for the Factor Group "Following Segment"

Each occurrence of (ng) was coded according to the
immediately following segment, i.e., the initial segment
of the following syllable. The segments were classed
into the following factors:

Velar Consonants (VC): This includes g [g] and k [kʰ]
    but not h [x] and w [w]. Although in the standard
    pronunciation the consonant written h in pinyin is a
    velar fricative, in Singapore Huayu there is rarely
    any audible velar friction and it has therefore been
    coded separately (see below). The labio-velar
    semi-vowel [w-] is also seldom pronounced with
    audible friction in Singapore Huayu and it was
    felt more reasonable to class it with the back
    vowels. The hypothesis was that velar consonants
    would favour the standard [ŋ] variant.

Labial Consonants (LC): This includes the consonants b
[b], p [p], m [m] and f [f]. The hypothesis was
that these consonants would not favour either
variant.

Front Consonants (FC): This includes all lingual
consonants whose point of articulation is palatal
or further forward (note that this includes
consonants which would be retroflex in the
standard pronunciation but which are normally
dental, alveolar or palato-alveolar in Singapore
Huayu). The hypothesis was that such
consonants would favour the nonstandard [n]
variant.

High Front Semi-Vowels or Vowels (HF): This includes y-
([j] and [ɥ]) as well as the vowels i ([i] or [ɪ])
and ü [y] which, unlike in the standard
pronunciation, sometimes occur in syllable initial
position with no preceding semi-vowel or glide (see
Appendix Five). The hypothesis was that these would
favour the non-standard [n] variant.

High Back Semi-Vowels or Vowels (HB):This includes
the labio-velar semi-vowel w [w] as well as the
vowel u [u] which, unlike in the standard
pronunciation, sometimes occurs in syllable
initial position with no preceding semi-vowel or

glide. The hypothesis was that this factor would favour the standard [ŋ] variant.

Non-High Vowels: These include the following vowels which can occur in syllable initial position: e ([ɤ] or [ə]), o ([ɔ]) and a ([ɐ] and [æ])[1]. It was hypothesised that they would favour neither variant.

h (H): In Singapore Huayu h is usually [h] rather than [x]. It was hypothezised that this would not favour either variant.

Pause (P): The hypothesis was that a following pause would not favour either variant.

Comparison using the chi square test between an initial run with all the factors and a run in which the factors P and L were collapsed showed no statistically significant loss of fit to the data in the latter run. This makes phonetic sense as both leave the tongue free to take up any position. The factor HF could also no doubt be combined with P and L with no significant loss of fit, as could the factor HB with H. However, there appears to be no phonological motivation for doing this.

The results for this factor group in the final run are set out below.

Table 11.5 Variable Rule Analysis of (ng): The Following Environment Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF [n]	% OF [n]	WEIGHTING
NH	262	35	13%	.70
FC	1910	343	18%	.67
PL	1398	162	12%	.63
HF	429	31	7%	.63
HB	756	55	7%	.49
H	342	24	7%	.48
VC	472	16	3%	.08

11.5.2 Discussion of Results

This confirms some of the hypotheses. A following front consonant strongly favours the [n] variant, whilst a following velar consonant strongly disfavours it. Similarly, a high front semi-vowel or vowel favours the front nasal more than a following high back semi-vowel or vowel.

However, the weighting for NH is very surprising. One would not expect these vowels to so strongly favour the [n] variant, as they are all generally much further back than vowels under HF. On closer examination, it turns out that a very large number of the tokens represented by this factor are of nasal yunmu preceding the common particle 啊 a. This particle is generally pronounced [ʔ]

or [æ]. It is possible, therefore, that the relatively
front vowel of the particle a favours the [n] variant,
and has skewed the weighting accordingly. However, this
does not fully explain why this factor should favour [n]
so much more strongly than, for example, the factor High
Front Semi-Vowel or Vowel.

Similarly, it is not clear why a following pause or
labial consonant should favour the [n] variant as
strongly as a following high front semi-vowel or
vowel.

There seems to be no obvious reason to fully explain the
results for this factor group. In order to investigate
this further, it would be necessary to have a data base
with many more tokens of the variable than in the present
study, to allow for a much finer coding so that the
effects of each relevant initial could be investigated
separately. Any further study might also take into
account the initial prosodic posture of the following
syllable.

11.6 Age

Comparison using the chi square test between the initial
run with all the factors and a run in which the factors
31-40 and 41-56 were collapsed showed no statistically
significant loss of fit to the data in the latter. The

results for this factor group in the final run are set out below.

Table 11.6 <u>Variable Rule Analysis of (ng): The Age</u>

           <u>Factors</u>

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF [n]	% OF [n]	WEIGHTING
15-20	1164	130	11%	.50
21-30	1504	195	13%	.53
31-56	2901	341	12%	.48

These results present a different picture from those of the same factor group for the (ü) and (r) variables. There is no evidence of a change in progress towards the standard [ŋ] variant. If anything, the results suggest that the older age groups are likely to use slightly more of the standard variant than the younger groups. However, all the weightings cluster close to .5 and the very small differences among them suggest that (ng) may be a comparatively stable variable.

11.7 Level of Education

Comparison using the chi square test between the initial run and a run in which the factors <u>≤Primary</u> and <u>Primary</u> were collapsed into one factor and a run in which the factors <u>Secondary</u>, <u>Upper Secondary</u>, <u>Post Secondary</u> and <u>University</u> were collapsed into one factor showed that these factors could all be combined in this way with no statistically significant loss of fit to the data. The

results for this factor group in the final run are set
out below.

Table 11.7 Variable Rule Analysis of (ng): The
Education Level Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF [n]	% OF [n]	WEIGHTING
Primary and below	852	131	15%	.64
Secondary and above	4717	535	11%	.36

There seems to be some relationship between level of
education and this variable. However, the only
statistically significant difference is between above
and below secondary level.

11.8 The Other Factor Groups

Comparisons using the chi square test between the initial
run and runs in which the factor groups Mode, Sex and
Mother Tongue were each omitted showed that all of these
factor groups could be omitted with no statistically
significant loss of fit to the data.

It is interesting that the mother tongue factors –
particularly Hokkien and Cantonese – should have no
significant effect on the variation. Both Cantonese and

Hokkien preserve the Middle Chinese three way opposition
of nasal yunmu ending in m, n and ng. As the m set have
generally merged with the n set in modern Mandarin, it
should not be too difficult for speakers of Hokkien and
Cantonese to develop a transfer strategy for assigning to
the appropriate standard Huayu n or ng class zi ending in
m, n or ng in their home dialect (although they would not
necessarily know which n or ng yunmu to use, as
correspondances can be quite complex). However, in
Hokkien, unlike in Cantonese or Mandarin, many of the
nasal yunmu are preserved only as nasalized vowels with
no final closure and in some cases the nasality has
disappeared entirely leaving only oral vowels. Thus, if
mother tongue interference were a major factor in this
variation, one might expect those with Hokkien as mother
tongue to have much greater trouble acquiring the
standard distribution of n and ng yunmu.

11.9 Comparison with Chen C. Y. (1986)

Chen Chungyu similarly found a tendency for the yunmu
ang, eng, ing and uang to be read with final n, with, as
in the present study, eng being most susceptible to this
(only 40% "correct" readings as opposed to 79.2% for
uang, 81.9% for ang and 79% for ing).

However, her findings differ in that they do indicate
that mother tongue can have an effect, in that her two
Teochew (Chaozhou) informants scored only 52.5% "correct"

readings compared to 91.0%-86.9% by the other groups, and Teochew is the only one of the five relevant dialects to have no opposition of n and ng yunmu. Also unlike the present study, she found the tendency for standard n yunmu to be realized with final [ŋ] to be marginally greater than the opposite tendency, although she similarly found that the yunmu in was most susceptible to this (53.3% "correct" as opposed to 92.2%-86.7% for the other finals). However, once again, it should borne in mind that her data base is much smaller than in the present study and represents only "reading aloud" mode.

11.10 Comparison with Other Varieties of Mandarin

There is considerable variation in these nasal yunmu among the other dialects of Mandarin spoken in China. There is a clear n v. ng opposition in all seven pairs only in most of the Northern Mandarin (Huabei) group and some dialects of the Northwestern (Xibei) group. In general, eng v. en and ing v. in are the pairs most often merged in the other dialects, most commonly both forms becoming -n as in the Singapore data (Zhan 1981).

Underdifferention of these nasal yunmu can also be heard in the Putonghua of speakers in China who are not native speakers of dialects in which all the pairs are differentiated (see, for example, Lehmann ed. 1975:32-33). Kubler also notes that:

-ing and -eng are often replaced in Taiwan

Mandarin by -in and -en, the distinction

between the finals -in and -ing and between

finals -en and -eng thus not being maintained.

(Kubler 1981:58)

Thus, as with (ü) and (r), the use of the nonstandard [n]
variant is not unique to Singapore Huayu.

11.11 Conclusion

The pattern of variation for (ng) is different from that
for both (ü) and (r). (ng) does not appear to represent
change in progress. That is, there is no evidence that
pressure from the prescribed standard is leading to a
more standard distribution of ng yunmu. Neither does the
variation seem relatable to mother tongue interference
(at least, not in the case of Cantonese versus Hokkien).
There does seem to be a relationship with level of
education, although the (ng) variable seems less
sensitive to level of education than the (ü) variable and
there is no evidence of style shift that would provide
evidence that the ng variant is evaluated as more
correct, educated or prestigeous. However, there are
clear phonological constraints on the variation, in
particular a relationship to the strength of the phonetic
effects of final posture choice in the syllable. As with
other features, the (ng) variable also illustrates the
tendency of Singapore speakers to "segmentalize" and

realize more weakly the strong prosodies of Beijing
Mandarin.

NOTE

1. Note that these vowel qualities vary somewhat in the
data and these symbols approximate the major
realizations. [ɣ] is generally more central than in the
standard pronunciation.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE RUSHENG VARIABLE

12.1 Tones in Standard Huayu

The Standard Huayu pronunciation has four basic (lexical) tones. Using Y. R. Chao's system of representation (see Chao 1968:25-26) these are:

Tone 1 High level (Yīnpíng)   ⌐

Tone 2 High rising (Yángpíng)   ⋀

Tone 3 Low dipping (Shǎngshēng) ⋁

Tone 4 High falling (Qùshēng)   ⋁

In Pinyin romanization, the four tones are symbolized ˉ , ´ , ˇ , and ` .

The two major tone sandhi affecting these tones in both careful and fast speech are that a tone 3 immediately preceding another tone 3 becomes a high rising tone, i.e., phonetically identical to tone 2, and a tone 3 followed by any other tone tends to lose its final rise.

Other phenomena affecting these tones in fast speech (apart from becoming atonic or qingsheng , see 7.1.7) include the change of a tone 2 to a high level tone

(phonetically identical to tone 1) when it is in the second syllable of a three syllable group of which the first syllable has tone 1 or 2 and the third syllable any tone except neutral (Chao 1968:27-28) and the tendency for a tone 4 immediately followed by another tone 4 to start slightly lower and fall only about to the middle of the pitch range (Chao 1968:28-29, Kratochvil 1968:39).

12.2 Tone in Singapore Huayu

There are a number of fairly minor differences in the realizations of these tones in Singapore Huayu. Tone 1 tends to be below the top of the pitch range, and may often be represented as ⌐ . There is also sometimes a slight fall at the end of a tone 1. (generally only perceptible in careful speech). Tone 4 tends to be shorter than in the standard pronunciation, sometimes seeming to start slightly lower and often not falling as far. These might be represented as ⅄ and ⅄ .

However, there is also a separate phenomenon which results in a difference in the tone system of Singapore Huayu from Standard Huayu. This involves the existence of a Rusheng or "entering tone" category, which has also been called the Singapore Huayu "fifth tone" (Chen C.Y. 1982b). The realization of this tone category is very variable in the data and is the variable feature to be focussed on in this chapter.

12.3 _Rusheng_ in Singapore Huayu

With a very few exceptions, _rusheng_ tone occurs in the data only in zi which belonged to the _rusheng_ tone category in Middle Chinese. In modern standard Huayu, the historical _rusheng_ set have been redistributed among the modern four tones. All zi occurring with _rusheng_ tone in the data are listed in tables 12.6, 12.7 and 12.8 at the end of this chapter.

Variation in realization of _rusheng_ in the data involves tone contour, tone (and therefore syllable) length and the presence or absence of an audible final glottal stop. The major variants identified are as follows:

1. A falling tone more or less indistinguishable from standard pronunciation tone 4 (in zi having tones 1, 2 or 3 in the standard pronunciation).

2. A falling tone slightly shorter than tone 4 in the standard pronunciation, although no shorter than a common realization of tone 4 in Singapore Huayu (see 12.2 above).

3. A falling tone slightly shorter than common realizations of tone 4 in Singapore Huayu.

4. A short falling tone ending with an audible glottal stop.

5. A short level tone ending in an audible glottal stop (less common than the other variants).

It is clear from the above that the variant realizations of _rusheng_ represent a continuum of shortness in falling contour (apart from the less frequent variant 5) with an abrupt ending of the fall by glottal closure at one end of the continuum and a length of fall indistinguishable from the standard tone 4 at the other. We can thus agree with Chen Chungyu that there is an "obscure and flickering borderline between the 4th tone and the 5th tone" (Chen C.Y. 1982b:4).

12.3.1 The Possible Sociolinguistic Status of _Rusheng_

The above realizations of _rusheng_ can lead to underdifferentiation between _rusheng_ zi which have tone 1, 2 or 3 in the standard pronunciation and tone 4 zi. This has been observed to sometimes cause confusion, for example, between _shísì kuài_ "fourteen dollars" and _sìshí kuài_ "forty dollars" where a _rusheng_ falling tone on _shí_ as well as lack of initial retroflexion make the two numbers homophonous, i.e., both as [sì sì].

The potential for such confusion is often pointed out in the various television and radio programmes as well as published courses seeking to promote the standard pronunciation of Mandarin. Realizations of _rusheng_ were

also designated as "should be corrected" by every
informant in the "Huayu Specialists" group. Rusheng
therefore seems a possible candidate for becoming
generally stigmatized as "incorrect" or possibly
"uneducated" and for being eliminated in any new internal
educated or prestige norm that may be developing.

12.4 Variable Rule Analysis of Rusheng

The use of rusheng in the relevant zi is highly variable
in the data, both among informants and within samples
from individual informants. In the following analyses,
two variants are recognized: 1. the standard variant,
i.e., the tone category in the standard pronunciation of
the zi concerned; 2. the nonstandard variant, i.e., a
falling contour (where other than tone 4 would be
required) with or without a glottal stop. This is
symbolized as <ˋ>.

It was decided not to distinguish rusheng with glottal
stop as a separate variant from rusheng with no audible
glottal stop. This is because in practice it proved
difficult and unreliable to code for the presence of the
glottal stop in the flow of speech[1].

One reason for this seems to be that, as Chen Chungyu
(1982b) also observes, the glottal stop varies in
prominence, and a certain tenseness of articulation
sometimes diffuses through the whole syllable in

anticipation of the glottal closure (although a distinct

glottal stop may or may not be present). A further

complicating factor is the tendency of some speakers of

Singapore Huayu to have a glottal stop initially in

syllables which in the standard pronunciation have an

initial [y-] or [w-] semi-vowel (see Appendix Five).

Where such a syllable is immediately preceded by a

rusheng zi, it is sometimes impossible to say whether the

glottal stop is part of the realization of rusheng in the

first zi or is an initial feature of the second zi. For

example, this was sometimes the case with the

pronunciation of fāyīn "pronunciation" as [fε ʔin].

Every occurrence in the data of a zi which belongs to the

rusheng category in Middle Chinese but to tone 1, 2 or 3

in the standard pronunciation is regarded as a token of

the variable which will be symbolized as (ru). Standard

tone 4 zi are therefore excluded from the analysis as

tone 4, being a falling contour, cannot be consistently

or reliably distinguished from rusheng. However, tone 4

zi which do occur with a clear glottal stop ending in the

data are listed in table 12.7 at the end of this chapter.

Also excluded from analysis are zi of the historical

rusheng class but which have final closing glides in

modern Mandarin, i.e., oral syllables which shift to

final y or w posture (e.g., lai and liu). Such syllables

show no tendency to have rusheng tone (see Table 12.8).

There are in fact two exceptions to this in the data -

the zi l̀iu "six" and the zi r̀ou "meat", the former

occurring once with the rusheng glottal stop and the

latter twice. However, the pronunciations in these

occurrences are   [lʊ̀ʔ] and [ʌ̪ʊ̀ʔ] respectively, i.e.,

there is no posture shift as in the standard

pronunciation. Nevertheless, these three occurrences are

still excluded from the analysis as they both have tone 4

in the standard pronunciation.

In all the following tables, a weighting of above .5

indicates that the factor in question favours the

nonstandard <`> (falling) variant, whilst a weighting of

below .5 indicates that the factor disfavours it.

12.5 The Historical Rusheng Categories

Middle Chinese rusheng zi all had final -p, -t or -k

(Hashimoto 1969 and Chen M.Y. 1976 also posit a palatal

-c ending). In Beijing dialect and therefore modern

standard Huayu these endings have been completely lost

and rusheng zi distributed among the modern four tones.

Matthew Y. Chen summarizes the loss of the final stops

in the development from Middle Chinese to Beijing dialect

as follows:

```
   p  t              c  k
    \ /               \ /
     |                 |
     t                 k
      \                |
       \               |
        \             ( ʔ )
         _____      |
                \      |
                ( ʔ )  |
                  |    
                  |    
                  ∅    
```
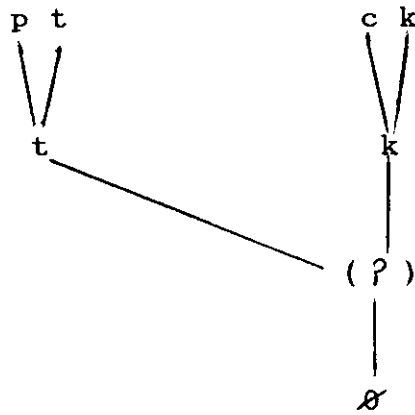
(Chen M.Y. 1976:211)

i.e., fusion of p with t and of c with k and final

loss of the stops "in all likelihood" through the

intermediate step of reduction to glottal stop.

The situation with rusheng in the other modern dialects

is rather complicated. Some dialects (e.g., Cantonese)

have complete preservation of the p, t, k endings, some

dialects only partially preserve the endings (generally

following the pattern diagrammed above, with the p

endings merging with the t endings), some dialects have

only glottal stop endings (e.g., Nanjing dialect and many

of the Mandarin dialects which preserve a rusheng

category), some dialects have p, t, k and glottal stop

endings, i.e., the glottal stop has not replaced p, t, k

in all rusheng zi , just in a portion of them (e.g.,

Hokkien) and in yet other dialects the stop endings have

completely disappeared but rusheng zi are preserved as a

category by a separate tone shape (Bi 1982).

The first factor group in the variable rule analysis is designed to investigate whether there is any relationship between the patterns of occurrence of rusheng zi in the Singapore data and these historical categories of rusheng, which are preserved to varying degrees in the modern dialects. The zi which occur in the data with rusheng tone are listed in table 12.6 at the end of this chapter according to their historical endings. This suggests a greater tendency for the k class to be realized with rusheng, followed by the t class, with the p class showing the least tendency. However, this does not take into account the frequency of occurrence of potentially rusheng zi in the data.

For the variable rule analysis, every occurrence of (ru) in the data was coded according to whether the zi belongs historically to the p, t or k class. The results for this factor group are set out in table 12.1 below.

Table 12.1 Variable Rule Analysis of (ru): The
           Historical Categories

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF < >	% OF < >	WEIGHTING
k	1503	253	17%	.55
p	242	27	11%	.49
t	1006	116	11%	.46

Total tokens of (ru): 2751 Total < >: 396 (14%)

This suggests that <u>rusheng</u> is favoured by zi belonging to the historical <u>k</u> category. It is interesting that this should be so. According to Matthew Y. Chen (1976:213), if only one of the three <u>rusheng</u> stop endings exists in a particular modern dialect, it is typically <u>k</u>. There may thus be a general tendency in Chinese dialects for <u>rusheng</u> of the <u>k</u> class to be preserved longest.

12.6 The Standard Tone Categories

Zi realized with <u>rusheng</u> tone in the data are listed in Table 12.7 at the end of this chapter according to their tone category in the standard pronunciation. This suggests that tone 2 zi are the most likely to be realized with <u>rusheng</u> tone, followed by tone 1, with tone 3 zi the least.

However, in order to take into account the frequency of occurrence of potential <u>rusheng</u> zi belonging to the three standard tone categories, all occurrences of (ru) in the data were coded according to which standard tone category they belong to. The results for this factor group are given in Table 12.2 below.

Table 12.2   Variable Rule Analysis of (ru): The Standard

Tone Categories

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <\>	% OF <\>	WEIGHTING
Tone 1	823	116	14%	.60
Tone 2	1729	258	14%	.56
Tone 3	199	22	11%	.34

This indicates that standard tone 1 favours rusheng tone slightly more than tone 2, whilst tone 3 disfavours it.

Chen Chungyu (1982b) finds a similar pattern in her data and suggests that it might be due to the fact that the fall rise contour of tone 3 makes it more distinct, as only Teochew (Chaozhou) of the five major dialects spoken in Singapore has a tone with a similar contour. This seems a reasonable suggestion and accords with the finding for several of variable features in Singapore Huayu that a features of the standard pronunciation is most likely to be acquired where it is most salient. In fact, according to Cheng, "bidirectional" tonal contours (i.e., fall rise or rise fall) are overall much less frequent in Chinese dialects than falling, level or rising tones (Cheng C.C. 1973b:103).

It is also worth noting that acoustic studies of Standard Huayu tones have shown that, in citation form at least, tone 3 is the longest in duration (Howie 1976, Massaro, Cohen and Tseng 1985). As shortness is one of the

characteristics of the Singapore Huayu <u>rusheng</u> tone, it

seems reasonable to suppose the relative length of the

standard tone 3 may also serve to keep it distinct from

the <u>rusheng</u> tone.

12.7 Mode

The results for the style factor group are set out in

Table 12.3 below.

Table 12.3   Variable Rule Analysis of (ru): The Mode

 Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <\>	% OF <\>	WEIGHTING
Talking	2208	226	10%	.32
Reading	543	167	31%	.68

This suggests that, all else being equal, informants are

likely to use <u>rusheng</u> more frequently in the reading

sections of the interviews, i.e., when slower, more

careful (and therefore more "correct") speech might be

expected.

It is possible that the weightings are somewhat skewed by

the fact that reading sections happen to include some

zi which have a much greater probability of being

pronounced with <u>rusheng</u> tone than would be predicted from

the weightings for their historical categories and

standard tones alone. The zi 革 gé, 福 fú and 发 fā

have a much higher rate of <u>rusheng</u> (56%, 70% and 49% repectively) than other zi in the reading sections. Fú and <u>fā</u> also occur in the "talking" sections. However, the three zi between them make up about one fifth of the tokens of (ru) in the reading sections and so would have had a significant effect on the weighting for the "reading" factor. Thus it seems possible that there are lexical constraints on (ru) which are not taken into account in the factor groups used in the analysis (also see 12.13 below).

Nevertheless, the results for this factor group provide clear evidence against the hypothesis that the Singapore Huayu <u>rusheng</u> tone may have become a generally stigmatized feature likely to be avoided in careful speech.

12.8 Age

The findings for this factor group are set out on Table 12.4 below.

<u>Table 12.4</u>   <u>Variable Rule Analysis of (ru): The Age</u>
           <u>Factors</u>

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <ˋ>	% OF <ˋ>	WEIGHTING
15-20	621	30	5%	.25
21-30	764	135	18%	.59
31-40	481	54	11%	.44
41-56	885	177	20%	.72

These results suggests that there is a relationship between (ru) and age. Apart from a small "bump" in the 21-30 age group, for which there is no obvious explanation, there is a clear tendency for higher age groups to favour the nonstandard <\> variant. As with the other variables, it seems reasonable to interpret this as diachronic change, i.e., as a move over time away from the use of the nonstandard rusheng tone.

12.9 Mother Tongue

The findings for this factor group are set out in Table 12.5 below.

Table 12.5 Variable Rule Analysis of (ru): The Mother Tongue Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <\>	% OF <\>	WEIGHTING
Hokkien	1586	255	16%	.64
Cantonese	1004	136	13%	.55
Huayu	161	5	3%	.31

These results suggest that informants with Hokkien as mother tongue are likely to use rusheng tone slightly more frequently than informants with Cantonese as mother tongue.

It is interesting that this should be so. Cantonese in fact preserves the historical rusheng zi with the three

stop endings much more completely than Hokkien. In
Hokkien, the loss of the stop endings is quite well
advanced, in some cases having been reduced to a glottal
stop in others to zero. In Cantonese, there are three
rusheng tone contours, i) <u>shàngyīnrù</u> ˥ ,ii) <u>xiàyīnrù</u> ˧
and iii) <u>yangru</u> ˨ . Each of these tone contours are also
contours of non-<u>rusheng</u> tones in Cantonese. In Hokkien
there are two <u>rusheng</u> tone contours, i) <u>yīnrù</u> ˩ or ˥
in syllables ending in a glottal stop (Zhu 1975) and ii)
<u>yángrù</u> ˥ . One of these contours, the <u>yīnrù</u>, is unique in
that it does not also occur as a non-<u>rusheng</u> tone contour
(Bi 1982). Note that the Hokkien <u>yīnrù</u> tone, like the
Singapore Huayu <u>rusheng</u> tone, is a short falling tone. It
thus seems not improbable that the existence of <u>rusheng</u>
in Hokkien with glottal stop endings and short falling
tone contours might account for the likelihood of Hokkien
speakers using the phonetically similar Singapore Huayu
<u>rusheng</u> tone slightly more frequently than Cantonese
speakers.

12.9.1 The factor <u>Huayu</u>

The raw scores for this variable of the three informants
identified by the factor <u>Huayu</u> are as follows.

<u>Informant 1</u>: 57 tokens of (ru), 2 (3%) realized as ‹ ˎ ›
<u>Informant 2</u>: 54 tokens of (ru), 1 (2%) realized as ‹ ˋ ›
<u>Informant 3</u>: 50 tokens of (ru), 2 (4%) realized as ‹ ˎ ›

Thus, the nonstandard rusheng variant is rare in the speech of all three informants with Huayu as mother tongue.

It is also worth noting that of the five occurrences of nonstandard rusheng in the speech of these informants, 3 (one by each informant) are of the zi 福 fu (twice in the word 福建 fujian "Hokkien" and once in the minimal pair 福 fú v. 父 fù) and the other 2 are of the zi 发 fā (in fāyīn "pronunciation") and the zi 革 gé (in the minimal pairs section). In other words, every occurrence of rusheng in the samples from these informants are of the three zi tentatively identified above (12.7) as having a lexically specific strong tendency to be realized with rusheng tone.

This suggests that in so far as the speech of these informants might be thought to represent a fully "indigenized" variety of educated Singapore Huayu such a variety is likely to preserve very low levels of rusheng tone, possibly only with a small subset of the potential rusheng zi. However, no firm conclusions can be drawn from the speech of just three informants.

12.10 The Other Factor Groups

Comparisons using the chi square test between initial runs and subsequent runs in which the factor groups Level of Education and Sex were each omitted showed no

statistically significant loss of fit to the data in the latter runs. These factor groups were therefore not included in the final run.

12.11   Comparison with Chen C.Y. (1982b)

Chen Chungyu concludes that there is no significant correlation between the historical stop endings and the frequency of the Singapore Huayu rusheng, although in her data zi belonging to the k and p class have higher percentages of rusheng (74.2% and 77.8% respectively) than zi belonging to the t class (64.1%).

However, as in the present study, Chen similarly finds that tone 1 zi are most likely to have rusheng tone (84.1%), followed by tone 2 (68.9%) with tone 3 least likely (22.8%).

Also as in the present study, she finds that her two Hokkien informants have a slightly higher average percentage of rusheng tone (89.4%) than her two Cantonese informants (82.2%). However, both the Cantonese group and the Hokkien group have significantly higher rates of rusheng than the other three dialect groups (Hakka 77.2%, Hainanese 62.8% and Teochew 61.3%).

It is interesting that the overall percentage of rusheng tone in Chen's data (70.9%) is much higher than in the present study (14%). All Chen's tokens are from readings

of isolated zi in a context in which the informants' most careful pronunciation might be expected. This provides further evidence that the Singapore Huayu rusheng tone is not a feature generally stigmatized and therefore likely to be "corrected" by speakers in careful speech.

12.12 Comparison with Other Varieties of Mandarin

A number of the Mandarin dialects spoken in China preserve the rusheng tone in various forms. In the majority of cases rusheng is a short tone with a final glottal stop. In some cases the glottal stop may be somewhat indistinct, sometimes audible sometimes not, as with the Singapore Huayu rusheng, but the tone is clearly short. In other cases, rusheng tone is neither short nor has a final glottal stop but is distinguished from other tones by a separate contour (Yang 1981).

Rusheng tone has not been noted as a feature of the Mandarin spoken in Taiwan where Minnan dialects related to the Hokkien spoken in Singapore are spoken.

The existence in Singapore Huayu of a rusheng tone with a variable glottal stop and shortness of duration is not, therefore, unique for a variety of Mandarin. However, for some listeners, it may distinguish a Singapore speaker from an Taiwanese speaker.

12.13 A Note on the Possible Source of the Singapore
       Huayu <u>Rusheng</u> Tone

Chen argues that influence from the southern dialects
spoken in Singapore is the source of the Singapore Huayu
<u>rusheng</u> tone (Chen C.Y. 1982b:21-22). As has been noted
above (p.334), Hokkien has a <u>rusheng</u> tone which is
similar to the Singapore Huayu <u>rusheng</u> in being a short
falling tone with variable glottal stop. This seems a
possible origin for the Singapore Huayu <u>rusheng</u>, as
Hokkien is the most widely spoken dialect in Singapore.

However, this is by no means certain. It is interesting
that in the data zi which shift to final <u>y</u> or <u>w</u>
posture show no tendency to have rusheng tone. It is
common in Chinese dialect for there to be pattern
congruity between <u>rusheng</u> and final y/w (nasal and
oral) yunmu. For example, Cantonese has <u>rusheng</u> [ɐpˀ],
[ɐkˀ] and [ɐtˀ], nasal [ɐm], [ɐŋ] and [ɐn] and oral [ɐi]
and [ɐu], but not *[ɐit], *[ɐuk] etc. Similarly, in the
Jianghuai Mandarin dialect of Nanjing (which has only the
glottal stop ending for <u>p</u>, <u>t</u>, <u>k</u>) there is, for example,
[ai], [au] and [aŋ] but not *[auˀ] or *[aiˀ]

Hokkien, however, has the <u>rusheng yunmu</u> [aiˀ], [auˀ],
[iauˀ], [iuˀ] and [uiˀ] (Zhu 1975 and Xiamen Daxue 1982).
This appears to present an argument against the Hokkien
<u>rusheng</u> being the origin of the Singapore Huayu <u>rusheng</u>.
It is also interesting that the two instances in the data

of rusheng with zi which do shift to final y or w posture in the standard pronunciation (六 liù and 肉 ròu) were both pronounced without this shift (see p.326). Chen argues that such pronunciations have their origin in borrowings from the southern dialects spoken in Singapore (Chen C.Y. 1982b:18-19). However, [lù] and [ʐu] are also older or alternate pronunciations of these zi in Beijing dialect as well as in the 1919 Official Pronunciation of the *Guoyin Zidian* (see p.145) which artificially preserves the rusheng tone. There are similar older or alternate pronunciations (without final y or w posture) of the zi 薄 bāo (∼ bó), 粥 zhōu (∼ zhū), 拆 chāi (∼ cā) and 窄 zhǎi (∼ zhě) which occur in Chen's data with rusheng tone and without final y or w posture. Such evidence seems to point to the possibility of influence from other Mandarin dialects (via the early teachers of Mandarin in Singapore) on the development of the Singapore Huayu rusheng tone. As mentioned previously, shortness and a glottal stop varying in degree of prominence are features found in the various rusheng tones in the Mandarin dialects.

As with several such features in Singapore Huayu, it is probably not possible to point with confidence to a single source for the Singapore Huayu rusheng.

12.14 Conclusion

As with (ǚ) and (r), there is some evidence with the rusheng of a move away from the nonstandard variant over time. However, unlike the other variables, (ru) shows no evidence of greater use of the standard variant associated with higher levels of education or with more careful speech. This suggests that the nonstandard variants of rusheng may not carry a negative social evaluation.

It is possible, nevertheless, that there are patterns of rusheng variation that have not been captured by this analysis. As mentioned earlier (12.3), there is a continuum in realizations of Singapore Huayu rusheng from variants indistinguishable from tone four to variants ending in a clear glottal stop and considerably shorter in duration than the usual tone 4. For the reasons stated (p.324-325), no distinction was made in the coding between rusheng realizations with glottal stop and without glottal stop. However, it is likely that variants with a glottal stop are more salient to Singapore speakers than variants phonetically closer or identical to tone 4, and it is possible that these former variants are stigmatized whilst the latter variants are not. What may be happening is that some rusheng zi (perhaps, for example, zi such as 福 fú, 革 gé and 发 fā, see p.331-332) are being reallocated to tone 4 whilst rusheng as a distinct tone category may be disappearing. Further

research, using a more detailed phonetic coding of the variation and looking at the effects of different z_i, would be necessary to confirm this.

NOTE

1. Samples from an original three variant coding of
rusheng were re-checked by myself and by Professor
M.A.K. Halliday and whilst there was a high level of
agreement on tone contour there was much less on presence
of glottal stop.

Table 12.6 Zi Occurring as Rusheng in the Data by Middle Chinese Endings

(Zi in parentheses occur only once in the data)

-P	-T	-K	NON RUSHENG
十 合 入	七 接 喝	择 职 肉	(便) (去) (致)
立 法 答	(罚) 八 出	屋 学 殖	
发 说 (一)	石 得 读	
雪 月 (越)	福 国 卓	
日 热 (节)	责 觉 乐	
(缺) 达 刑	色 目 六	
阅	力 錄 客	
各 特 握	
泽 迫 服	
(隻)	

Table 12.7 Zi Occurring as Rusheng in the Data by Standard Huayu Tone Category

TONE 1	TONE 2	TONE 3	TONE 4 (glottal stop variant only)
八 发 喝	習 答 读	法 雪 俠	客 热 六
七 (缺) 说	达 福 国		力 立 錄
屋 出 接	车 合 (庐)		月 入 日
(一) (隻)	觉 石 十		肉 色 特月
	实 学 择		(越) 樂 (法)
	职 别 责		敄 各 评
	服 (圆)		閣 握
	殖		泊

Table 12.8 Zi Occurring in the Data by Standard Huayu
       Yunmu (in Pinyin)

POSTURE: <u>aa</u>   <u>ay</u>   <u>aw</u>   <u>wa</u>   <u>ya</u>

       i: 9   ei: 0   ou: 1   ǜ: 1   i: 5
       e: 13   ai: 0   ao: 0   ǖe: 7   ie: 3
       a: 6

       <u>yw</u>   <u>wa</u>   <u>wy</u>

     iu: 1   u: 8   ui: 0
    iao: 0   uo: 3   uai: 0
                   ua: 0

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE (n) VARIABLE

13.1 Initial n- in the Standard Pronunciation

The initial consonant written as n in Pinyin is an
alveolar nasal. Table 13.1 lists the syllables in which
this initial occurs.

Table 13.1: n Initial Syllables in Standard Huayu

INITIAL POST.	FINAL POSTURE		
	a	w	y
a	na ne	nou nao neng nang	nei nai nen nan
w	nu nuo	nong	nuan
y	ni nie	niu niao ning niang	nin nian
w̶	nu nue		

13.2 (n) in Singapore Huayu

In the Singapore data at least four variant initial
consonants occur in the above syllables. These are [n] -
the standard variant; [l] - an alveolar lateral; [l̃] -
a nasalized alveolar lateral; and [r] - an apical tap
or flap. [r] is the least frequent of these variants. It
occurs a number of times in the reading sections as a

realization of the initial consonant of the zi 農 nóng.
In the Hokkien (or Minnan) dialects, the initial
consonant usually transcribed as l is in fact very
variable and is often a rapid apical flap (Kubler 1981,
Tay 1968, Yuan et al 1968, see also Note 1 at the end of
this chapter). It is possible, therefore, that this
variant represents a transfer from Hokkien.

In rapid speech, the [l] and [ĩ] variants are often hard
to distinguish, particular in syllables with nasal yunmu
in which the nasality may be diffused throughout the
syllable.

In the following analyses, (n) represents the variable,
i.e., all initial consonants in the data which would be n
in the standard pronunciation, and <l> represents the
nonstandard variants [l] and [ĩ] and <n> represents the
standard variant [n]. The few instances of [r] have been
omitted from the analysis.

13.2.1 Underdifferentiation Between n- and l- Zi

In the standard pronunciation, all of the yunmu occurring
with initial n in table 13.1 also occur with initial l,
with the exception of the yunmu en. The use of the
nonstandard <l> variant can therefore lead to
underdifferentiation between pairs such as nǎo "angry"
v. lǎo "old" and nán "difficult" v. lán " blue".

13.3 Quantitative Analysis of the (n) Variable

Unlike (ü), (r), (ng) and (ru) which are variable in the
speech of nearly all the informants, (n) is variable in
the speech of only 26 of the 46 informants. In other
words, 20 informants have <n> categorically where it
would be required in the standard pronunciation, while 26
informants vary between <n> and <l> in these environments
(no informants have <l> categorically). Variable rule
analysis will not, therefore, be used to investigate any
relationship between this variable and various non-
linguistic factors. Instead, the characteristics of the
two groups - those having <n> categorically and those
varying between <n> and <l> - will be compared. However,
variable rule analysis will be used to investigate
phonological constraints on the variation in the speech
of those for whom it is variable. In the following tables
of results from this analysis, a weighting of above .5
indicates that the factor in question favours the
nonstandard <l> variant and a weighting of below .5
indicates that the factor disfavours it.

13.4 Phonological Environment

In initial runs, three factor groups of phonological
environment were coded for. These are _final posture_,
initial posture, and _resonance_.

13.4.1 Final Posture

There are three possible final posture prosodies in (n)
syllables (see Table 13.1). These are a, w, and y.
However, comparison using the chi square test between the
initial run and a subsequent run in which this factor
group was omitted showed no statistically significant
loss of fit to the data in the latter run. This factor
group was therefore omitted in the final run.

13.4.2 Initial Posture

There are four possible initial posture prosodies in n-
syllables (see Table 13.1). These are a, w, y and w/y (or
w + y). However, as all w/y initial posture syllables
also select oral resonance and as all tokens of such
syllables in the data are of the zi nǚ "female", these
syllables have been omitted from the analysis. There are
therefore only three factors in this group. The results
for this factor group in the final run are set out in
table two below.

Table 13.2   Variable Rule Analysis of (n): The Initial
             Posture Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <l>	% OF <l>	WEIGHTING
w	20	13	65%	.84
a	652	79	12%	.34
y	536	40	7%	.26

Total tokens: 1208 Total no. of <l>: 132 (11%)

This indicates that the labiovelar posture strongly favours <l> while the palatal posture disfavours it. It is interesting that this should be so, as with the variable (r) it was also found that an <l> variant was favoured by this posture (10.4.2). There thus seems to be a general tendency for <l> variants to be favoured by labiovelar posture.

However, it is necessary to treat these results with some caution due to the relatively small number of tokens of w. This is because there are no occurrences in the data of the w posture syllables nuo or nuan and only three occurrences of nu. Thus the weighting for w is based only on 17 tokens of nong (11 of which have <l>) and three tokens of nu (2 of which have <l>).

The figures for nü (not included in the above analysis) are as follows: No. of Tokens: 47, No. of <l> 8 (17%). Although, as mentioned above, all tokens of nü are prounciations of the zi nü "female", this does suggest that, as might be expected, combination of initial w plus y postures results in a percentage of <l> higher than that of initial y posture alone but lower than that of initial w posture alone.

13.4.3 Resonance

The factors in this group are nasal (i.e., all syllables

ending in n or ng in Pinyin) and oral (all other

syllables). The findings for this factor group are set

out in table 13.3 below.

Table 13.3   Variable Rule Analysis of (n): The Resonance

         Factors

FACTOR	TOKENS	NO. OF <1>	% OF <1>	WEIGHTING
nasal	466	84	18%	.62
oral	742	48	6%	.38

This indicates that nasal resonance favours the <1>

variant and oral resonance disfavours it. It is possible

that lack of nasality in the yunmu makes a non-nasal

lateral initial more salient, i.e., nasality is then not

present anywhere in the syllable, whereas when nasality

is present in the yunmu, its lack in the initial is less

salient. However, this can be no more than a tentative

explanation, particularly as one of the nonstandard

variants, [l], does have nasality. It is worth noting,

nevertheless, that Chen Chungyu (1986) found that in her

data [l] and [n] are confused only in syllables with

nasal yunmu (see 13.9 below).

13.5 Age

In this and the following sections, the two groups of informants, those with <n> categorically and those with variation between <n> and <l>, will be compared with reference to the non-linguistic factors used elsewhere in the variable rule analyses. The breakdown of the two groups according to the age factors is given in table 13.4 below.

Table 13.4   Percentages and Numbers of Informants with
             Categorical and Variable (n) by Age Group

AGE	CATEGORICAL	VARIABLE
15-20	64%*(7)	36% (4)
21-30	55% (6)	45% (5)
31-40	44% (4)	56% (5)
41-56	20% (3)	80% (12)

* Percentages are of the total of informants in each age bracket.

This suggests that the younger the age of a speaker, the more likely he or she is to use the standard <n> variant categorically. It seems reasonable to interpret this diachronically as evidence that the nonstandard <l> may be becoming much less frequent in Singapore Huayu. However, some caution is necessary in interpreting this and the following tables, as unlike the variable rule

analysis, this kind of analysis does not control for the effects of other factors (for example, that the younger age groups are also likely to be the more highly educated groups).

13.6 Level of Education

Table 13.5 Percentages and Numbers of Informants with Categorical and Variable (n) by Level of Education

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	CATEGORICAL	VARIABLE
Below primary	0	100% (3)
Primary	0	100% (5)
Lower sec.	38% (6)	62% (10)
Upper sec.	57% (4)	43% (3)
Post sec.	83% (5)	17% (1)
University	56% (5)	44% (4)

This clearly suggests a relationship with level of education, in particular with speakers with a level of education below lower secondary being more likely to use nonstandard <1>. However, again these results do not control for age differences. For example, age differences may partly account for the higher number of informants in the variable group with university education than with (non-university) post secondary education. The one informant with variable (n) in the post sec. group is in fact the only informant in that

group to be over 40. However, in the _university_ group,
there are six informants over 40, three of whom have
variable (n).

13.7 Mother Tongue

Table 13.6   Percentages and Numbers of Informants with
             Categorical and Variable (n) by Mother Tongue

MOTHER TONGUE	CATEGORICAL	VARIABLE
Hokkien	43% (10)	57% (13)
Cantonese	45% (9)	55% (11)
Huayu	33% (1)	66% (2)

This suggests that speakers of the two dialect mother
tongues are equally likely to have variable (n). It is
not surprising that both Hokkien speakers and Cantonese
speakers should have some trouble in acquiring the
standard distribution of n and l initials. In Hokkien
[n] and [l] are in complementary distribution, with [n]
occurring before nasalized vowels (i.e., nasal yunmu with
no final closure) and [l][1] before all other yunmu
(including nasal yunmu with final closure) (Yuan et al
1960). Descriptions of standard Cantonese (that of
Guangzhou) usually include an initial [n] v. [l]
opposition. However, this is variable even in Guangzhou.
Chao (1947) states, for example, that "about one out of
four persons in Canton city has no initial n and
pronounces an l in words beginning with n for other

speakers". Similar variation has been noted in Hong Kong
Cantonese (Bauer 1982). No systematic study of the
Cantonese spoken in Singapore is available. However,
personal observation confirms the existence of such
variation in Singapore Cantonese

The occurrence of the nonstandard variant in the speech
of two informants with Singapore Huayu as mother tongue
seems a little surprising. However, each has only one
occurrence of the nonstandard <l> variant (as it
happens, both out of a total of 33 tokens). It would
therefore be rash to conclude from this anything about
the likely persistence of (n) variation in any
"indigenized" variety of Huayu in Singapore.

13.8 Sex

Table 13.7   Percentages and Numbers of Informants with
             Categorical and Variable (n) by Sex

SEX	CATEGORICAL	VARIABLE
Male	46% (12)	54% (14)
Female	40% (8)	60% (12)

This seems to indicate a slight tendency for males to be
more likely to have variable (n) than females. This is
despite the fact that more males than females have upper
secondary or above levels of education (16 to 6) and more
females than males have below lower secondary levels of

education (6 to 2). The suggests the possibility that, as
with the variable (ü) (Chapter Nine), females may be more
sensitive to the prestige or standard variant than males.

13.9 Comparison with Chen C.Y (1986)

Chen Chungyu also found that in her data "the lateral l̲
and the nasal n̲ were found to replace each other
occasionally". However, as noted earlier, she found that
only items with nasal resonance were susceptible to this
confusion. This may be due to her much smaller number of
tokens.

13.10 Comparison with other Varieties of Mandarin

Initial [n] has merged with [l] or is variable in most of
the Southwestern dialects and some of the Jianghuai and
Northwestern dialects of Mandarin (Zhan 1981). Lehmann
ed. (1975) also mentions [n] / [l] confusion in speakers
of Putonghua in China.

Variation between [l] and [n] has also been noted in the
Mandarin of Cantonese speaking learners in Hong Kong.
However, Kubler (1981) mentions only the use of [r] for l̲
in Taiwanese Guoyu, but not [r] or [l] for [n].

The variable use of [l] for the standard n̲ initial is
not, therefore, a unique feature of Singapore Huayu.

However, it may serve to distinguish a speaker of
Singapore Huayu from a speaker of Taiwanese Guoyu.

13.11 Conclusion

Variation between <n> and <l> is clearly not so
widespread as the other phonological variables
investigated in previous chapters and nearly half of the
informants have the standard <n> variant categorically.
The nonstandard <l> variant is more likely to
occur in the Huayu of less educated and older speakers
than in the speech of highly educated and younger
speakers. It is therefore possible that this nonstandard
variant may eventually disappear or become very
infrequent in Singapore Huayu.

NOTE

1. The Hokkien initial transcribed above as [l] is very variable in varieties of Hokkien or Minnanhua. It is generally described as a an apical flap, however perceptually it may sometimes seem more [l] like and sometimes more [d] like (see Tay 1968 and Bodman 1955). This may well be the source of the variant transcribed as [r] above (13.2). However, variants which are clearly [r] or [d] like are quite infrequent in the Singapore data.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE LA PARTICLE

14.1 Nonstandard Particles in Singapore Huayu

All Chinese dialects have a word class usually called
"particles" which realize a range of aspectual and modal
meanings. However, the southern dialects are generally
much richer in such particles, particularly modal
particles, than the northern dialects.

Similarly, a much wider range of modal particles occurs
in Singapore Huayu than in Standard Huayu. Some such
particles are:

  la (usualy toneless, sometimes with other tones)

  mē [mɛ̄]

  láide

  hó [hɔ́] (pre-pause, clause complex[1] non final)

  há (pre-pause, clause complex final)

  hó [hɔ́] (post pause, clause complex final)

  lo [lɔ] (sometimes mid level, sometimes toneless)

  lē [lɛ̄]

  wo (low falling tone)

  méiyǒu

Some of these particles seem to be very close to particles in one or other of the southern dialects spoken in Singapore and may be direct transfers (for example mɛ̄, lo and wo from Cantonese, and clause complex final hó from Hokkien), others appear to be calques of particles in the dialects (e.g., laide from Cantonese [lɛⁱ gɛ]). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the possible functions of all of these particles. Inevitably, with data drawn from a context such as the sociolinguistic interview, the range and frequency of such modal particles is rather small. In order to obtain sufficient numbers of such particles for any kind of quantitative analysis, it would be necessary to draw data from a many more registers including many more speech functions.

However, there is one particle in the data which is sufficiently frequent to allow at least an exploratory investigation. This is the particle la (also see Appendix Five for brief notes on some of the other common particles).

La is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, a similar la particle exists in the standard language. However, whereas the standard la particle is essentially aspectual, the Singapore Huayu particle is essentially modal. Secondly, the Singapore Huayu modal particle appears to be involved in sociolectal and registerial variation (as far as the latter can be investigated in

the present study). Finally, a similar particle, possibly
with similar functions, has been identified in Singapore
English.

14.2 La in Standard Huayu

It is first necessary to distinguish nonstandard
Singapore Huayu la from Standard Huayu la (which may also
occur in Singapore Huayu).

La in Standard Huayu can almost always be analyzed as a
fusion of the perfective particle le with the clause
complex final modal particle a (Wang 1975). With la in
the standard language, the perfective function of le is
thus still present, although with some very common
expressions, such as duì la! ("right", "correct") the
perfectivity has become somewhat fossilized[2].

However, there is one other function of le (or la) in
the standard language which should be mentioned. This is
as the particle of what Chao Yuen Ren calls "lively
enumeration" which is used for listing. Thus in the
Singapore data, there are uses of la such as:

Guǎngdōng la, fújiàn la, kèhuà la, wǒ sān   zhǒng
Cantonese LA, Hokkien LA, Hakka LA, I three types

dōu huì jiǎng.

all can speak

Cantonese, Hokkien and Hakka, I can speak all three.

Such a use of <u>la</u> is regarded as standard and, like

instances in which the <u>la</u> has a perfective function, will

not be counted as occurrences of the nonstandard

Singapore Huayu <u>la</u>.

There are also some instances of <u>la</u> in the data in which

the distinction between the nonstandard Singapore Huayu

<u>la</u> and the standard <u>la</u> is somewhat fuzzy. For example:

<u>Interviewer</u>: Nǐ nǎzhǒng fāngyán jiǎngde zuì liúlìne?

Which dialect do you speak most fluently?

<u>Interviewee</u>: Fāngyán? Dāngrán shi guǎngdōng <u>la</u>

Dialect? Of-course is Cantonese LA

Dialect? Cantonese of course!

(the informant has already said that his mother

tongue is Cantonese)

Wǒde zhíye?   Nǐ yīnggāi zhīdao <u>la</u>

My occupation? You should know   LA

My occupation? You should know! (from a colleague

interviewed for the pilot study)

There are a number of such occurrences of <u>la</u> in the data

which appear to indicate that the speaker considers that

the question is something the interviewer should have

known. This appears close to what Chao calls the

"obviousness" function of le (Chao 1968:800). However,

other sources do not mention such a function of le or la

and it is possible that this usage represents southern

influence that may be creeping into the standard

language. I have presented a number of utterances such as

the above to speakers of Putonghua from China. It is

interesting that two speakers from southern areas

(Shanghai and Guangzhou) were prepared to accept them,

while two speakers from northern China (Beijing and

Tianjin) were divided over whether or not such uses of la

were acceptable in Standard Putonghua.

Instances of la in the Singapore data which can be

interpreted as having this "obviousness" function have,

therefore, not been counted as nonstandard for the

purposes of the present study.

14.3 Nonstandard la in Singapore Huayu

Singapore Huayu la may usually be transcribed as [læ].

Sometimes the vowel seems a little farther back and might

be transcribed as [lɐ]. Four main tonal variants of la

occur in the data. These are low fall, high level, mid

level and toneless. However, the great majority of la's

in the data are of the toneless variant. This variant

occurs in the speech of all informants except two,

whereas the other tonal variants are very sporadic in

occurrence and, with a few exceptions, appear to be used only by informants who have Cantonese as their mother tongue. As similar particles occur in Cantonese, these might tentatively be identified as mother tongue transfer features. This chapter will consider only the toneless la variety.

With very few exceptions, la (toneless) occurs only clause complex finally, as does the la of standard Huayu. However, in the Singapore data, la occurs in contexts in which it would be highly unlikely in standard Huayu. For example:

1. Chi wǔfàn shi, duōshù shi jiǎng fújiànhuà la.

   Eat lunch when, majority is speak Hokkien LA

   We usually speak Hokkien over lunch.

2. Zhíyè? Wǒ shi bāng rénjiā xǐ yī de la

   Occupation? I am help others wash clothes DE LA

   My occupation? I wash clothes for others

3. Tāmende huáyǔ, juéde..guàiguai[3] la.

   Their huayu, feel.. strange-strange LA

   I feel that their Huayu is ...rather odd.

4. Xīnjiāpo huáyǔ bù da....nàge *tune* a, nàge

   Singapore huayu not very..that tune A. that

tone a, bǐjiao   bù hǎo <u>la</u>.

tone A, comparatively not good LA

Singapore Huayu is not very ...the tune, the

tone is not very good.

5. Yào xúe   duo⁴ yizhǒng yǔyán   dāngrán shi hǎo

   Want study more one-type language of-course is good

   <u>la</u>. Búguo hǎ,   bù kěyǐ mianqiǎng renjia de <u>la</u>

   LA. However HA, not can force   others DE LA

   Of course it is good to want to learn another

   language. However, you can't force people.

The use of <u>la</u> in these contexts would at the very least
be rather odd in the standard language. Very often, it
would imply some kind of change from a past situation to
the present situation, i.e., perfective aspect. For
example: "This is now my child (but she did not use to
be)"; "We now speak Hokkien over lunch (but we used to
speak Cantonese)"; "Singapore Huayu is no longer v.ery
good (but it used to be)" and so on. None of these
interpretations is possible in context.

14.3.1 Possible Functions of Singapore Huayu <u>la</u>

Any discussion here of the functions of <u>la</u> in Singapore
Huayu is necessarily limited by the fact that the context
of the interview encourages certain speech functions and

discourages others. Part one of the interview generally requires the informant to give information about his or her background and linguistic repertoire. Part two generally requires the informant to express opinions. Rarely does an informant question the interviewer, give instructions to the interviewer and so on. However, even within these limits, there do seem to be some trends.

In the first part of the interview, <u>la</u> is used with statements of fact in which there is little doubt. It often seems to convey a meaning something like: "That's the answer to your question. There is no doubt about it and nothing more to add." In this, it perhaps retains a slight favour of the perfective function of standard <u>la</u>. In addition to nos. 1 and 2 above further examples are:

6. <u>Interviewer</u>: Nǐ měitiān kàn bàozhǐ ma?

             Do you read a newspaper every day?

    <u>Interviewee</u>: Yǒu, huáwénde,   yīngwénde,   dōu yǒu

                 have,Chinese-one, English-one all have

                 kàn <u>la</u>

                 read LA

                 Yes, I read both an English one and a

                 Chinese one

7. <u>Interviewer</u>: Nǐde zhíye shi shéme?

             What is your occupation?

<u>Interviewee:</u> Zài yíge xuéxiao dāng shūji <u>la</u>

In one school act-as clerk LA

A clerk (or secretary) in a school

In the second part of the interview, <u>la</u> frequently occurs with what seem to be fairly certain or unequivocal opinions. In addition to nos. 4 and 5 above, other examples are:

8. ...mófang beijing huáyǔ, zhèiyàng, wǒ kàn bu

imitate beijing huayu, this-type, I see not

bi, wǒmen yǒu wǒmende huáyǔ <u>la</u>.

necessary, we have our Huayu LA

As for imitating Beijing Huayu, I think it is unnecessary. We have our own Huayu.

9. Yīnwei fujianhùa tōngcháng shi huárén suǒ....

Because Hokkien usually is Chinese that-which...

zài Xīnjīapō shi fujiānren zuì dūo <u>la</u>. Búgùo

in Singapore is Hokkiens most many LA, however

yīnggāi hā, mànman yīnggāi yǔyán tóngyi <u>la</u>

should HA, slowly should language unify LA

Because Hokkien is what the Chinese....in Singapore

Hokkiens are the majority. However, we should slowly
unify our language.

From all the above examples, it would seem that la is
associated with the certain and unequivocal statement of
facts and opinions about which there may be little more
to say.

However, there appears to be more to it. Conversations
with Singapore informants suggest that utterances with la
also have the feeling of being "toned down" and less
dogmatic or that the proposition is just an "off the
cuff" remark that the speaker is not necessarily strongly
committed to. For example, one informant explained that
the utterance:

> Wo yinggai duo   jiang Huayu.
>
> I   should   more speak Huayu
>
> I should speak more Huayu.

could suggest that the speaker will make a serious effort
to use Huayu more often. However, the same clause with
la:

> Wo yinggai duo jiang huayu la

might mean something like: " I suppose I really should
try to speak more Mandarin."

Similarly, an utterance such as:

zheige   hěn yǒuqù   la

this-one very interesting LA

That's interesting

might be a casual comment made whilst, for example,
watching television and the speaker would not expect the
proposition to be disputed. However, the same utterance
without the _la_ could be part of a more serious
conversation.

It seems that the particle _la_ can be used to make the
stating of information or expression of opinion seem less
dogmatic or argumentative , whilst at the same time
indicating that the speaker considers that there is
nothing more to be said on the subject.

14.4 _La_ as a Stigmatized Feature

Modal particles, and particularly _la_ , are among the few
linguistic features explicitly mentioned by informants
as "what is wrong with the way Huayu is spoken in
Singapore" (see p.179-180). The use of _La_ and similar
modal particles seems to have risen " to overt social
consciousness" to become what Labov calls a "stereotype"
(Labov 1972:248). For example:

Bǐrú shūo, wǒmen Xīnjīapō rén jiǎng yīngyǔ yòngdao
hòumiande "la". Wǒmen jiǎng húayǔ yě shi yǒu hěn dūo
hòumian zhèixīe wēiyīn.

(For example, when we Singaporeans speak English we
use "la" at the end. When we speak Huayu, we also
have many of these final sounds at the end.)

Wǒmen shūode húayǔ bìng bù shi biāozhǔn. Wǒmen,
yǒushí xiǎo háizi tánhùa deshíhou, hěn dūo, nà xīe
bú bìyàode wēiyīn

(The Huayu we speak is not at all standard. We,
sometimes the children when they are talking have
lots of those unnecessary final sounds]

Final particles were also mentioned in the "General
Comment" sections of the Listener Evaluation Tests
(Chapter Eight). For example:

His Mandarin isn't very good as he has a lot of
"lah" in his talk.
(Comment written in English)

It is also worth noting that the two samples in the
evaluation tests which were rated highest have no
occurrences of nonstandard la, whilst all the other
samples have at least two occurrences each.

14.5 La and Sociolectal Variation

All but 2 of the 46 informants use nonstandard la at
least once in the course of their interviews. However,
there is very great variation among speakers in the
frequency of la usage. Given the rather small number of
total occurrences of la (554), particularly compared to
the variable phonological features, and the fact the la
cannot be clearly identified as a variant of a standard
feature (see discussion p.214-215), this variation will
not be investigated using variable rule analysis.
Nevertheless, even a rather crude statistical analysis
does reveal some interesting patterns.

14.5.1 La usage and Level of Education

The number of occurrences of la in 15 minutes of each
interview (5 from the "giving facts" section and 10 from
the "giving opinions" section) were counted. Table 14.1
compares the mean number of occurrences per person for
informants grouped according to three levels of education
- completion of primary education or less, completion of
secondary education (lower or upper) and completion of
post secondary training (university or non-university).

Table 14.1   Mean Individual Frequency of La Occurrence by
            Level of Education

        Primary and Below   21.9

        Secondary   11.3

        Post Secondary   8.3

Comparison between the primary and below group and the

secondary group using a *difference of the means* test

yields a z-score of 2.33. This enables us to reject at

the 0.05 level of significance the null hypothesis that

the two groups belong to the same population.

However, comparison between the secondary and post

secondary groups yields a z-score of only 1.06, which is

considerably smaller than the 1.96 required for rejection

of the null hypothesis at the 0.05 level of significance.

We therefore can have confidence that the data indicates

a significant difference in frequency of la usage only

between informants who have completed secondary education

and above and informants who have completed primary

education or below. The means for these two groups are as

follows:

        Primary and Below   21.9

        Secondary and Above   10.1

Thus, not only is la an overtly stigmatized feature but also greater frequency of la usage seems to be associated with a lower level of education.

14.5.2 La and Sex

The frequency of occurrence of la also seems to vary with sex. Table 14.2 gives the mean number of occurrences for the two sexes.

Table 14.2   Mean Frequency of La Occurrence by Sex

Male   8.9

Female   16.4

Inevitably this is partly distorted by the fact that there are more females in the lower educational group than in the higher group. However, if education level and sex are looked at together, it is clear that this is a consistent pattern.

Table 14.3 Mean Frequency of La Occurrence by Level of Education and Sex

	MALE	FEMALE
Primary and below	12.5	25
Secondary and Above	8.2	12.7

It is possible that this pattern represents a greater
tendency for women to select a modal closure which allows
them to avoid a dogmatic or overly assertive tone.

14.6 La and Registerial Variation

General observation of la usage in Singapore Huayu
suggest that la is unlikely to occur in public contexts
(speeches, formal meetings and so on) and far more likely
to occur in private, informal contexts (casual
conversation among friends and so on). The nature of the
data collected does not allow any in depth analysis of
this. However, it does provide occasional evidence for
the relationship between frequency of la usage and
registerial variation, for example, where the tape
recorder was left running during interruptions such as
telephone calls. In one case, an interview was
interrupted by the informant receiving a phone call from
a friend and colleague. The main topic of the telephone
conversation is the arranging of a meeting. There is thus
a shift from a context in which the two interlocutors are
relative strangers and have on the whole quite distinct
speech roles within the interview situation to a context
in which the participants are friends and are engaged in
a shared search for a time and place convenient to both.
In other words, there is a change in the tenor of the
discourse (Halliday 1978). In the course of the telephone
converation, the informant has an average of 1 la for
every 4.5 clauses. However, in the interview, the

informant has an average of only 1 la per 14 clauses.
Increased La thus appears to be related to a change in
register, particularly in the dimension of tenor.

14.7 Comparison With La in Singapore English

According to Richards and Tay, the la particle in
Singapore English "serves to mark that the speech act is
one involving dimensions of informality, familiarity,
solidarity and rapport between the participants"
(Richards and Tay 1977:155). In other words, it appears
to be related to register variation - particularly tenor
- in similar ways to la in Singapore Huayu. They also
suggest that the source of the Singapore English la may
be a similar particle in Hokkien.

Kwan-Terry (1978) identifies two la particles in
Singapore English, one stressed and protracted and the
other unstressed and contracted. She goes a little
further than Richards and Tay in attempting to explore
the meanings of the two particles. She suggests that the
stressed la basically expresses "emphasis", although this
meaning is "modified by context" and the unstressed la
indicates authority or a hint of impatience or annoyance.

Low (1985) looked at la particles in the English of pre-
school bilingual children in Singapore. She identifies
three basic tonal variants of la - high, mid and low -
each of which may be further modified by a rise or fall

which carries "additional emotive meaning" (p.9). A rise

generally indicates irritation, annoyance or impatience,

while a fall indicates an authoritative attitude.

It is difficult to unequivocally equate the toneless,

unstressed la, which is by far the most common form of la

in the Singapore Huayu data, with any of the forms and

functions of Singapore English la as reported in the

above studies. Partly, of course, this is likely to be

because the speech functions commonest in the present

data, giving information and expressing opinions, are not

those which have received much attention in the above

studies. However, there is similarity between some of the

functions of la mentioned by these authors those of la

in the present data. Kwan-Terry (1978) includes

"obviousness", "softening of tone and attitude" and "a

certain explanatory attitude" as being some of the

different possible meanings of the "stressed and

protracted la" and both Low (1985) and Kwan-Terry

identify a la whose basic function is to indicate

authority (the "unstressed contracted" la for Kwan-Terry

and the low level la for Low).

14.8 Conclusion

La, toneless and unstressed, is by far the most common

nonstandard particle in the data. In contrast to la in

standard Huayu, its function is primarily modal rather

than aspectual. It appears to be a stigmatized feature

and is associated more with registers in which the tenor
of discourse is characterized by solidarity or closeness
of social distance. In the data, it used more frequently
by those with lower levels of education than those with
higher levels of education. It is also used more
frequently by women than men.

In the expression of facts and opinions, la appears to be
associated with a degree of certainty and finality,
whilst at the same time enabling the speaker to avoid a
dogmatic tone. It is likely that further research will
reveal additional functions of la combined with different
speech functions.

It is likely that La in Singapore Huayu is related to the
la in Singapore English . It may thus be a Singapore
areal feature.

NOTES

1. Following Halliday 1985 "sentence" is taken to describe a unit of of written language and clause complex the similar (but not identical) unit of spoken language.

2. However, even this can be interpreted as perfective - "now you are right", "now you've got it".

3. For comments on such nonstandard reduplication, see Appendix Five.

4. For comments on the nonstandard word order here, see Appendix Five.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

"ROJAK" HUAYU

15.1 Language Mixing

The "mixing" into Huayu of elements from other languages or dialects is the area of nonstandardness which is most salient to Singapore speakers. It is sometimes referred to as *rojak* (a Malay word for a local kind of salad) or as chanchan(de) "mix mix" or "mixed". It was such mixing that was most often cited by informants when asked what they thought was wrong with the way Singaporeans spoke Huayu and it is to the elimination of much of the "borrowed" lexis in Singapore Huayu that most of the efforts of standardization have been directed.

It is also the aspect of Singapore Huayu which is most salient to speakers of other varieties of Mandarin and, indeed, can sometimes render Singapore speakers unintelligible to outsiders.

Language contact phenomena in Singapore Huayu may be related to different dimensions of variation. Some speakers may "switch to" or "import" elements from other languages or dialects in order to supplement deficiencies in their own Huayu or because they believe it may make them better understood by an interlocutor they believe to

be less proficient in Huayu. In other words, language contact phenomena may be related to variations in speakers' proficiencies. However, very proficient speakers of Huayu may also exhibit similar forms of linguistic behaviour. In such cases, it may be related to variation in aspects of register such as field or tenor. For example, certain more scientific fields may be associated with a greater use of "borrowed" English lexis, and tenors characterized by a high degree of solidarity may be associated with greater use of certain kinds of colloquial borrowings and dialect calque.

Mixing may refer to a very wide range of language contact phenomena and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide an exhaustive account of this area. However, this chapter will make a preliminary investigation into a range of interlingual phenomena involving Huayu by analysing transcriptions of four samples of speech recorded in Singapore, and will consider how far they can be described with the kinds of labels used elsewhere in descriptions of language contact phenomena, such as *code-switching, borrowing* and *creolization*.

15.2 The Samples

Samples 1, 2 and 3 are taken from interviews which were rejected from the main study on the grounds that they were too mixed or contained too much obvious language transfer or interference (see 5.1.6). The fourth sample

is from a conversation between two Singaporean informants who do not share a common dialect mother tongue.

Transcriptions of the samples are given in Pinyin or the conventional orthographies of English and Malay where relevant. Significant deviations from standard pronunciations are given below the line in IPA and a word for word translation (apart from the English elements) is given below this. In these transcriptions, ⊥ below a vowel indicates raised relative to cardinal value, ι indicates lowered, + fronted and - backed. Lexical tone (where it differs from in the standard language) follow Y.R. Chao's notation (Chao 1930 and Chao 1968). Nonstandard variants which are dealt with elsewhere in this thesis are noted in the transcriptions but will not be commented upon in the analyses which follow. Note that versions of the samples in written zi are given in Appendix Seven.

The four samples are ordered according to the extent of their divergence from the norms of Standard Huayu (and of the other input languages) and to the degree of "separateness" of the Huayu and non-Huayu elements.

15.3 Sample One

15.3.1 Transcription of Sample One

1 Yǔwén   shì .... zhèngrú,   er, for example, you
           dzən
   Language is .... just like

2 ask me to read, you know, Tángshī   Sānbǎi Shǒu
                                  ʂán   Sʮ
                              Tang poems 300   CLASS

3 weishéme, it's very interesting to note one thing
     Sʮmə
   why,

4 and that is, and that is, how come some of

5 my science trained, ehm, colleagues, and Chinese

6 educated, shòu   zhōngwén jiàoyùde,   tā
           Soʊ   dʐ‌oŋ
           receive Chinese   educationDE   they

7 fǎnér   hǎoxiàng   měiyihao
                        S‌iʮŋ
   on-the-contrary for-example everyCLASS

8 juéju, this one, er, er, ta shi Tángshī   Sānbǎi
                                       Sʮ
   jueju,   it is Tang Poems 300

9 Shǒu, weishéme, tāmen búhùi liǎojiě tāde,
  Su   Semə

  CLASS, why,   they cannot understand itDE,

10 zhèige   zhǔtí ne, zhèi shi, yīnwei hǎ, I, I
  djei   dzu

  thisCLASS theme NE, this is, because HA,

11 learn English literature also, and certain

12 concepts are also found in English literature.

13 Therefore it is just a language barrier. I mean,

14 I can guess, suīran hǎoxiàng   yǒu   yìbàn a,
                Síɑ̃ŋ

        although for-example have   one-half A,

15 jīn   zì, nàge   zì la, wǒ dōu bú rènshi, bù

  "jin" zi, thatCLASS zi LA, I all not know,   not

16 zhīdao tā shi xiàng shi shéme dōngxi, bù shi,
           Sɪ Síɑ̃ŋ Sɪ Semə   Si   Sɪ
  know   it is like is what thing, not is,

17 bù zhīdao fānyì,   because I was trained in the
     djɪ

  not know   translate,

18 zhèngtǐ a,   not the simplified Mandarin.
  djʒn

  standard-form A,

<u>Translation</u>

Language is...Just like, er, for example, you ask me to read, you know, Three Hundred Tang Poems, why ... It's very interesting to note one thing and that is, and that is, how come some of my science trained, science trained, ehm, colleagues, and Chinese educated, Chinese educated [colleagues], they, in fact, for example, every <u>jueju</u> (= a verse form) this one, er, er, it is Three Hundred Tang Poems, why, they in fact cannot understand its, er, theme. That is because I, I learn English literature also, and certain concepts are also found in English literature. Therefore, it is just a language barrier. I mean, I can guess...Although, for example, half of it, the character "jin" I don't know. I don't know what kind of thing it refers to. It isn't..I don't know how to translate it, because I was trained in the old style characters, not the simplified Mandarin.

15.3.2 The Informant

The speaker in sample one is a 28 year old woman and a teacher by occupation. Her mother tongue is Cantonese and she has had twelve years of primary and secondary education plus one year teacher training, all through the medium of English as first school language. However, she

claims to be equally fluent in Huayu, her second school language. She also claims to be more fluent in both English and Huayu than in her mother tongue, Cantonese.

15.3.3 The Mix and its Intelligibilty to Outsiders

There are clearly two distinct languages in this sample, one quite close to standard Huayu and the other quite close to standard British English. It proved to be fully intelligible to Mandarin / English bilinguals from outside Singapore. Three speakers of Putonghua from the Peoples Republic of China currently studying at the University of Sydney all claimed one hundred percent comprehension of this recorded sample.

15.3.4 Code-Switching

This sample presents the least difficulty for description. The language behaviour can be labelled *code-switching*, i.e., the use of two or more languages within the same speech situation, such has been observed and described in the language of bilinguals in many parts of the world. In this sample, the English and Huayu elements are clearly distinct and most switches involve constituents of at least clause length. This sample is at one end of a scale of separateness / integration of Huayu and non-Huayu elements.

In terms of Blom and Gumperz distinctions (Blom and Gumperz 1972), the switching in this sample is clearly not situational, as there is no change or redefinition of relationships among the participants (i.e., the tenor remains constant). Neither can it be called metaphorical code-switching, as there is no obvious exploitation of the possible social meanings implicit in the use of the two languages. However, the switching can to some extent be related to *triggering* or *switch words* (Clyne 1967). Thus, for example, in lines 5/6 "Chinese educated" seems to trigger a following switch into Huayu ("consequential switching"), in line 11 "English literature" seems to trigger an earlier switch into English ("anticipatory switching") and in line 14 yǒu yíbàn ("half of it") – a reference to a volume of Chinese poetry, a copy of which was on a side table – seems to trigger a switch back into Huayu. In other words, the switching may be related to small fluctuations in field.

15.3.5 Nonstandard Features

Nearly all the nonstandard features of the Huayu in this sample have already been noted as widespread in Singapore Huayu and are not specifically characteristic of mixed or interference varieties.

15.4 Sample Two

15.4.1 Transcription of Sample Two

1 Wǒ shuō yǔyán   a, zìrán   yào la, yào xué
    Sɔ˥ 'i   lʐʌ   ʔɪʐʊ   sʁe
    I   say   language A, naturally want LA, want study

2 duō bǐjiao   hǎo, shǐ   wǒmen zìjǐde
    dʐ   h   Sɹ
    more comparatively good, cause we   selvesDE

3 knowledge a, widen our nàge   knowledge la.
    nʐ˥ lɪʔɣ
             A,   that-CLASS   LA.

4 Dànshi bù shì, bù kěyǐ yào   yídingde, yào
    Sɹ   Sɹ   ʔɪʐʊ
    But   not is, not can want certainDE, want

5 miǎnqiǎng rénjia de la, hǎoxiàng,   lǎorénjia
    nɪʌ˥ tʃʰʐŋ lənʤʐ̄   Sʐŋ   lən ʤɪʐ̄
    force   others DE LA, for-example, old-people

6 yídìng yě   yào xué   shéme,   bú da hǎo
                    Sʐʌɜ   h
    certain also want study something, not very good

7 la. Jiārú rénjia bù xǐhuan, nǎli gěi yíge
    ʤɪʐ̄ ʌlənʤɪʐ̄   Sɪh
    LA. If   others not like, how give a-CLASS,

8 yídingde force a, gěi rén   yíge   nàge
         fʐ s ʐ   ʌlən
    certainDE   A, give people one-CLASS that-CLASS

9 atmosphere bu haode.　　Sǔoyǐ　　shūo jǐnlì
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　S̩ʒ　　　　S̩ʒˀʔ
　　　　　not goodDE. Therefore, say do-one's-best

10 yaò　xúe,　zheìyang　bǐjiao　　　　　haǒ　la,
　　　SYɛ　　ʤʲeɪ
　　want study, that-way comparatively　good LA,

11 gùlǐ　　　　encourage a, bù shi yíding　shémede
　　ɛnkʊɫ̩　　　　　　　　　S̩ʒ　　　　　　S̩ɛnɘ
　encourage　　　　　A, not is certain somethingDE

12 jíemu　　　yao cancel a, shéme,　　sǔoyǐ　　　bu
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　S̩ɛnɘ　　　S̩ʒ
　programme want　　　A, something, therefore not

13 yaò　force nàge　　　　　language la.
　　want　　　that-CLASS　　　　LA.

Translation

I would say that language, of course it's better to
want, to want to learn more, to make our knowledge,
to widen our knowledge. But it isn't, you can't
demand, force others. For example, it's not very
good to demand that old people learn something. If
people don't like [to do it], how can you force
them? It gives people a, a bad atmosphere. So it's
best to say "do your best to learn". Encourage
[them], you don't have to do things like cancel [TV]
programmes. So don't force the language.

15.4.2 The informant

The informant in sample two is a woman in her forties and the wife of a taxi driver. Her mother tongue is Cantonese. She has been educated up to secondary three level mainly through English as first school language and Huayu as second school language. She claims to use Cantonese and Huayu with her husband, and Cantonese, Huayu and English with her children. She says that her English is a little better than her Huayu.

15.4.3 Intelligibilty of the Sample

Of the group of three bilinguals from the PRC, two estimated that they could understand about 60% of the sample and one estimated that she could understand about 90%. They all recognised it as "accented" Mandarin mixed with some English and some elements they were not sure about.

15.4.4 Borrowing or Code-Mixing

This sample also consists of Huayu and English elements. However, the English elements are much shorter than in Sample 1 , generally consisting of one or two consecutive words only. These elements could be regarded as exemplifying either borrowing from English into Huayu or code-mixing of English and Huayu - using the term *code-*

mixing rather than *code-switching* for switches of less than clause length (Thelander 1976).

15.4.5 A Continuum of Integration

A possible criterion for distinguishing between code-mixing at the level of single lexical items - or "skipants" (Chao 1976) - and "true" loanwords is the extent of assimilation of the item to the phonology of the recipient language. However, a striking feature of "Rojak Huayu" is that there is a continuum of assimilation of foreign elements to the phonology of Singapore Huayu and great instability, with the same items occurring in different forms even within the speech of the same speaker.

Thus, for example, in this sample the words "atmosphere" (line 9), "cancel" (line 12), "language" (line 13) are all quite close to standard British English pronunciations. However, [enkɐli] (line 11) seems largely assimilated. Syllable final consonants have been dropped and the English sequence [ʌɪʤ] replaced by the Huayu sequence [li]. However, [en] is not a possible Huayu sequence. The nearest would be [æn] or [ɜn]. The word "knowledge" occurs in two forms, both in line 3. The first occurrence [nɔ˦ liˀ˥] appears to be fully assimilated. There is no final consonant apart from a glottal stop, which is possible in Singapore Huayu (see Chapter Eleven). It also appears to have lexical tone

rather than English word accent. However, the second occurrence of the word is in a form very close to standard English pronunciation.

A further problem is that to refer to items as assimilated or not assimilated to some extent depends on what is assumed to be the source variety of the items in question. If one assumes that a variety close to standard English is the source, then it makes sense to describe forms like [n̩ʑↃ liˀɤ] as being assimilated to Singapore Huayu phonology. However, such forms may well be quite acceptable in some varieties of Singapore English (see Platt and Weber 1980) and it is not necessary to assume assimilation to Singapore Huayu phonology.

15.4.6 Nonstandard Phonological Features

Most of the nonstandard phonological features in this sample have been already noted as part of a general norm for Singapore Huayu or as variants of features variable in the speech of most speakers. There is, however, at least one realization which does not fall into the above categories. This is the pronunciation of the two zi (bisyllabic or bimorphemic) word _mianqiang_ (line 5) as [minↃ tʃʰ̩ɤ̩]. In this sample, the first zi is pronounced almost exactly according to the Cantonese pronunciation whilst the second zi is according to the Mandarin pronunciation with the fairly common Singapore Huayu nonpalatal initial (see 7.2.5). It would clearly be odd

to label this "code-mixing at the syllable level". One might want to regard it as an instance of "interlingual identification" (Weinreich 1953) in which elements of one language are identified with similar elements in another. However, in other places, the speaker does use the Mandarin pronunciation of this yunmu ([ⁱɛn]) where Cantonese would again have [in] (e.g. in Fújiànhùa "Hokkien"). This may seem a very minor point. However, such problems are multiplied in the next two samples.

15.4.7 Nonstandard Grammar

The construction xúe dūo "learn more" (lines 1/2) is nonstandard. In the standard language dūo "more" and shǎo "less" precede the verb in such expressions. In southern dialects, such as Cantonese and Hokkien, they follow the verb and this construction can probably be regarded as a dialect calque, although the influence of English cannot be ruled out. This structure occurs quite commonly in Singapore Huayu and is not specifically characteristic of a "Rojak" variety (see Appendix Five).

15.5 Sample Three

15.5.1 Transcription of Sample Three

```
1 Tā    liǎngge   rén      tóng  nàge
      [œ̆ŋ˩ ʒ̆ʔ˥  lən
  They two-CLASS people share that-CLASS
```

2 záhuòdiàn   ne, mài mǐ   a, mài shéme,
djɐ˦fʐ dɛn˦   nɛ˦   Sɐnə
general-store NE, sell rice A, sell something,

3 záhuòdiàn ne. Liàngge   rén   qù zuògōng a,
djɐ˦fʐ dɛn˦ nɛ˦ lœŋ˦ gʐ˦   Lɜn   dzʐ
general-store. Two-CLASS people go work   A,

4 yíge   dúshū dú   shi shàngwǔ la, yíge
gɵ   Sɯ   Sɿ Sɐŋ
one-CLASS study study is   morning LA, one-CLASS

5 dú   xiàwǔ   la. Yīge   zuògōng zuò shàngwǔ la,
S'ɐ   djʐ   djʐ Sɐŋ
study afternoon LA. One-CLASS work do morning LA,

6 yíge   zuògōng zuò xiàwǔ   lo. Zhèiyàng
           djʐ   djʐ S'ɐ   Lɔ˦ djɛˑ
one-CLASS   work   do afternoon LO. This-way

7. liàngge   la, liàngge   shuāngbāotāi
   lœŋ˦ gɔ˦   lœŋ˦ gʐ˦   Sɐŋ˦ baʊ˦ tʂɿ˦
two-CLASS LA, two -CLASS twins

8. yíge   qǐlái qù dúshū a, yíge   qǐlái
gɵ   tʃ'i   Sɯ   tʃ'i
one-CLASS get-up go study A, one-CLASS get-up

9 qù zuògōng a. Nàge   fàngxué   huílái
   dzʐ   Sɛ   hᵘi
go work   A. That-CLASS finish-school come-back

10 qù zuògōng a, nàge   fànggōng huílái
    dzʐ˦   hᵘi
   go work   A, that-CLASS finish-work come-back

11 qù dúshū a.
   Sɯ
   go study A.

<u>Translation</u>

The two of them shared a general store, selling rice
and things, a general store. The two of them went to
work. One went to school in the morning and the
other went in the afternoon. One of them worked in
the morning and the other worked in the afternoon.
In this way, the two of them, the two twins, one got
up and went to school and the other got up and went
to work. When one got home from school, he went to
work. When the other got home from work, he went to
school.

15.5.2 The Informant

Sample three comes from a 57 year old woman. Her mother
tongue is Cantonese, which is her strongest language, and
she has had only a few months primary education through
Cantonese and Huayu.

15.5.3 Intelligibilty

Of the group of three bilinguals from the PRC, one
claimed to understand about 50% of the sample and
characterized it as "Mandarin with a strong accent mixed
with southern dialect." The other two claimed to
understand 80% to 90% and characterized it as "Mandarin
with a very strong Cantonese accent". However, of these

last two judges, one was from Guangzhou and spoke

Cantonese and the other, though a northener, had had

experience teaching Mandarin to Overseas Chinese,

including many Cantonese speakers.

15.5.4 "Sliding" Between Phonologies

This sample seems to exhibit marked instability. It is

difficult to draw a clear boundary between the Cantonese

and Huayu elements and the pronunciations seem to slide

back and forth between forms close or identical to

Cantonese to forms very close to Huayu. For example:

In the noun group [lœŋˊ gʒ˥ lənˊ] "two people" (line 1)

the numerative and the classifier [lœŋˊ gʒ˥] are very

close to standard Cantonese (Huayu would be [liʐŋˊ gɤ])

whilst the head noun [lənˊ] "people" is given a common

Singapore Huayu pronunciation, with [l] for the standard

Huayu initial [ʐ] or [ɻ] (see Chapter Ten).

The noun group [djʐˊ fʒˊ dęn˥] "general store" (line 2)

is similarly mixed. The pronunciation of the first zi is

close to Huayu [dzaˊ], although the initial [dj] is more

like the initial in the Cantonese pronunciation [djʐp].

[fʒˊ] is very close to the Cantonese pronunciation.

Standard Huayu would be [xᵘoV], although [[hᵘoV] is usual

in Singapore Huayu. The final morpheme [dęn˥] appears to

be neither Cantonese nor Huayu, although it is closest to

the Mandarin [dⁱɛ nↆ] but without the glide and with
level tone instead of the standard falling tone.

The classifier ge occurs as [gθ] in lines 4 and 8 which
is somewhere between Cantonese and Huayu. It has the
approximate central position and tonelessness (qingsheng)
of the standard Huayu pronunciation [gɤ] with the
rounding of the Cantonese pronunciation [gɔ˥]. However,
in lines 1, 3 and 7 the same zi is pronounced more less
according to Cantonese, whilst all other occurrences of
the zi are pronounced more or less according to Huayu.

The noun group [sɐŋ˥ baʊ˥ tʰɔi˥] "twins" (line 7) is
also a mixture of the two phonologies. [sɐŋ˥] might be
regarded as midway between Cantonese [sɑŋ˦] and the
common Singapore Huayu pronunciation [sᵘɐ̯ŋ˥] (identical
to standard Huayu apart from the non-retroflex initial, a
slightly more forward vowel quality and often a slightly
lower level tone). The vowel nucleus is closest to Huayu
but the lack of a labiovelar glide is a feature of the
Cantonese pronunciation. The second zi is pronounced
[bɐʊ˥] in Standard Huayu and [baʊ˦] in Cantonese. The
pronunciation of the zi in this sample could therefore be
said to be quite close to both. The pronunciation of the
third zi [tʰɔˑi˥] is almost identical to the Cantonese
pronunciation. The standard Huayu pronunciation would be
[tʰæi˥]. The lexical item as a whole is Mandarin. The
equivalent Cantonese word meaning "twins" is [ma˥ dʒeⁱ˩]
It is worth noting that in another part of the interview

from which this sample is taken, the speaker does in fact
use the Cantonese word.

15.5.5 Dialect Calque

There is also some of what might be called dialect
calquing in this sample. The two expressions fàngxué "to
finish school" and fànggōng "to finish work" (lines 9 and
10) are Cantonese expressions, although the
pronunciations are closest to Huayu.

15.5.6 English Lexis

In other parts of this interview not included in this
sample, the speaker also uses some English derived lexis.
For example:

[ɔ˦ fiˀˈ] - "office"

[liˀˈ] - "lift"

[hɒˈ bɔ˥ bɔ˥] - "Harbour Board"

These items do seem to be considerably modified away from
standard English pronunciation, although it is not clear
whether they should best be regarded as assimilated to
Singapore Huayu phonology, Cantonese phonology or,
indeeed, to colloquial Singapore English phonology. For
example, the lack of all final consonants except glottal
stop suggests Singapore Huayu phonology. However, the low
falling tone on the first syllable of [hɒˈ bɔ˥ bɔ˥]

suggests Cantonese. The sequence [fɪ⁷ɣ] in [ɔʌ fɪ⁷ɣ] is, in fact, not permissible in either Huayu or Cantonese.

15.5.6 Interference or Code-Mixing

It would be possible to regard this sample simply as Singapore Huayu with strong mother tongue (Cantonese) interference. It might also be possible to talk of code-mixing, as some forms are more or less identical to Cantonese whilst others are more or less identical to (Singapore) Huayu. However, neither term seems adequate to describe this "sliding" between phonologies, even within single lexical items.

15.5.7 Creolization?

Can this sample be regarded as exemplifying some kind of creolized Huayu? The term *creolization* is here used not in the strict sense of processes of functional expansion in a pidgin as it becomes a native language, but in the wider sense such as used by Gumperz and Wilson (1971) in showing how processes of reduction and convergence characteristic of pidginization and creolization occur in a language contact situatiion on the Indo-Aryan / Dravidian border in India, or by Bailey and Maroldt when they use the term to mean "a gradient mixture of two or more languages" and define "creole" as "the result of mixing which is substantial enough to result in a new

system, a system that is separate from its antecedent parent systems" (Bailey and Maroldt 1977).

Whilst there may not always be complete agreement on what would constitute a "new system", it is clear that in order to regard certain processes as amounting to creolization, we would need some evidence of the emergence and institutionalization of new norms that might eventually lead to a relatively stable variety distinct enough from its source languages to be mutually unintelligible with them (Sankoff 1980).

Whilst convergence might be regarded as a feature of this sample, there is little evidence of substantial restructuring that could lead to the emergence of an autonomous element with its own norms. Most of the sample is grammatically and lexically Huayu (at least at those points in which the two varieties of Chinese differ on these levels), apart from a very small amount of calque. The phonology is similarly either more or less (Singapore) Huayu or more or less Cantonese, apart from the single item [den̄], which does seem distinct from both but which is hardly sufficient evidence for substantial restructuring. It is also worth noting that the sample was quite well understood by the two Putonghua speakers who also knew Cantonese or had contact with Cantonese speakers.

15.6 Sample Four

15.6.1 Transcription of Sample Four

1 Wǒ chī kopi   la, chī miànbāo la, tiāntiān
    ts'ɪˊɣ   ts2ɣ mɪnˊbaʊˇɣ
  I   eat coffee LA, eat bread   LA, every-day

2 gèngjīa(?) chī. Wǒ yǒu chī fàn e. Hěn féi wo,
  ɣɜnˊ ˙ɕ̯ɪˊ   ts'ɪˊɣ   ts'ɪ fanˇ ɛ̯ˊ   feˊɣ ʊ̯ɔˇ
  more (?)   eat. I have eat rice E. Very fat WO,

3 féi hěn dūo, wǒ zhīdao. Wǒ kànde yīshēng o, kànde
  feˊɣ   dɔˇɣ   dʒ̯ɪ dɔ   iˊɣ Sɛn
  fat very much, I know.   I seeDE doctor O, seeDE

4 yīshēng jiǎng, búyào chī dūo dūo, chī xie shēng
  iˊɣ Sɛn ɣɛnˊɣ   ts'ɪ dɔ dɔ   ts'ɪ djɛ Sɔɣˊ
  doctor say,   don't eat much much, eat some fresh

5 gǔo la. Wǒ bú yào   chī shēng gǔo la, oranges a,
                 ts'ɪ Sɛn   2ˊɣ Linˇ
  fruit LA. I not want eat fresh fruit LA,   A,

6 apples a, wǒ makan e, méiyǒu,   wǒ jiāli   la,
  ɛ̯ˊ Pɔˇ   ɛ̯ˊ   djɛ̯
      A, I eat   E, not-have, I home-in LA,

7 méiyǒu   chī.
          ts'ɪ
  not-have eat.

Translation

I drink coffee, I eat bread. Every day I eat more. I

eat rice. I'm indeed very fat, I've become very fat,

I know. The doctor I saw, the doctor I saw said (or
I saw a doctor, I saw a doctor and be said) "Don't
eat so much. Eat some fresh fruit". I don't want to
eat fresh fruit. Oranges and apples, I eat, [we]
don't, at home [we] don't eat them (or there aren't,
at home there aren't any to eat).

15.6.2 The Informant

This informant is a woman in her late forties and an
unskilled worker. Her mother tongue is Hokkien. She has
had primary education only, through both Hokkien and
Huayu. She claims to also know some Malay, a little
Cantonese and Teochew and a very little English. The
interlocutor in this case is a young, well educated
Chinese Singaporean whose mother tongue is Cantonese and
who was educated through English as first school language
and Huayu as second school language.

15.6.3 Intelligibility

All three speakers of Putonghua from the PRC understood
very little ("20% or less") of this sample, although they
recognized that it contained "a few words of Mandarin".

15.6.4 Ingredients of the Mix

Elements in this sample seem to be derived from Huayu
(the greatest percentage), Cantonese, Hokkien, Malay and

English. There are many interlingual phenomena in this sample. Examples of the main categories will be given below.

15.6.5 English Elements

The English derived lexical items [ɔ˦ lin˅] "oranges" (line 5) and [e˦ pɔ˅] "apples" (line 6) appear to be more or less assimilated to Huayu phonology, although again they could also be pronunciations in a variety of Singapore English.

15.6.6 Malay Elements

There are two Malay words in this sample, kopi "coffee" (line 1) and makan "eat" (line 6). Both of these words are widely used in colloquial varieties of many of the languages/dialects spoken in Singapore.

15.6.8 Dialect Lexis

The pronunciations of the lexical item [fei˦] "fat" (line 2) is closest to Huayu. Cantonese would be [fei˅] and Hokkien would be [bui˦]. However, the usage is Hokkien or Cantonese. In Huayu this lexical item is not used to refer to humans.

15.6.9 Nonstandard Grammar

[tsì˧ dɔ˦ dɔ˦] (line 4), literally "eat much much" is
not standard Huayu, which would be <u>chide tài dūo</u> - "eat
too much" - or <u>chide hěn dūo</u> - "eat a lot". Neither is
the construction very common in Singapore Huayu.

In addition to the common Singapore Huayu <u>la</u> (Chapter
Fourteen), other modal particles appear in this sample.
As previously mentioned (p.360), such particles often
occur in Singapore Huayu and many seem to be transfers
from the southern dialects. For example, the particle
[ᵘɔ˩] (line 2) appears to be related to the Cantonese
particle similarly pronounced (see Gibbons 1980). Its use
here might be glossed roughly as: "people say I'm...."

15.6.10 Nonstandard Phonology

Most forms seem closest to Huayu. However, there are also
forms very close to or which seem to be strongly
influenced by Cantonese and Hokkien. Some forms seem
distinct from the phonologies of any of these three
varieties. For example:

    [min˦ baʊ˩] "bread" (line1) is very close to the
    Cantonese pronunciation.

    [fɔn˩] "rice" (line 2) seems to have the initial
    consonant, front nasal final and tone shape of the

Mandarin pronunciation [fæn\] but the reduced

schwa like quality of the vocalic nucleus of the

Hokkien pronunciation [bŋ˦].

[goŋ˦] "say" (line 4) is close to both Cantonese

[gɔŋ˧] and Hokkien [goŋ˦], although its tone is

closest to Hokkien. Standard Huayu would be

[dʑʌ'ʔŋ˧].

The rounding in [soŋ˦] "raw, fresh" is not a

feature of the Mandarin, Hokkien or Cantonese

pronunciation of this zi. However, the same zi is

pronounced [sɛn˦] in line 5, which seems closest to

the Cantonese pronunciation [saːŋ˦].

15.6.11 Creolization?

This sample does look a little more like a creolized

variety. It is mainly unintelligible to outsiders, it

seems very mixed, there is a degree of convergence in the

phonology and there are some forms distinct enough from

the input varieties to suggest a certain amount of

restructuring. However, most of the elements in the

sample could be explained in terms of interference from

the dialects on Huayu phonology, plus a small amount of

dialect calquing, plus a few words from English and Malay

which are in common usage in Singapore, whatever the

language being spoken. More importantly, however, many of

the forms in this sample appear to be idiosyncratic, that

is there is little evidence that they represent any kind of stable or shared norms.

15.7 Proficiency and "Instant Pidgin"

Some of the interlingual phenomena in the four samples examined above can be related to the speakers' proficiency levels in Huayu. Thus, the mainly English educated speaker of sample 2 may be more familiar with the English words "atmosphere" and "knowledge" than with their Huayu equivalents. Similarly, the speakers of samples 3 and 4 are clearly likely to be more proficient in their home dialects than in Huayu.

This can be related to a more general sociolinguistic phenomenon in Singapore. Due to the variation in the language repertoires and relative proficiencies among Singaporeans, interloctors sometimes do not share a dominant or primary language (i.e., a language in which the speaker knows best and is most fluent in). The first motivation in such situations is obviously to achieve intelligible communication. Speakers may thus shift their own speech forms in the direction of a variety they feel the other speaker may know, and at the same time draw on elements from other languages to supplement their own limited proficiency in the variety, or because they feel such elements will be better understood by the interlocutor. In other words, a kind of "instant pidgin" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) is created. Thus, the

speaker of sample four, speaking a different home dialect from the interlocutor and knowing very little English, shifts in the direction of a target lingua franca, Huayu, and draws on elements from Malay, Cantonese and English that she knows the interlocutor will understand. The determinants of the nature of such "instant pidgins" in any one interaction will be the repertoire and proficiency of the speaker and his or her judgement of the likely repertoire of the interlocutor. Singaporeans are, in fact, very good at making such judgements.

15.8 Rojak and Registerial variation

However, such interlingual phenomena are by no means always a question of limited proficiences. In sample 1, the code-switching appears to be related more to other features of the context of situation than to any limitation in the speaker's proficiency in Huayu or English. As has been suggested, there is tension between the role relationship of the participants (local talking to "Caucasian" foreigner) and the interviewer's choice of Huayu. Moreover, small shifts in the field of discourse seem to trigger switches in language.

There may also be a relationship between tenor and certain other kinds of interlingual phenomena. Whilst some borrowed lexical items may now be considered appropriate even for the most public and formal registers (e.g., bāshi "bus", déshì "taxi" and bāxīan

"per cent" , see 6.6.1.3), many other borrowed items, particularly those from dialects or Malay, are generally restricted to use among friends, fellow students and so on, i.e., where the tenor is characterized by solidarity rather than distance. The following are examples of the latter type of lexical item which have been noted in the informal Huayu of Singaporean friends and colleagues.

a) from Chinese dialects

báiwulóng "to make a silly or big mistake" eg:
Wǒ báiwulóngle, wǒ yǐwéi shi jīntiān kāi huì.
I've made a mistake. I thought the meeting was today.

chēdapào "to talk big" eg:
Tā laǒshi chēdapào.
He's always talking big.

dàlirén "an important person" eg:
Tā haǒxiang shi ge dàlirén.
He seems to be a big shot.

gōngsī "jointly" eg:
Zhèiben shū shi wǒmen gōngsì maǐde.
We bought this book between us.

b) from Malay

lóngbàng "give a lift to" or "to hitch a lift" e.g.:

Jīntiān xiàyǔ, suǒyi tā lóngbàng wǒ shàngbān.

As it was raining today, he gave me a lift to work.

dūolóng "to help, to ask for help" eg:

Tā dūolóng wǒ bàng tā xiūlǐ qichē.

He asked me to help him repair his car.

[For more examples of borrowed lexis in Singapore Huayu
see Appendix Six]

A clear example of the use of dialect calque in the
context of solidarity among the participants was noted by
the author on a camping trip with university students who
were all very proficient speakers of Singapore Huayu (all
educated in Huayu as first school language until entering
university). The following exchange was noted:

A: Chúan, nǐ kànyǒuméiyǒu?

   Boat, you look-have-not-have

   Can you see the boat?

B: Kànméiyǒu

   look-not-have

   No, I can't.

This use of yǒu and méiyǒu as resultative complements is
a nonstandard calque of a Hokkien construction. The

Standard Huayu forms which would be used in this context
are:

        A: Chúan, ni kan<u>dedào</u> ma?

          Can you see the boat?

        B: Kan<u>budào</u>

          No, I can't

The use of this calque is not common in educated
Singapore Huayu, nor had it been noted previously in the
speech of these students. When asked about it, one of the
students explained that it was "Hokkien Huayu". They knew
it was "wrong" but it was okay to use it among
themselves.

15.9 Instability of Forms

As has already been noted, there appears to be a
continuum between "skipants", whose pronunciation is
close to the donor language, and borrowings which are
fully assimilated to Singapore Huayu phonology. Moreover,
the same item may appear in the speech of the same
speaker at different times. Many such items in Singapore
Huayu appear to be similar to what Gibbons, in a study of
the mixed language of students at the University of Hong
Kong, calls "conscious ad hoc borrowings", whose
phonology ranges from near RP to forms considerably
modified in the direction of Cantonese phonology (Gibbons

1979). The forms of such borrowings are not predictable
and they appear in different forms on different
occasions. Gibbons distinguishes such elements from what
he calls "integrated borrowings" whose forms are
assimilated closely (but not entirely) to Cantonese
phonology, and are predictable and rule governed.

In Rojak Huayu, the instability of forms extends even to
borrowings which have been, or seem likely to be (see
6.6.1.3), accepted into the prescribed standard. For
example, the English loanword _déshì_ "taxi" may be heard
in news broadcasts according to its standard
pronunciation [dɤ˩ ʂʅ˩]. However, the following forms have
also been noted as used by persons speaking Huayu:

[tʰɤksi] - similar to the standard English
pronunciation

[dɐk˥ si˩] - similar to the Cantonese and Hokkien
pronunciations (note that the loanword is written 德士
in Singapore, not 的士 as in Hong Kong)

[dɔʔ˥ sɿ˩] - a Singapore Huayu pronunciation with
rusheng in the first zi and non-retroflex initial in
the second.

15.10 Conclusion

Whilst the samples in this chapter represent only a tiny proportion of the various possible mixes involving Huayu that can occur, they do illustrate the continuum (or continua) that exists in terms of the extent of divergence from the standard varieties of the languages and in terms of the extent to which the "ingredients" from different languages are kept distinct or separate. Mixed varieties appear to be rather unstable, with somewhat unfocussed norms (Le Page 1978). The characteristics of a particular instance of Rojak Huayu may often be related to the shared repertoires and degrees of proficiency of the speakers. However, the various kinds of interlingual phenomena may also be exploited by proficient speakers for registerial variation.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CONCLUSION

16.1 Categorical and Variable Features

This thesis has identified and described a number of linguistic features in the Mandarin Chinese spoken in Singapore (Singapore Huayu) which are different from those of the standard variety. Such features have been broadly classified into categorical nonstandard features and variable nonstandard features. The former category were found to be relatively invariant in the speech of most or all of the informants. The latter were found to be variable both among different speakers and (in most cases) within the speech of single speakers.

The categorical or near categorical features can be seen as part of a general norm for speakers of Singapore Huayu. In other words, they are part of a variety learners of Huayu in Singapore learn from other Singapore speakers of the language rather than errors due to mother tongue interference or other interlanguage phenomena. Similarly, investigation of certain of the variable features has suggested that they might best be regarded as sociolectal rather than interference variables.

16.2 Change in Progress

Quantitative analysis of the variable features has
provided evidence that Singapore Huayu is undergoing
linguistic change, in particular a change in the
direction of the prescribed standard variety. Thus the
findings for the phonological variables (ü), (ru) and
(n) all show a tendency for younger informants to use the
standard variants more frequently than older informants.
Similarly, findings for the (r) variable show a move away
from the nonstandard [l] variant. However, in this case
the move is not necessarily simply towards the standard
variant but rather towards a range of "acceptable"
variants with a strong tendency to complementary
distribution.

16.3 Salience

The notion of *salience* has been found useful in
addressing the question of why some features should be
affected by pressure from the prescribed standard whilst
others are not thus affected.

In some cases, it may simply be that where the difference
between a nonstandard feature and its standard equivalent
does not involve a phonological contrast, the difference
is less likely to be salient to speakers. This appears to
be the case with h (7.2.3), üan (7.2.4), x (7.2.5) and uo

(7.2.6). The use of nonstandard variants of these sounds
does not affect the phonological system, speakers
generally do not seem to be aware that they are
nonstandard and there is no evidence that they are in the
process of being replaced by their standard equivalents.
On the other hand, differences between the nonstandard
and standard variants of (ü), (ru), (n) and (l) - the
variables which do seem to represent change in progress -
all involve phonological contrast.

In the case of the variables (ũ) and (ng) the notion of
salience has been extended to the interpretation of the
linguistic constraints on the variation. In both cases,
it has been suggested that the favouring environments for
the standard variants are those in which the feature in
question has the greatest phonetic effect. Thus, the
standard variant of (ü) is favoured where the roundness
of the w̲ posture prosody is greatest in extent and the
standard variant of (ng) is favoured where the final
posture prosody has the greatest effect on the vocalic
nucleus of the syllable, i.e., where there is the
greatest phonetic distance between realizations of the
two variants of the variable.

It is interesting that Singapore speakers do not seem to
be generally aware that the grammatical features
described in Chapter Seven are nonstandard. It would seem
that for speakers of Singapore Huayu, phonological

differences from the standard variety tend to be more
salient than grammatical differences.

16.4   Social Evaluation of Linguistic Features

The fact that certain nonstandard features are prominent
enough for speakers to be aware that they diverge from
the prescribed standard does not guarantee that they will
come to be replaced by their standard equivalents or be
adopted as target features by learners of Singapore
Huayu. Explanations for change (and lack of change) have
also been sought in the *social evaluation* of the
linguistic features, for example, the extent to which a
particular feature may be evaluated as "good" or
"correct" Huayu or may be associated with prestige groups
in society, such as the more highly educated. This brings
us to the question of sociolectal and registerial
variation in Singapore Huayu.

16.5 Sociolectal Variation

Chapter Eight provides evidence that Singapore Huayu
speakers are prepared and able to make the same kinds of
judgements that speakers in monolingual speech
communities make about aspects of the the social
identities of speakers from short samples of their
speech. In other words, it is likely that Singapore Huayu
has developed forms of sociolectal variation similar to
those observed in various monolingual speech communities.

The quantitative analyses of the variable phonological features also provide evidence for sociolectal variation. The standard or standard-like variants of three of the variables which seem to represent changes in progress - (ü), (l) and (r) - were found to be favoured by higher levels of education. The variable (ng) also showed some evidence of a similar relationship with level of education. However, in this case, there is no evidence for change in progress. (ng) thus seems to be a relatively stable sociolectal variable.

The _la_ particle (Chapter Fourteen) shows clear sociolectal variation, being used more frequently by women and by informants with less than secondary education. Such nonstandard particles, in fact, seem to be exceptions to the general finding that grammatical features are likely to be less salient than phonological features. _La_, in particular, may be overtly stigmatized (14.4), despite the fact that a similar particle does exist in the standard language, although with different functions. _La_ is by no means the only nonstandard particle in Singapore Huayu. Such particles would undoubtedly be worth further research, not least because several of them seem to be *areal* features, i.e., used in the local varieties of several of the languages and dialects spoken in Singapore.

16.6 Registerial Variation

Of the phonological variables, only (ü) showed evidence of a shift towards the standard variant in the "reading aloud" sections. It thus shows evidence of variation associated with the registerial dimension of mode.

There is also evidence that the la particle is involved in variation associated with the registerial dimension of tenor (14.6). However, further research using data from a wider range of contexts of situation is needed to investigate this more thoroughly. Clearly, language contact phenomena such as dialect calquing (15.8) may also be exploited for registerial variation, but again this is an area which needs further research.

16.7 The (ru) Variable

(ru) is the one variable which, from the findings of the age factor group, seems to represent change in progress yet shows no significant relationship with level of education nor a tendency to favour the standard variant in the "reading aloud" mode. Indeed, there appears to be a significant shift away from the standard variant in this mode. As is suggested at 12.14, further research using a more detailed phonetic analysis of the nonstandard variant might reveal patterns of variation missed in the present study.

16.8 Stereotypes

Some features of the prescribed standard seem to be
salient to the point of becoming stereotypes and this may
explain their general absence from the Huayu of most
Singapore speakers of all ages and educational levels.
Thus, syllable initial retroflexion appears to be
perceived as a stereotypical feature of Beijing Mandarin
and inappropriate for use in interactions among
Singaporeans. This also appears to be the case with
syllable final retroflexion or erization, although the
precise extent of erization "required" by the prescribed
standard is somewhat vague (7.1.2.1).

16.9 Mother Tongue Interference and Sociolectal Variation

The results of the analyses of most of the variables
suggest that speakers' mother tongues (at least Cantonese
and Hokkien, the two mother tongues of the informants in
this study) do not significantly affect the variation.
This confirms the hypothesis that as a language
indigenizes, patterns of linguistic variation may
sometimes be better explained as sociolectal and
registerial than as related to mother tongue
interference. Interestingly, one exception is (ü), which
in other ways is the variable which patterns most like
the "classic" sociolinguistic markers studied in
monolingual speech communities. However, as is suggested
in Chapter Nine, this is exactly the pattern one might

expect with a feature which may have originated in mother tongue transfer but has become or is in the process of becoming a sociolectal and registerial variable.

16.10 Language Contact Phenomena

This thesis has also looked at aspects of language contact phenomena in relation to Singapore Huayu. Even a fairly limited investigation of this area as represented in Chapter Fifteen reveals a great deal of variation in the source languages and dialects of elements in "mixes" with Huayu and in the degree of integration of the various elements. It is clear that it is not always easy to say where the language we are calling Huayu "ends" and another language or language variety "begins". The various linguistic behaviours covered by the term Rojak seems to be an area in which norms are at present somewhat unfocussed.

It is worth considering what might be the result of this kind of language "mixing". Is, it likely that there will eventually emerge some kind of relatively stable, norm governed variety quite distinct from any of the input languages or dialects and that one might want to call a Huayu-based creole?

As Mühlhäusler (1979) points out, in such cases much depends on the continued presence of the standard language and its prestige and accessibility. In

Singapore, the prestige of Huayu is not in doubt, at least in relation to the Chinese dialects and, as we have seen, the campaign to promote the use of Huayu among Chinese Singaporeans and to promote the prescribed standard has been vigorous and looks set to continue for many more years. Singaporeans have access to more or less standard varieties of Huayu through the mass media and the education system, in which the great majority of ethnic Chinese students study the language as at least a second school language.

For as long as the repertoires of Chinese Singaporeans remain multilingual, code-switching between distinct languages and dialects will undoubtedly continue. It is also probable that speakers will continue to use, particularly in informal contexts, a certain amount of borrowed lexis beyond that officially admitted into the prescribed standard and that dialect calquing may sometimes be exploited for registerial variation. However, the conditions do not seem to be present for the development of a distinct, stable Huayu-based creole in Singapore.

16.11 Treatment of Prosodies

One interesting theme that has emerged is the general tendency for Singapore Huayu to weaken and segmentalize the strong syllable prosodies of the standard Beijing based pronunciation. This is seen, for example, in the

Singapore pronunciations of üan (7.2.4), iong (p.252) and

the generally weaker effects of the final posture

prosodies (p.304). This may well be a feature of the

southern dialect substratum which will have a lasting

effect on Singapore Huayu. It is worth noting that the

adoption in parts of this thesis of a nonsegmental

phonological perspective, such as provided by Halliday

1985, has enabled this phenomenon to be observed more

clearly.

16.12 The Uniqueness of Singapore Huayu

Another question which has been addressed is the extent

to which the nonstandard features in Singapore Huayu may

serve to mark Singapore Huayu as an identifiable, new

variety of Mandarin different from other varieties of the

language.

As we have seen, most of the categorical nonstandard

features described in Chapter Seven are also found in

other varieties of Mandarin, including certain Mandarin

dialects spoken natively in China, varieties of Putonghua

spoken as a second dialect in parts of China and the

Guoyu spoken in Taiwan. However, this does not mean that

Singapore Huayu can necessarily be identified with any

one other variety. In many aspects, Singapore Huayu seems

closest to Taiwanese Guoyu. For example, it appears that

the yǒu+VERB (non-past) construction is a feature which

Singapore Huayu shares only with Taiwanese Guoyu

(7.1.1.4). However, features such as initial [s] for x,
whilst they do occur in other varieties of Mandarin, may
serve to distinguish a Singaporean "accent" from a
"Taiwanese" accent (7.1.5.4).

Similarly, most of the variable nonstandard phonological
features examined in Chapters Nine to Thirteen also occur
quite widely in other varieties of Mandarin, including
Taiwanese Guoyu. However, a partial exception may be
rusheng. A rusheng tone category does occur in some
Mandarin dialects. However, the particular form rusheng
takes in Singapore Huayu may mark a Singapore "accent"
and, in particular, serve to distinguish it from
Taiwanese Guoyu, in which such a rusheng category has not
been noted. The Singapore Huayu <l> variants of (r) and
of (n) have also not been noted in Taiwanese Guoyu.

The modal particle la (Chapter Fourteen) seems to be used
in ways which have not been noted in other varieties of
Mandarin and it seems likely to continue to be a
distinctive marker of at least informal Singapore Huayu.

The use of certain borrowed lexical items will no doubt
also continue to give Singapore Huayu a unique "flavour".
As noted in Chapter Six, a small number of such items are
are in the process of being accepted even into the
prescribed standard. Where the source language is Malay,
in particular, such borrowed items are distinctive of

Singapore Huayu and may not be understood by Mandarin

speakers from outside the area.

Thus, whilst many of the nonstandard features described

in this thesis can also be found in other varieties of

Mandarin, the particular combination of such features may

serve to identify Singapore Huayu. In addition, certain

borrowed lexical items and the use of certain modal

particles may be unique to Singapore Huayu[1].

16.13 An Overview of the Linguistic Variation

To sum up, in Singapore, a prescribed standard variety

of Huayu is being vigorously promoted through the

education system and mass media and there is evidence of

a movement towards greater use of certain features of

this standard. However, some standard features appear to

be being resisted. There also remains a tremendous amount

of linguistic variation. Some of this variation is

between nonstandard features and their standard or near

standard equivalents. There is also variation involving

various kinds of interlingual phenomena. Both these kinds

of variation may sometimes be relatable to aspects of the

social identities of the speakers, the context of

situation and/or the proficiencies of the speakers. The

result is a continuum between, at one end, varieties of

Huayu which are in general perfectly intelligible to

Mandarin speakers from outside Singapore and contain a

relatively small number of nonstandard features, many of

which may be also heard in other varieties of Mandarin,
and, at the other end, varieties which are
unintelligible to outsiders and may not even be
recognized by them as Mandarin.

16.13.1 Singapore Huayu and the Creole Continuum

The situation described above bears some resemblance to
the post-creole continuum model such as has been used by
Bickerton to describe the linguistic situation in Guyana
(Bickerton 1973, 1975). This model describes a situation
in which a creole co-exists with the standard language
from which it originally developed, and pressure from the
more prestigious standard language leads to a degree of
de-creolization and a continuum of varieties from close
to standard ("acrolect") to farthest from standard
("basilect") via intermediate varieties ("mesolect").
Platt (1975) makes use of this model to describe
varieties of Singapore English, although he uses the term
"creoloid" to indicate that there is no evidence for a
previous English based creole or pidgin.

This model can to some extent fit variation in Singapore
Huayu provided that the continuum can be visualized as
pyramidal, as there are many dimensions of variation and
no single farthest from standard basilect can be
identified. It is not possible, at least from evidence at
present available, to range varieties of Singapore Huayu

along a single continuum according to some kind of

implicational hierarchy[2].

16.14 Future Developments

It is perhaps somewhat rash to try to predict future

developments in Singapore Huayu within such a complex and

fast changing sociolinguistic environment. Nevertheless,

there do seem to be a number of possibilities.

It seems likely that the Huayu spoken daily in Singapore

will in general continue to move closer to the prescribed

standard, and certain nonstandard features, for example

[l] for n- (Chapter Thirteen), may disappear entirely or

become very infrequent. However, some nonstandard

features of phonology, grammar and lexis are likely to

persist for at least the forseeable future. In other

words, a relatively stable de-facto endonormative

standard may be emerging which will be a compromise

between the older "Chinese educated" norm (3.4.1) and the

prescribed standard.

Undoubtedly, considerable linguistic variation will also

continue to exist in Singapore Huayu, both among speakers

and within the speech of single speakers. As suggested

above, some currently variable phonological features may

move towards categorical or near categorical use of

standard variants. However, others may become relatively

stable variables, as already appears to be the case with

(ng), and some will no doubt continue to be involved in forms of sociolectal and registerial variation different from those in the standard language.

Thus, much of the Huayu in everyday use in Singapore will, for the forseeable future, continue to diverge in certain respects from the prescribed standard variety. However, this is unlikely to lead to the development of a Singapore Huayu different enough from other varieties of Mandarin to prove a barrier to communication with the Mandarin speaking world beyond Singapore.

NOTES

1. No attempt has been made in this thesis to distinguish Singapore Huayu from Malaysian Huayu. See Chapter One, Note One.

2. Le Page (1984) makes a similar point with reference to Singapore English.

APPENDIX ONE

PHONETIC REALIZATIONS OF SYLLABLES IN BEIJING MANDARIN

(From Halliday 1985, reproduced with the kind

permission of the author)

(A) "unaspirated" (voiced at moment of release)		(B) "aspirated"	
Pinyin	IPA	Pinyin	IPA
jian	dʑʑiɛn ~ dʑʑiɛ̃n ~ dʑʑiɛ̃	qian	tɕʰiɛn &c.
jia	dʑʑia ~ dʑʑia̠	qia	tɕʰia ~ &c.
jiang	dʑiʐŋ ~ dʑiʐ̃ŋ ~ dʑiɛ̃ŋ ~ dʑiɛ̃ ~ dʑiɛ̃ʐ (?)	qiang	tɕʰiʐ̃ŋ ~ &c.
jiao	dʑiʐɔ ~ dʑiʐ̃ɔ ~ dʑiʐo	qiao	tɕʰiʐɔ ~ &c.
jin	dʑʑin ~ dʑʑĩn ~ dʑʑĩ	qin	tɕʰin ~ &c.
jie	dʑʑiɛ ~ dʑʑe	qie	tɕʰiɛ ~ &c.
jing	dʑʐiʰŋ ~ dʑʐiʰŋ ~ dʑʐiʰ	qing	tɕʰiʰŋ ~ &c.
jiu	dʑʑiʰʊ ~ dʑʑiʰʊ	qiu	tɕʰiʰʊ ~ &c.
ji	dʑʑi	qi	tɕʰi
zhan	dʐʐɛn ~ dʐʐæ̃n ~ dʐʐæ̃ ~ dʐʐæ̃ɛ	chan	tʂʰæn ~ &c.
zhai	dʐʐæɛ ~ dʐʐæe	chai	tʂʰæɛ ~ &c.
zha	dʐʐa	cha	tʂʰá
zhang	dʐʐʐŋ ~ dʐʐʐ̃ŋ ~ dʐʐɛ̃ ~ dʐʐɛ̃ (?)	chang	tʂʰʐŋ ~ &c.
zhao	dʐʐʐɔ ~ dʐʐʐo	chao	tʂʰʐɔ ~ &c.
zhen	dʐʐɜn ~ dʐʐɜ̃n ~ dʐʐɜ̃ *	chen	tʂʰɜn ~ &c.
zhei	dʐʐɛɪ		
zhe	dʐʐɤ	che	tʂʰɤ
zheng	dʐʐəŋ ~ dʐʐə̃ŋ ~ dʐʐə̃	cheng	tʂʰəŋ ~ &c.
zhou	dʐʐɔʊ ~ dʐʐəʊ	chou	tʂʰɔʊ ~ &c.
zhi	dʐʐɻ	chi	tʂʰɻ
zhuan	dʐʐʷæn ~ dʐʐʷæn ~ dʐʐʷæ̃n ~ dʐʐʷæ̃ ~ dʐʐʷæ̃ɛ	chuan	tʂʰʷæn ~ &c.
zhuai	dʐʐʷæɛ ~ dʐʐʷæɛ ~ dʐʐʷæe	chuai	tʂʰʷæɛ ~ &c.
zhua	dʐʐʷa ~ dʐʐʷa̠	chua	tʂʰʷa ~ &c.
zhuang	dʐʐʷɔŋ ~ dʐʐʷɔ̃ŋ ~ dʐʐʷɔ̃	chuang	tʂʰʷɔŋ ~ &c.
zhun	dʐʐʊʰn ~ dʐʐʊʰn ~ dʐʐʊ̃ʰ	chun	tʂʰʊʰn ~ &c.
zhui	dʐʐʷʰɪ ~ dʐʐʷʰɛɪ	chui	tʂʰʷʰɪ ~ &c.
zhuo	dʐʐʷo ~ dʐʐo	chuo	tʂʰʷo ~ &c.
zhong	dʐʐʊʰŋ ~ dʐʐʊ̃ʰŋ ~ dʐʐʊ̃ʰ	chong	tʂʰʊʰŋ ~ &c.
zhu	dʐʐu	chu	tʂʰu

MAKH
viii 85

* ɜ = ə̹

APPENDIX TWO

<u>**PART OF A SYSTEM NETWORK FOR THE BEIJING**</u>

<u>**MANDARIN SYLLABLE**</u>

(Reproduced with the kind permission of

Professor M.A.K.Halliday)
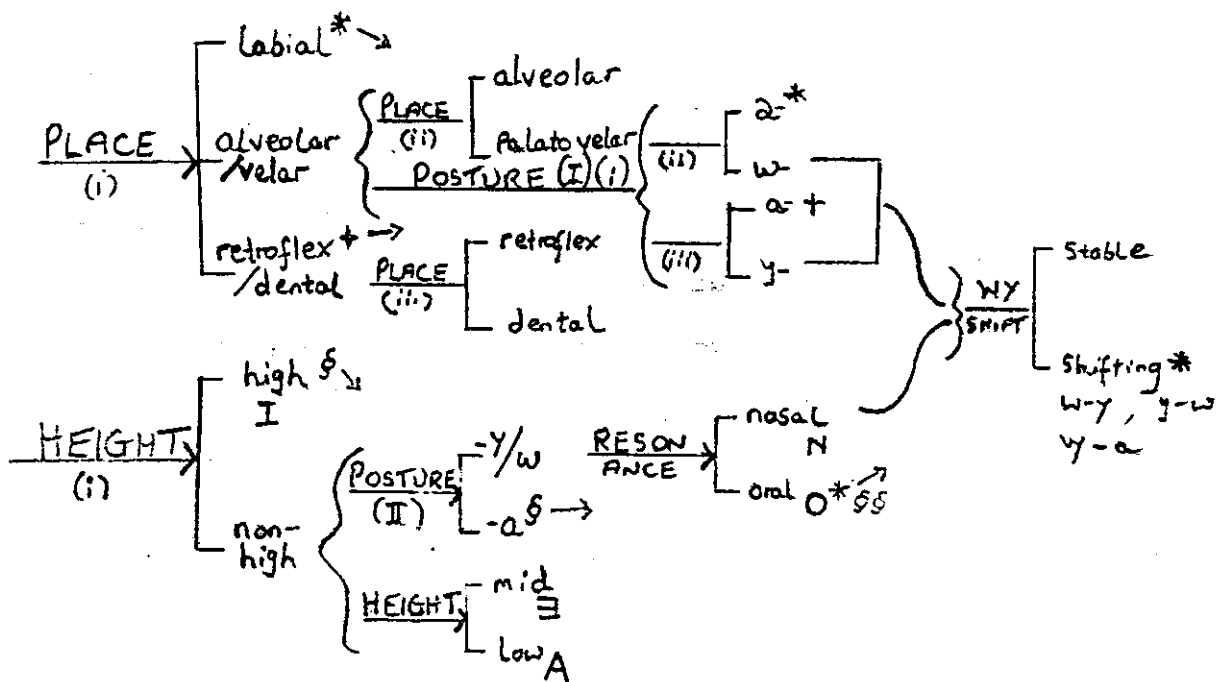
<u>Notes</u>[1]

1. In order to conform to the terminology used in this

thesis, the terms *retroflex, height, high* and *low* are

used here to replace the terms *cerebral, closure, close*

and *open* used in the original network.

2. The symbol <u>a</u> in the POSTURE (IIii) system indicates

"either <u>y</u> or <u>a</u> posture but not <u>w</u>". The use of this symbol

allows simultaneous selection of both initial y and initial w postures (see 4.2.3). Thus, a =ɑ, ay=y, w =w and wy=ɰ .

3. ✗ , ✝ and ƒ followed by arrows indicate that if the term they are adjacent to is selected, then a term in a later system bearing the same notation must be selected. Thus, for example, if labial is selected in the PLACE (i) system, a must be selected in the POSTURE (IIii) system, thereby eliminating syllables such as *puo and *fuo. Similarly, if oral is selected in the RESONANCE system, shifting must be selected in the W/Y SHIFT system, thereby eliminating syllables such as *jiai and *guau.

[1]These explanatory notes are the responsibility of the present author.

APPENDIX THREE

SOME SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE OF INFORMANTS

1.Numbers of Informants in Each Housing Type

    1, 2 and 3 room public flats: 22

    5 room flats, semi-detached

    houses and bungalows: 24

2.Numbers of Informants by Highest Level of Education

    Not completed primary: 3

    Completed primary: 5

    Completed lower secondary: 16

    Completed upper secondary: 7

    Completed post secondary training: 6

    Completed a university degree: 9

3.Numbers of Informants by Sex

    Male: 26

    Female: 20

4.Numbers of Informants by Age Group

15-20: 11

21-30: 11

31-40: 9

41-56: 15

APPENDIX FOUR

THE QUESTION SCHEDULE FOR THE INTERVIEWS

This is a guide to the questions used in the
sociolinguistic interviews of the 46 informants used in
the main study. The exact wording and order of the
questions inevitably varied from interview to interview.
In many cases, follow up questions were also asked and
questions irrelevant to particular informants omitted
(see 5.3). The question schedule is given in Pinyin
transcription followed by an English translation.

Part One

1. Ni neng gaosu wo ni jinnian jisui ma?

2. Ni shi zai nali chushengde?

3. Ni zai xinjiapo zhule duo jiu le ne?

4. Nide fuqin shi zai nali chushengde?

5. Nide muqin ne?

6. Nide fumu gen nimen yiqi zhu ma?

7. Zufu zumu ne?

8. Nide zhiye shi sheme?

9. Ni neng gaosu wo nide xinshui dagai you duoshao ma?

10. Ni jiehunle meiyou?

11. Qingwen, nide taitai / zhangfu / fuqin / muqinde
    zhiye shi sheme?

12. Nimen you haizi ma? (you jige haizi?)

13. Qingwen, nimen yijiade shouru dagai shi sheme?

14. Ni neng gaosu wo ni shoule duoshao jiaoyu ma?

15. Ni dude shi yingwen xiaoxue haishi huawen xiaoxue?

16. Zhongxue ne?

17. Ni meitian kan baozhi ma? Kan yingwende haishi huawende?

18. Yiban laishuo, ni kan dianshi deshihou shi kan yingyu jiemu duo haishi huayu jiemu duo?

19. Nimen zai jiali jiang nayizhong fangyan? / Ni benshende fangyan shi sheme?

20. Ni xiao deshihou, xian xue nayizhong yuyan huo fangyan?

21. Chule....zhiwai, ni hui shuo qitade fangyan ma? (Yidiandian? Xiangdang liuli?)

22. Chule zheixie fangyan zhiwai, ni hai tingdedong qitade fangyan ma?

23. Chule huayu zhiwai, ni hui shuo qitade yuyan ma? (Yidiandian? Xiangdang liuli?)

24. Ni nazhong yuyan huo fangyan jiangde zui liuli, zui ziran ne?

25. Ni jiangde yingyu gen huayu, nayizhong bijiao liuli ne?

26. Ni zai jiali gen taitai / zhangfu tanhua deshihou, changyongde shi nazong yuyan huo fangyan?

27. Nimen wanquan buyong huayu / yingyu / fangyan ma?

28. Nimen yijia chi wanfan deshihou, changyongde shi nazong yuyan huo fangyan?

29. Ye yong huayu / yingyu / fangyan ma?

30. Ni gen haizimen tan tamende gongke huo qita xuexiao
    wenti deshihou, ni changyong nazhong yuyan huo
    fangyan?

31. Haizi huida ni deshihou, ye yong...ma?

32. Huayu / yingyu / fangyan wanquan bu yong ba?

33. Ni ruguo yao ma tamen ne?

34. Ni gen nide fumuqin tanhuade shihou, changyongde shi
    nazong yuyan huo fangyan?

35. Gen zufu zumu ne?

36. Ni shangbande shihou gen tongshi tan gongzuo wenti,
    changyongde shi nazhong yuyan huo fangyan?

37. Ni gen tongshi chi wufan deshihou, yong sheme yuyan
    huo fangyan jiaotan?

38. Ni gen tamen wanquan bu yong huayu / yingyu / fangyan
    ma?

39. Ni gen guke zuichang yongde yuyan huo fangyan shi
    nazhong?

40. Ni xiabanshi, gen pengyou xianliao (kanxi, qu he cha)
    changyongde shi nazong yuyan huo fangyan?

41. Ni dao baihuogongsi qu mai dongxi shi, changyong
    nazhong yuyan huo fangyan gen tuihuoyuan jiaotan?

42. Dao xiaofan zhongxin gen basha qu deshihou ne?

43. Ni dao zhengfu bumen (youzhengju dengdeng) changyong
    nazhong yuyan huo fangyan?

Part Two

1. Ni renwei zui haode , zui zhengquede huayu shi nazhong
   huayu? (shi shei shuo de huayu?)

2. You ren shuo, xinjiapo huaren jiang huayu deshihou yinggai mofang Beijing qiang (Beijing rende kouyin). Ni tongyi zheizhong kanfa ma? (Weisheme ne?)

3. Taiwan qiang ne?

4. Zai xinjiapo shei shuo zheizhong zhengquede huayu? Shei keyi dang mofan?

5. You ren shuo, zai xinjiapo, shuo huayu deshihou, zhi yao nide yisi qingchu, zhengquede yufa he fayin shi bu zhongyao. Ni tongyi ma?

6. Zai xinjiapo shuo huayu you sheme haochu?

7. You ren shuo, zai xiandaide xinjiapo xue huayu buguo shi langfei shijian eryi. Ni tongyi ma? (Weisheme?)

8. Ruguo ni pengjian yige bu hui jiang huayude huaren, ni dui ta hui you sheme ganxiang?

9. You ren shuo ruguo yige huaren bu hui jiang huayu, ta bijiao rongyi jieshou xifang wenhualide yixie bu haode dongxi. Zhei shi zhende ma? (Weisheme?)

10. Yingyu zai xinjiapo jianghui yue lai yue zhongyao er huayu jianghui manmande xiaoshi. You zheige keneng ma? (Wei sheme?)

11. Muqian xinjiapo zhengfu suo tuidongde huayu yundong, dui ni you sheme yingxiang ma? (Biru: you sheme changhe ni yiqian jiang fangyan, xianzai jiang huayu ma?)

12. Zheige yundong hui chenggong ma? (Weisheme?)

13. Xinjiapo dianshi guangbotai yinggai jixu guangbo fangyan jiemu ma? (Weisheme?)

14. Ni juede yibande xinjiapo ren suo shuode huayu zemeyang? (Yinggai gaijin ma? Quedian zai nar?)

15. Ni dui nide huayu hai manyi ma? (Nayi fangmian
yinggai gaijin?)

TRANSLATION

1. Can you tell me how old you are?

2. Where were you born?

3. How long have you lived in Singapore?

4. Where was your father born?

5. And your mother?

6. Do your parents live with you?

7. And your grandparents?

8. What is your occupation?

9. Could you tell me roughly how much you earn?

10. Are you married?

11. May I ask what your wife's / husband's / father /
mother's occupation is?

12. Do you have any children? (How many?)

13. May I ask roughly what your family income is?

14. Can you tell me how much education you have received?

15. Did you study in an English medium or a Chinese
medium primary school?

16. And your secondary school?

17. Do you read a paper every day? An English one or a
Chinese one?

18. Generally speaking, when you watch television do you
watch English programmes more or Chinese programmes
more?

19. What dialect do you speak at home? (What is your own dialect?)

20. When you were young, what was the first language or dialect you learnt?

21. Apart from...can you speak any other dialect? (A little? Quite fluently?)

22. Apart from these dialects, can you understand any other dialect?

23. Apart from Huayu, can you speak any other language? (A little? Quite fluently?)

24. Which language or dialect do you speak most fluently and most naturally?

25. Which language do you speak more fluently, English or Huayu?

26. Which language or dialect do you usually speak when at home talking with your wife / husband?

27. Don't you use Huayu / English / a dialect at all?

28. When you are all having dinner, which language or dialect do you usually use?

29. Do you also use Huayu / English / a dialect?

30. When you are talking with your children about their homework or other school matters, which language or dialect do you usually use?

31. When your children reply, do they also use ...?

32. Don't you use Huayu / English / a dialect at all?

33. How about if you want to tell them off?

34. When you talk with your parents, which language or dialect do you usually use?

35. And with your grandparents?

36. When you are at work, what language or dialect do you usually use to discuss work matters with your colleagues?

37. When you are having lunch with your colleagues, which language or dialect do you usually talk?

38. Don't you use Huayu / English / a dialect at all?

39. Which language or dialect do you use most often with customers?

40. After work, chatting with friends (going to see a film, going to drink tea) which language or dialect do you usually use?

41. When you go to a store to buy things, which language or dialect do you usually use with the shop assistants?

42. How about when you go to hawker centres and markets?

43. When you go to government agencies (post offices and so on), which language or dialect do you usually use?

Part Two

1. Which type of Huayu do you consider the best, most correct Huayu? (Who speaks that kind of Huayu?)

2. Some people say that when Singaporeans speak Huayu, they ought to imitate the Beijing accent. Do you agee with this view? (Why?)

3. How about the Taiwan accent?

4. In Singapore who speaks this correct Huayu? Who can serve as a model?

5. Some people say that in Singapore when you speak Huayu provided your meaning is clear, correct grammar and pronunciation are unimportant. Do you agree?

6. What are the advantages of speaking Huayu in Singapore?

7. Some people say that in Singapore learning Huayu is just a waste of time. Do you agree? (Why?)

8. If you were to come across a Chinese who could not speak Huayu what would you feel about him / her?

9. Some people say that if a Chinese cannot speak Huayu, he/she is more likely to be receptive to bad things in Western culture. Is that true? (Why?)

10. English in Singapore will in future become more and more important and Huayu will slowly disappear. Do you think that is a possibility? (Why?)

11. Has the current Huayu campaign promoted by the goverment had any effect on you? (For example: are there any situations in which you previously spoke dialect but now speak Huayu?)

12. Will the campaign succeed? (Why?)

13. Should the Singapore TV continue to broadcast programmes in the dialects? (Why?)

14. What do you think of the way Singaporeans in general speak Huayu? (Is improvement needed? What are the shortcomings?)

15. Are you satisfied with your own Huayu? (Which aspects need improvement?)

READING ALOUD

发音　日头　喝水　屋子

应当　觉得　运动　训练

入口　力量　扔求　英国

石头　雪糕　肮脏　年龄

难看　因为　客人　法子

平安　肉排　能力　黄色

两百　人们　女人　选择

软弱　让步　旅行　读书

原来　浓茶　你们　热水
拿起　邻国　容易

同音或不同音

雪　写　男　南　关　观　语　雨

草　各　富　父　贫　平　乐　热

你　里　旅　里　力　梨　船　床

漏　肉　力　立

APPENDIX FIVE

VARIABLE NONSTANDARD FEATURES NOT CHOSEN FOR
QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

These are nonstandard features which either occur in the speech of at least two (usually many more) of the informants used in the present study or have been noted by the author as being fairly widespread in Singapore Huayu. However, many of these features may not be as widespead as those described in Chapter Seven or in Chapters Nine to Fourteen. Future research might reveal some of these features to be involved in sociolectal or registerial variation. The short discussions following each feature are not intended to be exhaustive but to serve as guides to further research.

1. PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

[f] for hu- : This seems to be most common before -o, e.g., huo "fire" as [fo] or [fɔ]. However, it also occurs occasionally in huan and hua, e.g., xihuan "to like" as [ʃi fɐn]; huayu "Huayu" as [fɐ˧y].

iu: This yunmu in the standard language is usually
transcribed as a tripthong, although representations
of the intermediate vowel quality may differ, e.g.,
/iou/ (Chao 1968) and /iɜu/ (Hockett 1947), [ⁱɜʊ]
(Halliday 1985). Such transcriptions represent the
"dipping" of the tongue in the transition from y̱
posture to w̱ posture. This "dipping" is variable
even in the standard language. With syllables of
longer duration (e.g., tone 3 zi) the "dipping"
tends to be greater. However, as Kratochvil (1968)
points out, the care and speed of the speech will
also affect this, with realizations ranging from
[ⁱᵒu] and [ⁱɜᵒu] to [ⁱu] or even [ⁱo].

In Singapore Huayu, there is often no audible
"dipping" in this yunmu. Even in careful speech,
some speakers produce [ⁱu] or [ⁱʊ] with all four
tones.

ui: Like iu, this yunmu also sometimes lacks the
"dipping" of the standard pronunciation ([ᵘɜɪ]) in
the transition from initial y̱ posture to final w̱
posture. Realizations may be [ᵘɪ] or [ᵘi].

ʔ or [ʔ] for y̱-: Syllables beginning with a palatal semi-
vowel or glide (both rounded and unrounded) in the
standard language sometimes lack this feature in
Singapore Huayu. Sometimes the syllable may begin
with an audible glottal stop.

2. GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

Liǎole : The sentence (or clause complex) non-final
perfective particle (or verb suffix) ʃ and the
final perfective particle (also writtenʃ) are both
pronounced le in standard Huayu. Even when a
sentence ends in a verb, they may not be used
together. In Singapore Huayu the non-finalʃ is
sometimes pronounced liǎo (only a reading
pronunciation in the standard language) and both
perfective particles may sometimes be used together
after a verb at the end of a sentence, e.g.:

Tā laí liǎole

He has come.

Modal Particles: Some nonstandard modal particles in
Singapore Huayu are listed at the beginning of
Chapter Fourteen. Of these, the most commonly
occurring in the data (apart from la) are non-final
hó and há (both with variable nasality), laíde and
meíyǒu. Hó and há appear to function to draw
attention to elements which are thematic in the
clause or clause complex, e.g.:

Xiànzàide reń hǒ, shi bǐjiao zhǔzòng jīnqián,
zhei xiē qiántu la. Suǒyǐ há, tāmen dùi huáwén,
kànfǎ bú zhòngyào a. Dànshi hǒ, yīnwei zài

tuidòng dehùa, tāmen zhǐ néng yìdiǎndiǎn xué

jiǎng yìliǎng jù la.

(People today place rather a lot of importance

on money and future. Therefore they don't

consider Huayu to be very important. But

because it is being promoted, they at least

have to learn to speak a few phrases of it.)

méiyǒu   appears to be mildly interrogative,

functioning perhaps to check that the listener is

following or agrees with the speaker. It also

sometimes seems to have an "explanatory" feeling. It

can often be translated into English as "you see" or

"you know", e.g.:

Tāmen dà duō shi chǎozhōurén, bǐjiao xǐhuan

jiǎng chǎozhōuhuà méiyǒu.

Most of them are Teochew and [so] they prefer

to speak Teochew, you see.

láide is a particle of identication, e.g.,:

Zhèi shi wǒde mǔqin láide.

This is my mother.

VERB + xiān / duō / shǎo : In the standard language,

these zi (meaning "first", "more" and "less")

precede the verb. In Singapore Huayu, they sometimes

follow the verb, e.g.:

Wǒ zǒu   xiān.

(I'll be off now. Literally: I'll go first)

(for an example of the use of VERB + duo see

p.386)

ADJ + guo: In the standard language the comparative

construction with adjectives (or *stative verbs* as

they are sometimes called) is NOUN A bǐ NOUN B ADJ.

"NOUN A is more ADJ. than NOUN B". In Singapore

Huayu, the construction NOUN A ADJ+guo NOUN B is

sometimes used, e.g.:

Yīnwei huárén duōguo mǎlairén.

(Because there are more Chinese than Malays.)

ADJ + guò tóu: Guò tóu means "extremely" or

"excessively" and is occasionally used where

standard Huayu would use jíle, e.g.:

Nǐ cōngmíng guòtóu.

(You are extremely intelligent.)

Reduplication: Adjectives (stative verbs) are sometimes

reduplicated. In most cases the function appears to

be intensification, as in some southern dialects

such as Hokkien, e.g.:

guàiguài (de) - "very strange" (see p.363)

chànchàn (de) - "all mixed" (often used to

describe "Rojak Huayu")

APPENDIX SIX

LEXICAL BORROWINGS INTO SINGAPORE HUAYU

The following is a list of borrowed lexical items which
are sometimes used in Singapore Huayu with at least some
degree of accommodation to Huayu phonology. It thus
excludes a large number of items which Singapore speakers
may use when speaking Huayu and which may also occur in
local written Chinese, but have not been noted as
occurring with such accommodation, i.e., they may retain
a pronunciation close to the donor language or close to
the form a particular loanword may have in one of the
southern Chinese dialects (see Tay 1968 for the treatment
of loanwords in Hokkien). However, as noted in Chapter
Fifteen, this is an area in which there is marked
instability at present. Even such borrowings as do
sometimes occur with significant accommodation to Huayu
phonology may also occur in quite different forms on
other occasions. Also note that the inclusion of an item
here does not necessarily imply that it is regarded as
nonstandard Singapore Huayu (see p.158). However, all
these items are not (as far as I have been able to
ascertain) to be found in standard **Putonghua**.

The pronunciations of all the following items are
transcribed according to Pinyin romanization and also
given in written zi. However, the zi given here may not
be the only ones used to write these borrowings in

Singapore. A few of the following items were taken originally from written sources. However, in such cases, a number of informants (some staff and students at the former Nanyang University) were consulted in order to exclude items not likely to be used in spoken Huayu in (more or less) "Huayu-ized" forms.

Borrowings from English and Malay[1] may take the form of phonetic adaptations (or phonic transfer), calques or blends (i.e., where there is an element of both phonetic adaptation and meaning transfer). In the case of phonetic adaptations, initial adaptation is normally to the phonology of one or other of the local Chinese dialects, into which most loanwords are first borrowed. When a loanword subsequently enters Huayu, the zi of the dialect form are simply given their corresponding Huayu pronunciations, which will often result in a form quite distant from the original form of the item in the donor language. Borrowings from the Chinese dialects spoken in Singapore are almost always calques, i.e., the Huayu pronunciations of the zi used in the dialect expressions. Such borrowings will be listed below simply as "borrowings from the dialects". Owing to the considerable mutual influences that the Chinese dialects spoken in Singapore have on one another, it is often not possible to identify with certainty the source of a particular item.

1. BORROWINGS FROM ENGLISH

Bāshì(chē) "bus" (phonetic adaptation) 巴士 (车)

Bāxiān "percent" (phonetic adaptation) 巴仙

Déshì "Taxi" (phonetic adaptation) 德士

Fēilín "film" (phonetic adaptation) 菲林

Gùbĕn "coupon", especially "parking coupon" (phonetic
adaptation). 固本

Huángyè "yellow pages (in telephone book)" (calque) 黄叶

Kăshì Lùyīnjī "cassette recorder" (blend) 卡式录音机

Lĭshèn or Lăishèn (the latter is more usual) "licence"
(phonetic adaptation) 礼申

Luólĭ (chē) "lorry" (phonetic adaptation) 罗厘 (车)

Móduōxìkă "motor-cycle" (phonetic adaptation) 摩多西卡

Règŏu "hot dog" (calque) 热狗

Shíqiān "ten thousand" (calque) 十千

Zhēnbăojī "jumbo jet" (blend) 珍宝机

2. BORROWINGS FROM MALAY

Bāshā "market, bazaar". From Malay: "pasar" (phonetic
adaptation) 巴刹

Bādí "batik (cloth)". From Malay: "batik" (phonetic
adaptation) 峇迪

Duōlóng "to help". From Malay: "tolong" (phonetic
adaptation) 多龙

Lóngbàng "to hitch a lift" (sometimes also "to give a
lift"). From Malay: "tumpang" (phonetic adaptation)
隆帮

Mǎdǎ "police". From Malay: "mata" (="eyes") (phonetic
adaptation) 马打

Shālong "sarong (item of clothing)". From Malay:
"sarong" (phonetic adaptation). 纱笼

3. BORROWINGS FROM DIALECTS

Bàiyī, bàièr, bàisān etc. "Monday", "Tuesday",
"Wednesday" etc. 拜一, 拜二, 拜三

Bǎiwūlong "to make a silly or big mistake". 摆乌龙

Chēdàpào "to talk big". 车大炮

Chīqián "to be corrupt" 吃钱

Chīshé "to be lazy, to be idle when one should be
working" 吃蛇

Dàlìrén "a big shot, an important person". 大粒人

Dàrìzi "a festival or public holiday". 大日子

Fāhuǒ "to get angry, to lose one's temper". 发火

Gōngsī "together, jointly". 公司

Hóngmáorén "Westerner, European". 红毛人

Huánglí "pineapple". 黄梨

Mìtáng "honey". 蜜糖

Qǐjià "to go up in price". 起价

Wèishuǐ "proud, cocky". 伟水

Xuěgāo "ice-cream". 雪糕

Xuěguì "refigerator". 雪柜

Zì "five minutes". 字

4. EXTENSIONS OF STANDARD MEANINGS

The following items can be regarded as extensions in the meanings of standard Putonghua lexis rather than borrowings in the strict sense. However, in many cases they may be influenced by usages in one or other of the dialects.

Dŏng: this means "understand" in standard Putonghua, but in Singapore Huayu it is sometimes used to mean "know a fact" as in:

> Wŏ bù dŏng tāde dìzhĭ
>
> (I don't know his / her address)

Féi: this means "fat" and in standard Putonghua is used only of animals and meat. In Singapore Huayu it is sometimes also used of people (as in Cantonese).

Hăoxiàng: In standard Putonghua, hăoxiàng means "like, or similar to". It is also used in the expression hăoxiàngshuō "for example". In Singapore Huayu, hăoxiàng (without shuō) is also commonly used in the meaning of "for example". Sometimes it also seems to be used simply as a filler, to give the speaker time to think, e.g.:

> Wŏmen shi yòng huáyŭ duō, chúle nàxiē,
>
> hăoxiàng, nàxiē shi, hăoxiàng, yŏu yìxiē shi
>
> tāmen bú huì jiăng huáyŭ de la.
>
> (We mostly use Huayu, except those, like, those [who], like, there are some who cannot speak Huayu.)

Huáyǔ and huárén: as has been pointed out many times in
this thesis, the usual term in Singapore for
"Chinese Language" or more specifically "Mandarin"
is Huáyǔ or sometimes Huáwén. Similarly, Huárén is
the usual term for a person of Chinese ethnicity.
These terms are seldom if ever used in Putonghua,
although the term huáqiáo "overseas Chinese" is
commonly used.

Jiǎng is the usual word for "to speak / talk" in
Singapore Huayu. As in many southern dialects
(including Hokkien, Cantonese and southern
Mandarin), it is used much more widely than in
standard Putonghua, including contexts in which the
standard language would prefer to use shūo, e.g.:

> Tā huì jiǎng yīngyǔ

> (He / she can speak English)

Kànxì: In Singapore Huayu, this is the usual term
for going to see a film. The standard Putonghua term
for "film" is diànyǐngr, although kànxì is now
occasionally heard in Putonghua spoken in China..

Pǎo: this means "run" in standard Putonghua. In Singapore
Huayu it is sometimes used to mean "go" or "leave"
(similarly to standard zǒu)

Yǔ, huà and wén: Standard Putonghua uses hua to form the
names of spoken languages and dialects, e.g.:

> Tā huì shūo zhōngguóhuà/guǎngdōnghuà

> (He / she can speak Chinese / Cantonese)

Wén is also used to name both spoken **and** written
languages, e.g.:

    Tā huì shuo / kàn zhōngwén

    (He / she can speak / read Chinese)

Yǔ tends to be reserved for more formal or literary
expressions such as Hànyǔ "the Han Language" (i.e.
Chinese) and Yuèyǔ "the Yue Language" (i.e.
Cantonese).

In Singapore Huayu, yǔ is regularly used to form the
names of languages, e.g.: Huáyǔ (Chinese /
Mandarin), Yīngyǔ (English), Rìyǔ (Japanese). Some
speakers seem to use yǔ and wén interchangeably to
refer to both written an spoken forms of languages.
However, others insist on using yǔ for spoken forms
only and wén for written forms only. Names of
dialects, however, are nearly always formed with
huà, e.g., Fújiànhuà (Hokkien).

NOTE

1. Words from Tamil or other Indian languages have been borrowed into the dialects, for example Hokkien <u>loti</u> "bread". However, the author has not noted any such word in a form accomodated to Huayu phonology. The "huayu-ized" form of <u>loti</u> would be <u>lúodi</u>.

CHAPTER TWO

P.24

其实, 指导孩子们说一口标准华语, 正是老师的责任. 标准华语并不应该只是广播员或某些专业人士的专利品. 我们希望热心的同道门的努力下, 我们的华语, 能 一天天朝着标准的道路迈进.

p.25

不同语言的互相影响是正常的情形. 语言与语言的接触是社会发展历史的必然结果, 这种接触也必然引起语言的融合, 从语言的融合可以看出文化的交流. 希特勒曾经企图尽废出现在德国语中的外来词, 以"纯日耳曼 语词"作为德国的语言, 但是他的这种想法跟他妄图征服世界的野心同归于尽.

CHAPTER FIVE

P.138

华语 ha, 到现在啊, 就是说, 还有前途啦. 不过 ho, 将来, 我看还是会淘汰, 虽然你会讲华语..... 只是你会讲嘛, 根本你都没有写, ho? 你会讲, 你不会写, 每个人都会讲嘛, 不会写, 最主要是写, 假使你不会写的话, 你会讲都没有用, 对吗? 你看街上, 一个例子来讲, 街上的招牌, 那些街名 ha, 跟.... 或者是去一个部门, 或是去 airport 那边, 还不是用英文多吗?

Interviewer: 飞机场不是用华文吗? 没有, 没有. 现在在 Changi Airport 没有了, 都是用英语多. 华语还是, 将来会被淘汰, 所以是这样讲啊, 华语你会讲不会写也是没有用, 是吗? 这个是很重要的一个问题.

CHAPTER SIX

P.149

普通话一方面大量吸收各地方方言中富于表现力的词语和古代外来的词语, 一方面排斥少数北京方言所特有的词语. 这就使得普通话能超越各方言之上, 比任何方言的内容都丰富, 比任何方言都更富于表现力.

P.163

我们没有办法去跟北京的,那些北京话来比.你能够讲的流利,你的用词恰当,那我觉得这是标准.

P.170

我想你讲华语要讲比较准啊,比较好听.北京腔好听.

P.171

我觉得我们不应该模仿他们,因为他们的华语,好像,听起来很刺耳这样啊.所以,如果新加坡人要学华语我看最好是学台湾,因为台湾的华语已经和我们差不多很接近啊

P.172

北京是最标准的,不过在新加坡我觉得那个是很难去学的.我们这边是南方人的一个社会,福建,广东,福建省,广东省,等....那个几 十年我们所接受的训练,讲的华语...是这批人传过来给我们的.当然我们习惯了我们这一套的华语.我觉得我们的华语跟北京的华语差很远.

P.173

北京华语当然最准的啦...我们不必模仿他们的,各地方有他们自己语言的内容.你不可能一百巴仙跟北京人一样.

身为新加坡人应该是认为新加坡华语最好啦.因为他们是...吸取各方面的最好的精华,然后融化成为新加坡本身的语

言, 所以应该是, 应该是最好的.

P.174

新加坡华语有新加坡华语讲法. 北京腔
的话 hó, 你听下来比较刺耳, 不大好听.
[台湾的呢?] 我认为每个人有每个人的
风格比较好啦. 不要学人家啊.

我认为如果讲得明白就可以啦. 不用说
应该学他们的.

P.175

只要大家能够听得懂的华语. 不会太
过.. 方言腔太重, 我想都能够接受啦.

P.176

好像"是" 啊, "我是华人" 的"是". 现在
我是念"是" 啊, 不过他的正确的发音是
"是", "我是华人"... 因为目前啊, 新加坡
那些学生学华语啊, 我们只是, 好像我这
样啊, 他们随便讲出来, 只要他的字句正
确啊, 人家听得清楚, 我就可以啊. 比如
说,你现在叫他们练习那种正...这种发音
啊, 他们会觉得很麻烦这样, 因为叫我本
身, 我也是这样, 我, 好像, 很麻烦这样,
好像是不顺口.

P.177

这个看法 há, 如果是本地人啊, 新加坡
人对新加坡人的话, 自己话可以成立啦
如果 hó, 我们跟外国人的时候, 跟好像
那些中国台北的话, 最好我们比较注重
正确啦.

我们这一代人讲的华语跟现在的小孩子
讲华语就有一点不同,因为我们有些音
是不够准,没有学到拼音.

P.178

他们每次批评我不会讲他们老师的正确
的 华语. 但是我看差不多啦,过得去.

我们不小心的话,通常我们的语言里面
有很多马来话啊,掺加方言.

P.179

我们的华语是掺掺的.

新加坡华语也是,讲起来听起来掺的很
多种语言下去. 注意听的话,有时掺马
来话一两句啊,广东话,福建话也有掺一

点点.

一些学生他们讲的华语很...不够水准啊
能讲但是好像有福建腔啊,或是广东腔.

P.180

我们说的华语并不是标准. 我们,有时
小孩子谈话的时候,很多,那些不必要的
尾音.

我们新加坡人将英语用到后面的"啦".
我们讲华语也是有很多后面这些尾音.

CHAPTER SEVEN

P.199

因为要讲北京腔要经过一些训练啊. 好

像北京腔里面他有一些"儿"，" 什么事儿"，这样啊，好像，听得很不自然。

P.218

1.他们是会讲标准一点啊，因为他们有学癖。

2. 住在澳洲的时候，他们有放中国片。

P.219

3. 我上次有作工，后来小孩子读书以后就没有作工。

4. 我们讲方言的时候，他们有罚款。

5. 会，因为我有读到 standard one Malay.

6. 马来文我有学过一点点。

7. 刚才我大概有讲过。

P.220

8. 那个时候日本军有来。

P.224

1.这个比较有标准。

2. 他有在吗？

P.225

3.英文报你会看吗？
有会。

4. 你每天看报纸吗?
有,英文,华文,我两种都有看.

5. 有时候有讲方言.

6. 因为每天在电视也有播.

P.226

7. 有时太太也有选哪一个.

8. 马来文现在这边新加坡根本完全没有用到,平常工作生活方面都完全没有用到.

9. 你的太太在外面作工吗?
没有,他没有在外面作工.

P.230

我去巴杀买东西.

他们每年来南大读华文.

CHAPTER EIGHT

P.243

讲话不够流畅.

可以让听者明白其所言,但是口音重.

发音不准.

P.244

相当流利只是有些地方用次不恰当.

我以为他的华语还可以.

P.245

一口很漂亮的华语.

P.246

说话者受过高深教育,讲得一口流利华语.

一般上年纪人所讲的华语.

CHAPTER TEN

P.271

如果你读,好像,这个有两种念法啦,肉

类,有些人读,有些人是读肉类,有些人是读肉,不过肉类是正确的啦.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

P.361

广东啦,福建啦,客话啦,我三种都会讲.

P.362

你哪种方言讲得最流利呢?
方言? 当然是广东啦

P.364

1. 吃午饭时,多数是讲福建啦.

2. 职业? 我是帮人家洗衣的啦.

3. 他们的华语,觉得怪怪啦.

4. 新加坡华语不大... 那个tune 啊,那个tone 啊,比较不好啦

P.365

5.要学多一种语言当然是好啦. 不过há, 不可以勉强人家的啦.

P.366

6. 你每天看报纸吗?
有,华文的,英文的,都有看啦.

7. 你的职业是什么?
在一个学校当书记啦.

P.367

8. 模仿北京华语,这样,我看不必. 我们有我们的华语啦.

9. 因为福建话通常是华人所... 在新加坡是福建人最多啦. 不过应该há,慢慢应该语言统一啦.

P.368

我应该多讲华语.

我应该多讲华语啦.

P.369

这个很有趣啦.

P.370

比如说, 我们新加坡人讲英语用到后面
的"啦". 我们讲华语也是有很多后面这
些尾音

我们说的华语并不是标准. 我们, 有时
小孩子谈话的时候, 很多, 那些不必要的
尾音.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

P.382-383

Sample One
语文是...正如[....] 唐诗三百首, 为什么

[....] 受中文教育的, 他反而, 好像每一
号绝句[....] 他是唐诗三百首, 为什么他
们不会了解他的, 这个主题呢, 这是, 因
为 há [....] 虽然好像有一半啊, (锦?)
字, 那个字啦, 我都不认识, 不知道他是
象什么 东西, 不是, 不知道翻译[....] 正
体啊[...].

P.387-398

Sample Two
我说语言啊, 自然要啦. 要学多比较好
使我们自己的 knowledge 啊, widen
our 那个knowledge 啦. 但是不是, 不
可以要一定的要勉强人家的啦. 好像,
老人家一定也要学什么, 不大好啦. 假
如人家不喜欢, 哪里给一个一定的forc
啊, 给人一个atmosphere 不好的. 所
以说尽力要学, 这样比较好啦. 鼓励

encourage 啊,不是一定什么的节目
cancel 啊,什么. 所以不要force 那个
language 啦.

P.392-395

Sample Three

他两个人同那个杂货点呢, 卖米啊, 卖什
么的, 杂货点呢, 两个人去作工啊, 一个
读书读是上午啦. 一个读下午啦. 一个
作工作上午啦, 一个作工作下午啰. 这
样两个啦, 两个双胞胎, 一个起来去读书
啊, 一个起来去作工啊. 那个放学回来
去作工啊. 那个放工回来去读书啊.

P.400

Sample Four

我吃kopi 啦, 吃面包啦. 天天更加吃.
我有吃饭 e. 很肥 wo, 肥很多, 我知道.
我看的医生噢, 看的医生讲, 不要吃多多,
吃些生果啦. 我不要吃生果啦. oranges
啊, apples 啊, 我 makan e, 没有, 我家
里啦, 没有吃.

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