Language Standardization and Linguistic Variation in Asia from Sociolinguistic Perspectives

11 December 2017, 08:30 — 13 December 2017, 13:30
University of Nottingham campus, Ningbo, China

Abstract Booklet
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KEYNOTE PAPERS

Anvita Abbi: Challenging the monolithic model of standardization in the context of multilingual and plurilingual India  
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The paper brings forth the futility of a monolithic model of standard language in the context of multilingual and multicultural South Asia. Just as English in the bilingual context across Asia and Africa has generated institutionalized varieties (Indian English, Singaporean English, Nigerian English, Kenyan English) and performance varieties (Chinese English, Japanese English) which are accepted for its multiple functions, the emergence of various types of lingua franca in multilingual contexts warrant our attention to recognize regional varieties of the standard. I draw my examples from Hindi as a lingua franca spoken across the length and breadth of India. India with its 1635 mother tongues (2001 Census) drawn from six distinct language families is perhaps the richest country in South Asia as far as the issue of language diversity is concerned. The urban India in post-independent era is connected by Hindi which serves as the only lingua franca among both educated and uneducated. I discuss two different kinds of situations that exist in the country. The first situation arises where Hindi in the so called ‘Hindi belt’ (consisting of 10 states and Union territories) has distanced itself from native speakers of Hindi due to excessive standardization. It has also weakened the so called “dialects” or varieties of Hindi in these states, because the standard language being entrusted with socio-economic powers. A possible solution to combat this situation lies in simplification of the standard language so that it can be brought closer to its native speakers as well as empower the simplified variety to serve complex communicative needs.

The second situation is represented by the rest of India, especially the Northeast marked very heavily by linguistic diversity and multiplicity of languages. Hindi in these states has emerged as a ‘non-native’ variety, unfolding the processes of language acculturation, language adaptation, linguistic innovations, and above all and most important of all, language acceptance. Even though these Hindis are differentiated by regional language-specifics, there is a set of universal and predictable language structure rules shared by all varieties. The emergence of contact-induced linguistic structures make this lingua franca a powerful contact language and identity marker of the region. It is this very language which should serve as the model for standard variety to be used in diverse domains.
In the system of social communication, the Europeans had accorded a privileged position to language. This is because the lineage of Western Classical tradition, wherein the Greek concept of *logos* associated words with reasons, was very strong. However, it is interesting to note that despite assigning a privileged position to language, in course of their encounter with South Asian social, linguistic and cultural milieu, the notion of sharedness and Asian sensibility of 'living together separately' were hardly understood or given any due attention by them. In fact, the South Asian linguistic diversity had evoked more a sense of amusement, rather than a source of academic engagement.

The new colonial rules were least aware that in terms of social relations of language, their subjects represented a different reality. The ideas and values of their new subjects, though broadly shared, were not committed to uniformities of language. Even society was accustomed to a multiplicity of ‘tongues.

Science of philology and the European Romantic movement inspired the new colonial rulers to understand social relations of language and communication within the essentialist framework, in which variations of dialects and idiomatic usages were recognized but under the strict adherence to the notion of ‘standard’. Their ‘discovery’ or exploration of language of their new subjects was premised on the essentialist principles of construction which demarcated one language from another and believed that each language possesses a 'standard' root form. These essentialist principles of construction were the source bewilderment to the South Asian intellectuals. The grammarians of the written and classical languages were, however, least perturbed with this disposition. Their prescriptivism, which also resonated the essentialism of the new colonial rulers, had convinced them that spoken form of language must have a 'standard' form. So strong had been this prescriptivism that in the history of study of language and society in the precolonial times, one feels a conspicuous absence of lexicographies or dictionaries of the spoken vernaculars. Informed by the philological science that language is an objectively definable artefact, the colonizers proceeded to explore the root and standard forms of the vernaculars, which resulted in the production of a large number of grammars, dictionaries, references and training manuals. All these productions followed the European convention. Hence the written form was given preference over the spoken forms and literary sources were the touchstone for assigning authenticity to the chosen form. This linguistic strategy of finding the root and standard forms of the vernaculars subsequently became a problem for its users.

Against the background of coloniality and authenticity, this paper makes an attempt to problematize language standardization and hybridity while keeping in mind the Asian sensibility of the colonized.
In the 1980s, China began to design its first Chinese proficiency test for foreign learners (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi, HSK). Later, it was also used for ethnic minorities. In 2002, the MHK (Minzu Hanyu Kaoshi) was developed for ethnic minorities, and a new HSK replaced the old HSK in 2010. Both tests are for speakers of other languages, but no research has yet been done to compare them.

This paper intends to examine standards in Chinese within these two different contexts from the perspectives of language learners and graders/raters. According to the Chinese law on standard Chinese language, Putonghua and standardized Chinese should be used in education, and Chinese language tests are considered an important way to implement these language policies. Therefore, the author hypothesizes that test takers are not willing to use unstandardized popular variants in essay writing and the graders are comparatively conservative when rating them in both tests.

To test the hypothesis, the paper follows this procedure: first, it presents the concerning regulation in the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language. Second, it provides a short introduction to both tests, and then presents the writing portion of HSK Level 4-6 and MHK sample test forms respectively. Third, it surveys MHK and HSK test takers based on a questionnaire composed of four parts. Part 1 involves demographic data collection, Part 2 has five items so as for us to judge test takers' mastery or familiarity of popular unstandardized variants, Part 3 consists of 20 pairs of sentences for test takers to decide to which extent they will use them in the writing part of Chinese language proficiency tests, and Part 4 is a Likert scale with 12 statements for us to judge test takers' attitudes towards variants and the tests in general. Fourth, a similar survey with some slight adjustments is conducted to collect data from graders of both tests. Fifth, interviews are carried out with the graders and test takers so as to receive more related information.

Altogether more than 100 raters and more than 150 candidates from both tests filled out the questionnaires. The preliminary results show that both groups of test takers are more likely to use standardized usages instead of unstandardized variants in language proficiency tests as expected, but some variants are somewhat more acceptable than others. On the other hand, raters from both tests are quite lenient towards these unstandardized variants, though the raters of the MHK are younger, while the HSK raters/graders are more lenient. The preliminary interviews also tell us that some test takers and some raters think that learners who use popular unstandardized variants might have higher language ability.

Language tests are used to implement language policies, and graders are agents to implement language policy at a micro level based on current language planning models. However, the effect
of the implementation of language policies depend on the ideas or beliefs of agents, including language testing organizations, raters and teachers, etc.
A standard language tends to vary when it spreads, as seen in the localization of Putonghua. On the other hand, standardization in language planning is intended to promote one variety as the standard over other varieties. There appears to be a contradiction between the two processes, standardization and variation. Why is there such a contradiction? How can it be conceptually accounted for?

Language standardization is commonly found in nation-state building in which a national language is standardized (1) to develop a cohesion in the nation-state as a shared destiny as well as (2) to function as the medium of communication within this nation-state (see Wright, 2004). These two functions of the standard language are underlined by two fundamentally different factors. First, language planning is both acquisition planning and identity planning (see Cooper, 1988; Pool, 1979). Second, language is a commodity, the sale or spread of which is motivated by both local and global markets (see Tan & Rubby, 2008).

To account for how these two factors influence standardization and variation, I adopt a community second language acquisition (CSLA) model (Zhou, 2006), based on the notion of macro-acquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002):

\[
\text{Input} \rightarrow \text{CSLA (Process)} \rightarrow \text{Output (standard and/or varieties)}
\]

\[
\uparrow \text{Language identity}
\]

\[
\uparrow \text{Language marketability}
\]

This conceptual framework explains how language marketability favors standardization by spreading the marketable standardized version and how the politics of identity leads to variation in the spread, pulling the two apart. It offers a deeper insight into the contradiction between standardization and variation in China’s language planning.
When we do language, we are not necessarily conscious of grammar; yet our speech is often constrained by the specific grammar of the language we speak. As a native speaker of Japanese, for instance, I am most conscious about the proper use of honorifics and reference/address terms expected in a specific social context. We Japanese speakers have to pay special attention to these linguistic categories as they express stances toward ongoing interaction that are also often gendered. No matter what language we speak, each of us experiences different types of challenges in doing language, since the rules of a given grammar place limits on what can be expressed.

My research shows how the intersection of grammatical and social genders, entwined in the core structure of language, can be analyzed to pinpoint a transgender's dynamic status (some the temporal in-between status; some, permanent) of self-hood. By manipulating a specific indexical value and/or meaning attached to grammar, this study shows how they negotiate their subject position. This study is based on the fieldwork conducted over the course of seven years (2011 through 2017) in various places in Japan.

Among the 27 informants I interviewed, I have chosen three, one, an onabe (early 20s), another, a part-time transgender woman (50s), and a transsexual woman (30s). By comparing the linguistic practices of these speakers, I will present how each speaker manipulates their linguistic resources to fit their gender, sexual, and social identities and desires as queer. The linguistic areas I discuss are (1) the use of reference/address terms, specially first and second person pronouns; (2) honorifics; and (3) avoidance of gender specific linguistic features.
Variationist studies of obsolescent languages often face the challenge of the lack of an established standard variety. This paper draws on the author’s sixteen-month long ethnography (2014-2016) among the She People in Guangdong—one of the fifty-five officially recognized minority nationalities in rural southern China—who speak an endangered Hmongic language Ho Ne with less than 800 estimated speakers. Using data collected from sociolinguistic interviews, linguistic elicitation, and participation observation, the author focuses on the following two research questions. (1) A Hakka-influenced sociophonological variable (/ai/ /ɔi/). Due to the restricted phonological environment of this variable, 42 speakers only produced altogether 530 tokens. Regression analysis showed age and birth place as the strongest predictors. The in-married Hakka-speaking wives were leading this change. (2) There is a clear change in language ideology in terms of indexical values attached to different linguistic resources among four generations of She people: Putonghua has been penetrating national peripheral regions as media of instruction since the opening up reform era. It has been replacing Hakka and enregistered as the language of officialdom and modernity. Meanwhile, Hakka, once the language associated with the outside world, has been further integrated into She people’s everyday life and ideologically flattened as the language of solidarity for some community members. This is perhaps due to the normalizing exogamy with the Hakka-speaking wives. Moreover, despite of an undeniable association with their ethnicity, the Ho Ne language has been increasingly detached from the She people’s current socioeconomic life, and associated with their past hunter-gatherer life style.
The Sibe people are a small speech community and have two major clusters in China: 34,399 in the western Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and 132,431 in Liaoning in north-east China. But only the ones who were sent away from their provenance in north-east China in 1764 as a garrison of the Manchu army to the newly conquered areas of the former Dzungar Khanate (northern Xinjiang) have maintained their language to this day. While many argue that Sibe is no more than a dialect of the Manchu language, it has had official status as a language in its own right since a 1947 reform led by Sibe linguists and elites introduced changes to the existing written Manchu, in order to distinguish Manchu and Sibe. Nonetheless, as a language merely spoken by a small ethnic group, it inevitably faces a complex of problems. Above all, the diglossia between spoken Sibe and written Sibe severely hinders the standardisation of the language.

Under the tremendous influence of Sinification, together with the attrition of the Sibe per se, there are a vast number of Chinese loanwords existing in spoken Sibe. However, in textbooks or in the press, writers tend to use traditional Manchu terminologies, which represent Sibe as a “successor” to the Manchu language, rather than acknowledging it as a Manchurian dialect, or strongly denying their affinity to Manchu. In general, it is always controversial to clearly define the boundary between the notions of language and dialect, and is largely intertwined with ethno-symbolic values. This research, therefore, will evaluate the reconciliation of the Sibe language during its arduous journey to standardisation.
Scholarly studies are emerging from the People’s Republic of China documenting the origins and challenges of educational dilemmas faced by minority students in China seeking to acquire English as a third language required for academic and social mobility. The origins and challenges of educational dilemmas have various sources. A significant source is China’s Han ethnic majority educational system. Within this system, China’s ethnic minority students experience their government’s hegemonic thrust to assimilate them into the dominant Han majority culture. China’s Ministry of Education assimilationist language policies bears responsibility for this hegemonic thrust. As a result, ethnic minority students in China experience challenges in maintaining their indigenous cultural identity while simultaneously striving to ensure their personal and family financial security through English acquisition. Succinctly stated, China’s ethnic minority students face educational inequality in their efforts to achieve English as a third language proficiency, required for educational success and social mobility within the Han ethnic majority system. The researcher used a qualitative, narrative inquiry approach to gain an in-depth understanding of the academic and social experiences of educational inequality in acquiring English as a third language amongst ethnic minority college students in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, China. By the students voicing their lived experiences, this study sought to identify the critical events that have impacted them in their quest to acquire English as a third language. The participants narrated that they experienced an equal opportunity to study English equivalent to that which Han ethnic majority students experience. Additionally, the participants narrated experiencing positive academic and social experiences in acquiring English as a third language. The participants recounted that they experienced greater challenges in school, learning and speaking the majority dialect, Mandarin, rather than English.
Anwei Feng: Reconciling Multilingualism and Promotion of the Standard National Language

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In the last three to four decades, while we have seen increasingly vigorous promotion of Putonghua, or Mandarin Chinese or standard Chinese throughout China, we have also witnessed rapid development of bilingual (Chinese and English) education in the country. This is mainly due to the perception of policy makers that, while national unity and identity through promotion of a national language is of utmost importance, the economic and communicative value of English can never be ignored. English has therefore maintained an extremely high status in schools, universities and in Chinese society in general.

In regions and areas dominated by the minority groups, however, the impact of the strong promotion of Mandarin Chinese or Putonghua on ethnic minority language has become increasingly evident. Coupled with rapid economic, social and technological development and thus increasing mobility and interactions of Han and minority groups, the value of minority languages is in the process of being further downgraded in many communities and in education. However, ethnic minority groups are granted constitutional rights to use and develop their languages and cultures and scholars, policy makers and educators also argue for tri-/multilingual education from cognitive, affective and economic perspectives. Many organisations, researchers, groups and individual stakeholders make tremendous efforts to support/promote bi-/tri-/multilingualism and bi-/tri-/multilingual education in minority societies and schools. In this paper, I will give a detailed account of a nation-wide research project investigating trilingualism and trilingual education in nine minority regions, focusing on its rationale, aims, theoretical framework, methodology and findings. I will argue that it is not impossible to reconcile tensions between effective models in trilingual education and nation-wide promotion of Putonghua, the standard national language, particularly in the current context of the One-Belt-One-Road initiative, a national development strategy that aims to improve trade and relations with ASEAN, Central Asian and European countries.
The recent passage of the Indigenous Languages Development Act, which mandates the teaching, testing, and public use of Taiwan’s sixteen officially recognized indigenous languages, has served to bring the issue of indigenous language standardization to the fore. For the purposes of teaching and testing, these sixteen languages are divided up into multiple regional dialects, with a total of forty two languages being recognized for the purpose of the Proficiency Test of Aboriginal Languages (PTAL). In reality, linguistic boundaries are much more fluid, with tremendous variation at the village level within each dialect group. Drawing on over a decade of fieldwork with language activists from the Pangcah (Amis) language family, as well as interviews with educators, policy makers, and linguists, this paper focuses on the process of standardization among the five Pangcah language varieties used on the PTAL, as well as the closely related Sakizaya language. Grounded in the study of “language ideology” (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994), this paper explores the relationship between language standardization and the construction of indigenous identities. Questions asked in this paper include: What are the notions of "sociolinguistic scale" (Blommaert 2007) invoked in debates over Pangcah orthography? What are the different chronotopes (Silverstein 2005) deployed in the coining of new words? And how does the bureaucracy “see” (Scott 1998) indigeneity when filtered through the language testing regime?
The Qing period saw a rich production of pedagogical tools (dictionaries, pedagogical grammars and manuals) of Chinese as foreign language learning. These works, written in various Western languages (like English, French, Latin and Portuguese), mainly described Mandarin (guanhua) and Classical Chinese (wenyan).

However, missionary linguistic documentation did include Chinese vernaculars: several manuals, dictionaries and grammars described (or at least took into account) Chinese dialects. This was motivated by missionary proselyting activities as well as by foreigners’ need of communicating with local population. Among these works, we find various manuals and dictionaries on Cantonese vernacular (e.g. Morrison 1828, Wells Williams 1856; Chalmers 1859; Lobscheid 1864), grammars and dictionaries on the Shanghai dialect (Edkins 1868; Basuiau 1875), works on Hokkien varieties (Medhurst 1832; Fielde 1878) and on the Ningbo dialect (e.g. Morrison 1876).

This presentation provides an overview of Western studies on Chinese dialectology during the Qing period, before focusing on Morrison’s works on Chinese vernaculars and particularly on the Ningbo dialect and analyzing the relations between standard language and regional vernacular in his work.
This paper discusses findings from a 2013-2016 ethnography of language policy conducted in relation to Zhuang, the language of China’s largest official minority minzu. The literature and policy documents establish that standardisation and the development of Pinyin orthography were the joint focus of twentieth century Zhuang language policy. Nevertheless, nowadays in areas of Zhuangzu autonomous governance, the study finds little policy implementation to counteract the Zhuang-exclusive norms of language use in most commercial and government discourses.

There has been, however, a renewed policy effort to include Standard Zhuang on street-name signage in Nanning, the capital of the Guangxi Zhuangzu Autonomous Region. However, Standard Zhuang is taught, either as a written or spoken standard, to increasingly few people, because the market provides little demand for Zhuang language education and, without training, written Standard Zhuang is not necessarily legible to Zhuang speakers. Thus, as the research reveals with a case study of Zhuang-speaking university students, Zhuang speakers may struggle to recognise, let alone read, Standard Zhuang on public signage. The paper explains that Standard Zhuang’s illegibility is exacerbated by social norms which habituate Zhuang speakers to not seeing Zhuang in their surrounding linguistic landscapes, which construct Standard Zhuang as an object of specialist study rather than a means of communication, and which value Standard Zhuang skills only within a niche academic market.

The paper argues overall that the social and linguistic ‘capital’ of Standard Zhuang has been devalued as China has marketised, rather than Standard Zhuang serving as a commercially- or socially-useful lingua franca. Thus, the paper argues that the policy purpose behind displaying Standard Zhuang on Nanning’s street signage is likely not to communicate with Zhuang speakers but to employ Standard Zhuang as a visual symbol of local ethnic heritage, despite its short history and limited actual use. It has become a linguistic commodity to delimit and distinguish places. The paper concludes by asking whether policy-makers see the primary value of Standard Zhuang now as a resource for constructing a localised government with which people identify or as a ‘city branding’ resource for commercial tourism.
So-called “language crossings” have received much attention in urban sociolinguistics in the past two decades. Transgressions into a languages and varieties not commonly associated with the identity of a speaker have been observed in a number of countries such as the UK (crossing), Germany (Kiezdeutsch), France (Verlan), the Netherlands (straattal), or the US (Chicano). In Japan this phenomenon is known as “dialect cosplay” (hōgen kosupure). Two things are particular about the Japanese case. Contrary to other developed economies, Japan has a very small and linguistically mostly fully integrated migrant population. Linguistic transgressions do therefore not draw on migrant languages, but on local dialects. Secondly, language standardization in Japan is very advanced and across large parts of Japan and young people are usually no longer proficient in local dialects. Local dialects once carried a strong stigma, resulting in a well-known “dialect complex” (hōgen konpurekusu). No longer being able to speak dialects and also being recognized beyond doubts as speakers of “legitimate speech” has freed in particular the young and urban Japanese from former limitations on language use. A number of surveys have revealed that they see “standard language” as the most boring variety of Japanese, and at the same time associate various Japanese dialects positively with attributes such as gentleness (Okinawa), masculinity (Kyūshū), femininity (Kyōto), etc. In order to pep up their otherwise self-perceived “boring speech”, young Tokyo inhabitants use dialect elements such as sentence final modal practices in order to play roles and stylize their language. Dialect cosplay is a post-standardization phenomenon. The language attitudes underlying it differ dramatically from those of former generations. This requires us to rethink the relation between standard language and dialects, on the one hand, and the way how to study language repertoires and functions, on the other hand.
Between 1885 and 1924, about 200,000 Japanese migrated to Hawai'i, mainly as sugar plantation workers. The Chûgoku dialect (CD) speakers from Western Honshû Island formed the largest group, and were also the earliest settlers among the Japanese immigrants. Most of the Tôhoku dialect (TD) speakers from northern Honshû island started to settle in Hawai'i more than ten years later after the CD speakers, and they remained a small minority group in the Japanese plantation workers' community. Existing studies on Japanese immigration in Hawai'i note that CD influenced the local variety of the Japanese language.

At the time of the immigration, Japan was going through a number of changes, due to a significant change in the political system from the shogunate military government to a new modernized Meiji government. Among other things, there was the replacement of the old feudal system with a new oligarchy across the country, and this also contributed to a new language standardization policy. However, the language standardization policy was not effective until after the Japanese immigration to Hawai'i and other parts of the US had ended.

Studies of Japanese immigrants state that CD functioned like the 'standard' locally for the plantation immigrants and their descendants especially until World War II. Recordings of elderly first generation TD speakers that I obtained support this; further, these informants emotionally discuss their conscious effort of dialect change from TD to CD.

Studies of second dialect acquisition have suggested that older speakers tend to retain the phonological features of their original dialects during dialect contact situations (e.g., Chambers 1992; Siegel 2003; Trudgill 1986). The data from Hawai'i concerning adult Japanese plantation immigrants are comparable to the findings of these studies, and suggest that the adult TD speakers examined for this study demonstrated limitations in acquiring the phonology of the 'standard' CD dialect.

TD speakers were pressured to acquire CD as they wanted to avoid becoming a target of discrimination in the Japanese community in Hawai'i; however, the recordings reveal that TD speakers were not necessarily fond of CD speakers in their community. At the same time, CD speakers stigmatized TD phonology because of their negative attitudes toward that minority dialect.

These findings are interesting in light of the standardization that occurred in Japan after these immigrants had arrived in Hawai'i: while the standardization in Japan, which was politically motivated, was largely successful, standardization did not fully take place in Hawai'i, where there was a lack of political motivation. This suggests that the existence of a 'standard' does not necessarily lead to standardization in the absence of other social forces.
This ongoing study investigates classroom code-switching (CS) from the perspective of teachers. In the literature of classroom CS or CS in education settings, the focus has traditionally been placed on students' perspective, i.e., how they benefit from the use of native language in the L2-as-the-instruction-language class (e.g., Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001; Lin, 2013; Merritt et al., 1992; Zhu & Vanek, 2017). Regarding teachers’ practice of CS, researchers have either taken a functional-oriented approach, especially in early studies on this topic (e.g., Milk, 1981), or have remained in the framework of interactional sociolinguistics (e.g., Creese, 2005; Simon, 2001). In contrast, there is a very scarce body of studies departing from the perspective of teacher’s cognitive capacities and how CS either inhibit or encourage their in-class performance and the knowledge-imparting process in a bi/multilingual classroom.

The guiding questions of this study are whether the teachers’ use of CS (Mandarin Chinese-English) is beneficial to their management of teaching contents and their own anxiety level, and if so, what factors are constraining such benefits. To answer these questions, two types of classrooms (language and content-based) in a university in northwest China have been chosen (two classes per type). English as the instruction language is only used in classes offered by the English department. This practice is common in Chinese universities or at least strongly recommended. Overall, the teachers in this study use their L2 English as the language of instruction, but the use of Mandarin Chinese has also been observed. Classroom activities were audio-recorded with observation notes taken regarding teacher-student interactions and the teachers’ regulatory (both self- and class) measures. Subsequent interviews with the teachers, which employed the simulated recall technique, were also carried out. A combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses were performed, with the former examining the pattern and frequency of switching and the latter aiming to reveal the teachers’ own perspective on their balancing of cognitive resources in class and their metalinguistic awareness.

The ongoing analysis and initial results indicate that code-switching is a function of the teacher's self-regulation in term of teaching contents and it helps the teachers manage the class and their own anxiety level. These initial findings reveal the benefits of code-switching, as opposed to a standard and ritualized L2-only practice, on the part of teachers and have pedagogical implications for maximizing teachers’ potential to improve their in-class performance.
Increasingly multi-modal and hyper modal (Lemke, 2002) forms of media communication creatively combine both standard and non-standard orthography with images and design features. One such example is the use of captions and graphics in audiovisual media. Media techniques such as impact-captioning (also known as telop; derived from ‘television optical slide projector’), in which selected utterances from a studio and/or interview recording are layered onto audiovisual media in the editing process, rely on collaborative writing processes imbued with linguistic ideologies of how media-talk should look as text. The representation of recorded interactions as text-on-screen involves manipulation of font, colour and orthography to re-create the recorded utterance within the aesthetics and overall structure of the broadcast product.

This presentation focuses on the inscription of youth styles and slang as text in combination with other captions and graphics in Japanese television. It takes as a case-study the late-night lifestyle variety show Tokyo Kawaii ☆ TV (Tokyo Cute TV) (NHK; 2008-2011). The program showcased the vibrant world of young women’s fashion and consumption trends emerging from the micro-markets (Miller, 2004) of girls’ culture. Here fashion buzzwords and creative slang terms are reproduced within the aesthetics of youth culture that is being marketed globally.
Since the dawn of sign linguistics, most documentation has ignored regional variation, simply assuming the existence of ‘X Sign Language’, where X is the name of a country (Palfreyman 2014). This may work for many European sign languages, but several Asian countries face ongoing debates around language delineation and standardisation.

In Indonesia two competing approaches to delineation are evident. The ‘splitters’, following methods used by Woodward (2011), refer to Jakarta Sign Language, Yogyakarta Sign Language and others (Sze et al. 2015). The ‘lumpers’, using a corpus-based approach, find a multidialectal situation with striking similarities between geographically distant varieties (Palfreyman 2013) yet considerable variation in a single city (Palfreyman 2016).

Indonesia’s national deaf association (Gerkaatin) has used the term BISINDO ('Indonesian Sign Language’) since 2006, but it is still not clear what BISINDO refers to (Palfreyman, in press). On one hand, Gerkaatin observes rich linguistic variation across the Indonesian archipelago, while facing political pressure for standardisation, alongside practical issues of how to fund language resources. Gerkaatin is also opposing the ongoing use of the manual code, SIBI (“spoken Indonesian on the hands”).

In this paper I summarise activities on two fronts: ongoing (socio)linguistic research, especially on attitudes of sign community members; and the utilisation of applied sign linguistics to increase metalinguistic awareness, enabling signers to engage with language policy. I also examine the viability of bidialectalism (competence in a standard and a local variety) as a workable approach that safeguards deaf community rights (Dotter 2006, Eichmann 2009).
In the increasingly multilingual and multicultural society of Thailand, international languages (English, Chinese) and national languages (Thai and ASEAN languages) are promoted, whereas indigenous or ethnic minority languages are ignored and at risk of decline. Revitalizing and standardizing indigenous languages are therefore essential in order to raise the status of these languages so that they can be used for educational development as well as in local mass media and thereby co-exist with mainstream languages.

This paper investigates the standardization process of indigenous languages carried out through orthography development for several language groups in the Mahidol community-based revitalization programme. Specific examples are drawn from the standardization of Patani Malay in the Patani Malay-Thai Mother Tongue-based Bi/Multilingual Education programme in the volatile south of Thailand. The three script issue in Patani Malay orthography development is discussed followed by other activities such as dictionary compiling, reading and instructional materials production. The theories and practices used in this process are highlighted as well as the successes and challenges.
Although commonly perceived as a single language, a consensus has emerged amongst linguists that ‘Tibetan’ actually constitutes several mutually unintelligible spoken varieties, united by their descent from a common written standard. Furthermore, it is now widely recognized that Tibetans in China also speak a number of other languages that bear no relation to the written language, other than loanwords. This linguistic diversity amongst Tibetans is nonetheless subject to a policy regime that assumes that all Tibetans speak a single language. Furthermore, both government and civil society organizations are currently attempting to manifest this assumed unity by recourse to a variety of planned and ad hoc standardization initiatives. However, there is no single, centralized planning body for the Tibetan language, due not only to the separation of the Tibetan population into several administrative units, but also to traditional regional rivalries and disagreement over what form standardized Tibetan should take. This has led to an institutional arrangement, particularly seen in broadcast media, where the standardization of Tibetan is occurring polycentrically within China, with three major spoken standards emerging, fusing regional spoken varieties with the literary language. This paper will introduce the linguistic diversity that these initiatives are trying to standardize, and will explore the major institutional and individual agents in these processes.
The use of humilifics as a part of politeness register is prevalent amongst Amdo-speaking pastoralists in present-day Qinghai and Sichuan provinces of China. The most common feature to form humilifics is adding a suffix with derogatory meaning to a noun. To the contrary, Amdo-speaking cultivators do not use humilifics, thus do not understand the way of speech by pastoralists. Due to various social developments, pastoralists and cultivators communicate with each other in a single language environment, such as an urban life and a university, where a standardization within multiple lects has gradually emerged; as a result, humilifics are often regarded as a “bad manner of speech” by intellectuals. Through analyzing written works, examining audio and video programs produced by intellectuals in Amdo speaking Qinghai province as well as interviewing some of them, we have found it obvious that they rarely use humilifics in their language productions.

This paper is firstly concerned with how humilifics are used (or not used) in radio and TV broadcasting programs, movies, TV dramas, crosstalk as well as written Tibetan literary works such as novels and novellas, and people’s daily speech. Few humilifics do appear in their works; therefore, it is important to note why certain humilifics occur in these cultural productions while others do not. Secondly, the paper will discuss how self-organized campaigns of ‘Standard Language’ and Pha skad gtsang ma ‘Pure Father-tongue’ amongst Tibetans in recent years influenced the use of humilifics amongst Tibetan intellectuals. However, it is the language attitude of the intellectuals that may directly influence an establishment of an officially accepted ‘standard language’ as well as ‘good usage’ in the multi-dialectal circumstances. A detailed investigation regarding their attitude towards humilifics will clarify how we should view the use of humilifics.
Xiaomei Wang: Standardization, Local Identity and Change in Tianjin Disyllabic Tone Sandhi

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Four variable disyllabic tone sandhi patterns are traditionally identified in Tianjin (Li & Liu 1985). The present study focuses on two of these tone sandhi variables, referred to as (FF) and (FL) after their input patterns of ‘falling falling’ (HL.HL) and ‘falling low’ (HL.LL) respectively. The data are drawn from 78 sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Tianjin in 2014-17. In line with other reports (Shi & Wang 2004, Gao & Lu 2003), the study finds that (FF) has decreased in frequency over time, while (FL) has increased in frequency. Both the application variants of (FF) and (FL) are local features of Tianjin, but it is unclear why one local feature (FF) decreased while the other local feature (FL) increased under the influence of Standard Chinese. This study explores why local features behave differently under the same social contexts.

(FF) represents the transformation of the sequence HL.HL→LL.HL, i.e. where a falling tone becomes a low tone when it is followed by another falling tone, as in (1). (FL) represents the transformation of the sequence HL.LL→HH.LL, i.e. where a falling tone becomes a high tone when it is followed by a low tone, as in (2).

(1) HL.HL→LL.HL jiaoshou “professor”
(2) HL.LL→HH.LL jiaoshi “teacher”

3120 tokens of (FF) and 3120 tokens of (FL) were extracted from the interviews and word lists, and were coded for the application or non-application of the relevant rule, for a total of 6240 tokens in the final analysis. The 78 participants (M= 38, F=40) were aged 18 to 82 years old, and were all native speakers of Tianjin. Participants were categorized as ‘middle class’ or ‘working class’ using a combined measure of occupation, education and income.

The results indicate that age has significant influences on (FF) and (FL), while neither gender nor class have strong effects on the variation. (FF) displays a linear decrease of the local variant in apparent time, probably due to its status as a stereotype (Labov, 1972) of ‘old-fashioned’ Tianjin identity and speech (Han 1993). Speakers of all ages avoid it in the more formal word list style. In contrast, (FL) has increased its frequency enormously in apparent time.

Under the standardizing influence of Standard Chinese, why has one traditional local variant become the new norm, while the other has virtually disappeared? Because (FL) has never been stigmatized, it appears to be below public awareness. As such it is available for ‘recycling’ (Dubois & Horvath 2000) as a positive marker (Labov, 1972) of ‘new’ Tianjin identity. By applying the (FL) rule, natives of Tianjin may be linguistically contrasting themselves with the many migrants who have moved to the city in the last three decades. The rise of (FL) coincides well with the history of migration to Tianjin.
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My research investigates the under-researched history of teaching and learning Mandarin Chinese as a second language to Mongols within China across the twentieth century and its implications for the present day. Such a study allows us to examine how a national standard language and national identity are promulgated within a minority ethnic group over time. The twentieth century witnessed dramatic social political changes in Chinese society. The country transformed from a feudal empire into a modern nation after the collapse of Qing dynasty and establishment of Republic of China in 1912. After a turbulent period of Civil War, the Communist Party replaced the former ruling Nationalist party and founded the People's Republic of China in 1949. Such a complicated social and political background, provides the perfect opportunity to explore how the national standard language of China changed over time with the aim of unifying and modernizing the country, combatting the potential danger of territorial separation along ethnic lines, and complex and intertwining relationship with the cultural and language rights of the Mongol nationality.

This study discusses the development of standard language ideology. It focuses primarily on textbooks, but will also draw on a wide range of other supplementary sources, including policy documents, statements of pedagogical theory and exam papers. First, it will look at how standard Chinese is perceived in different people’s eyes (e.g. literary elites, policy makers, educators). Second, this study will explore people’s attitudes towards the relationship among standard Chinese, Mongolian and English, emphasizing the history of bilingual education and more recent trilingual education. Third, it will examine whether and how these are reflected on Chinese-learning textbooks.
Social meaning is one of the key concepts in variationist sociolinguistics, and existing studies in various languages and societies have advanced our understanding of variation, although predominantly in language production (e.g. Eckert, 2012; Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974). However, little is known about the sociolinguistics of the Chinese language or of modern Chinese society, especially in perception (cf. Zhang, 2005). This paper presents results from a matched-guise experiment (Lambert, 1967) conducted as part of a larger project exploring the social meaning associated with variation in Beijing Mandarin, while taking into consideration of the findings from the production data obtained from sociolinguistic interviews and self-recordings with 21 native Beijingers.

Data were collected from 50 native Beijingers (28 women and 22 men) on both their implicit attitudes towards variation in Beijing Mandarin and their explicit knowledge of the variables in the experiment using semantic differential scales, an occupation suitability rating task (Labov, 1972) and a language survey. Three variables – neutral tone, intensifier *te* (‘very’) and classifier omission – from Beijing Mandarin dialect were chosen and 32 guises representing all possible combinations of these variables in both genders were tested.

Regarding the social meaning of Beijing Mandarin features, results from quantitative analysis show that they are likely to be associated with localness and casualness since the use of them, particularly neutral tone, lowers the perceived degree of formality while increasing the likelihood of the speaker being perceived as local. Interesting and more importantly, the fact Beijing Mandarin features are not suitable for formal settings does not impede the speaker’s ability to access high-status job positions as suggested by results from the occupation suitability ratings, indicating that the use of BM features might enjoy certain prestige.

Together with results from the production data, which reveals more specific social meanings of Beijing Mandarin, this paper argues that the ‘non-standard’ Beijing Mandarin, as demonstrated by the guises, is likely to be used by Beijingers to construct their identity both as natives of the capital city and as competent individuals in Chinese society. This study contributes to our understanding of the complex linguistic situation in Beijing where the standard language and the local vernacular coexist and offers insights into other similar contexts in and outside of China.