Chinese Dialects in the Face of Standard Language Encroachment: The View from Diglossia & Societal Bilingualism

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OBJECTIVES

1. Contact between regional and standard language
   - Rapid spread of Modern Standard Chinese
   - Corresponding demise of regional language varieties

2. View from sociolinguistics
   - Diglossia
   - Societal bilingualism

3. Analysis
   - Fit between theory & field observations
   - Predictions of future development

Outline

- Theoretical Background: Diglossia (definitions)
  - Narrow diglossia
  - Broad diglossia (societal bilingualism, multilingualism)
  - Comparison of traits

- Types of Chinese diglossia
  - Narrow diglossia: Classical vs vernacular Chinese
  - Broad diglossia (societal bilingualism): Varieties of spoken Chinese
    - Shanghai
    - Taiwan (Hakka; Min)
    - Guangzhou
    - Malaysia
    - Singapore

- Future prospects w/pertinent factors
  - Demise of the dialects
  - Diversification of the standard

Working definition

- DIGLOSSIA: the existence of two distinct speech varieties (H, L) within the same speech community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrow diglossia</th>
<th>Broad diglossia (diglossia)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acquisition of H vs L</td>
<td>H is nobody’s native language, whereas L is everybody’s native language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to H language</td>
<td>Small elite with access to literacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differentiation of function</td>
<td>Some degree overlap between functions of H and L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>Typically unstable (3 generations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissolution of diglossia</td>
<td>Gradual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction of change</td>
<td>L gives way to H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New prestige language</td>
<td>H (with superstrate influence from L)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diglossia: narrow vs broad (after Fasold 1984)

- **Narrow diglossia** (i.e., classic diglossia – c.f. Ferguson 1959; Fishman 1967)
  - “the existence in some speech communities of two or more significantly discrepant but culturally legitimate speech varieties, one of which is a universally available vernacular variety (L), and the other a superposed variety (H), in the sense that it is nobody’s native speech variety and, by virtue of its distinctness, is acquired as an additional variety only through exposure to specific formal channels of language education” (Ferguson 1959: 3, parenthetical, italics and emphasis added)
  - “pervasive and rigid functional compartmentalization of the diglossic speech varieties, at least to the extent that the elevated variety (H) is never used by any member of the community for the purposes of within-group informal conversation” (Fishman 1967: 30, parenthetical, italics and emphasis added)
  - Ferguson (1959: 325, emphasis added): diglossia involves “two or more varieties of the same language”
  - Fishman (1967: 30, emphasis added): “diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognize several languages but, also, in societies which are multilingual in the sense that they employ separate dialects, registers or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind”

- **Broad diglossia** (includes societal bilingualism/multilingualism; standard-with-dialects; after Fasold 1984)
  - “the reservation of highly valued segments of a community’s linguistic repertoire for situations perceived as more formal and guarded; and the reservation of less highly valued segments of a community’s linguistic repertoire for situations perceived as more informal and intimate” (Fasold 1984: 53)
  - Fasold (1984: 53, emphasis added): “language ‘learned first with little or no conscious effort’”
  - “language ‘learned later and more consciously, usually through formal education’” (Fasold 1984: 53)
  - No restrictions on the degree of linguistic relatedness between H and L (variable to 0)
NARROW DIGLOSSIA: Classical vs vernacular Chinese

- Ferguson (1959) on Chinese
  - "Chinese should be cited because it probably represents diglossia on the largest scale of any attested instance" (Ferguson 1959: 317–339)
  - "Chinese, however, like modern Greek, seems to be developing away from diglossia toward a standard-with-dialects in that the standard L or a mixed variety is coming to be used in writing for more and more purposes, i.e., it is becoming a true standard." (Ferguson 1959: 338)

Source of H function

- Ferguson (1959) on Chinese
  - "Chinese, however, like modern Greek, seems to be becoming a true standard." (Ferguson 1959: 338)
- "diglossia on the largest scale be used in writing for more and more purposes, i.e., it is becoming a true standard." (Ferguson 1959: 338)

Differentiation of function

- Ferguson (1959) on Chinese
  - "the classical style, in which the Commentaries on the Sacred Books are written, as well as all works making the least claim to correctness, propriety and chasteness in lighter composition such as works on history, moral philosophy, political economy, geography, natural history, and medicine. All the sects of religion in China employ this style in discussing doctrines incalculating definition" (Ferguson 1959: 403)
  - "no person would deem his productions fit for the public gaze, and worthy of imitation, who did not "seek to discipline" (Ferguson 1959: 317)
  - "Classical Chinese... was also perceived as being a language suited to the expression of sophisticated and elegant thought... These attitudes and beliefs naturally tended to discourage thoughts of replacing Classical Chinese with [the L language] as a vehicle for serious discourse" (Ferguson 1959: 317)

Acquisition of H

- Ferguson (1959) on Chinese
  - "... no person would deem his productions fit for the public gaze, and worthy of imitation, who did not "seek to discipline" (Ferguson 1959: 317)
  - "no person would deem his productions fit for the public gaze, and worthy of imitation, who did not "seek to discipline" (Ferguson 1959: 317)

Access to H

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  - "... no person would deem his productions fit for the public gaze, and worthy of imitation, who did not "seek to discipline" (Ferguson 1959: 317)
  - "no person would deem his productions fit for the public gaze, and worthy of imitation, who did not "seek to discipline" (Ferguson 1959: 317)

Stability

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Language

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Acquisition of H

- Ferguson (1959) on Chinese
  - "... no person would deem his productions fit for the public gaze, and worthy of imitation, who did not "seek to discipline" (Ferguson 1959: 317)
  - "no person would deem his productions fit for the public gaze, and worthy of imitation, who did not "seek to discipline" (Ferguson 1959: 317)
**NARROW DIGLOSSIA:**

### Classical vs vernacular Chinese

**Direction of change**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classical Chinese</th>
<th>Vernacular Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;H ... tends to be displaced by L through a process of structural convergence resulting in the emergence of a new standard more closely related to certain educated varieties of the vernacular&quot; (Neustupny 1974: 40)</td>
<td>&quot;Perhaps the most widely publicized change in written language habits from the traditional period was marked by the decision, reached in 1917, to write in such a way as to approximate contemporary vernacular speech, discontinuing the centuries-old practice among literate individuals of writing in the classical style, which had centuries earlier ceased to function as a medium of communication&quot; (Barnes 1982: 262)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Acquisitions of H vs L

- **Possible “leakage in function”, “mixing in form”** (Snow 2010: 161)
  - "Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s)" (Neustupny 1974: 40)
  - "The general tendency appears to be for the higher prestige language eventually to invade the domain of the home, ultimately displacing the language of lesser prestige as a first language in the community" (Barnes 2001: 26)

### Characteristics of societal bilingualism/multilingualism (broad diglossia)

- **Acquisition of H vs L**
  - H is spoken natively by some, and L is spoken natively by some
- **Inventorization of function**
  - "The language with stronger rewards associated with it wins out" (Neustupny 1974: 40)
- **Stability**
  - Will not survive beyond a three-generational span if H and L are unable to carve out non-overlapping functional niches within the communicative ecology of the community (Neustupny 1974: 40)
- **Evolution of diglossia**
  - "Gradual hegemonic advance of the high variety and the displacement of the low" (Neustupny 1974: 40)
  - "Modern Standard Chinese is characterized by "ways of amalgamating Classical Chinese with modern writing" that are essentially modified and focused by necessity" (Fishman 1985: 12)
- **Characteristics**
  - "The grammar of the standard written language includes not only the syntax of the vernacular, but also elements of classical Chinese convention that have made their way into modern standard writing" (Fishman 2002: 34)
  - "There is often considerable incorporation of classical elements — stereotyped phrases, truncated terms, even classical constructions — into what is ostensibly a vernacular piece of writing" (Fishman 1985: 45)

### Possibilities of 

- **Possibility**
  - "The wholesale replacement of literary Chinese with vernacular writing proceeds largely with the end of imperial rule in China, culminating in the Vernacular Language Movement (1907-1917) — this happening within two short decades of the introduction of modern education in China, the abolition of Confucian-style civil service examinations, and the veneration of the Qing dynasty" (Fishman 2002: 30)

### Examples

- **New prestige language**
  - "As China faced growing encroachment from western countries and also from Japan in the late 1800s and early 1900s, reformers increasingly felt that China needed to strengthen itself by promoting mass literacy and by making classical Chinese an unfamiliar language to use for modern mass education, partly because of its close association with a traditional civilization that did not offer China a way forward into modernity and national power, and partly because it then simply too difficult to teach" (Maori 2010: 62)

### CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS:

**BROAD DIGLOSSIA (societal bilingualism/multilingualism) : Varieties of spoken Chinese**

- Shanghai
- Taiwan (Hakka; Min)
- Guangzhou
- Malaysia
- Singapore

**CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS:**

- intergenerational dialect decline
CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Shanghai (intergenerational dialect decline)

- Sun, Xiaoxian, Jiang, Bingbing, Wang, Yijia, Qiao, Lihua, 2007. Survey on the use of Standard Mandarin and Shanghai dialect among students in the municipality of Shanghai. Yangtze River Academic 15, 1-10. (孫曉先、蔣冰冰、王頤嘉、喬麗華。2007〈上海巿學生普通話和上海話使用情況調查〉。《長江學術》15：1-10)
- Survey of 8,661 students in Shanghai area

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Shanghai (intergenerational dialect decline)

- Language used in the home (Sun et al 2007: 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>College freshmen</th>
<th>10th grade</th>
<th>9th grade</th>
<th>8th grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Shanghai (intergenerational dialect decline)

- Conversations with peers (Sun et al 2007: 5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>College freshmen</th>
<th>10th grade</th>
<th>9th grade</th>
<th>8th grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Shanghai (intergenerational dialect decline)

- Interpretation of data
  - Authors’ interpretation (correlation with age)
    - Use of and attitude to Shanghai dialect changes as one gets older
    - “As subjects get older, the more willing they are to speak Shanghai dialect in the home” (Sun et al. 2007: 3-4)
  - “As students get older, the more they are willing to speak Shanghai dialect” (Sun et al. 2007: 5)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Shanghai (intergenerational dialect decline)

- Interpretation of data
  - Li’s interpretation (correlation with generation)
    - Use of and attitude to Shanghai dialect varies according to generation (cf. Taiwan Hakka data)
    - The younger the generation, the less speakers are willing to speak Shanghai dialect, and the more willing they are to speak Mandarin
    - The younger the generation, the more important they regard Mandarin and English, and the less important they regard Shanghai dialect
    - Linear regression
      - Students born after 1999 will cease to speak Shanghai dialect to their peers
CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Shanghai
(intergenerational dialect decline)

• Interpretation of data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College freshmen</th>
<th>4th grade</th>
<th>5th grade</th>
<th>6th grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai native</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

— Linear regression
• Students born after 2032 will speak only Mandarin in the home
  - Birth of Shanghai (1955) to 2032 = 77 years
  - 3 familial generations \((3 \times 25) = 75\) years

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Taiwan
(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

• Mandarin promotion (1945-1987)
  – Success of Mandarin Movement
  • Population is 90% Mandarin-speaking (C. Li 2009: 136-137)
  • Population has shifted to using Mandarin in most domains (S. Chen 2010: 86)

• Dialect attrition (Too late too late?)
  – General decline in language ability
  • *The general complaint among most Southern Min and Hakka speakers with regard to language matters in the recent decade has been that their children (who very often can only speak Mandarin) can no longer talk to their grandparents (who can only speak the dialect).* (Tse 2000: 156)
  • Use of dialect continues to decrease, use of Mandarin continues to increase (Huang 1988; Young 1989)
  • *there is a good chance that the local languages will become obsolete as typewriters...Taiwanese has already started its decline towards inevitable extinction...the outlook for Taiwanese is very poor* (Tse 2000: 15-17)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Taiwan Hakka
(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

• Dialect attrition
  – General decline in language ability
  • *E.g., Hakka dialect attrition* (Huang and Chen 2002: 57)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full proficiency</th>
<th>No proficiency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(listening+speaking)</td>
<td>(listening+speaking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 &amp; under</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>69.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>79.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>89.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>93.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Linear regression: no fully proficient Hakka speakers born after 2006)
(NOTE: 2006-1945 = 61)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Taiwan S. Min
(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

• Dialect attrition
  – General decline in language ability
  • *E.g., Mandarin phonological transfer in Southern Min* (Luo 2005: 12-14)
    1. Voiced initial \([g]\) pronounced as zero initial (as in Mandarin)
    2. Confusion of alveolar sibilants \([ʦ, ʦʰ, s]\) and velars \([k, kʰ, x]\) before high front vowel (both categories palatalized and merged in Mandarin)
    3. Loss of coda \([m]\) (Mandarin has no \([m]\) coda)
    4. Loss of stop endings \([p], [t], [k]\) (Mandarin has no stop endings)
    5. Denasalization of nasalized vowels (Mandarin has no nasalized vowels)
CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Taiwan
(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

- **Causes of dialect attrition**
  - Neglect in **education**
  - Neglect in **media**
  - Changing **language attitudes**

- **Dialect attrition**
  - Failures of minority language **media**
    - Dialect media caters to an aging and uneducated audience, young people rarely listen to dialect media (Chen and Lin 2004: 4)
  - **No advertising revenue**
    - Advertisers unwilling to spend on programming that reaches only a small audience (Chen and Lin 2004: 11)
  - **No competent broadcasters**
    - Hard to find broadcast professionals proficient in all domains of dialect use
    - Broadcasting often left to **amateurs**, resulting in **low quality programming** (Chen and Lin 2004: 80)

- **Dialect attrition**
  - Changes in **language attitude**
    - If a person is judged as speaking Mandarin with a **more standard accent**, he or she would be more likely to be considered as **highly-educated, high-class, smart, having higher income**... (Liao 2008: 402)

- **Dialect attrition**
  - Changes in **language attitude**
    - Mandarin as **elegant**;
    - dialect as **vulgar**
  - **Correlation with age**
    - Mandarin for speaking with **young people**;
    - dialect for speaking with **old people**
  - **Correlation with class**
    - Mandarin as **white-collar**;
    - dialect as **blue-collar**
  - **Correlation with development**
    - Mandarin as **urban**;
    - dialect as **rural**
  - **Correlation with domain**
    - Mandarin for all **formal domains**;
    - dialect for **informal domains only**

- **Dialect attrition**
  - Changes in **language attitude**
    - Mandarin as the **common language** of today, and English is the language that will bring them to a **prosperous future** (J. Huang 2009: 8-10)
    - Experts believe that dialects need to be taught to children while young, because as they get older they will realize how useless these languages are and lose all motivation to learn (Chiang and Ho 2008: 10)
  - **Lack of unified writing system** (romanization)
    - Local languages are widely used as a spoken form of communication, but there has not been any significant move towards standardizing them and making an **official written orthography** for Taiwanese (dialects) (Beaser 2006: 9)
  - **Lack of qualified instructors**
    - Even parents fluent in the dialects have trouble understanding what is written in the textbooks, and few teachers really know how to teach the dialects. Is it something that really needs to be taught? (Chiang & Ho 2008: 90)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou
- Summer 2010 language demonstrations x 3
CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou (Summer 2010 language demonstrations)

- **Background** – perceived encroachment of Mandarin upon Cantonese
  - **Media**
    - Cancellation of Cantonese television broadcasts
  - **Education**
    - Mandarin-only policies in elementary schools
  - **Politics**
    - Cleansing of symbols of Cantonese identity from public spaces

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou (Summer 2010 language demonstrations)

- **Background** – perceived encroachment of Mandarin upon Cantonese
  - **Media** (Policy change at Guangzhou Television (GVTV – city’s only Cantonese language broadcaster in July 2010))
    - Popular survey (30,000+ samples) (Hu 2010.07.07)
  - **Guangzhou Television management** (Hu 2010.07.07):
    - Ignore survey results
    - Go ahead with switch to Mandarin
  - **Public sentiment**: a two-pronged attack on Cantonese (Jiang Wenxian, Chinese-language specialist at Sun Yat-sen University, in Hu 2010.07.07)
    - Internal migration on the one hand
    - The government policy of a “common language for a unified country and harmonious society”

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou (Summer 2010 language demonstrations)

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  - **Media** (Policy change at Guangzhou Television (GVTV – city’s only Cantonese language broadcaster in July 2010))
    - Guangzhou Television management (Hu 2010.07.07):
      - Ignore survey results
      - Go ahead with switch to Mandarin
  - **Reverberations**:
    - Intergenerational rift: “Some Guangzhou parents complain their children are now reluctant to speak Cantonese, even at home.” (Lai 2010)
    - Decline of Cantonese-speaking population: “the Cantonese-speaking community in the city has dwindled to less than half of the total population” (Lai 2010)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou (Summer 2010 language demonstrations)

- **Background** – perceived encroachment of Mandarin upon Cantonese
  - **Education**: Yangcheng Evening News (2010.07.09)
    - “Granny Unable to Converse with Grandchild” 同聲同氣祖孫倆竟變成“鴨同鵝講” (Hu & Zi 2010)
      - South Zhixin Road Primary School in Guangzhou (typical of other schools in the region) requires pupils to speak Mandarin only both in and out of class
      - Pupils risk point deductions if caught speaking Cantonese dialect
      - As pupils become monolingual in Mandarin, they are unable to converse with elderly relatives who understand only Cantonese, creating communication barriers between generations
CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou (Summer 2010 language demonstrations)

- **Background** – perceived encroachment of Mandarin upon Cantonese
  - **Political gesture**: Removal of Cantonese dialect plaque from Yuan Chonghuan Memorial Park in Dongguan (Hu 2010)
  - Literally "Screw their mothers, force your way up" -- dialect battlecry of famous Cantonese national hero Yuan Chonghuan.
  - Plaque adorned the statue of Yuan Chonghuan, who defeated the Manchu army of Nurhaci in the 17th century.
  - Slogan used in the Hsinhai Revolution of 1911 and the Northern Expedition of 1920 – seen as a symbol of Cantonese solidarity.

- **Result** – series of demonstrations (Summer 2010)
  - **July 11**: Small scale demonstrations (80+) in Guangzhou
  - **July 25**: Large scale demonstrations (10,000+) in Guangzhou
  - **August 1**: Mid scale demonstrations (1,000+) in Guangzhou and Hong Kong

- **July 25 demonstration** slogan -- "Kudos to Cantonese; to hell with winter melon"
  - "Kudos to Cantonese; to hell with winter melon"
  - (NOTE: "winter melon" homophonous with "Mandarin")
CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou (Summer 2010 language demonstrations)
• July 25 demonstration slogan
  – The people of Canton speak Cantonese;
  – Those who don’t should go back to the boonies!

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou (Summer 2010 language demonstrations)
• August 2 demonstration (Hong Kong)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou (Summer 2010 language demonstrations)
• August 2 joint demonstrations:
  – Hundreds of protesters rallied in support of their native Cantonese dialect in both Hong Kong and Guangzhou after a mainland Chinese political body called for cuts in Cantonese-language broadcasts, sparking fears that Cantonese culture is under attack from Beijing. (Mudie 2010)
  – Chinese officials have denied reports that thousands of people took part in mass protests in support of the Cantonese language in recent weeks. In a statement published on its website, the Guangzhou public security bureau said Sunday’s gathering at the People’s Park was the work of “a small number of people with insufficient rationality and one or two with ulterior motives” and that “individual troublemakers would be punished.” (Mudie 2010)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou (Summer 2010 language demonstrations)
• Implications
  – Mourning loss of Cantonese language and identity
  • The government wants everyone to speak the same language,” said the 27 year-old Cantonese. “But they don’t understand that Cantonese isn’t just a language. It’s part of our culture. It’s part of our identity.” (Krishnan 2010)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Guangzhou (Summer 2010 language demonstrations)
• The town that didn’t fight back (Nanning) (X. Chen 2010)
  • “From the mid 1990s onwards, in the name of promoting Mandarin, Cantonese dialect was gradually forced out of various spheres of life: first Cantonese was banned from broadcast media, then from public service announcements – for example, recorded announcements on buses ceased to be bilingual and were given in Mandarin only. Finally, Cantonese retreated from the home: nowadays couples speak to each other and to their children in Mandarin, and use Cantonese only to speak to elderly relatives.”
  • “Statistics show that less than 30% of the population of Nanning still speak Cantonese dialect, most of which consist of the elderly. Of the younger generation, those born in the 1970s are proficient still in both listening and speaking, whereas those born in the 1980s can understand Cantonese but have trouble speaking the dialect – contributing to the perception that Mandarin is classy whereas Cantonese is uncouth.”

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Singapore (former British colony, English widely promoted)
• Intervening factor – government policy
  – Shift to English
  – Rise of Mandarin
CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS:

• **Singapore**
  - Former British colony
  - English is widely promoted official language

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Singapore**
(former British colony, English widely promoted)

• Predominant *household language* (Kwan-Terry 2000: 97, refer to 1990 population census)
  - All households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Mandarin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>76.2%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Singapore**
(former British colony, English widely promoted)

• Intervening factor -- government policy
  - Shift to English
    - Lee Kuan Yew (1978): "The way our economy has developed has made it necessary for those who want to reach executive or professional grades to master English, spoken and written. The earlier in life this is done the easier and better the mastery" (Kwan-Terry 2010: 90)
    - Economic utility -- English speakers command higher income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>English only</th>
<th>English and Chinese</th>
<th>Chinese only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>80.5%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>73.9%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>76.9%</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  - Parents who didn’t speak English made sure that their children did (Kwan-Terry 2010: 100)
  - Household language in the 1980s -- Chinese with parents, but English with siblings (Kwan-Terry 2010: 100)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Singapore**
(former British colony, English widely promoted)

• Predominant household language (Kwan-Terry 2000: 97; refer to 1990 population census)
  - All households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Mandarin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Singapore**
(former British colony, English widely promoted)

• Language *most frequently spoken at home* for Primary One Chinese pupils (Kwan-Terry 2000: 96, reference to Business Times survey of October 4, 1989)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Mandarin</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>58.7%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>69.1%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Current State of Affairs:**

- **Singapore** (former British colony, English widely promoted)
- **Korean** (formal British colony, English widely promoted)
- **Chinese** (formal British colony, English widely promoted)

**Intervening factor -- government policy**

- **Shift to English**
  - Lee Kuan Yew (1978): "The way our economy has developed has made it necessary for those who want to reach executive or professional grades to master English, spoken and written. The earlier in life this is done the easier and better the mastery" (Kwan-Terry 2010: 90)
  - Economic utility -- English speakers command higher income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>English only</th>
<th>English and Chinese</th>
<th>Chinese only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>80.5%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>73.9%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>76.9%</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  - Parents who didn’t speak English made sure that their children did (Kwan-Terry 2010: 100)
  - Household language in the 1980s -- Chinese with parents, but English with siblings (Kwan-Terry 2010: 100)
CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Malaysia

- Decline of the Chinese dialects
- Encroachment of Mandarin
- Two holdouts
  - Hokkien (a.k.a. Southern Min, Taiwanese)
  - Cantonese

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Malaysia

- Decline of the Chinese dialects
  - "The Chinese in Malaysia are fighting a losing battle in trying to keep their colourful dialects alive." (Ng 2010)
  - Language Attitude: "Many among the younger generation view the use of dialects as outdated and unfashionable." (Ng 2010)
  - Generational Attrition: "Most of the younger generation now could not speak dialects in their pure and uncorrupted form. They tend to use Malay, English or Mandarin words because they do not know the word in dialect for certain terms, especially modern and technological terms." (Ng 2010)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Malaysia

- Encroachment of Mandarin
  - "Listen in to conversations among Chinese in a shopping mall or a restaurant, and chances are that most of them would be speaking Mandarin or English or a mix of both languages." (Ng 2010)
  - Economic utility: "The Chinese are practical. For a language to be relevant and important to them, it must have other values apart from the cultural aspect. Mandarin, unlike the dialects, has economic value, thanks largely to the growth of China as an economic powerhouse." (Ng 2010)
  - Education: "Today, a large number of Chinese children are in Chinese primary schools where Mandarin is the medium of instruction." (Ng 2010)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: Malaysia

- Two holdouts
  - However, two Chinese dialects, Hokkien and Cantonese, are still widely used in the community and there are several reasons for this.
  - Cantonese – "thanks to the thousands upon thousands of Cantonese movies and popular TV series being produced [in Hong Kong], not to mention all those catchy Cantonese songs and gorgeous pop stars." (Ng 2010)
  - Hokkien (Taiwanese, Southern Min) – "Hokkien TV series produced in Taiwan are also popular among Chinese in the region, including Malaysia." (Ng 2010)
  - "Entertainment is keeping the two languages popular among Malaysian Chinese. It is sad as our dialects have to depend on entertainment and not the cultural value or as an heritage". (Ng 2010)

FUTURE PROSPECTS

- WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD?
  - (Rapid) demise of dialects (3 generation rule)
  - (Rapid) spread and diversification of the standard

FUTURE PROSPECTS: Demise of dialects

- Pertinent factors
  - Education (language of instruction)
  - Media (broadcast news and entertainment)
  - Intergenerational attrition / language attitudes
    - "as the [younger generation] starts to create their own households and have children, what will the language of their home be? Base on this model, we would assume it would become Mandarin, the language they are most comfortable speaking." (Beaser 2006: 12-13)
    - Turning point: when children who only speak the standard language can no longer communicate with grandparents who only speak dialect
FUTURE PROSPECTS: Demise of dialects

• Direction of change (c.f. Malaysian data)

FUTURE PROSPECTS: Demise of dialects

• Direction of change (c.f. Singapore data)

FUTURE PROSPECTS: Demise of dialects

• Reasons for change
  - Prior to 1950s (very limited social mobility)
    • Parents: local L language
    • L1: local L language
    • L2: regional H language (limited access)
    • L3: Standard Mandarin (extremely limited access).

FUTURE PROSPECTS: Demise of dialects

• Reasons for change
  - 1980s (limited social mobility, greater access to Mandarin)
    • Parents: local L language
    • L1: local L language
    • L2: regional H language or Standard Mandarin (equal access)

FUTURE PROSPECTS: Demise of dialects

• Reasons for change
  - 2000s (greater social mobility, widespread access to Mandarin)
    • Parents: bilingual or trilingual (local L, regional H, Mandarin)
    • L1: parents’ choice

Availability (social mobility brings cross-dialect intermarriage; local L unavailable)
- “[Couple] may not understand each other’s dialect, and will end up speaking another language which is most likely to be English or Mandarin.” (Ng 2010)

Prestige + economic utility (Mandarin, English)
- “Even in Guangdong and Fujian, the strongholds of the Cantonese and Min dialects, more and more parents are abandoning their native dialects in favour of Putonghua, believing this will give their children better access to education and jobs.” (Yu 2010)

- “Children have to speak Putonghua at school anyway, so it’s better for them to be good at it at home too,” said a mother from Guangzhou, who speaks Putonghua to her son. (Yu 2010)

- “Many parents in my hometown feel the southern Min dialect is useless so they opt for Putonghua when speaking to their children,” said Chen Weirong, a university student from Quanzhou, Fujian. (Yu 2010)
FUTURE PROSPECTS: Diversification of standard

• FLIP SIDE: Diversification of the standard
  – Development of regional Mandarin
    • Mandarin in Taiwan
      – Substrate influence
        – There is a good chance that Taiwanese and the other local languages of Taiwan will become extinct. But even if this should happen, Taiwanese language has already left its mark in... helping to shape and mold Mandarin into a language more suitable to the Taiwanese people and their culture” (Wisser, 2004: 66).
        – Mandarin in Nanning
          – This Mandarin spreads, it will no doubt undergo regionalization. In the future there will come to exist a type of ‘Lingnan Mandarin’ or ‘ Canton Mandarin’, which in their nature are dialects, but are just not referred to as such.” (X. Chen 2010).

• FLIP SIDE: Diversification of the standard
  – Cosmopolitan Mandarin
    • Mandarin used by Chinese yuppies in corporate settings in Beijing selectively incorporates features of Mandarin spoken in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore
    • Use of “Cosmopolitan Mandarin” rather than “Beijing Mandarin” not for the purpose of communication, but for signal distinction in social status (Zhang 2005: 454-455).
    • Speakers switch between regional Mandarin and “Cosmopolitan Mandarin” according to domain of language use – new type of Mandarin-based diglossia

REFERENCES

FLIP SIDE: Diversification

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Thank You
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- Wex, Nancie. 1984. Changes in the Mandarin Language in Taiwan, National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan.