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The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/29022 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

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Title: Utterance-final particles in Taiwan Mandarin: contact, context and core functions
Issue Date: 2014-10-02

Chapter 2
Taiwan Mandarin and UFPs

2.1 Language varieties and definitions

"Mandarin" is an ambiguous term. According to P. Chen, it can stand for *guānhuà* 'speech of officials' and refer to "the name of a family of Northern Chinese speech forms," as well as to "the standard language or koine spoken by officials and educated people from the Yuan dynasty up to the early twentieth century, when it was replaced by *guóyǔ* 'national language'" (1999: 205). The first part of P. Chen's definition of *guānhuà* includes various regional dialects. According to Norman (1988: 190–191), Mandarin can be classified into four subgroups: northern Mandarin, northwestern Mandarin, southwestern Mandarin, and eastern Mandarin (Jiāng- Huái Mandarin).[1] *Guānhuà* is spoken by the majority of the Chinese population (cf. Norman 1988: 190, P. Chen 1999: 3). Nowadays, the term Mandarin is also used to refer to the official languages (i.e. abstract standards promoted by the governments) on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. These standard varieties are known as respectively *guóyǔ* 'national language' in Taiwan and *pǔtōnghuà* 'common language' in mainland China.

Guóyǔ has been promoted since the early twentieth century; *pǔtōnghuà* since the 1950s. Although both standards are based on the pronunciation of the Mandarin variety spoken in Běijīng[2] (cf. J. Wang 1995: 277, P. Chen 1999: 22), the standard pronunciations of *guóyǔ* in Taiwan and of *pǔtōnghuà* in mainland China are based on different norms.[3] As regards normative grammar, the standards of both varieties

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[1] There are other classifications. For instance, the *Language Atlas of China* (1988: B1-B6) claims eight Mandarin subgroups: Zhongyuan Mandarin, Northern Mandarin, Jiaoliao Mandarin, Jianghuai Mandain, Northeastern Mandarin, Beijing/Beifang Mandarin, Southernwestern Mandarin, and Lanyin Mandarin. Chappell (2001: 10) proposes five subgroups: Northern Mandarin dialects, Zhongyuan or Central Plains Mandarin dialects, North-western Mandarin dialects, Jiang-Huai or Xiajiang (Lower Yangzi) Mandarin dialects, South-western Mandarin dialects. Since the subgrouping of Mandarin does not affect my analysis, I follow Norman's (1988) classification for reasons of convenience.

[2] In the previous listerature, the Mandarin variety spoken in Běijīng is usually termed as Beijing Mandarin or Peking Mandarin. I use the abbreviation PM to refer to this Mandarin variety.

[3] According to Tung (1992: 3), the norm for pronunciation used in Taiwan is based on the *Guóyīn chángyòng zìhuì* 'Glossary of frequently used characters in pronunciation' published in 1932 and the *Guóyǔ cídiǎn* 'Dictionary of national language'. In mainland China, the norm for pronunciation is based on *pǔtōnghuà*

are not clearly defined. According to SCPRC (1956) and J. Wang (1995), the grammatical norms for *pǔtōnghuà* are "exemplary modern works in *báihuà* 'vernacular literary language'." However, as R. Cheng (1985: 354) remarks, what can be regarded as an exemplary modern work "is not clearly stated." The case of *guóyǔ* is similar. In 1911, it was mentioned in the *Tǒngyī guóyǔ bànfǎ àn* 'Act of approaches to the unification of the national language' that "the vocabulary and grammar should mainly be based upon *guānhuà*, and meet the criteria of being correct, elegant, and logical" (P. Chen 1999: 15). These criteria, however, appear to be subjective. Zhou and Liu (1996: 366) also point out that "as for the lexicons and grammar, the standard for *guóyǔ* is not quite clear […]: it has to be based on 'the common language widely spoken from northeast to Sìchuān, Yúnnán and Guìzhōu, and from the Great Wall to Yangtze River', the grammatical norms are based on 'a literature in the national language'."[4] Guo (1999: 103) also states that, around 1919, there was no concrete standard for written Chinese, because there were still voices insisting that the classical written language known as *wényán* was the standard. Moreover, advocates of the "vernacular language" could not reach consensus about the norm either. We can thus only point out that the grammar standard of both *guóyǔ* and *pǔtōnghuà* was based on literary works, or more precisely, literature written in the vernacular literary language.[5]

It is important to point out here that in this thesis, *guóyǔ*, *pǔtōnghuà* and *standard Mandarin* all refer to ideal, abstract governmental standards and not to the actual Mandarin varieties spoken by people in either mainland China or in Taiwan. They are not native languages of the people in either mainland China or in Taiwan (even of the Beijing dialect speakers), and need to be "acquired" as second languages, as Tung (1974: 367–8) has pointed out:

> *Guóyǔ* is not the Beijing dialect. […] It is never the case that a country's standard language is equivalent to one of its local dialects. […] I would like to say some words to *guóyǔ* learners: you can always learn *guóyǔ* very well. People who grow up in Běijīng also need to study to acquire good *guóyǔ*. These

yìdúcí shěnyīnbiǎo 'List of variants in Putonghua pronunciation' published in 1985 (first drafted in 1957 and constantly revised in the 1960s).

4 All translations in this dissertation are mine, unless indicated otherwise.

5 The earliest codification of the grammar of the vernacular literary language was *Xīnzhù guóyǔ wénfǎ* 'New Chinese grammar' written by Lí Jǐnxī, published in 1924 (see J. Li 1924). However, the influence of this book in the *guóyǔ* promotion campaign is unclear.

> people have some advantages because their native language is closer to *guóyǔ*. However, if they do not study, what they speak is always the Beijing dialect, and never *guóyǔ*.

Since *guóyǔ* and *pǔtōnghuà* are learned as second languages, interference from the learner's first language (i.e. native language) is inevitable. As Li and Thompson (1981: 1) mention,

> both Putonghua [*pǔtōnghuà*] and Guoyu [*guóyǔ*] are far from being "uniform," for China has a large population spread over a vast geographical area, and consequently numerous other dialects inevitably influence and affect the versions of Putonghua and Guoyu spoken by people from different regions. Thus, a truly uniform language in a country such as China can exist only in theory, not in reality. […] there will always be some variation between "the Mandarin language" of one person and "the Mandarin language" of another person.

What is referred to as *dìfāng pǔtōnghuà* 'local variants of the common language' have thus emerged naturally. Y. Chen (1991: 13) defines *dìfāng pǔtōnghuà* as "the inter-language occurring in the process of which a dialect speaker learns the non-native common language (i.e. *pǔtōnghuà*)." In short, it is important to distinguish a standard form (*pǔtōnghuà*) from actual usage (*dìfāng pǔtōnghuà*).

In this thesis, *Taiwan Mandarin* refers to the Mandarin actually spoken in Taiwan, and not to the abstract Taiwanese governmental standard *guóyǔ*. In a broader sense, Taiwan Mandarin can be regarded as a local Mandarin variety, or a kind of *dìfāng pǔtōnghuà*. However, compared to some *dìfāng pǔtōnghuà* such as *Xiàmén pǔtōnghuà* 'Xiàmén variety of the common language', which has one identifiable source language, the formation of Taiwan Mandarin appears to be much more complex owing to the historical background of Taiwan.

2.2 Taiwan's linguistic setting from a historical perspective

2.2.1 Fújiàn immigrants and colonization by Japan

Taiwan is an island lying in the Pacific Ocean, about 130 kilometers off the coast of China's southeastern Fújiàn province. Many scholars (e.g. Blust 1995, P. Li 2000, etc.) agree that Taiwan's original inhabitants are various non-Chinese aboriginal groups speaking Austronesian languages. Zhou (1996: 174–5) claims that immigration of Chinese people from mainland China to Taiwan started in the tenth century,

but the number of immigrants remained low in the first centuries. After the mid-16th century, more and more southern Fujianese fishermen and merchants settled in Taiwan. Zhou (1996: 177) reports that in 1926, “Fujianese made up some 73.5 percent out of the population in Taiwan.”[6] As a result, Southern Mǐn, the regional variety spoken in the southern part of Fújiàn province, is now widespread all over Taiwan.[7]

From 1895 to 1945, Taiwan was a colony of Japan. The Japanese government launched a Japanese language promotion campaign. Huang (1993: 96) estimates that by 1944, 71 percent of the Taiwanese population had become proficient in Japanese. However, Japanese was only used in public and not in private domains. Huang (1993: 99) concludes that the promotion of Japanese made most Taiwanese people Japanese-Southern Mǐn bilinguals. P. Chen (1999: 31) also claims that by 1944, 71 percent of the local population was proficient in Japanese and Japanese had been successfully established as the standard language. During the Japanese period, Southern Mǐn in Taiwan was strongly influenced by Japanese vocabulary and grammar (cf. S. Wu 1946). The presence of Japanese thus led to contact-induced changes, increasing the distinctiveness between Taiwanese Southern Mǐn and Southern Mǐn dialects in mainland China.

2.2.2 Mandarin promotion campaign and mainland immigrants after 1945[8]

In 1945, Taiwan was returned to the government of the Republic of China (ROC). Out of ideological motivations, the ROC government decided to promote the use of *guóyǔ* in Taiwan through the Mandarin Promotion Council (*guóyǔ tuīxíng wěiyuánhuì*) which was established in 1946. Its task was to replace Japanese with Mandarin within a short period of time. According to P. Chen (1999: 31–32):

[6] Zhou (1996: 177) mentions that in 1926, the total number of Han people (i.e. the major ethnic group of China) was 3,751,600, or 88.4 percent of the total population. Among these Han people, the total number of Fujianese people is 3,120,000, which is about 83.1 percent.

[7] According to DoS (2002), people with a Southern Mǐn language background take up 76.9 percent of Taiwan’s population, Hakka people take up 10.9 percent; 1.4 percent are aboriginal/indigenous people; mainlanders (i.e. mainland immigrants after 1945) and their descendants take up ten percent.

[8] In this thesis, the mainland immigrants after 1945 are equivalent to *first- generation mainlanders*. The term *second-generation mainlander* refers to those who were born in Taiwan around or after 1945 from (one of) mainland parents.

> [e]xcept for a brief period after 1945, when local Chinese dialects were needed as a tool to promote *guóyǔ*, all dialects other than *guóyǔ* were strongly discouraged or even prohibited in schools and mass media. […] Up until 1987, schoolchildren in Taiwan could be penalized for speaking anything other than *guóyǔ*. The local dialects were either banned from mass media, or highly restricted in terms of time and budget allocation until quite recently.

D. Li (1985: 123) concludes that the campaign promoting *guóyǔ* has attained "considerable achievements in converting Mandarin into the lingua franca in Taiwan."

Although political campaigning led to the successful establishment of *guóyǔ* as a lingua franca, it is important to note two facts here: First, similar to the promotion of Japanese before 1945, ROC language policies did not lead to an extinction of local languages, but created a "diglossia with bilingualism" society (Tsao 2000: 280). That is, Mandarin is used in public domains, whereas the local languages are still used in private domains. Huang estimates that in 1988, except for households of native Mandarin-speaking mainlanders, households in which Mandarin is the only language took up less than one percent of the population (1993: 120). Sandel also points out that despite of the fact that Mandarin Chinese has been promoted as the language of instruction in schools since 1945, "a majority of the island's inhabitants also speak one of a number of 'local languages'" (2003: 527).

Second, the target language of this promotion campaign, i.e. *guóyǔ*, has not been acquired successfully. Instead, the language which most local Taiwanese people have learned is a kind of, to use R. Cheng's term, "non-native Mandarin" (1985: 354). This may be attributable to historical factors: after losing the Chinese civil war to the Communist Party in 1949, the ROC government withdrew to Taiwan. During 1949 and 1950, refugees and immigrants, including many army officers and their family members, moved from mainland China to Taiwan. Citing the 1956 population census (cf. PCO 1959), Huang (1993: 22) estimates that the total population of these mainland immigrants in Taiwan at the end of 1956 was about 1.21 million. However, according to this 1956 census, only less than one percent of these mainland immigrants came from Běijīng, the supposed normative location. Many of the mainland immigrants came from different provinces all over China and spoke non-Mandarin dialects as their mother tongue. Applying the dialect classification in Yuan (1989) and Norman (1988), Kuo (2005: 76–78) points out that these dialects included various Mandarin varieties as well as all other Sinitic dialect groups (Xiāng, Yuè, Wú, Mǐn, Kèjiā (Hakka), Gàn). Furthermore, Kuo's figures imply that more than 40 percent of these first-generation mainland immigrants came from non-

Mandarin speaking areas. Among the Mandarin speakers, only 20 to 25 percent speak Northern or Northwestern Mandarin; Southwestern and Eastern Mandarin speakers account for ca. 30 percent. Her (2009: 27) also claims that "half of the first-generation mainland immigrants come from southern language areas [i.e. non- Mandarin speaking area], including Wú, Yuè, Hakka and Mǐn, etc."

In light of the quantitative disparity between PM native speakers and the total population, the shortage of qualified personnel required for the promotion of *guóyǔ* was an obvious problem. As a result, many non-native PM mainland immigrants taught *guóyǔ* at schools. An editorial of the *Zhōnghuá rìbào* 'China Daily News' in 1947 identifies the problems: "Some teachers who teach *guóyǔ* cannot speak Mandarin well themselves. Some speak 'Cantonese Mandarin', some speak 'Zhèjiāng Mandarin', some even teach Mandarin in Shanghainese…" (ZHRB 1947). As mentioned above, for these non-native Mandarin mainland immigrants, Mandarin can be considered their "second language."[9] LaPolla (2001: 234) likewise writes:

> [a]fter 1949, there was a large influx of people from the mainland because of the Communist takeover of the mainland. These people were mostly from Wú dialect areas, and spoke Mandarin as a second language. The Wú speakers attempted to teach the Taiwanese population Mandarin, and forced the Taiwanese to speak it even amongst themselves. The Taiwanese did not generally have access to native speakers […].[10]

In other words, actual Mandarin language use was to a large extent shaped by the native dialects of teachers.

Moreover, most of the first-generation mainlanders spoke their own dialects in private settings in their daily lives. Since many Sinitic dialects (especially southern dialects) are mutually unintelligible, these people used Mandarin as a lingua franca when communicating with people with another linguistic background. H. Chen (2004: 79), a second-generation mainlander, describes his childhood as follows:

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[9] Her (2009: 4) defines the *second language* as "a local language a person learns or acquires in teenagers' age."

[10] The Wú speakers, as I will explain in more details later, were more powerful in the realms of politics, economics, cultural, education and communication in Taiwan society after 1949 (cf. Cheng 1985, Tang 1999).

> When we lived in the dormitory of teachers, there were only five or six households of mainland immigrants. They came from Sìchuān, Fúzhōu, Shāndōng and Húběi. When we met, we normally talked in Mandarin. But when we listened to the other mainlanders speaking with their family members at home, we could not understand a single word. It was a mystery to me…

It must be reiterated here that, except for school education, these non-native Mandarin speakers apparently exercised a huge influence in the mass media. Before the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, the mass media in Taiwan was controlled by the ruling party, i.e. the Kuomintang. According to a survey conducted by *United Daily News* in 1987 (quoted by Chu 1998: 54), 76.28 percent of the employees of the main TV channels were mainlanders. J. Cheng (1988: 99) points out that only 7.7 percent of the employees of the *Broadcasting Corporation of China*, the main radio station in Taiwan, were non-mainlanders. R. Cheng (1985: 354) reports that until around 1975, for broadcasting,

> it was not uncommon to have PM speakers read manuscripts written by non-PM speakers from southern China. In written mass media, the writings of non-PM speakers constitute a far larger volume than those of PM speakers....

He further claims that although PM was the designated standard, and supposed to be the common model, "in daily language contact, non-native Md [Mandarin] has been the actual model" (ibid.). He also argues that non-native PM speakers are "more influential in affecting the grammar of spoken TM [Taiwan Mandarin] than those of PM speakers" (ibid.).

Among all the non-Mandarin varieties in Taiwan, Southern Mǐn, due to the large number of speakers, has undoubtedly been the most influential linguistic source of today's Taiwan Mandarin (the influence of Southern Mǐn will be discussed separately in 2.3). However, as Kubler (1981: 2) notices, there are more sources of Taiwan Mandarin features. His implicit argument that the quantity of speakers is not the sole factor to account for outcomes of language contact situations is in line with Siemund's (2008: 4) claim:

> As far as the social parameters of language contact situations are concerned, it has been observed that the number of speakers in the respective linguistic groups, the relative social status of the groups involved as well as the relative prestige of the language to a great extent determine the linguistic outcome of language contact.

If we take the other social parameters mentioned by Siemund into consideration, the influence of people from Jiāngsū and Zhèjiāng provinces comes to our attention. R. Cheng (1985: 354) mentions the special social status of the Wú speakers in Taiwan society:

> [A]mong non-Tw [Taiwanese] speakers of Md [Mandarin] on Taiwan, those not originally PM speakers are much more numerous, and are politically and economically more powerful than PM speakers. Especially influential are the Wú speakers—who include the political elite from Zhèjiāng, President Chiang's [Chiang Kai-shek] home province, and the financial tycoons and textbook writers from Shanghai.

R. Cheng (1990: 17–18) furthermore points out that "when people who speak Taipei Mandarin go abroad and meet people from Běijīng, they are often regarded as Shanghainese. The reason is that Taipei Mandarin has been greatly influenced by the people from Shànghǎi and Zhèjiāng (who speak Wú dialects)."[11]

In a similar vein, on the basis of his investigation of dialect loanwords in Taiwan Mandarin, Tang (2002: 259) claims that 879 out of 1080 dialect loanwords in his data are from Southern Mǐn, 116 are from Wú, and 68 are from Hakka. To be sure, most of the dialect loanwords in Taiwan Mandarin come from Southern Mǐn. Yet it is interesting to see that the loanwords from Wú dialects take up around ten percent of the total number of loanwords. In his previous study, Tang (2001: 375) states that except for Southern Mǐn, Wú is also a very important lexical contributor.[12]

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[11] The *Taipei Mandarin* R. Cheng (1990: 17) mentions is a relatively "standard" form of Taiwan Mandarin and mostly used in Taipei. Ang (1985: 97–98, 1992: 98–101) defines the *Taipei Mandarin* as the mother tongue of the second-/third-generation mainlanders and a part of local third-generation non-mainlanders (Taiwanese people). It is different from *Taiwanese-accented Mandarin*, which is the second mother tongue of the local Taiwanese people.

[12] The influence of Wú dialects is not restricted to the formation of Taiwan Mandarin. They have also exerted a considerable influence on Modern standard Chinese, i.e. *guóyǔ*. Quoting Hsü (1979), Davies (1992: 203) indicates that many of the most influential writers in the 1920s and 1930s were native speakers of regional dialects (i.e. non-Northern Mandarin): among the 213 writers who were active in that period of time, more than 80 percent were from non-Northern Mandarin areas, and 40 percent from Wú dialect areas. P. Chen (2001: 56) also writes: "Famous writers such as Lu Xun [Lǔ Xùn], Zhou Zuoren [Zhōu Zuòrén], Yu Dafu [Yù Dáfū], Xu Zhimo [Xú Zhìmó], Mao Dun [Máo Dùn] and Ye

Tang (ibid.: 365) argues that the influence from Wú dialects on Taiwan Mandarin is the result of immigration. In Tang (1999) he explains the importance of Wú dialects by pointing to the following political factors: Nánjīng had been the place of the ROC government during the two decades prior to its relocation to Taiwan in 1949. According to Tang (1999) and Ang (1992: 240), people from Jiāngsū and Zhèjiāng provinces were not merely powerful and influential in political and economic realms, but also in education. Tang (2001: 366) points out that after the ROC government's relocation to Taiwan, "people speaking Wú dialects or Wú-style Mandarin have a higher status and are more powerful in the realms of politics, economics, cultural, education and communication in Taiwan society." He further argues that "the influence of a language does not always depend on the number of its speakers, but its social status and social value" (ibid.), which is in line with Siemund's (2008) argument quoted above.

I find Tang's (1999, 2001) argument concerning the influence of Wú on the formation of Taiwan Mandarin convincing. It must, however, be pointed out that people from Jiāngsū and Zhèjiāng do not only speak Wú. In some regions, such as Nánjīng, eastern Mandarin is spoken (Norman 1988: 191). It is therefore necessary to include the influence of eastern Mandarin when analyzing external influence on today's Taiwan Mandarin. In this thesis, I will propose that *ê* [ɛ], one of the frequently used utterance-final particles in Taiwan Mandarin, has possibly originated from Jiāng-Huái Mandarin speakers, and possibly from the Nánjīng area (see chapter 7 for details).

2.3 The influence of Southern Mǐn

In the previous section, I have explained the social context of mainland dialect influence on the formation of Taiwan Mandarin. Southern Mǐn dialects have thus far not been discussed in detail. As mentioned briefly, the Southern Mǐn dialects spoken by the majority of Taiwan's population are regarded as the most influential contributors to Taiwan Mandarin. Teng (2002: 232) claims, "[c]ontributions towards the

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Shengtao [Yè Shèngtáo] were all native speakers of the Wú dialect. In their writings, all of them displayed features characteristic of the grammar and vocabulary of their native tongue. Because of the popularity of these writers, many Wu [Wú] features subsequently became part of established Modern Written Chinese norms." Davies (1992: 205) points out that Wú dialect is the most dominant source while concerning the part of Modern Standard Chinese which derives from non-Northern Mandarin regional dialects. It is thus reasonable to claim that Wú dialects to some extent shaped today's standard Mandarin in both mainland China and Taiwan, i.e. *pǔtōnghuà* and *guóyǔ*.

formation of Taiwanese Mandarin [i.e. Taiwan Mandarin] came mostly, if not entirely, from Southern Min." Southern Mǐn, together with Taiwan Mandarin, is the most widely spoken variety of Sinitic on Taiwan (cf., for example, Kubler 1981, 1985, Qiu and Van den Berg 1994, Sandel 2003, etc.). It is especially widespread in southern Taiwan where it is used as the main language of communication in private settings, in shops and on the streets (for further details, see Qiu and Van den Berg 1994). Although Taiwan is home to many languages, Southern Mǐn is often referred to as *Táiyǔ* 'Taiwanese language', suggesting that it is the linguistic representative of the whole society. As a matter of fact, however, the idea underlying the collective term *Táiyǔ* is misleading, since it conceals that Taiwan Mandarin, the lingua franca, is used all over the island as the main language of media, education, and government administration. In addition, Hakka has regional bases in central and southern Taiwan.

As mentioned previously, during the *guóyǔ* promotion campaign, especially between the 1950s and the 1980s, local languages were prohibited in public domains, and their usage was suppressed systematically. However, they were still used in private domains. In the early 1990s, regulations restricting the use of local languages in public domains, including the mass media, were gradually abolished (cf. Shih and Tiunn 2003: 181–191). As a consequence, the use of local languages, especially Southern Mǐn, has increased in mass media and other public domains. This has been reported by Klöter (2006: 211):

> In the media, restrictions against local languages were lifted in November 1987 when the three government-controlled television stations started broadcasting news in Tai-gu [i.e *táiyǔ*]. Politics followed suit in the 1990s, when Tai-gu became a fully accepted language of the legislature and the dominant language of political campaigning.

Given the frequent exposure to Southern Mǐn and the large proportion of Southern Mǐn speakers, it is not surprising that many scholars claim that Taiwan Mandarin has primarily been influenced by Southern Mǐn. In the next paragraph, I briefly summarize some findings from previous studies in which the influence of Southern Mǐn on Taiwan Mandarin in phonology, lexicon, and syntax has been analyzed.

Kubler (1985: 160) claims that many native Southern Mǐn speakers substitute [y] with [i] when speaking Taiwan Mandarin because [y] does not exist in Southern Mǐn. For instance, *dàxué* 'university' is often pronounced as *dàxié*. He also points out that in Taiwan Mandarin, the verb *yòng* 'to use' occurs before another verb

nominalized with the marker *de*, like *Kuài! Yòng pǎo de*! ‘Come on! Run!’. Whereas this structure does not exist in standard Mandarin (i.e. *guóyǔ*), it is attested in Southern Mǐn (for a detailed discussion, see Kubler 1985: 169). Hsieh and Yeh (2009: 101) indicate that many Southern Mǐn loanwords such as *dǎpīn* ‘endeavor’, *yùzú* ‘gloomy’ are popular in Taiwan Mandarin. Discussing syntactical structures in Taiwan Mandarin and Southern Mǐn, Tseng (2003: 2) claims that phrases such as *yǒu kàn guò* ‘have seen it’ or *zhīdào shuō* ‘know that’ have been formed through Southern Mǐn influence.

2.4 The “levelling” of Taiwan Mandarin

Linguistic features associated with Southern Mǐn have not only been observed in Taiwan Mandarin spoken by people with a Southern Mǐn background, but also occur in varieties of speakers with other linguistic backgrounds. Many scholars have noticed this. For instance, studying the phonology of Taiwan Mandarin, Hsu (2005) examines four phonological variables including tonal range, neutral tone frequency, diphthong weakening, and syllable-final nasal convergence, and observes that the first three variables have become “cross-ethnic features” in Taiwan Mandarin (ibid.: 87). In other words, the Mandarin spoken by different ethnic groups in Taiwan becomes more and more homogeneous.[13] She thus claims that “[t]o distinguish one’s ethnicity by means of his/her Mandarin accent has become increasingly difficult” (ibid.: 2) and proposes that to a considerable extent, the Mandarin in Taiwan has been levelled.[14]

Why has the linguistic gap among various ethnic groups in Taiwan been narrowed (i.e. levelled)? One explanation is that speakers tend to align with each other. A second-generation mainlander, Tseng (2003: 131), describes her personal experience:

> My teachers and friends in high school usually said that I spoke standard *guóyǔ*, now people can hardly tell that I was born into a mainland family. The motivation for the change of my Mandarin is that many of my friends are from a Southern Mǐn-speaking family. I wanted to be the same as the other people.

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[13] According to Hsu (2005: 7), the ethnic groups in Taiwan are categorized into four groups: Southern Min, Hakka, mainlanders and aborigines.

[14] Trudgill (2004: 84–85) describes the process known as leveling as follows: “In a dialect mixture situation such as that present in a newly settled colony, large numbers of variants from the different dialects involved in the mixture will abound. As time passes, the variants present in the mixture will begin to be subject to reduction.”

Tseng's experience corresponds closely to what Kerswill and Williams write when analyzing the development of a new, mixed variety following dialect contact: "individual children's use of features presumed to be innovations may be linked to the same children's network characteristics, in particular their integration into a peer group" (2000: 92, also see discussion Trudgill 2008).

Except for social pressure, intermarriage of mainlanders and local people is another social factor contributing to the levelling of Taiwan Mandarin. According to F. Wang (1993: 236, 1994: 52), between 1948 and 1950, around 910,000 mainland immigrants entered Taiwan. Two third of these first-generation mainlanders were males. Due to this imbalance in gender ratio, more than half of the married male first-generation mainlanders had local spouses (F. Wang 1994: 237). Her (2009: 30) estimates that only 40 percent of second-generation mainlanders have two parents with a mainland background.

Other than the first-generation mainlanders, these second-generation mainlanders and local non-mainlanders who were born after 1945 have been exposed to a similar linguistic input. As Her (2009: 15) mentions, they grew up in a complex linguistic environment: the various first languages of those first-generation mainlanders, the non-native Mandarin spoken by first-generation mainlanders and non-mainlanders, the relatively standard Mandarin spoken by the TV or radio broadcasters, etc. The differences between the Mandarins spoken by members of this generation are therefore smaller. Her (ibid.: 27) claims that the linguistic gap within the third-generation Taiwanese (who were born after 1970) will gradually disappear. This kind of levelling of Taiwan Mandarin has been discussed by Hsu (2005) from the perspective of phonological development. Hsu (2005: 60) claims that "the mechanism of phonological levelling between the Mandarin of *Waishengren* and *Benshengren* has started as early as in the generation of 1951–1960."[15] Furthermore, studying the tonal levelling of Taiwan Mandarin in Taipei, Hsu and Tse (2009: 225) find that the levelling process has only taken around 30 years to complete, which is "one generation earlier than the more general patterns suggested by Trudgill (Trudgill 1986, 2004)." Hsu and Tse (2009: 240) propose that the rapidity of levelling is due to four factors: (i) the intensiveness of *Waishengren* immigration to Taiwan; (ii) the rigorous Mandarin-only language policy; (iii) the pre-established social order

[15] According to Hsu (2005: 7), the term *Waishengren* refers to the "[m]ainlanders, or the Chinese immigrants to Taiwan after World War II and their descendants." *Benshengren*, on the other hand, generally refers to the Southern Mǐn people of Taiwan. This distinction is basically equivalent to what I term as mainlanders and local non-mainlanders in this thesis.

and infrastructure development in the Japanese colonial period, and (iv) the high frequency of contacts between *Waishengren* and *Benshengren*. According to F. Wang's (2001: 414–415) study on the different ethnic groups and their self- evaluation of language proficiency in Taiwan, 99 percent of the interviewees can speak Mandarin and Southern Mǐn fluently; Hakka people often can even speak three languages fluently.

In a nutshell, most of the Taiwanese people today are bilingual, and some of them are even tri-lingual or multi-lingual. In light of the fact that Taiwan Mandarin has become the new mother tongue of the third-generation Taiwanese, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds, Her (2009: 37) characterizes this contact-induced Taiwan Mandarin as *creole*.

2.5 Taiwan Mandarin today

As mentioned previously, *guóyǔ* and *pǔtōnghuà* are abstract standards and should be distinguished from language in actual use. Taiwan Mandarin, which is spoken by people in Taiwan in their daily life, is to some extent different from the standard *guóyǔ*, just as various *dìfāng pǔtōnghuà* are different from standard *pǔtōnghuà*. With regard to the differences, Kubler writes (1985: 157):

> The official language of Taiwan is a type of Mandarin based on the dialect of Beijing. However, due primarily to language contact with Southern Mǐn, the native language of the majority of the population, the Mandarin commonly spoken in Taiwan differs considerably from that of Beijing in phonology, syntax, and lexicon.

Apart from Kubler (1981, 1985), features of Taiwan Mandarin have also been noticed and studied by other scholars: R. Cheng (1985) compares Taiwan Mandarin, Taiwanese (i.e. Southern Mǐn) and PM, and concludes that the development of Taiwan Mandarin is inclined to "favor those features that are structurally regular in TM [i.e. Taiwan Mandarin] and similar to ones in Tw [i.e. Southern Mǐn]." Tseng (2003) lists ten syntactic structures that specifically exist in Taiwan Mandarin and not in the standard *guóyǔ*. Chang (1998) analyzes eight Taiwan Mandarin vowels and claims that Taiwan Mandarin is different from the *guóyǔ* codified in 1932. Tsao (2000) discusses various phonetic features specific to Taiwan Mandarin. Tang (1999, 2002) and Hsieh and Yeh (2009) both focus on loanwords borrowed from various Sinitic dialects into Taiwan Mandarin.

Taiwan Mandarin not only differs from standard *guóyǔ*. Due to different historical developments and long-term separation, Taiwan Mandarin is also considerably different from *pǔtōnghuà* and other Mandarin varieties. For example, Diao (1998: 387–390) points out that compared to *pǔtōnghuà*, Taiwan Mandarin has strongly been influenced by Japanese and Southern Mǐn. If we look at commonly used expressions which have entered the standard dictionaries on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, significant linguistic differences become obvious. This has been confirmed by Qiu and Van den Berg's (1994) general investigation on language use in Taiwan. With regard to the lexicon, some of the lexical items widely used in Taiwan Mandarin have a different meaning or do not exist in *pǔtōnghuà*. For example, in Taiwan Mandarin, *gōngchē* means 'bus', but in mainland China, the same word means 'official car' (ibid.: 258). In some cases, the pronunciation of a term is also different: *yánjiù* 'research' in Taiwan Mandarin is pronounced as *yánjiū* in *pǔtōnghuà* (Swihart 2003: 110). Shi and Deng (2006) compare the tones in Taiwan Mandarin and *pǔtōnghuà*, and claim that the third tone in Taiwan Mandarin has become a low-falling tone, which is different from the third tone in *pǔtōnghuà*, which is a low-falling plus a slightly rising tone. The length of the tone in Taiwan Mandarin and in *pǔtōnghuà* is also different: in *pǔtōnghuà*, the third tone occupies the first place on a scale of tone length, followed by the second tone, the first tone, and the fourth tone. In Taiwan Mandarin, the sequence is: first tone>second tone>third tone>fourth tone.

2.6 UFPs in language contact

In previous studies on language contact, many scholars have proposed a hierarchy of borrowing (e.g. Haugen 1950: 224, Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74–76, Field 2002: 34–40, etc.). These studies suggest that content words such as nouns are more easily (or freely) borrowed than function words. However, Appel and Muysken point out that "it is clear from a number of cases that words which play a peripheral role in sentence grammar such as interjections, some types of adverbs, discourse markers, and even sentence coordination markers, are borrowed relatively easily" (1987: 171–2). Following Appel and Muysken (1987), Curnow (2001: 428) and Matras (2000: 505) also suggest that discourse markers appear to be easily transferred from language to language. In addition, R. Cheng (1997: 149) argues that the linguistic features from a speaker's mother language such as intonation, modal particles and interjections, which serve to indicate the speaker's emotive feelings, are transferred to the speaker's second language naturally, even when s/he is a proficient second-

language user. An example in case is the English spoken by Chinese people in Singapore, which is mixed with particles and interjections from Hokkien (i.e. Mǐn).

Pointing to the fact that UFPs in Mandarin and in Southern Mǐn usually have no referential meaning and carry pragmatic and discourse functions, R. Wu (1997: 98) writes:

> [T]hese particles are essentially discourse-dependent: they often do not have a definite denotative or referential meaning, but are mainly used, among other things, to convey speaker's attitude, feeling, stance, and/or disposition in a discourse context.

The UFPs in Taiwan Mandarin also correspond to the category of discourse marker proposed by Hölker (1991: 77–78), who provides four basic features to describe discourse markers (or pragmatic markers, in Hölker's term):

> (1) they do not affect the truth conditions of an utterance;
> (2) they do not add anything to the propositional content of an utterance;
> (3) they are related to the speech situation and not to the situation talked about; and
> (4) they have an emotive, expressive function rather than a referential, donative or cognitive function.
>
> (translated by Jucker 1998: 3)

The relevance of the claims by Appel and Muysken (1987), Curnow (2001: 428) and Matras (2000: 505) for our analysis of UFPs in Taiwan Mandarin is obvious: UFPs always occur at the utterance-final position and have no influence on the propositional content of the utterance; in other words, they are "peripheral."

As stated before, Taiwan Mandarin speakers use UFPs from Southern Mǐn when speaking Mandarin, as in the example below. In lines 2 and 4, speaker M uses two particles *la* and *hoNh*, which do not exist in *guóyǔ*, but can be found in Southern Mǐn.

(1)	1 D	cóng	zǎoshàng	kāishǐ	guàng	ma?
		from	morning	start	stroll	PRT
	→ 2 M	shì-	dōu	kěyǐ	la.	
		be	all	can	PRT	

3 M	xiǎng	guàng	jiù	guàng	a.		
	want	stroll	just	stroll	PRT		
→ 4 M	xiǎng-	lèi	le	huílái	xiūxí	a	hoNn.
	want	tired	ASP	come.back	rest	PRT	PRT

D1: Does your shopping start in the morning?
M2-4: It- it doesn't matter. If I want to, then I go shopping. If I want- if I am tired, I go home and take a rest.

In some cases, the transfer does not involve all of the functions of a particular UFP, but only one or more discourse functions. An example is the UFP *a*, which is found in both Southern Mǐn and Mandarin, albeit with different functions. It can be observed that single discourse functions of Southern Mǐn *a* have been transferred to Taiwan Mandarin (for a detailed discussion, see chapter 3).

Discussing the linguistic phenomenon of borrowing from a pragmatic perspective, Prince (1988) makes the following statement about the borrowing of discourse functions, based on his analysis of Yiddish data (ibid.: 517):

> Given S1, a syntactic construction in one language, L1, and S2, a syntactic construction in another language, L2, the discourse function DF1 associated with S1 may be borrowed into L2 and associated with S2, just in case S1 and S2 can be construed as syntactically 'analogous' in terms of string order.

Although Prince restricts her statement to the string order, I believe that "analogy," or similarity, with regard to form and function, may be an important factor for the transfer of pragmatic functions among UFPs. For instance, the UFP *a* in both Southern Mǐn and Mandarin are not just similar in form and share some functions, but "have a common etymological origin" (Lin 2007: 48) and can thus be seen as cognates. According to Van Hell and De Groot, "[n]oticing the salient similarity of cognates, one may be inclined to think that words that look and sound alike are also similar in meaning. Hence, when learning a cognate in the second language, learners may simply map the to-be learned L2 word onto the existing conceptual representation of its translation in the native language" (1998: 194).

2.7 P. Wu's (2005) analysis of Taiwan Mandarin UFPs

As mentioned in the chapter 1, although the use of UFPs is regarded as a salient feature in Taiwan Mandarin, it has not yet been explored in depth in the context of language contact: for example, Kubler (1981: 112, 1985: 172) mentions the UFP *ho:*[16] in his list as an example showing the impact of Southern Mĭn on Taiwan Mandarin, yet, he does not provide any analysis.

Until now, P. Wu (2005) is probably the only study examining the use of Taiwan Mandarin UFPs in the context of language contact. She focuses on those UFPs which are influenced by Southern Mĭn. She divides the UFPs into two groups: (1) UFPs influenced by Southern Mĭn (including *la* and *lê*); and (2) UFPs borrowed from Southern Mĭn (including *hoNn*, *haNn* and *hioh*). According to her, *hoNn*, *haNn* and *hioh* can be characterized as "borrowed" particles (ibid.: 59).[17] She (ibid.: 93) further claims that the borrowing of these UFPs can be attributed to two possible factors: there is no UFP in standard Mandarin carrying the borrowed discourse function, or, compared to another UFP with similar functions, the borrowed particle is simpler in terms of form or pronunciation. Although these arguments provide a possible explanation for the reasons of transfer, the scope of her analysis remains limited to Southern Mĭn as the sole possible source language of Taiwan Mandarin UFPs.

This, however, merely explains parts of a more complicated story. For example, it cannot explain whether the UFP *ê* (see table 2.1 below), which neither exists in Southern Mĭn nor in standard Mandarin *guóyŭ*, is also a product of contact-induced change. Or take the case when the language resources of a bilingual speaker offer two UFPs for the same or similar functions—do the UFPs mix or compete in concrete usage?

P. Wu's research is partly based on spontaneous spoken data.[18] She writes that "as I am not the participant of the conversation, I can only rely on my native intuittion to judge the emotion contained in the utterances when judging some of my data" (P. Wu 2005: 99). As R. Wu criticizes, this kind of "interpretivist" approach may lead to a possible result that "what has been claimed by these researchers may not square with what has indeed been understood and experienced by the partici-

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[16] *Ho:* is equivalent to *hoNn*.

[17] Here, I simply quote P. Wu's (2005) term "borrow," although she does not clearly explain how she defines "borrow" in her thesis.

[18] P. Wu (2005: 16) includes two sorts of data. One is recorded spoken data such as TV drama series, news reports, interviews, dialogues in advertisements, speeches, daily conversations and conversations in classrooms; the other is spoken data in written forms such as talk on MSN messenger, short messages, cards, news and internet forums, etc.

pants" (2004: 32–33). As mentioned in chapter 1, I do not agree that the linguistic intuition of the person analyzing the data is irrelevant. For my analysis, however, I have not only relied on my own bilingual Mandarin/Southern Mǐn native speaker intuition. As pointed out in chapter 1, I have also elicited intuitive judgments from various Mandarin and/or Southern Mǐn native speakers from different regions. To be sure, an analysis relying on intuition alone would be insufficient. Since UFPs are highly relevant for the interaction between conversational participants, they cannot be understood properly without considering their sequential contexts in spontaneous conversation. This study therefore attempts to explore the interactional functions of UFPs and the sequential contexts in which they occur by citing larger portions of conversational discourse and identifying conversational interactions (e.g., listener's responses, turn-taking, etc.) in spontaneous conversation. I believe that in this way, the function of the UFPs can be explained more accurately.

2.8 An overview of Taiwan Mandarin UFPs

Table 2.1 includes all of the UFPs which are attested in conversations carried out in in today's Taiwan Mandarin. Some UFPs, such as *hoNn*, *haNn* and *hioh*, are perceived as Southern Mǐn UFPs. Table 2.1 also compares the distribution of UFPs in standard Mandarin *guóyǔ*, Taiwan Mandarin and Southern Mǐn.

I will divide these UFPs into four groups, according to their distribution in these three varieties:

Group I: UFP used in all three varieties;
Group II: UFP used in *guóyǔ* and Taiwan Mandarin only;
Group III: UFP used in Taiwan Mandarin and Southern Mǐn only;
Group IV: UFP used in Taiwan Mandarin only.

	UFPs in guóyǔ (i.e. standard Mandarin)	*UFPs in Taiwan Mandarin*	*UFPs in Southern Mǐn*
I.	*a* [a]	*a* [a]	*a* [a]
	o [ɔ]	*o* [ɔ]	*o* [ɔ]
II.	*ma* [ma]	*ma* [ma]	
	ba [pa]	*ba* [pa]	
	ne [nə]	*ne* [nə]	
III.		*la* [la]	*la* [la]
		hoNn [hɔŋ̊]	*hoNn* [hɔŋ̊]
		haNn [hɑŋ̊]	*haNn* [hɑŋ̊]
		hioh [hɪɔʔ]	*hioh* [hɪɔʔ]
		lê [lɛ]	*lê* [lɛ]
		nê [nɛ]	*nê* [nɛ]
IV.		*ê* [ɛ]	

Table 2.1 UFPs in standard Mandarin *guóyǔ*, Taiwan Mandarin and Southern Mǐn[19]

According to Tseng and Gibbon (2006: 802), the most frequently used Taiwan Mandarin UFPs are *ma*, *la*, *ba*, *a*, *hon* and *e*.[20] As the focus of my investigation is on the possible influence of different source languages upon Taiwan Mandarin, the second group (i.e. *ma* and *ba*) will not be discussed in this thesis. The UFP *hoNn* is not analyzed in this study either, because its association with Southern Mǐn origin is generally recognized. The scope of my research will therefore be limited to the three UFPs *a, la* and *ê*, which represent three different types of distribution: *a* is shared by all the three varieties, *la* by Taiwan Mandarin and Southern Mǐn, and *ê* occurs only in Taiwan Mandarin.

[19] This table is based on the *Xiàndài Hànyǔ cídiǎn* 'Contemporary Chinese Dictionary' (CASS 2010), *Guóyǔ rìbào cídiǎn* 'Mandarin Daily Dictionary' (He 1987), *Chóngbiān guóyǔ cídiǎn xiūdìngběn* 'Revised Mandarin Chinese dictionary' (MoE 1994), I. Li (1999) and Tseng (2013).

[20] Here, *hon* and *e* are equivalents of respectively *hoNn* and *ê* in table 1.1 and table 2.1.

2.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented external factors that account for the formation of today's Taiwan Mandarin. Due to external factors such as language planning (the Mandarin Promotion Campaign), massive exposure to Southern Mǐn and intermarriage between mainland immigrants and local people, Taiwan Mandarin has been levelled and gradually become the new mother tongue of Taiwanese people who were born after 1970. A large number of Taiwanese people nowadays are in fact Taiwan Mandarin-Southern Mǐn bilinguals. When discussing today's Taiwan Mandarin, except for Southern Mǐn, we also have to note the influence from other Mandarin varieties and non-Mandarin varieties, for instance, the southern dialects, the Wú dialects and Jiāng-Huái Mandarin. Also, the Mandarin spoken by Taiwanese people today is not equivalent to what the Mandarin Promotion Council intended to promote after 1946, i.e. *guóyǔ*. Instead, a new Mandarin variety has been formed through language contact.

In the following chapters, I will first discuss the use and function of the three UFPs *a*, *la* and *ê* in Taiwan Mandarin. Referring to the results presented in chapters 3–6, a more detailed discussion of the emergence of the Taiwan Mandarin UFPs from the perspective of language contact will be provided in chapter 7.