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**A sociolinguistic study of Mainland Putonghua and Taiwan
Guoyu in New York City**

Pan, Shiwen, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1994

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY
OF
MAINLAND PUTONGHUA AND TAIWAN GUOYU IN NEW YORK CITY

by
SHIWEN PAN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of
New York

1994

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF
MAINLAND PUTONGHUA AND TAIWAN GUOYU IN NEW YORK CITY

by

Shiwen Pan

Adviser: Professor Edward Bendix

This work is a sociolinguistic study of the two Mandarin varieties in New York City: Mainland Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu.

Two-stage field work was conducted from 1992 to 1993, aiming at collecting sociolinguistic data specific to Mandarin speakers in the Chinese communities. Following the social network methodology, 96 Mandarin speakers were interviewed, completed questionnaires, and had their conversations recorded. Data collected from 47 Taiwan Guoyu speakers and 46 Putonghua speakers were used for both qualitative and quantitative analyses.

Mutual linguistic influence between the two Mandarin varieties was explored and was further contrasted with extralinguistic variables which include gender, age, education, years of residence in USA, language attitude, NSS-0

(Network Strength Scale-Other Group) scores, and TV watching.

The study demonstrates that mutual linguistic influence between the two Mandarin speaking populations is inevitable as long as language contact is maintained. Statistical analyses further indicate that the linguistic influence detected in the two groups is associated with both NSS-O scores and TV watching. The study does not reveal any significant correlations between individual linguistic variables and other social factors, although some suggestive correlations do appear. The results suggest that the mutual linguistic influence occurring between the two groups of Mandarin speakers is an extremely complex phenomenon which cannot be explained solely by psychological motivations as advocated by both the social network model and the speech accommodation theory. This study points to the simple fact that language contact, both personal and non-personal, constitutes the very basis for linguistic influence.

To conduct the research, the traditional social network model was modified and elaborated. The results of the study suggest further improvement of this sociolinguistic model.

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To my mother Ma Xiuying

獻給母親馬秀英

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Map 1 Distribution of Chinese in New York City

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Chapter I

Introduction

This thesis is a sociolinguistic study of language contact between two varieties of Mandarin in New York City--Taiwan Guoyu ('Taiwan National Language') and Putonghua ('Common Speech')¹. Here, Taiwan Guoyu refers to the Mandarin spoken in Taiwan, and Putonghua refers to the decreed standard vernacular spoken natively by a vast population living in and around Beijing.

1.1 Historical Background

Mandarin has been generally considered the authentic Chinese language which has shared the same written system with a number of other Chinese dialects since the Qin Dynasty (221-207 B.C.)². It was not until the 1920s that Mandarin was enthusiastically promoted as the national language. In the past decades, both the Nationalist government in Taiwan and the Communist government on the Mainland tried very hard to promote Mandarin which serves as not only a *modus vivendi* to symbolize their rule, but also a long term measure to centralize the population politically and linguistically. Mandarin has been successfully made a *lingua franca* in the two multilingual societies with an overall Mandarin speaking population close to nine hundred million.

However, in the past forty years, the two antagonistic governments on the two sides of the Taiwan Strait forbade direct contact of its people and their compatriots and

relatives on the other side. The harsh political situation has made language contact between Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua nearly impossible on their home base. This prolonged politically-motivated separation created fertile circumstances for linguistic variations or linguistic shifts (Hudson 1980). As a result, Taiwan Guoyu has drifted away from its designated vernacular. It differs from Putonghua in many respects, such as lexicon, syntax, phonology, semantics. On the other hand, Putonghua has experienced changes as well, which are mainly confined to lexicon and phonology (Chi 1981, Kubler 1981, Cheng 1986).

The bulk of these Mandarin linguistic entities were generally ignored. It still remains uncertain what the major differences between Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua are, and how these differences could be satisfactorily accounted for in terms of sociolinguistic theories. It is interesting to know how these two varieties of Mandarin interact in an actual language contact situation, how they are influenced by each other as a result of the contact, and what extralinguistic factors may contribute to the linguistic behavior.

Studies of the Chinese language and its dialects have been under-represented in sociolinguistics works. The limited studies allow glimpses of certain sociolinguistic aspects of the language and provide useful information for further studies. As far as Mandarin is concerned, works by prominent Chinese sociolinguist Chao (1968a, 1968b, 1979) and others

(Cheng 1985; Chi 1991; Kubler 1981) have contributed significantly in these fields. Their studies, together with other influential sociolinguistic works developed in the past decades or so, serve as the basis for the present study.

1.2 Purpose and Procedure of the Study

Based on sociolinguistic theories, especially the latest development of social network theory and speech accommodation theory, the present study is intended to find linguistic characteristics and behavioral patterns of the two varieties of Mandarin speakers in New York City, as well as language influence which occurs in the speech of the two groups of people through language contact. The study attempts to answer the question: if language influence or change takes place, what factors may be linked to it?

The main purpose of the study is specified as follows:

1. to investigate the language contact situation in New York Chinese communities from a sociolinguistic prospective;
2. to explore linguistic influence or changes which might occur to the two varieties of Mandarin in contact; and
3. to explore relationships between extralinguistic factors and the linguistic variability.

Of all the sociolinguistic models, the social network approach and speech accommodation theory are examined based on the data collected from the field work. It is expected that findings from the present study will provide grounds to examine the above-mentioned two sociolinguistic models.

The following working hypotheses are to be tested across the two groups of Mandarin speaking population.

Hypothesis 1. Language influence between speakers of the two Mandarin-speaking groups is significantly linked to individuals' involvement in a social network of the other, or affecting, dialect group.

Hypothesis 2. Language influence is significantly linked to an individual's exposure to non-personal language contact sources which will be measured by amount of watching television programs and movies made in the Mandarin version other than the given subject's.

Hypothesis 3. Language influence is positively correlated with language attitudes of the individuals.

In addition, interactions of linguistic variables with other demographic factors such as age and education are to be tested. Thus one characteristic of this study is its multiple correlation analyses.

New York has been a major city of immigration. Speakers of Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu have settled in this city in large numbers since the 1970s, and their presence has created a unique language contact situation which has drawn increasing attention from linguists. It has become an ideal testing ground for the language contact between Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua: thousands of immigrants, tourists and students from both Taiwan and the People's Republic of China (P.R. China)³ land in New York City yearly. Thus a large scale of contact

between the two varieties of Mandarin is going on across a rather extensive range in Chinese communities. What happens among the Mandarin speakers in New York City could be ubiquitously significant to the study of the two closely related dialects elsewhere.

The researcher conducted two-stage field work from 1992-1993: a pilot study during Summer 1992, and more extensive and intensive data collecting field work was carried on in Summer and Fall 1993. During the pilot study, Flushing Chinatown was chosen as the field where there is a large concentration of Mandarin speakers from both Taiwan and P. R. China. Through ethnographic observation, the researcher gathered general information about the Mandarin contact situation in Flushing Chinese community, as well as patterns of linguistic interaction, and differences between the two Mandarin dialects.

In order to compare with Chi's study of the Mandarin-speaking groups in Los Angeles (Chi 1991), the current study followed the social network approach (cf. Chapter II) in the second stage of field work. The data generated in this model could be used for analyses in other sociolinguistic models as well. Centering on Flushing Chinatown at the beginning, the researcher gradually extended the field work to other boroughs of New York City as the need arose. During the second stage, a total of 97 Mandarin speakers (47 Putonghua speakers and 49 Taiwan Guoyu speakers) were interviewed. The collected data

were then studied in contrast with the social networks to which they belonged. In statistical analyses, data of 93 subjects were used.

This study demonstrates that the dynamic language contact situation in New York Chinese community gave rise to linguistic variations in both Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua.

1.3 Format of the Dissertation

This thesis is divided into ten chapters: following this chapter, Chapter II reviews the literature concerned; Chapter III deals with the historical background of the Chinese communities in the United States; Chapter IV discusses Chinese languages and dialects; Chapter V discusses the two varieties of Mandarin and their differences; Chapter VI deals with the data collecting procedures; Chapter VII is qualitative analyses of language contact and linguistic influence; Chapter VIII discusses extralinguistic factors that may contribute to linguistic behavioral patterns of the subjects; Chapter IX is quantitative analyses of the data collected in the research; and Chapter X is the conclusion which summarizes the important issues of the study and examines weaknesses and problems which have resulted from the present study.

NOTES

1. The term "Guoyu" was originally employed to denote Mandarin used in Mainland China, which differs from Taiwan Guoyu considerably. Putonghua is also called "Mainland Putonghua" or "Mainland Guoyu" by people from Taiwan and Hong

Kong. To avoid confusion, we use "Taiwan Guoyu" and "Putonghua" throughout the dissertation to denote the two varieties of Mandarin.

2. Written Chinese was unified in the Qin Dynasty based on a number of written systems used by the conquered States, and has not undergone an essential change ever since although its pronunciation is always subject to variations.

3. Hereafter, "P.R. China" will be used for the People's Republic of China.

Chapter II

Review of Literature

2.0 Introduction

The primary goal of sociolinguistics is to understand language in its social contexts. This important area of social science has developed and grown in the past few decades and has provided useful information and ideas in linguistics. Various approaches and methodologies have been generated to investigate language conditions in varied social contexts (Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1968, Giles 1979, Hudson 1980, Milroy 1980, Saviile-Troike 1982). Sociolinguists are interested in language variation of individuals in society, where trends of language development are detected. One important assumption sociolinguists hold is the dependency of language on society. A grammar is thus judged as a universal rule or principle applied within a general social condition.

In this chapter, some of the influential sociolinguistic theories are to be examined.

2.1 Studies on Chinese Languages and Dialects

2.1.1 Chinese Languages and Dialects

Chao is among the influential linguists who have contributed to the classification of languages and dialects in China. Chao categorizes the dialects into seven major groups: Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka, Amoy-Swatow, Foochow¹, Wu and

Anhui. Except Mandarin, the rest are distributed along the southeastern coast between Jiangsu (Kiangsu) Province to Guangxi (Kwangsi) Province. They are unintelligible to either the Mandarin population or other non-Mandarin groups. Mandarin is further divided into three major groups: Northern Mandarin, South Western Mandarin, and Southern Mandarin (Chao 1976). Geographically, those people of the Han Nationality, the biggest ethnic group in China, who live north of the Yangtze River and west of Jiangxi Province are exclusively Mandarin speakers, though the Mandarin they use may differ considerably. The Mandarin speaking population is estimated to exceed 850 million², twice as large as the English speaking population in the world (Defrancis 1984). We will further discuss the Chinese languages and dialects in Chapter IV.

2.1.2 Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu

Differences of the two varieties of Mandarin have been discussed occasionally in linguistic studies. These studies have mainly focused on its phonological, lexical and syntactic variations, while not much sociolinguistic information about its origin and history of change has been provided thus far. With regard to Taiwan Guoyu, an extremely new variation of Mandarin, hardly any work has been undertaken until quite recently. Based on Beijing Mandarin, Taiwan Guoyu gradually gained its features in the Mandarin reinforcement process taken on in the past four decades by the Nationalist government. As a result, it became standardized gradually.

Because there was virtually no significant direct contact between the Taiwanese people and the Mainlanders in the past, it was out of the question to conduct any sociolinguistic study of language contact between Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua. In fact, the limited studies on Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua are confined to either comparing text books compiled in both the Mainland and Taiwan, or analyzing data collected from the older generations of Mainland-born emigrants. Some studies have been done by non-Chinese scholars who had the privilege of doing field research in both the Mainland and Taiwan while no Chinese civilian was allowed to enter the "forbidden land" across the strait (Cheng 1985).

Kubler's study shows that the isolated development of Mandarin in Taiwan in the past has yielded interesting linguistic results. Influenced by Minnan, as well as Hakka, Cantonese and other southern Chinese dialects, Taiwan Guoyu has derived many phonological, syntactic and lexical features from these dialects. Furthermore, Taiwan Guoyu has been affected by Japanese and Western languages as a result of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan from 1895 to 1945, and the infusion of Western civilization in the past two centuries (Kubler 1985). Minnan seems to be the main source of many linguistic features of Taiwan Guoyu which distinguishes itself from Beijing Mandarin, the designated model. The use of "you" ('have') and "zai" (-ing) as auxiliaries, and the frequent use of "lai" ('come'), "qu" ('go'/'toward'), "gei" ('give'), and

"yong" ('use') become lexicon markers of Taiwan Guoyu. A total lack of retroflexed initials, no suffix [r], and little use of the neutral tone in Taiwan Guoyu differentiates it from Putonghua phonologically.

Kubler claims when languages come into contact, a particular language is likely to be influenced one way or another by another language regardless of their historical link. It is suggested that due to the influence of southern dialects, both Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu will eventually move in the same direction, i.e. they are likely to converge in due course.

Based on the field work he did on the island, he indicates that, in Taiwan, men are more likely to be bilingual in Mandarin and another dialect than women, city folks are more likely to be so than people living in the rural areas, and minorities in Taiwan tend to have more bilinguals than majorities do (Kubler 1981). Referring to the great success of promoting Mandarin within a vast population whose first language is only remotely connected to the target language, he concludes that organized promotion of a language by the government can have a definite effect on the development of a particular language. Taiwan Guoyu could not have gained its present status had it not been for governmental promotion.

In his study of features of Taiwan Guoyu, Cheng looks for an answer from a linguistic and social-political

standpoint (Cheng 1985). He believes that certain Beijing Mandarin linguistic features that Taiwan Guoyu does not retain are those derived from the language used by Manchus who ruled China's last dynasty. These features include SOV word order which is not found in most of the dialects spoken by the Han nationality, such as Minnan, Cantonese, Hakka, and Wu.

When Mandarin was introduced to the Minnan population, a tendency seemed to govern the shaping of Taiwan Guoyu: that what is universal or overwhelming in the varieties of southern dialects will prevail. This suggestion explains why the frequent SOV word order and retroflexed /r/ suffix morpheme in Beijing Mandarin are absent in Taiwan.

Social-political factors also contribute to the shaping of Taiwan Guoyu. When the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan in 1949, original Beijing Mandarin speakers were only a small percentage of the immigrants. They demonstrated a sharp contrast with the numerous Shanghainese speakers because the latter were politically and economically more powerful than the former. These social elites included the president and his cabinet, financial tycoons and a large group of professors, teachers and publishers (Cheng 1985).

Accordingly, the essential features of Beijing Mandarin as the designated standard have been codified and taught seriously only in the area of phonology. In grammar, the southern dialects rather than Beijing Mandarin appear to be more influential in shaping the linguistic norms of Taiwan

Guoyu. He believes that features of Taiwan Guoyu embody some universals of southern dialects, and that some language specialties of Beijing Mandarin cannot survive in Taiwan Guoyu because they were irregular and difficult to learn.

However, his conclusion raises some doubts: if irregularity is the very reason to explain the absence of some features of Putonghua in Taiwan Guoyu, we should expect that those language-specific items of Mandarin cannot end up in Taiwan Guoyu. However, Taiwan Guoyu does have the complicated exclamatory ending particles from Beijing Mandarin which are rare in Minnan and other southern dialects.

Not everyone agrees on the treatment of Taiwan Guoyu as one indivisible dialect. Li, for example, intends to classify the Mandarin that people use in Taiwan into three types from the viewpoint of sociolinguistics and communication: Beijing Mandarin, Taiwan Guoyu and substandard Mandarin (Li 1986). The development of Mandarin Chinese has created numerous varieties through interdialectal borrowing and merging:

1. Standard Beijing Mandarin (Standard Putonghua)

Standard Beijing Mandarin was chosen as the national standard by the Nationalist government in 1930. In Taiwan, many schools and institutions have insisted on applying Beijing Mandarin in teaching foreign students Chinese. Taiwan Normal University, for example, is the best known center to maintain the "standard." Li reports that most of the Beijing Mandarin speakers are either born in Beijing or trained to

speaking Beijing Mandarin as accurately as native Beijingers do (Li 1986). It has been a tradition that those who could not speak decent Beijing Mandarin would be replaced so that the "standard" can be maintained. However, despite being so honored, Beijing Mandarin, once a prestigious social and geographical marker in Taiwan, is gradually losing its ground. A person who speaks Beijing Mandarin has to learn Taiwan Guoyu because on most occasions, he or she has to switch to Taiwan Guoyu or discomfort will result among the interlocutors (Li 1986).

2. Standard Taiwanese Mandarin (Standard Taiwan Guoyu)

Standard Taiwanese Mandarin (Standard Taiwan Guoyu), according to Li, is characterized by the non-syllabic final [r], and the enriched lexicon created in the context of contemporary science and technology. Taiwan Mandarin has become an accepted standard not only at school, but also by TV and radio announcers through whom viewers and listeners imitate and acquire both pronunciation and idiomatic expressions for daily use. It is estimated that, in Taiwan, people under 30, regardless of their province of origin, are characterized by this newly standardized Chinese, which they feel more comfortable using on most occasions.

3. Substandard Taiwanese Mandarin (Substandard Taiwan Guoyu)

Li uses "Substandard Taiwanese Mandarin" to refer to the Mandarin spoken with strong influence from Minnan, the first

dialect spoken by most Taiwanese. To speak Mandarin, Minnan speakers often substitute Minnan phonetic and syntactic features for the Mandarin counterparts. Their stigmatized Mandarin, unacceptable to the educated, was ridiculed in the past. It differs from "Standard Taiwanese Mandarin" in its failure to comply with some of the phonological rules of Mandarin, the most salient of which is the mispronunciation of the unrounded vowel /i/ as the rounded vowel /u/ in certain environments, e.g. "chifan" ('eat') -> "cufan", "jizhu" ('remember') -> "juzu"

Li believes that the different versions of Mandarin which have been generated in the past decades are direct results of social, economic, and political development, and that the simplification rule seems to work. He predicts that Taiwan Guoyu will drift even further away from Putonghua and that people from both sides of the Taiwan Strait will have greater difficulty in attaining mutual intelligibility in the future (Li 1986).

Chi did his pioneer sociolinguistic study in the Chinese community in Los Angeles (Chi 1991). The growing number of immigrants from both Taiwan and Mainland China have brought speakers of different Mandarin varieties into contact in an American context and have opened the possibility of a sociolinguistic study on how the two varieties of Mandarin interact and change in concrete social conditions.

By closely following and recording his 35 informants in day-to-day linguistic situation, he finds that Putonghua speakers tend to make a shift towards Taiwan Guoyu and Taiwan Guoyu speakers do not show any sign of shifting towards Putonghua. This language shift is closely related to the degree of integration into the local social network rather than to class variables. The statistical procedures reveal significant correlations between network scores and linguistic variable scores for the entire sample. One's link to a particular social network is an important factor in his research, and this link is significantly affected by one's choices which are based on economic and political considerations. The study further reveals that the network and language correlation is strongest for subgroups such as women and older speakers. He believes that this tendency toward language shift is generally applicable to Chinese communities in the United States due to the greater economic and political influence of Taiwanese in networks of the Chinese Communities (Chi 1991).

Chi's study provides useful insights into the language contact situation between Taiwanese and Mainland Putonghua speakers. However, his positive view about the language change from Putonghua towards Taiwan Guoyu is questionable. When two influential languages come into contact, it is unlikely that one language will remain unaffected by the other

(Giles 1973). But the difficulty still remains: how to predict the nature and direction of the influence.

2.2 Theories on Language Contact

2.2.1 Bloomfield

Bloomfield's Language focuses a great deal on "borrowing" in his account of language change. He classifies linguistic borrowing into three major types: cultural borrowing, intimate borrowing and dialect borrowing (Bloomfield 1933). Cultural borrowing refers to adopting features from a different language. In his view one important cultural borrowing is phonetic borrowing. What happens is that speakers of the borrowing language often substitute the phonemes of their language for foreign sounds. As long as the phonetic systems are parallel, the substitution may easily occur by ignoring the minor differences. However, if the borrowing people are more familiar with the target language or if the sounds of the lending language are quite remote, the foreign elements may end up in the borrowing language as new phonemes violating the native phonetic system (Bloomfield 1933, p.446).

When the borrowing involves the lexicon, the introduced form is usually subject to the "system" of the borrowing language, such as syntax, inflections and active composition rules.

Intimate borrowing is one-sided borrowing from the upper or dominant language spoken by conquerors or the privileged to

the lower language spoken by the conquered or the suppressed when the two languages are used in what is topographically and politically a "single community." Many kinds of pressure forces the subjugated or the "inferior" group to speak the dominant language. Under certain circumstance, the lower language may survive and the dominant language may die out if the conquerors are overwhelmed by sheer numbers in the subject group, or if the conquerors become bilingual--this was what happened to Norman-French in England. As a result, the surviving lower language will bear rich borrowing from the dominant language.

Dialect borrowing occurs within the same speech-area. Bloomfield uses the term to refer to language innovation within one particular language or dialect. It has been a frequent occurrence that a whole group of speakers agree in adopting or favoring a speech form. Speakers will imitate those speech "models" which are usually spoken by those of the highest social standing. A special case of dialect borrowing discussed by Bloomfield is the influence of the standard language on the surrounding dialects. In the surroundings of a capital, the standard language acts so strongly that the neighboring dialects gradually take over the whole inventory of the standard language (Bloomfield 1933, pp.480-484). Bloomfield holds that borrowing, together with phonetic change and analogical semantic change, is one major source that contributes to constant language change.

2.2.2 Weinreich

Languages in Contact has been perhaps the most influential work on language contact and change since it was published in the 1953. In this book, Weinreich clarifies the conceptual differences between the term interference and borrowing. Interference is the "rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language." (Weinreich 1953, p.1) It may include the introduction of a phonemic system, a large part of morphology and syntax, for example. Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign elements into the inventory with or without "the possibility of ensuing rearrangements in the patterns."

For a full account of interference, Weinreich believes that both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors must be considered. With regard to language systems, the greater the linguistic difference between the systems (here, "systems" refer to languages, dialects of the language or varieties of the same dialect), the greater is the potential area of interference. Weinreich enumerated a series of extra-linguistic factors that contribute to language interference: a. "the speaker's facility of verbal expression;" b. "relative proficiency in each language;" c. "specialization in the use of each language by topics and interlocutors;" d. "manner of learning each language;" e. attitudes toward each language; f. size of the bilingual group; g. "prevalence of bilingual

individuals with given characteristics of speech behavior in the several subgroups;" h. "stereotyped attitudes" toward each language; i. attitudes toward each culture; j. attitudes toward bilingualism; k. "tolerance or intolerance" to the mixed language; and relation between the bilingual group and language communities. (Weinreich 1953, p.2)

One important contribution Weinreich has made is his classification of the phonic interference: interference occurs when a speaker identifies a phoneme in the secondary system with one in the primary system, this speaker reproduces it in accordance with the phonetic rules of the primary language.

The outcome of the interference encompasses the following types:

1) Under-differentiation of phonemes, which occurs when two sounds of the secondary system, whose counterparts are not distinguished in the primary system, are confused.

2) Over-differentiation of phonemes, which involves the imposition of phonemic distinctions from the primary system on the sounds of the secondary system, where they are not required.

3) Reinterpretation of distinctions, which arises when the bilingual distinguishes phonemes of the secondary system by features which in that system are merely redundant, but which are relevant in his primary system.

4) Phone substitution, which occurs to phonemes that are identically defined in two languages but whose normal pronunciation differs (Weinreich 1953, p.19).

Weinreich believes that the processes of interference and language shift are interconnected. The latter is associated with word transfers, while loan translations are the typical mark of stable bilingualism without a shift. Shift, however, does not exclude linguistic influence from the extinct language to the "winning language" (Weinreich 1953 p.109).

Weinreich's work has had a considerable impact on sociolinguistic theory though his concepts have been subject to repeated exploration and revision.

2.2.3 Thomason and Kaufman

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) maintain that all languages are subject to contact-induced changes and that the main stimuli for changes are drift (tendencies within the language to change as a result of structural imbalances, dialect interference and foreign interference). In their analytic framework of language change, borrowing and interference are detailed under "normal historical development". The major conceptual difference between the two lies in the sociolinguistic aspect, such as whether they will affect the genetic continuity of the language:--borrowing does not while certain kinds of massive interference do.

"Substratum language" is used to refer to the language of the conquered or the subordinate, and "superstratum language"

to that of victorious invaders. "Adstratum language" is that of an incoming population that is neither dominant nor subordinate.

Substratum interference is then the linguistic influence carried over from the subordinates who shift to the dominant language. Unlike borrowing, substratum interference does not begin with vocabulary but rather with sounds, syntactic structure and morphology from the shifting group's language.

Superstratum interference involves lexical items rather than syntax or morphology (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, p.116). Language shift leaving no trace in the target language could result from two main circumstances: a small shifting group relative to the numbers of target language speakers, and the language shift is completed in a slow process involving a few generations.

Furthermore, Thomason and Kaufman predict that when people shift to a target language, language interference to the target language from the shifting language could be none, slight, moderate or strong. Slight interference is one introducing phonological and syntactic features, while moderate and strong interference have no sharp dividing lines. In addition to rich phonological and syntactic borrowings, the moderate and strong interference will include the inflectional morphology. Strong substratum interference is likely to happen when an entire large population becomes bilingual and shifts to the language of a much smaller group of conquering

invaders in a period of one or two generations (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, p.120).

Thomason and Kaufman's perspective, as they assert, is generally historical not sociolinguistic. They admit that the sociolinguistic aspect of their analysis is "very shallow" (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, p.38). As their studies emphasize historical outcomes of languages, not language change connected to individuals, they provide answers to questions such as "what the language changes are" and even "how the changes occur". They leave "why the language changes occur in some particular ways" mainly unanswered.

One problematic premise is that both the direction and the extent of interference are "socially determined" rather than "linguistically determined" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, p.35). However, language changes do follow linguistic rules and principles. Ignorance of linguistic factors could render sociolinguistic issues hardly tangible. Weinreich's account of phonic interference of Romansh and Schwyzertutsch, for instance, has demonstrated convincingly that linguistic factors play indispensable roles in determining directions and intensity of language interference (Weinreich 1953, p.15).

2.2.4 Stewart

Stewart's latest developments in structural mimicry has shed light on the complex matter of structural interference during second-language acquisition, as well as pidginization and creolization (Stewart 1990). In dealing with "non-

universalness" which exists in second-language acquisition, for example, most second language spoken by a learner does not sound like that of the native speakers, Stewart employs "structural mimicry" to account for all the possible interlanguages generated in this learning process.

Under the situation that speakers of language Y are learning the dominant language X, it is expected that the learners are more motivated to eliminate the influence from language Y. There are situations in which X may be learned by Y speakers under conditions in which language Y is the dominant language. Thus the speakers are not usually under the pressure to reduce the influence from language Y, and "Y-influenced varieties of X may become the accepted local variant of X and interference potential from Y may actually increase over time through the gradual elimination of non-Y-influenced varieties of X." (Stewart 1990, p.35) Here, an explanation is provided for many colonial European languages, such as Indian English, African French.

Turning to the bilinguals who have adopted a single system for both X and Y, the so-called "single system" could be a hybrid characteristic of both X and Y. Something in the surface form of language X could be mimicked by the structural features of language Y, as is the case that English alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ are mimicked by Indian retroflex stops /t/ and /d/ (Stewart 1990, p.36). However, it is also possible that some individuals adopt the linguistic details of the more

prestigious language X, and in turn, the prestigious new form could become the "single structural elements" used for both languages.

"Xenolect" and "mimolect" are terms employed to distinguish the new vernacular from the traditional language variety. The former is a "language included by lexical change in the structural domain of a language of another type". Xenolect is a derived linguistic form of "some (larger) language, which it resembles in some superficial ways, but not in other more fundamental ones. (Stewart 1990, pp.37)". The "foreignness" of a xenolect is usually demonstrated by the lexicons that contribute largely to the superficial resemblance of another language. Pidgin and creoles and most interlanguages are types of xenolects.

"Matrilect" is used to refer to the sociolinguistics matrix in which a xenolect is embedded. A xenolect differs from a matrilect in that the former is characterized by a foreign surface (usually lexicons) from another language other than the matrilect though it shares the fundamental structure of the latter.

At a certain point, speakers of the xenolect feel the need to get rid of the traces of "foreignness" in their speech. This defines the stage of structural mimicry, during which more refined imitation than the lexicon mimicry is going on. Eventually, the foreignness of the xenolect could be obscured by surface mimicry on a large scale in a prolonged

learning process. It gives rise to mimolect, a disguised or refined xenolect that does not appear "foreign" any more to most observers. Mimolect is in essence a xenolect which has enough hidden differences from the target language.

Structural mimicry allows enlightening views on issues of language interference and shift from both synchronical and diachronical perspectives. The principle of structural mimicry provides answers to questions such as "how language interference and shift actually occur" and "why these changes arise". It is promising to relate this theory to issues, such as the standardization of Taiwan Guoyu and dialect interference between Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua.

2.3 Other Relevant Sociolinguistic Models

2.3.1 Dialect Geography Studies

The mapping of dialects on a regional basis has had a long tradition--it can be traced back to 19th century dialect studies (Chambers and Trudgill 1980). Dialect geography studies maintain the assumption that a language drifts apart from its prototype when groups of people are alienated geographically for political, economic or religious reasons. As a result, dialects are created over a considerable length of time and eventually become mutually unintelligible languages. "Dialect atlases" are employed in dialect geography studies to show the distribution of languages in a particular district or region, and historical development of the language is also considered in terms of political,

economic and cultural factors. One important feature of the dialect approach lies in its focus on rural areas where languages appear to be easily discerned geographically. But a serious problem of these studies is their ignorance of linguistic conditions in metropolitan areas where people of different languages and dialects come into contact. Dialect studies have raised issues such as the variations to account for in language, sampling and analysis and treatment of data. These studies provide a ground for the rise of sociolinguistic studies (Weinreich 1953).

2.3.2 Correlational Studies

Correlational studies seem to pave a new way in the field of sociolinguistics. These studies are based on the assumption that linguistic variables of certain language are not immune from social elements, the so-called "social variables", but rather, are correlated with these elements. One important contribution the correlationalists claim is the concept of linguistic variable which is a linguistic item with "identifiable variants" (Labov 1966). These variables are studied in terms of social factors with which the speaker is associated. Labov's primary attention is to identify linguistic variables which carry social significance. These variables are called "markers," which are in contrast with "indicators" (a linguistic variable to which little or no social import is attached) and stereotype (a popular

characterization of the speech of a particular group) (Bynon 1977, Chi 1991).

When markers are identified, focus will be switched to collecting data in connection with social variables. It is suggested that an ideal way of data collecting is through a random sampling process in which features of the speech in a particular community are proportionately represented. In analyzing the data, the researcher should make attempts to correlate the variants to those social factors such as class status, gender, sex, age, political affiliation and religion.

The correlational approach emphasizes the effects on language caused by a change of social factors. The effects are supposedly measured reliably and objectively through a rigid statistical approach (Gumperz 1982). Being able to reflect the interrelationship of variables of the language with the linguistic environment in which the variables co-exist, the correlational approach has been employed to investigate the languages of different environments. More recently, however, there has been increasing criticism on Labov's correlational approach (Milroy 1980). One serious problem of these studies lies in the methodology itself. Although it is claimed that the "observer's paradox"³ could be eliminated by techniques employed in these studies, correlational studies were basically done through personal interviews, in which the interviewers were not immune to the stylistic change in the

presence of the interviewers or in response to the raising of new topics and social contexts.

Questions could also be asked about the random sampling process in sociolinguistic studies. Being an effective empirical approach in natural science, random sampling could be less effective in sociolinguistic research. Its application over the entire population will inevitably evoke observer's paradox. However, more criticism on correlational studies is directed at the function as well as the way variables are calculated. Criticism also arises about the presumption that society is hierarchically mirrored by linguistic variables (Hudson 1980: p.162).

2.3.3 Ethnography of Communication

The ethnographic approach, which is illustrated by the work of Dell Hymes, is one of the most important contributions made by anthropologists. By this approach, speech is considered as a part of social interaction with involvement of various disciplines. The function of speech is considered to be "a link in human activities" and "a piece of human behavior" (Hudson 1980: p.109; Hymes 1974).

An ethnography of a communicative event is a description of all the factors that are relevant to understand how that particular communicative event achieves its objectives (Wardhaugh 1986). Like correlational studies, the ethnographic approach involves, as well, statistical analysis of the linguistic variables in an attempt to discover the

regularities of linguistic behavior in the social context. However, what differentiates it from the correlational approach is the way its communicative units are organized and the way in which a speech pattern interrelates in a systematic way with aspects of culture (Saville-Troike 1982).

It asserts that language in every society is rule-governed in social interaction. These rules could be quite different from society to society. Ethnography of communication maintains that the variety of speeches in social interaction can be analyzed in terms of cultural, social and linguistic components.

Hymes (1974) employs a number of notions to explain the linguistic situation in a community, such as setting, scene, participants, ends (referring to the conventionally recognized and expected outcomes of an exchange as well as to the personal goals that participants seek to accomplish on particular occasions --Wardhaugh 1986), act sequence (the actual form and content of what is said), key (the tone, manner or mood in which a particular message is conveyed), and norms of interaction and interpretation and genre.

Hymes holds that talk is a complex activity in which the speaker must reveal a sensitivity to the awareness of the above factors in order to achieve satisfactory effects. An ineffective speech may be traced to the speaker's negligence of one or more of the right factors. These shared rules for communication, as well as cultural norms, are the basis for

the context and content of communicative event and interaction processes (Chi 1991; Saville-Troike 1982). In other words, the ethnographic approach emphasizes the importance of understanding the general norms and values of the community before they interpret linguistic behavior. Being somewhat dialectical, the ethnography of communication approach offers more possibilities for explaining arising linguistic variations.

2.3.4 Speech Accommodation

Speech accommodation theory was first forwarded by Howard Giles on the basis of a series of pioneer works focusing on psychological aspects of linguistic behavior. According to this theory, when an individual enters into a speech community or a network, he may adjust his speech intentionally during the communication process--this adjustment could be either short-term or long-term. Motivated by psychological factors, which reflects particular social values and norms, the speaker may employ a number of sociolinguistic strategies. The range of strategies are discussed by Giles et al mainly in terms of convergence, divergence and speech maintenance.

Speech convergence is an increase of perceived linguistic similarity between the speaker and the interlocutor when the speaker seeks either an effective communication or the other's approval (Giles 1985). This linguistic similarity could be either phonological, lexical, rhythmic, and syntactic patterns

or features. Convergence usually occurs in one direction, yet it could also be bi-directional, i.e. speakers may accommodate to each other at the same time when they both like to show closeness to or esteem of their interlocutor (i.e. A → B; B → A). When two people meet, they tend to sound more alike in their language, accents, speech rates, pause and utterance lengths (Giles 1977: pp.322-324). When this linguistic modification occurs, value and status connotation of the speaker is thus betrayed. Convergence to the other's speech style is a direct results of the speaker's favorable and cooperative sentiments toward the receiver. It enables the receiver to perceive an optimal sociolinguistic distance from his or her own speech patterns (Coupland 1988).

Divergence refers to accentuation of linguistic differences between the speaker from the receiver in an encounter so as to demonstrate different values, status from the latter. Divergence may be considered as a relatively rarer tactics employed by a speaker. It could move in two directions: upward and downward. Upward divergence is the directional linguistic change made by a speaker who perceives the receiver's relative accent prestige to be lower, and thus the mobility toward the "acrolect", the more prestigious speech form, is a sign of dissociation from the receiver. Downward divergence, on the other hand, is the linguistic change towards "basilect" -the least prestigious linguistic form- to create the same effect of dissociation from the

receiver when the speaker perceives the linguistic form of the receiver as being more prestigious.

People frequently use the dissociative strategy to indicate a "self-stereotyping manner" of their social group, or to intend a positive identity, or to differentiate from relevant out-group individuals whose speech is considerably more prominent (Turner 1982).

Speech accommodation theory offers an explanation of the interaction between speakers in terms of their feeling, value and motives. It looks more closely on situational norms or interactive norms rather than on established social or group norms (Turner 1982). Speech accommodation was originally attempted to explain short-term speech adjustment during language contact, while effects of accommodation in the long-run were not its concern.

One problem of the speech accommodation theory is its assertion of vertical changes. The dichotomous concepts of "prestigious language" and "lower prestigious language" in determining the directions of accommodation could be misleading: "prestige" is an ambiguous term which can not be labelled to all languages and their variations without causing controversy. Weinreich once suggested a disposition of the term "prestige language" for its imprecision in measuring the social value of languages (Weinreich 1953). In the present study of the two varieties of Mandarin in New York City, this controversy arises again: it is generally unacceptable to

assert that one version of Mandarin is more prestigious than the other. As will be demonstrated later, Putonghua does not have a high political and economic status in the Chinese communities in the United States, although it has held a high status in Mainland China. Taiwan Guoyu, which differentiated only decades ago, is economically and politically more influential because of the economic significance of Taiwan. However, it has never been set as a linguistic standard outside the island of Taiwan.

If the two varieties of Mandarin cannot be conceptually differentiated based on prestige, it is hardly conceivable that their speakers make either upward or downward convergence. The current study will demonstrate that language accommodation between speakers of the two varieties of Mandarin is horizontal rather than vertical.

Furthermore, it appears to be too strong to claim that all language variations are a direct result of speech accommodation. In fact, many social and linguistic factors contribute to language variations as well.

2.3.5 Social Network Approach

Barnes and Bott's were the pioneers who first applied the social concept in sociolinguistic analyses.

Milroy laid some of the basic principles of social network theory in her study in Belfast, Northern Ireland (Milroy 1976). As Milroy states: "the network concept was developed for the very purpose for which we require it now -

to explain individual behavior of various kinds which cannot be accounted for in terms of corporate group membership" (Milroy 1987: p.135)

The social network model attempts to answer how individuals are related to a community with identity and shared norms, and how they interact linguistically in the community. An individual's relations with others in a community are the focus of the study.

The basic assumption is that a social network itself constitutes a norm enforcement mechanism: it has a strong capacity of influencing an individual in his language preference (Milroy 1987: p.136). This norm enforcement mechanism is explained in terms of density and multiplex of the network: in a rural area, the pressure imposed on individuals is the highest as the networks they get involved into "tend to density and multiplexity", while in urban areas the pressure seems to be weakened as their networks are "uniplex and sparse" (Milroy 1987: p.137). The theory emphasizes the importance of social connections with regards to linguistic behavior.

The concepts of density and multiplexity are worth noting here. "Density" measures the number of links that actually exist as a proportion of the maximum number of potential links that could possibly exist (Mitchell 1969). It is used in Milroy's study as a measure of how many potential links exist as "actual links" (Downes 1984: pp.95-99). A network is

considered dense if the ratio of the total "actual links" to the total possible links is high. Density is expressed in the following formula:

$$D = \frac{100 \text{ Na } \%}{N}$$

where Na is the number of "actual links" and N the number of possible or potential links (Milroy 1987: p.50).

However, a close study will reveal that the "actual links" in Milroy's study is an proximity which will be discussed in Chapter X.

"Multiplexity" accounts for transactional bases for social relationships in which an individual gets involved: an individual is likely to be linked to others in a number of capacity - as a neighbor, a friend and a colleague, for example. Multiplexity deals with the content of a link. If an individual is linked to another in a single capacity, this link in the network is considered uniplex. However, the same individual may be linked to another in a number of capacities, such as friend, colleague and neighbor, then this link is considered multiplex. In Milroy's model, multiplexity is measured as the ratio of multiplex ties to all relevant ties:

$$M = \frac{Nm \times 100 \%}{N}$$

where Nm is the number of multiplex links and N the number of "actual links" (Milroy 1987: p.51).

Milroy considers density and multiplexity as conditions which decide effectiveness of the norm-enforcement mechanism. The denser and the more complex a network is, the stronger tendency of language maintenance is expected.

Getting network information and linguistic information is crucial in social network studies. Milroy gained access to the networks in Belfast as a participant-observer who played two roles as both an "outsider" and an "insider": she became an "insider" when she observed, and she was an "outsider" during individual interviews. By using the status of "a friend of a friend", she interacted with members of the community, causing the least constraint on the part of the observants. She was able to drop in houses and to observe casual conversations as long as she wanted, even the use of a tape-recorder did not affect the speech style of her observants. This approach is thus capable of obtaining detail information on community linguistic repertoire.

The social network approach is different from the correlational approach in many ways. The former focuses on communication structures rather than classes to which they belong. The premise of this approach is that the type and the degree of integration of an individual into a social network is associated with his or her linguistic performance. This linguistic performance subsequently explains language maintenance and shift.

In explaining social linguistic behaviors, the characteristics of the social linkages between individuals are more important than the social or personal attributes of these individuals (Milroy 1987: pp.46).

According to the network approach, a social network exerts a strong normative pressure on individuals on the basis of group identity. People in close-knit networks tend to have a strong normative effect on each other. These networks are characterized of language maintenance. On the other hand, a loose-knit network exerts little normative pressure on individuals: weakening of network strength gives way to normative pressure from outside, thus language shift or language change toward the affecting network becomes possible.

One problem of the social network approach is that it emphasizes the importance of individuals' involvement into a communication system but ignores the content of communication in the system. The theory is originally fit for idealized communities in which social networks are divided based on geographical boundary and social clusters in a network are treated as homogeneous social links. In metropolitan areas where social links are usually linguistically heterogeneous, the existing social network model has become awkward or impotent in handling the complicated language interactions unless some modifications are made.

This study will build on the insights of social network approach. The network structures will be further scrutinized

and divided into sub-networks based on content differences, so that the language contact of the heterogeneous nature could be handled. To fit the present study, NSS-O (Network Strength Scale-Other Group) will be employed instead of NSS (Network Strength Scale) in the quantitative analyses - the former is a specific type of the latter (see Chapter VII for details).

Conceivably, the social network model is unable take into account certain crucial language contact factor. In this study, this unaccounted factor will be studied in terms of "non-personal" language contact factor. We will discuss this in Chapters VII, VIII and X.

In summary, theories on language contact have developed considerably since Weinreich and they are undergoing constant developments. This dissertation uses these established theories, especially the social network model and the language accommodation theory, as theoretical guidelines in the study of Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua.

Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua have been approached by most studies from basically a linguistic rather than a sociolinguistic perspective (Cheng 1985; Li 1986; Kubler 1982) except for a few whose sociolinguistic methods have otherwise resulted in dubious conclusions (Chi 1991). This study will explore the two varieties of Mandarin from a sociolinguistic perspective. It is expected that results generated from the current study will support some of the above theories and

disconfirm the others, and that data collected in the study will serve as evidence for modification of the relevant theories. This study is intended to redress some of the weaknesses of the social network model.

NOTES

1. Nowadays, Minnan and Minbei, the two sub-dialects of Min, are the more commonly-used terms for Amoy-Swatow and Foochow.
2. Based on the current population in P.R. China, this figure is adjusted in accordance with the proportional distribution of the Chinese dialects provided by DeFrancis (1984).
3. "Observer's paradox" refers to the fact that the informant might change linguistic patterns when confronting the interviewer whose aim is "to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed" (Labov 1971).

Chapter III

Chinese Communities in the United States

3.0 Introduction

Sociolinguistics studies social and ethnic factors which render influence on the direction of language change and maintenance. To understand the sociolinguistic situation in Chinese communities, it is necessary to obtain information of the migration history of these people and compare it with other related groups. In this chapter, the history and the motivation for Chinese immigration to the United States and their impact on subsequent language behavior will be discussed.

3.1 Chinese Immigration History

The arrival of Chinese in the United States dates back to the early 1800s. The U.S. Immigration Commission recorded the arrival of three Chinese between 1820 and 1830. It is likely that the first Chinese immigrant entered the United States in the 1820s (Kung, 1962). However, the cheap-wage Chinese laborers did not come in large numbers until the news of gold rush was spread in the 1840s (Kwong 1987: pp.11-20; Sandmeyer 1973: pp.13-24). In 1849, there were 325 Chinese among about 100,000 gold miners in San Francisco (Chen 1980: p.3). Subsequently, Chinese arrived in large numbers in California and elsewhere to take part in most labor markets. By the time

the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed by Congress in 1882, there were already 107,488 Chinese in the United States, about 0.2 percent of the total population of the country (Chen 1980: p.3).

In those days, more than 90 percent of the Chinese coolies came from a few counties along the coast of Guangdong. Taishan County alone provided 60 percent of them (Chen 1980: pp.18-19). Political and economic circumstances made these areas main sources of the cheap laborers. In the Qing Dynasty (1636-1911 A.D.), the legal punishment for emigration was death by decapitation and this law remained effective until 1860 (Chen 1980: pp.6-7). Severe punishment once deterred Chinese from leaving their homeland. Qing emperors considered any channel of contact with the Western nations a potential threat to the empire and tried very hard to isolate their empire from the outside world. This policy was clearly reflected in Emperor Chien Lung's letter to British King George III in 1790:

Our Celestial Empire possesses all things in abundance and lacks no products within its borders. There is therefore no need to import the manufactures of foreigners in exchanges for our own produce.

(Hellerman 1971)

However, being severely weakened by repeated invasions of Western powers, the Qing government could hardly control its remotest coastal areas like Guangdong and Fujian Provinces.

Cantonese people were known as independent thinkers and bold men-of-action. Constantly besieged by famine and wars,

these desperate people were determined to try their luck in Southeast Asia, Australia, South America, West Indies, and California. Cantonese adventurers were mostly uneducated poor peasants, fishermen and craftsmen who expected to secure considerable means overseas and then return.

America had "Gold Mountains"¹ in the imaginary world of common Chinese laborers. But the Chinese laborers only considered America a temporary refuge rather than a permanent home. When they earned enough money, they were eager to go back to resume their "decent life" in China, because most states had biased laws against Chinese immigrants by 1882. Harsh conditions made their lives difficult (Kwong 1987: p.14).

California in mid-nineteenth century was still a vast stretch of wilderness and had just become a part of the United States. The news of the discovery of gold attracted swarms of immigrants from Europe, Asia and elsewhere. By 1851, there were almost 25,000 Chinese in California gold mines, as well as in restaurants, and in laundries. By 1860, the immigrants constituted 40 percent of the total population of 380,000 in the state. Among them were 35,000 Chinese who were outnumbered by immigrants from Ireland, England and Germany (Chen 1980: p.46; Kwong 1987).

Chinese were then outside the protection of laws. Once Chinese coolies landed in California, they were immediately led into gold mines, mostly abandoned mines, working extra

long hours for a fair return (Chen 1982: pp.13-14). The California Legislature levied a monthly "Foreign Miners License Tax" of \$ 3-20. This tax generated about a third of California State annual revenue and it drove many Chinese out of the gold mines (Bristol-Kagan 1984; Chen 1980). Unlike immigrants from Europe, the Chinese were excluded from citizenship by the 1849 California constitution, and they were denied the right to testify for or against a white defendant in court (Bristol-Kagan 1984: pp.85-90).

When the gold mines were exhausted in the late 1860s, the Chinese began to seek employment in other trades. The railroad, in turn, became the biggest attraction. The Central Pacific broke ground on January 8, 1863 and soon the construction came to a standstill because of a labor shortage. Men were still overwhelmed by the lure of quick fortunes from the gold mines. Working at the railhead meant braving the severe working conditions in the Sierra Nevada and the Rockies.

Leland Stanford, first president of the Central Pacific Railway Company and an advocate of Chinese exclusion from California, intended to employ only white workers for the construction. He met frustration when three out of five workers quit their jobs and turned to the more lucrative business of gold and silver. In 1864, there were only 600 workers on the worksite, about one tenth of the desired labor force for the project (Lewis 1938).

When hiring Chinese workers was suggested, many had serious doubts about the slightly-built Cantonese. Stanford and the rest of the Big Four of the company , C.P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins and Charles Crocker, finally changed their mind. In 1858, the first 50 Chinese were hired to build the California Central Railroad from Sacramento to Marysville. They demonstrated ability and endurance of hardship which astounded even the extreme opponents (Chen 1980: p.19). Consequently, the second wave of Chinese immigrants came to the West coast to complete the difficult section of the transcontinental railroad going through the Rocky Mountains. The project, which was originally planned to take ten years, was completed in six years, four years after hiring Chinese laborers. About four-fifths of the work from Sacramento to Ogden was done by Chinese. In those years, there were 12,000 Chinese on the payroll out of a total of 13,500 Central Pacific Railway Company work force. The job was completed in May 1869. Many Chinese died in harness (Sandmeyer 1973: pp.15-16).

In his letter to Andrew Johnson, the 17th president of the United State, Leland Stanford wrote:

As a class, they are quiet, peaceable, patient industrious, and economical. More prudent and economical, they are content with less wages. We find them organized for mutual aid and assistance. Without them, it would be impossible to complete the western portion of this great national enterprise within the time required by the Act of Congress.

(Lewis 1938)

The completion of the first transcontinental railway was immediately followed by four more lines: 1) the Southern Pacific-Texas and Pacific; 2) the Atcheson, Topeka, and Santa Fe; 3) the Northern Pacific and 4) the Great North. Chinese were employed on all of the lines. On the Northern Pacific alone, there were about 15,000 Chinese workers on the payroll (Chen 1980: p.76).

The completion of the railroads left a huge Chinese labor surplus that was later absorbed by other industries in the west: textile mills, cigarette factories, canneries, and garment factories. In 1870, farming gradually replaced mining as the biggest frontier. Chinese helped open up the first California vineyards in Napa and Sonoma valleys. They were employed as well in wheat producing San Joaquin Valley. In 1886 there were 30,000 Chinese working on farms, making up 87.5 percent California farm laborers who earned wages for seasonal crops (Chen 1980: pp.82-84). The Chinese farm workers were a vital factor in the rapid agricultural development in California, and introducers and developers of many new species of farm products (Chen 1982: p.22).

Early Chinese restaurants in America could be also traced back to the heyday of the gold rush. As daily supplies in the gold counties were extremely scarce in the 1850s, the price of living reached all time high: a pound of potatoes, a head of cabbage and a slice of bread each cost \$1, while an ounce of gold was worth \$ 10-18 (Chen 1980: p.43). In the multiracial

society, Chinese quickly learned that Chinese food was welcome by miners of different races and it has thus restaurants become a lucrative business away from the ruthless competition in the mines where racial tension was running high.

At the start, the Chinese were welcome, praised, and considered indispensable to the development of California. However, this favorable attitude towards Chinese changed as competition for employment increased in gold mines and elsewhere. It was wealth that allured people of different races to congregate on spots of the wild West where prejudice and violence were commonplace. Although California was a free state at that time, many southerners brought black slaves with them, as well as racial aversion to minorities. Their views were well represented in Annals of San Francisco in the 1850s:

Indians, Spaniards of many provinces, Hawaiians, Japanese, Chinese, Malays, Tartars, and Russians, must all give place to the resistless flood of Anglo-Saxons or American progress. ... their national characteristics and opposing qualities and customs must be materially modified, and closely assimilated to those of civilizing and dominant race.

(Muscatine 1975)

The Chinese were important contributors to the development of California and the Midwest and they were once at the point of becoming part of American working class; but the situation changed when numerous other workers made their way westward on the newly constructed transcontinental railroad. The availability of women and child laborers had made a large new pool of cheap labor for the West. Chinese laborers suddenly became dispensable.

At that point, active Chinese participation in so many trades led to fear of losing competition in the businesses in which they were engaged. The recession during the late 1870s made the competition for jobs very intense. The Chinese were considered strike-breakers by the union because they were likely to accept low wages and harsh working conditions. By stirring up already existing anti-Chinese sentiment, some politicians seized this opportunity to gain political power and advance their personal interests. Frustrated by the business setbacks or unemployment, thousands of white working people joined in the crusade against the Chinese. Finally, politicians from the Western states succeeded in pressuring the Chinese Exclusion Act through Congress in 1882. This Act forbade any additional Chinese laborers from coming into the United States (Kwong 1987: p.13).

Those Chinese who were already in the United States became targets of mob violence and many fell victim to the anti-Chinese campaign (Sandmeyer 1973: p.45). Because of the anti-Chinese sentiment agitated on the West Coast, many Chinese were forced to seek refuge in big cities, leaving smaller towns and villages behind. Some headed for New York, Boston, Philadelphia and other cities on the East Coast. As a consequence, the Chinese population declined drastically because more departed than arrived during the following years (Sandmeyer 1973, Chen 1982). In the heyday of the gold rush, Chinese laborers in the West numbered approximately 260,000,

constituting about a quarter of the male workers in California. At the turn of the century, the number was reduced to about 90,000 (Kwong 1987: p.14).

However, this situation had little effect on two groups of Chinese who continued to arrive in the United States even when anti-Chinese sentiment still prevailed: they were merchants and students. The merchants, whose status was very low on the traditional social scale in China, played a distinct role as leaders of the immigrants and enjoyed a good reputation among American businessmen. They constituted a small proportion of the Chinese population in the United States (Sandmeyer 1973: pp.12-24). The first Chinese students came in the 1840s, and ever since a hundred or so Chinese students came every three or four years under the sponsorship of churches or the Qing government². These students were mostly from wealthy educated families and spoke dialects other than Cantonese. They rarely mixed up with the majority of the Cantonese laborers (Shu 1984: pp.11-15).

Chinese immigration to the United States came to a standstill for about 60 years after the Act. During this period, a limited number of Chinese succeeded in landing in America through illegal channels. This situation remained unchanged until World War II when respect and sympathy arose from Americans for the protracted struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese. The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943 and an annual quota of 105 allowed to

immigrate to the United States from China. Between 1945 and 1947, the American government admitted 9,000 Chinese to join with their husbands or wives who had already settled in the United States (Kwong 1987: p.20). 1960 U.S. Census of Population shows that there were a total of 237,292 Chinese, of whom male constituted 57.1 percent (From: The U.S. Census: 1960, Part 1, United States Summary)

In 1965, Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments replaced national origins quota system with an annual limitation of 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere without regard to race. An annual quota of 26,000 were given to Taiwan and Hong Kong where thousands of Chinese arrived between 1960 and 1980. As a direct result, the Chinese population increased to 431,583 in 1970 (From U.S. 1970 Census). After the People's Republic of China established diplomatic relations with the United States in the 1970s, a yearly immigration quota of 20,000 was given to the former, making the annual Chinese immigration quota a total of 46,000 (Kwong 1987; Wong 1988).

The new immigration law which was enacted in 1965 has drastically changed the size and composition of Chinese communities in the United States. The population of Chinese-Americans increased from 117,629 in 1950 to 812,178 in 1980, to 1,079,400 in 1985 and to 1,648,696 in 1990 (Chen 1980: p.218; Kwong 1987: p.22; 1990 U.S. Census). It is expected

that the Chinese-American population in the United States will reach two million by the turn of the century.

3.2 Chinatowns in the United States

The forming of Chinatowns, the urban Chinese ghettos, was an inevitable outcome under the extraordinary social conditions. Language barriers and cultural differences³ gave rise to the Chinese sectors, or small Chinatowns in places where Chinese laborers gathered. Nearly all of the early Chinatowns were located on the West Coast in the mining counties. In those small and crowded Chinese communities, the Chinese built Buddhist temples, opened stores, and amusement facilities. They thus kept their culture, and religion in small cocoons over the American Western coast--this was usually taken as a sign that the Chinese were not trying to integrate themselves into the mainstream in American society.

3.2.1 The Rise of Old Chinatown

In the 1850s, every phase of life in California was linked to the mining of gold, so were the Chinese communities. Many Chinese communities emerged overnight when thousands of laborers arrived in the gold rich counties. There were several Chinatowns, including San Francisco Chinatown in California at the height of the gold rush. At the same time, Chinese moved up to the states of Washington and Oregon and formed Chinese communities in Portland, Seattle, Jackson, and Josephine. In

the 1860s and the 1870s, Chinese began to settle down in the mountain states such as Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana and they built small Chinese sectors throughout these states (Chen 1980: p.186). After the transcontinental railway was connected in 1869, thousands of unemployed Chinese crossed the Rockies and set foot in Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Chinatowns and Chinese communities began to take shape in these cities (Chen 1980: pp.185-187).

San Francisco Chinatown, the first Chinatown in America came to exist as a supplier and entertainment center for those Chinese laborers in gold mines who scattered in the gold-rich Sierra Nevada and along the Sacramento River. Geographically, it is located in the heart of the city. Its center covers an area from Sacramento Street to Pacific Avenue between Powell Street and Kearny Street.

In the beginning, this community was characterized by independent oriental economics. Early Chinese adventurers first landed in San Francisco before heading for inland gold mines. From 1854 to the 1860s, the Chinese communities in the city housed about 27,000, nearly ten percent of the Chinese population in California while 80 percent of the Chinese were scattered in gold mines (Ong 1984: p.90; Chan 1984: pp.67-84). Within Chinatown, Chinese business has been patronized basically by Chinese customers because of intelligible language and availability of needed Oriental goods. Chinese

merchants constituted 6 percent of the population.

The isolated independent economics created jobs for the Chinese living in Chinese communities. When the Chinese Exclusion Act came into effect in 1882, bigger Chinatowns became all the more indispensable for the insecure Chinese who easily fell victims to unemployment and riots. During Chinese exclusion movement around 1880, many Chinese communities in rural areas became targets of attack, while San Francisco Chinatown remained basically undisturbed by outside violence.

However, the number of Chinatowns decreased as the Chinese moved out of the mining areas. The Chinese exclusion movement in the 1870s and the 1880s forced many Chinese to return to China or to move to metropolitan areas, leaving those small-sized communities unattended. The disappearance of small Chinatowns was not an ultimate outcome in those difficult times. Good communities protected the Chinese from violence, and have made it possible that some small Chinese sectors have existed till the present time.

Now, San Francisco Chinatown has developed into the second biggest Chinatown in the United States, along with other major Chinese sectors in Los Angeles, Portland, and Seattle on the West Coast.

On the East Coast, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago have sizeable Chinese communities which house more than half of the Chinese-American population in the United States.

3.2.2 Chinatowns in New York City

There are currently two Chinatowns in New York City: Manhattan Chinatown, or the Old Chinatown, and Flushing Chinatown, the New Chinatown. In recent years, another Chinese community centered on the Eighth Avenue in Brooklyn is flourishing and becoming the prototype of the third Chinatown in the city.

3.2.2.1 New York Manhattan Chinatown

The New York Chinese community came into being in the 1870s when groups of Chinese arrived from the West Coast after the completion of the first transcontinental railway. Before them, Chinese sailors and merchants had occasionally toured lower Manhattan, and after a brief stay, they would sail back to China. One tea trader called Quimpo Appo became the first Chinese permanent resident in the city around 1850 (Chen 1980: pp.258-260). Those early Chinese chose to live on Mott Street which later developed as the center of New York Chinatown. When the Chinese exclusion movement rampaged on the West Coast in the 1870s and the 1880s, the Eastern States appeared to be safer places for Chinese to make a living.

New York Chinatown began to form when thousands of Chinese laborers came from the riot-stricken small Chinatowns and Chinese communities in California, Nevada, Colorado, Wyoming and elsewhere. The population speedily increased to 10,000 during the exclusion period. In this Chinatown,

thousands of Chinese were employed by the Chinese-owned businesses, such as wholesale and retail trade, garment-making, restaurants, laundries and grocery stores. This self-contained community had little conflict with the outside world. Benefiting from both Chinese heritage and favorable conditions provided by American society, many Chinese succeeded in running their businesses despite turbulent times.

New York Manhattan Chinatown has witnessed gradual expansion to cover an area between Bowery Street and Mulberry Street. It had a population of about 10,000 in the 1880s. Following the repeal of Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943, the population increased to 11,700 (Chan 1980: p.258). Manhattan Chinatown is characterized by predominantly Cantonese population. It constantly attracts Cantonese speakers from all over the world. After the Vietnam and the Cambodia Wars, Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian refugees of Cantonese descent came by thousands to settle in Manhattan Chinatown. Now the largest in North America, New York Manhattan Chinatown and its vicinity contain about 72,000 Chinese-Americans and Chinese immigrants (Zhou 1993).

3.2.2.2 Flushing Chinatown

Flushing Chinatown is a new Chinese community which emerged two decades ago in the center of the old Dutch colony founded in around 1628. Matinecock Indians, Dutch settlers first chose this site because of its promising fertile land, its numerous springs and extensive water front. On January

15, 1639 the Indians sold to William Kieft all the land comprising Queens County. In 1645, William Kieft, the Dutch Governor of New Netherlands, granted a patent to the first group of English settlers who gave the present English name to this colony (Trebor 1945). Flushing did not become a part of the State of New York until February 24, 1792. It first developed from the "village of Flushing" centered on Main Street. Most of the people of Flushing were European immigrants who lived in an area with a few blocks from north to south. In 1837, the village of Flushing boasted a population of 2,000, three churches, six stores, three hotels and a mill. Its population showed a continuous increase in these two hundred years and exceeded 155,000 in 1950 (Trebor 1945)

Flushing Chinatown began to take shape in the late 1960s when immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong came to the United States in large numbers due to the removal of the discriminatory national origin provision established in 1924 by the new immigration act of 1965 (Kwong 1987: p.21). The Chinese investors choose Flushing for their business because rent in Flushing was much lower than in Manhattan Chinatown and public transportation was convenient for both business operation and customers. The first group of Chinese grocery stores were opened on Main Street and Union Street near the intersection at Northern Boulevard. In the past ten years, Flushing Chinatown experienced a rapid development by

expanding more than ten blocks from Northern Boulevard to Elder Street along Main Street and Kessina Boulevard. There are three dozen Chinese restaurants, ten fish markets, numerous grocery stores and gifts shops. Citibank, Chemical Bank, Asian Bank, and Anchor Bank operate there.

Flushing has become the second biggest Chinatown in New York City. It attracts new Asian immigrants for whom a convenient living is a priority. Census shows that the Chinese-American population in Queens reached 86,000 in 1990 (1990 U.S. Census).

3.2.2.3 Brooklyn Chinese Community

Ten years ago, the so-called "Third New York Chinatown" began to emerge at the 8th Avenue near Brooklyn Sunset Park. The location of the present Brooklyn Community was formerly a run-down Scandinavian neighborhood (Zhou 1993). Cantonese speaking Chinese moved into the area between 50th Street and 61st Street, opening grocery stores and restaurants. Chinese first chose to live in this community for its affordable housing. Four Chinese families moved in around 1978. They were immediately followed by hundreds of others from P.R. China and Hong Kong (Zhou 1993). Foreign investment from Hong Kong and Taiwan has helped the rapid expansion of the Chinese communities. The Brooklyn Chinese community has extended to 12th Avenue to the east and 6th Avenue to the west. It currently has twenty Chinese restaurants, twelve grocery stores, ten super markets, five bakeries, five real estate

offices and two banks. Although the real estate market has dropped to the lowest point in recent memory, prices of houses in Brooklyn Chinatown keep rising steadily. Like Manhattan Chinatown, while unlike Flushing Chinatown where Mandarin is the dominant dialect used among Chinese, Brooklyn Chinese Community has Cantonese as the most popular dialect.

3.3 The Present Chinese Communities in America

The rapid growth of the Chinese population in the United States has brought about changes in Chinese communities throughout the nation. Immigrants from P.R. China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Malaysia remain a large pool of manual laborers who are vital to the traditional Chinese businesses, such as restaurants, garment making, grocery stores and laundries. However, there is an appreciable tendency toward domains which require higher levels of training and professional know-how because of the availability of a great number of educated new immigrants and influx of foreign capital from Asian countries.

In 1949 when the Communists ousted the Nationalist government, about 5,000 Chinese elites were allowed to stay in the United States as refugees (Kwong 1987: pp.59-70). Among them were young scholars (including Nobel Prize winner Chen Ning Yang and Tsung Dao Lee), generals, high-ranking government officials, diplomats and financial tycoons.

Between 1960 and 1980, when the government in Taiwan lifted strict restrictions on emigration to foreign countries, about 150,000 students came to enroll at graduate schools in

the United States. After their graduation more than ninety percent of them were employed and later became permanent residents in this country (Kwong 1987: pp.60-62).

The above two groups, along with a large number of America-born Chinese, constitute the educated generations who have a great impact on the census representation of the Chinese communities in regard to education, income, occupation and social influence. They are mostly middle class professionals such as teachers, researchers, investors and professors who are engaged in business of education, research, real estate, manufacturing, banking and insurance, for example.

Chinese students and immigrants from the P. R. China began to come to the United States in large numbers soon after diplomatic relations between the United States and P.R. China was formally established in the 1970s. Since then, the educated Chinese circle has been substantially enlarged as thousands of students from P. R. China arrive to study at graduate schools in the United States. A few thousand are admitted into American universities each year.

After the crackdown against student demonstrations in Beijing on June 4th 1989, the U.S. Congress succeeded in pushing through the Chinese Students Protection Act in 1992, according to which Chinese nationals from P.R. China are eligible to apply for immigration status. Up to September 1993, about 51,000 stranded students and visiting scholars, as

well as some tourists, from P.R. China had submitted applications to become permanent residents. Until May 31st 1994, 48,070 of the applications were approved (Lin 1994).

At present, the gap between the middle class and the lower class among Chinese-Americans is increasing. With limited education and English, most non-student immigrants still have to work in garment factories and restaurants where they are paid poorly and work longer hours with little job security and benefits. They are struggling at the bottom of society.

On the other hand, those educated immigrants and the American-born Chinese who have received higher education have more potential to move into higher paid professions which require skills and English. Usually, they end up in corporations and government organizations where benefits and pay are much better than those offered by the small business in Chinatowns. For the last two decades, there has been an increasing demand for well-trained professionals rather than physical laborers, and the traditional businesses owned by Chinese are in a decline. Chinatowns are no longer the boundary for Chinese-Americans - as they used to be decades ago. Successful Chinese immigrants and second and third generation Chinese-Americans continue to move out of old Chinatowns or Chinese communities. They willingly integrate

themselves into mainstream American society, leaving behind them new Chinese immigrants and the less fortunate.

Today, there is actually a back-flow of the former Chinese immigrants to their countries of origin. The economic boom in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore has increased the need for well-trained scientists, professors and researchers. The governments and big corporations there are offering excellent conditions to attract their "drained brains" in the United States. Many professors and scientists who received advanced education in the United States are returning to resettle in this area. Among them is the 1986 Nobel Prize winner Yuan T. Lee who returned to Taiwan in 1993.

3.4 Chinese Speech in American Chinese Communities

Nearly all major Chinese dialects are heard among Chinese in New York City. However, most of the Chinese population are still Cantonese or Mandarin speakers. Speakers of other dialects such as Hakka, Wu, Gan and Min are usually bilinguals who can speak at least one of the above two dominant dialects. Their first dialect is spoken chiefly among family members or hometown friends.

3.5 Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Generally, American-Chinese have strong ethnolinguistic vitality in the United States, out of proportion to its small population (less than one percent of the total population in the United States).

Ethnolinguistic vitality, in Giles' word, is what "makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles 1977: pp.307-324). It is believed that an ethnolinguistic minority with little or no vitality is easily assimilated while those with more vitality will survive or even thrive. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group depends on status, demography and institutional support.

The status of an ethnolinguistic group accordingly includes those factors which are related to "a configuration of prestige variables of the linguistic group in the intergroup context" (Giles 1977: p.309). Giles states that it may include economic status, social status, socio-historical status, and linguistic status. The higher status that an ethnolinguistic group has, the more vitality it has in the intergroup context. On the other hand, the lower status an ethnolinguistic group has, the less vitality it has.

However, the Chinese ethnic group does not seem to follow this generality. The Chinese ethnolinguistic group includes basically those immigrants or native born Chinese-Americans whose ancestors were Han, the biggest ethnic group in P.R. China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. The majority of Chinese-Americans in the United States belong to this group. This ethnolinguistic group has held inconsistent status over place and time. In Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, this group and its dialects, either Mandarin, Shanghainese or

Cantonese, have the highest status among other ethnolinguistic groups. In the United States, however, this group traditionally has had a rather low socio-economic status compared with other ethnolinguistic groups. According to 1990 U.S. census, in 1989 Chinese-Americans had an average family income lower than many ethnic groups although it is slightly higher than the national average (\$ 41,316 vs. \$ 35,225). It is commonly acknowledged that Chinese-Americans have always been under-represented in government institutions.

As one of the five designated official languages used in the United Nations, the Chinese language nevertheless has a low language status in American Society. It is used only by foreign born Chinese-Americans, many of whom are in a transition of becoming English speakers.

The low status of the Chinese-Americans in this country do not seem to affect the ethnolinguistic vitality of their community.

In the first place, the Chinese ethnolinguistic group is racially and linguistically different from the majority, and its low status also means isolation and difficulty of emigration of its members into other ethnolinguistic groups. This has resulted in a closer congregation of its members in their own community. Under this condition, the vitality of the Chinese ethnolinguistic group appears to be strengthened rather than weakened.

The Chinese in the United States maintain close ties with communities or countries of similar culture and language in the world, which include Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and P.R. China, where its cultural and linguistic supremacy is not challenged. The rapid development of communication, science and technology has made this link more intensive. The great economic and cultural impact from those countries is significant to the maintenance of the linguistic and cultural identity of the Chinese group.

Demographic factors in the Chinese ethnolinguistic group also have increased the vitality of this group in recent years. Here, demographic factors refer to the numbers of members and the distribution of the ethnolinguistic group (Giles 1977: p.309). In theory, ethnolinguistic groups which have a favorable demographic trend seem to have more vitality while those which have an unfavorable trend seem to have less vitality. More and more old immigrants or native born Chinese-Americans mix with other ethnolinguistic groups through marriage or employment. They consequently accept the culture and language of the dominant. This tendency could weaken the vitality of the Chinese ethnolinguistic group. But there is a counter balance to this weakening factor. The immigration law which was activated in the late 1960s has allowed thousands of Chinese to enter the United States every year. The increase of Chinese-American population through immigration has outnumbered those emigrants from the group.

As indicated by Wong (1988), the ethnolinguistic strength of the Chinese group embodies a function of continued immigration rather than an intergenerational transmission of the language.

Contrary to what may be predicted by theory, its low status results in strong ethnolinguistic vitality. Had the Chinese group not had its influential counterparts in other parts of the world, it is easy to imagine that its ethnolinguistic vitality would have been drastically weakened.

Taking into consideration of the demographic condition of the two Chinese linguistic subgroups, Cantonese and Mandarin, the immigration pattern seems to favor the Mandarin subgroup in the past decade. The prominence of the Cantonese proportion in the Chinese community has gradually been altered as a result of influx of a large number of Mandarin-speaking immigrants from P.R. China and Taiwan in recent years. According to 1990 Census of Population and Housing, of 240,000 Chinese-Americans in New York City, more than half are Mandarin speakers. The increase of Mandarin speaking population lends vitality to the Mandarin subgroup which has already established demographic dominance among Chinese-Americans in the United States.

3.5.1 Institutional Supports

Institutional support factors are important in understanding the ethnolinguistic vitality. They refers to the formal and informal support a language receives in

institutions of a nation, region or community, and they permit an ethnolinguistic community to survive as a viable group (Giles 1977: pp.307-324). Institutional support for the Chinese ethnolinguistic group has been considered overrepresented (Fishman 1985). In the United States, the immigrant tradition allows people of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds to coexist. This melting pot policy in turn assimilates the ethnolinguistic minorities with little or no vitality. Being a minority language in the United States with a comparatively small population, Chinese in the United States have rather strong institutional supports from various sources (Fishman 1985: p.15).

In the remainder of this section, these support factors will be discussed in terms of publications, television and radio broadcasting, education and religious organizations which help maintain the Chinese culture, language and values in American society. Here, attention will be focused on the institutional fields in New York City, while a comparison is to be made with the rest of the nation.

3.5.1.1 Chinese Publications

Chinese publications in the United States vigorously foster the linguistic and cultural awareness of the Chinese-American population. because one-third of Chinese-Americans know little or no English, these publications have become indispensable to keep the monolingual population informed of news and events of the world.

There were about 42 Chinese newspapers and journals published daily or periodically in the United States in 1982 (Fishman 1985: p.88). According to our recent survey⁴, there are 24 newspapers sold in New York City, of which 10 are published daily, 12 weekly, 1 biweekly, and 1 monthly.

The ten daily newspapers are World Journal, The China Press, Sing Tao Daily, The United Journal, People's Daily, Sing Pao Daily News, Wen Wei Po, Overseas Chinese Economic Journal, International Daily News and Ta-Kung-Pao, all written in Mandarin style. Of them, World Journal, Sing Tao Daily and Sing Pao Daily News are the most popular - each has a circulation above 50,000 throughout the United States. Language used in People's Daily and The China Press represents in some way the authentic Putonghua style, while those in World Journal and Sing Tao Daily represent Taiwan Guoyu.

With ever-increasing contact between Taiwanese people and people from the Mainland, the vocabulary once unique to Taiwan Guoyu has gradually made its way to The China Press and People's Daily, and vice versa. Of these papers, The United Journal, established in 1951, has the longest history. These papers provide full coverage of domestic and international news similar to most English-language newspapers circulating in New York City.

What makes these papers special is the sections that have detail coverage of news and events happening in Taiwan, P.R. China, Hong Kong, and Singapore. In the entertainment

section, pictures of Hong Kong and Taiwan celebrities are placed conspicuously: anecdotes about them dominate entire columns. The business sections closely trace the Taiwan and Hong Kong stock markets and record daily prices of their major stocks.

Table 1
Chinese Newspapers

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Founded</u>	<u>Circulation*</u>
World Journal	daily	1967	75,000
Sing Tao Daily	daily	1966	60,000
Sing Pao Daily News	daily	1966	50,000
International Daily News	daily	1982	40,000
The United Journal	daily	1951	30,000
The China Press	daily	1990	20,000
Overseas Chinese Economics Journal	daily	1986	7,000
Ta-Kung-Pao	daily	1979	5,000
Wen Wei Po	daily	1986	3,000
People's Daily	daily	**	**
Amerasian News	weekly	1992	30,000
Real Estate & Business Times	weekly	1989	30,000
Chinese Community News	weekly	1989	**
Asian American Times	weekly	1986	20,000
China Times Weekly	weekly	**	20,000
Neo Asian American Times	weekly	1991	18,000
Asian Entertainment Weekly	weekly	1985	15,000
Chinese Commercial Journal	weekly	**	14,000
China Times Weekly News	weekly	1980	13,000
China Journal- New York	weekly	1988	8,000
New York Chinese Business	weekly	1994	8,000
Pacific Journal	weekly	1987	2,000
New Chinese Times	biweekly	1991	10,000
Herald	monthly	1988	25,000

Notes: * These numbers were provided by publishers through telephone interview. The actual numbers may vary considerably.

** Data are not available.

Weekly Chinese newspapers are mostly business-related. There are twelve in total: Amerasian News, Real Estate & Business Times, Chinese Community News, Asian American Times,

China Times Weekly, Neo Asian American Times, Asian Entertainment Weekly, Chinese Commercial Journal, China Times Weekly News, China Journal-New York, New York Chinese Business and Pacific Journal. Each has a weekly circulation of more than two thousand.

About 60 Chinese periodicals are sold on newsstands in New York Chinatowns. Except for nine published in New York, most are published in Hong Kong (about 30), Taiwan (10) and P.R. China (7). They range from cooking, comics, sports, fashion, literature to entertainment. They are available in waiting areas of employment agencies, offices, clinics, restaurants, law firms, and real estate offices in Chinatowns. A more comprehensive array of periodicals from Taiwan and P. R. China, numbering about one hundred from each can be found in the World Book Store and the Orient Book Store in Manhattan Chinatown.

Chinese publications are an indispensable source of information and entertainment for those not yet assimilated literate Chinese immigrants who remain deeply rooted in Chinese culture and tradition.

3.5.1.2 Chinese Radio and Television Broadcasts

It is estimated there were 25 radio stations and 11 television stations broadcasting in Chinese throughout the United States (Fishman 1985: pp.97-101). All of these stations are located in metropolitan areas of New York,

Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other cities where the Chinese-Americans congregate.

In New York City alone, there are currently four radio stations broadcasting round-the-clock in Chinese: Chung Wah Commercial Broadcasting, Sino Radio Broadcasts Corporation, Chinese American Voice and China Radio Network. The first two, broadcasting in Cantonese, began to serve the Chinese community in 1968 and 1976 respectively. The last two went on the air in 1986 and 1992 respectively, and are Mandarin stations.

Programs of the broadcasts include local news and news sent from Taipei and Beijing through satellite, sports, stock market, Chinese and Western music, interviews, English lessons, and life style. Listeners to these stations must buy a specially designed radio set from the broadcast company at a one-time cost which ranges from \$30 to \$ 150.

No medium nowadays has more impact in the daily life of Chinese-Americans than television. In New York City alone, there are six active television companies featuring Chinese programs with varied length of broadcasting time. They are North American Satellite Television, Overseas TV Network, World Television, Sino Vision, United Chinese Television and Hong Shen Broadcasting. North American Satellite Television, the most influential Chinese cable TV station, offers 12 hour broadcasts in either Cantonese or Mandarin. Overseas TV Network and Sino Vision feature Chinese programs in either

Cantonese or Mandarin during the weekends, while the latter offers 15 hours of programs during weekdays. World Television, United Chinese Television and Hong Shen Broadcasting have only Mandarin Chinese programs through leased time on Channel 31 and Channel 26 during weekends.

Table 2
Chinese Radio and Television Broadcasts in NYC

	<u>Hours</u>	<u>Founded</u>	<u>Language</u>	<u>Channel</u>
RADIO				
<i>Chinese American Voice</i>	24 /day	1986	Mandarin	
<i>Chung Wah Commercial-Broadcasting</i>	24 /day	1968	Cantonese	
<i>Sino Radio Broadcasting</i>	24 /day	1976	Cantonese	
<i>Chinese Radio Network</i>	24 /day	1992	Mandarin	
TELEVISION				
<i>Sino Vision</i>	19 /week	1991	Mandarin/Cantonese	26; 31
<i>North American Satellite TV</i>	12 /week	1987	Cantonese/Mandarin	35; 69
<i>Overseas TV Network</i>	5 /week	1975	Mandarin/Cantonese	35
<i>World Television</i>	2 /week	1986	Mandarin	31
<i>United Chinese TV</i>	2 /week	1982	Mandarin	25
<i>Hong Shen Broadcasting</i>	2 /week	1984	Mandarin	26; 31

Programs of these TV stations include world news, domestic news, and news of Taiwan, P. R. China and Hong Kong, as well as business news, movies and shows. More than half of the broadcast time is filled with programs emanating from Hong Kong, Taiwan or P.R. China, while the remainder are created in the United States. World Television, United Chinese Television and Hong Shen Broadcasting are Chinese broadcasting stations on conventional TV channels which few Chinese-Americans families are unaware of.

3.5.1.3 Chinese Language Schools

The earliest Chinese language schools were first operated in 1886 in San Francisco to help Cantonese speakers learn written Chinese. Because they were excluded from mainstream American society, the Chinese ran these schools as an act of Patriotism toward China where they planned to return sooner or later (Wong 1988: p.213). This tradition continued in Chinese communities in the United States, though with changes of living condition and of general social attitude towards Chinese-Americans, its early ethnically-separated nature has evolved to one which is characteristic of a combination of Chinese and mainstream culture and norms.

There were 172 Chinese-language schools active in Chinese communities throughout the United States in 1985 (Fishman 1985: p.107). In New York City, Chinese language schools are mostly operated by churches, and social organizations, to a lesser extent. They gratify aspirations of Chinese parents, rather than their children's, for knowledge of the Chinese culture and language. The intimate linkage between language schools and the religious institutions results from both convenience and functional needs. Students of these schools are either immigrants who are able to speak Chinese or American born who have primarily little knowledge of Chinese language and culture.

About twenty Chinese schools offer Chinese language programs. For financial, enrollment and other unpredictable

reasons, the number constantly fluctuates. Chinese Overseas School of New York, New York Ming Yuan Chinese School, Zhishan School, and Brooklyn Chinese Christian Church School are the largest. More than 1,000 students are enrolled in Chinese, computer-training, arts and Kung Fu classes at the first two. New York Ming Yuan Chinese School have locations in both Flushing and Brooklyn. Zhishan School, located in Elmhurst and Flushing, has an enrollment of a few hundred students. Most of these schools have weekend classes, as well as afterschool teaching programs.

However, most Chinese-English bilingual education is provided by the Board of Education of New York City, although this program is oriented solely towards adaptation of school-age Chinese immigrants to the English language school environment. In 1992-1993, 6,154 students of Chinese descent, about 44 percent of the total 14,069 LEP (Limited English Proficient) Chinese students were in the bilingual education program, and about 300 Chinese bilingual teachers were involved in teaching them (from: Facts & Figures 1992-1993, Published by New York City Public Schools, Division of Bilingual Education). As part of the mainstream institution, these programs have been and will continue to function in support of Chinese language maintenance.

3.5.1.4 Religious Groups

Houses of worship, though rendering not so strong supports to language maintenance in the Chinese community as they do in other ethnic communities like Jewish and Amerindian, are important language maintenance force in Chinese communities. According to Fishman, there were 353 Chinese churches and 22 Asian temples throughout the United States in 1985 (Fishman 1985: pp.112-113).

In New York City alone, there are about one hundred Chinese Christian churches, of which 72 are listed in the telephone directory, as well as 17 Buddhist and Taoist temples. Each of the Chinese churches has members numbering from 50 to over 1,000. The temples, based on their tradition, serve a more general public who patronize them on special occasions.

While language maintenance is not their primary objective, the functioning of these religious units depends to a large extent on their Chinese speaking population. Most of these churches use either Cantonese or Mandarin in their activities. A few employ both English and Chinese in accordance with the multilingual and multi-culture nature of the congregation. There is a tendency that these Chinese churches will shift in the direction of multilingual services in the foreseeable future.

In summary, the Chinese community in New York City possesses a series of institutions which helps maintain of the

Chinese language and culture either purposely or unintentionally. These institutions are made possible because of the lenient American domestic policy toward minority culture and languages; the great culture and linguistic impact from the Chinese speaking countries and regions in Asia; and the increasing Chinese population in the United States. Despite the fact that many ethnic groups are easily assimilated into the mainstream culture and language, Chinese-Americans are in a much slower process of being anglicized.

Chapter IV

Chinese Languages and Dialects

4.0 Introduction

The word Chinese has been used to denote either the people of China or the language used by this group of people.

When it is used to refer to the latter, it often causes confusion as it is too general to account for the heterogeneous mixture of languages and dialects. Emically, Chinese refers to the language used within the Chinese territory whose present boundary has been roughly established since the Tang Dynasty (618-914 A.D.). However China has never had a national language. Being parallel to Mongolia, Tibetan and Uiguric Turkish, the English word Chinese is equivalent to the Chinese expression Hanyu of which Mandarin is the largest subgroup. Due to the extent of loyalty to their ethnic heritages, non-Chinese speakers, such as Zhuang speakers in Southwest China, often claim that their language is a Chinese dialect, while a Tibetan or a Uygur is more likely to differentiate their language from Chinese. This section outlines the languages and dialects used in China chiefly based on research by Chao (1976), Li (1981) and Muller (1964).

4.1 Languages Used in P.R.China

China has a large population who spread over a vast area that is about the size of Europe. There are three major language families which encompass languages and dialects used in China as speakers' mother tongues: Malayo-Polynesian, Ural-Altaic and Sino-Tibetan.

Malayo-Polynesian includes a large number of languages and dialects in the Pacific area (Muller 1964). About 30,000 Taiwan aboriginals speak languages belonging to this language family. Historically, Taiwan was first inhabited by Polynesians who were gradually outnumbered by emigrants from Mainland China. It is believed that this branch of Malayo-Polynesian is more closely related to that of the Philippine languages though convincing linguistic evidence to this effect is lacking (Cheng 1985). Paiwanic, Atayalic and Tsouic are the principal divisions of Taiwan Polynesian. Paiwanic has the largest speaking population in the southeastern mountain regions which is estimated to reach 20,000; Atayalic has about 8,000 speakers living in the northeastern mountains; and Tsouic is spoken by a few thousand (Kubler 1981: pp.17-20).

A large scale of immigration from the Mainland did not begin until three hundred years ago. Similar to what happened to native Indians in the United States, the native Taiwan inhabitants were pressured by inflows of Mainland immigrants and were forced to move to mountainous areas in all parts of Taiwan. Those who chose not to move rapidly became

assimilated into the immigrants' culture and language. In fact, many of the languages of the aborigines on the plains have already become extinct (Kubler 1981: p.20). With the popularization of Guoyu and compulsory education, the new generations of Taiwan aboriginal have become bilinguals and the number of Polynesian speakers is on the decline.

Ural-Altaic, another large language family, includes languages and dialects spoken by people in North and Northeast China. Turkish and Japanese are the two languages which are spoken by peoples at the two ends of a vast stretch of area where Ural-Altaic is in active use¹. Ural-Altaic is divided into three subgroups: Mongolia, Turkic and Tungusic (Muller 1964, miller 1980). Each subgroup has a number of languages or dialects used in Northern China. Mongolian is spoken by about five million Mongolians living in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Qinghai Province and the Mongolian People's Republic. Related to Finnish and Hungarian, Turkic is spoken in the form of different dialects by about 5 million people living in the Xingjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, among whom are the Uygurs, the Kazakhs (500,000) and the Kirghiz (75,000) (Summerfield 1991). Tungusic encompasses mainly Manchu which is spoken by fewer than two million Manchu living in Heilongjiang, Jilin, Liaoning and Hebei Provinces in Northeastern China, and Korean which is spoken by about 200,000 Korean descendants living in Yanji County along the border with North Korea. Manchus have kept in contact with

Chinese for more than 2,000 years and their language has been enormously influenced by Chinese and vice versa. In 1644, they conquered Beijing, the capital of the Ming Dynasty, and ruled China for about three hundred years.

However the Manchu minority were assimilated by Chinese, whose language and culture had long been predominant in the country. Nowadays, more and more Manchus either shift to Chinese or become bilinguals while only those in remote areas still keep their ancestors' language. On the other hand, the Korean population does not show any tendency toward assimilation by Chinese as influence from both North Korea and South Korea has significantly contributed to their linguistic and cultural faithfulness.

The Sino-Tibetan family embraces languages spreading over a large expanse of China proper, Southeast Asia and the Tibetan Plateau. It includes Tibet0-Burman which has a speaking population of 42 million, as well as Tai, Miao-Yao and Chinese (Chao 1976; Summerfield 1991).

Zhuang, a subbranch of the subfamily including Thai, remains the second biggest language in the People's Republic of China. Interestingly it has never been developed into a full-fledged system of writing and literature by its speakers, who instead are ready to learn Chinese, the more prestigious language in the country.

Miao-Yao is spoken by about three million Miao people and one million Yao people who inhabit areas in Southern Provinces

of Hunan, Guangxi, Guangdong, Guizhou and Yunnan Province (Summerfield 1991; DeFrancis 1984). In addition, there are more than 25 nationalities in Yunnan and Guizhou Province who speak dialects belonging to either Tai, Miao-Yao, or Tibetan languages. A great proportion of Tai and Miao-yao speakers have lived in mountainous regions where the unfavorable environment and harsh living conditions have never given them the luxury of developing their writing languages.

Chinese alone is spoken by about 1.1 billion people, who constitute 93 percent of the total population in the People's Republic of China. It is the language used by the greatest population in the world. Here, Chinese is used in its narrow sense to denote Chinese dialects which have shared a common written system *Hanzi* (Chinese characters).

Chinese has a number of mutually-unintelligible variations, called *fangyan* (dialect) in Chinese, which share the same written system. Based on Chao's (1976) original views, they are Mandarin, Wu, Cantonese (Yue), Hakka, Gan and Min. Chinese dialects differ from one another chiefly in pronunciation: a text read by a Cantonese is unintelligible to speakers of other dialects such as Mandarin, Shanghainese, Min and Hakka and vice versa. The Mandarin-speaking population is estimated to reach 850 million², twice as large as the English speaking population in the world (DeFrancis 1984). Wu has the second biggest speaking population which counts 94 million. Cantonese is spoken by about 60 million. And the rest, Min and

Hakka has about 48 million and 41 million speakers respectively.

Furthermore, Mandarin has three subgroups: Northern Mandarin (which is spoken in the Yellow River Basin and Northeast China), Southern Mandarin (which is spoken in the three southern provinces of the People's Republic of China: Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi) and Southwestern Mandarin (which is spoken in the middle and upper Yangtze River basin, including provinces of Sichuan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Yunnan, Hunan and Hubei). These subgroups are considered mutually intelligible as they have the same syntax structure and similar phonological systems, and a large part of their vocabulary remains identical. Within these Mandarin subgroups, linguistic differences remain mostly in deviation of tones and lexical items. However the English term Mandarin, an English translation of Chinese word Guanhua (official language), usually refers to Northern Mandarin to which both Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu belong (Li & Thompson 1979).

Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu were both decreed standard Mandarin based on the vernacular spoken by people in the vicinity of Beijing. The term Guoyu meaning "National Language" was first used in the 1910s when the National Language Unification Movement swept throughout China (Chao 1943; 1968: pp.97-99). In the 1950s, the term Putonghua was coined by the newly-established Communist government. Putonghua, meaning "Common Speech", has since replaced Guoyu

on the Mainland, though this politically-oriented move hardly conceals the fact that Putonghua refers to the same linguistic entity as Guoyu used to. In the past decades, under the influence of other contact dialects and foreign languages, both Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua have drifted away from the decreed standard. We will return to them in Chapter V.

4.2 Written Chinese

The origin of the Chinese language is obscured by mystery and tales. Its traceable early written forms were preserved in carvings on tortoise shells and bones which date back from 2000 to 1000 B.C. Some of the laws and decrees promulgated by kings of the Shang Dynasty (1700 - 1100 B.C.) and the Zhou Dynasty (1100 - 771 B.C.) were well preserved on faces of bronze tripods. Based on several systems used in the pre-Qin states, the Chinese written system became unified in about 220 B.C. (DeFrancis 1984: p.39). Even before Qin Shihuang (Shih Hwangti) unified China in 221 B.C., different states had used quite similar written systems which had been developed from Jiaguwen (inscriptions on bones and tortoise shells) used in the Shang Dynasty. As indicated by Karlgren (1949), Jiaguwen might be an intermediate written system from its prototype which could not be traced nowadays. The written Chinese has undergone little change since the Qin dynasty, but its pronunciation diverged in various dialects. Chinese dialects differ from one another in pronunciation: a piece of literary work can be equally appreciated by literate readers of all

Chinese dialects. But when they read it out, it becomes unintelligible to other dialect listeners.

It is generally agreed that the Chinese written language was first developed based on the principle that each written symbol, called *zi* 字 (character), was used as a pictograph divorced from sound. *Zi* (character) is a graph which is usually open monosyllabic, while close monosyllabic characters are only limited to those with nasal endings for all dialects and stop endings for some dialects. Each *zi* (character) carries a distinct meaning and one of the designated tones. The Chinese spelling system is simple: a spelled sound may be realized by several Chinese characters that are different in meaning. To distinguish them phonologically, a tonal system is added to the phonic system. In Chinese, a tone is semantically meaningful when assigned to a sound; this tonal meaning could be roughly analogous to the differentiation of English words 'refuse and re'fuse which mean "waste" and "decline" respectively partially due to the different tonal values. Most Chinese characters themselves do not indicate pronunciation. When a child begins to learn Chinese characters, he/she is facing a more challenging task than an English child does in learning English--the former has to make double efforts to memorize both their unique form and their pronunciation no matter whether he or she could say them before beginning school.

The early Chinese characters were more like picture drawings which showed a close resemblance to the objects they signify: "sun" (☉) is represented by a circle with a point in the middle; "moon" (☾) is represented by a crescent with two strokes in the middle; "one" (一), "two" (二) and "three" (三) are represented by one, two and three horizontal strokes respectively. It is clear that this pictographic writing, which was quite a common invention in many early languages of the world, did not suffice to express complicated and abstract notions, though it was capable of expressing concrete objects or simple abstract notions such as numbers.

When challenged by new notions, many of these early pictographic languages changed in the direction toward phonological scripts. However, Chinese survives the challenges by allowing a powerful generative system to create abstract words easily. This system allows generating both new *zi* (character) by combining simple characters in existence called *bushou*³ (radical) and new *ci* (word or phrase)⁴ by combining characters. About ninety percent of Chinese *zis* (characters) were formed by combination of *bushous* (radicals): for example, three "persons" getting together form "mass"; "metal" and "compete" are combined to form "mirror"; "heart" (radical) and "ghost" are combined to form "ashamed"; and "wood" (radical) and "silver" are combined to form "root". In comparison with those prototypic simple Chinese characters which were pictographic, the compound Chinese *zis* (character)

are ideographic and phonographic. Until the Shang Dynasty (1700-1100 B.C.), pictographic characters had already become abstract symbols which were not visually associated with the objects or concepts they signified. Many characters became standardized radicals which may be used rather freely to form new characters with other radicals (Karlgren 1949). As a result of the continuous character creation through history, the original pictographic characters became outnumbered by the compound characters. The number of Chinese characters was 4,500 in the Shang Dynasty. It increased to 11,000 in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.); 23,000 in the Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.); and 49,000 in the eighteenth century (DeFrancis 1984: p.83). Today, the proportion of compound characters is 97 percent, while it was only about a third in the Shang Dynasty (DeFrancis 1984: p.84).

An ideal compound *zi* (character) consists of a phonetic *bushou* (radical), i.e. a part indicating its homophonous pronunciation, and a signifier *bushou* (radical) or *zi* (character), i.e. a part signifying its meaning. In the above examples, "ashamed" is associated with "thinking" and "ghost"; "mirror" is associated with "metal", the very material of which it was made at the time when the character was coined; and "root" is associated with "wood". Today, many Chinese characters carry a phonetic *bushou* which evokes its archaic pronunciation rather than its current pronunciation. In the above examples, the pronunciation of "mirror" is indicated by

the phonetic bushou "compete" which has not experienced a shifting. The pronunciation of "ashamed" and "root" is indicated by the ancient pronunciation of "ghost" and "silver" respectively. Currently "ashamed" in Mandarin is pronounced [kui], while its phonetic bushou "ghost" is pronounced [gui]; "root" is [gen] while its phonetic bushou is pronounced [yin], notwithstanding the fact each pair was phonetically identical six hundred years ago (Sima 1391).

The phonetic representation depending on homophonous characters or radicals in the archaic Chinese language was an ingenious creation. This approach of phonetic representation in the Chinese written system is both primitive and inadequate. As a result of inevitable phonological shift of words in history, it can be misleading when a compound character is phonetically marked by an unrelated phonetic bushou (radical). In both Mainland China and Taiwan, Chinese speakers occasionally mispronounce certain characters resulting from their obsolete phonetic bushous (radical).

In the Shang Dynasty, written Chinese witnessed a change from pictographs to abstract written symbols which did not resemble the objects they signified. Until the 18th century, the Chinese written system evolved to a complex fusion of sound and meaning, about 97 percent of Chinese characters were of semantic-phonetic formation while about 3 percent were of a pure pictographic origin (DeFrancis 1984: p.84).

The Chinese language could have been stranded in a hopeless path had it preserved the one-to-one correspondence of its *zi* (character) and *ci* (word) as its archaic form did. Continuous coining of unique characters to cope with new concepts could have made the language extremely difficult to learn. The departure of Chinese *ci* from *zi* has enabled the language to engulf increasing new ideas when new compound words (*cis*) are created from the existing *zis*. Originally, *ci* in Chinese was mainly represented by a monosyllabic *zi*. For example, about 85 percent of *ci* in the Classic of Odes (800-400 B.C.) were coordinated with single *zis*, only 15 percent were multi-character compounds. Since the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), there has been a tendency that more two-character or multi-character compound words appeared in the language. Compound words are created from the existing characters in place of existing monosyllabic words. The advantage of compound words are obvious as there could be virtually no need to increase the inventory of *zi* (character) because the existing ones could be used repeatedly to form new words in a way like English letters.

The forming of Chinese compound words follows the following rules (Li 1989: pp.28-84; Huang 1974: pp.10-24; Wang 1984)⁵:

1. Reduplication: a character is repeated to form a new word which is semantically associated with the forming character. Adjective, verb, noun and adverb often involve in reduplication. For example: "honghongde" ('red') from

"hong"('red'); "xiangxiangde"('aromatic') from "xiang"('aromatic'); "kankan"('look') from "kan"('look'); "xiangxiang" ('think') from "xiang"('think'); "mama" ('mother') from "ma"('mother'); "didi"('brother') from "di" ('brother'); "changchang"('often') from "chang"('often').

2. Subordinate compound: a word which is formed by adding an subordinate character to a key character. One group of the subordinate characters are affix-like characters which could combine freely with other characters. For example, "a"('particle'), "xiao" ('small'), "lao"('old'), like English prefixes, can combine into new words with a person's or an animal's name; however, "zi"('small'), "men"('plural') and "er"('small' or 'son'), like suffixes, form new words with a character of object or a person. The other group of subordinate characters are regular characters which play a lesser role in forming a new word with another character component. The subordinate part could be analyzed as a modifier, an object, in the word domain. For instance, "minxing" ('star') is composed of the subordinate component "min" ('bright') and the key component "xing"('star'); and "jijian" ('fencing') of the key component "ji"('charge') and the subordinate component "jian"('sword').

3. Coordinate compound. Two or more component characters contribute fairly equally in forming a new word. One group of these words have character components which are either synonymous or semantically related. For example, "shumu"

('woods') consists of "shu"('tree') and "mu"('log'); and "cucao"('rough') of "cu"('thick') and "cao"('coarse'); and "tounao"('wit') of "tou"('head') and "nao" ('brain').

Other coordinate compounds could also consist of an analyzable subject-predicate structure within the word domain. For example, "minzhu"('democracy') is composed of "min"('people') and "zhu"('govern'); "rishi" ('eclipse') of "ri"('sun') and "shi" ('eat').

A large proportion of compound words were formed metaphorically or metonymically through convention, so that a compound word may not necessarily carry the meanings of the composing characters. For example, "chicu" ('jealousy') consists of "chi" ('intake') and "cu" ('vinegar'); "mingbai" ('understand') is formed of "ming" ('bright') and "bai"('white'). Others are easily deciphered. For example, "heixin" ('vicious') of "hei" ('black') and "xin" ('heart'); and "guojia"('country') of "guo"('state') and "jia"('family'). Unlike English morphemes, most Chinese characters was once used as a word and possessed a distinct meaning. Metaphorical compound words are easy to discern if their composing characters either convey unusual meanings or oddly combined. But to understand their exact meanings, efforts need to be made to learn the documented stories and tales about how and when each of the metaphorical words was first created.

4.3 Major Chinese Dialects in P.R. China

Chinese includes a variety of mutually unintelligible dialects: Mandarin, Cantonese (Yue), Hakka, Wu, Min and Gan. The differences between these dialects are so great that they are as far apart as French and Spanish or as Dutch and English (DeFrancis 1984: p.39; Chao 1976). A Mandarin speaker and a Hakka speaker are not able to understand the simplest sentence each utters, nor are a Min speaker and a Wu speaker. We can in no way here give a full account of these differences, but rather a glimpse of each of the dialects.

4.3.1 Classification of Chinese Dialects

There has been some disagreement on the classification of Chinese dialects though all classifications have chosen to differentiate them from their phonological structure.

In P.R. China, the authoritative classification of Chinese dialects has been based on the solution adopted by the Conference on the Standardization of Modern Chinese held in Beijing 1955, in which Chinese eight dialects were identified: Mandarin, Wu, Cantonese, Xiang, Southern Min, Northern Min and Gan (DeFrancis 1984: pp.57-60). Similarly, other studies consider seven major dialects in Chinese by grouping Southern Min and Northern Min as one dialect (Li 1989: p.3). These classifications are by no means perfect regardless of the fact that they are widely quoted by linguists and sinologists.

First, the vernacular spoken by the late Communist leader Mao Tze-tung, Xiang, is overemphasized by being identified as

an independent dialect. Chao's classification is Based on his extensive field work done in Mainland China, and differs from both of the above in his handling the so-called Xiang which is grouped into Southwestern Mandarin rather than an independent dialect. In his classification, Mandarin is further divided into three subgroups: Northern Mandarin, Southern Mandarin and Southwestern Mandarin.

Hashimoto, on the other hand, holds there are five major dialect-groups of modern Chinese: Mandarin, Wu, Hakka, Min, and Yue (Cantonese) (Hashimoto 1992: p.1).

Here, based on Chao and Hashimoto's original views, the present study adopts the classification in which Chinese is divided into six major dialects: Mandarin, Cantonese, Min (Fukianese), Hakka, Gan and Wu, while Xiang is grouped into Southwestern Mandarin, a sub-dialect of Mandarin (Chao 1976).

The integration of Xiang (Hunan) into Mandarin is justifiable. First, in light of mutual intelligibility, the very standard in which Chinese dialects are classified, the vernacular spoken by people in Hunan province (the so-called Xiang or Hunan) is intelligible to people in provinces of Yunnan, Guizhou, Sichuan and North Guangxi which are labeled as Southwestern Mandarin speaking areas. Second, people of Hunan have always been closely linked with other Southwestern Mandarin speakers, so is their speech. Geographically, Hunan is located in the easily accessible Yangtze River basin where the State of Chu was first founded and became prosperous

around 800 B.C. By way of the Yangtze River, people of this region emigrated in large numbers to the upper Yangtze River basin which includes the present Sichuan Province and to the upper Pearl River regions which covers the present Yunnan and Guizhou Provinces and the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. As a result of the expansion, descendants of the State of Chu began to dominate this vast area and brought with them the language and culture from the middle Yangtze River though the Chu rulers hardly controlled their remotest territory.

The establishment of Qin Empire in 221 B.C. was immediately followed by a large scale of emigration from the former Chu State to the present provinces of Guizhou and Yunnan, as well as the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. The completion of the Lin Canal (Linqu) in 214 B.C. linked the water courses of Yangtze River and the Pearl River and it facilitated not only the shipping of military supplies to the newly conquered Southern territory but also the outflow of people from the inland. Historically, people in this vast area were closely related, so were their dialects, and there were no communication problems among them. Although the vernaculars they used in these areas have undergone changes, yet these changes are trifling as compared with their differences from any other dialects such as Wu, Gan and Cantonese.

The following discussion will thus base on the six dialects: Mandarin, Cantonese, Gan, Wu, Min and Hakka.

4.3.2 Mandarin, the Chinese Lingua Franca

In P.R. China, Mandarin is spoken by more than three quarters of the population who, numbering 850 million in total, are distributed along the southeastern coast from Jiangsu (Kiangzu) Province to the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. Those *Han*, the biggest ethnic group in China, living north of the Yangtze River and west of Jiangxi Province are exclusively Mandarin speakers, though the Mandarin they used may differ considerably from region to region. Mandarin is further divided into three subgroups: Northern Mandarin, Southern Mandarin and Southwestern Mandarin (Chao 1976). All the three subgroups are considered mutually intelligible as they share the same syntax structure, and a large part of their vocabulary remains identical. Within these Mandarin groups, linguistic differences remain mostly in deviation of tones and lexical items.

4.3.2.1 Northern Mandarin

Northern Mandarin is used in the Yellow River Basin and all the way up to Northeast China (Manchuria). To this group belongs the Beijing (Peking) vernacular, which has been chosen by both the Nationalist government and the communist government as the standard. Chinese civilization first originated in the Northern Mandarin speaking Yellow River basin--the place where the earliest Chinese inscriptions on bones and tortoise shells were discovered. However, the contemporary Northern Mandarin has demonstrated considerable

difference from its ancient form. One most conspicuous change has been the devoicing of the stops.

4.3.2.2 Southern Mandarin

Southern Mandarin is used in the three southern provinces in P.R. China: Jiangsu (Kiangsu), Anhui (Anhwei) and Jiangxi (Kiangsi). One feature of Southern Mandarin is its merging of the nasal sound [ŋ] and [ɲ] into [ŋ]. Being close to northern Mandarin in tonal system, it is intelligible to both Northern Mandarin and Southwestern Mandarin speakers.

4.3.2.3 Southwestern Mandarin

Southwestern Mandarin, the most deviant Mandarin, covers a vast area of the middle and upper Yangtze River basin, which includes several provinces, such as Sichuan (Szechuan), Guizhou (Kweichow), Guangxi (Kwangsi), Yunnan, Hunan and Hubei (Hupeh).

Southwestern Mandarin differs from the other Mandarin varieties chiefly in lexicon and phonology. A phonological feature of Southwestern Mandarin is the confusion of initial [l] and [n], that is, Southwestern Mandarin has two variants [l] and [n] for the initial nasal "n". The merging of [ŋ] and [ɲ] is also common among speakers of Southwestern Mandarin. In Southwestern Mandarin, its second, third and fourth tone sound like the third (the first half), the fourth and the second tone respectively in North Mandarin.

4.3.3 Cantonese

Cantonese is spoken by about 60 million people living in the south of Guangdong Province, and the south of the Guangxi Autonomous Region. It is also the dominant dialect used in Hong Kong. A comparison of Cantonese and Mandarin indicates that, in addition to drastic differences in phonetics and vocabulary, Cantonese word order differs from that of Mandarin in many ways. In Mandarin, a direct object always follows an indirect object, while Cantonese commonly has a direct object followed by an indirect object, such as "bi sui o" ('give water me'), instead of "bi o sui" ('give me water'). Certain adverbs in Mandarin, resultative adverbs for example, appear to come after the verb, but most other adverbs precede the verb. However, a Cantonese prefers the post-verbal structure. To say "you go first", for example, a Mandarin speaker will say "ni xian zou" ('you go first'), while a Cantonese is likely to say "nei hang hsin" ('you go first').

Cantonese speakers often use "you" ('have') as an auxiliary preceding a verb, but Mandarin, except Taiwan Guoyu, does not have the auxiliary use of "you" ('have'). To express the meaning "have you read the book?" Cantonese has "nei you mou dok sy?" ('you have not-have read book?'), while Mandarin "ni du le shu mei you?" ('you read book not have?').

Cantonese is among the three Chinese dialects which preserve the ancient consonantal endings with "p", "t", "k" and "m" (Li 1987).

The promotion of Putonghua on the Mainland has enabled many dialect speakers to become Mandarin bilinguals. These bilinguals may speak Mandarin under the influence of their first dialect (DeFrancis 1984). This influence is first of all phonological and lexical. It could be syntactic as well. A Cantonese speaker who learns to speak Mandarin is likely to substitute the Mandarin pronunciation for the Cantonese one without changing the Cantonese word order. He is inclined to speak Mandarin like "gei sui gei wo" ('give water give me'), meaning "give me water"; "ni zou xian" ('you go first') and "ni you mei chi fan?" ('you have not eaten meal?'), meaning 'Have you had your meal?'.

4.3.4 Hakka

In P.R. China, there are about 41,000,000 Hakka speakers who are widely spread in Fujian, Jiangxi and Guangdong Provinces in the South and Sichuan Province in mid-West (DeFrancis 1985; Hashimoto 1992). A small fraction of this ethnic-cultural group has found their way to Taiwan. The English word Hakka was probably translated from Cantonese pronunciation while its Mandarin pronunciation is [kəˈtsia], meaning 'guest family'. Hakka people generally believed that their ancestors lived in the North China Plain, the central arena of China's historical events (Hashimoto 1992). One conspicuous characteristic of Hakka is the aspiration and

devoicing of all the ancient Chinese voiced obstruents in the dialect.

4.3.5 Wu (Shanghainese)

Wu refers to the dialect spoken by about 94 million people living in China's Zhejiang Province. Shanghainese is a subgroup of Wu dialect. The most prominent characteristic of Wu is its preservation of the ancient Chinese tripartite division of initial stops: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced. However, in other Chinese dialects, including Mandarin, only two grades exist, i.e. voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated (Chao 1968: pp.35-36). Wu dialect uniquely retains the ancient voiced or sonant initials like "b", "d", "g", "v" and "z" (Chao 1976: p.24). Acoustically, Wu vowels are shorter than those in other dialects.

4.3.6 Min

Min includes two subgroups of dialects: Minnan (Southern Min) and Minbei (Northern Min). Geographically Minnan is spoken in the Southern part of Fujian Province while Minbei is spoken in Northern Fujian. Taiwanhua (Taiwanese) is a direct descendent of Minnan. Approximately there are 48 million Minnan speakers, including about 17 million Taiwanhua (Taiwanese) speakers; and 14 million Minbei speakers (DeFrancis 1984: p.58). Min is characteristic of consonantal endings and nasal vowels which are lacking in most Chinese

dialects. Min's consonantal system is comparatively simple as many sounds in other Chinese dialects are absent, such as "f", "l" and "x".

4.3.7 Gan

Closely related to Hakka, Gan is sometimes categorized in Gan-Hakka subgroup (Hashimoto 1992). There are about 29 million Gan speakers who live in Jiangxi Province and southern part of Anhui province. As happened in Hakka, the ancient voiced obstruents in Gan are pronounced as voiceless aspirated consonants. On the other hand, the tonal system of Gan differs to varied degree from other dialects.

In summary, Chinese is divided into six dialect groups of which Mandarin has the biggest speaking population. Mandarin is further divided into three major groups: Northern Mandarin, Southwestern Mandarin, and Southern Mandarin. Of the five other dialects, Wu has the biggest speaking population. Cantonese, Hakka, and Min distinguish themselves from the rest in their preservation of the ancient consonantal endings "m", "p", "t", and "k".

NOTES

1. Here, I adopt R. A. Miller's classification in which Japanese is considered a language belonging to Ural-Altaic. Other scholars, such as S. Muller, have views different from his.

2. Based on the current population of 1.16 billion in P.R. China, this figure is adjusted in accordance with the proportional distribution of the Chinese dialects provided by DeFrancis (1984).

3. Bushou (radical) is a simplified zi (character) which is used to form new zis with other bushous or zis. Bushou can not stand alone while zi can. There are more than two hundred bushous in contemporary Chinese.

4. There is no exact English equivalent for Chinese zi and ci. They share a conceptual relationship which is analogical in a sense to that of atom and molecule in chemistry. Zi is a single script which may constitute a word either alone or by combining with one or more other zi(s). Ci, on the other hand, could be a single zi or a combination of two or more zis to denote a complete meaning. For example, when "tian"(天) stands alone to denote "sky", it is both a zi in the sense of being a single script and a ci in the sense of being a unit to express a complete meaning; when "tian"(天) is combined with "qi"(氣) to denote "weather", it is a zi, not a ci, while "tianqi"(天氣) is a ci. In ancient Chinese, the distinction between zi and ci was of little importance as most words were monosyllabic zis.

5. There is a great deal of disagreement on the classification of Chinese compound words. My classification varies more or less from those in the cited works.

Chapter V

Two Varieties of Mandarin: Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu

5.0 Introduction

Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu were both decreed based on the same vernacular spoken by people in the vicinity of Beijing. The term Guoyu, meaning "National Language", was first used in the 1910s when the National Language Unification Movement swept throughout China (Chao 1943; 1968: pp.97-99)¹. In the 1950s, the term Putonghua was coined by the newly-established Communist government. Putonghua, meaning "Common Speech", has since replaced Guoyu on the Mainland, though this politically-oriented move hardly conceals the fact that Putonghua refers to the same linguistic entity as Guoyu does. As mentioned previously, the compulsory education on the Mainland and in Taiwan has made Mandarin a lingua franca.

Under the influence of other contact dialects and foreign languages, both Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua have drifted away from the decreed standard. Nowadays, Guoyu spoken by the majority of the Taiwanese differs to a great extent from its designated standards. At the risk of overgeneralizing, the change of Taiwan Guoyu over the years appears to be phenomenal compared to the change of Putonghua. Taiwan Guoyu differs from Putonghua in features of nearly all linguistic domains while still maintaining mutual intelligibility.

This chapter will compare Putonghua with Taiwan Guoyu, and explore factors which have caused Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu to deviate from their decreed standards.

5.1 Putonghua

The standard of Putonghua was set based on the vernacular used by the people in the vicinity of Beijing. However, people living in provinces north of the Yangtze River are considered standard Putonghua speakers. More specifically, they are Northern Mandarin speakers who live in provinces of Hebei, Henan, Shandong, Shanxi, Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, and Shaanxi. In a broader sense, Putonghua is equivalent to Northern Mandarin (see Chapter IV: 4.3.2 for details). As a result of the prolonged Putonghua promotion campaign, more and more non-Putonghua speakers became Putonghua bilinguals. Yet, the use of Putonghua as a second dialect usually carry features from their first dialect, and thus their speech is not considered authentic.

Beijing vernacular, the very standard of Putonghua, is by no mean the dialect closest to classical Chinese. For one thing, Beijing vernacular has lost the ancient consonantal endings [p], [t], [k] and [m] notwithstanding the fact that other Chinese dialects have preserved them (Chao 1968a; 1968b).

Historically, Beijing vernacular has inherited a great deal of linguistic influence from Manchu, the language spoken by rulers of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.). One

conspicuous feature of Beijing vernacular is the use of the retroflex suffix morpheme [ɿ], which does not exist in any other Chinese dialects, nor does it exist in Northern Mandarin which was spoken outside of Beijing (Li 1986). This feature is now considered a nonstandard feature in the standardized vernacular. There has been a tendency for Beijing natives to gradually reduce the use of it.

5.2 Taiwan Guoyu and Substandard Taiwan Guoyu

Standard Taiwan Guoyu or Taiwan Guoyu refers to the standardized Mandarin spoken by the majority of the population in Taiwan. This version of the Mandarin is widely used at schools, government offices, television and radio broadcast on the island. Taiwan Guoyu differs from its designated standard form, Beijing vernacular, in that it is a deviated form with an enormous number of linguistic features from Minnan (see 5.3 for details), and it differs from Substandard Taiwan Guoyu in lesser degrees of Minnan influence.

Substandard Taiwan Guoyu refers to the Mandarin with strong Minnan features in all major linguistic aspects. It is spoken mostly by people of little formal education or older generations whose first language is Minnan rather than Mandarin. This Mandarin resembles a translated version of Minnan with Mandarin pronunciation: it preserves the Minnan structure in the Mandarin surface form (pronunciation and lexicon) though the word order of Minnan and Mandarin is similar. Theoretically, Substandard Taiwan Guoyu is best

described as a xenolect, whose base form is disguised by some Mandarin surface features (Stewart 1990: pp.36-40). We will give a detailed account of it in the following sections.

5.2.1 Substandard Taiwan Guoyu

Substandard Guoyu demonstrates obvious differences from other forms of Mandarin in pronunciation and lexicon. These differences are largely attributes from Minnan. One crucial syntactic influence of Minnan on Substandard Taiwan Guoyu is the use of auxiliary "you" ('have') in marking the past tense. This Substandard Guoyu structure later became accepted by the standard Taiwan Guoyu.

Minnan

- I u ciat bo?
he PAST eat not
"Did he eat?"
- I u ciat.
he PAST eat
"he ate."

SubStandard TG² / T. Guoyu

- Ta you ci ma?
he PAST eat QUES
"Did he eat?"
- Ta you ci
he PAST eat
"he ate."

Putonghua

- Ta chi le ma?
he eat ASP QUES
"Did he eat?"/ "has he eaten"
- Ta chi le
he eat ASP
"he ate."

In morphology and lexicon, Minnan has a large inventory of words formed with suffix "a", rendered as "zai" in

Substandard Taiwan Guoyu and prefix "a", which are equivalent to Mandarin "zi" ('son') and "xiao" ('small') respectively. These words in Substandard Taiwan Guoyu are modeled in Minnan word forms which are absent in Mandarin (Putonghua).

Minnan	Substandard TG	Putonghua	Gloss
liu-a	niu-zai	niu-kou	button
gu-a-hi	ge-zai-si	ge-zai-xi	Taiwan opera
he-a-po	hua-zai-bu	hua-bu	Printed calico
gin-a	zin-zai	mao-jin	towel
gau-a	go(u)-zai	xiao-gou	doggie
niau-a	miao-zai/mi	xiao-miao	kitten
a-kong	a-gong	gong-gong	grandpa
a-tia	a-die	ba-ba/die	father
a-zi	a-zie	jie-jie	elder sister
a-ku	a-ziu	jiu-jiu	uncle

These Mandarin words of Minnan style, once laughing stocks in the past, have nevertheless exerted concrete influence on Taiwan Guoyu. The latter has unnoticeably adopted some of those mixed forms such as "a-gong" and "a-po". (cf. 5.3.2).

Besides, a large number of other common words in Substandard Taiwan Guoyu are different from those in Mandarin (cf. Kubler 1982).

Minnan	Substandard TG	Putonghua	Gloss
kim-kue	zin-gua	nan-gua	pumpkin
kue-bu	zi-mu/gimu	mu-ji	hen
tian-hong	dian-Fung	dian-feng-shan	electric fan
so-si	so-si	yao-shi	key
tau-ke	tou-gia /tou-zia	lao-ban	boss

Phonologically, Substandard Taiwan Guoyu is characterized by underdifferentiation of the Mandarin sounds, many of which

are lacking in Minnan. As shown in Table 3 and Table 4, Mandarin has seven more consonants than Minnan does: palatal "j", "q" and "x"; labiodental "f"; and retroflexed "zh", "ch", "sh" and "r".

Table 3
Consonants of Putonghua

	Obstruent			Sonorant	
	Stop	Affricate	Fricative	Nasal	Oral
Bilabial	[p ^h]p [p]b			[m]m	[w]w
Labiodental			[f]f		
Coronal	[t ^h]t [t]d	[ts ^h]c [ts]z	[s]s	[n]n	[l]l
Palatal		[tʃ ^h]q [tʃ]j	[ʃ]x		[y]y
Retroflex		[tʂ]ch [tʂ]zh	[ʂ]sh [ʐ]r		[ʐ]r
Velar	[k ^h]k [k]g		[x]h	[ŋ]ng	
Glottal					

Notes: The voiceless unaspirated stops and affricates tend to be laxly articulated.

Symbols to the right of the brackets in Tables 3 to 7 represent the transcription systems used here. In the case of Putonghua, Table 3, the symbols are the official, romanized Hanyupinyin.

In these tables, different phones in brackets followed by the same transcription symbol are analyzed as allophones of the same phoneme, e.g. in Table 3, [ʐ]r and [ʐ̥]r.

Table 4
Consonants of Minnan

	Obstruent			Sonorant	
	Stop	Affricate	Fricative	Nasal	Oral
Bilabial	[p ^h ~p ^o]p [p]b		[ɸ]F	[m]m	[w]w
Labiodental					
Coronal	[t ^h ~t ^o]t [t]d	[ts ^h]c [ts]z	[s]s	[n]n	[l]n
Palatal			[ʒ]y		[y]y
Retroflex					
Velar	[k ^h ~k ^o]k [k]g			[ŋ]ng	
Glottal					[h]h

Notes: 1. Table 4 is based on the assumption that there are 16 consonant phonemes in Minnan. This classification is close to Hong's (1987), in which there are 15 consonants rather than 23 as listed in Kubler (1981). Some of the consonants in Kubler's list are allophones.

2. [p^h] and [p^o] are allophones of the phoneme "p". Similarly, [k^h] and [k^o], [t^h] and [t^o] and [l] and [n] are allophones of "k", "t" and "n" respectively. [p^o t^o k^o] are unreleased syllable-final consonants, which Mandarin does not have.

Table 5
Consonants of Taiwan Guoyu

	Obstruent			Sonorant	
	Stop	Affricate	Fricative	Nasal	Oral
Bilabial	[p ^h]p [p]b		[ɸ]F	[m]m	[w]w
Labiodental			([f]f)		
Coronal	[t ^h]t [t]d	[ts ^h]c [ts]z	[s]s	[n]n	[l]n
Palatal		([tʃ ^h]q [tʃ]j)	([ʃ]x) [ʒ]y		[y]y
Retroflex		([tʂ ^h]ch [tʂ]zh)	([ʂ]sh)([ʐ]r)		[ɻ]r
Velar	[k ^h]k [k]g		([x]h)	[ŋ]ng	
Glottal					

Note: Symbols in parentheses, such as ([f]f), ([ʃ]sh), represent Mandarin sounds that many Taiwanese have difficulty in pronouncing. In Substandard Taiwan Guoyu, these sounds are often replaced by other sounds in the repertoire, namely [f]f by [ɸ]F, the palatal and retroflex obstruents by the coronal obstruents, the retroflex [ʐ~ʑ]r by the palatal [ʒ~y]y, and [x]h by [h]h. There is also variability in replacements, e.g. "jia" pronounced as [kia] or [tsia], "x" as [s] or [h].

Beijing Mandarin has both retroflexed and alveolar affricates and fricatives, while Minnan only has alveolars. Minnan speakers thus have difficulty in distinguishing them. What they do is to use alveolars to represent both Mandarin alveolar and Mandarin retroflexed consonants, thus underdifferentiation occurs.

Mandarin		Substandard TG
"zh" and "z"	->	"z"([ts])
"ch" and "c"	->	"c"([tsʰ])
"sh" and "s"	->	"s"([s])

For example:

Mandarin	Substandard TG	Gloss
zhi-zhao	zi-zao/zu-zao	manufacture
zhen-de	zen-de	really
chi-dao	cu-dao	be late
shang-shan	sang-san	climb the mountain
sha-zi	sa-zi	fool

The pronunciation of the Mandarin retroflexed "zh", "ch" and "sh" as "z", "c" and "s" in Substandard Taiwan Guoyu has now been accepted as the standard pronunciation in Taiwan (see 5.2.3 for details).

However, for Mandarin "f", "j", "q" and "x", substitution of Minnan sounds has occurred, but these Minnan substitutes

differ from the Mandarin sounds variably. This constitutes a phonological feature of Substandard Taiwan Mandarin.

Mandarin	Substandard TG
"f"	-> [h] or [ɸ]
"j"	-> [k]
"q"	-> [tsʰ]
"x"	-> [h] or [s]
"r"	-> [ɻ], [z], or [l]

For example:

Mandarin	Substandard TG	Gloss
fei-ji	hui-zi/Fwe-gi	airplane
xi-wang	hi-wang	hope
	/si-wang	
ran-shao	yan-sao	burn

In the vocalic system, Mandarin has a few sounds that Minnan does not have, and vice versa. The following Mandarin vowels are lacking in Minnan: [ə], [ɤ], [ʌ]; [ü] and [ʉ]. Mandarin does not share the five Minnan nasal vowel phonemes.

Table 6
Vowel Sounds of Mandarin

[i]i	[ü]ü		[z̥ʉ, z̥ʉ]i	[u]u
	[e]e		[ɤ]e	[o]o
	[ɛ]a	[ə]e	[ʌ]e	[ɔ]o
	[a]a	[ʌ]a	[ɑ]a	

Note: [z̥ʉ] and [z̥ʉ] are co-articulated syllable nuclei consisting of a high back unrounded vowel with simultaneous voiced alveolar friction or voiced retroflex friction respectively depending on the tongue tip place of articulation of the preceding affricate or fricative onset. [z̥ʉ] can weaken to a syllabic retroflex [ɻ̥].

Table 7
Vowel Sounds of Minnan

[ĩ]	[i]i	[I]i			[u]u	[ũ]
[ê]	[e]e				[o]o	[õ]
[ễ]	[ɛ]a				[ɔ]o	[õ̃]
[ã]	[a]a	[A]a			[ɑ]a	[ã̃]

Note: All Minnan vowels also occur distinctively nasalized. In Mandarin, vowels may occur non-distinctively nasalized before nasal consonants.

As said above, different phonetic symbols in brackets in these tables when followed by the same transcription symbol are analyzed as representing allophones of the same phoneme.

For the Mandarin vowels that are lacking in Minnan, substituting the existing Minnan vowels becomes a common practice.

Mandarin		Substandard TG	
[ə ɤ ʌ]	->	[ɛ]	
[ʊ]	->	[u]	with loss of the simultaneous voiced fricative
[ü]	->	[i]	

For example:

	Mandarin	Substandard TG	Gloss
[ʊ]	zi-ran fang-zi	zu-yan Fang-zu	nature house
[ü]	da-yü yü-bei	da-yi yi-be	downpour prepare

Besides, Minnan does not have as many diphthongs and triphthongs as Mandarin does. These Mandarin sounds are: "ei"; "ou"; "uo"; "ie"; "iou" and "uei". There is a tendency that Mandarin diphthongs are shortened in Substandard Taiwan Guoyu. In fact, this pronunciation has influenced the standard Taiwan Guoyu.

Putonghua		Substandard TG
[ou]	----->	[o]
[uo]	----->	[ɤ]
[iou]	----->	[io]
[uei]	----->	[ue]
[ei]	----->	[e]

For example (see Table 7 for the transcription of Substandard Taiwan Guoyu):

Mandarin	Substandard TG	Gloss
"ei"		
gei	ge	give
hei-ban	he-ban	blackboard
"ou"		
hai-ou	hai-o	seagull
hou-long	ho-long	throat
"uo"		
guo-tou	go-to	pot
tuo-niao	to-niao	ostrich
luo-hou	lo-ho	backward
tuo-la-ji	to-la-ji	tractor
"iou"		
fu-xiou	Fu-sio	decay
miou-lun	mio-len	fallacy
"uei"		
guei-zu	gue-zu	noble
duei	dei	right

Substitutions like these in Substandard Taiwan Guoyu have been the major attributes of the Minnan accent which a Putonghua speaker can easily perceive.

5.2.2 Promotion of Guoyu in Taiwan

Historically, Taiwan Island was under the jurisdiction of China's Fujian Province. Most of its inhabitants are descendants of Minnan-speaking emigrants from across the Taiwan Strait about four hundred years ago, while its aboriginal Polynesians constitute about ten percent of the total population (Kubler 1982). The promotion of Mandarin could be traced back to the Reign of Emperor Yongzheng of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.). In 1728 the Emperor wrote to his ministers:

I occasionally received officials in various positions and examined their vitae. I noticed that those who came from provinces of Fujian and Guangdong still speak their native dialects which can hardly be understood... It is necessary that Governors of Fujian and Guangdong Provinces, together with their prefectural and county officials, conduct educational programs to make their speech intelligible.

(Hong 1987, p.149)

In accordance with the imperial order, many Zhengyinshuyüan ('Pronunciation Correction Schools') were opened to teach Mandarin in Taiwan after 1729. Those schools were then patronized only by the upper class. In 1750, these Mandarin promotion efforts became abortive when the last Zhengyinshuyüan was closed up for lack of teachers and public interest (Hong 1987, p.150).

Two centuries later, a similar linguistic campaign was waged in Taiwan when the Japanese left the island following their defeat in World War II. However, the most thorough Mandarin promotion efforts were not made until the 1950s, after the Nationalist government was ousted from the Mainland. This linguistic campaign was begun in order to eradicate the language and cultural influence brought about by the Japanese, who had ruled the island from 1898 to 1945, and to strengthen the rule of the Kuomintang government, whose officials were virtually non-Taiwanese.

This campaign became fruitful through compulsory administrative orders, which enabled Guoyu to become the only language used at schools and offices, as well as by most news media. Many subjects can still recall this fanaticism at its peak in the 1960s and the 1970s.

When I went to school each morning, I used to remind myself that I should speak Guoyu but not Taiwanhua (Minnan), the language we spoke at home. But time and again, I could not help speaking it for it was easy for me to express my thoughts. I was caught many times by the student patrol guards. When I had money, I paid the penalty of ten cents each time. When I did not have money, I would be asked to stand against the wall for a quarter or so. Even your best friends might report to the school authority if they heard you speak Taiwanhua.

-Ms. Fan

In recent years, there has been open criticisms of the government's Guoyu policy. Critics question the drastic

measures taken during the campaign and concern is raised about the possible eradication of Minnan and other dialects as a result of the persistent promulgation.

Despite the controversy, the linguistic campaign could be viewed as a success since it has virtually transformed a non-Mandarin speaking society into a Mandarin speaking one in less than thirty years.

5.2.3 Polarization of Taiwan Guoyu

The antagonism built up along the Taiwan Strait in the past has made language contact between Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua nearly impossible³. Many sociolinguistic studies indicate that isolation tends to create variation or language shifts (Hudson 1980). The separation of Putonghua speakers and Taiwan Guoyu speakers has enabled their vernaculars to drift apart. Taiwan Guoyu experienced great changes in the past two decades when the old generation of Mandarin speaking films stars and radio and TV broadcasters were replaced by their Taiwan born successors.

Social and political factors have expedited the acceptance of Taiwan Guoyu as the standard: 1) Since the death of President Chiang Kai-sek, there has been an increasing demand among Taiwanese for their own identity that is different from that of the Mainlanders--to standardize a language with Taiwan color seems to meet the need of this tendency. 2) When those Beijing-born news announcers and TV

men retired, a large number of native-born Taiwan Guoyu speakers took their places; the language they use has greatly influenced the population. 3) Four decades of separation from the Mainland has reduced the language influence from Putonghua to a minimum. Linguistic influence found in Taiwan Guoyu can thus be explained in terms of substratum interference, which is a direct result of the bilingual process of the majority of Taiwan inhabitants.

5.2.4 Influence from Min

Taiwan Guoyu remains the second language of more than 80 percent of the population in Taiwan. Taiwanhua (Minnan), their mother tongue, exerts continual influence on the Guoyu they learned. These influences are mostly in phonology, lexicon, and syntax (Kubler 1981, Cheng 1985).

As discussed in 5.2.2, the primary influence from Minnan is evident in Substandard Taiwan Guoyu, a xenolect or an interlanguage. Through Substandard Taiwan Guoyu, some of these Minnan features have struck roots in Taiwan Guoyu. In the following subsections, we will discuss aspects of Minnan influence on Taiwan Guoyu, while ignoring Substandard Taiwan Guoyu, the middle link which plays a significant role in transferring Minnan influence.

5.2.4.1 Phonological Influence

Deretroflexion in Taiwan Guoyu is the apparent evidence of phonological influence from Taiwanhua (Minnan).

As discussed above, Mandarin has the four retroflexed consonants "zh", "ch", "sh" and "r" and the alveolar consonants "z", "c" and "s". Minnan has the alveolar sounds but does not have the retroflexed "zh", "ch", "sh" and "r" (see Table 3 and Table 4). A phonological mechanism triggers a replacement of the retroflexed by Minnan alveolars.

Retroflexed consonants in Taiwan Guoyu have undergone de-retroflexion and sound like alveolars.

[tʂ] zh	->	[ts] z
[tʂʰ] ch	->	[tsʰ] c
[ʂ] sh	->	[s] s

In Substandard Taiwan Guoyu, the retroflexed [ʀ]([ʐ]) is replaced by a semi-vowel [y]. While in Taiwan Guoyu, a voiced palatal fricative [ʒ] is created to replace the Beijinese retroflexed pronunciation:

Putonghua	T. Guoyu	Substandard TG	Gloss
riluo	zílo	yilo	sunset
ranliao	zánliao	yanliao	fuel
ruguo	zúgo	yigo	if
renmin	zénmin	yinmin	people
renran	zénran	yinyan	still

5.2.4.2 Syntactic Influence

Min influences the syntactic structure of Taiwan Guoyu in many ways. Cheng argued that the reduction of SOV sentences in Taiwan Guoyu is the most obvious (Cheng 1985).

SOV sentences in Putonghua, in his view, could be traced to the linguistic influence from the Altaic language family,

e.g. Manchu (Cheng 1985: pp.353-355) though Mandarin is generally considered an SVO language. A Putonghua speaker uses many OV sentences in his/her conversation, these sentences always have SVO counterparts (see 5.3.2.1 for details). Taiwanhua (Minnan) observes a rather strict SVO order preserving Old Chinese word order. When Taiwanhua speakers learn Mandarin, they tend to process Mandarin sentences based on the grammar of Minnan. Being non-obligatory, the OV structure is gradually reduced and eliminated.

"You" ('have') in Guoyu constitutes another marked grammar transfer from Minnan into Guoyu. In Putonghua and most Chinese dialects, unlike, e.g. English, Minnan, or Cantonese, the past and perfective affirmative sentences can not be distinguished easily. Only the negative are optionally marked by "meiyou" ('not have') or "hai meiyou" ('not yet') (Cheng 1985: p.359). Different tenses of a sentence can be discerned only in a given context.

Minnan has "u" as the past marker, and other aspect particles to show perfective aspect.

For example (cf. Cheng 1985: pp.359):

Minnan	Putonghua
Past	Past & Perfective
- Woa u ciat	- Wo chi le
I PAST eat	I eat ASP
'I ate'	'I ate' or 'I have eaten'
Perfective	
- Woa ciat a	
I eat ASP	
'I have eaten'	

The grammatical function of pre-verbal past marker "u" has been transferred to Guoyu in a rather complicated way. What has been transferred to Taiwan Guoyu from Minnan is the grammar function rather than the pronunciation and morpheme. Instead of "u", Mandarin "you" ('have') is used to assume the similar function possessed by "u". As a result of this transfer, a distinction between the past and perfective aspect in Taiwan Guoyu becomes possible.

T. Guoyu

Past	Perfective
- Wo you ci	- Wo ci le
I have eat	I eat ASP
'I ate'	'I have eaten'

5.2.4.3 Lexical Borrowing from Minnan

The popularization of Mandarin in Taiwan has introduced numerous lexical items from Mandarin to Minnan. On the other hand, speakers of Minnan continuously introduced new words into Taiwan Guoyu. As Mandarin and Minnan both descended from Hanyu ('ancient Chinese'), and they share a large part of the vocabulary, it is difficult to single out those borrowed words. It is possible that a lexical item currently shared by both Minnan and Taiwan Guoyu was once shared by both Minnan and Mandarin and it became obsolete in the latter.

Here, our attention is confined to contemporary lexical borrowing from Minnan into Taiwan Guoyu by comparing the most frequently used vocabulary of both Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua. The following is a list of the most commonly used lexical

items borrowed from Minnan.

T. Guoyu	Minnan	Putonghua	Gloss
a-gong	a-kong	yie-yie/zhu-fu	grandfather
a-po	a-po	nai-nai	grandmother
		/lao-tai-tai	
cou		lang-bei	embarrassed
Kao-dao/shang	kao-tiuh	kao-shang	pass an exam
pu-tong	pu-tong	yi-ban	average
san-ba	sam-po	sha	silly/weird

The counterparts in Putonghua are often idiomatically different from those in Taiwan Guoyu.

5.2.5 Influence from Japanese

Japanese was influenced by Chinese for centuries while Chinese received nearly nothing in return (Sapir 1921: pp.192-206). There are very limited traceable Japanese linguistic elements found in Chinese dialects used on the Mainland. However, Japanese influence in Taiwan was enormous because they occupied the island for half a century (1895-1945). Beginning in 1895, the Japanese carried out compulsory education in the Japanese language in all schools and Chinese was banned in all public occasions and institutions, thus the dominance of the Japanese language and culture was established shortly after the island was annexed to the Japanese empire.

Japanese influence on Taiwan Guoyu was also exerted indirectly from Minnan: Japanese first influenced Minnan and the latter in turn influence Taiwan Guoyu when Mandarin was promulgated in 1950s.

Japanese is syntactically quite different from Taiwanhua (Minnan). Japanese syntax, such as word order, and case marking, did not leave any trace in Minnan and Taiwan Guoyu. Its influence was found basically in lexicons which fall into two groups: 1) those whose pronunciation is similar to that of in Japanese; and 2) those whose pronunciation is different from that of Japanese. These different types of borrowings resulted from either the perceived salient feature of the Japanese words or the way they were introduced. Mandarin, Minnan and Japanese share Chinese characters ("Hanzi") though their pronunciations differ drastically. When Japanese words were introduced into Minnan through reading materials, Taiwan Minnan speakers learned the pronunciation of those hanzi in accordance with phonological rules of Chinese, and therefore these words ended up in Chinese with pronunciations which are different from the original Japanese. When the Japanese left the island in 1945, these words were eventually borrowed by Taiwan Guoyu.

Japanese	Minnan	T. Guoyu	Gloss
gei-sha	yegi	yi-zi	entertaining girl
sa-doo	tedo	cha-dao	tea ceremony
kai-sha	huisia	hui-she	company
tsu-bo	pēn	pin(g)	classifier of area

The other type of borrowing is a direct transcription of the Japanese pronunciation by Chinese characters of pronunciation to the Japanese sounds. Thus the surface meanings of the Chinese characters do not reflect the Japanese meaning. For example:

Japanese	Minnan	T. Guoyu	Gloss
bentoo	bendān	biandang	boxed meal
ka-doo	huido	hua-dao	flower arranging
tatami	tatami	tatami	mat
sashimi	sasimi	saximi	raw fish
tempura	tempora	tianbula	fried delicacy /sweet but not hot

These borrowings based on pronunciation create semantic inconsistency from their original source words. For example, though Japanese "bento" and Taiwan Guoyu "biandang" both refer to 'boxed lunch', "biandang" in Taiwan Guoyu carries an added meaning of 'convenient' derived from the original meaning of the characters used to write it, which Japanese does not have, due to the translated Chinese character "bian" ('convenient'). "Tempura" was originally borrowed from Portuguese "tempora" by Japanese, but when it was again borrowed by Minnan and then by Taiwan Guoyu based on pronunciation, an undesired meaning was added by the component Chinese characters which mean 'sweet but not hot'. These Japanese borrowings are on their way to being introduced into Putonghua with the deviant meanings.

5.2.6 Influence from English

English influence on Mandarin could be traced back a century ago when missionaries and businessmen from Europe and the United States arrived in China. During this time, many Chinese scholars who had studied in America and Europe returned home, and played an important role in introducing Western culture and technology. English words and expressions

were introduced into Mandarin and later became an integral part of the language. These words are mostly related to Western culture and new inventions. The most frequently-used English loan words are: "moden" ('modern'); "balei" ('ballet'); "da" ('dozen'); "leida" ('radar'); "ping" ('pint'); "huaerzi" ('waltz'); "youmo" ('humor'); "jipu" ('jeep'); "feilin" ('film'); "kaobei" ('copy'); "bang" ('pound'); "jiafei" ('coffee'); "maikefeng" ('microphone'); "tanke" ('tank'); "pannisilin" ('penicillin'); "xiangbin" ('champagne'); "jialun" ('gallon'); "nilong" ('nylon'). These foreign words were all inherited by Taiwan Guoyu.

After the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan, the close tie between Taiwan and the United States fostered American cultural and linguistic influence on the island while the Mainland was then isolated from the rest of the world. English influence on Taiwan Guoyu chiefly occurred through communication, education and news media facilitated by the two governments and major business corporations. It is worth noting that the compulsory English teaching at schools on the island paved the way for a ready acceptance of English elements by Taiwan Guoyu.

As a powerful medium of new life and advanced technology, the English language has become the most influential foreign language learned in Taiwan schools, thus educated people in Taiwan have English knowledge with varied skill levels.

English structure has affected Taiwan Guoyu in both syntactic and morphemic structure. This includes a non pro-drop tendency; the distinction of past and perfective; the negation of the matrix verb rather than the object clause.

The greatest amount of English influence on Taiwan Guoyu is still in the domain of lexicon. The following are the commonest loan translations borrowed on the basis of meaning:

T. Guoyu	Gloss
cao-ji-min-xin	superstar
cao-ji-si-cang	supermarket
dian-cuan	fax
xin-yong-ka	credit card
xinxüanren	freshman

Most other English loanwords in Taiwan Guoyu were borrowed on the basis of English pronunciation represented by Chinese characters chosen for the similarity of their pronunciation to the English syllables, with minimal regard for the original meanings of the characters other than their connotative appropriateness to the English meanings compared to some other characters with same or similar pronunciation that could have been chosen.

T. Guoyu	Gloss
paidui	party
xiu	show
zuoxiu	perform
xipisi	hippies
tuofu	TOEFL

Without exception, words in the latter group, like those Japanese loanwords based on sounds, always acquire additional semantic connotations derived from the original meanings of the characters. This is because when Chinese characters are used to represent foreign pronunciation, they will always carry their inherited meaning, which in turn easily mingles with the meaning of the borrowed words. For instance, the character pronounced "xiu" used for 'show', meaning 'pretty' in Chinese, adds an extra connotation of 'prettiness' to the original meaning of the borrowed word "xiu" ('show'). In the same manner, "paidui" ('party') has an extended denotation of 'pairs' and "tuofu" ('TOEFL') has a semantic implication of 'good luck'.

5.3 Differences Between Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu

Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua, the two mutually intelligible versions of Mandarin, differ in many linguistic aspects: 1) phoneme and tone ; 2) syntax, and 3) lexicon. These aspects are going to be accounted for in terms of de-retroflexion, changes of tone, [ŋ] ↔ [n], simplification of diphthongs, SOV vs. SVO, degree word "bijiao", intensifier "hao", auxiliaries "you" and "hui", "yao" vs. "dei", "bie" vs. "bu-keyi", "neng" vs. "keyi", sentence-final particles, and lexicon.

5.3.1 Phonology

5.3.1.1 Change of Tone

The distribution of the neutral tone is not so widespread in Taiwan Guoyu as it is in Putonghua. These tones result from neutralizing the tones that are stipulated by the dictionary. The need for neutralization arises when certain sequences of tone combinations occur. In Putonghua, the neutral tone appears in constituent-final position or inter-morphemic position. The third tone is commonly neutralized in constituent-final position in both Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu.

strong form ⁴	Putonghua	T. Guoyu
3rd tone: ˊriˊben ('Japan')	ˊriˊben	ˊriˊben

On the other hand, Taiwan Guoyu speakers seldom soften or neutralize the first, second and the fourth tone in this position where Putonghua speakers always do. Taiwan Guoyu speakers tend to stress the second syllable of bi-syllabic words, and make a toneless syllable a tone carrier, like a monosyllabic word. These tone actualizations which mostly occur in the second syllable in taiwan Guoyu do not happen in Putonghua.

Putonghua	T. Guoyu	Gloss
ˊxueˊsheng	ˊxueˊs(h)en	student
ˊcaiˊneng	ˊcaiˊnen	talent
ˊxianˊsheng	ˊxianˊs(h)en	Mister
ˊliˊtou	ˊliˊtou	inside
ˊpiaoˊliang	ˊpiaoˊliang	pretty
ˊshangˊren	ˊs(h)angˊren	businessman
ˊshunˊdang	ˊs(h)unˊdang	smoothly
ˊxiaˊba	ˊxiaˊpa	jaw
ˊweiˊqū	ˊweiˊqū	feel wronged

For the kinship terms which consist of two identical syllables (the second is the repetition of the first to show closeness and affection), the second syllable is neutralized in Putonghua while it is stressed in Taiwan Guoyu.

Putonghua	T. Guoyu	Gloss
ˊmaˊma	ˊmaˊma	mommy
ˊbaˊba	ˊbaˊba	daddy
ˊshuˊshu	ˊs(h)uˊs(h)u	uncle (father's brother)
ˋjiuˋjiu	ˋjiuˋjiu	uncle (mother's brother)
ˊgeˊge	ˊgeˊge	elder brother
ˋdiˋdi	ˋdiˋdi	younger brother
ˊjieˊjie	ˊjieˊjie	elder sister
ˋmeiˋmei	ˋmeiˋmei	younger sister

In the past ten years, partly due to the influence of TV, it is becoming fashionable among young people to neutralize the first syllable of those kinship words and to stress their second syllable with a changed tone, usually the second tone, regardless of the original tone the syllable carries.

Putonghua	T. Guoyu	Gloss
ˊmaˊma	ˊmaˊma	mommy
ˊbaˊba	ˊbaˊba	daddy
ˊshuˊshu	ˊshuˊshu	uncle (father's brother)
ˋjiuˋjiu	ˋjiuˋjiu	uncle (mother's brother)
ˊgeˊge	ˊgeˊge	elder brother
ˋdiˋdi	ˋdiˋdi	younger brother
ˊjieˊjie	ˊjieˊjie	elder sister
ˋmeiˋmei	ˋmeiˋmei	younger sister

5.3.1.2 De/retroflexion

As discussed in 5.2.3.1, underdifferentiation of the retroflexed constitutes a spectacular feature of Substandard

Taiwan Guoyu. This underdifferentiation has been gradually accepted when most Minnan speakers have difficulty in pronouncing the retroflexed which do not exist in their first dialect. However, Mandarin retroflexed are unambiguously marked in dictionaries as sounds different from the coronals, Guoyu speakers do try to differentiate these two groups. In practice, what happens to most educated Taiwan Guoyu speakers is that the retroflexed sounds are replaced by the allophones which are slightly retroflexed toward the palate.

Mandarin		T. Guoyu
"zh"	->	[ʒ]
"z"	->	[z]
"ch"	->	[č]
"c"	->	[c]
"sh"	->	[š]
"s"	->	[s]
"r"	->	[ɻ]

Then, what happened to the Mandarin "r" whose retroflex counterpart is lacking in Minnan? As indicated previously, in Substandard Taiwan Guoyu, substitution of "y" for "r" is quite common among those Minnan native speakers. The retroflexed "r" is difficult for Minnan speakers as Minnan does not have retroflexed sounds. But most Minnan speakers have no trouble to replace it by [ɻ], a variant of "y", which is close to Mandarin "r" (see Table 5).

This compromised palatal serves to distinguish a standard Taiwan Guoyu speaker from a Substandard Taiwan Guoyu speaker.

Nowadays, many Taiwan Guoyu speakers believe that the retroflexed sounds they hear from Putonghua speakers sound either awkward or pretentious. This phonemic underdifferentiation results in a phonological merge of two large groups of Chinese characters, which can be distinguished chiefly from the conversational context.

5.3.1.3 [ŋ] → [n]

In Taiwan Guoyu, when [ŋ] follows the front vowel [i] or the mid vowel [ə], it will be changed into dental nasal [n]. In other words, Putonghua [iŋ] and [eŋ] do not exist in Taiwan Guoyu. These two sounds are replaced by [in] and [en] on all occasions, For example:

Putonghua	T. Guoyu	Gloss
Beijing	Beijin	Beijing
ganqing	ganqin	sentiment
linghuo	linhuo	nimble
lingyang	linyang	antelope
diandeng	dianden	electric light
hanleng	hanlen	cold
shenghuo	senhuo	life

The dentalization of [ŋ] results in a loss of distinction in Taiwan Guoyu between words like 'hill' ("ling") and 'woods' ("lin"), 'produce' ("sheng") and 'body' ("shen"), 'bright' ("ming") and 'people' ("min"). However, [ŋ] following other vowels other than "e" and "i" is not fronted, thus Taiwan

Guoyu and Putonghua share as well a number of combinations with velar nasal [ŋ]: [aŋ], [oŋ], [ioŋ] and [iaŋ]:

Putonghua	T. Guoyu	Gloss
dangran	dangran	of course
manglu	manglu	busy
liang	liang	beam
jiaxiang	jiaxiang	hometown
long	long	dragon
dongyao	dongyao	shaken
hongshui	hongs(h)ui	flood
gouxiong	guoxiong	bear

5.3.1.4 Variance of Diphthongs

As shown above, Substandard Taiwan Guoyu has most diphthongs (as well as some triphthongs) pronounced differently from their Putonghua counterparts: 1) they are acoustically shorter than Putonghua diphthongs; 2) some diphthongs in Taiwan Guoyu sound like monophthongs. This simplification has an sensible impact on Taiwan Guoyu. The most marked sound shortening in Taiwan Guoyu is the substitution of [uo] by [o].

Putonghua	T. Guoyu	Gloss
guojia	gojia	country
zuogong	zogong	work
meiguo	me(i)go	America
shuohua	sohua	speak
landuo	lando	lazy
luolie	lole	itemize
guodu	godu	transition

5.3.2 Syntactic Difference

5.3.2.1 SOV vs. SVO

As Mandarin is basically an SVO language, objects in both Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu follow the verbs:

- Women qū kan dianying.
we go see movie
'We go to see the movie.'
- Tamen jian le gongchang.
They build ASP factory
'They built a factory.'

As discussed in the early part of this chapter, Putonghua speakers occasionally utter sentences in which the object precedes the verb. These OV sentences are rarely found in Taiwan Guoyu. OV structure constitutes a marked feature when occurring in Taiwan Guoyu. For example:

Putonghua:

- | | | |
|---|------------------|--|
| <p>VO:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Xi guo wan le
wash dish ASP
'I washed dishes.' - Huile che le
destroy car ASP
'(We) destroyed the car.' | <p><u>or</u></p> | <p>OV:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wan xi guo le.
dish wash ASP
'I washed dishes.' - Che hui le
car destroy ASP
'(We) destroyed the car.' |
|---|------------------|--|

T. Guoyu:

- VO:
- Xi guo wan le
wash dish ASP
'I washed dishes.'
 - Huile che le
destroy car ASP
'(We) destroyed the car.'

5.3.2.2 Degree Word "bijiao"

"Bijiao" (meaning: 'more' or 'comparatively'), an intensifier of adjective, adverb or verb, is used in both Guoyu and Putonghua to show degree or comparison.

Putonghua & T. Guoyu

- Tamen bijiao xiaoxin.
they more careful
'They are more/rather careful.'
- Women paode bijiao kuai.
we run more fast
'We run fast / rather fast.'
- Ni zoude bijiao man
you walk more slowly
'you walk more/rather slowly.'

In both Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua, when "bijiao" is used in front of a verb or a verbal phrase, it indicates the intensity or extent of the action.

- Ta bijiao xihuan neige xiaojie.
he more like that girl
'He likes that girl better.'
(or 'He rather likes that girl.')

However, in Taiwan Guoyu, "bijiao" may appear in front of a negation word "bu" ('not') preceding either a verb, an adjective or an adverb, whereas Putonghua speakers use a degree intensifier "hen" ('very') or "you yi dian" ('a little') to express the similar meaning.

T. Guoyu

Putonghua

- | | |
|---|--|
| - Wo <u>bijiao</u> bu haokan.
I rather not pretty
'I am not so pretty.' | - Wo <u>you dian</u> bu haokan
I a little not pretty
'I am not so pretty.' |
| - Ta <u>bijiao</u> bu xihuan ni.
he rather not like you
'He rather dislikes you.' | - Ta <u>hen</u> bu xihuan ni.
he very not like you
'He rather dislikes you.' |
| - Ni zoude <u>bijiao</u> bu kui.
you walk rather not fast
'You walk rather slowly.' | - Ni zoude bu <u>hen</u> kui.
you walk not very fast
'You walk not very fast.' |

"Bijiao-bu" structure is employed as a euphemistic device which makes the sentence less offensive to the hearer. For instance, the last Guoyu sentence "ni zoude bijiao bu kui" ('You walk not that fast') expresses the same meaning by a previously cited sentence "ni zoude bijiao man" ('You walk rather slowly'). People from Taiwan believe that the former is rather stylistically polished.

5.3.2.3 Intensifier "hao"

"Hao" in Taiwan Guoyu is a marker when it is used as an intensifier to mean 'very'. This use shows an essential contrast with Putonghua adjective "hao" meaning 'good' (for instance, "hao laoshi" ('good teacher')). Instead, "hen" ('very'), "zhen" ('really', 'very') are the most frequently used intensifiers in Putonghua. For example:

Putonghua	T. Guoyu	Gloss
hen gui	hao gui	very expensive
hen keqi	hao keqi	very polite
hen kui	hao kui	very fast
hen hong	hao hong	very popular
hen piaoliang	hao piaoliang	very pretty
zhen ben	hao ben	very stupid
zhen xiang	hao xiang	very much like

However, the above classification that attributes "hen" to Putonghua and "hao" to Guoyu is an approximation. In fact, "hen" and "hao" are both heard among Taiwanese speakers, especially among those "Waishengren" (those who moved to Taiwan in and after the 1940's). On the other hand, intensifier "hao" ('very') is often heard among Putonghua speakers of certain regions in P.R. China. In P.R. China, some speakers prefer, as well, using "hao" ('very') as intensifier in their daily communication. However, its occurrence is much lower in frequency than that of "hen".

"Hao" ('very') is typically marked in Taiwan Guoyu when used as an intensifier of an adjectival phrase headed by another "hao" ('good') and a verb. This "hao-hao" structure does not exist in Putonghua. For example:

Putonghua	T. Guoyu	Gloss
hen haochi	hao haoc(h)i	very delicious
hen haokan	hao haokan	very pleasant
hen haoyong	hao haoyong	very easy to use
hen haoshuo	hao haos(h)uo	very easy to persuade
hen haochuan	hao haocuan	very easy to wear
hen haowan	hao haowan	very enjoyable
hen haozhao	hao haozao	very easy to find
hen haokai	hao haokai	very easy to open

The above examples show that "hao" and "hen", the two intensifiers, share the same syntactic contexts, in which, they appear mostly in front of either an adjective, an adjectival phrase or an adverb.

5.3.2.4 Auxiliary "you"

In Taiwan Guoyu, "you" has become a well-established marker of perfective aspect. Combined with other action verbs, it expresses a past experience and an effect of a particular past action. As discussed in 5.2.1 and 5.2.3, the auxiliary use of "you" is a direct result of structural influence from Minnan, in which the past tense is clearly marked by an auxiliary "u" ('have', 'do'). This Auxiliary use has extended the grammatical function of the character "you" which is traditionally used as a possessive verb meaning 'have' or 'possess' or as the existential verb ('exist'). In Putonghua, however, no auxiliary counterpart is needed to mark the past and "you" is merely a possessive verb. When there is a need to mark the past or perfective aspect, Putonghua speakers commonly use a post-verbal particle "le" or a post-verbal aspect adverb "guo" (past, experienced), "wan" (state of completion), "guang" (state of being cleaned up), or any combination of these adverbs with "le", such as "guole", "wanle" and "guangle".

- 1 a. Putonghua:
 - Zuotian ni kao le shi ma?
 (or: Ni kao le shi meiyou?)
 'Did you take the examination yesterday?'
 - Shide, wo kao le.
 'Yes, I took it.'
- b. T. Guoyu:
 - Zuotian ni you kao guo shi ma?
 (or: Ni you mei you kao guo shi?)
 'Did you take the examination yesterday?'
 - You, wo you kao guo.
 'Yes, I took it.'
- 2 a. Putonghua:
 - Zuotian ni kan guo zhege dianying ma?
 (Or: Ni kan guo zhege dianying meiyou?)
 'Did you see this movie yesterday?'
 - kan guo (le).
 'Yes, I saw it.'
- b. T. Guoyu:
 - Ni you kan guo zhege dianying ma?
 (Or: Ni you mei you kan guo zhege dianying?)
 'Did you see this movie?'
 - You, wo you kan guo.
 'Yes, I saw it.'

Of the above sentences, 1a and 2a are good Putonghua sentences but they are rarely spoken by Taiwan Guoyu speakers. However, 1b and 2b, with auxiliary "you" sound awful to Putonghua speakers. Sentences of this type are not found in standard Putonghua. The two sentences in the parenthesis of 1a and 2a are equally acceptable in both Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu while the sentences in the parenthesis of 1b and 2b, though occasionally heard among speakers of Southern Mandarin, are not commonly spoken by Putonghua speakers.

5.3.2.5 "Hui"('likely')

"Hui"('likely'), like an English modal verb expresses immediate likelihood in Taiwan Guoyu. For example:

1 a.

- Ta hui lai ma?
'Is he likely to come?'
- Hui de.
'(He is) likely.'

b.

- Tamen tai ben la.
'They are too stupid.'
- Bu hui la.
'(They are) not likely.'

"Hui" in Taiwan Guoyu resembles "e" ('likely') in Minnan. However, in Putonghua, "hui"('can'), like "neng" ('can'), denotes ability on most occasions (Chi 1991; Kubler 1982). For example:

- 2 - Ta hui gan zhege ma? (or: Ta neng gan zhege ma?)
'Can he do this?'
- Ta hui. (or: Ta neng.)
'He can.'

It should be noted that 1a is acceptable in Putonghua but has a different denotation. "Hui" ('likely') is not so frequently used as in Taiwan Guoyu. In Putonghua, the marking of 'likelihood' by "hui" ('likely') is not necessary. And the action verb itself suffices to denote 'likelihood'. For instance, a Putonghua speaker expresses the same meaning without "hui":

- 3 - Ta lai ma?
'Is he (likely) to come?'
- Ta lai.
'He (is likely to) come.'

Whenever "hui" ('likely') is used in Putonghua, a strong emphasis is laid on the aspect of 'likelihood'. By the same token, sentence 1a carries a much stronger sense of 'likelihood' when spoken by a Putonghua speaker: (4=1a)

- 4 - Ta hui lai ma? (emphasized)
 'Is he quite likely to come?'
 - Hui de.
 '(He is) quite likely.'

On the other hand, to express the likelihood of a state, Putonghua speakers seldom use "hui" in the way as shown in sentence 1b. The most likely response of 1b from a Putonghua speaker would be a sentence with a direct negation without "hui" ('likely').

- 5 - Bu ben a.
 '(He is) not (likely to be) foolish.'
 or:
 - Bu xiang a.
 '(He is) not (likely to be) foolish.'

5.3.2.6 "Yao" vs. "dei"

Like its Minnan counterpart "beh" ('will', 'intend'), "yao" in Taiwan Guoyu is used obligatorily in questions and statements to show intention (meaning 'intend' or 'will') or immediate necessity (meaning 'must'). In Putonghua, intention and immediate necessity is not necessarily lexically marked by a verb like "yao". A plain verb form will be sufficient to show the effect--this is especially true in questions. When "yao" appears in a Putonghua sentence, the sentence carries a strong denotation of desire.

Intention

T. Guoyu:

- 1 - Ni yao qū mai dongxi ma?
 'Will you go to buy something?'
 - Yao.
 '(I) will.'

Putonghua:

- 2 a. - Ni qū mai dongxi ma?
 'Will you go to buy something?'
 - qū.
 '(I will) go.'

- b. - Ni yao (or: xiang) qū mai dongxi ma? (emphasized)
 'Do you intend to go to buy something?'
 - Wo yao(xiang) qū.
 'I intend to.'

Although "yao" in Putonghua may be used as well to express immediate necessity, a commonly-used equivalent in Putonghua is "dei".

Necessity

T. Guoyu:

- Ni yao ci dongxi cai keyi zhanggao.
 you must eat things just can grow
 'You must eat in order to grow up.'

Putonghua:

- Ni dei ci dongxi cai neng zhanggao.
 you must eat things just can grow
 'You must eat in order to grow up.'

5.3.2.7 "Bie" vs. "bu-keyi"

Putonghua "bie" ('can't' / 'don't') and Taiwan Guoyu "bu-keyi" ('can't' / 'don't'), when used in negative imperative prohibition, are each fairly confined in use to their respective varieties of Mandarin. Except for the older generation who moved to Taiwan in much later time, people in

Taiwan seldom use "bie" in negative imperative, although it seems to be the most appropriate way in Putonghua.

Putonghua

- 1 a. - "Wo xiang kan dianshi."
I want watch TV
'I want to watch TV'.
- b. - "Ni bie kan."
you can't watch
'You can't watch.'

T. Guoyu

- 2 a. - "Wo yao kan diansi."
I want watch TV
'I want to watch TV'.
- b. - "Ni bu-keyi kan."
you can't watch
'you can't watch.'

In Putonghua, on the other hand, "bu-keyi" indicates a state of lacking certain potential, but not prohibition. However, in Southern and Western Mandarin the imperative "bu-keyi" could be used alternatively with "mo"('can't') and "bie".

5.3.2.8 "Neng" vs. "keyi".

Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu habitually employ different words to express permission. "Neng"('may'/'can') is used more frequently by Putonghua speakers and "keyi"('may'/'can') by Taiwan Guoyu speakers. It should be noted that these two forms both appear in the two varieties of Mandarin (Sanders 1992).

Putonghua:

- Wo neng qū ma?
I can go PL
'Can I go ?'
- Ni neng qū.
you may go
'You may go.'

T. Guoyu:

- Wo keyi qū ma?
I can go PL
'Can I go ?'
- Ni keyi qū.
you may go
'You may go.'

Sander's experiment indicates that the ratio of permission "neng" and "keyi" uttered by Putonghua speakers is 2.7 to 1, as is in contrast with 1 to 2 by Taiwan Guoyu speakers (Sanders 1992: pp.300-301).

5.3.2.9 Sentence-final Particles

Both Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua are rich in sentence-final particles. These particles create special "moods" to the sentences, showing either hesitation, subtlety, astonishment and politeness. Hence the name of "yüqizhuci" ('mood particles') in Chinese. When a sentence-final particle is used, a sentence usually sounds softer, more agreeable and less assertive. In Taiwan Guoyu, the use of particles has been influenced to a great extent by Minnan. They are used more frequently than in Putonghua. To Putonghua speakers, rich particles make Taiwanese Guoyu sound naïve and effeminate. Putonghua shares most of the particles used in

Taiwan Guoyu, except "ai", "la", "ye", "ma" and "yi". Speakers of Putonghua use particles less frequently than Taiwanese speakers. As a result, a particle that is needed in a sentence in Taiwan Guoyu may not appear in the same sentence in Putonghua:

T. Guoyu:	Putonghua:
- Ni yao cidao le <u>ai</u> . 'You are going to be late.'	- Ni yao chidao le.
- zeyang zuo jiu dui le <u>la</u> . 'It is right to do like this.'	- zheyang zuo jie dui le.
- Gege ta bu li wo <u>ye</u> . 'Brother does not talk to me.'	- Gege ta bu li wo.
- Bie guan wo le <u>ma</u> . 'Don't worry about me'	- Bie guan wo.
- Hao qigui <u>yi</u> ! 'Very strange!'	- Hen qigui (<u>a</u>)!

Particles which are shared by both Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu are "a", "ba", "ma", "le", "ya", "lo", "na", and "ne". The following is a list of denotations and functions of these sentence-final particles:

"ai"	-> expressing dissatisfaction, disapproval, blaming
"la"	-> confirming or approving something
"ye"	-> seeking approval, support from others
"ma"	-> expressing impatience
"yi"	-> showing surprise at the unexpected
"a"	-> expressing certainty: 'as a matter of fact'
"ba"	-> suggesting or persuading
"le"	-> reminding of a state or condition
"ya"	-> showing surprise with a reproach
"lo"	-> indicating an inevitable result
"na"	-> suggesting alternatives
"ne"	-> softening the mood of conversation
"bei"	-> showing a mild reproach
"yo"	-> responding with teasing

When used by Putonghua speakers, each of these particles carries a neutralized tone. However, a Taiwan Guoyu speaker tends to pronounce a particle with a heavy first tone that is much lengthier than it is articulated in Putonghua. For "ma" some Taiwanese speakers may even use a second tone:

- Bie cao wo ma (second tone)!
- 'Don't bother me!'

"Ai", "la", "ye", "ma" and "yi" are frequently used in Taiwan Guoyu and constitute one marked characteristic of the dialect. The two marked particles which are frequently used in Putonghua but absent in Taiwan Guoyu are "bei" and "yo". For example:

- You le qian jiu wangle pengyou le bei!
- '(He) forgot (his) friends when (he gets) rich!'
- Ni hai bu zhi ta de lihai yo!
- 'You even don't know how shrewd he is!'

5.3.3 Lexicon

Different lexical items used in Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua can be grouped into two categories:

1) New words which have been coined independently in Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua. These words are only popular to people on one side of the Taiwan Strait but unfamiliar to the people on the other side. The following words are frequently used in Taiwan Guoyu, but are unheard of by most Putonghua speakers:

T. Guoyu	Gloss
liudin	orange
qinhexin	togetherness
suqiu	appeal
pinjin	dilemma
qiangtan	land on
rentong	consensus
xinjie	worry
heidao	gangster
cudao	do something the first time
nans(h)en	young male
nüs(h)en	young female
s(h)angdao	skillful
c(h)aos(h)ou	behavior/character

The following words in Putonghua are not found in Taiwan

Guoyu:

Putonghua	Gloss
ninlao	you (polite form for senior)
tugai	land reform
zhongnong	middle peasant
baida	waste
banzhuren	teacher in charge
jitiguannian	collective spirit
tongzhi	comrade

However, the two Mandarin varieties use different words for many high frequency meanings. These words are sensitive markers of Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu.

T. Guoyu	Putonghua	Gloss
laoba	fuqin/baba	father
laoma	muqin/mama	mother
xiaode	zhidao	know

Some words may be used in both Mandarin varieties but their frequency is lower in one than the other due to the co-existing synonyms in the dialect.

T. Guoyu	Putonghua	Gloss
women	zamen/women	we
jiang	shuo/jiang	speak
xiang	renwei/xiang	think

2) Old words whose counterparts in the other Mandarin version are different from it. These words may differ from their counterparts in many ways:

a) different morphological forms (character combinations) expressing the same meaning, for example:

T. Guoyu	Putonghua	Gloss
suizun	shuiping	standard
taitai	airen	wife
guandao	qūdao	channel
lan	zao	messy, lousy
qin(g)jie	ganqing	sense, concept
couco(u)	coubei	prepare
xiancao	xianjin	cash
yüangong	zhigong	employee
guodu	shoudu	capital
fuzi	fuli	welfare
culu	chulong	appear
zhisu/pingzi	zhiliang	quality
rentong	yizhi	consensus
laowei	waiguoren	foreigner
laoz(h)ong	zhongguoren	Chinese

b) The same words serving different parts of speeches in the two Mandarin varieties:

	T. Guoyu Meaning	Putonghua Meaning
fengguang	verb: 'show off'	noun: 'scenery'
biaoxian	noun: 'performance'	verb: 'performance'
yitu	verb: 'intend'	noun: 'intention'
fucu	noun: 'contribution'	verb: 'contribute'

c) Words having different pronunciations in the two Mandarin varieties:

Chinese Character	T. Guoyu Pronunciation	Putonghua Pronunciation	Gloss
和	han	he	and
垃圾	lese	laji	garbage
癌	yan/(ai)	ai	cancer
角色	jiaose	juese	role
轴	zu	zhou	axis

d) Words having different meanings in the two dialects.

For example:

	T. Guoyu Meaning	Putonghua Meaning
chengzhang	increase	grow up
airen	lover	wife
fangsui	make easy	let water out
guagou	conspire	join hands
guandao	channel	pipe
fengguang	show off	scenery
jiantao	search for	criticize

In summary, the differences between the two versions of Mandarin exist in nearly all linguistic aspects: phonology, syntax and semantics. Many sources of influence contributed to the deviation of Taiwan Guoyu from its decreed standard. However, the enormous influence from Minnan, the mother tongue of the majority of Taiwan population, has made a Substantial contribution to the linguistic features of Taiwan Guoyu.

Chapter VI

Data Collection

6.1 Choice of Field Work Site

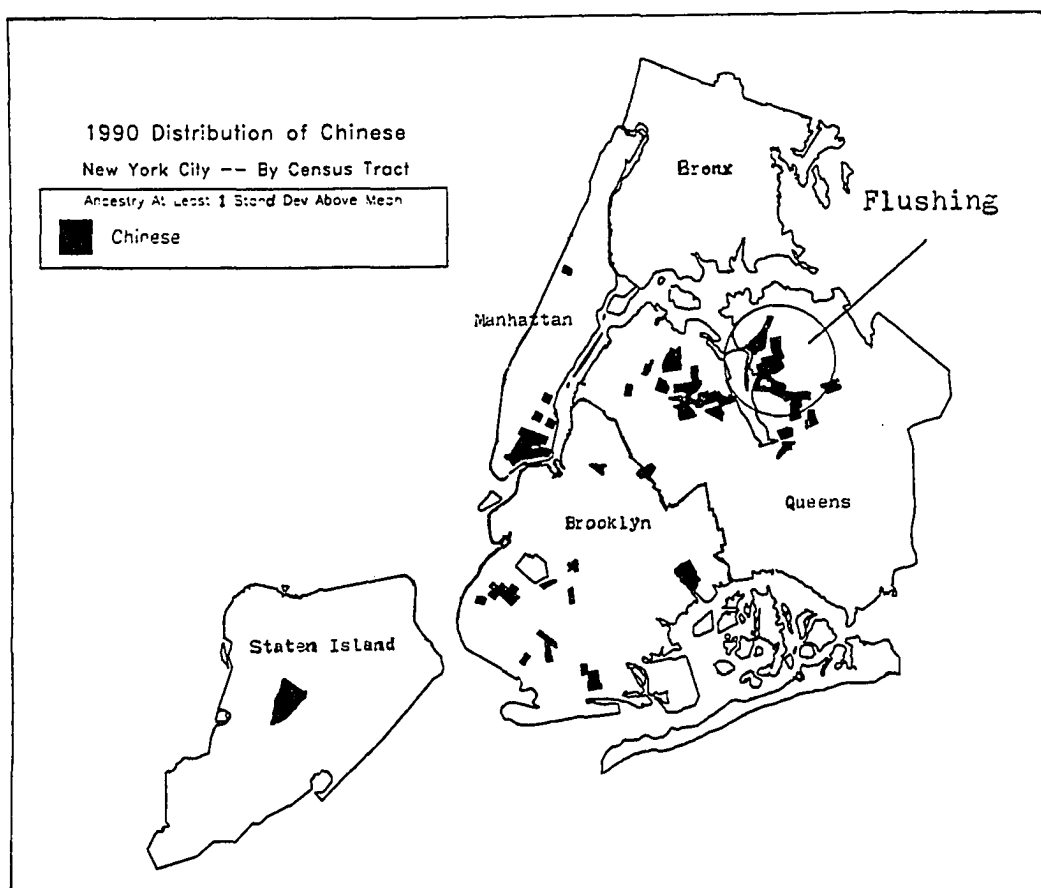
Flushing Chinatown was chosen as the site for the data collection which was basically done in the Summer of 1992. In this area, there is a large concentration of Mandarin speakers from many parts of the world (see Map 1).

Flushing Chinatown is known as a new center for Oriental trading, residence, entertainment, and sightseeing. It differs from old Manhattan Chinatown in that most of its population are Mandarin speakers from either Taiwan or Mainland China. Besides Mandarin, Cantonese and Shanghainese (Wu) are the two frequently heard dialects used by many earlier immigrants and new immigrants from Guangdong (Canton) and Shanghai. Being the dominant dialect among the Chinese dialects, Mandarin is heard spoken by Chinese with different dialectal backgrounds in their first encounter with other strangers. Awkward Mandarin with linguistic features of Cantonese, Shanghainese, Hakka and Min is constantly heard on the street and in stores.

Flushing Chinatown is easily accessible by car and by public transportation. With the terminal of the #7 train as its center, Flushing Chinatown is a miniature of the Chinese culture one can perceive in Taipei, Hong Kong and Canton. It has become headquarters of many social organizations, such as

Huaqiao Wenhuazhongxin (The Center for Chinese Culture), Beijing Tongxianghui (Beijingese Association), Taiwan Huiguan (Taiwanese Association), There are numerous offices of public services and clusters of private business which are frequented by Chinese-American residents and people of other ethnic groups.

Map 1
Distribution of Chinese-Americans in NYC



Note: The CUNY Data Center provided this map and gives the author permission for its publication.

Flushing is also the home to nine Chinese churches: First Baptist Church of Flushing, Chinese Ministry of St. George's Parish, Church of Christ, Overseas Chinese Mission Boonparish, Queens Taiwanese Evangelical Church and Zion Christian Church. Each of them has memberships ranging from a hundred to five hundred. One Chinese Buddhist temple, Bodhicitta Foundation, is also located in this area.

Businessmen, students, and immigrants from Taiwan and the Mainland participate in social, business and educational activities here, and the two varieties of Mandarin, Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu, are constantly used in all phases of life.

6.2 Sampling

In the second period of field work, a sample was selected in order to obtain a data base for an overall study of the Mandarin population in New York City.

Random Sampling was not the consideration from the very beginning as its implementation in previous linguistic studies has indicated serious drawbacks. One of its problems is that randomly-drawn samples could include a large proportion of unwanted subjects who speak languages or dialects other than the language form under investigation if accurate information about the population is unavailable. Labov (1966) once attempted to study the English language in the Lower East Side of New York City by selecting his informants from a random sample. His sub-sample generated from the larger population

was originally 340 individuals. However, as what might happen in similar studies, most of the designated individuals were not interviewed for reasons such as change of residence, sickness or absence for vacation. Furthermore, many of the subjects were excluded because they were not English speakers. Labov's final analysis was based only on 88 individuals, about a quarter of the selected total. Selecting subjects this way ran counter to the concept of random sampling, and introduced an apparent bias. Critics believe that his sample was not statistically representative as its claimed relationship with the population could not be validly established (Milroy 1987: pp.19-20).

Turning to this study, the researcher was facing a more intriguing situation than Labov did in his study of the Lower East Side of New York City. First, the population being studied was a part of the Chinese population - less than 3 percent of the total population of New York City (1990 Census of Population and Housing). If we were going to randomly select samples from the New York population, obvious bias would be introduced as more than 98 percent of the selected samples would have been excluded from the final analysis. Second, there is no literature available which could be used to contrast the population of Putonghua speakers and that of the Guoyu speakers.

The U.S. Census always groups Putonghua speakers and Guoyu speakers into the Mandarin group which contrasts with

the Cantonese group. The lack of reliable sources presents difficulties for a random sampling approach which in the end might not be able to achieve the desired objective. Random sampling is then out of the question.

The sampling applied here is in the spirit of the judgement sampling method. The principle of judgement sampling is that the researcher specifies the types of subjects in advance based on his/her knowledge of those subjects under discussion and then focuses on a quota of the subjects belonging to the category (Romaine 1980; Milroy 1987). The advantage of this approach is its direct application of the knowledge of the researcher. When appropriately applied, it can yield satisfactory results which are otherwise hard to obtain through random sampling procedure. The researcher's knowledge of the subjects under study is of great consequence to the sampling: a researcher with rational and well-founded judgement of the subject group could formulate defensible procedures while one with little knowledge or a mistaken presumption of the subject group could lead the study astray as a result of the biased sample.

Having lived in the Chinese communities in New York City for more than seven years, the researcher acquired an insider's knowledge of the Chinese population. The selection of Flushing Chinatown as the field work site was based on the understanding that Flushing has the greatest concentration of Mandarin speaking people from both the Mainland and Taiwan.

Field research during Summer 1992 enabled the researcher to obtain a panoramic view of the social, demographic and linguistic characteristics of the subjects of which a sample was to be constructed.

The sample was taken directly from two types of social sub-networks: the Taiwan Guoyu speaking sub-network and the Putonghua speaking sub-network, thus those chosen individuals, with few exceptions, fell right into the defined population. In constructing the sample, the researcher paid special attention to a demographic representation of the population. The chosen individuals reflect the population in diverse characteristics: age, sex, education, occupation, income, and place of residence. Thus, error introduced by the sampling procedure was minimized accordingly.

6.3 Data Collecting Strategies

6.3.1 Field work

The linguistic data for the dissertation were collected through two periods of field work. During the first period which lasted from June 1992 to August 1992, the researcher focused on obtaining an ethnographic view of how Mandarin speakers interacted in this community and what linguistic changes might be taking place as a result of the contact. The observation were undertaken in several locations within ten blocks of the center of Flushing Chinatown which includes the Chinese Culture Center, New York Public Library, Taiwan

Huiguan, Double Quality Grocery Store, and Uncle Dai's Restaurant. The people who frequent these locations represent the general population of Chinese descent in this area.

The Chinese Culture Center and New York Public Library are visited primarily by intellectuals. Taiwan Huiguan attracts mostly Taiwan businessmen and politicians, while the Double Quality Grocery Store and Uncle Dai's Restaurant attract people of all walks of life who communicate in Mandarin.

Of these five major locations, the Chinese Culture Center and the New York Public library selected as ideal places for the researcher to observe interaction of people in natural settings. The Chinese Cultural Center, two blocks away from the Public Library, has an entertaining room whose inner half is a reading section full of books and magazines, while the outer half is a game section. The reading section is usually quiet, but verbal communication is constant in the games section where the researcher could sit side by side with observants, watching them playing Chinese chess or weiqi (go). During the opening hours there are three to eight tables of continuous games with two to ten people involved at each table. Many of the players frequent the center everyday and they know other regular visitors well. They are quite friendly to newcomers, so my presence did not cause their anxiety. Among them were always some who like to talk and argue while playing. When potentially useful speakers were

spotted, the researcher set a tape-recorder on a chair to record their conversation and focused on their conversation. People who frequent the Chinese Culture Center are mostly old-timers who have settled down in the United States for a considerably long time, and their language is characterized by features from other dialects or languages.

In the New York Public Library, about two-thirds of its readers are American-Chinese. Chinese language books and magazines are supplied in a timely fashion from Taiwan, Hong Kong and P.R. China. In the Chinese language section, conversations go on in aisles between shelves of Chinese books and magazines. Two strangers sometimes start a conversation when they happen to search for books in the same areas. Overcrowded most of the time, the library maintains a casual control of the noise coming from the readers who talk in low voices. Because this section is some distance away from the reading section, librarians seldom interfere with conversations taking place in the aisles. People in the library are overwhelmingly young people, among whom are students from colleges, high schools, elementary and intermediate schools.

The Double Quality Grocery Store is frequented mostly by Mandarin speakers. In the store, people are in constant motion, paying little attention to others. Office workers, professionals and students come to the store for cursory purchases. They usually talk about mundane subjects with

their companions. The most talkative types are middle-aged housewives and family groups. The grocery store is a familiar setting and they talk with little restraint. Occasionally, couples enter into mild arguments relating to choices of commodities on the shelves or about family matters carried over from home.

Interaction also occurs among store employees who chat when business is slow. Ignoring their customers, some clerks shout across the counter at their fellow-employees, either passing along a superior's instructions or teasing their colleagues. Remarks are constantly exchanged at the register counters, where cashiers routinely inform their customers of calculated charges and the latter, from time to time, throw in inquiries about prices and goods. Acquaintances of the cashiers usually stay a little longer than other customers, talking about each others' families and gossips currently circulating among their friends. Different varieties of Mandarin are used at the worksite. Because this location is a business site, the researcher stayed at this site not longer than two hours, most of the time accompanied by one or two companions so as to avoid unnecessary suspicion from observants.

Owned by a Taiwanese businessman, Uncle Dai's Restaurant is located at the corner of the Main Street and 39th Avenue. The researcher used to have lunch there at the intervals between observations in other locations. The restaurant's

typical North Chinese cuisine attracts Mandarin speakers from Taiwan, the Mainland and elsewhere. The waitresses are mostly Taiwanese women who speak distinct Taiwan Guoyu and most customers speak Mandarin at the tables or to the waitresses. Their interactions with the waitresses are usually brief service encounters. Customers commonly talk continuously with their partners at the tables, usually using the same dialect, i.e. either Taiwan Guoyu or Putonghua. Frequently, one or two Taiwanese come with their Mainland friends, whose identities are easily identified by their speech - no matter how they may attempt to accommodate to the speech of their interlocutors, a Taiwanese speaks Taiwanese and a Mainlander speaks basically Putonghua.

In the first period, the researcher acquired an ethnographic view of the language contact situation among Chinese in this community, especially among Mandarin speakers. It was interesting to notice that some Taiwanese speakers spoke Guoyu with linguistic features from Putonghua while, on the other hand, some Mainlanders spoke with influence from Taiwan features. During the field work, the researcher interacted with observants and got acquainted with many of them who were willing to introduce their friends and neighbors for the study. In the first period of field work, a pilot study was conducted, enabling the researcher to collect useful linguistic and social information pertaining to Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu speakers in Flushing.

The second period of data collecting was undertaken from May to October 1993, in order to acquire both linguistic and extra-linguistic data from Mandarin speaking informants. The field work, which followed the social network approach, began with Mandarin speaking acquaintances as well as new informants. The network extended gradually to informants' friends and neighbors who also belong to the Mandarin-speaking population. The number of informants increased with the help of the first subjects who were encountered by the researcher at the Flushing locations.

Prior to an interview, a subject was told about the type of people in whom the researcher was interested, and in turn, the subject selected friends belonging to the target population. As the network of friends and colleagues was extensive, the radius of field work extended beyond the limit of Flushing Chinatown, and stretched to cover all boroughs of New York City and even part of New Jersey. However, the majority of informants lived in either Flushing, Brooklyn or Manhattan.

In contrast with the ethnographic observation in the first period, the field work during the second period became more systematic as it was guided by the questionnaire (see 6.3.2 and Appendix 1). On consent of each informant, interviews and conversations were taped so that detailed linguistic features of each informant could be studied. A total of 96 Mandarin speakers, of whom 47 were Putonghua

speakers and 49 Taiwan Guoyu speakers were interviewed. Many informants who got involved in the first period of field observation also took part in the second period of fieldwork. Data of 93 informants were used for quantitative analyses.

6.3.2 Questionnaire Design

Based on the data collection techniques provided in previous sociolinguistic studies (Chambers and Trudgill 1980, Fishman 1971; Hudson 1986 and Lieberman 1981), question sets were designed to gather biographical and linguistic data from both Taiwan Guoyu speakers and Putonghua speakers. They were divided into three types: 1) questionnaire, 2) interview questions, and 3) judgement questions.

The questionnaire was used for biographical data (see Appendix 1). This set of questions has two functions: 1) to elicit social and demographic information on the subjects; and 2) to help sort out "valuable" individuals for further interviews. These questions were aimed at obtaining social and demographic information. There were questions about birthplace, age, sex, occupation, education, numbers of years living in the United States, as well as some background information about the dialects the subjects use. Thus, before proceeding to the interview, we could exclude irrelevant informants based on information provided by the questionnaire. For example, those Taiwan Guoyu speakers who moved to Taiwan in adulthood, or those Mainlanders who came from non-Mandarin

speaking regions in P. R. China would not be asked to participate in the interview.

Interview questions were also designed to secure linguistic data. These questions were used later as a guideline in interviews with selected informants whose responses were recorded for the final analysis. These questions are "disguised" in the sense that they were especially designed to elicit linguistic features specific to Putonghua or to Taiwan Guoyu. For example, when we ask "Ni maiguo che ma? " ('Have you ever bought a car?') a Taiwanese speaker is likely to answer "Wo you maiguo" ('I bought') while a Putonghua speaker is more likely to answer "Wo maiguo" ('I bought'). However, when a Putonghua speaker answers "Wo you maiguo" ('I bought'), it is a clear indication that his/her Mandarin is influenced by Taiwan Guoyu (see Appendix 2).

Judgement questions were designed to obtain informants' judgements on linguistic features pertaining to either Taiwan Guoyu or Putonghua (see Appendix 3). Informants' responses would help identify either his/her language attitude towards the other dialect or the degree of his/her acceptance of those alien features in the other dialect. But in practice, to ask questions of this type made the interview too formal. Unless it was necessary, these questions were not widely used in the interviews.

6.3.3 Interview

The "observer's paradox" was guarded against during interviews with informants. Obvious political and ideological differences between Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese indeed seem to favor a special consideration of "observer's paradox" in the investigation of the two groups of Mandarin speaking Chinese. The pilot field work showed that the effects of the "observer's paradox" were minimal among the Mandarin-speaking subjects and that their unguarded informal speech could be observed when certain precautions were taken.

In recent years, sociolinguistic innovations have mitigated the problem caused by formal observation and interview techniques. Milroy's (1980) social network approach was an attempt to cope with "observer's paradox". Her research in Belfast indicated that when an informal social relationship is established between the observed and the observer, the informal speech of the observed will become available to the observer.

Being speakers of the most popular dialect in P. R. China and Taiwan, Taiwanese and Mainlanders have a lot in common when they come to live in the United States. They are facing similar difficulties, such as culture shock, language barriers, and racial prejudice. They generally feel more comfortable speaking and working with other Mandarin speakers in spite of their ideological differences. In the English-dominant society, interviewing Mandarin informants in

Mandarin, either Guoyu or Putonghua, established the informal social relationship between the observer and the subjects. It is commonplace for Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese to work together in businesses owned by either Taiwanese or Mainland businessmen. Informants were usually frank in expressing their linguistic preference and were willing to provide information about themselves. Intentional upward accommodation or downward accommodation was not common among the informants who apparently saw little need to disguise their linguistic features. Unlike bilingual or multilingual situations in which one can easily conceal his/her linguistic identity by means of either code-switching or code mixing, linguistic features of Putonghua and Guoyu are difficult to hide.

The differences of Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua are somewhat analogous to that of British English and American English. Like a British English speaker who can hardly disguise his British accent when speaking to Americans, a Taiwan Guoyu speaker will not be able to conceal the borrowed linguistic features belonging to either Taiwan Guoyu or Putonghua influence. Although some informants showed a tendency to speak more "appropriately" during the interview than during their regular conversation, their true linguistic characteristics came to light during the analyses of the recorded conversations.

Precautions were taken to avoid "conscious or unconscious attitudes" toward the languages of interest to the investigator, toward the purpose of the investigation, and toward the language of the investigator (Fishman 1971). Precautions included:

1) because the researcher is a Putonghua speaker, a Taiwanese neighbor or a Taiwanese friend was included as a co-interviewer in most interviews, so informants could demonstrate the maximum possible linguistic characteristics if they accommodated to the interviewers.

2) Social network methodology was implemented. The interview was as informal and as relaxed as possible, thus the linguistic and extralinguistic information provided was dependable.

3) Subjects were observed before and after the interviews in casual conversations in the informal linguistic styles they used in everyday life.

During the second period of field work, interviews were conducted in homes, schools, labs, playgrounds and churches. On most occasions, there were at least three persons present, but sometimes there were half a dozen of people around during the interview, so that the interviews proceeded in an informal natural style.

6.4 Informants

Here, the term "informant" refers to those individuals chosen for a final sociolinguistic analysis in the second

period of field work. Most subjects observed in the first period of field work were not included, although they provided valuable sociolinguistic information for the study. Informants selected had to meet the basic requirements: first, they were either Taiwan Guoyu or Putonghua speakers; second, they were born in either Taiwan, P.R. China or in the United States--in the latter case, their first language must be Mandarin which they learned from their parents; and third, they had lived in New York City for more than one year.

Informants underwent the following procedures:

1) Each one filled out the questionnaire (see Appendix 1). Most of the American-born Chinese children had the questionnaire filled out by either their Mandarin speaking parents or the researcher.

2) Each had his or her conversation recorded. And the recording time for each person varied from 15 minutes to 90 minutes.

3) They were called by phone to provide more information which was needed in the course of the study.

6.4.1 Place of Birth

Of the total 93 informants in the quantitative study, 42 were born in Taiwan and 42 in P.R. China, constituting 90.3% of the total; 9 were born in the United States constituting 9.7%¹ of the total. The Putonghua informants are further divided into Beijing Mandarin speakers and other Mainland

Mandarin speakers: the former comprise of 66.6% (28) of this subgroup and the latter comprise of 33.3% (14).

In the quantitative analysis, the informants are divided into two subgroups based on the variety of Mandarin they speak. Those who speak Putonghua belong to the Putonghua group while the Taiwan Guoyu speakers are members of the Taiwan Guoyu group. Those who were born in the United States are assigned to one of the two subgroups according to their mother tongue.

Table 8
Informants: Birth Place

	N	% (of subgroup)	% (of total)
Putonghua	<u>46</u>		<u>49.5</u>
Beijing	28	60.9	30.1
Others	14	30.4	15.1
USA	4	8.7	4.3
Taiwan Guoyu	<u>47</u>		<u>50.5</u>
Taiwan	42	89.3	45.2
USA	5	10.6	5.4
Total:	<u>93</u>		<u>100</u>

NOTE: In Tables 8 and 9, "Beijing" refers to those who came from Beijing area and speak standard Beijing vernacular; "others" refers to those who came from North Mandarin speaking areas other than Beijing; "USA" refers to those who were born in the United States and speak Mandarin as the first acquired vernacular. "Non-Beij." is a combination of the two subgroups of "others" and "USA".

6.4.2 Age

The age of the informants range from 4 to 60. The youngest were mostly born in the United States. Male and female are evenly distributed into different age groups. The

average age of the total informants is about age 34. Of the two subgroups, the average for the Taiwan Guoyu group is age 37 while that for the Putonghua group is age 29. Taking into consideration the Guoyu speakers' average longer residence in the United States (cf. 6.3.4.), we find that the average age of the two group of informants were approximately the same (about age 20) when they first arrived in the United States.

6.4.3 Gender

The male to female ratio is 41 to 52. In Putonghua subgroup, 25 are female and 21 are male, while in Taiwan Guoyu subgroup, 27 are female and 20 are male. To sum up, males constitute 44.1% of the total informants and females constitute 55.9% of the total.

Table 9
Informants: Gender

	Male			Female		
	N	% (s)	% (t)	N	%(s)	%(t)
Putonghua	<u>21</u>	<u>45.7</u>	<u>22.6</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>54.3</u>	<u>26.9</u>
Beijing	12	26.1	12.9	16	34.7	17.2
Non-Beij.	9	19.5	9.7	11	23.9	11.8
Taiwan Guoyu	<u>20</u>	<u>42.6</u>	<u>21.5</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>57.4</u>	<u>29.0</u>
Total:	<u>41</u>		<u>44.1</u>	<u>52</u>		<u>55.9</u>

NOTE: In Tables 9 and 10, "% (s)" is used to represent the percentage of the subgroup; "% (t)" to represent the percentage of the total informants.

6.4.4 Length of Residence in the United States

The informants have lived in the United States for a minimum of one year and a maximum of 24 years. The average length of residence in the United States of the two groups of informants is 6.9 years. Of the two subgroups, the Putonghua group has an average of 4.9 years with a maximum of 12 years and the Taiwan Guoyu group has an average of 8.8 years with a maximum of 24 years. Although almost a third of the informants had lived in other American states before they moved to New York City, they have spent most of their time in New York City. For those who were born in the United States, their length of residence in the United States ranges from three to 15, with an average of 7.7.

Table 10
Informants: Length of Residence in USA
(unit: year)

	Minimum	Maximum	Average
Putonghua:	1	12	4.9
Taiwan Guoyu:	2	24	8.8
Native born:	4	15	7.7
All Groups:	<u>1</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>6.9</u>

6.4.5 Education

The informants in the study have received an education of varying levels. Except for nine native born persons, each informant graduated from high school or college. More than half of them also received college degrees, and some had Masters degree and two had Ph.D. degrees. Many non-native

born participants came to the United States especially for the purpose of receiving an advanced education, and they were attending undergraduate or graduate schools at the time of the interview. In comparison, the Taiwan Guoyu group has received a higher level of education than the Putonghua group. The youngest of all the informants, the native born, have the least amount of education among the informants.

Table 11
Informants: Education

	From P.R.China	From Taiwan	Native born	Sum	
				N	%(t)
Below elementary:	0	0	3	3	3.2
Elementary:	1	0	4	5	5.4
Junior high:	4	1	1	6	6.5
High:	10	3	1	14	15.1
2-3 years college:	5	8	0	13	14.0
University:	15	18	0	33	35.5
Graduate school:	7	12	0	19	20.4
<u>Total:</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>100</u>

6.5 Control Group

The Mandarin speakers who have lived in the United States for less than a year were used as a control group. Their language served as a referential source in comparing the linguistic changes of the informants in the study. Another source of control was TV programs and movies which were made in Taiwan and P.R. China. These sources, which were easily

available in New York City, served as yardsticks for the two Mandarin varieties.

NOTE

1. At Professor Bendix and Otheguy's suggestion, I included twelve American-born Chinese in the study. Based on the fact that these informants first acquired either Taiwan Guoyu or Putonghua at home and still have the speaking ability, nine of them were grouped into either the Taiwan Guoyu group or the Putonghua group for quantitative analyses in Chapter IX.

Chapter VII

Language Contact and Linguistic Influence

7.0 Introduction

When people of the two varieties of Mandarin come into contact in New York City, what they commonly notice is the "peculiarities" in other people's Mandarin, usually resulting from differences of tones and lexical items. Some sophisticated observers may perceive semantic and syntactic deviations in their interlocutors' utterances. However, through prolonged contact with those speakers, their speech is influenced to a varied degree. This pattern is repeated among Mandarin speakers in the Chinese communities.

How do speakers of the two varieties of Mandarin-speaking people interact? What are the general linguistic behavioral patterns of the two groups of these speakers in language contact? What theoretical category best explains the linguistic behavioral patterns? These questions are the major concerns of this chapter.

7.1 Description of Language Contact

The subjects in this study fall into two groups based on linguistic influence: the group whose speech remains unaffected by the other version; and the group whose Mandarin is influenced by the other version. In general, the former had little or no contact with the other variety of Mandarin, and the latter maintained contact with the other variety of

Mandarin. Of the 93 subjects finally chosen in the quantitative analyses, 66 kept either personal or non-personal language contact with the Mandarin variety other than their own. Except for a few, all of the speakers have shown discernable linguistic influences from the other version of Mandarin.

To these influenced individuals, the influences from the other version of Mandarin are trivial as compared with the overall linguistic features of their original vernacular. They are chiefly phonological and lexical (cf. Chapter IX).

In spite of the linguistic features from the other dialect, most subjects in the study are easily identified as either Taiwanese or Mainlanders by simply assessing their speech.

However, one exceptional Taiwan Guoyu speaker's speech is so mixed-up with features from both Mandarin versions that the researcher first had difficulty in identifying her dialect background. Married to a Putonghua-speaking husband and having "Waishengren" ('Mainlander') parents who speak standard Beijing vernacular, she speaks a mixture of Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu. In her words, "Taiwanren shuo wo shi daluren, danshi daluren shou wo shi Taiwanren ('Taiwanese consider me a Mainlander, while Mainlanders consider me a Taiwanese')". Cases like this are not typical in the Mandarin-speaking population.

Although considerable dialect influence occurred to Putonghua or Taiwan Guoyu speakers in this study, it is premature to claim that Putonghua speakers in New York City are shifting to Taiwan Guoyu, or that Taiwan Guoyu speakers to Putonghua.

At the societal level, dialect maintenance is the way to describe the linguistic situation of the two varieties of Mandarin. Language or dialect maintenance refers to the fact that the community collectively decides to continue to use the language or dialect, though it is likely that each language or dialect in the community remains active in use with little "encroachment of one language or dialect on the domains of the others" (Fasold 1984: pp.213-214).

As indicated by other studies, influence which has occurred in the speech of the individual might gradually become habituated and established as part of the language used in the societal level (Weinreich 1953: p.11). However, this tendency appears to be unlikely in the Mandarin-speaking population in New York City.

In fact, the influenced people constitute about half of the Mandarin-speaking population. It is uncertain whether the linguistic influence that occurs to these individuals will constitute an inevitable outcome for the general Mandarin-speaking public. At the present time, the two distinctive forms of Mandarin coexist in New York City, neither of them shows any sign of being replaced by the other variety.

Generally, speakers of the two varieties of Mandarin do not desire to bind together in American society. Because of ideological differences and cultural preferences, people from Taiwan feel more comfortable flocking together in their own social circles, as do people from P.R. China. These exclusive social circles are strongholds for dialect maintenance. New immigrants from Taiwan and P.R. China keep arriving and become new blood in these already existing circles. Accidentally, the two groups of people may come together for a certain time, but they are more likely to drift apart through integrating themselves into either the environment of the mainstream culture and language, or the social circles of their own dialect type.

On the other hand, persistent influences from P.R. China and Taiwan keep working on the Chinese-Americans through a number of channels, such as movies, radio, TV, and publications (see Chapter III). They constitute concrete supports for the two standards of Mandarin.

Yet linguistic influence over individual speakers is hardly of no consequence to the language system at the societal level. The influence occurring to individual speakers forebodes of future changes for the two varieties of Mandarin. So far the two Mandarin standards have been maintained separately by different TV and radio broadcasting companies, and their mutual influence remains minimal.

7.1.1 Linguistic Influence

In this study, linguistic influence at the individual level is found in most linguistic domains. Language contact has facilitated the introduction of each other's elements into personal speech. This tendency seems to favor a convergence of the two standard forms in the future if outside supporting factors were absent.

During language contact, speakers intentionally or unintentionally introduce elements from the other Mandarin variety into their speech.

One pattern of this linguistic influence is the occurrence of corresponding pairs of variables which end up in the Mandarin speakers' daily speech. Corresponding pairs of variables are marked linguistic features belonging to two vernaculars which are borrowed interchangeably by their speakers during language contact. One example of these features is the exchange of [n] and [ŋ] by Taiwan Guoyu speakers and Putonghua speakers. As shown in Chapter V, Taiwan Guoyu uses [n] in place of [ŋ] preceded by [i] and [ɔ]. During language contact, Taiwan Guoyu speakers tend to restore [ŋ] (n>ŋ), while Putonghua speakers tend to under-differentiate [n] and [ŋ] (ŋ>n). Here [n] and [ŋ] are a corresponding pair of variables for those borrowers.

In addition to the change of nasal sound, other corresponding pairs of variables are change of tone, de/retroflexion, lexical borrowing, change of diphthong,

ending particles, and "yao" ↔ "dei". Besides, some typical linguistic influences are also found in speakers of the two varieties of Mandarin. They will be discussed in 7.1.1.8 and 7.1.1.9.

7.1.1.1 Change of Tone

Tone patterns of Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua remain different (cf. Chapter V: Section 5.3.1): Taiwan Guoyu speakers usually stress a final syllable of a compound word which receives a neutral tone in Putonghua.

Data collected in this study demonstrate that Taiwan Guoyu speakers demonstrated changes in tone by neutralizing some of the frequently-used words in the language. When Taiwan Guoyu speakers imitate Putonghua tones, they produce neutralizations which are different from what Putonghua speakers produce. This somewhat stigmatized neutralized tone is a substitution of the neutralized tone by the first tone - a neutralized tone, though quite close to the first tone, is acoustically different from the first tone.

On the other hand, some Putonghua speakers in the study reduced the extent of neutralization so as to conceal or moderate their Mainland identity. These Putonghua speakers developed half-neutralized and unneutralized tones in their speech.

Among Taiwan Guoyu speakers and Putonghua speakers, there are three variants for a syllable which is supposed to be neutralized.

Unneutralized	Half-neutralized	Fully-neutralized
---------------	------------------	-------------------

\piao\liang	\piao ^ˊ liang	\piao [˙] liang (pretty)
ˊguan\ˊxi	ˊguan ^ˊ \ˊxi	ˊguan [˙] \ˊxi (relation)
\dui\ˊtou	\dui ^ˊ \ˊtou	\dui [˙] \ˊtou (opponent)
\ke\qi	\ke ^ˊ \qi	\ke [˙] \qi (courteous)

T. Guoyu Speakers	->	<-	Putonghua Speakers
-------------------	----	----	--------------------

7.1.1.2 De/retroflexion

As discussed in Chapter V (Section 5.3), Taiwan Guoyu does not essentially differentiate the two sets of affricates [zh], [ch], [sh] and [z], [c], [s], Taiwan Guoyu speakers usually substitute the second group for the first group.

The retroflexed sounds are imitated by many Taiwan Guoyu subjects. Some have achieved acoustic perfection.

A few Putonghua speakers, mostly those who work with a Taiwan boss and Colleagues, show a tendency to underdifferentiate the two sets of sounds. For these speakers, it is not at all an easy task to replace one set of sounds completely by the other. Consequently, a retroflexed sound has three variants among those speakers: retroflexed, half-retroflexed and deretroflexed (cf. Page 125) .

These variations were found in both Taiwan Guoyu speakers and Putonghua speakers.

Retroflexed	Half-retroflexed	Deretroflexed
<u>zh</u>	<u>ȶ</u>	<u>z</u>
<u>ch</u>	<u>č</u>	<u>c</u>
<u>zh</u>	<u>ṣ</u>	<u>s</u>
Putonghua -> Speakers		<- T. Guoyu Speakers

7.1.1.3 [ŋ] ← [n]

Dentalization of [ŋ] has been discussed as one linguistic feature of Taiwan Guoyu (see Chapter V). This happens when [ŋ] follows the front vowel [i] or the mid vowel [ə]. In standard Putonghua, this sound change does not occur.

Language contact between the two groups of Mandarin-speaking people enables these speakers to be influenced by each other's nasal sound patterns. Many Putonghua subjects in the study exhibited dental variants in pronouncing [ŋ].

A few Taiwan Guoyu subjects deviated toward Putonghua nasal sounds by differentiating the two sets of sounds: [iŋ] and [əŋ] ; [in] and [ən].

Thus among these Mandarin speakers, two variants are found:

Variant 1	Variant 2
[ŋ]	[n]

Some of the examples are listed below:

	Variant 1	Variant 2
diandeng	diandeng	dianden (electric light)
yingguo	yingguo	yinguo (England)
Qingming	Qingming	Qinmin (The Chinese Memorial Festival)
lengqi	lengqi	lenqi (cold air)
	Putonghua Speakers	-> <- T. Guoyu Speakers

7.1.1.4 Change of Diphthongs

Diphthongs in Taiwan Guoyu are markedly different from those in Putonghua. In comparison, diphthongs in Taiwan Guoyu are either reduced or monophthongized: [ai], [ei], [ao] and [ou] are reduced while [uo] is monophthongized as [ɤ] (see Chapter V: p.122).

Data show that the shortening of diphthongs occurs among a few Putonghua speakers, although most of the informants do not show any sign of changing. The most easily discernable is the change of [uo] to monophthong [ɤ]. Of the Taiwan Guoyu group, several subjects have also made changes of the diphthongs towards Putonghua. They produce full and lengthy diphthongs as most Putonghua speakers do.

For the two groups of people, these features are developed correspondingly, i.e. Taiwan Guoyu speakers change in the direction of Putonghua and Putonghua speakers change in

the direction of Taiwan Guoyu. We have the following variants for [uo].

	Variant 1	Variant 2
"uo"	[uo]	[ɔ]
	Putonghua -> Speakers	<- T. Guoyu Speakers

7.1.1.5 Particles

Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua habitually employ different sentence-final particles to express the speaker's mood. As discussed previously, "ai", "la", "ye", "ma" and "yi" are frequently used in Taiwan Guoyu and the two marked particles of Putonghua are "bei" and "yo".

Many Putonghua speakers in the study, mostly female, have absorbed particles from Taiwan Guoyu into their speech, although to some Putonghua ears sentences with rich particles sound pretentious and feminine. The most commonly used ones among them are "la", "ai" and "ma".

Putonghua particles were recorded as well among Taiwan Guoyu informants, but most Taiwan informants were not affected. One explanation of the imbalanced particle borrowing between the two groups could be that Putonghua does not have as many active particles as Taiwan Guoyu has.

7.1.1.6 Lexicon

Of all linguistic features, lexical items are the easiest to enter into other languages or dialects, this is especially true when the contacting languages or dialects are closely

related. The present study demonstrates that a great number of the informants in the study use lexical items from the other variety of Mandarin (cf. Chapter VIII). The lexical items involved are either lacking in the target dialect or stylistically novel.

The following words from Taiwan Guoyu were heard spoken by Putonghua subjects:

Borrowing	Putonghua	Gloss
lese	(laji)	garbage
han	(he)	and
fengguang	(chufengtou)	show off
s(h)uizun	(shuiping)	standard
gongs(h)i	(yizhi)	consensus
yantao	(taolun)	discuss
laowai	(waiguoren)	foreigner
laoz(h)ong	(zhongguoren)	Chinese
rentong	(yizhi)	consensus

Of these words, "gongs(h)i" ('consensus'), "laowai" ('foreigner') and "rentong" ('consensus') have been frequently used in newspapers and TV programs sponsored by P.R. China. It means that these words are becoming a part of Putonghua.

On the other hand, Taiwan Guoyu speakers borrowed vocabulary from Putonghua speakers. Many of those words are political terms coined in P.R. China:

Putonghua	Taiwan Guoyu	Gloss
wenge	----	The Cultural Revolution
fanyou	----	The Anti-Rightist Movement
tugai	----	land reform
yanjiu	yantao	explore
diaocha	hecha	investigate
pidou	----	denounce

7.1.1.7 "Yao" and "Dei"

"Yao" ('must') and "dei" ('must') are two auxiliaries which appear to be complementarily distributed in the two varieties of Mandarin. To show obligation, a Putonghua speaker tends to use "dei" while a Taiwan Guoyu speaker tends to use "yao". In the research, a few subjects accepted the other way of expressing obligation. Thus two variants are used by the same speakers.

dei	yao
Putonghua ->	<- T. Guoyu
Speakers	Speakers

7.1.1.8 "Bie", "Neng" and "Nin"

For Taiwan Guoyu speakers in the study, besides the corresponding pairs of variables, Putonghua auxiliaries "bie" ('don't'), "neng" ('can'), and honorific pronoun "nin" ('you') were found in their speech.

As discussed previously, Taiwan Guoyu has "bu-keyi", "keyi" and "ni" respectively in place of the above auxiliaries. In standard Putonghua, however, these function words are employed side by side with the other set (see Chapter V for details).

Having lived in New York City for a period of time, some Taiwan Guoyu subjects use the two sets of words in their speech alternatively. A marked linguistic behavioral pattern is thus formed.

"Nin" is a typical Putonghua honorific pronoun which is used to address a senior citizen or a person who holds a high social position, while "ni" is used for common second person. In Taiwan Guoyu, however, "ni" is the only word for the second person. The introduction of the honorific pronoun in their speech opens a new function by means of the borrowed lexical item.

7.1.1.9 "You", "Hui" and "Bijiao"

For the Putonghua group, besides the corresponding pairs of variables, auxiliaries "you" ('have') and "hui" ('likely') were extensively used. In addition, the Taiwan style comparative structure "bijiao-bu" ('rather not') was recorded from Putonghua speakers.

The use of "you" ('have') as an auxiliary in Taiwan Guoyu has a new function for the word "you" which originally means 'have' in Mandarin (cf. Chapter V). A new function which is capable of distinguishing the past tense and the perfective aspect is consequently added to the Putonghua spoken in the community.

7.2 Language Patterns of American-born Chinese

One purpose for selecting the American-born Chinese is to compare how their language patterns are different from immigrant adults. Those who were born and educated in the United States live in a social and language environment which is different from that of the immigrant adults, thus the

linguistic influence of the former may differ in aspects and degrees from the linguistic influence of the latter.

These young observants range from 3 year-old Dora to 18 year-old Huang. Most of them are currently elementary school or junior-high students. In a way each individual's linguistic behavioral pattern represents a part of a seemingly successive story: how language changes occurs for a Mandarin-speaking child over years.

Dora, the youngest observant, began to speak Mandarin when she was two. At the time of the observation, she could speak Taiwan Guoyu-style Mandarin with a small vocabulary. Her daily interlocutors are her Taiwan Guoyu-speaking parents and her five year-old brother Alan who attends a preschool program a few hours a day. Alan, unlike his sister who speaks only Mandarin, speaks both English and Mandarin. He has two important neighbor friends: a Putonghua speaker and an English monolingual. Alan's Mandarin is basically Taiwan Guoyu: he never pronounces retroflexed sounds nor does he use a neutralized tone in his speech. However, a few Putonghua words which are borrowed from the Putonghua-speaking friend are found in his Mandarin.

The earliest Taiwan Guoyu influence is found in Karl's speech. Born in a Putonghua-speaking family, Karl (age 4) began to speak Mandarin when he was two. Half a year ago, he began to make friends with his upstairs neighbor, a Taiwan Guoyu-speaking peer, and their parents always have them play

together. Although Mandarin is the only language he can speak, it is mixed up with both Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua features. Karl calls his parents and grandma in Taiwan Guoyu tones: "ma~ma" ('mommy'), "ba~ba" ('daddy') or "nai~nai" ('grandma'). He says "lese" ('garbage') instead of "laji" ('garbage'). However, his Mandarin basically belongs to Putonghua.

Next let us consider the majority of the children. Dan (age 10) and Yu (age 8), two brothers from a Taiwan Guoyu-speaking family; Tan (age 9) and Wint (age 7), two brothers from a Putonghua speaking family; Nancy (age 12) from a Putonghua-speaking family; and Laura (age 14) from a Putonghua-speaking family. Being bilinguals, they spend most of the time in an English-speaking environment. They hear or speak Mandarin at home with their family members. They have both English-speaking friends and Chinese friends.

Dan and Yu speak Mandarin with their parents, while they speak English to each other. Dan likes to learn Chinese but he feels it difficult to keep at it as he does not have much time for it. Although Dan and Yu have some Chinese friends, they seldom speak Chinese either to each other or to their Chinese friends. Apparently influenced by English, their Mandarin is in a process of losing its tonal distinction.

Without obvious Taiwan Guoyu influence, Tan and Wint's Putonghua Mandarin is in a decline. Their vocabulary is

shrinking while their English ability aggrandizes. Under the pressure of their parents, they have so far observed the family rule that they speak Chinese at home. However, they use more and more English in their conversations simply because "that's easy." They are not motivated to imitate Taiwan Guoyu in their speech, and always speak English with their Chinese friends. When asked by the researcher whether they would like to go to study Chinese in a Chinese language school nearby, Tan bluntly rejected: "No, we hate Chinese".

Nancy and Laura have a good command of Chinese but their English is far superior to Chinese. Nancy attends Chinese language School on Saturdays and she has many Taiwan Guoyu schoolmates. Taiwan Guoyu influence on their Putonghua-style Mandarin is noticeable. Both Nancy and Laura used "you"('have') frequently in relating to a past experience. Besides, Laura has two superfluous Taiwan Guoyu sentence final particles "la" and "ba" in her speech. However, English exerts more influence on their Chinese tones, vocabulary, as well as their way of thinking.

The oldest of these subjects are Mark (age 15, from a Putonghua family), and Lun (age 16) and Huang (age 18), (brothers from a Taiwan Guoyu family). Mark speaks Mandarin, though English is his most comfortable language on most occasions. He is interested in the Chinese language and culture and wants to have a Chinese reading ability. Because he has many Taiwan Guoyu-speaking friends and neighbors, his

vocabulary contains a great number of Taiwan Guoyu words, such as "shuizun" ('standard') and "luyindai" ('video-tape').

In contrast, Lun and Huang have little Chinese ability. They speak a few simple Mandarin sentences but the tone of the words was either wrong or not clear--this is common among Chinese speakers who learn toneless English first. In fact, it is difficult to categorize their Mandarin into either Taiwan Guoyu or Putonghua.

Based on their stories, a conclusion can be reached: American-born Chinese show varied degrees of influence from the other Mandarin variety. The extent of influence depends to a certain degree on their age, their language environment and their personal choice.

It is clear that the American education system and the dominant culture and language have played a great role in integrating the offsprings of Chinese-Americans into the melting pot. These cases suggest that, unlike adult immigrants, new generations of American-born Chinese will be losing their parents' language and culture in the future.

7.3 Motivation for Linguistic influence

Language changes are motivated by various reasons. With regard to the linguistic influence of the two groups of Mandarin speakers in New York City, socio-psychological factors may be closely associated with their linguistic behavioral patterns. During the interview, one Beijing native

described how she was motivated to imitate Taiwan Guoyu during the interview:

Many of my colleagues were from Taiwan. They speak quite differently from Mainland Putonghua. At first, I did not think we had language problem since I understand what they say. But gradually, I realized that they could not understand me when I spoke fast. That was embarrassing. In order to make them understand me, I began to speak slowly and use as many Taiwanhua elements as possible.

-Mrs. Song

This explains in a way convergence of the accommodation theory: people in language contact converge toward another vernacular out of their own choice (Giles 1973).

In this study, convergence is found chiefly in domains of phonology and lexicon. Unlike phonological features, which, once changed, is hard to change back, lexical items could be manipulated with considerable freedom without apparent consequences for the systems.

"Ni" is the only word to express the referent 'you'. The honorific use of "nin" ('you') by Taiwan Guoyu speakers is an accommodating effort to draw close to a Putonghua listener (cf. 7.1.1.8). For Putonghua speakers, the use of "shuizun" ('level'), "luyindai" ('video-tape') and "lese" ('garbage') is an indication of accommodation to Taiwan Guoyu speakers.

For certain sophisticated Mandarin speakers, lexical items from the two inventories are interchangeably in accordance with changes of interlocutors, settings, and time. Both Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua speakers were heard saying "lese" ('garbage') to Taiwan Guoyu listeners and "laji"

('garbage') to Putonghua listeners. "Han" ('and') and "he" ('and') were also heard spoken by the same speakers.

Language contact has enriched the lexical inventory for Mandarin speakers from Taiwan and the Mainland, small-scale of code-switching has thus become possible among these speakers--this could be considered a by-product of linguistic influence.

The research also shows that language accommodation is not the only answer to linguistic influence. In fact, some linguistically-oriented reasons appear to better explain some of the cases in the study.

Linguistically, the structural differences of the two varieties of Mandarin and their lexical inadequacies may motivate an admission of each other's elements to supplement the system. For example, the introduction of auxiliary "you" ('have') has resulted in a new syntactic function in Putonghua: the distinction of perfective and past could be lexically marked (cf. Chapter V). The linguistic motivation is clearly shown by its unrecoverable nature: once a Putonghua speaker gets used to the past tense marker "you" ('have'), he or she is not likely to switch back to the former way of Putonghua structure even though he or she encounters Putonghua speakers.

The borrowing of certain lexical terms could be primarily motivated by linguistic reasons. Of the two varieties of Mandarin, each has certain lexical items or structural functions which are lacking in the other variety. It is quite

common that expressions for new concepts and ideas were first picked up by individuals and then by the whole community. Those expressions which were borrowed from Taiwan Guoyu into Putonghua, such as "gongshi" ('consensus'), "laowai" ('foreigner') and "suqiu" ('appeal') could make the speech more effective and stylistic, as do the expressions from Putonghua, such as "luoshi" ('implement'), "diaocha" ('investigate'), "zhishi" ('directive') and "pingfan" ('redress a wrong verdict').

However, both the accommodation theory and the social network theory fail to offer satisfactory explanations to some sociolinguistic phenomena. Data from the present study show that TV watching is significantly linked with linguistic influence for both groups (see Chapter IX). TV viewers neither experienced pressures from the vernacular norms nor did they have the need to accommodate to anyone. They changed their linguistic behavior simply because they contacted the other source of Mandarin. This phenomenon constitutes a challenge to the above two sociolinguistic models. It indicates that both models have their limits and are subject to modifications.

Chapter VIII

Extralinguistic Factors

8.0 Introduction

Human linguistic behavior is an extremely complex phenomenon. This behavior can hardly be explained by one or two isolated factors. Behavioral scientists ordinarily expect a multitude of factors affecting any given human action. Among a number of extralinguistic factors which were expected to be related to linguistic behavior, one or two could be considered more strongly linked with linguistic behavior than others.

In this chapter, seven potentially influential extralinguistic variables will be discussed. These variables are either social or demographic. The social variables are Network Strength Scale-Other Group (for convenience, it will be called "NSS-O" for most occasions); length of stay in the United States; and TV watching. The demographic variables include factors such as age, sex, education, and language attitude. In order to compare the present study of the Mandarin speakers in New York City with that conducted by Chi's (1991) of the Mandarin speakers in Los Angeles, special consideration will be given to the social network factor, TV watching, and language attitude. Except for some necessary adjustments, the procedure remains similar to that employed by

Milroy in her pioneer work conducted in Belfast, Ireland (Milroy 1980).

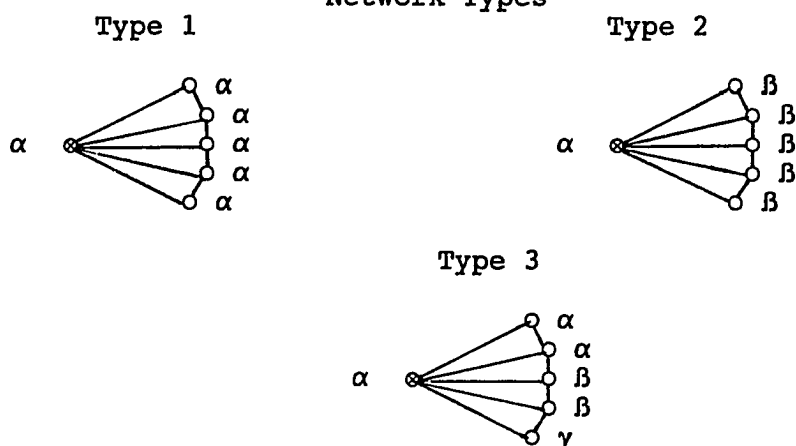
8.1 Social Network and Network Strength Scale (NSS)

8.1.1 Network Types

The Chinese social network in New York City has a number of features which differ to a great extent from settings of other social networks. First, it is not territorially based regardless of the existence of the Chinatowns which serve as both a cultural symbol and business base for the Chinese ethnic group. Second, like city dwellers elsewhere, individuals in New York City maintain contact with people of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Thus, they constantly find themselves shuffling among a number of cultural and linguistic networks.

In light of the complexity of city network structure, an exploration of the network cluster types in a society will shed light on the current study (cf. Milroy 1987: 167).

Table 12
Network Types



Type 1 and Type 2 are idealized social cluster types which are not so common in urban and metropolitan areas. Type 1 is typical for a rural area where people seldom move and are in constant contact with other people who speak the same vernacular. This is the type of network Milroy had in Belfast. Type 2 network is one in which a person speaking a vernacular only, contacts people who speak another vernacular. These two types are expected to be found normally in rural areas where social mobility is basically non-existent or minimal. Type 3 is applicable to both urban and rural areas: a person speaking a vernacular keeps contact with people who speak various vernaculars. In fact, Type 1 and Type 2 are special cases of Type 3. Type 1 appears to be an ideal type of social condition for language maintenance. Type 2 is a typical case of language shift and linguistic interference although it rarely occurs in actual life.

With this in mind, we will see that to apply the social network concept in a general sense will not elicit a better understanding of language contact and linguistic influence in the Chinese community of New York City. It is crucial that relevant links be sorted out for the present study.

To make the following analysis easier, a new term "focal link" is coined here. A focal link is a social link which is selected from among the links in a Type 3 social cluster, as the focus of the research. Its selection is dependent on the nature of the study.

Unlike those living in rural areas with relatively closeknit networks within clear geographical boundaries, Chinese-Americans keep in constant contact with other individuals with various backgrounds. This presents difficulties for the social network approach if the network concept is applied without distinction among the characteristic differences of the component sectors in one's relationships (Milroy 1987: 107).

It is common that a person may keep involvement in a number of relationships which may be characteristically categorized into different sub-networks. One's social network may consist of two or more sub-networks. A sub-network is a component of a network and differs from another in major content features. For example, in Table 12, the illustrated Type 1 and Type 2 networks consist of an α sub-network and a β sub-network respectively, and the Type 3 network consists of three sub-networks: an α sub-network, a β sub-network and a γ sub-network. An individual's links with various sub-networks could be maintained over either space or time. It is natural that an immigrant in New York City keeps two or more sub-networks on a daily basis. During the day, he or she may work in the English-speaking circle where the dominant culture and language prevail, while after work they will spend the rest of the day at home with their families where a minority culture and language prevail. In cases like this, people maintain different sub-networks over space and time.

Yet, people may keep links with two or more types of sub-networks spontaneously without changing space and time. For example, in a worksite with different ethnic components, a number of sub-network relationships may exist at the same time. Having a Spanish-speaking sector distinguished from the dominant English-speaking group linguistically and culturally, a Hispanic is able to keep the two sub-networks when interacting with both Spanish colleagues and English-speaking colleagues by shifting back and forth both linguistically and culturally.

8.1.2 Network Strength Scale (NSS)

One vital step of all statistic analysis employed in sociolinguistics is the conversion of social and linguistic data into numerical scores. Without exception, the social network approach, as a quantitative approach, uses numerical scores to reflect the structure of a person's network with reference to multiplexity and density, the two key concepts in social network analysis (see Chapter II for details).

Density refers to the nature of the social network in which the informants get involved. Density is discussed in terms of clusters that are considered closeknit or looseknit. According to Milroy, "a cluster is a portion of a personal network where relationships are denser internally than externally" (Milroy 1980: p.142). In practice, to convert density value into a numerical score presents difficulties due

to its abstract nature. As it depends to a large extent on the nature of multiplexity, its numerical value could be either calculated separately or in conjunction with that of multiplexity. In Milroy's Belfast study, density was treated as a separate indicator carrying a numerical value of 0 or 1, while multiplexity carries a maximum of 4 (Milroy 1980: pp.140-142). Multiplexity refers to relationship contents of an individual's social network. It is accounted for in terms of indicators in the statistic analysis.

The so-called "Network Strength Scale" (NSS) is the sum of social network indicators (Milroy 1987: p.106). In her Belfast study, NSS was determined by measuring the speakers' five social indicators of density and multiplexity. Milroy's five indicators are:

1. "being a member of a high-density, territorially based cluster";
2. "having substantial ties of kinship in the neighborhood";
3. working with "at least two others from the same area";
4. having "at least two others of the same sex from the area" at worksite; and
5. "association with workmates in leisure hours".

These social indicators will show whether an individual keeps a dense or multiplex personal network of certain linguistic or social characters under investigation. Based on each individual's given score for a particular condition he or

she fulfills, the total NSS score is the sum of all the individual indicator scores (Milroy 1980: 141; Milroy 1987: 106-107).

These indicators demonstrate an individual's potential integration into a set of social relationships which exert "normative pressure" on the individual. As indicators are closely linked with particular cultures, they vary from one ethnic group to another. It is likely that a set of indicators which work satisfactorily in one community will not be relevant in another community (Milroy 1987: 141). Thus, it is important that a researcher find the indicators which best reflect the relationships of the group under investigation. The selected indicators will reflect those relationships which exert influence over the individual's behavior.

8.1.3 Network Strength Scale-Other Group (NSS-O)

Mandarin speakers in New York City face the same situation as many New Yorkers do, namely they are likely to keep constant ties with more than one sub-network in their daily life. A graduate student from Taiwan, for example, can easily build ties in a Taiwan Guoyu sub-network by contacting those from Taiwan, while he or she also participates in other sub-networks such as a Putonghua sub-network and an English-speaking sub-network by forming ties with people in those circles.

Since our concern is primarily linguistic influence through language contact of the Mandarin speakers in the city, our attention will be directed to Mandarin speakers who are linked with speakers of the other variety of Mandarin other than his own, i.e. either Putonghua or Taiwan Guoyu. We will focus on two types of sub-networks: Putonghua sub-network and Taiwan Guoyu sub-network. Here, the NSS score of each informant is not the total network scores, rather it is the sub-network score which indicates the interrelationship of the individual in the affecting group. Let us name this "Network Strength Score-Other Group", or "NSS-O". Thus we have two groups of subjects under investigation. Group A: Putonghua speakers who have contact with Taiwan Guoyu speakers; and Group B: Taiwan Guoyu speakers who have contact with Putonghua speakers. The two groups have the following features respectively.

Putonghua Group:

- a. The subjects' original dialect is Putonghua;
- b. The subjects have links with Taiwan Guoyu speakers, as well as other dialects or language speakers - but their links with Taiwan Guoyu speakers are the focal links (social ties in social network which are singled out in the study).
- c. They have lived in New York City for at least one year.

Taiwan Guoyu Group:

- a. The subjects' original dialect is Taiwan Guoyu;
- b. The subjects may have links with Putonghua speakers, as well as other dialects or language speakers--but their links with Putonghua speakers are the focal links in the study.
- c. They have lived in New York City for at least one year.

The network density of both groups is the ratio of the subjects' focal links to all other potential links (Density = l / L [where, l = focal link; $L = \alpha + \beta + \gamma \dots$]).

The strategy employed in this study is an implementation of proportional representation of each individual's integration into the other Mandarin speaking group. Considering the cultural and social characteristics of the Chinese community in New York City, the current study uses friendship, kinship, and employment as indicators. To be more precise, indicators in this study are concerned with relationships of family, friend, kin, neighbors, employers, and colleagues.

The NSS-O scores which are collected through questionnaire responses and interviews reflect the language contact conditions of the individual so that language influence could be tested in the final analysis.

1) An informant's NSS-O score is calculated in accordance with his or her relationships in the affecting dialect group. Accordingly, the NSS-O score of a Taiwan informant will be based on his or her link with the Putonghua sub-network, while that of a Putonghua speaker on his or her links with the Taiwan Guoyu sub-network. By this scoring scheme, a Taiwan Guoyu speaker with limited contact with Putonghua speakers will obtain a low NSS-O score, while one with intense contact with Putonghua speakers will get a high NSS-O score. NSS-O scores for Putonghua speakers are calculated by the same

method. Those who solely maintain contact within the same dialect group thus obtain an NSS-0 score of zero.

2) In the quantitative analysis, Taiwan Guoyu speakers and Putonghua speakers are studied separately.

In accordance with social network conventions, the NSS of each informant is arrived indirectly by considering the two vital factors: density and multiplexity.

With regards to Mandarin speakers in New York City who constantly become involved in various social sub-networks, the density of a particular sub-network they get involve is hardly measurable and verifiable. In the current study, therefore, the measurement of density is merged with that of multiplexity at each level. If a multiplexity indicator measures close tie of an individual in a particular sub-network, a higher range of score is given to that indicator. On the contrary, a lower range of score is given. For instance, in the following discussion, because "family" and "employment" factors are more likely to result in high density in networks, their maximum score is the highest (3) in comparison with the maximum score of "neighbor" and "relative" (2).

8.1.3.1 Family

This indicator is concerned with family members which exert influence on the informant. It chiefly deals with the intermarriage of speakers of the two varieties of Mandarin. Intermarriage between Taiwan Guoyu speakers and Putonghua

speakers brings the two varieties of the dialect into interaction on daily basis. Marriage correlates as well with density of the informants' social network structure. The establishment of this type of relation will be given a higher NSS-0 score.

This family factor also accommodate the possibility that a parent has step-children or adopted children who speak Mandarin that is different from his or hers. However, no such relationship was found among the informants.

8.1.3.2 Relative

If an informant has relatives who speak another variety of Mandarin, the informant obtains a score in the relative indicator. In New York City, many Chinese have relatives living nearby. It is common that a Taiwan old timer became the sponsor of a niece or nephew from P.R. China. While living in New York, they are likely to keep in frequent contact with each other. The relative indicator is measured in accordance with the following factors.

- a. How many relatives does the informant keep frequent contact with?
- b. Do the relatives live nearby?

Quite a few of the informants in the study keep close ties with their relatives who speak the other variety of Mandarin. Some have relatives but their contact is infrequent. Most of the informants have no relatives, thus

this factor does not significantly increase their NSS-O scores.

8.1.3.3 Employment

This indicator is concerned with the informant's employment relationship with those who speak the other variety of Mandarin. In New York City, Chinese are employed in nearly all trades of life. People from Mainland China and Taiwan would inevitably enter into a relationship of employer and employee or that of colleagues. This indicator is explored through the following factors:

Boss

- a. Is the informant's boss a speaker of the other variety of Mandarin?
- b. Does the informant have direct contact with the boss during working hours?

Colleagues

- c. Does the informant have colleagues or classmates who speak the other variety of Mandarin?
- d. Does the informant interact verbally with the colleagues or classmates at the worksite or school?

Language Environment

- e. Is the other variety of Mandarin dominant at the work site?

In New York City, many owners of restaurants, retail stores, and laundries are from Taiwan. The language used in

business is Taiwan Guoyu. In these workplaces, a Putonghua speaker is more likely to be influenced by Taiwan Guoyu. Whereas, in the business owned by Putonghua speakers, Putonghua is more likely to be the dominant language at the worksite. Taiwan employees, on the other hand, tend to be influenced by Putonghua to various degrees.

Colleagues, as well, exert pressure on others whose Mandarin is not the same as theirs. This pressure appears to be consequential when the pressure group is the majority.

8.1.3.4 Friend

Friends are influential on friends as far as language is concerned. Here, colleagues or classmates are counted as friends if they spend their spare time with the informant. This indicator is measured by considering the following factors:

- a. Whether their close friends are speakers of the other variety of Mandarin?
- b. Whether they have frequent contact after work or after school?

In New York City, Chinese-Americans establish friendships primarily among their neighbors, colleagues, classmates, and church congregation. Getting together and telephoning each other are the most usual forms of maintaining their personal contacts. Relationships between friends are usually formed voluntarily by both parties. Sharing some values, education

or experience in common, they are more likely to be influenced linguistically by these friends.

8.1.3.5 Neighbor

Voluntary contact between neighbors in New York City is less frequent than among people in rural areas. What underlies this difference is insecurity and busier life of the city. Generally speaking, a pattern of frequent contact between households in Chinese communities does not exist. However, limited space and expensive rent bring strangers under the same roof. It is commonplace that a Putonghua speaker unknowingly ends up in an apartment with one or two neighbors from Taiwan. This involuntary contact makes the neighbor indicator consequential. This indicator is calculated by taking consideration of the following:

- a. Whether the informant has any neighbors who speak the other variety of Mandarin.
- b. Whether the informant has any roommate who speaks the other variety of Mandarin.
- c. Whether the informant's neighborhood has a great concentration of speakers of the other variety of Mandarin.

Neighbors and residents in the neighborhood have a great impact on the informant's linguistic behavior. In Flushing Chinatown where a strong Taiwan influence is apparent, many Putonghua informants are more easily influenced linguistically

by Taiwan Guoyu than a Taiwan Guoyu speaker would be by Putonghua.

Table 13a
Calculation of Network Strength Scale Scores-Other Group
(NSS-O)

	<u>Range</u>
Family	0 to 3
Relative	0 to 2
Employment	0 to 3
Friend	0 to 2
Neighbor	0 to 2
<u>Total</u>	<u>0 to 12</u>

The maximum possible NSS-O score in the study is 12 while the lowest is 0. The NSS-O score for each informant is an aggregation of the points assigned to each indicator discussed above. Table 13 lists the Network Strength Scale-Other Group (NSS-O) of the informants in the two Mandarin groups.

Table 13b
Network Strength Scale Scores-Other Group (NSS-O)

	Low	High	Average
Putonghua	0	10	2.28
Guoyu	0	11	3.43
Overall	0	11	2.86

The results indicate that Guoyu speakers have a higher individual maximum score than Putonghua speakers do. The informants in the study obtained an average NSS-O score that is about a third of the maximum.

8.1.3.6 NSS-O Scores v. Age, Sex and Length of Stay in USA

Other studies indicate that there are significant interactions between the NSS score and other social factors, such as sex, age, and areas (Milroy 1987: p.144; Chi 1991).

In this study, we would like to examine whether similar relationships exist in the Mandarin-speaking population in New York City. By comparing results of the two Mandarin groups, i.e. the Taiwan Guoyu group and the Putonghua group, we will be able to examine the relation between the NSS-O scores and social factors.

Table 14a
NSS-O Scores vs. Age - Putonghua Group

$$t = 0.011 \quad p \leq 0.990^{*1}$$

AGE	≤ 19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	≥60
NSS-O	1.50	3.50	2.45	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 14b
NSS-O Scores vs. Age -T. Guoyu Group

$$t = 1.923 \quad p \leq 0.528 *$$

AGE	≤ 19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	≥60
NSS-O	1.00	1.50	0.40	4.53	4.50	0.00

These tables indicate that the correlation between the NSS-O scores and age is not significantly related ($P \leq 0.99$ in the Putonghua group; and $P \leq 0.528$ in the Taiwan Guoyu group). One possible explanation could be that the subjects in the study are mostly among the first generation of immigrants. Unlike the Belfast study, the age of the subjects does not necessarily reflect the years of their involvement in the Chinese community in New York City, nor the extent of their integration into the social network of the other variety of Mandarin.

Results in Table 14 suggest visually that age appears to be negatively correlated with the NSS-O scores: when the age increases, the NSS-O score decreases. However, the fact is that most subjects fall into the 20-29 and 30-39 groups whose scores are the highest. A significant correlation between age and the NSS-O scores is not statistically established because those who are older or younger both have lower NSS-O scores than the two main groups.

Now turning to the relationship of the NSS-O score and sex, inconsistent results have been generated in the two groups. Table 15a and Table 15b constitute a contrast of the two groups: in the Putonghua group the NSS-O score is not coefficient with sex; but in the Taiwan Guoyu group, it is negatively coefficient with sex, meaning that females tend to be more closely tied in the network. The results indicate

that individual differences exist between the two groups of samples.

Table 15a
NSS-O Scores vs. Sex - Putonghua Group

$$t = 0.084 \quad p \leq 0.933 *$$

SEX	Male	Female
#SUBJ	21	25
NSS-O	2.33	2.24

Table 15b
NSS-O Scores vs. Sex -T. Guoyu Group

$$t = -2.850 \quad p \leq 0.01 !$$

SEX	Male	Female
#SUBJ	20	27
NSS-O	1.722	4.517

However, the statistic analyses arrive at a similar conclusion with regard to the correlation between the NSS-O scores and the length of residence in the United States. It suggests that subjects with a longer history of stay are more likely to establish ties with speakers of the other variety of Mandarin, and that new arrivals tend to live or work more exclusively with those who speak their own vernacular.

Table 16a
NSS-O Scores vs. Years in USA - Putonghua Group

$$t = 2.329 \quad p \leq 0.05!$$

YEARS	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	≥11
#SUBJ	8	17	8	7	3	3
NSS-O	0.35	0.27	1.20	0.66	4.5	5.00

Table 16b
NSS-O Scores vs. Years in USA -T. Guoyu Group

$$t = 2.131 \quad p \leq 0.05!$$

YEARS	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	≥12
#SUBJ	5	4	9	12	7	10
NSS-O	0.25	0.56	0.46	0.58	1.79	2.1

8.2 Other Extralinguistic Variables

As it may be that other social and demographic variables can be linked with behavioral patterns, seven other extralinguistic variables are discussed briefly in the following part of this chapter. They are gender, age, education, English ability, TV watching, language attitude, and length of stay in the United States. Their information was obtained chiefly from responses to the questionnaire (see Appendix 1).

8.2.1 Gender

Relations between linguistic behavior and gender has been explored in many sociolinguistic studies. A common inquiry in

these studies is whether women and men speak differently; what the social implications of the differences are; and how the differences are detected (Labov 1972; Scherer 1979). Conflicting conclusions were generated in the studies concerned with regard to this important factor. Gender has occasionally proved to be an insignificant variable in accounting for linguistic variation under different situation (Fishman 1971: 466). Other studies show that sex differences are correlated with differences of linguistic behaviors: women are inclined to be closer to the prestige pattern than men (Milroy 1980: 112, Smith 1979: 109-146).

The focus in this study rests on whether sex differences are associated with the changing linguistic behavior among the Mandarin speakers in New York City. It is coded as follows: male = 1; and female = 0.

8.2.2 Age

Age is a factor which has been frequently discussed in relation to linguistic variation. In the study, age is divided into seven categories. Although it does not prove to be closely related with social network strength scale in the above discussion, it will be interesting to know whether it is linked with linguistic variability of the two Mandarin groups. Studies indicate that there could hardly be a perfect correlation between age and linguistic behavior. Linguistic features of a language are typically acquired at young age and

can usually be sustained throughout one's lifetime once acquired. Scherer and Giles believe that the overall occurrence of the features is not linked with age, but that the onset of the features is (Scherer & Giles 1979: p.64).

It will be interesting to know whether age is correlated with linguistic influence among the Mandarin speakers. Statistical analyses are employed to test the correlations based on data generated from the study.

In this study, age information is obtained basically from questionnaires. It is coded as follows: 0 = below 10; 10 = 10-19; 20 = 20-29; 30 = 30-39; 40 = 40-49; 50 = 50-59; and 60 = 60-69.

8.2.3 Education

Education has not been a common topic in sociolinguistic studies and it is not usually considered a crucial factor in relation to linguistic variation. A considerable number of Mandarin speakers in New York City received education both in a foreign country and in the United States. Our concern is whether their education is associated with the linguistic influence from the opposite Mandarin group.

The education factor is based on the subjects' highest education received. It is coded as follows: 0 for "no education"; 1 for "elementary"; 2 for "junior high"; 3 for "senior high"; 4 for "two-year or three-year junior college"; 5 for "four-year college"; and 6 for "graduate school".

8.2.4 English

English is both a linguistic variable and a social demographic variable. Here, it is considered an independent demographic variable to be compared with other linguistic variables. Like education, a subject's English ability reflects to a certain extent his or her academic experience, as well as linguistic ability, although its link with Mandarin influence may be uncertain. English ability is coded by an individual's communicative ability rather than his or her reading ability. It falls into two categories: 0 = not being able to converse in English ; and 1 = being able to converse in English. It is expected that an individual who speaks English has received more formal education than those who can not speak English at all. English ability reflects an individual's potential for upward mobility.

8.2.5 TV Watching

Television is the most influential and ubiquitous of the mass media in the United States. American television plays a major role in entertainment although this entertainment role is not inherently important elsewhere in the world. In Asian countries where governmental controls on news media are tight, television is used primarily for education and information (Sandman 1976). In P.R. China, the government has long been using television as a channel of mass education. To meet the increasing needs for college graduates, China TV University and China Correspondence University began to enroll hundreds

of thousands of college students in the late 1970s. Television is used as the only facility of instruction: instead of attending lectures in classrooms, students gather in front of TV sets during certain times of the week listening to instructions emanating through the national TV network. After a few years of television education, those who pass all course examinations will graduate with a degree.

In Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea, similar education-centered television programs are also available. People in this region conscientiously become self-educated through watching television on certain educational channels.

This "television culture" still prevails among the Chinese immigrants in the United States, especially among the young and middle-age immigrants. Chinese TV programs constitute a powerful source of influence on the daily life of the Chinese population. Although Chinese TV programs in the United States are unparalleled to those in P.R. China and Taiwan, viewers habitually rely on television for new knowledge and information. It is still held by many Chinese that indulging in TV entertainment is a sign of laziness for young people.

As mentioned previously, there are currently six TV companies which feature Chinese programs in either Cantonese or Mandarin in New York City. Of the Mandarin programs, some are made in Taiwan Guoyu and the rest in Putonghua. Generally, new immigrants from Taiwan are more accustomed to

programs made in Taiwan while Putonghua speakers have a special liking for programs made in P.R. China. However, more people watch programs made in both Taiwan and P.R. China. It is expected that a Taiwan Guoyu speaker is likely to be influenced by Putonghua if he or she regularly watches programs made in P.R. China. On the other hand, a Putonghua speaker's Mandarin is expected to be influenced by Taiwan Guoyu if he or she is a regular viewer of Taiwan Guoyu programs. Unlike the social network, TV watching is more of a hobby or an individual entertainment than a social, personal contact. To test its correlation with linguistic variables, hours per week are coded for the subjects who watch programs in the other variety of Mandarin, i.e. the coded hours for a Putonghua subject reflect the actual hours he or she spends on watching Taiwan Guoyu programs; likewise, the coded hours for a Taiwan Guoyu subject reflects the actual hours he or she spends on Putonghua programs.

No implication is intended that watching TV is necessarily a direct cause of linguistic influence. They may both be effects of a common cause, such as what motivates watching of the other Mandarin speaking group's TV programs. Most likely, there is a complex interaction of all these variables. This factor is measured based on hours an individual spent on TV programs or movies in the other variety of Mandarin.

8.2.6 Language Attitude

Language attitude has been considered a multiple dimensional variable of connotative association which is important for success in language maintenance and learning (Shuy 1973; MacNamara 1973). Language attitude focuses on either "language-oriented" subjective evaluations of language and its speakers, or community stereotyped views on particular languages, or behaviors towards other languages and their speakers (Shu 1984).

In studies of language attitudes, various methods were used: questionnaire, matched guise test (Lambert 1960), participant observation, and interviews. So far, questionnaire has been most frequently used.

Studies of language attitude have occasionally involved issues of language learning and choice. It is not surprising that a perfect correlation between language attitude and language learning has not generally been reported although favorable language attitudes are considered crucial contributors to success of language learning. In a population of strong vernacular norms, language attitudes may be closely related to language behaviors (Fishman 1971: 105-153).

In the current study of Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu, language attitude will include "language-oriented" attitudes of the speakers towards the two varieties of Mandarin. What interests us is how the speakers judge the two varieties of Mandarin; and how linguistic influence is linked with their

attitudes. Here, language attitude is narrowed down to the subjects' comparatively favorable or unfavorable view regarding the other variety of Mandarin which is not their original dialect: either Taiwan Guoyu or Putonghua. Language attitude information was obtained from the questionnaire distributed among the informants (see Appendix 1). It was based on responses to the scale rating of a number of language attributes such as usefulness, elegance, popularity and beautifulness (see Question #13, Appendix 1). Two identical question sets were listed for the Putonghua group and the Taiwan Guoyu group. For most informants, their comparative favorable attitude towards one version and unfavorable attitude towards the other is easily examined by comparing the number of values they marked. Additional language attitude information was also provided by other related questions in the questionnaire which include Question #11, Question #12, Question #14 and Question #19. They are listed below.

Question #11: "Do you feel more comfortable to hear people speak Taiwan Guoyu or Putonghua? Or do you feel comfortable to hear both?"

Question #12: "Of the two film stars, Qin Han and Gong Li, who do you believe speaks Mandarin more naturally?"

Question #14: "In your opinion, which of the two Mandarin-speaking groups do you think could find a job more easily in New York City?--the Taiwan Guoyu group or the Putonghua group?"

Question #19: "Can you tell which of the following people you would want your best friend to marry?"

Two categories were used: if a Putonghua speaker favored Taiwan Guoyu, his or her score of language attitude was 1, or the score was 0 if he or she favored Putonghua. Accordingly, a Taiwan Guoyu speaker would score 1 if he or she favored Putonghua, otherwise the score was 0.

Table 17a
Language Attitude -Putonghua Group

	FAV.	UNFAV.	SUM
MALE	4	17	21
FEMALE	2	23	25
TOTAL	6	40	46

Table 17b
Language Attitude -T. Guoyu Group

	FAV.	UNFAV.	SUM
MALE	3	17	20
FEMALE	4	23	27
TOTAL	7	40	47

NOTE: In these two tables, "FAV." and "UNFAV." are used to refer to the number of informants who have a "favorable" or "unfavorable" attitude towards the other variety of Mandarin.

The above tables demonstrate that there are only a limited number of informants in each group who have favorable attitudes towards the other variety of Mandarin, while most of the subjects (87% for the Putonghua group; and 85% for the Taiwan Guoyu group) maintain that their version of Mandarin is "better" than the other variety of Mandarin though many of them became deeply involved in the other Mandarin sub-network.

8.2.7 Length of Stay in USA

Length of stay in the United States has been examined in relation to individuals' NSS-O scores. In the following analysis, this factor is compared with the linguistic influence of the individuals so that we will see whether these two factors are substantially linked. In this study, the length of stay appears to be more important as it reflects the length of language contact of the subjects. Young or old, most of the subjects had chances to contact speakers of the other variety of Mandarin after they came to the United States.

The length of stay in the United States is represented by actual years. As a new arrival is not likely to make perceivable changes in his or her speech, those who came to the United States for less than a year are excluded.

NOTE

1. In this chapter and the chapters to follow, '*' is used to mark a statistically insignificant value and '!' a statistically significant value.

Chapter IX

Quantitative Analysis

9.0 Introduction

In this chapter, priority is given to the social network analysis which has been applied in a number of studies of small closeknit network structures. In New York City, social network structures are basically loose and multi-level language contacts are maintained - this presents difficulties for a social network treatment. With regard to language change and interference, these complex networks will undoubtedly provide more clues to sociolinguistic researches than the small-scale closeknit societies can. Besides, this study is also concerned with other possible social factors which have been studied previously by other sociolinguists, so that the results generated from the present study could be contrasted with theirs.

The general observation from the pilot study conducted in Summer 1992 suggested that Mandarin spoken by Mainlanders and Taiwanese in New York City were both influenced by each other through language contact. The attention of the following study is thus focused on the interrelationships between linguistic influence and the extralinguistic factors.

The source of language contact is an important extralinguistic factor which deserves a scrutiny. It can be divided into two categories: personal language contact and

non-personal language contact. In this study, personal language contact will be accounted for in terms of social network, and non-personal language contact will be discussed in terms of TV watching - the influential news medium in the Chinese communities.

One characteristic of this study is its multiple correlation analyses. Multiple regression provided by the SAS statistic system is used to test the hypotheses stated in Chapter I, i.e. Hypothesis I, Hypothesis II and Hypothesis III, as well as interactions of linguistic variables with other demographic factors such as age, gender, length of stay in the United States, education and English ability.

Regression is one of the most versatile data analysis procedures which, besides summarizing data, are capable of both exploring relations among variables and singling out the influential factors which correlate with a given linguistic behavior. Multiple regression is an extension of simple linear regression. One advantage of multiple regression analysis is that the combined effect of any number of factors on a dependent variable could be measured, so that those factors which are significantly linked with the dependent variable will be singled out from among others. Thus, the correlation of linguistic factors with extralinguistic factors is explored and predicted objectively. The advantage of the regression approach is that it will deal with not only

inferring population characteristics but also predicting how strongly variables are interrelated.

9.1 Linguistic Variables

Linguistic variables are crucial dependent variables in the following analyses. Once social variables and linguistic variables are both identified, a quantitative analysis of the linguistic influence becomes possible. The remaining part of this chapter will account for dependent linguistic variables of the two Mandarin speaking groups. The quantitative analysis attempts to explore possible correlations of these variables with other social variables. By means of this, the hypotheses of the study are tested.

Ten linguistic variables are chosen for each group in this study. These linguistic variables are marked phonological, lexical and syntactic features which are found in the influenced group. Linguistic variables are usually selected from those salient phonological features possessed by the informants for sociolinguistics studies. The advantage of the phonological orientation is its sensibility to the research and its verifiability. Of the ten chosen variables for each group, four phonological variables are selected as indicators, the rest are lexical and syntactic variables. These variables reflect patterns of linguistic influence of the Mandarin-speaking subjects in the dialect contact situation.

The ten variables chosen for the Putonghua group are: 1) deretroflexion; 2) tone change; 3) [ŋ] → [n]; 4) shortening of diphthongs; 5) "you"; 6) "yao"; 7) final particle; 8) lexicon; 9) "hui"; and 10) "bijiao". The ten variables for the Taiwan Guoyu group are 1) retroflexion; 2) tone change; 3) [n] → [ŋ]; 4) lengthening of diphthongs; 5) honorific "nin"; 6) "dei"; 7) final particle; 8) lexicon; 9) "bie"; and 10) "neng". Among these two groups of ten variables there were seven corresponding pairs of variables that changed in opposite directions between the Taiwan Guoyu group and the Putonghua group. These mutually influencing features between the two groups are: change of tones; deretroflexion of "zh", "ch", and "sh" by Putonghua speakers and retroflexion of "z", "c", and "s" by Taiwan Guoyu speakers; change of nasal sounds ([ŋ] ↔ [n]); shortening diphthongs by Putonghua speakers and lengthening diphthongs by Taiwan Guoyu speakers; use of Taiwan style particles by Putonghua speakers and use of Putonghua particles by Taiwan Guoyu speakers; alternative use of obligatory auxiliary "yao" and "dei" and lexicons which are used by the two groups. (cf. Chapter v).

There are three more linguistic variables adopted for each group. They are "you", "hui" and "bijiao" for Putonghua speakers and "bie", "neng" and honorific "nin" for Taiwan Guoyu speakers. The adoption of different linguistic variables is due to the fact that certain linguistic feature becomes marked when accepted by the other group but it is unmarked

when the source group reduces its use due to the influence of the other group. For example, the use of likelihood auxiliary "hui" becomes a marked feature for a Putonghua speaker whose original dialect does not need an auxiliary to show likelihood. However, the reduction of "hui" in expressing likelihood by a Taiwan Guoyu speaker is hardly a verifiable marked feature. By the same token, "bijiao" is chosen for the Putonghua group while "bie" and "neng" are chosen as linguistic indicators for the Taiwan Guoyu group.

9.2 Linguistic Influence

As indicated in Chapter VII, linguistic influence occurred in both the Taiwan Guoyu group and the Putonghua group in all the aspects chosen for investigation. A similar pattern is followed by both groups, i.e. the most linguistic influence occurs in the domain of lexicon and tone change: both Taiwan speakers and Putonghua speakers easily obtained certain lexicons from the other group or acquired tone features of the other group. The least influence seemed to occur in diphthong utterance for the Putonghua group and the acquisition of "dei" for the Taiwan Guoyu Group. Linguistic influence for the two groups is listed in Table 18a and 18b below.

Table 18a
Linguistic Influence -Putonghua Group

Variable	N	# of Doers	%
LEXICON	46	25	54.3
TONE CHANGE	46	18	39.1
"YOU"	46	18	39.1
DERETROFLEXION	46	15	32.6
PARTICLE	46	14	30.4
ŋ->n	46	13	28.2
"YAO"	46	8	17.3
"HUI"	46	7	15.2
"BIJIAO"	46	4	8.7
DIPHTHO-SHRTNING	46	3	6.5

Table 18b
Linguistic Influence -Taiwan Guoyu Group

Variable	N	# of Doers	%
LEXICON	47	28	59.6
TONE CHANGE	47	21	44.7
RETROFLEXION	47	14	29.8
"BIE"	47	10	21.2
"NENG"	47	10	21.2
HONORIFIC "NIN"	47	5	10.6
n->ŋ	47	5	10.6
PARTICLE	47	4	8.5
DIPHTHO-LENGTHENING	47	4	8.5
"DEI"	47	2	4.3

NOTE: "# of doers" refers to the number of individuals whose speech betrays features from the other variety of Mandarin.

Table 18a and Table 18b list linguistic influence for the Putonghua group and the Taiwan Guoyu group respectively.

These tables reveal that, lexicon and tone change being the the easiest to acquire, the least frequent linguistic influence occurred in diphthongs, and in the use of certain morpho-syntactic structure such as "dei" by Taiwan Guoyu speakers and "yao", "hui" and "bijiao" by Putonghua speakers. These are functional words which embody the syntactic structure of sentences.

It is worth noting that the auxiliary use of "you" has become the second most influential feature borrowed by the Putonghua group as contrasted with the low frequency of other borrowed auxiliaries such as "yao" and "hui".

As far as the overall linguistic influence is concerned, more than half of the Mandarin speakers are influenced by the other version of Mandarin and linguistic influence occurs in both groups of the Mandarin speaker in the course of dialect contact. These results constitute a contrast to the results generated from Chi's study in Chinese communities in Los Angeles, where Taiwan Guoyu speakers did not show any tendency to shift towards Putonghua (Chi 1991).

The result demonstrates that 25 individuals from the Putonghua group (out of a total 46) demonstrate linguistic influence in their vernacular, as contrasted with 28 in the Taiwan Guoyu group (out of a total 47). Their ratios of the influenced to the uninfluenced in the two groups are 54.3% and 59.6% respectively. The individuals whose vernacular was influenced are chiefly those who keep contact with the other

group of Mandarin-speaking Chinese, while the uninfluenced individuals are those who hardly engaged in any contact with the other group of Mandarin speakers. This issue is going to be dealt with in the following section.

9.3 Implicational Scale

Table 19a and Table 19b show that the occurrences of linguistic features in each group roughly fall into interdependent relationships: the appearance of a certain feature depends on the appearance of another, but not vice versa.

In general, the influenced individuals in both groups first acquire lexical items from the other group, and then some phonological features, and finally the morpho-syntactic elements: lexicon > phonology > morpho-syntactic. One exception to this generality is the influence of the diphthong pronunciation of the other group. In the Putonghua group, the influence of Taiwan Guoyu diphthongs occurs after all other features, while in the Taiwan Guoyu group, the influence of the Putonghua group diphthongs is in between other morpho-syntactic features on the implicational scale.

Table 19a
Implicational Scale -Putonghua Group

Informant										Lexicon										Tone										you"										Deretroflex [ɲ]										Particle										Sex										Boas																													
Age										Birth Place										Years in USA										Education										English										Friend										Relative										TV-Watching Attitude																													
"hui"										"yao"										"bijiao"										Diphthong										Influence index										NSS-O																																																	
Neighbor										Family										Relative										TV-Watching Attitude																																																																					
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	9	3	0	30	1	8	4	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0																																																																									
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	8	8	0	20	1	2	5	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	4	0																																																																									
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	8	1	0	10	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	1																																																																									
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	8	2	0	10	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0																																																																									
27	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	8	5	1	30	1	9	4	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	4	0																																																																									
17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	7	3	1	30	1	7	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	0																																																																									
18	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	7	10	1	30	1	10	3	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	4	1																																																																									
41	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	7	7	0	30	1	6	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	0																																																																									
6	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	6	4	0	30	1	12	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0																																																																									
20	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	6	4	1	30	1	5	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	0																																																																									
28	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	6	6	1	30	1	11	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	0																																																																									
32	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	10	1	30	1	5	5	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	4	0																																																																									
15	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	1	10	1	3	3	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	1																																																																									
37	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	20	1	4	5	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	1																																																																									
42	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	10	0	30	1	5	3	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	6	0																																																																									
8	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	5	1	0	10	1	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0																																																																									
10	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	6	0	30	1	4	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	4	0																																																																									
23	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	3	1	0	0	4	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0																																																																									
2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	20	1	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0																																																																									
13	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	20	1	4	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0																																																																									
35	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	20	1	5	5	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	0																																																																									
7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	20	1	2	6	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0																																																																									
19	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10	1	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
26	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	10	1	11	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0																																																																									
25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	7	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
39	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	30	1	7	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1																																																																									
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	1	6	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	40	1	3	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	1	4	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	30	1	5	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	30	1	8	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	1	3	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	1	4	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	1	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	1	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	1	4	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	30	1	4	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	30	1	8	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	40	1	6	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1																																																																									
43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	1	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	30	1	4	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	1	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									
46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	1	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																																																																									

Table 19b
 Implicational Scale -T. Guoyu Group

Informant	Lexicon										Diphthong										Age										Colleague									
	Tone										"nin"										Birth Place										Neighbor									
	Retroflex										Particle										Years in USA										Family									
	"neng"										Influence index										Education										Relative									
	"bie"										NNS-O										English										TV-Watching									
	n>ŋ										Sex										Boss										Attitude									
33	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	7	10	0	30	1	9	5	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0												
46	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	8	7	0	20	1	10	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	3	1												
10	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	6	11	1	30	1	14	6	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0												
18	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	6	10	0	30	1	11	5	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	0												
43	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	0	0	8	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0												
30	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	9	0	40	1	9	4	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	3	0												
39	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	6	1	40	1	7	6	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1												
2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	1	40	1	7	5	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0												
7	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	11	0	40	1	10	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	1	0												
23	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	40	1	11	4	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	0												
37	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	6	0	30	1	12	4	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0												
44	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	1	10	0	12	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
36	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	0	40	1	12	5	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0												
1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	5	3	0	30	1	9	4	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0												
4	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5	9	1	30	1	8	6	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0												
25	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	2	0	30	1	10	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0												
3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	50	1	24	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4	0	0												
21	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10	1	30	1	7	5	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	0	0												
28	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
35	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	40	1	10	5	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
38	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	1	40	1	8	3	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0												
9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	40	1	8	4	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0												
12	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	40	1	15	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0												
29	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
32	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	40	1	8	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
40	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	30	1	8	6	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0												
41	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	30	1	7	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0												
45	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	50	1	11	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0												
6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	2	0	20	1	3	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0												
5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	40	1	3	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0												
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	50	1	7	6	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	40	1	5	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0												
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	30	1	12	5	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	1	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	20	1	5	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0												
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	20	1	2	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	30	1	6	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	1	8	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	50	1	9	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	30	1	7	6	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0												
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	40	1	15	5	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	15	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	1	6	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	1	6	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0												
34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	30	1	9	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0												
42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	1	4	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0												
47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	60	1	15	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0												

9.4 Extralinguistic Factors vs. Linguistic Behavior

Further statistic analyses were carried out based on mathematical abstractions of linguistic and social variables. The main goal of this quantitative work was to test Hypothesis 1, Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3 (cf. Chapter I), which are repeated as follows:

Hypothesis 1. Language influence between speakers of the two Mandarin-speaking groups is significantly linked to individuals' involvement into the social network of the affecting dialect group.

Hypothesis 2. Language influence is significantly linked to individuals' exposure to the non-personal language contact source which will be accounted for in terms of television programs and movies made in the Mandarin version other than the subjects'.

Hypothesis 3. Language influence is positively correlated with language attitudes of the individuals. (cf. pp.208-211).

In the analyses, the social variables are studied as independent variables while linguistic variables as dependent variables. It is expected some of these social variables may be significantly correlated with linguistic variables while the others may not. The Putonghua group and the Taiwan Guoyu group were studied separately due to a great amount of corresponding linguistic influence (cf. Chapter VII).

Table 20a and Table 20b show the results of the analyses of the two groups. In the analyses, the overall linguistic

influence for each subject is the aggregated values of linguistic features rather than the individual linguistic variables which were borrowed from the other variety of Mandarin. They reveal that significant positive correlations exist between linguistic influence and social network involvement and between linguistic influence and TV watching in both groups. Results from the tables support both Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2, i.e. the overall linguistic influence is significantly linked with both Network Strength Scale-Other Group (NSS-O) and TV watching. The correlation coefficients between linguistic influence and the NSS-O scores are rather high: the level of significance reaches 0.01 for both the Putonghua group ($p \leq 0.0045$) and the Taiwan Guoyu group ($p \leq 0.0034$). The correlations between the overall linguistic influence and TV watching also reach the level of significance: $p \leq 0.0439$ for the Putonghua group and $p \leq 0.0504$ for the Taiwan Guoyu group respectively. The generated R-square is 0.811 for the Putonghua group and 0.840 for the Taiwan Guoyu group respectively. This means that 81 percent of the samples in the Putonghua group and 84 percent in the Taiwan Guoyu group follow the analysis. Thus the results are quite reliable for the chosen samples.

However, the rest of the social factors did not correlate with the linguistic influence significantly, though some of them suggested certain relationships with linguistic influence. For example, the statistic outcomes concerning sex,

age and education imply certain relationships with linguistic influence. It means female, young people and the less educated are more likely to be influenced linguistically by the other Mandarin variety during language contact. However, these relationships are not significantly supported: in the Putonghua group, we have $p \leq 0.6682$ for gender; $p \leq 0.4479$ for age; and $p \leq 0.820$ for education, while in the Taiwan Guoyu group, we have $p \leq 0.3387$ for gender; $p \leq 0.1111$ for age; and $p \leq 0.9212$ for education respectively. None of the values reach the level of significance ($p \leq .05$).

Table 20a
Correlations between Linguistic Influence
and Social Variables -Putonghua Group

Variable	T-value:	Level of Significance
SEX	-0.432	0.6682*
AGE	0.767	0.4479*
BIRTH	0.876	0.3866*
YEAR	-0.080	0.9366*
EDUCATION	-1.789	0.0820*
ENGLISH	1.160	0.2538*
TV	2.087	0.0439!
ATTITUDE	0.783	0.4386*
NSS-O	3.033	0.0045!

Table 20b
Correlations between Linguistic Influence
and Social Variables -T. Guoyu Group

Variable	T-value:	Level of Significance
SEX	-0.969	0.3387*
AGE	-1.632	0.1111*
BIRTH	-0.066	0.9479*
YEAR	0.230	0.8192*
ED	-0.100	0.9212*
ENG	0.620	0.5388*
TV	2.012	0.0504!?
ATTITU.	1.302	0.2009*
NSS-O	3.378	0.0034!

In other words, the quantitative analyses reveal that language contact, either personal (measured by NSS-O) or non-personal (measured by TV watching), constitutes the sole source which significantly interacts with linguistic behaviors in the study, while differences of the other extralinguistic factors are not significantly linked with the differences of linguistic behaviors.

For the speakers of the two varieties of Mandarin, the prerequisite for the mutual linguistic influence is dialect contact between them. It is understandable that the extent of language contact is related to the length of stay in the United States. But on the other hand, the length of stay is not dependent on other social variables. As discussed previously, Chinese immigrants and young students with diverse social background come to the United States and form social ties with other Chinese speakers. Thus the onset of the linguistic influence is marked by their arrival time, rather

linguistic influence is marked by their arrival time, rather than by their age, sex, education and English ability.

This conclusion, together with the following analyses of other extralinguistic factors, is in general agreement with other social network studies conducted in other sociolinguistic studies.

9.4.1 Linguistic Influence and Social Network

In the following part of this section, social network factors are compared with each linguistic variable of the individuals, i.e. to test correlations between the NSS-O scores and major linguistic variables which were used as indicators of linguistic influence.

As discussed in Section 9.2, linguistic variables vary considerably with regard to their influence over the individuals under study. Lexicon and tone features appear to be the most easily acquired linguistic items by both groups while change of diphthongs and certain morpho-syntactic elements are the most difficult. Our analyses will be focused on the linguistic variables which carry a heavy weight. More specifically, for the Putonghua group, the following analyses will be focused on interactions between the NSS-O scores and the six linguistic variables: 1) lexicon; 2) tone change; 3) "you"; 4) deretroflexion; 5) "ŋ-> n" and 6) particle. For the Taiwan Guoyu group, analyses will be focused on correlations between the NSS-O scores and five

linguistic variables: 1) lexicon; 2) tone change; 3) retroflexion; 4) "bie" ; 5) "neng"; and 6) particle.

Table 21a
Correlations between NSS-O Scores and Linguistic Variables
-Putonghua Group

Variable	T-value:	Level of Significance
DERETROF	1.237	0.2242*
TONE	5.317	0.0001!
[ŋ]-[n]	2.134	0.0398!
YOU	3.464	0.0014!
PARTICLE	0.719	0.4768*
LEXICON	2.835	0.0075!

Table 21b
Correlations between NSS-O Scores and Linguistic Variables
-T. Guoyu Group

Variable	T-value:	Level of Significance
RETROFLEX	3.698	0.0007!
TONE	4.009	0.0003!
NENG	2.425	0.0203!
BIE	2.685	0.0108!
PARTICLE	-0.730	0.4700*
LEXICON	3.320	0.0020!

The results in the above tables, Table 21a and Table 21b, demonstrate that the NSS-O scores are significantly linked with most individual linguistic variables. In the Putonghua group, the NSS-O scores are significantly linked with four linguistic indicators: they are "you", [ŋ]->[n], tone change and lexicon, though they do not correlate with the rest which are deretroflexion and the use of particle. This means that

the use of Taiwan Guoyu particles and deretroflexion are not closely connected with the degrees of Putonghua speakers' integration into Taiwan Guoyu networks. In the Taiwan Guoyu group, the NSS-O scores are significantly associated with most linguistic indicators which include retroflexion, tone change, the use of "neng" and "bie" and lexicon. The only linguistic variable which is not associated with the NSS-O score is the use of particle. Here, the correlations between the NSS-O scores and individual linguistic variables for both groups are in general agreement with the correlations between the NSS-O scores and the overall linguistic influence for the two groups (cf. Table 20a and Table 20b).

It is worth pointing out that these results differ to certain extent from Milroy's results in the Belfast study (Milroy 1987: 153-159). As far as the correlation between the NSS scores and the individual linguistic variables is concerned, Milroy's study shows a perfect agreement of the NSS scores with the linguistic patterns of all groups of her subjects. This raises an interesting question: why should the results in this study be different?

It is conceivable that these differences arise from the differences of contact situations and the focuses of the studies.

Milroy's study is dealing chiefly with cases of language maintenance in Type 1 network (cf. Table 12), when the social condition remains the same, the individuals are not likely to

deviate from their habitual vernacular. It is quite understandable that Milroy's subjects have a higher degree of integration and a close correlation with their native vernaculars in all linguistic variables.

In comparison, the current study focuses on language variation resulting from the linguistic influence of the other variety of the dialect. Influence from the other group usually means an abandonment of certain features of their mother tongue. This is not an easy choice. People are not likely to abandon linguistic features of their first language or dialect easily. Linguistic rules and psychological factors may underlie these differences.

Individual differences may also account for these results. However, as the above analyses are statistically reliable, these results reflect the condition of the sample informants, as well as the general tendency of the network population from which the sample is constructed. In New York City the social networks are looser than those in the rural area. The subjects in this study are mostly immigrants or students who were involved with the other version of Mandarin for at least one year. They also keep ties with other networks as well. As indicated by the NSS-O scores, their integration into the network is not so intensive. The methodology of the social network approach itself falls short of an accurate account of the actual social contact of the

involving individuals. This may have obscured these relationships which might otherwise be significantly correlated.

Statistically, the significance requirement becomes stricter when the observation number is small. When studying the relationship of the dependent variable and the subgroup individual linguistic variables, the number of observation will decrease, thus those would-be links will be hard to justify. As a result, the so-called Type II error is likely to occur: we accept the null hypothesis when significant differences do exist. As each language contact factor is studied separately under social network and TV watching, their overall correlation coefficients with the linguistic variables could be higher if the two social factors are treated together. This raises the need for a unitary treatment of all language contact factors, both personal and non-personal.

9.4.2 Linguistic Influence and TV Watching

TV watching constitutes an important source of non-personal language contact. As demonstrated in Table 20a and 20b, it is positively correlated with the overall linguistic influence in both groups although as said in Section 8.2.5, any causal relation need not be direct. The following analysis is to show how this factor interacts with each individual linguistic indicator. With the same consideration that some low frequency linguistic variables will not generate reliable results, the analysis, like the above analyses of

correlation between linguistic influence with the NSS-O scores, will concentrate on the same linguistic variable for the two groups. The chosen six linguistic variables for the Putonghua group remain unchanged: 1) lexicon; 2) tone change; 3) "you"; 4) deretroflexion; 5) "ŋ->n"; and 6) particle. For the Taiwan Guoyu group, the analysis is based on the same linguistic variables: 1) lexicon; 2) tone change; 3) retroflexion; 4) "bie"; 5) "neng"; and 6) particle.

Table 22a
Correlations between TV Watching and Linguistic Variables
-Putonghua Group

Variable	T-value:	Level of Significance
DERETROF	0.789	0.4352*
TONE	0.490	0.6268*
[ŋ]-[n]	0.011	0.9915*
YOU	0.173	0.8638*
PARTICLE	4.161	0.0002!
LEXICON	0.098	0.9223*

Table 22b
Correlations between TV Watching and Linguistic Variables
-T. Guoyu Group

Variable	T-value:	Level of Significance
RETROFLEX	2.112	0.0415!
TONE	1.752	0.0880*
NENG	1.458	0.1533*
BIE	0.132	0.8954*
PARTICLE	0.480	0.6338*
LEXICON	2.612	0.0129!

Not surprisingly, the above results indicate that most linguistic indicators do not correlate with TV watching. The only indicator which is significantly associated with TV watching in the Putonghua group is the use of the Taiwan Guoyu particles ($t = 4.1.61$, $p \leq 0.05$). In the Taiwan Guoyu group, the two variables which are substantially linked with TV watching are the use of retroflexion ($t = 2.112$, $p \leq 0.05$) and lexicon ($t = 2.612$, $p \leq 0.05$). The rest do not reach the level of significance ($p \leq 0.05$).

In comparison with results generated from Table 21a and Table 21b, the results generated from the above analysis show that TV watching is correlated with fewer individual linguistic variables than the NSS-O scores do, although they are significantly correlated with the overall linguistic influence for both groups. This difference is predicted by judging the results of the correlation coefficients between the overall linguistic influence and the NSS-O scores, and scores of TV watching. Table 20a and Table 20b show that the correlation coefficients between the overall linguistic influence and the NSS-O scores for both groups reach a level of high significance: $p \leq 0.0045$ for the Putonghua group and $p \leq 0.0034$ for the Taiwan Guoyu group. Whereas, the correlation coefficients between the overall linguistic influence and TV watching for both groups merely reach the level of significance: $p \leq 0.0439$ for the Putonghua group and $p \leq 0.0504$ for the Taiwan Guoyu group.

On the other hand, results from Table 21 and Table 22 show that TV watching and the social network appear to be complementarily distributed with regard to their relationship with individual linguistic variables - Table 21a reveals that the NSS-O scores are not significantly associated with the use of particles in the Putonghua group, while Table 22a shows TV watching is significantly associated with this variable instead - this is in support of a unitary treatment of the two integral parts of language contact: personal contact and non-personal contact.

The above statistic analyses of the relationship of the NSS-O scores and linguistic variables and that of TV watching and linguistic variables infer that most linguistic feature changes among Mandarin speakers do significantly interact with the two major components of language contact -TV watching and social network.

9.4.3 Linguistic Influence and Language Attitude

Contrary to what was expected, the results listed below, together with the results generated from Table 20a and Table 20b, show no significant correlation between language attitude and linguistic influence. Table 20a and Table 20b show that correlation coefficients between the overall linguistic influence and language attitude do not reach the level of significance for either the Putonghua group ($p \leq 0.4386$) or the Taiwan Guoyu group ($p \leq 0.2009$). In Table 23a and 23b, none of the values concerning correlations between individual

linguistic variables and language attitude reach the level of significance ($p \leq 0.05$). The results reject the alternative solution of Hypothesis 3, thus the null hypothesis is supported: a Mandarin speaker's linguistic influence is not substantially associated with language attitudes towards the affecting Mandarin.

Table 23a
Correlations between Language Attitude
and Linguistic Variables
-Putonghua Group

Variable	T-value:	Level of Significance
DERETROF	0.511	0.6128*
TONE	0.278	0.7823*
[ŋ]-[n]	0.210	0.8346*
YOU	1.001	0.3237*
PARTICLE	0.763	0.4505*
LEXICON	-1.861	0.0710*

Table 23b
Correlations between Language Attitude
and Linguistic Variables
-T. Guoyu Group

Variable	T-value:	Level of Significance
RETROFLEX	1.509	0.1397*
TONE	1.016	0.3162*
NENG	1.728	0.0923*
BIE	0.124	0.9019*
PARTICLE	1.745	0.0893*
LEXICON	-0.687	0.4962*

Results from Table 23a and Table 23b confirm that no correlated relationship has so far been established between any individual linguistic variable and language attitude for the two groups. Language attitude, the important psychological aspect of sociolinguistic study, plays an insignificant or no role in linguistic influence among the Mandarin speakers in New York City. To either Taiwan Guoyu speakers or Putonghua speakers, the degree of linguistic influence by the other variety of Mandarin is not dependent on their favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward the particular source dialect.

9.4.4 Linguistic Influence and Other Extralinguistic Factors

In this section, gender and age, the two important categories of sociolinguistic study, together with length of stay in the United States are to be reviewed briefly.

Since Table 20a and Table 20b have unequivocally shown that the overall linguistic influence does not correlate with these factors, it will make little sense to further test correlations between these factors with each individual linguistic variable as we did with other factors previously.

The insignificance of correlation between the overall linguistic influence and the extralinguistic variables helps understand how these variables interact.

With regard to education and English ability, the two related extralinguistic factors, Table 20a and Table 20b have

sufficiently shown that there is no substantial correlation between them and overall linguistic influence for both groups.

9.4.4.1 Linguistic Influence vs. Age

The quantitative analysis of the age data reveals that age is not closely related with the linguistic influence in the two groups of Mandarin speakers.

Table 24a and Table 24b illustrate linguistic influence in relation to age groups.

Table 24a
Correlations between Linguistic Influence and Age
-Putonghua Group

$$F = 1.647 \quad t = -1.283 \quad p \leq 0.206^*$$

AGE	≤ 19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	≥60
+INF	8	6	12	0	0	0
-INF	2	5	7	3	3	0
TOTAL	10	11	19	3	3	0

Table 24b
Correlations between Linguistic Influence and Age
-T. Guoyu Group

$$F = 1.086 \quad t = -1.042 \quad p \leq 0.303^*$$

AGE	≤ 19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	≥60
+INF	4	2	10	12	2	0
-INF	1	3	5	3	4	1
TOTAL	5	5	15	15	6	1

NOTE: "+INF" stands for the number of subjects whose speech is influenced by the other version of Mandarin; "-INF" refers to the number of subjects

whose speech is not influenced by the other version of Mandarin.

The above tables indicate that Putonghua informants belonging to the 30-39 age group, and Taiwan Guoyu informants belonging to the 30-39 and the 40-49 age groups have a higher degree of dialect influence by the other version of Mandarin. However, in general, there is no significant correlation between the age factor and linguistic influence in both groups.

There are conceivable reasons that explain the weakly-correlated relationships between age and language influence. For example, the level of significance chosen for the study is $P \leq 0.05$, a rather stringent standard which is hard to meet by the generated data.

This result agrees with the conclusions of many sociolinguistic studies: perfect correlation of linguistic behaviors with age is not established (Scherer & Giles 1979: 63-109).

9.4.4.2 Linguistic Influence vs. Gender

Table 25a and Table 25b list correlations between the overall linguistic influence and gender for the Putonghua group and the Taiwan Guoyu group respectively. Results for the two groups are similar: no significant correlation is found between the two factors.

Table 25a
Correlations between Linguistic Influence and Gender
-Putonghua Group

$$F = 1.324 \quad t = -1.151 \quad p \leq 0.256^*$$

Sex	Male	Female
+INF	11 (52%)	15 (63%)
-INF	10 (48%)	10 (37%)
SUM	21	25

Table 25b
Correlations between Linguistic Influence and Gender
-T. Guoyu Group

$$F = 1.155 \quad t = -1.042 \quad P \leq 0.303^*$$

Sex	Male	Female
+INF	11 (55%)	19 (70%)
-INF	9 (45%)	8 (30%)
SUM	20	27

NOTE: "%" in the above tables indicates the percentage in the sex group.

Figures show that female in both groups have a slightly higher ratio of influence than the male. Hence The negative t-values for both groups suggest a slight tendency that the female are more likely to demonstrate linguistic variation though the correlation does not reach the level of significance (Putonghua group: $p \leq 0.256$; Taiwan Guoyu group: $p \leq 0.303$).

9.4.4.3 Linguistic Influence vs. Length of Stay in USA

In the previous section, we found that the length of stay in the United States is positively correlated with the NSS-O scores. This suggests a potential link between this factor to

linguistic influence. However, Table 20a, Table 20b, Table 26a and 26b show that these two factors are not substantially tied.

Table 26a
Correlations between Linguistic Influence and Years in USA
-Putonghua Group

$$F = 1.864 \quad t = 1.360 \quad p \leq 0.1791^*$$

YEARS	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	≥11
+INF	4	8	5	4	2	3
-INF	4	9	3	3	1	0
SUM	8	17	8	7	3	3

Table 26b
Correlations between Linguistic Influence
and Years in USA
-T. Guoyu Group

$$F = 1.318 \quad t = 1.148 \quad P \leq 0.256^*$$

YEARS	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	≥12
+INF	3	1	4	9	7	6
-INF	2	3	5	3	0	4
SUM	5	4	9	12	7	10

The above tables show that the longer the subject stays in the United States, the slightly greater chance of his or her being influenced. These results indicate a trend that the longer the subject stays in the United States, the more likely his or her speech is affected by the other variety of Mandarin, although the correlation of the two factors does not

reach the level of significance (Putonghua group: $t = 1.360$, $p = 0.1790$; Taiwan Guoyu group: $t = 1.148$, $p = 0.256$).

9.5 Summary

The quantitative analyses have explored relationships of linguistic influence with a number of important extralinguistic variables. The results generated from the two groups have achieved unanimity in support of Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2.

1) A considerable number of Taiwan Guoyu speakers and Putonghua speakers under study have borrowed linguistic features from the other variety of Mandarin during dialect contact, though the bulk of their Mandarin is still their original vernacular.

2) Linguistic influence is significantly connected with the extent of the individuals' involvement into the other Mandarin speaking social sub-networks: a Mandarin speaker who has a strong tie with the sub-network of the other variety of Mandarin is more likely to be influenced linguistically than another who keep a loose tie or no tie with the sub-network.

3) Linguistic influence is significantly linked with TV watching, the most effective non-personal contact means in the New York Chinese communities.

It should be pointed out that a significant correlation between two variables does not necessarily mean a causal relationship between the two. A significant correlation usually indicates co-occurrence of the two variables under a

given condition. The true cause for a dependent variable can be either the tested independent variable which is correlated with the dependent variable or other hidden factors.

However, Hypothesis 3 which claims that linguistic behavior is correlated with language attitude is not supported by the results of the quantitative analyses. Thus the opposite is verified: language attitude is not significantly linked with linguistic influence in the Chinese community in New York City.

The quantitative analyses also suggest certain relationships between extralinguistic variables and linguistic variables, among which are those relating to age, gender, and education. But these relationships are not statistically significant.

The analyses further demonstrate that a significant correlation between the NSS-O scores and the overall linguistic influence does not guarantee a perfect correlation between the NSS-O scores and each linguistic variable, nor does a significant correlation between TV watching and the overall linguistic variable guarantee a perfect correlation between TV watching and each individual linguistic variable. The results show that some individual linguistic variables are significantly correlated with each of the social factor, while the rest are not. However, if all these correlations are put together, each individual linguistic variable is significantly correlated with either TV watching or the NSS-O score. This

phenomenon is partially due to the separate treatment of social network and TV watching, the two composing sources of language contact in the study.

Chapter X

Conclusion and Discussion

10.1 Conclusion

The present study has investigated the language contact between and linguistic influences of the two groups of Mandarin speakers in New York City. It has shed light on the interrelationships of the extralinguistic factors with the linguistic influence of these Mandarin speakers. It provides answers to some sociolinguistic questions about Chinese-Americans and their dialects.

Based on the data from 93 subjects, a significant correlation between linguistic behavioral patterns and social network integration is supported. This result is in agreement with those from other similar studies, such as Milroy's (1980, 1987) Belfast study and Chi's (1991) Los Angeles study.

There is one important discovery in this work: TV watching proves to be influential in linguistic variability among the Mandarin speakers in New York City.

As illustrated in Chapter IX, TV watching in the two groups of Mandarin speaking people is significantly linked with specific linguistic influences. This is an indication that this non-personal contact factor deserves more attention in sociolinguistic studies.

TV viewing involves no personal interaction and no or little pressure for accommodation to another dialect or

language. The correlation between TV watching and the linguistic influence is thus a clear indication that face-to-face accommodation alone is not adequate to explain the linguistic behavioral patterns of the Mandarin-speaking subjects in the study.

This result also demonstrates that the social network approach is a somewhat restricted model because it is concerned with solely "informal personal contacts" and ignores important aspects of non-personal contacts. To better account for language contact, it is important that non-personal language contact factors be included in an extended social network model.

Other social factors were also analyzed in relation to linguistic influence of the two groups of Mandarin speakers. Although there were weak correlations between linguistic influences and age, gender, and education, i.e. older, male, and better educated people in this study tended to show less linguistic influence, these tendencies were not supported statistically. The relationship between language attitude and linguistic behavior was given special attention in the study. It was suspected that language attitude might be closely linked with the linguistic patterns of these individuals. However, the quantitative analyses reveal that what they think about the dialect they come into contact with is not significantly correlated with the linguistic influences demonstrated by the two groups of Mandarin speakers. One

general conclusion of this study is that, except for the language contact factors identified above, the other social factors studied do not nurture language influence in the Mandarin-speaking community in New York City.

This study has introduced the concept of NSS-O ("Social Network Strength Scale-Other Group"), which is effective in measuring interrelationships between social network ties with an outside source language, as well as the linguistic influence from this particular source language. Besides, the employment of multiple regression in the quantitative analyses has made the large pool of collected data manageable. It helped test the hypotheses put forward in this study and predict interrelations between linguistic behavior patterns and extralinguistic factors.

This research has some limitations:

1. The choice of the linguistic variables as indicators of linguistic influences was determined based on pilot research on the Chinese community. These indicators fit this study, but may be subject to alteration in studies of Mandarin in other communities.

2. The subjects involved in the quantitative study consist of 93 informants in two groups of Mandarin speakers. This number may be considered small from a mathematician's viewpoint. A larger number is recommended for future studies if conditions permit.

3. Since the subjects' social ties with the other variety of Mandarin was the focus of the research, the intra-group relationships of these subjects were not accounted for in this study. It is therefore uncertain whether these relationships affect the degree and particular aspects of linguistic influence.

10.2 Comments on Social Network Methodology

The social network approach has proved to be a useful sociolinguistic tool which is used to deal with social and psychological aspects of linguistic behavior. In essence, what underlies the social network approach is its psychological claim: linguistic influence or change is motivated by the "relentless pressure" from the vernacular norm which is maintained by members of a community or a social network (Milroy 1987: pp.162-164). As discussed in Chapter VIII, the NSS-O scores are significantly related to the overall linguistic influence of the two groups of the Mandarin speaking Chinese population in New York City. Thus the linguistic patterns of the subjects in the present study generally support the social network prediction.

On the other hand, the study demonstrates that not all aspects of linguistic behavioral patterns are directly related to social network factors. The social network approach is incapable of explaining many results which were arrived at in the study.

Multiplexity and density are two important indicators in measuring network structure in traditional rural areas, or working class dominant urban areas. In fact, in all the previous studies, these two crucial indicators were "extremely hard to measure" (Milroy 1987: p.137). It is difficult to generate numerical values for statistic analysis even in the close-knit network structure. In Milroy's study in Belfast, values of the two factors could only be estimated to certain proximity. These scores could differ considerably from the actual involvement of individuals in the network.

Because there is no reliable standard for the calculation of the scores, the quantification of density and multiplexity are left in the hands of researchers whose judgement of the same case could vary to a large extent. In the present study, the small range of scores employed in Milroy's Belfast study was hardly efficient to account for the differences between individuals' integration into the networks. The researcher had to widen the range in order to reflect the conditions of the subjects.

In practice, density and multiplexity do not seem to provide a complete picture of the social network integration. In scoring these social network factors in the social network framework, varying extent of involvements in a particular relationship may yield undiscernibly the same NSS score as long as the same categorized link is maintained for different individuals. The collected fieldwork data indicate that, in

addition to density and multiplexity, intensity appears to an indispensable factor to account for the extent of involvement of the subjects in the social structure.

It is clear that density and multiplexity emphasize a person's potential personal contact with others, but it does not fully reflect the actual involvement of an individual in each link. This drawback is revealed through investigating the informants in this study.

Among the subjects in the present study, there were two Putonghua speakers who were employed by the same Taiwan Guoyu boss. According to the NSS scoring scheme concerning employment relationships, they would be assigned the same score as they had exactly the same type of employment relationships at the worksite: three Taiwan Guoyu speakers, including the boss, two Putonghua speakers, two Cantonese speakers and two Russian speakers. In their relationship with their Taiwan Guoyu colleagues and boss, the multiplexity is measured the same as they are both linked with the boss in a single capacity (as their boss) and with the other two Taiwan Guoyu speakers in double capacities (as colleagues and friends). However, this score cannot reveal the differences in the extent of their language contact: the Putonghua speaker is working side by side with the boss downstairs repeating orders and passing on customer inquiries; the other is working upstairs serving English speaking customers while occasionally interacting with the boss on a

walkie-talkie occasionally. The nature and intensity of their contact varies considerably, but they would have the same NSS score in accordance with the scoring scheme. Because of the prolonged intensive contact, the downstairs employee speaks Mandarin with obvious Taiwan Guoyu features while the upstairs employee is little affected by her Taiwan Guoyu boss and colleagues. Since intensity of language contact has a great impact on language variability, inaccurate calculation of actual language contact might result in unreliable predictions of relationships between language contact and linguistic behavior.

Questions could be raised about the presumption that rural people are usually in close-knit networks while city dwellers are not (Milroy 1987: pp.139-141). It is true that urban people do not usually have territorially-based social clusters. They may keep as many social links with others as rural people do. However, these social links in cities are more likely to be divided into different sub-networks while those social links in rural areas usually belong to a unitary network. This may obscure the existence of some close-knit networks among the subjects. Both the present study and Chi's findings show that urban dwellers could form close-tie networks depending on their own decisions (Chi 1991).

It is worth noting that the duration of time in a particular network has not been accounted for so far. If one's involvement into a particular network explains his or

her language behavior, the length of exposure is of great importance to the depth of this influence (Chi 1991). A total ignorance of the time factor is obviously one drawback of this approach.

To make the social network approach more effective for sociolinguistic analysis, some modifications of the social network concept and methodology seem to be necessary.

10.3 A New, suggested Variable: the Contact Hour Score

How, then, do we incorporate intensity of language contact into social network methodology? In answer to the need, a new concept, the contact hour score (CHS), is suggested as a supplement to the social network model. CHS is anticipated to work most effectively in a quantitative study of sociolinguistic issues. Here, a contact hour is defined as an hour of actual intensive personal contact or non-personal contact with the source language or dialect per week. The source language or dialect here refers to the language under investigation in the contact situation. It could be either the language used in the network or the language used in TV programs. A contact hour score (CHS) is thus the average of the accumulation of all contact hours of a specific source language or dialect during a week.

The advantages of an extension of the social network concept are obvious.

1. Both personal contact and non-personal contact can be accounted for.

2. It is a countable measure and will be easily obtained through interviews or questionnaires from the interviewees. Unlike the NSS score which may vary considerably from one researcher to another, the contact hour score (CHS) is unitary.

3. It is a concrete score which can better reflect the actual language contact of an individual in a certain relationship whether it is permanent or short-term.

4. Density, multiplexity and intensity are all demonstrated by this score.

As indicated previously, density and multiplexity can hardly be counted as actual language contact unless an individual is engaged in those potential and available links. When he or she engages in it, intensive actual contact occurs and the contact hour score (CHS) could be measured. Density and multiplexity are reflected by contact hour scores (CHS) in the following manner. When an individual is in a dense network, his or her actual contact with members of the network is expected to be more than those who were in a loose network, and his contact hour score (CHS) is accordingly higher. As far as multiplexity is concerned, contact hours are expected to materialize all capacities of a link. For example, if an individual in the network keeps a tie with another person in a number of capacities, e.g. both as friend and as colleague of the subject, contact hours in the two capacities will be measured separately and then totaled.

Unlike the traditional social network approach which is unable to tell the difference between one social link from another, the suggested model will differentiate each link: if an individual maintains more than one capacity in a particular link with another person, he or she is expected to engage more intense contacts in this link than another which has only one capacity. Regardless of whether these contacts are in a single capacity or multiple capacities, the actual contacts in these capacities are measured in contact hours.

Here, let us exemplify how the model works. Going back to the two Putonghua employees in the store, we would expect that they would have the same NSS scores (network strength scale) based on their employment situations as they have the same type of employment relations (for details, see Milroy 1987: pp.140-143). But they will have different contact hour scores (CHS) as a result of the varying actual contact in the employment relationship. The downstairs employee engages in about six hours of direct language contact with the boss each work day in a single capacity: she will accumulate a CHS of 30. The upstairs Putonghua employee has actual contacts with the Taiwan Guoyu boss for a little more than one hour each work day over the walkie-talkie and will get a CHS of six. Because they both contact their Taiwan Guoyu colleagues about six hours a week at work and about three hours a day after work as friends, they have a CHS of nine in their relationship with their colleagues in two capacities. In addition, they

each spend about four hours per week watching TV programs or movies in Taiwan Guoyu. As TV watching and employment were their overall links with Taiwan Putonghua, their overall CHSs are:

$CHS = 30 + 9 + 4 = 43$ for the downstairs employee; and

$CHS = 6 + 9 + 4 = 19$ for the upstairs employee.

If language behavior is significantly connected with the actual contact with the source language or dialect, the above scores suggest that varied degrees of linguistic influence may occur with respect to the two subjects. The different CHS scores more accurately reflects the different extents of the two subjects' actual involvement in the network.

The accuracy of CHS depends on how accurately the interviewee responds to the questionnaire or interview questions. CHS can serve as a standard which is manageable for both the researcher and informants.

10.4 Suggestions for Further Study

This study leaves interesting questions for further research with regard to the Chinese language and dialects used in Chinese communities.

1. How do other Chinese dialects, Cantonese for example, influence the Mandarin speakers in the Chinese community; and how do the two varieties of Mandarin influence Cantonese and other minor Chinese dialects? How do the same extralinguistic

factors interact with the linguistic influence of these dialects?

2. What else contributes to the maintenance of the two distinctive varieties of Mandarin at the societal level in the Chinese community although their speakers are influenced by the other variety through language contact? What are the social and psychological factors behind the dialect maintenance?

3. The present study has shown that personal contact and non-personal contact are significantly associated with linguistic influence. It raises an interesting question: if CHS (as suggested above) is the right solution that is able to combine the two types of contact factors under a unified treatment, what elaborations are needed to make it work in the new model?

It should also be pointed out that some other language contact forms might have been ignored and unaccounted for in the present study. This suspicion is based on the records of a couple of subjects whose speech reflects obvious linguistic influence from the other variety of Mandarin, but they had neither social network connection nor TV access to the other version of Mandarin. Following the general conclusion that linguistic behavior is associated with the extent of language contact, we will expect the existence of certain non-categorized types of personal and non-personal contacts. In New York City, where there is a Chinese population exceeding

200,000, a Chinese, like any other major language speaker, will involuntarily hear his/her language or dialect spoken by strangers in the streets, on subway trains, and in stores or public buildings. These unaccounted sources are open for further investigation.

Appendix 1

Questionnaire

這個問卷是用來收集有關台灣的國語（以下簡稱“國語”），大陸普通話（以下簡稱“普通話”）的資料。如果您不會國語或普通話，請不必填寫。如果您會說國語或普通話，請回答所有的問題。您提供的材料僅用于語言研究。謝謝。（填這份問卷大約需要七到十分鐘）

This questionnaire is used to collect information about Taiwan Guoyu and Putonghua. If you can not speak Guoyu or Putonghua, you don't have to fill up the form. If you do, Please answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge.

The information you provide will be used solely for linguistic study. Thank you. (It takes about 7 to 10 minutes to answer all questions)

1. 您是在哪里出生的? Where were you born?

台灣 Taiwan:

台北 Taipei []	高雄 Kaohsiung []
台南 Tainan []	台中 Taichung []
花蓮 Hualien []	新宿 Xinchu []
其他 others []	

大陸 Mainland China:

東北 Northeast []	西北 Northwest []
北京 Beijing []	河北 Hebei []
河南、山東 或 山西 Henan, Shandong or Shanxi []	
上海、浙江 或 江蘇 Shanghai, Jhejiang or Jiangsu []	
廣東 或 廣西 Guangdong or Guangxi	
其他 others: []	

2. 您來美國有多少年了? How long have you been living in U.S.?
[] 年 years

3. a. 您屬於以下哪個年齡組? Which of the following age groups are you belonging to?

20 以下 below 20 []	21 - 30 []
31 - 40 []	41 - 50 []
51 - 60 []	60 以上 above 60 []

b. 性別 Sex

男 male [] 女 female []

4. 您在幼年時最先說哪種話? What was your first dialect you spoke when

- you were young?
- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 閩南話 Minnan [] | 廣東話 Cantonese [] |
| 客家話 Hakka [] | 上海話 Shanghaiese [] |
| 台灣國語 Taiwan Guoyu [] | 大陸普通話 Putonhua [] |
| 四川話 Sichuan [] | 其他 others [] |
5. 您畢業于 You last graduated from
- | |
|--------------------------------|
| 小學 elementary school [] |
| 初中 junior high [] |
| 高中 senior high [] |
| 中專 professional school [] |
| 大學 college [] |
| 研究院 graduate school [] |
6. 您認為您的英文程度 You consider your English
- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 極好 excellent [] | 很好 very good [] |
| 好 good [] | 普通 not so good [] |
| 差 poor [] | 不會 none [] |
7. 請您給您的普通話/國語打分 Please rate your Guoyu/ Putonghua ability:
- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 讀 reading: | 講 speaking: |
| 極好 excellent [] | 極好 excellent [] |
| 很好 very good [] | 很好 very good [] |
| 好 good [] | 好 good [] |
| 普通 not so good [] | 普通 not so good [] |
| 差 poor [] | 差 poor [] |
8. 在紐約, 您主要和下面哪那些人說國語/普通話 (請選擇一個或兩個答案, 如選擇兩個答案請將主要的填上 "1", 次要的填上 "2") In New York, to which group of the following people do you often speak Guoyu or Putonghua?
- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 台灣 Taiwan [] | 大陸 Mainland China [] |
| 大馬 Malaysia [] | 新加坡 Singapore [] |
| 香港 Hong Kong [] | 其他 elsewhere [] |
9. a. 工作時您需要說普通話/國語嗎? Do you need to speak Guoyu or Putonghua at work?
- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 是的 Yes [] | 不 No [] |
|----------------|--------------|
- b. 您的老板是從那里來的? Where did your boss come?
- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 台灣 Taiwan [] | 大陸 Mainland China [] |
| 大馬 Malaysia [] | 新加坡 Singapore [] |
| 香港 Hong Kong [] | 其他 elsewhere [] |

10. 您的同事大多數是從哪兒來的? From which of the following places did most of your Mandarin speaking colleagues come?
 大陸 Mainland China [] 台灣 Taiwan []
 新加坡 Singapore [] 大馬 Malaysia []
 香港 Hong Kong [] 其他 elsewhere []
11. 您覺得您比較習慣聽別人說台灣國語還是聽別人說大陸普通話? 或者兩者都習慣? Do you feel more comfortable to hear people speak Taiwan Guoyu or Putonghua? Or do you feel comfortable to hear both?
 比較習慣聽 more comfortable to hear []
 兩者一樣 equally comfortable []
12. 您覺得台灣明星秦漢和鞏俐, 誰的國語說得自然些? Of the two film stars Qin Han and Gong Li, who speaks Guoyu more naturally?
 秦漢 Qin Han [] 鞏俐 Gong Li []
 不知 no idea []
13. 請根據您的意思在 1- 6 之間選勾合適的答案 ("1" 表示 最大, "6" 表示最小) Please circle a number for each attribute ("1" means the maximum of the attribute and "6" the minimum)
- 大陸普通話 Putonghua:
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. 適用 usefulness: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
- (注: 這裡 1 指最適用, 2指很適用 ... 6指最不適用, 以此類推
 Note: Here 1 means the most useful, 2 very useful...and 6 the least useful.)
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| b. 優雅 elegance: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| c. 流行 popularity: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| d. 悅耳 beautifulness | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
- 台灣國語 Taiwan Guoyu:
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. 適用 usefulness: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| b. 優雅 elegance: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| c. 流行 popularity: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| d. 悅耳 beautifulness | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
14. 根據您的所見所聞, 您覺得在紐約下面那一組人比較容易找到工作? In your opinion, which of the two Mandarin-speaking groups do you think could find a job more easily in New York City?

- a. 說台灣國語的 Taiwan guoyu speaker []
 b. 說大陸普通話的 Putonghua speaker []

15. 您參加一些社團活動嗎 (如教堂、同鄉會等)? 請說明. Do you participate in activities of certain Chinese organizations (such as church, club, etc.)? Please specify.

16. 您的中國朋友大多數是 Most of your Chinese friends are
 說台灣國語的 Taiwan Guoyu speakers []
 說大陸普通話的 Putonghua speakers []
 說廣東話的 Cantonese speakers []
 其他 others []

17. 您的中國鄰居大多數是 Most of your chinese neighbors are
 說台灣國語的 Taiwan Guoyu speakers []
 說大陸普通話的 Putonghua speakers []
 說廣東話的 Cantonese speakers []
 其他 others []

18. 您看國語/普通話的電視或錄像嗎? Do you watch Chinese TV programs or video tapes?

看 Yes [] 不看 No []

如果您看的話, 請繼續回答以下問題. If your answer is "yes", please complete a and b.

a. 您常看以下哪類: Which of the following do you often watch?

大陸普通話節目 Putonghua programs []
 台灣國語節目 Taiwan Guoyu programs []
 其他 others []

b. 您每星期看幾個小時? How many hours do you watch per week?

大陸普通話節目 Putonghua programs [hours]
 台灣國語節目 Taiwan Guoyu programs [hours]
 其他 others [hours]

19. 您結過婚嗎? What is your marital status?

已婚 married []

a. 您的配偶在家說什麼話? What does your spouse speak at home?

台灣國語 Taiwan Guoyu []
 大陸普通話 Putonghua []
 廣東話 Cantonese []
 其他 others []

b. 如果您有孩子,他(們)在家說什麼話? If you have a child/children,
what language or dialect do they speak at home?

台灣國語 Taiwan Guoyu []

大陸普通話 Putonghua []

廣東話 Cantonese []

其他 others []

未婚 single [],

您希望您最好的朋友和以下什麼人結婚?

Can you tell which of the following you want your best
friend to marry?

說台灣國語的 a Taiwan Guoyu speaker []

說大陸普通話的 a Putonghua speaker []

說廣東話的 a Cantonese speaker []

其他 others []

20. 您有常來往的親戚嗎? Do you have relatives who are in frequent
contact with you?

有 Yes [] 沒有 No []

如有, 他們主要說那種話? If "yes", which of the following do they
speak?

台灣國語 Taiwan Guoyu []

大陸普通話 Putonghua []

廣東話 Cantonese []

其他 others []

Appendix 2
Sample Interview Questions

1. 您家里還有什麼人?
What other family members do you have?
2. 您每天怎樣去上班或學習?
What kind of transportation do you use to get to work or study everyday?
3. 您自己有房子嗎?
Do you own a house?
4. 您買過車嗎?
Have you ever bought a car?
5. 您覺得美國的生活比台灣或大陸的有意思嗎?
Do you think your life in the U.S. is more interesting than that in Mainland China/Taiwan?
6. 您在的時候, 大陸/台灣吃的東西貴嗎?
Was food expensive when you were in Mainland China/ Taiwan?
7. 您覺得台灣/大陸的電視和電影比美國的有意思嗎?
Do you think TV shows and movies in the United States are better than those in Taiwan / Mainland China?
8. 您知道大陸/ 台灣買東西可以用支票或信用卡嗎?
Do you know whether you can pay with checks or credit cards in Mainland China/ Taiwan?
9. 您知道台灣或大陸工廠里的人有年終獎金或分紅嗎?
Do you know employees in companies in Taiwan or Mainland China have year-end bonus?
10. 您今天還有別的事要做嗎?
Do you have other errands to run today?

(Note: Questions in this part are aimed at eliciting responses from both Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu speakers. It is predicted that an informant is likely to demonstrate a certain linguistic feature as discussed in Chapter V when s/her answers each question)

Appendix 3 Judgement Questions

下面是一些中文句子。請您指出 1) 這些句子是不是好句子; 2) 您是否也這樣說; 3) 如果您不這樣說, 那您怎樣表達同樣的意思?

The following are some Chinese sentences. Please indicate 1) whether each sentence is good; 2) whether you speak the same way; and 3) if you don't speak the same way, what do you say instead?

1.-- 你有看過這本書嗎?

you have read this book?

"Have you read this book?"

-- 我有看過。

"I have read."

2.-- 桌子我檢好了。

table I set up

"I have set up the table."

3.-- 每天我都有在家啦!

everyday I all have at home

"I stay at home every day."

4.-- 他最近有過很好的表現。

he recently has very good performance

"He did very well recently"

5.-- 我說的那個電影你想要去看嗎?

the movie that I mentioned you want to go to see

"Do you want to see the movie I mentioned about?"

6.-- 我對他們這幫人很感冒!

I to this group of them am very mad

"I am mad at the whole group of them!"

7.-- 沒想到他們竟然有很多的共識。

not think we have a lot in common

"It is surprising that they have so much in common."

8.-- 他很上道, 比較不會上當。

he very skillful, comparatively not likely be deceived

"He is very experienced, and not likely to be deceived."

"He is very experienced, and not likely to be deceived."

9.-- 你法文學沒學過?

you French study or not

"Have you ever learned French?"

10.-- 爲了成功, 他有作出很大的付出.

for success, he have made great sacrifices

"To succeed, he has made great sacrifices."

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