

How Language Changes & Why it Matters

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Outline

1. The study of language change: **historical linguistics**

- **Areas** of focus
- **Methods** of study
- **Materials** for reconstruction
- The **non-randomness** of language change
- **Common misconceptions**

2. Social dimensions of **language change**

- Language and **social status**
- The nature of **language contact**
- Types of **diglossia** (pre-modern China vs modern China)
- **Future Prospects**: Dissolution of diglossia

3. **Why we need to know**

- Language as a marker of **identity**
- **Past, present & future** of our target language
 - Origins of **Beijing Mandarin**
 - Propagation and diversification of **Beijing Mandarin**

What is **historical linguistics**?

歷史語言學

- The study of **language change**
- The "**historical**" in historical linguistics
 - Historical development from ancient to modern
 - Change-in-progress in modern times

What is **historical linguistics**?

- Change-in-progress in modern times
 - Retroflex **weakening** (翹舌音弱化) in Beijing Mandarin

1	多少錢		
	ʂɑʊ		
2	多惹錢		
	ʐə	consonantal weakening (fricative voicing)	vowel reduction
3	多兒錢		
	ə	consonantal weakening (deletion) See 《燕京雜語》 (1906)	

- Also 四個月→四啊月;知道→知得 (See 《燕京雜語》 (1906))

What is **historical linguistics**?

- Change-in-progress in modern times
 - **Retroflex weakening** (翹舌音弱化) in Beijing Mandarin
 - 京油子 “smooth operator variable” (Zhang Qing 2005: 441-443)

學 生	→	學 扔
同 志	→	同 日
派 出 所	→	派 日 所兒
毛 主 席	→	毛 乳 宜
保 證	→	保 扔

What is **historical linguistics**?

- Change-in-progress in modern times
 - **Deleted coronals** (輔音刪除) in Taiwan Mandarin
 - (also see 蕭琪 1986; Tseng Shu-chuan 2005)

今 天	→	今 煙
現 在	→	現 愛
腳 踏 車	→	腳 阿 車
計 程 車	→	計 恩 車
自 己	→	自 以

What is **historical linguistics**?

- Change-in-progress in modern times
 - Taiwan Mandarin: **grammaticalization** of 說 (儲擇祥、劉琪 2014)
 - 說: verb or complementizer?
 - 他告訴我說今天不用上課。
 - » 說 as **verb** 動詞 (CN)
 - » 說 as **complementizer** 標句詞 (TW)
 - » E.g., English "I knew that he was a student."

What is **historical linguistics**?

- Change-in-progress in modern times
 - Taiwan Mandarin: **grammaticalization** of 說 (儲擇祥、劉琪 2014)
 - 我希望說我交的女朋友是可以帶去逛名牌店的。
 - 他們都認為說，家裡有個明星弟弟可以依賴，就不用那麼在乎賺錢了吧。
 - 我那時候就覺得說，景美女中的女生很漂亮。
 - 我們應該知道說哪一步是對的。

What is **historical linguistics**?

- **Areas of focus**

- VERTICAL DIMENSION

- **Sound** change 音變
- **Lexical** change 詞彙變化
- **Syntactic** change 句法變化 / grammaticalization 語法化
- Language **contact** 語言接觸
- **Reconstruction** 擬構 (internal / comparative)

- HORIZONTAL DIMENSION

- **Genetic** relations 親屬關係
- **Areal** relations 地域關係

What is **historical linguistics**?

- **Methods of study**

- Systematic, scientific, **rule-based** accounts of change patterns

- vs **lay thinking**

- Against folk etymology 俗語源學 (story-telling for individual words / examples, 穿鑿附會 e.g., Spanish king with lisp)
- Against unfalsifiable generic claims (e.g., 約定俗成; 萬用解釋)
- Against teleological reasoning 目的論
- Against climatic / geographical determinism
- Against racial / anatomical determinism

What is historical linguistics?

- 新語法學派 **Neogrammarian hypothesis** (19th C.):
 - “Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze”; (Sound laws know no exceptions)
 - “...every sound change, inasmuch as it occurs mechanically, takes place according to laws that **admit no exception**. That is, the direction of the sound shift is always the same for all the members of a linguistic community except where a split into dialects occurs; and all words in which the sound subjected to the change appears in the same relationship are affected by the change without exception.” (Osthoff & Brugmann 1878)

What is historical linguistics?

- **Methods** of study
 - **Systematic correspondences** (German-English)

Proto-Germanic (reconstruction)	German (IPA)	English (IPA)	Gloss
* t ide	ts ait	t aid	“tide” (time)
* t in	ts in	t in	“tin”
* t immer	ts iməx	t imbəʊ	“timber” (room)
* t ol	ts ol	t ol	“toll”
* t onge	ts uŋə	t ʌŋ	“tongue”
* t o	ts u	t u	“to”
* t ōn	ts aun	t aun	“town”

What is **historical linguistics**?

- **Methods** of study

- **Systematic correspondences** (Mandarin-Southern Min)

Middle Chinese (reconstruction)	Southern Min (IPA)	Mandarin (IPA)	Character
*ki	ki	tɕi	基
*kiən	kin	tɕin	斤
*kien	kiŋ	tɕiŋ	經
*kiu	kiu	tɕiou	救
*kiau	kiau	tɕiau	澆
*kian	kioŋ	tɕian	疆

What is **historical linguistics**?

- **Materials** for reconstruction

- Living languages (Western tradition)

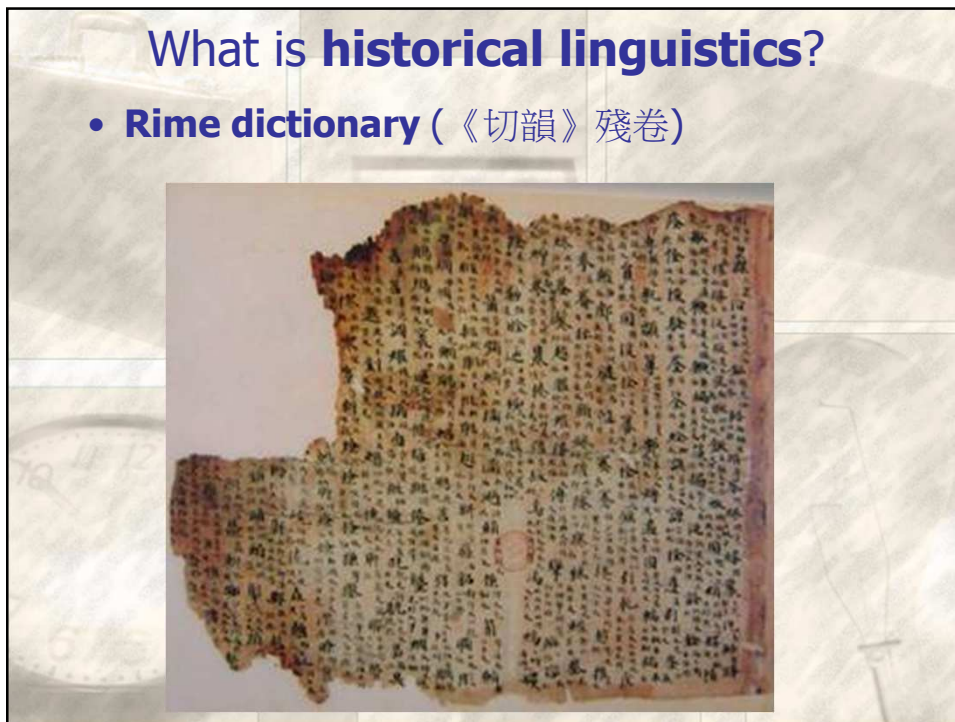
- Modern **dialects** (internal/comparative reconstruction)
 - Neighboring / related **languages** (e.g., Tibeto-Burman languages)

- Philological resources (Chineses tradition)

- **Rime dictionaries** 韻書 and **Rime charts** 等韻圖
 - **Sinoxenic materials** 域外對音 (e.g., 梵文咒語音譯)
 - Historical **accounts** (recorded, not conjectured)

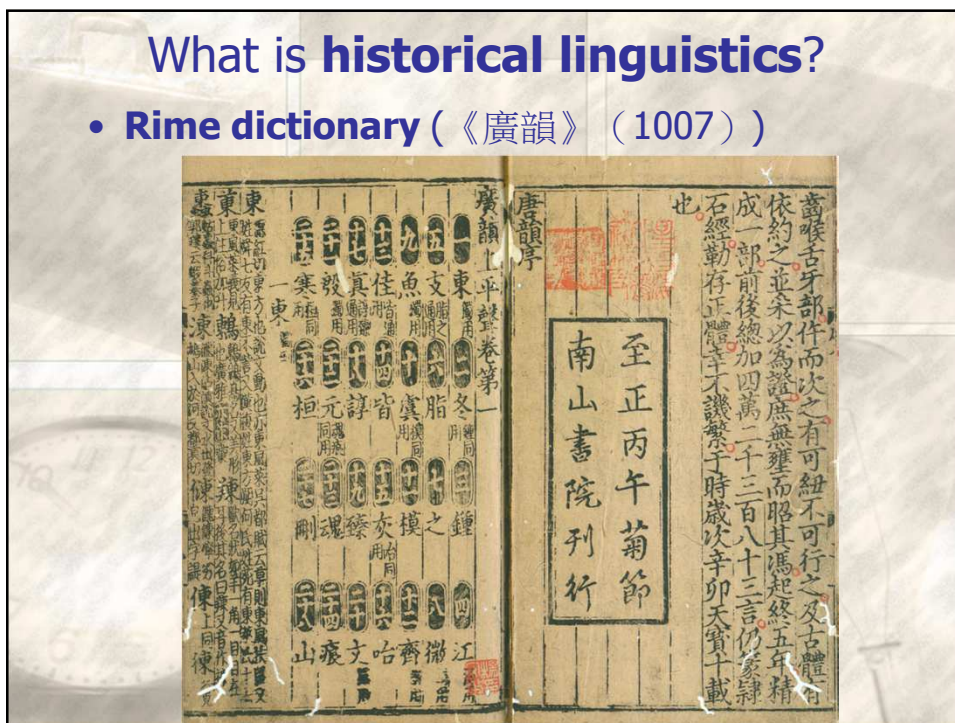
What is historical linguistics?

- Rime dictionary (《切韻》殘卷)



What is historical linguistics?

- Rime dictionary (《廣韻》(1007))



What is **historical linguistics**?

- **Rime table** (《韻鏡》 (1161))

[illegible]

What is **historical linguistics**?

- Historical account (1):

- 《顏氏家訓·音辭篇》：洛陽 vs 金陵
 - 然冠冕君子，南方為優；閭里小人，北方為愈。易服而與之談，南方士庶，數言可辯。隔垣而聽其語，北方朝野，終日難分。
- 《顏氏家訓·教子篇》：漢語胡化
 - 齊朝有一士大夫嘗謂吾曰：「我有一兒，年已十七，顏曉書疏，教其鮮卑語及彈琵琶，稍欲通解，以此伏事公卿，無不寵愛，亦要事也。」吾時俯而不答。異哉，此人之教子也！若由此業，自致卿相，亦不願汝曹為之。

What is historical linguistics?

- Historical account (2):
 - Francisco Varo 萬濟國 (1627–1687, ESP):
 - “one must understand the way in which such words are pronounced by the Chinese. Not just any Chinese, but only those who have the natural gift of speaking the Mandarin language well, such as those natives of the **Province of Nân k'ing**.”
 - Joseph Edkins 艾約瑟 (1823–1905, UK):
 - “the **Nanking Mandarin** is more widely understood than that of **Peking** ... the **Peking dialect** must be studied by those who would speak the language of the imperial court”
 - Robert Morrison 馬禮遜 (1782–1834, UK):
 - “[Beijing pronunciation] is now gradually gaining ground, and if the [Qing] dynasty continues long, will finally prevail” (Coblin, 2000, p. 540).

What is historical linguistics?

- The **non-randomness** (規律性) of language change
 - Laws of sound change 音變規則
 - **Consonant changes** 子音音變
 - Assimilation 同化 (e.g., palatalization; labial assimilation)
 - Dissimilation 異化
 - Deletion 刪音
 - Insertion 增音
 - Weakening 弱化
 - Strengthening 強化
 - **Vowel changes** 母音變化
 - Vowel shift 母音遷移
 - Diphthongization 雙母音化 / monophthongization 單母音化
 - Markedness elimination 去標記性 (e.g., delabialization of front vowels)
 - **Syllable-level changes** 音節變化
 - Markedness elimination 去標記性 (move towards CV structure)

What is **historical linguistics**?

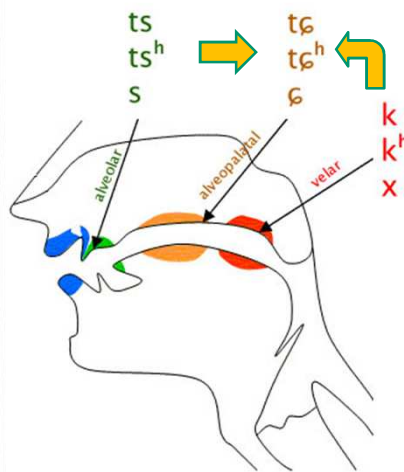
- Application of sound change laws

– 《心經》「靜心真言」各國讀音比較

SANSKRIT	gate: gate:	pa:ra gate:	pa:ra sam gate:	bo:dhi sva:ha:
CHINESE	揭諦揭諦	波羅揭諦	波羅僧揭諦	菩提薩婆訶
MANDARIN	tɕje ti tɕje ti	pwo lwo tɕje ti	pwo lwo səŋ tɕje ti	pʰu tʰi swɔ pʰwo xə
JAPANESE	gja: tej gja: tej	ha ra gja: tej	ha ra so: gja: tej	bo dʒi so wa ka
KOREAN	a tfe a tfe	pa ra a tfe	pa ra səŋ a tfe	mo dʒi sa pa ha

What is **historical linguistics**?

- **Palatalization** 顎化
(a kind of assimilation)



SANSKRIT	gate: gate:	pa:ra gate:	pa:ra sam gate:	bo:dhi sva:ha:
CHINESE	揭諦揭諦	波羅揭諦	波羅僧揭諦	菩提薩婆訶
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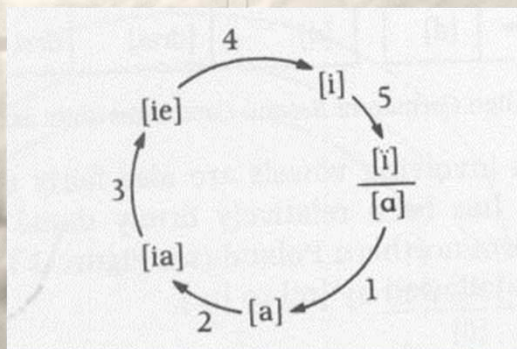
What is historical linguistics?

- weakening 弱化
- strengthening 強化

SANSKRIT	gate: gate:	pa:ra gate:	pa:ra sam gate:	bo:dhi sva:ha
CHINESE (year)	揭諦揭諦	波羅揭諦	波羅僧揭諦	菩提薩婆訶
MANDARIN	təje ti təje ti	pwo lwo təje ti	pwo lwo səŋ təje ti	pʰu tʰi swə pʰwə xə
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What is historical linguistics?

- Vowel Shift
母音遷移



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What is historical linguistics?

- Syllable structure simplification 音節簡化

(markedness reduction 去標記性)

– CCV > CV

– CVC > CV

SANSKRIT	gate: gate:	pa:ra gate:	pa:ra sam gate:	bo:dhi sva :ha:
CHINESE	揭諦揭諦	波羅揭諦	波羅僧揭諦	菩提薩婆訶
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What is historical linguistics?

- Nasal assimilation 鼻音同化

– sam gate > səŋ gate

SANSKRIT	gate: gate:	pa:ra gate:	pa:ra sam gate:	bo:dhi sva:ha:
CHINESE (year)	揭諦揭諦	波羅揭諦	波羅僧揭諦	菩提薩婆訶
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What is historical linguistics?

- 《心經》「靜心真言」各國讀音比較

- **Mandarin:**

- Velar palatalization 舌面後音顎化 (g>tɕ)
- Vowel shift 母音遷移 (a>e; e>i)
- Nasal assimilation 鼻音同化 (m>ŋ / _ [velar])

SANSKRIT	gate: gate:	pa:ra gate:	pa:ra sam gate:	bo:dhi sva:ha:
CHINESE (year)	揭諦揭諦	波羅揭諦	波羅僧揭諦	菩提薩婆訶
MANDARIN	tɕje ti tɕje ti	pwo lwo tɕje ti	pwo lwo səŋ tɕje ti	pʰu tʰi swə pʰwo xə

What is historical linguistics?

- 《心經》「靜心真言」各國讀音比較

- **Japanese:**

- Labial weakening 唇音弱化 (p>h)
- Syllable structure simplification 音節簡化 (sam > so:)
- Alveolar palatalization 舌尖音顎化 (dhi > dʒi)
- Strengthening 喉音強化 (ha > ka)

SANSKRIT	gate: gate:	pa:ra gate:	pa:ra sam gate:	bo:dhi sva:ha:
CHINESE (year)	揭諦揭諦	波羅揭諦	波羅僧揭諦	菩提薩婆訶
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What is **historical linguistics**?

- 《心經》「靜心真言」各國讀音比較

– **Korean:**

- Weakening 弱化 (g>zero)
- Alveolar palatalization 舌尖音顎化 (te>tʃe; dhi>dʒi)

SANSKRIT	gate: gate:	pa:ra gate:	pa:ra sam gate:	bo:dhi sva:ha:
CHINESE	揭諦揭諦	波羅揭諦	波羅僧揭諦	菩提薩婆訶
MANDARIN	təje ti təje ti	pwo lwo təje ti	pwo lwo səŋ təje ti	pʰu tʰi swə pʰwo xə
KOREAN	a tʃe a tʃe	pa ra a tʃe	pa ra səŋ a tʃe	mo dʒi sa pa ha

What is **historical linguistics**?

- Application of sound change laws

– 李白 "bai" or "bo" (and why the variation?)

What is **historical linguistics**?

- 李**白** "bai" or "bo"
- 韻書（孫愐《唐韻》，732）：
 - 白——**傍**陌切（梗攝開口二等入聲陌韻）
 - » 聲母=**傍** [b]
 - » 韻母=**陌** [ac]
 - 古音擬構 (phonological reconstruction) ——
 - » **白** [bac]

What is **historical linguistics**?

- Middle Chinese **白** [bac]
- Modern Beijing Mandarin
 - phonotactic constraints（北京官話不允許入聲）
 - 查詢類似讀音（同韻）的中古入聲字在北京官話中的讀法
 - 入聲舒化的途徑

What is historical linguistics?

- 入聲舒化的途徑
 - 途徑一 (北京白讀層 colloquial stratum)
 - 塞音 [c] 弱化為滑音 [j]
 - Weakening (lenition)

	百	拍	窄	宅	脈
中古	pa c	p ^h a c	tʂa c	dʒa c	ma c
今音	pa j	p ^h a j	tʂa j	tʂa j	ma j

What is historical linguistics?

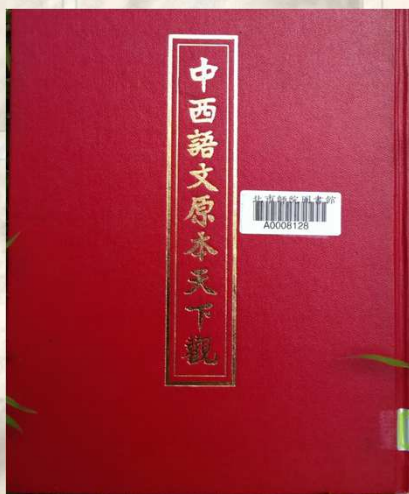
- 入聲舒化的途徑
 - 途徑二 (北京文讀層 literary stratum)
 - 塞音 [c] 被刪除
 - Deletion

	伯	迫	陌	脈	魄
中古	pa c	pa c	ma c	mac	p ^h ac
今音	pɔ	p ^h ɔ	mɔ	mɔ	p ^h ɔ

Some common **misconceptions**

- Phonetic similarity as genetic origin

- 魏崇光 (1986) 《中西語文原本天下觀》



Some common **misconceptions**

- Phonetic similarity as genetic origin

- 魏崇光 (1986) 《中西語文原本天下觀》

- 大拇指 = **thumb** (ENG); **Daumen** (GER); **tommel** (DAN)
- 將領兒 = **general** (ENG); **generelt** (DAN)
- 信號 = **signal** (ENG, GER, DAN, SWE)
- 石頭 = **stone** (ENG); **stein** (GER)
- 做夢；得夢 = **dream** (ENG); **traum** (GER)
- 箭步 = **jump** (ENG)
- 囫圇吞棗 = **whole** (ENG); **hela** (SWE); **hele** (DAN);
- 朦朧 = **moon** (ENG); **mond** (GER); **mona** (Old ENG)
- 朦朧 = **luna** (LATIN)

Some common **misconceptions**

- Sources of phonetic similarity
 - **Cognate** relationship 同源關係 (親屬關係)
 - **Borrowing** 借詞 (外來語)
 - **Onomatopoeia** 擬聲詞 (common to all human languages)
 - **Nursery forms** 牙牙學語 (common to all human languages)
 - **Coincidence** 巧合

Some common **misconceptions**

- Sources of phonetic similarity
 - **Cognate** relationship
 - Must show **systematic correspondences** (not just random words)
 - Must reflect historical development through **sound change laws** (not just similarity in modern pronunciations)

Middle Chinese (reconstruction)	Southern Min (IPA)	Mandarin (IPA)	Character
* ki	ki	tɕi	基
* kien	kin	tɕin	斤
* kien	kiŋ	tɕiŋ	經
* kiu	kiu	tɕiou	救
* kiau	kiau	tɕiau	澆
* kian	kioŋ	tɕian	疆

Some common misconceptions

- Sources of phonetic similarity

- **Borrowing**

- **Period** of contact

- 《大秦景教流行中國碑》 (781)

- » **Jesus** → 移鼠

- » **Messiah** → 迷師訶

- **Scope** of borrowing

- “**high**” (English to Chinese)

- “**strike**” (English to Japanese)

- » **sutoraiku** ストライク (baseball strike)

- » **sutoraiki** ストライキ (industrial strike)



Some common misconceptions

- Sources of phonetic similarity

- **Onomatopoeia** (common to all human languages)

- “**ding dong**” 叮噠

- “**tick tock**” 滴答

- **Nursery forms** (Campbell 1998: 321)

- “**mama**” (nasals for females)

- “**papa**”; “**baba**” (stops for males)

- “**tata**”; “**dada**” (stops for males)

Some common misconceptions

- Sources of phonetic similarity
 - **Coincidence** 巧合 (魏崇光 1986)
 - 大拇指 = **thumb** (ENG); **Daumen** (GER); **tommel** (DAN)
 - 將領兒 = **general** (ENG); **generelt** (DAN)
 - 信號 = **signal** (ENG, GER, DAN, SWE)
 - 石頭 = **stone** (ENG); **stein** (GER)
 - 箭步 = **jump** (ENG)

Some common misconceptions

- English "**Mandarin**" = Chinese "滿大人"
 - 趙杰。2002。「滿語對北京音的影響」。《滿語研究》14: 38-40.
- Etymology:
 - **mandarin** (n.)
 - "Chinese official," **1580s**, via Portuguese *mandarim* or older Dutch *mandorijn* from Malay *mantri*, from Hindi *mantri* "councilor, minister of state," from Sanskrit *mantri*, nominative of *mantrin*- "advisor," from *mantra* "counsel. Form influenced in Portuguese by *mandar* "to command, order." (c.f. English "mandate"; "mandatory")
 - Used generically for the several grades of Chinese officials; sense of "chief dialect of Chinese" (spoken by officials and educated people) is from c.1600. Transferred sense of "important person" attested by 1907. The type of small, deep-colored orange so called from 1771, from resemblance of its color to that of robes worn by mandarins.
 - C.f. 後金 (努爾哈赤 1616) ; 清 (1644)

Some common misconceptions

- **EXAMPLE: Biblical Hebrew vs Pekinese** (via 羯語)
 - 石旭昊 (2011) : 《石勒皇帝與羯胡人之謎》 (中國社會出版社)
 - 燒麥 = shemesh (食品的一種)
 - 丫頭 = yaldah (小女孩)
 - 別介 = bil-tsi (表達否定)
 - 胡同 = hoot (小街)
 - 疙瘩 = qaneh (團塊)
 - 甬 = bal (表示否定)
 - 俺 = ani (我)

Some common misconceptions

- **Teleological reasoning** 目的論
 - language changes to help speakers achieve a **conscious purpose**
 - E.g., development of **disyllabic words** in Chinese
 - **Homophone avoidance** (呂叔湘 1963):
 - 為什麼現代漢語詞彙有強烈的雙音節化的傾向？
同音字多應該說是一個重要的原因。由於語音的演變，很多古代不同音的字到現代都成為同音字了，雙音化是一種補償手段。
 - » 耳 → 耳朵
 - » 眼 → 眼睛
 - » 買 → 購買
 - » 騙 → 欺騙
- (examples largely from Duanmu 1999)

Some common **misconceptions**

- **Teleological** reasoning 目的論
 - language changes to help speakers achieve a **conscious purpose**
 - E.g., development of **disyllabic words** in Chinese
 - **Counterarguments** to homophone avoidance (Duanmu 1999: 150-153) :
 - **High frequency homophones** more prone to disyllabification? (他、她、它、牠、牠)
 - **Non-homophones** immune to disyllabification?
 - » 吼 → 吼叫
 - » 寵 → 寵愛
 - Why not just **prevent loss of contrast** in the first place?
 - No **parallel developments** in languages of the world (e.g., ENG son/sun; bear/bare)

Social dimensions of language change

- Language and **social status**
 - 子曰：「辭，達而已矣！」
 - Language choice as a reflection of **social status**

Social dimensions of language change

- The nature of **language contact**
 - **High** vs **low** languages
 - Stratification and mixture
 - **Lexical** borrowing
 - **Phonological & syntactic** substrata

Social dimensions of language change

- Types of **diglossia** 雙語並存；雙語分工
(**diglossia** is societal; **bilingualism** is individual)
 - **classic** diglossia (narrow diglossia)
 - **broad** diglossia (societal bilingualism)

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” (Hudson 1991: 13, parentheses, underline and emphases 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**” (Hudson 1991: 13, parentheses, underline and emphases added)
 - **Ferguson** (1959: 325, emphases added): diglossia involves “two or more **varieties of the same language**”
 - **Fishman** (1967: 30, emphases 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, **emphases** added)
 - L language “learned first with little or no conscious effort” (Fasold 1984: 53)
 - H 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 (Fasold 1984: 53)

Diglossia: narrow vs broad (after Fasold 1984)

	Narrow diglossia	Societal bilingualism (Broad diglossia)
Acquisition of H vs L	H is nobody’s native language, whereas L is everybody’s native language	H is spoken natively by some, and L is spoken natively by some
Source of H language	Archaic literary language	(no restrictions)
Access to H language	Small elite with access to literacy	(no restrictions)
Differentiation of function	Functions of H and L strictly compartmentalized (minimal overlap)	Some degree overlap between functions of H and L
Stability	Typically stable (centuries or millenia)	Typically unstable (3 generations)
Dissolution of diglossia	Abrupt (revolution; breakdown of social order)	Gradual
Direction of change	H gives way to L	L gives way to H
New prestige language	L (with superstrate influence from H)	H (with substrate influence from L)

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: 337-338)
 - “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)

NARROW DIGLOSSIA: **Classical** vs **vernacular** Chinese

	Classic diglossia	Classical Chinese
Acquisition of H	H is “a written variety which is the <u>mother tongue of nobody</u> ” (Coulmas 1987: 117)	<p>“No community spoke <u>Classical Chinese</u> as its native language” (Snow 2010: 160)</p> <p>“a classic written language that was learned in school by those fortunate enough to have the chance for education; it was <u>not spoken by anyone as a native language</u>” (Snow 2010: 160)</p>

NARROW DIGLOSSIA: Classical vs vernacular Chinese

	Classic diglossia	Classical Chinese
Source of H language	H constitutes " an archaism ", a stage which the language reached some centuries ago, when it became ' frozen ' by social conventions" (Bright 1976: 66)	"literary Chinese is...a written, conventionalized language that has its origins in the spoken vernacular of Warring States (403-255 B.C.) China" (Fuller 2004: 1) "writers continued to model their prose on this early literary language, and the written languages thus began to take on an archaic aspect as the spoken language underwent a very different and by and large independent development" (Norman 1988: 83)
	H derived from a " written tradition consist[ing] mainly of the society's sacred writings " (Sjoberg 1964: 892)	"the high social position of Classical Chinese was due, in large part, to the fact that it was the language used in an enormous heritage of philosophical, religious and literary texts stretching back well over two thousand years" (Snow 2010: 160)

NARROW DIGLOSSIA: Classical vs vernacular Chinese

	Classic diglossia	Classical Chinese
Access to H language	<p>"access to those more formal situations in which H is appropriate is asymmetrically distributed in favor of those educationally privileged, literate, or otherwise specialized classes in society most likely to have had the opportunity to acquire H formally" (Hudson 2002: 5-6)</p> <p>H is part of "a tradition of restricted literacy involving the written variety of a language that becomes increasingly distant (and therefore distinct) from the native variety of language spoken in a speech community that is overwhelmingly illiterate" (Walters 1996: 161-162)</p>	<p>"in China, mastery of Classical Chinese was quite literally a road to power for aspiring candidates in the imperial examinations, and the fact that most people did not have sufficient schooling to compete in the examinations served to limit the number of potential rivals the elite had to contend with. To put it bluntly, the difficulty of Classical Chinese helped keep the uneducated masses out. The situation meant that social elites had relatively little interest in promoting knowledge of H among the population at large..." (Snow 2010: 161)</p> <p>"Mastery of Classical Chinese was thus closely connected with political power as well as cultural prestige" (Snow 2010: 160)</p>

NARROW DIGLOSSIA: **Classical** vs **vernacular** Chinese

	Classic diglossia	Classical Chinese
Differentiation of function	<p>diglossia requires "specialization of function" for H and L. In one set of situations only H is appropriate, and in another only L, with the two sets overlapping only very slightly" (Ferguson 1959: 328)</p>	<p>"there is 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 inculcating deities" (Letter from Walter Medhurst, Alexander Stronach, and William Milne to the London Missionary Society (1851), in Zetzsche 1999: 93)</p> <p>"no person would deem his productions fit for the public gaze, and worthy of imitation, who did not write in this style" (Letter from Walter Medhurst, Alexander Stronach, and William Milne to the London Missionary Society (1851), in Zetzsche 1999: 93).</p> <p>"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" (Snow 2010: 160)</p>

NARROW DIGLOSSIA: **Classical** vs **vernacular** Chinese

	Classic diglossia	Classical Chinese
Stability	<p>"Diglossia typically persists at least several centuries, and evidence in some cases seems to show that it can last well over a thousand years" (Ferguson 1959: 332)</p>	<p>Classical Chinese was "the pre-eminent language for writing in China for the past two thousand years" (Fuller 2004: 1)</p>

NARROW DIGLOSSIA: Classical vs vernacular Chinese

	Classic diglossia	Classical Chinese
Dissolution of diglossia	<p>Classic diglossia thrives in "preindustrial civil societies" with restricted literacy, and "is most often removed at an early stage of modernization" (Neustupny 1974: 40)</p> <p>"the processes of modernization, urbanization, mercantalism, and industrialization ... create [demands] for a literate labor force"; accompanied by "the disestablishment of small ruling groups, the breakdown of rigid class barriers and increased fluidity of role relationships, and the democratization of education, literacy, and knowledge that tend to accompany these" (Hudson 2002:32)</p>	<p>"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 education, and that Classical Chinese was an unsuitable 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 was simply too difficult to teach" (Snow 2010: 161)</p>
	<p>"decline of a classical variety is often accompanied by catastrophic political events involving the breakdown of classical society itself" (Hudson 2002: 34)</p> <p>The H-language "comes in with status and elitism", and "goes out under the pressures of popular movements which we may call nativist rebellions" (Kahane 1986: 498)</p>	<p>The wholesale replacement of literary Chinese with vernacular writing coincides largely with the end of imperial rule in China, culminating in the Vernacular Language Movement (白話運動) of 1917 – this happening within two short decades of the introduction of western education in China, the abolition of Confucian-style civil service examinations, and the overthrow of the Qing dynasty. (Barnes 1982: 262)</p>

NARROW DIGLOSSIA: Classical vs vernacular Chinese

	Classic diglossia	Classical Chinese
Direction of change	<p>"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" (Hudson 2002: 30)</p> <p>"the new socio-historical structure creates a new literary language out of the spoken language then current" (Pulgram 1950: 461-462)</p>	<p>"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 as 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" (Barnes 1982: 262)</p>

NARROW DIGLOSSIA: **Classical** vs **vernacular** Chinese

	Classic diglossia	Classical Chinese
New prestige language	"it is L , in effect, that displaces H , incorporating certain superstrate influences from H in the process" (Hudson 1991: 10)	"the elevation to prominence of a writing style long available within the society but previously unsanctioned for serious writing purposes" (Barnes 1982: 262)
	end result is not complete displacement of the literary language with the vernacular, but rather a " merger of the original two norms " (Wexler 1971: 345-346, note 22)	"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" (Zhu 1988: 132)
	lexicon of H lives on in the new standard in the form of a "large-scale transfer of terminology" in the realms of "upper-class civilization, abstractions, and professional technologies" (Kahane and Kahane, 1979: 194)	"there is often considerable incorporation of classical elements – stereotyped phrases, truncated terms, even classical constructions—into what is ostensibly a vernacular piece of writing" (DeFrancis 1984: 244) Modern Standard Chinese is characterized by "ways of amalgamating Classical Chinese with modern writings [that] are essentially motivated and licensed by prosody " (Feng 2005: 17)

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

	Broad diglossia
Acquisition of H vs L	H is spoken natively by some, and L is spoken natively by some
Differentiation of function	Possible " leakage in function ", " mixing in form " (Fasold 1984: 54) " [H and L] compete for realization in the same domains, situations, and role-relations" (Fishman 1985: 45)
	"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)" (Fishman 1967: 36)
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 (Hudson 1001: 14)
Dissolution of diglossia	"gradual hegemonic advance of the high variety and the displacement of the low " (Hudson 1991: 7)
Direction of change	"the language with stronger rewards sanctions associated with it wins out" (Fishman 1980: 8; 1985: 45)
	"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" (Hudson 2002: 30)
New prestige language	"over the long term, it is H that typically displaces L , often incorporating certain substrate influences from L as it does so" (Hudson 1991: 10)

DEMISE OF THE REGIONAL DIALECTS: Earlier predictions

- Spread of **Mandarin**
- **Demise of the rest:**
 - [in the triglossic setup] “the **regional H languages** are clearly losing ground and may be reduced to the status of L languages in times to come” (T’sou 1980: 278)

DEMISE OF THE REGIONAL DIALECTS:

- Factors in the equation (Why some dialects fare better)
 - **Prestige** 尊貴性 / **economic utility** 經濟優勢
 - **Exonormative** standards 域外規範
 - **Isolation** 隔離

DEMISE OF THE REGIONAL DIALECTS

- **Prestige / economic utility**

- **Shanghai** 上海

- “The Shanghainese often **look down upon outsiders** who do not speak their language” (Gao 2001)
 - “As late as the 1990s, if a Shanghai sales clerk were to hear a customer speak in Mandarin, the look on their faces would instantly betray their **feeling of superiority**” (Gao 2001)
 - In the local dialect, anyone not from Shanghai is referred to pejoratively as a “**country bumpkin**” (鄉下人)

- **Exonormative standards**

- Isolation

DEMISE OF THE REGIONAL DIALECTS

- **Prestige / economic utility**

- **Taiwan** 台灣

- “As Taiwanese tourists travel to mainland China, many will be tempted to compare the two sides, the differences between which become all the more evident: **wealthy** Taiwan vs **impoverished** China; **modern** Taiwan vs **backwards** China; **democratic** Taiwan vs **autocratic** China... and as they do, they begin to feel a **sense of superiority**, and find themselves despising their mainland cousins” (Y. Li 1988)

- **Exonormative standards**

- Isolation

DEMISE OF THE REGIONAL DIALECTS

- **Prestige / economic utility**

- **Guangdong** 廣東

- Affluent Guangdong is already in a better position than most other provinces to defend its dialect because of its **economic prowess** and the size of the Cantonese-speaking population worldwide - 70 million. (Yu 2010)
 - “the increasing **prosperity of Hong Kong** – especially when contrasted with the **poverty and chaos of Cultural Revolution China** ... instilled a sense of pride and belonging to Hong Kong” (Snow 2010: 163)
 - **Derogatory terms** for Mandarin speakers (northerners)
 - 撈佬、撈松 : (male) Mandarin-speaking non-natives (usually economic migrants)
 - 北姑、北妹 : (female) Mandarin-speaking non-natives (economic migrants or prostitutes)

- **Exonormative standards**

- Isolation

DEMISE OF THE REGIONAL DIALECTS:

- **Prestige / economic utility**

- **Exonormative standards**

- **Taiwan** (Republic of China)
 - **Hong Kong** (Special Administrative Region)
 - **Guangdong** (next to Hong Kong) – allowed to broadcast in Cantonese

- Isolation

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Mandarin vs Vernacular**

- **Taiwan**
- **Guangzhou** (Canton)
- **Shanghai**
- **Singapore**

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS:

- **Taiwan**

– microcosm of linguistic developments in China



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** (Chen 2010: 86)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Taiwan**

(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

- **Dialect attrition** (Too little 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 dialects)” (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” (Beaser 2006: 16-17)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Taiwan**

(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

• **Dialect attrition**

– General decline in language ability

- E.g., **Hakka dialect** attrition (Huang and Chen 2002: 57)

	Full proficiency (listening+speaking)	No proficiency (listening+speaking)
19 & under	19.2	28.9
20-29	44.1	13.2
30-39	69.7	5.2
40-49	79.2	4.7
50-59	89.4	1.4
60+	93.5	1.4

(**Linear regression**: no fully proficient Hakka speakers born after **2006**)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Taiwan**

(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

• **Dialect attrition**

– Neglect in **education**

- **Instruction hours** (elementary school) (Ma 2011)

– **Mandarin** (17-24 hrs/wk)

– **English** (12-16 hr/wk)

– **Indigenous languages / dialect** (1 hr/wk)

» grades do not count

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Taiwan**

(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

• **Dialect attrition**

– Neglect in **education**

• **Parental attitudes**

- “**Mandarin** is the **common language** of today, and **English** is the language that will bring them to **a prosperous future**” (Beaser 2006: 11)
- 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: 99).

• **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: 99)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Taiwan**

(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

• **Dialect attrition**

– Failures of minority language **media**

• **No audience**

- Dialect media caters to an **aging and uneducated audience**; young people rarely ever listen to dialect media (Chen and Lin 2004: 4)

• **No advertising revenue**

- Advertisers unwilling spend on programming that reaches only a small audience (Chen and Lin 2004: 10)

• **No competent broadcasters**

- Hard to find broadcast professionals proficiency in all domains of dialect **USE** (frequent code-switching)
- Broadcasting often left to **amateurs**, resulting in **low quality programming** (Chen and Lin 2004: 10)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Taiwan**

(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

• **Dialect attrition**

- Changes in **language attitude** (J. Huang 2009: 8-10)
 - Correlation with **prestige**:
 - 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

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Taiwan**

(microcosm of linguistic developments in China)

• **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)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS:

• Shanghai

– 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 Shanghainese 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。〈上海市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)

	College freshmen	10th grade	7th grade	5th grade
(approximate age)	19	16	13	11
Shanghainese	71%	58%	45%	23%
Mandarin	7%	11%	20%	23%

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Shanghai**

(intergenerational dialect decline)

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

	College freshmen	10th grade	7th grade	5th grade
(approximate age)	19	16	13	11
Shanghainese	44%	43%	22%	20%
Mandarin	27%	25%	39%	44%

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Shanghai**

(intergenerational dialect decline)

- Interpretation of data
 - Li's interpretation (correlation with **generation**)
 - Use of and attitude to Shanghainese dialect varies according to generation (c.f. Taiwan Hakka data)
 - The younger the generation, **the less speakers are willing to speak Shanghainese**, 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 Shanghainese dialect**

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS:

- **Guangdong** 廣東



CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Guangzhou**

- *Yangcheng Evening News* 羊城晚報 (2010.07.09)
 - “Granny Unable to Converse with Grandchild” 同聲同氣祖孫倆竟變成「雞同鴨講」 (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**)

- **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** 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: 99)
 - Economic utility -- English speakers command higher income
(Composition of Singaporeans in the highest income group, after Kwan-Terry 2010: 100)

English only	66.1%
English and Chinese	20.5%
Chinese only	2.0%
Malay only	0%
Tamil only	0%

- 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: 100-101)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Singapore**

(former British colony, **English** widely promoted)

- Intervening factor -- government policy
 - Rise of **Mandarin**
 - Government-launched “**Speak Mandarin**” campaign 講華語運動 (1979)
 - **Dialects banned** in radio and television
 - (If not English), use of Mandarin encouraged in the home to assist in the **development of literacy**
 - Chinese-medium schools teach only Mandarin – **dialects** seen as “**low status**” (Kwan-Terry 2000: 102)

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Singapore**

(former British colony, **English** widely promoted)

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

	Dialect	Mandarin	English
1980	59.5%	10.2%	11.6%
1990	38.2%	23.7%	20.8%

CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS: **Singapore**

(former British colony, **English** widely promoted)

- Predominant **household language** (Kwan-Terry 2000: 97; reference to 1990 population census)
 - Chinese households

	Dialect	Mandarin	English
1980	76.2%	13.1%	10.2%
1990	48.2%	30.0%	21.4%

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: 98; reference to *Business Times* survey of October 4, 1989)

	Dialect	Mandarin	English
1980	64.4%	25.9%	9.3%
1984	26.9%	58.7%	13.9%
1989	7.2%	69.1%	23.3%

FUTURE PROSPECTS: Dissolution of diglossia

• Pertinent factors

- **Education** 教育 (language of instruction)
- **Media** 媒體 (broadcast news and entertainment)
- **Intergenerational attrition** 隔代退化
 - “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: Dissolution of diglossia

• Reasons for revision

- 2000s (greater social mobility, widespread access to Mandarin)
 - **Parents:** bilingual or trilingual (local L, regional H, Mandarin)
 - **L1: parents' choice** – intervening factors
 - **Availability** (social mobility brings cross-dialect intermarriage; local L unavailable)
 - » “[Couples] 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 get used to 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: Dissolution of diglossia

- **Diversification** of the standard
 - Development of **regional Mandarins**
 - **Mandarin in Taiwan** (substrate influence)
 - **Dialect vocabulary** in Taiwan Mandarin (Wei 1984: 88; Tang 1989: 141; Her 2010)
 - **Southern Chinese syntax** in Taiwan Mandarin (Wei 1984: 88-89; Cheng 1985; Kubler 1985)
 - “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... help[ing] to shape and mold Mandarin** into a language more suitable to the Taiwanese people and their culture” (Beaser 2006: 16)
 - **Mandarin in Nanning** (Cantonese-speaking region)
 - “As 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)

FUTURE PROSPECTS: Dissolution of diglossia

- **Diversification** of the standard
 - **Cosmopolitan Mandarin** (Zhang 2005: 444-458)
 - Mandarin used by Chinese yuppies in corporate settings in Beijing selectively incorporates **features of Mandarin** spoken in **Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore** (Zhang 2005: 444-458)
 - 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**

Why we need to understand language change

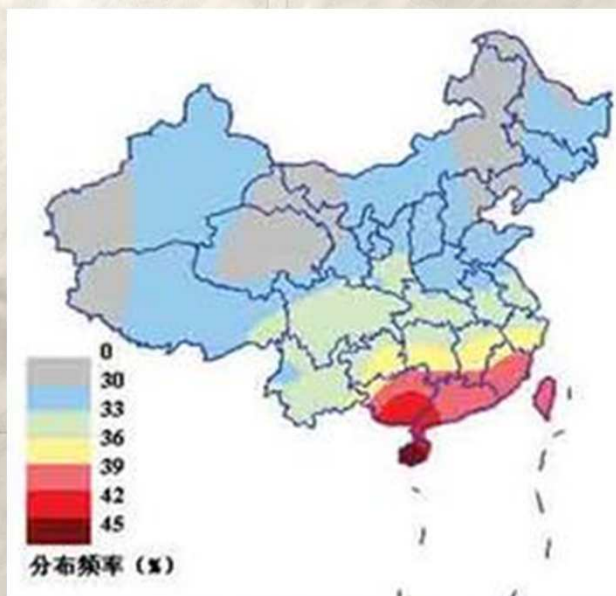
- Language as marker of **identity** (ethnic & social)
- **Past, present and future** of our native tongue (avoiding common misconceptions)

Language as a marker of **identity**

- What is a **Han** Chinese (漢族)?
 - Self-identification 自我認定 (e.g., research studies)
 - Biological markers 生理特徵 (e.g., DNA)
 - Linguistic features 語言特徵

Language as a marker of **identity**

- Biological markers
生理特徵
(e.g., DNA)



Language as a marker of **identity**

- Biological markers 生理特徵 (e.g., DNA)
 - 《中國姓氏：群体遺傳和人口分布》
 - 其實南北兩地的漢族血緣相差甚遠，甚至比中國少數民族的差距還要大。這項研究發現，從生物遺傳學的角度來說，中國的漢族只是文化上而非血緣上的完整群體。
- (袁義達 2005)

Language as a marker of **identity**

- Linguistic markers 語言特徵
 - Category **borders porous**
 - **Inter-category distinctions** clearly definable

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- PAST (misconceptions):
 - 王力 (1957) 《漢語史稿》：
 - 自從 **1153** 年金遷都燕京（即今北京）以來，到今天已有八百多年，除了明太祖建都南京和國民黨遷都南京共五十多年以外，都是以北京為首都的。這六百多年的政治影響，就決定了民族共同語的基礎。
 - COUNTEREVIDENCE:
 - Population records
 - L2 learners on “standard pronunciation”

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- PAST (misconceptions):

- 北京人口遷徙 (張清常1992: 268-269):

- 1125 年 (遼): 「南京析津府」 (今北京) 人丁 **40,000**
 - 1126 年 (金): 自汴梁 (金河南開封) 虜皇室宗親 **3,000** 人及大批工匠、娼妓、優伶安置燕京 (今北京)。
 - 1368 年 (明洪武元年): 令原大都 (北京) 居民 全遷居河南開封。
 - 1371 年 (明洪武四年): 遷山後 (今山西、河北內外長城之間) **93,878** 人來北平; 又遷雲南 **192,027** 人來北平
 - 1644 年以降: 東北八旗 (滿軍及漢軍) **236,771** 人入駐北京內城及西北近郊, 佔人口總數 **33.56%**

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- PAST (misconceptions):

- L2 learners on “standard pronunciation”

- Francisco Varo (1627-1687): *“one must understand the way in which such words are pronounced by the Chinese. Not just any Chinese, but only those who have the natural gift of speaking the Mandarin language well, such as those natives of the Province of **Nân kīng**.”* (Coblin, 2000, p. 540)
 - Joseph Edkins (1823-1905): *“the **Nanking** Mandarin is more widely understood than that of **Peking** ... the Peking dialect must be studied by those who would speak the language of the imperial court”* (Coblin, 2000, p. 541).

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- PAST (古清聲母入聲字在現代北京話的聲調分布) (c.f. Lin 1987b; Coblin 2006)

	膠遼 官話 Peninsular Mandarin	東北 官話 Northeastern Mandarin	北京 官話 Beijing Mandarin	冀魯 官話 Northcentral Mandarin	中原 官話 Central Plains Mandarin	藍銀 官話 Northwestern Mandarin	西南 官話 Southwestern Mandarin	江淮 官話 Yangtze Mandarin
古清音 voiceless initial	3	123 ₄	1234	1	1	4	1	入
古次濁 sonorant initial	4	4	4	4	1	4	1	入
古全濁 voiced obstruent	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	入

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- PAST (古清聲母入聲字在現代北京話的聲調分布) (c.f. Lin 1987b; Coblin 2006)
 - **T3** 北京內城話 **native** (colloquial) : 源頭是遼金時期以燕京為中心的幽燕方言，一直和東北少數民族語言有密切接觸。(林焘 1987b: 167)
 - **T1** 北京外城話 **early contact dialect** (low prestige, colloquial) : 土生土長的[河北中部方言]，這種方言在元代以後一直和漢語各地方言有密切接觸。(c.f. 林焘 1987b: 167)
 - **T2 & T4**: **prestige dialect** (high prestige, literary) → 洛陽、南京(讀書音)
 - **T4**: **artificial reading pronunciation** (high prestige, literary) → 南京(仿口語音)
- 到了清代，[**T3+**方言與**T1+**方言] 在北京匯合，相互之間差別本來就不大，在經過極為密切的長時期交流，就逐漸融為一體，成為現代的北京話。(c.f. 林焘 1987b: 167)

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- PRESENT :

- **Core:** 北京

- Ongoing changes
 - Retroflex weakening 翹舌音弱化
 - [w] > [v]
 - Continuation of larger historical trend
 - Ru-tone drift towards T1

- **Periphery:** 北京話 → 普通話 → 普通話分支

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- PRESENT : [w] > [v]

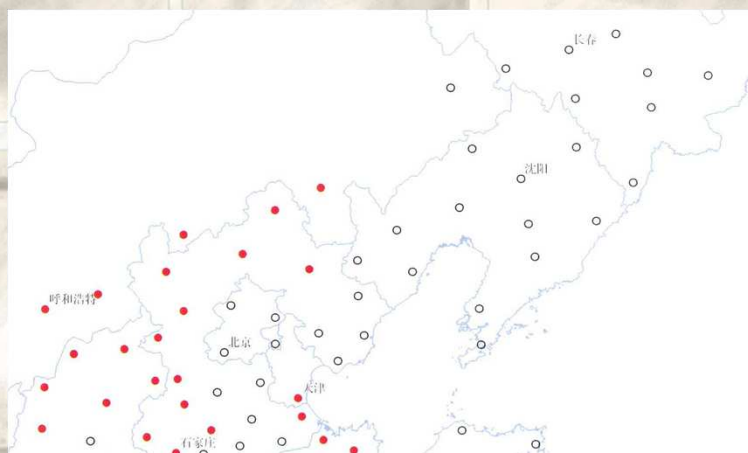
- Percentage of [v] realizations of /w/ (沈炯 1987:)

- (E.g., 文、完、忘、為、外)

- 老 (60+): **33%**
 - 中 (36-60): **52%**
 - 青 (under 36): **64%**

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- PRESENT : **[w] > [v]**
 - Percentage of **[v]** realizations of **/w/** (沈炯 1987:)
 - (E.g., 文、完、忘、為、外)



Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- PRESENT : Ru-tone drift towards T1

	突	疾	惜	擊	夾	叔
古清濁	濁	濁	清	清	清	清
《中原音韻》 (1324)	2	2	3	3	3	3
《合併字學集韻》 (1602)	2, 4	2, 4	4	4	4	4
《國音常用字彙》 (1932)	2	2	2	2	1, 2	2
《漢語方音字彙》 (1989)	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2
《現代漢語辭典》 (2005)	1	2	1	1	1, 2	1

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- FUTURE:

- **Within** Beijing (diglossia)

- Killing off of the **Beijing vernacular** (老北京話)
 - Rate of extinction faster than that of other dialects due to similarities with *putonghua*

- **Outside** of Beijing:

- Propagation (through *putonghua*) and **diversification**
 - Regional admixture 語言混合
 - Pluricentricity 多元中心
 - Enclave dialects 方言島 (e.g., Taiwan)

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- FUTURE:

- Killing off of the **Beijing vernacular** (老北京話)

- **Language Attitude** (北京晚報 2012.06.09)

- 詢問受訪者喜歡北京話還是普通話：

- » 北京話 (34%)

- » 普通話 (46%)

- 詢問受訪者希望孩子說什麼話：

- » 北京話 (37%)

- » 普通話 (49%)

- 有些說很地道北京話的北京人都覺得北京話「土」。

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- FUTURE:

- Killing off of the **Beijing vernacular** (老北京話)

- **Language Attitude** (北京晚報 2012.06.09)

- 男女差異

- » 喜歡北京話 (男42% ; 女24 %)

- » 喜歡普通話 (男35% ; 女56 %)

- 世代交替

- » 年輕一代新移民 (喜歡北京話6% ; 喜歡普通話85 %)

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- FUTURE:

- Killing off of the **Beijing vernacular** (老北京話)

- **Accerlerated decline** (北京晚報 2012.06.09)

- 跟普通話越接近的方言，會消失得越快

- 北京聯合大學講師房艷紅：「我相信東北話再過幾百年都不會消亡，但北京話等不了那麼久了，北京方言已經瀕危了！」

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- FUTURE:
 - **Outside** of Beijing:
 - Propagation (through *putonghua*) and **diversification**
 - **Regional admixture:** 地方普通話；大眾普通話
(c.f. 《語文建設通訊》)
 - » 姚懷德 1998
 - » 李友仁 1999
 - » 周有光 1999
 - » 林允富 2000
 - **Pluricentricity** 多元中心化
 - » Bradley 1992 (in Clyne 1992 *Pluricentric Languages: Different Norms in Different Nations*)
 - **Enclave dialects** 方言島 (e.g., Taiwan)
 - » 張惠英 2010
 - » 侯精一 2011

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- FUTURE:
 - **Enclave dialects** 方言島 (e.g., Taiwan)
 - (Not a **time capsule**)
 - Immunity to changes in homeland / preservation of features lost in homeland
 - C.f. American English preservation of **syllable-final /r/** vs non-rhotic British received pronunciation
 - C.f. Iceland _(enclave) vs Norway _(homeland): Norwegian tradition of skaldic verse preserved only in Iceland, such that 10th C. Norwegian rulers employed mostly Icelandic poets.

Past, present & future of Beijing Mandarin

- FUTURE:

- Enclave dialects (e.g., Taiwan)

- **Taipei Mandarin:**

- » No **w** > **v** (E.g., 文、完、忘、為、外)
- » No 入聲 shift to **Tone 1** (E.g., 突、息、惜、夾、疾)
- » Pronunciation of 和 (侯精一 2011; 張惠英 2010)

Conclusion

- **Language changes** (modern pronunciation ≠ ancient pronunciation)
 - Understand the **rules of language change** (so as to judge what is **historically plausible** and what is not)
 - Understand the **social dynamics** of language change (which will determine the **future of the Chinese dialects**)
 - Understand the past, present, and future state of the **modern standard language** (via **Beijing dialect**)



THANK YOU

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