



**Language Change through Language Contact in Computer-Mediated
Communication in Taiwan**

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Abstract

In consequence of its contact with English and Taiwanese in computer-mediated communication (CMC), online Taiwan Mandarin has formed as a new variety of Mandarin. From the observation of the data collected from one of the most famous bulletin board systems in Taiwan, a variety of Englishised and Taiwanised linguistic features have been found and analysed from the lexical, syntactic, and discursive perspectives. In addition, to create humorous effect on messages and to post articles in an informal written-spoken style are the other two typical characteristics examined in this study. The findings not only confirm that English and Taiwanese are of much importance in shaping and constructing online Taiwan Mandarin, but also reveal that this contact-induced influence may spread to language used in other non-CMC domains and lead to both the change in Taiwan Mandarin and the rising of the status and popularity of Taiwanese in Taiwan society in the near future.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Objectives and background of the research

With the invention of the computer and the internet, Computer-Mediated Communication ¹ (henceforth CMC) has emerged as a new medium of communication. CMC forms such as Electronic mail (E-mail), Short Message Service (SMS), Instant Messaging (IM) or Bulletin Board System (henceforth BBS) have gradually replaced traditional face-to-face interaction. As a result, it has become increasingly popular for people to chat or post messages online with Instant Messaging services such as MSN messenger or BBS. On the other hand, the language used on the internet has been regarded as a different variety of language and widely examined because of its unique style and linguistic features (e.g. Crystal 2001; Herring 2001, 2002; Hard af Segerstad 2002). Although the majority of these studies have been focused on the analysis of English used in CMC, the appearance of other internet languages such as the Chinese Internet Language (henceforth CIL) has also attracted scholars' attention. For instance, Yu et al. (2001) have done a survey of the online Chinese language used in China. Gao (2006) further discussed the linguistic features of CIL at different linguistic levels. He examined the influence of English on this new variety and argued that it may in turn facilitate the change in the Chinese language in today's digital age.

The universality and increasing usage of computer and the internet has also contributed to the development of online Taiwan Mandarin, where several linguistic features and terms have been identified. One of the most famous characteristics is *huo*

¹ CMC has been defined by several scholars (e.g. Santoro 1995:11; December 1997). One of the most classic definitions is proposed by Herring (1996:1): "CMC is communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers".

xing wen ('Martian language'), indicating specifically the words or phrases that are incomprehensible and beyond common knowledge in the cyberspace. The netizens who use this kind of language are usually called Martians, and most internet language belongs to the language of Martians. Owing to its popularity in younger generations in Taiwan, Martian language is later extended to refer to the language, not merely in cyberspace, which is mixed up with different varieties (e.g. English, Taiwanese and Japanese) or symbols and employed deliberately by young people to represent their own culture. Under its great influence, Martian language even appeared as questions in the 2006 Taiwanese National College Entrance Examination, asking examinees to transfer some words or symbols written in Martian language such as orz and 3Q to standard Taiwan Mandarin. In view of the rapid spread of Martian language through the internet in Taiwan, it is significant to investigate this particular variety and its role in the development of Taiwan Mandarin.

There has been literature concerned about the impact of other varieties on the growth of Taiwan Mandarin through language contact. Most of it argued that English has induced some linguistic change in Taiwan Mandarin. Kubler (1985a) conducted a study of Englishised grammar in the morphology and syntax in modern written Chinese. Hsu (1994) analysed the Englishisation (Kachru 1994) of Taiwan Mandarin in written contexts and indicated that this translation-initiated change is developing and becoming inevitable in the future. Some of it discussed the contact between Taiwanese and Taiwan Mandarin. Kubler (1985b) examined the influence of Taiwanese on Taiwan Mandarin at the phonological, syntactic, and lexical levels. Cheng (1997) focused on the restructuring of the synonyms in Taiwanese and Taiwan Mandarin. Nevertheless, little research has particularly looked into the development of online Taiwan Mandarin and its contact with other languages, which may in turn

reshape this variety.

To fill this gap, the present study attempts to do an in-depth investigation on online Taiwan Mandarin and analyse the way how it is influenced through the contact with English and Taiwanese from the lexical, syntactic, and discursive aspects. On the basis of the analysis, the paper argues that the contact with English and Taiwanese plays a significant role in constructing online Taiwan Mandarin. The emergence of this new variety may also have implications for further change in Taiwan Mandarin in other contexts.

The organisation of this paper is as follows. Section one has given a general description of the background and motivation of the research issue, followed by a brief introduction to CMC and internet language, data presentation and finally the definitions of the key terms. Section two reviews previous literature on the idea of contact-induced language change, the appearance of CIL and online Taiwan Mandarin, and the influence of English and Taiwanese on it. Section three describes the methodology and data adopted in this research. Section four to six analyses the findings with a discussion of Englishised, Taiwanised and other typical linguistic features of online Taiwan Mandarin, succeeded by some implications of this phenomenon. In the end, section seven summarises the present study and provides suggestions for further research.

1.2 Transcription and representation of the data

Where extracts from the messages are presented as examples below for illustrating and discussing, the expressions in Taiwan Mandarin are transcribed on the basis of Pinyin system and italicised, while the Taiwanese elements are transcribed in Pinyin

with underlined italics. In order to clarify some Taiwanese or Mandarin sounds, IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) is also used. Where it is necessary for demonstrating, the traditional Chinese characters are also provided indicating Taiwan Mandarin, and underlined ones referring to Taiwanese. Furthermore, the word or sentence within single quotation mark represents the English translation from its original Chinese expression. To compare the syntactic structures between different languages, gloss of English is given as the equivalent of each component within a single sentence. For reasons of privacy and anonymity, only the date on which the example was posted is given, participants' IDs have been omitted.

1.3 Definitions of the major terms

The term 'Taiwan Mandarin' is adopted here to indicate the specific variety of Mandarin Chinese, which is called *Guoyu* ('the National Language') and used as the official language in Taiwan. It is different from other varieties such as *Putonghua* ('the Common Language') used in Mainland China with respect to lexis, phonology, syntax, semantics, and written characters after a long-term separation (Cheng 1989; Lu and Lu 1992; Cheng 1997: 27-62). Therefore, 'online Taiwan Mandarin' refers to the internet language employed in CMC in Taiwan, which has emerged as a new variety with its own linguistic features (e.g. *huo xing wen* 'Martian language').

As to 'Taiwanese', it is confined to the Southern-Min dialect, which is also known as *Minnanyu*, *Hoklohua* and Taiwanese *Hokkian* in Taiwan (Hsu 1990). It is worth noticing that although Taiwan Mandarin and Taiwanese are historically and genetically connected, they are not mutually intelligible to a high degree. In this sense, they are treated as two different varieties in the present study.

Opposed to the standard ‘Taiwan Mandarin’, the term ‘Taiwanese Mandarin’ is labeled here as a version of non-standard Mandarin, which is heavily affected by Taiwanese, especially in its pronunciation. Adopting Teng’s (2001:4) definition, Taiwanese Mandarin can be viewed as “exhibiting a varying degree of mixing Mandarin and Southern Min syntactic structures with basically modified Mandarin phonology and modified lexical items”. The phonological, lexical, and syntactic differences between Mandarin (M), Taiwanese Mandarin (TM), and Southern Min (SM) can be briefly explained below:

- (a) Phonology. Kubler (1985b) demonstrated that M and SM differ in consonants, vowels and tones. Six consonants—/t, s^h, ts, s, z, f, l /—and ten vocalic sounds—/y, ɿ, ə, ɤ, uo, ou, iou, ei, ie, uei/—in M have been found to be absent in SM. In addition, seven tones are traditionally considered to exist in SM, while only four tones are in M. TM thus reflects these phonological differences between M and SM on the substitution or alteration in certain sounds or tones (e.g. the replacement of /ts/ for /tʂ/).
- (b) Lexis. Although most M terms have their SM equivalents, many of which are represented with the same Chinese characters in reverse order or different Chinese characters. For example, 客人 *ke ren* ‘guest/customer’ in M becomes to 人客 *lang kei*, while 客人 *kei lang* means Hakka people in SM. Therefore, TM lexis is usually formed by transliterating SM words with M. For instance, M 番石榴 *fanshiliu* ‘guava’ is called *pala* in SM, while 芭樂 *bale* in TM.
- (c) Syntax. In general, the basic syntactic structure in both M and SM is SVO (‘subject—verb—object’). However, in SM the order in this structure changes when combined with certain particles (e.g. *ga*, *ho*). For instance, 他打我 ‘he

hits me' in SM is usually written as *Y ga ghùà pah* (literally 'he *ga* me hit' S—*ga*—O—V). The use of *ga* in SM can be seen as an imperative marker, which enhances the imperative mood in the sentence. This usage has spread to TM, as shown in the following example for 'you come here':

TM: *Ni gei wo guo lai.* (literally 'you *ga* me come here')

SM: *Li ga ghùà gui lai.* (literally 'you *ga* me come here')

M: *Ni guo lai.* (literally 'you come here')

2. Literature review

2.1 Contact-induced language change

The concept of language contact and its effects on language change has been a research focus since nineteenth century. However, it was not until Haugen (1950a, 1950b, 1953) and Weinreich (1953) that a more systematic theory and comprehensive framework of language contact have been provided. Both of them attempted to account for the consequences of language contact from social and psychological aspects. Parallel to their studies, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) modified previous points and established an empirical framework for the analysis of various contact situations and outcomes of contact-induced language change. Partly based on their framework (1988: 50), Winford (2003: 23-24) further offered a detailed table of the major linguistic results and related examples of language contact within different types or degrees of contact phenomena. According to Winford, the outcomes of language contact can be divided into three categories: language maintenance, language shift and language creation.

As Winford pointed out, language contact through different forms of media such as

the internet, television, and radio can be seen as a way of distant contact, which has promoted the spread of foreign lexis (English in particular) to other languages. In this sense, language contact in CMC in Taiwan is an instance of distant contact, whose linguistic results of contact-induced change seem to be mainly lexical borrowing and code-switching, which belong to the two situations—borrowing and convergence respectively—under the category of language maintenance. Consequently, the following part focuses on reviewing the literature of these two concepts.

2.1.1 Lexical borrowing

Following Thomason and Kaufman's view, borrowing here refers to "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language" (1988: 37). Intensity of contact will have influence on the type of linguistic features being borrowed, thus borrowing may vary in degree from casual to intense, and in kind from purely lexical borrowing to heavy structural borrowing. The process of borrowing "is one of the most frequent ways of acquiring new words, and speakers of all languages do it" (Trask 1996: 18). Lexical borrowing is especially common and essential in contact-induced language change; therefore, many scholars have devoted themselves to investigating changes in the lexicon by establishing a coherent framework (e.g. Haugen 1950a, 1950b, 1953). Refined from former research, Winford (2003: 45) made a categorization of lexical contact phenomena, where he classified a diversity of outcomes of lexical change into borrowings (loanwords and loanshifts) and native creations (purely native creations, hybrid creations and creations using only foreign morphemes) on the basis of varied word formation processes involved. For example, one possible procedure for "pure" loanwords is "total morphemic importation of single or compound words" (e.g. 'tiramisu' directly borrowed from Italian into English).

Moreover, lexical borrowing has the impact on both the recipient language and the donor language. On one hand, lexical borrowings may be integrated into the phonological, morphological and syntactic aspects of the recipient language, or subject to some semantic change. On the other hand, the addition of foreign lexis may also launch the innovations in phonology and morphology of the borrowing language.

In addition to borrowing between two foreign languages such as English and Mandarin Chinese, “dialect borrowing” (Bloomfield 1933) is another kind of borrowing which usually occurs between genetically related varieties. The interaction and borrowing between Taiwanese and Taiwan Mandarin can be hence regarded as an example of this type of borrowing. By virtue of the closeness and resemblance between both varieties in syntactic and lexical systems, it is more likely for them to influence each other and more readily for speakers to interpret the differences.

2.1.2 Code-switching

According to Grosjean (1982: 145), code-switching is “the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation”. This definition is rather broad to some extent, thus code-switching has sometimes been subdivided into intersentential switching, which is switching between languages at sentential level, and code-mixing or intrasentential switching, referring to the switch occurring within a sentence (Thomason 2001: 132).² The phenomenon of code-switching, especially in

² The distinction between code-switching and code-mixing still remains to be a complicated and controversial issue. For the analysis of the code-switching between Taiwan Mandarin and English or Taiwanese in this study, code-switching is used as a generic term covering both intersentential switching and code-mixing, though the majority of this phenomenon belongs to the latter.

spoken context (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1989; Tay 1989) has been widely explored from three dimensions, namely, sociolinguistic, linguistic and psycholinguistic, in which Myers-Scotton's (1993) 'Markedness Model' is often adopted. In addition, it is important to note that code-switching also occurs in CMC, which is characterised by the mixture of more than one language (e.g. Danet and Herring 2003; Melchers and Shaw 2003).

Few studies have been conducted on the code-switching between Mandarin and English in Taiwan. Hsu (2000) and Chen (2006) analysed the mixing of English in advertising discourse from the analysis of magazine advertisements and TV commercials. Both of the findings confirmed that noun phrases are the most frequently used syntactic category of English expressions and revealed that they function as the addition of colourfulness and attraction to advertisements. In spoken language, Chen (1996) examined the switching of English in the conversations in a campus setting. She stated that it serves as a verbal strategy of satisfying five types of language functions (expressive, directive, poetic, metalinguistic, and referential) and can be viewed as a language variety which either expresses group solidarity or establishes social distance reflecting appropriate communicative intent of speakers.

On the other hand, there is also research on the code-switching between Mandarin and Taiwanese. Kubler (1988) pointed out four main reasons of switching by adopting a functional approach toward the exchanging between Mandarin and Taiwanese in Taiwan: ease of communication, wish for a change in style, confirming entire comprehension on the interlocutor, and imperfect proficiency in a particular code. Shih and Sung (1998) observed the code-switching in newspaper headlines and concluded that code-switched Taiwanese carried out diverse functions, with

expressiveness, humorous effect, a touch of local flavour and attention-getting being the most striking.

2.2 Emergence of the Chinese Internet Language and online Taiwan Mandarin

In general, internet language is the variety that users have employed or created for the purpose of facilitating online communication by saving time on typing or entertaining one another. For example, the use of acronyms (e.g. LOL ‘Laugh Out Loud’), letter homophones (e.g. RU ‘are you’) or emoticons (e.g. :) ‘smiling face’) can be commonly observed in CMC. When new forms of internet language are innovated, it may spread out from a small group of friends who chat within instant messaging to a wide range of members in web forums such as BBS, and finally be fully accepted by users in the internet community. Therefore, internet language, or more precisely, Computer-Mediated Discourse (henceforth CMD) has become a study focus due to its unique linguistic features. Inconsistent with pure spoken or written discourse, CMD is considered a more complex form of discourse because of its “electric element” (Ko 1996). Similarly, Crystal (2001: 238) also claimed that internet language is neither “spoken writing” nor “written speech”, for it is “something fundamentally different from both writing and speech”. Other scholars have argued that the forms and functions of CMD are reshaped through CMC system (Crook 1985; Peyton 1986).

As mentioned before, a distinctive variety of Chinese language—CIL has emerged as a result of the fast development of CMC in China (Yu et al. 2001). Gao (2006) provided a detailed description of the linguistic features of CIL in terms of lexical, syntactic, and discursive aspects. From the lexical perspective, he classified Chinese internet lexis into three categories according to their source code: firstly, words completely made up of Chinese characters (e.g. *kubi* ‘extremely cool’); secondly,

words simply composed of Pinyin (Chinese phonetic alphabet) letters, English letters, Arabic numbers, or paralinguistic symbols (e.g. 886 *babaliu* ‘Bye-bye luo’; E ‘electronic’) and thirdly, words consist of mixed sources (e.g. b2b ‘business to business’; BIG5 ma ‘the big 5 code’). Gao (2006: 300) claimed that there are four major ways of forming the words in the first category:

- (1) *Jiajie* ‘transference’: borrowing the existent term to represent the new word for different meaning; for instance, *guanshui* ‘irrigation’ is now used on the BBS indicating ‘posting low-quality articles’.
- (2) *Hecheng* ‘compounding’: forming the word by combining two or more than two morphemes; for instance, *shuai dai* ‘extremely handsome’ is composed of *shuai* ‘handsome’ and *dai* ‘expressionless’.
- (3) *Fangni* ‘analogy’: the word is created by analogising that with other term; for instance, *hantuo* ‘Chinese proficiency test’ is adapted from *tuofu* ‘TOEFL, test of English as a foreign language’ meaning the Chinese version of TOEFL-like test.
- (4) *Yijie* ‘borrowing’: creations are borrowings of foreign language; for instance, *ku* are transliterated from ‘cool’ and *zhuye* are translated from ‘homepage’ with *zhu* meaning ‘home/main’ and *ye* meaning ‘page’.

In line with Bo (2001) and Li (2002), Gao (2006: 301-2) stated that the syntactic structure of CIL is rather special and has changed a lot from that of standard Mandarin Chinese. He noticed that Web sentences are usually characterized by unconventional structures, which are represented by “change in sentence word order, use of redundant words, change in word category, and use of an unusual sense of a word”. As to the discursive level, Gao argued that most of the internet discourse in China is characterised by the following four kinds of features: (1) Chinese–English

code-switching; (2) a written–spoken style; (3) a joking style (e.g. “overly concise and straightforward language” or “enigmatic folk similes”) and (4) certain other features (e.g. “the use of paralinguistic codes” or “local varieties of the Chinese language”).

Similar to CIL, online Taiwan Mandarin has also sprung up as a new variety in CMC in Taiwan. As introduced in the first section, *huo xing wen* (‘Martian language’) is regularly adopted in the cyberspace, where many types of linguistic features have been classified. To begin with, people usually use homophones (particularly heterographs); that is, they choose a word with the same pronunciation but a different spelling (e.g. 濫 *lan* ‘overflowing’ is used in the sentence 她英文很濫 ‘her English is very **poor**’ rather than 爛 *lan* ‘bad’). This may be owing to the fact that homophony is very common in Mandarin Chinese, and it takes time for users to select the right character by using *zhu yin shu ru fa* (‘phonetic symbols key-in system’). Therefore, the character that appears as the first choice is often more likely to be used directly, regardless of its correctness in spelling. In addition, some use Zhuyin Symbol (phonetic pinyin system for Taiwan Mandarin) alone to represent the word (e.g. ㄉㄛ for 的 *de*; ㄚ for 啊 *a*) or one similar sound combining several words to simplify the phrase (e.g. 醬 *jiang* ‘sauce’ for 這樣 *zhe yang* ‘this way; such’). More importantly, the code-switching between different languages and the mixture of loanwords count as the major part of the formation of Martian language; hence they will be the focus of section 4 and 5. Last but not least, the absence of punctuation, the use of symbols indicating pronunciation or meaning related words (e.g. ↓ for 嚇 *xia* ‘to scare’ or 下 *xia* ‘below’), or the combination of all the above methods are features of online Taiwan Mandarin as well.

2.3 Englishisation of Mandarin Chinese

Starting from the seventeenth century, there has been a long period of language contact between English and Chinese. English has even become the most extensively learned language in China since 1974. With the rapid growth of English and its impact on Chinese, the phenomenon of Englishisation of Chinese has been investigated. Adopting Kachru's opinion, Englishisation "does not refer only to phonology, grammar and lexis, but goes beyond these levels into discourse, registers and styles and development of literary genres" (1994: 138).

Zhou and Feng (1987) examined the two consequences of English-Chinese interaction: Englishisation of Chinese and nativisation of English. They argued that the Englishisation of Chinese occurs most obviously at phonological and semantic levels, but also at syntactic and morphological levels to some degree. According to them, there are generally two results when Chinese and English words initially encounter. Firstly, when Chinese also has equivalent or similar terms as those in English, people usually keep the original term as its translation. Take 'butterfly' as an example, it would be odd and unnecessary to transliterate it into *batefulai* or adopt a calque as *naiyoufei* (*naiyou* 'butter'; *fei* 'fly') since it already has the Chinese equivalent *hudie*. Secondly, when there is no matched or alike item in Chinese, three methods have often been used to deal with this case. To begin with, "paraphrasable translation", meaning that the innovated term is made up of existent Chinese morphemes following the Chinese grammar of word formation. For instance, the paraphrasable translation for 'computer' is *diannao* (*dian* 'electronic'; *nao* 'head'); for privacy is *yinsi* (*yin* 'concealed'; *si* 'personal'). The next way "loan translation (calque)", which functions as word-for-word semantic translation, is adopted when there is no appropriate translation for the whole term. For example, the calque for 'software' is *ruanti* (*ruan*

‘soft’; *ti* ‘ware or goods’); for ‘machine gun’ is *jiguanqiang* (*jiguan* ‘machine’; *qiang* ‘gun’); for ‘popularise’ is *dazhonghua* (*dazhong* ‘popular’; *hua* ‘-ise’). The third method is the so-called “borrowing”, where a variety of loanwords are created (e.g. *bijini* for ‘bikini’; *maikefeng* for ‘microphone’; *xiapin* for ‘shopping’).

As to syntax, they indicated that there are some variations in grammatical structure of Chinese under the influence of English. These include:

- (1) Passive sentences, as in English. It is now acceptable to use the passive when describing anything, whereas in the past, it could be used for expressing merely ‘unhappy’ or ‘unpleasant’ in Chinese (Wang 1953: 12).
- (2) Adnominals. The adnominals of Chinese can originally be placed only before the nouns they modify or be pre-positional adjective clauses, whereas English adnominals can stand preceding or following the modified headwords and serve as post-positional adjective clauses. Nevertheless, sentences with Englishised adnominal constructions have been created by Chinese translators or writers in their works.
- (3) The use of pronoun modifiers. Although Chinese modifiers could not previously be put before or after a pronoun, it is presently quite common for people to use pronoun modifiers in translation and creative writings.
- (4) Post-positional subordinate clauses. Clause order in Chinese is more fixed in comparison with that in English, for example, clauses such as subordinate clauses, especially clauses of condition, reason and concession should be placed preceding main clauses, while the use of post-positional clauses has gradually become acceptable and popular.

From another perspective, Wang (1945) has done systematic research observing change in Chinese syntax, which resulted from the initiation of translating English literary works into Chinese. Even though there have been several related studies afterward, most of them were domain-limited (e.g. Tsao 1978; Kubler 1985a) or fragmentary (e.g. Yu 1979, 1981; Huang 1984). To expand and refine previous research on this issue, Hsu (1994) followed Wang's analysis and investigated the Englishisation of the morphological and syntactic aspects of modern written Chinese in Taiwan and concluded that it was triggered by the translation of Western literary works, generally from English into Chinese. For morphology, she examined three Englishised linguistic features:

- (1) Pluralization suffix *-men*. The use of the Chinese pluralization suffix *-men* has now extended to nouns denoting both persons (e.g. *pongyoumen* for 'friends') and nonhuman (e.g. *dongwumen* for 'animals') from traditionally for only personal pronouns (e.g. *tamen* for 'they') and nouns of human relations (e.g. *xiongdimen* for 'brothers'). Besides, it is possible that this usage may still broaden to inanimate nouns in the future.
- (2) Adverbial suffix *-de*, in Chinese. Originally, an adverb could be transformed from an adjective by putting the adverbial suffix *-de* into it (e.g. *kuai* 'quick' + *-de*= *kuaide* 'quickly'), but it did not mean that all adverbs should be marked with *-de*. However, *-de* is recently increasingly added to adjectives and even adverbs (e.g. *huran* 'suddenly' becomes *huran de*; literally, 'suddenly-ly') because of the requirement of using the suffix '-ly' in de-adjectival adverbs in English grammar. In consequence, it is claimed that "one can now freely and very extensively change all words into adverbs" (Beijing Shifan Xueyuan 1959: 147, quoted in Kubler 1985a: 61).

- (3) Other prefixes and suffixes. For example, the Chinese suffix *-hua*, “which denotes change of state or action” (Kubler 1985a: 73), acts as the English suffixes ‘-ize/ise’ and ‘-ify’ (e.g. *shehui-hua* ‘socialise’ from *shehui* ‘social’+ *-hua* ‘-ise’), and further has native innovations without English corresponding words (e.g. *shiyong-hua* ‘to make practical’ from *shiyong* ‘practical’+ *-hua* ‘-ise’).

As to syntax, Hsu (1994: 171-180) indicated six Englishised characteristics from the data: (1) increasing use of subjects; (2) increased use of the copula verb *shi* (‘to be’); (3) lengthening of sentences: modifying clauses with head nouns; (4) variety of third person and impersonal singular and plural pronouns; (5) extended use of the passive construction of *bei* (from ‘be inflicted upon’ to ‘passive voice indicator’); (6) *Dang* (‘when’) as a conjunction.

Speaking of the impact of English on Chinese in CMC, Guo (2006) argued that its influence is getting more and more robust with the increasingly frequent contact between English and Chinese, which is facilitated by the internet. In this way, he conducted a research into the Englishised features in CMC in China by analysing the data collected from different online situations (e.g. BBS, chatrooms, online novels, personal e-mails, and internet news or advertisements). For the lexical level, he pointed out that the borrowing from English existing words in Chinese terms such as *Shichuang* (‘Windows’) or *yimeier* (‘e-mail’) is not the only phenomenon. Additionally, Chinese netizens also have borrowed the strategies of word formation from English. For example, some of them have created certain expressions on the basis of English, such as the abbreviations DD for *didi* (‘younger brother’) and TMD for *tamadi* (‘goddamn’). In syntax, his findings corresponded to Zhong’s (2001) claim

that affected by English, the online Chinese has changed in word order and category in sentences. Two cases from his data are shown in example (a) and (b). In (a), the prepositional phrase *zai jia li* ('at home') should be originally placed before the verb phrase *chi wufan* ('to have lunch'), whereas now it has been moved after it to the same position as that in the English sentence 'I have lunch at home'. In (b), *Yahu* ('Yahoo') is transformed from a noun to a verb, which is probably derived from the usage of 'Yahoo' in the English sentence 'Do you Yahoo?'

- (a) *Wo chi wufan zai jia li* °
 I eat lunch Preposition home inside
 'I'll have lunch at home.'
- (b) *Ni Yahu le ma?*
 you Yahoo Perfective Question
 'Have you visited Yahoo?'

2.4 Taiwanisation of Taiwan Mandarin

Taiwan is truly an island of various tongues and a "plurilinguistic community" (Teng 2001). According to Kubler (1985b), the population of Taiwan consists of four distinct ethnic groups: the Southern Min people, who speak the Southern Min dialect of Chinese, also known as Hokkien, Amoy or Taiwanese; the mainland Chinese, who speak mostly Mandarin; the Hakka, who speak the Hakka dialect; the aboriginal people, who speak a variety of Austronesian languages. In addition, the Japanese language was also brought to Taiwan during the Japanese occupation period 1895-1945. On the basis of the statistics from Huang (1993:21), the majority of the origin is Southern Min, which accounts for 73.3% of the whole population of 20 million at that time. Although Taiwanese is the native language of most people in

Taiwan, the Mandarin movement and the promotion of Taiwan Mandarin since 1945 have led it to become the official and major language spoken in Taiwan. As Kubler pointed out, it is learned as a second language by the native Taiwanese and as the mother tongue by the younger generation of mainlanders.

A few previous studies have been done on the interaction between Taiwan Mandarin and Taiwanese by examining different aspects of the characteristics of Taiwan Mandarin. Kubler (1985b) investigated various sources of influence on Taiwan Mandarin (e.g. Southern Mandarin, Classical Chinese, Japanese and Western languages) and emphasised the impact caused by Taiwanese in phonology, syntax, and lexicon. With respect to phonology, Kubler (1985b) indicated transfer of consonantal, vocalic, and tonetic features of Taiwanese Mandarin by comparing the phonological systems of Taiwanese and Taiwan Mandarin. For example, native Taiwanese speakers tend to substitute some sounds such as retroflex consonants (e.g. /tʂʰ/ *chi* and /ʂ/ *shi*), which are absent in Taiwanese, for non-retroflex ones (e.g. /tʂʰ/ *ci* and /s/ *si*). Syllables with labial initials (e.g. /b-, p-, m-/) will be pronounced as /ʊŋ/ *-ong* in Taiwanese Mandarin when combining with the final sound /ʌŋ/ *-eng* (e.g. /pʰʌŋ/ *peng* changes to /pʰʊŋ/ *pong* for ‘touch’). In the case of the word ‘need’, the pronunciation of /ɕyiau/ *xuyao* is /ɕiiau/ *xiyao* instead in Taiwan Mandarin.

In syntax, Kubler identified fourteen syntactic characteristics in Taiwanese Mandarin, for instance, the use of *you* (‘have’) and *meiyou* (‘not have’) as auxiliaries or potential complements; increase in the use of *hui* (‘know how’)/*buhui* (‘not know how’) and *eryi* (‘only’); omission of *de* ‘adjective marker’/’s’. Similarly, Teng (2001) also listed

the *you* marker in one of the nine syntactic structures he discussed in his research. Other features include *shuo* ('to speak') as a marker, *xing* ('can') as a modal verb, and *bu cuo* ('not bad') as a lexicalised state, etc.

In lexis, Kubler discussed a number of lexical items peculiarly in Taiwanese Mandarin (e.g. *agong* for *zufu* 'grandfather'; *jiaotace* for *zixingche* 'bicycle'), but he failed to give evidence of the way how these items were constructed. Hsieh (2005) further conducted a comprehensive investigation of Taiwanese loanwords in Taiwan Mandarin by analysing data from newspapers and youth talk. From her observations, she classified the written representation of Taiwanese loanwords in Taiwan Mandarin into four categories: (1) transliteration, which is the adoption of the existent Chinese characters to represent Taiwanese elements of similar phonetic value (e.g. 水 *shui* 'water' for *sui* 'beautiful'; 代誌 *dai zhi* 'the matter/event' for *taichi*); (2) loan translation, referring to the transformation of Taiwanese terms semantically into Mandarin by means of Chinese characters with equivalent or similar meaning (e.g. 黑 *hei* 'black' and 白 *pai* 'white' in 黑白講 *hei pai jiang* 'to talk carelessly'; literally, 'black-white-talk'); (3) mixed word creation, indicating the formation of a Taiwanese loanword by means of both semantic translation and phonological transliteration. (e.g. 錢歹賺 *qian dai zhuan* 'it's difficult to make money'); (4) "neologism", words that are innovated for particular expression in Taiwanese (e.g. 呷東西 *xia dongxi* 'eating things').

This section has reviewed previous literature on such concepts as lexical borrowing and code-switching in contact-induced language change. More significantly, relevant studies on the emergence of CIL and online Taiwan Mandarin, the phenomenon of Englishisation and Taiwanisation on Mandarin Chinese at various linguistic levels

have been examined. Therefore, these investigations function as the foundation of related issues and provide great insights into the present research on the roles of English and Taiwanese play in the change in online Taiwan Mandarin.

3. Methods and materials

The corpus of the data used in this study was collected from the messages posted on “the gossiping board” on the BBS called “ptt.cc” (<http://www.ptt.cc/index.bbs.html> or bbs://ptt.cc), which is the most popular BBS with the largest number (more than 10,000) of bulletin boards and members in Taiwan (Ishii and Wu 2006). The BBS is integrated with posting, e-mailing, and chatting simultaneously as different means of communication. Moreover, it is used in the interface of pure characters, in which participants can press specific keys on the keyboard for specific functions without even using the mouse. For instance, users can just press “R” when they want to reply to the article, or press “M” to add a board to their favourite list of boards. The main language used on the BBS is Taiwan Mandarin (with traditional Chinese characters), though some names of the boards are written in English.

To access to the BBS, normally a user needs to register and apply for an ID. After confirmation, one can sign in by the use of the personal ID and password and begin to post articles or reply to other’s opinions. However, a participant can also log in by using the ID “guest” without registering if he or she simply wants to surf and read the articles on the BBS. Other unusual functions for users include changing different e-signatures and nicknames to show their identities and reflect current state of mood.

The BBS is composed of a variety of individual boards according to different topics. Boards of similar themes can be further classified into “a set of boards” with broader topics assigned to each set. For example, “Gossiping” is under the set of “Talk and

Chat” which includes 15 different single boards such as “ChatSkill, MenTalk, WomenTalk, UglyClub, and Penpal”. Participants can easily find out the board or topic that they are interested in by searching the keywords from a set of boards to find a specific board of the topic. Well-developed boards have “board managers” who are responsible for moderating the whole board by setting up board rules, keeping order in board, and arranging an “essential zone” which consists of all important articles.

The reason why the data was merely collected from BBS, rather than from other forms of CMC such as e-mails or Instant Messaging is because of its overlapping the features and functions of those modes. Furthermore, the gossiping board was chosen owing to its popularity among participants, considerable amount of articles and varied topics on the BBS. Consequently, the present study focuses on the messages posted on the gossiping board, which consists of 826 articles in total and numbers of responses during the period from 01.March.2007 to 31.May.2007.

Although the topics on the gossiping board are wide ranging, they still can be roughly divided into two main categories: entertainment (e.g. personal experiences, celebrities’ private lives or the secrets of TV programmes) and social issues (e.g. news, politics, education or religion).

4. Findings and Discussion: Englishised features in online Taiwan Mandarin

4.1 Lexis

The analysis of the Englishised lexical items in the data is mostly based on Winford’s (2003: 45) framework for the classification of lexical contact situations, where he categorized the phenomena into two main types: (1) borrowings, which contain adoption or imitation of certain part of the donor language and (2) native creations,

which consist of native patterns or extensions of a foreign form, without any counterparts in the donor language. Although there are still several categories subdivided from each kind depending on the process of word formation involved, it should be noted that the discussion focuses on those types that happened to occur in the data, instead of every type in the framework.

4.1.1 Borrowings

I. Loanwords

The majority of the loanwords in the sample belong to what Winford (2003) identified as “pure loanwords”, which involves the process of entirely importing from foreign morphemes to native terms by directly transliterating from English words to Chinese ones with alike phonemes or varying degrees of sound substitution. These loanwords/loan phrases and their English equivalents are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. English loanwords in online Taiwan Mandarin

(1) 摳	<i>kou</i>	‘call’
(2) 粉斯/粉絲	<i>fensi</i>	‘fans’
(3) 尬的 ³	<i>gade</i>	‘God’
(4) 嚇克	<i>xiake</i>	‘shock’
(5) 北鼻/貝比	<i>beibi</i>	‘baby’
(6) 芭蕾/八雷	<i>balei</i>	‘ballet’
(7) 麻豆	<i>madou</i>	‘model’
(8) 就可	<i>jiuke</i>	‘joke’
(9) 雷絲邊	<i>leisibian</i>	‘lesbian’
(10) 古狗	<i>gugou</i>	‘Google’
(11) 掰掰	<i>bai bai</i>	‘bye bye’
(12) 喔買尬	<i>o mai ga</i>	‘oh my god’
(13) 萬模禿模	<i>wan mu tu mu</i>	‘one more two more’

³ It can be noted that the pronunciation of 尬的 *gade* ‘God’ is influenced by North American pronunciation model /gadə/.

As the table indicates, it is evident that all the above words or phrases are created through the process of phonological resemblance by replacing English phonemes with the same or similar Chinese ones. The reason of using such method to create loanwords may be owing to the difference between Chinese and English alphabetic systems (Zhou and Feng 1987). In comparison with English words, most of which consist of five to six letters with more than two syllables, Chinese words are often composed of two characters with one syllable each. Accordingly, it is especially necessary to create transliterated loanwords by adding characters and syllables in Chinese when English words have more than two syllables (e.g. *leisibian* ‘lesbian’). In addition, the facts that Mandarin Chinese is a tone language and one single phoneme can be presented by different characters contribute to the formation of varied loanwords with identical English meaning. Loanwords (2), (5) and (6) reveal this phenomenon. In (5) especially, 北鼻 *bei3 bi2* and 貝比 *bei4 bi3* both mean ‘baby’, while they not only differ in the written representation, but also in the intonation of each character.

On the other hand, it is interesting to know that most of these transliterated loanwords also have their own translated paraphrase (e.g. 上帝 *shangdi* for ‘God’; 模特兒 *moteer* for ‘model’ and 笑話 *xiaohua* for ‘joke’). The same is true of the phrase 我的天啊 *wo de tian a* for ‘Oh my god’. The usage of transliterated loanwords rather than translated paraphrase on the BBS may be related to the nature of CMC and people’s motivation of using it. In this informal and public domain, the participants choose transliterated loanwords in order to save time by typing fewer Chinese characters (e.g. 麻豆 *madou* substitutes for 模特兒 *moteer*) or to bring humorous effect to the message by making fun of their original English pronunciation with particular Chinese terms. For instance, 粉絲 *fensi* means ‘rice noodles’, 雷絲邊 *leisibian* is

‘the edge of silk’, 古狗 *gugou* is ‘old dog’, and 掰掰 *bai bai* is ‘to pull apart with hands’ in Mandarin.

II. Loanblends

In brief, loanblends undergo the process of combining native and foreign morphemes. Zhou and Feng (1987) divided loanblends into two cases: (a) the loanblend is formed with partial transliterated morphemes and partial translated paraphrase. For example, 黑色幽默 *heise youmo* ‘black humor’: *heise* is the translated paraphrase for ‘black’, while *youmo* is the transliteration for ‘humor’; 迪士尼樂園 *dishini leyuan* ‘Disneyland’: *dishini* is the transliteration for ‘Disney’ and *leyuan* the translated paraphrase for ‘land’. This kind of loanblend is similar to what Winford classified as “compound blend”, in which 迪士尼 *dishini* and 幽默 *youmo* act as the imported stems, while 黑色 *heise* and 樂園 *leyuan* are the native stems. (b) the loanblend is produced with the addition of a class or explanatory word to clarify the meaning. For example, in the loanblend 保齡球 *baolingqiu* ‘bowling’, *baoling* is the transliterated morpheme for ‘bowling’, while *qiu* ‘ball; sphere’ is added as affix to make the word meaningful in Chinese. In the data, (14) 估狗大神 *gugoudashen* is used to indicate ‘Google’, where *dashen* is put as an explanatory word implying Google is a God or deity like search engine with magical power. This type of loanblends belong to “derivational blend” in Winford’s term, in which 保齡 *baoling* and 估狗 *gugou* are the imported stems, while 球 *qiu* and 大神 *dashen* are the native affixes.

4.1.2 Native creations

Except from phonological transliteration, semantic translation or the combination of both, the direct use of English letters in Chinese words is another Englishised feature in Mandarin Chinese (e.g. T 恤 *t xu* ‘T-shirt’; 維生素 A *weishengsu a* ‘Vitamin A’).

Such way of word formation corresponds to what Winford called as “native creations” in his framework. According to his classification of native creations in terms of varying components of foreign and native morphemes, creations in the data can roughly be divided into the following two types:

I. Creations using only English letters

Unlike those English items that we directly adopted in Chinese (e.g. CD, KTV, MSN), this kind of lexis is constructed by combining English morphemes for new concepts. For instance, one recently-invented popular word in online Taiwan Mandarin is “fu”, which is adapted from the pronunciation and morpheme of ‘feeling’. People usually use it in such phrase as “有 fu” *you fu* ‘having feeling with someone or when doing something’. It is now employed in spoken Taiwan Mandarin or online news (e.g. 這樣的美食創意讓它超有 **fu** ‘this kind of creativity of making delicious dish brought it so much **feeling** of the summer’ ETToday news 06/07/07).

(15) 第一次 **po** 板 給原 **po**... (#2 #3 03/03/07)

‘It’s my first time to **post** on the board. To **the original person who posted.**’

(16) 哈哈 其實我今天去看過了 覺得 **SOSO** 拉 (#332 04/04/07)

‘Haha in fact I went to see it today. I felt it **just okay** la.’

(17) 害我按空白鍵按到手痛....真是 **TMD** (#137 16/03/07)

‘It made my hand hurt by keeping pressing the space...**damn it.**’

(18) 權力是陳的春藥，沒有權力滋潤，跟垂老的 **OBS** 一樣 (#370 07/04/07)

‘Power is *Chen*’s philter. Without its moistening, she’s just like an aging **old woman.**’

(19) 萊思康可能會有不少鄉民不知道，不過五六年級的 **LKK** 大都知道

‘Many people may not know about *Laisikang*, but most **old people** born in the 60’s or 70’s know it. (#740 22/05/07)

In (15) and (16), the terms are innovated from the original meaning of English words ‘post’ and ‘so’ respectively. In (15), “po” is used both as a verb (to post something on the board) and noun (the author of the posting). In (16), “soso” is used as an adjective, describing one’s feeling of something or someone is just ordinary and acceptable.

In sentence (17)~(19), the creations are the acronyms of the pinyin of Mandarin/Taiwanese terms. In (17), TMD stands for the pinyin of the Mandarin phrase 他馬的 *tamadi* ‘goddamned; damn it’; in (18) and (19), OBS stands for the pinyin of the Taiwanese word 歐巴桑 *oubasang* ‘old woman’ and LKK for 老扣扣 *laokoukou* ‘old (people)’.

II. Creations blending with English morphemes and Chinese characters

This type of native creations is what Winfold referred to “hybrid creations”, meaning combining native and foreign morphemes to present foreign concepts. For the purpose of indicating the progressive aspect of verbs (be + ‘-ing’ construction), which lacks in Chinese grammar, one specific characteristic of the sample is adding the inflectional affix ‘-ing’ to Chinese verbs to mark the present participle and expresses the continuous processes of the action.

(20) 哈哈 歌神也真愛八卦 花哈哈 (狂笑 **ing**) (#134 13/03/07)

‘Haha the singing king also really loves gossiping haha.’ (**laughing crazily**)

(21) 不知道有沒有不對還是犯規的地方 還請見諒 (惶恐 ing~~)

‘Don’t know whether there’s wrong or breaking the rule. Please forgive me.

(terrifying) (#279 31/03/07)

(22) 來八卦台灣媒體抄襲港媒,不僅抄到舊的,還抄到假的 (唾棄 ing)

‘To gossip about Taiwanese mass media’s copying the news from Hong Kong mass media, they didn’t just copy the old one, but the fake one. (despising)

(#346 05/04/07)

In sentence (20)~(22), English suffix ‘-ing’ is put directly after Chinese verbs as 狂笑 ing ‘laughing crazily’, 惶恐 ing ‘terrifying’ and 唾棄 ing ‘despising’. This phenomenon reveals that people’s borrowing inflectional English morphemes like ‘-ing’, rather than derivational verbal suffixes such as ‘-ise/-ify’ may be in connection with the nature of these elements. Since ‘-ing’ serves as a functional element in a verb, most people who have the knowledge of English grammar has a stereotyped idea that any verbs can become progressive by adding it. This explains why they do not transliterate it with similar sounds *yīng* /ɪŋ / (e.g. 營/應) as most lexical elements (e.g. 掰 *bai* for ‘bye’), or translate it into a Chinese character denoting the same meaning as 化 *-hua* for ‘-ise/-ify’.

4.2 Syntax

Although several Englishised syntactic features in Taiwan Mandarin have been identified (e.g. Wang 1945; Kubler 1985b; Hsu 1994), none of them are particularly in the domain of CMC. Consequently, the analysis follows Gao’s (2006) study on the Englishisation of CIL in syntax and argues that the below two characteristics reflect the impact of English on the structure of online Taiwan Mandarin.

I. Change in word category

“Google” used to be a noun in English, whereas it is getting more and more popular for people to use it as a verb, indicating to search the information on the internet by google. In (23), 古狗 ‘google’ also shows this transformation and serves as a verb here. Likewise, O.K. is often used as an adverb modifying an adjective in online Taiwan Mandarin. In (24), ‘ok’ functions as the adverb ‘sort of’ describing that the person is somewhat kind, though ‘ok 親切’ is literally ‘okay friendly’ and ungrammatical in English.

(23) 記者該做的事很多,上網古狗一下就寫成聳動標題 (#626 06/05/07)

‘Reporters have to do many things. They just **google** some information on the internet and create sensational headlines.’

(24) 讓我還挺感動又訝異的啦~覺得他還 **ok** 親切.... (#2 03/03/07)

‘It made me quite touched and shocked. I felt that she was **okay** friendly’

II. ‘By’ as the source indicator

Not limited in serving as the passive marker in English passive structure, ‘by’ is also used as the source indicator in online Taiwan Mandarin. In (25), ‘by’ reveals that the message is given by a present legislative member, in (26), ‘by’ implies that the gossip is heard from the author’s classmate and in (27), ‘by’ shows that the information is based on the news.

(25) **BY** 某現任立委本人所說 (#377 08/04/07)

‘**according to** what certain present legislative member said in person’

(26) 我今天也聽到一些小八卦 **by** 強者我同學 (#24 04/03/07)

‘Today I also heard of some gossip **from** my excellent classmate.’

(27) 萬華的堤外道路 **by** 新聞 (#528 20/04/07)

‘The road outside the embankment in *Wanhua*, **according to** the news.’

4.3 Discourse: online Taiwan Mandarin-English code-switching

Code-switching between Taiwan Mandarin and English is an extremely common phenomenon in CMC in Taiwan. Different approaches or models have been proposed for the analysis of code-switching. Rather than the functional analysis, the following discussion investigates the various types of code-switching from structural point of view. According to the syntactic patterns of code-switched elements, the analysis is divided into 10 portions regarding the examples of each category. Besides, a table is provided concerning the frequency of each syntactic pattern in the data.

4.3.1 Structural analysis of code-switching

I. Nouns

Firstly, examples (28)~(29) show that participants code-switched for the nouns that originated in English and can not be easily translated with Chinese equivalent.

(28) 我朋友(很熟的)之前在仁愛圓環一家滿高檔的 **hair salon** 當學徒

‘My friend (very close) previously worked as an apprentice in a high class **hair salon** in the circle of *Renai*.’ (#423 12/04/07)

(29) 有次一個女 **bar tender** 跟我說有個客人來坐 **bar** 台

‘Once a female **bar tender** told me that there is some guest coming to sit in front of the **bar** table.’ (#59 08/03/07)

Secondly, (30) and (31) indicate that people also switched for the English terms with fewer codes than those in its Chinese translation. For instance, the Chinese translation

for ‘homestay’ is 寄宿家庭 *ji su jia ting*, for ‘cleaner’ is 清潔工 *qing jie gong*, and for ‘gay’ is 同性戀 *tong xing lian*. Even though it seems that the number of Chinese characters exceeds that of English characters (e.g. There are eight characters in homestay, while only four in 寄宿家庭), people may have to type more than one symbol for each character (e.g. *ji su jia ting* has eleven letters in total).

(30) "先不要跟你的 **homestay** 說喔!!" 而 **homemom** 第二天一大早就幫忙報了警而且去找那個有嫌疑偷錢的 **cleaner**

‘Don’t tell your **homestay** about that first! But **homemom** helped call the police early morning on the second day and found the **cleaner** who was on suspicion of stealing the money.’ (#727 15/05/07)

(31) 難道今晨五是 **gay**?

‘Is it possible that *Jinchengwu* is **gay**?’ (#105 12/03/07)

Thirdly, there are more concrete nouns (26 out of 40) than abstract nouns (14 out of 40). For instance, in (32)~(33), the words ‘bra’ and ‘supermarket’ belong to concrete nouns, and in (34)~(35), ‘style’ and ‘idea’ are abstract nouns. The higher switching rate of concrete nouns may be related to the more open-ended nature of it. Since it is difficult to understand a foreign abstract concept, people may avoid switching for it unless it is easily comprehensible in its Mandarin translation.

(32) 是脫光光還是只剩 **bra** (#290 31/03/07)

‘Did they take off everything or only remain **bra** with them?’

(33) 至少傳統市場比 **SUPERMARKET** 乾淨多了.. (#312 03/04/07)

‘At least traditional market is much cleaner than **supermarket**.’

(34) 可是她覺得長的普普 可能不是女生喜歡的 **style** 吧~ (#204 22/03/07)

‘But she thinks his looking is just okay. Maybe it is not the **style** that girls like.’

(35) 大部分作品的 **idea** 都是從她來的 (#602 26/04/07)

‘The **ideas** of most works are from her.’

II. Verbs

For code-switched verbs, the most regular three kinds of them are identified according to their functions. Examples (36)~(38) represent each kind of verbs respectively. In (36), the verb which connotes politeness is switched (e.g. ‘please’; ‘thank’). In (37), the only verb indicating the main action in a sentence is switched (e.g. ‘show’; ‘play’, ‘call’). In (38), computer-associated verbs are switched (e.g. ‘copy’; ‘paste’; ‘search’). From another perspective, it can be found that people only switch for the bare stem of a verb regardless of its verbal agreement affix (e.g. ‘show’ instead of ‘showed’), which may be due to the lack of conjugation that indicates verbal agreement in Mandarin grammar. Besides, the absence of the conjunction ‘and’ in (38) implies that people tend to switch for key words in the sentence without considering its grammar; this also imitates the feature in informal spoken English.

(36) 說吧說吧...**please**

‘Tell me tell me...**please**.’ (#369 08/04/07)

(37) 美香 **show** 了一下她的手機來電鈴

‘*Meixiang* **showed** the ring of her mobile phone.’ (#471 14/04/07)

(38) 對呀，乾脆學用電腦打字，可以存檔再 **copy paste**

‘Right! Just learn how to type with computer, and (you can) save the file and then **copy** and **paste**.’ (#693 15/05/07)

III. Adjectives

It can be observed that most of the code-switched adjectives are used to describe people or their feelings, as shown in examples (39)~(41):

(39) 當然不是說藝人一定要 **social**

‘Of course it does not mean that an artist have to be **social**.’ (#355 06/04/07)

(40) 感覺她是個很 **nice** 的人

‘It feels like that she is a **nice** person.’ (#97 11/03/07)

(41) 我去 vegas 三次了完全沒碰到明星,你很 **lucky**~

‘I’ve been to vegas three times without coming across any stars. You are so **lucky**.’ (#6 04/03/07)

In addition, another interesting finding is that the code-switched items in English change their initial grammatical category in the Chinese sentence. In examples (42) and (43), ‘man’ and ‘joke’ are originally used as a noun or verb in English, while now they function as an adjective in the sentence.

(42) 抽菸才 **man** 啊~

‘Smoking makes people more **man**.’ (#104 11/03/07)

(43) 連電池都不能換,太 **JOKE** 了吧~_~

‘Even the battery can not be changed, it is too **joking**.’ (#556 22/04/07)

For IV~X, only several representative examples are given in each part owing to their less frequency in the data and the limited space of the pages. A brief and general discussion is provided here. As the examples show, one point to make is that most of the switched codes are attached to the final, especially the first position in a sentence.

That is to say, they stand as discourse markers in sentences, instead of appearing between Mandarin boundaries (see ex. 47). The phenomenon reflects that people tend to switch for the terms that are widely interpretable to most Chinese speakers. Even if someone does not know the switched word, he/she can still get the rough idea of the message because it won't cause any change in the structure of Mandarin. Besides, the number of keys required for typing each word is perhaps another factor affecting the switch or choice of English morphemes. Take (48) for instance, 'but' is switched for 但是 *danshi*, rather than 'however' or 'nevertheless', for it contains the fewest letters.

IV. Adverbs

(44) **why** 表哥是驗票的就不用錢? (#79 10/03/07)

'**Why** didn't you need to pay just because your cousin is a ticket inspector?'

(45) **maybe**...她換口味了吧 (#498 18/04/07)

'**Maybe**...she changes her taste.'

V. Prepositions

(46) 我今天也聽到一些小八卦 **by** 強者我同學 (#24 04/03/07)

'Today I also heard of some gossip **from** my excellent classmate.'

VI. Conjunctions

(47) 綁上繩子 **or** 水管之類的往大水中一扔 (#104 11/03/07)

'Tie it with a rope **or** water pipe and throw it into the water.'

(48) **BUT**, 我覺得他其實是不敢唱 (#166 19/03/07)

'**But**, I thought that he actually didn't dare to sing.'

VII. Interjections

(49) **oops**, 是樓上的樓上 XD

‘**Oops**, it’s the upstairs of the upstairs people. XD’ (#308 03/04/07)

(50) **wow**~好八卦的料喔 XD XD

‘**Wow**~it’s such gossiping content! XD XD’ (#105 12/03/07)

VIII. Phrases

(51) **me too**....他鄉遇故友

‘**Me too**...run across an old friend in a distant land (here).’ (#578 24/04/07)

(52) 你只是把他統整起來而已 **no mind** 啦

‘You just summarize it. **No mind**.’ (#39 06/03/07)

IX. Abbreviations

(53) 會跟女球迷玩 **ONS**

‘(He) will play **ONS** (One Night Stand) with female fans.’ (#28 05/03/07)

(54) **btw**...她現在是跟某樂團的誰在一起啊?

‘**Btw** (by the way)...who in some band is she staying with?’ (#117 13/03/07)

X. Intersentential switching

(55) 想做電視記者嗎? **easy!** **What if, what if** 我們餵給他們的是假新聞?

What if 我們新聞稿作假，資料畫面移花接木，X 教授根本不是台灣海洋生態權威? 神啊，**will you have mercy on us and spare us this curse!**

‘Want to be a TV reporter? **Easy!** **What if, what if** the news that we fed them is fake? **What if** we falsify the news release and graft the picture into one another? Professor X is not the authority on Taiwan marine ecology at all?

God, **will you have mercy on us and spare us this curse!**’ (#36 05/03/07)

4.3.2 Frequency of code-switching and its implications

Table 2. Frequency of Mandarin—English code-switching

Syntactic categories	Number	Frequency (%)	Examples
Nouns	40	32	face, fans, model
Verbs	22	17.6	sorry, enjoy, play
Adjectives	20	16	nice, high, happy
Adverbs	9	7.2	maybe, anyway
Prepositions	3	2.4	by
Conjunctions	5	4	so, but, or
Interjection	5	4	oops, wow, bye
Phrases	3	2.4	no mind
Abbreviations	17	13.6	BF, BTW, OMG
Intersential switching	1	0.8	
Total	125	100	

As Table 2 shows, English noun is the most frequent switched syntactic pattern in the data, where 40 out of 125 (40%) switched items belong to it. Verbs, adjectives and abbreviations are the next three regularly switched categories (17.6%, 16%, 13.6% respectively). The rest of them counts less than 10% each, in which switching beyond sentences is the least frequent type, having only one message switched. This result reflects that people switch more from Mandarin to English in open class items (nouns; verbs; adjectives) than in closed class ones (prepositions; conjunctions). This finding is somehow similar to what Prince and Pintzuk (1984) argued that in the speech of Yiddish-English code-switching, participants switch two-way in open class terms, whereas it is greatly confined to merely Yiddish (L2) to English (L1) in closed class switches. Furthermore, they claimed that rather than regular code-switching, this kind of closed class switching should be considered “a sort of performance error of the type that has generally gone under the rubric of interference” (p. 14).

Another phenomenon is that the majority of the switching is ‘single-word switching’, which has launched a debate on its similarity to borrowing among researchers (cf. Poplack and Meechan 1995; Gardener-Chloros 1995). Adopting Gardener-Chloros’s (1995: 73-43) idea, both single switches and borrowings are likely to fill lexical gaps in the borrowing language; thus both processes may display what Muysken (1981) proposed the “hierarchy of borrowability”, with nouns the most probably incorporated items, followed by adjectives, verbs, prepositions and so on.

Nevertheless, it seems that the result of the data does not completely correspond to the hierarchy (e.g. verbs outnumber adjectives). Some reasons may have to do with its shown in written form, while not in spoken language as these studies targeted at. More importantly, the function or motivation of code-switching in online Taiwan Mandarin is also a key factor. It is possible that they switch from Mandarin to English for the sake of saving time when typing Chinese characters and finding proper vocabulary or phrase to express what they want to say in the easiest and simplest manner. This also explains why English abbreviations are adopted often in the data. Accordingly, future empirical and quantitative analysis remains to be done on comparing the numbers of key strokes for each switched English token and its Mandarin equivalent.

5. Findings and Discussion: Taiwanised features in online Taiwan Mandarin

5.1 Lexis

This section discusses Taiwanised lexicon in the data. On the basis of Hsieh’s (2005) analysis, the written representation of Taiwanese loanwords in Mandarin can be grouped into four kinds: transliteration, loan translation, mixed word creation, and neologism. However, only the first three types of words are found in the corpus and

analysed in detail.

I. Transliteration

As mentioned in the discussing section of Englishised lexis, transliteration is one of the methods of forming borrowings by adopting the existent native characters to represent foreign elements of similar phonetic value. This process of creating loanwords is also observed in online Taiwan Mandarin. In the examples below, Taiwanese words are directly transliterated with Mandarin characters of similar pronunciation. However, these words can only make sense when they are pronounced and explained in Taiwanese. In (56), 虎爛 *hulan* is composed of two Mandarin characters 虎 *hu* ‘a tiger’ and 爛 *lan* ‘soft; rotten’, while these characters are pronounced as *ho lan* which is a swearword meaning ‘to lie; play tricks’ in Taiwanese. In (57), 出 *chu* ‘to exit’ and 槌 *chui* ‘a beetle’ is meaningless when put together in Mandarin, but it just sounds like *cut tui* ‘making mistakes’ in Taiwanese. The same is also true in (58)~(63): 拍謝 *paixie pai se*; 脫窗 *tuochuang tua tang*; 阿沙力 *ashali a sat lik*; 熊熊 *xiongxiong hiong hiong*; 好野 *haoye hor ia*; 趴趴走 *papazou pa pa zau*. It is funny to note that the use of reduplicated characters is common in both Mandarin and Taiwanese. For example, in (61) 熊 means ‘bear’; 熊熊 *xiongxiong* means ‘flaming; ablaze’ in Mandarin, while *hiong hiong* means ‘suddenly’ in Taiwanese. Likewise, in (63) 趴 *pa* ‘to lie prone’ is quite different from the meaning of 趴趴走 *pa pa zau* ‘to go everywhere’ in Taiwanese.

Parallel to English transliterated loanwords in Mandarin, different Chinese characters are used to present the same Taiwanese morpheme owing to the fact that one single phoneme can usually be shared by a variety of characters. Therefore, different (or sometimes the same) participants may substitute for the characters of identical or

similar pronunciation as they want. For instance, in (56) 虎 *hu3* in 虎爛 *hulan* is replaced with 吼 *hou3*; in (58) 拍 *pai1* in 拍謝 *paixie* is replaced with 派 *pai4*; in (60) 沙 *sha1* in 阿沙力 *ashali* with 撒 *sa3* or 殺 *sha1*.

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (56) 這並非我虎爛 | <i>zhe bingfei wo hulan</i> | ‘this is not my bullshit’ |
| (57) 航空公司出槌 | <i>hangkonggongsi chuchui</i> | ‘Airlines made mistakes’ |
| (58) 拍謝 | <i>paixie</i> | ‘sorry’ |
| (59) 她的脫窗 | <i>tade tuochuang</i> | ‘her careless seeing’ |
| (60) 阿沙力的答應 | <i>ashali de daying</i> | ‘to agree readily’ |
| (61) 熊熊忘記 | <i>xiongxiong wangji</i> | ‘to forget suddenly’ |
| (62) 好野人 | <i>haoyeren</i> | ‘rich person’ |
| (63) 出去趴趴走 | <i>chuqu papazou</i> | ‘to go everywhere’ |

II. Loan translation

The second way of constructing Taiwanese expressions in Mandarin is loan translation, which transforms Taiwanese terms semantically into Mandarin by means of Chinese characters with equivalent or similar meaning. Examples (64)~(69) indicates this method. In (64), 頭殼 *touke* is ‘the shell of the head’ and 壞去 *huaiqu* means ‘to go bad or spoil’. Moreover, 壞 can be written as 歹 *dai* in Taiwanese and 歹去 *pai ki* is a common Taiwanese term for 壞掉 *huaidiao* in Mandarin. In this sense, 頭殼壞去 is translated from Taiwanese describing someone has got a bad brain. The same method is used in (65)~(69). In (65), 死 *si* ‘to the last/death’ and 忠 *zhong* ‘faithful’; in (66), 牽 *qian* ‘to involve’ and 拖 *tuo* ‘to drag/delay’; in (67), 辦 *ban* ‘to handle’ and 桌 *zhuo* ‘a table/desk’; in (68), 怪 *guai* ‘odd’ and 角 *jiao* ‘role/person’; in (69), 老神 *laoshen* ‘old deity/spirit’ and 在在 *zaizai* ‘calm/still’. As shown in the examples, each part of a term is translated

separately and compounded into a Taiwanese loanword of new meaning. This is what Hsieh (2005: 12) called as “semicompounds, which consist of words joined directly in juxtaposition.”

It can be noted that these expressions not only contain semantic correspondence between Mandarin and Taiwanese, but there are phonological similarities between them as well. In this sense, they can also be regarded as transliterated loanwords.

(64) 頭殼壞去	<i>toukehuiqu</i>	‘having problems with one’s brain’
(65) 死忠	<i>sizhong</i>	‘extremely loyal and devoted’
(66) 牽拖	<i>qiantuo</i>	‘to find excuses for oneself’
(67) 辦桌	<i>banzhuo</i>	‘to hold a party or feast’
(68) 怪角	<i>guaijiao</i>	‘a strange character/person’
(69) 老神在在	<i>laoshenzaizai</i>	‘to always stay calm’

III. Mixed word creation

This method refers to forming a Taiwanese loanword by means of partial semantic translation and partial phonological transliteration. In (70), 撇 *pie* is just used to imitate the Taiwanese sound *piat* since its meaning (the falling left stroke in writing a Chinese character) is quite different from that (special/secret) in Taiwanese. However, 步 *bu* ‘steps in doing something’ is its semantic translation. In (71), 澳 *ao* ‘a bay’ is pronounced nearly the same as that in Taiwanese 傲 *ghor* /au/ ‘arrogant’, and 客 *ke* ‘guest/customer’ is the translated meaning.

(70) 生活小撇步	<i>shenghuo xiao piebu</i>	‘knacks of living’
(71) 澳客	<i>aoke</i>	‘unreasonable guest/customer’

5.2 Taiwanese Mandarin

As mentioned before, Taiwanese Mandarin (*tai wan guo yu*) is a variety of vernacular Mandarin, which is characterised by its strongly Taiwanese-influenced pronunciation. Although this kind of Taiwanese accent used to especially appear in the older generation and even be laughed at for its non-standard and problematic pronunciation, it is now developing and getting quite popular among young netizens. For the purpose of making humorous effect, they deliberately select interesting Chinese characters to create Taiwanese Mandarin-like sounds for the switched code. This way of presenting words is similar to what labeled “eye dialect” in orthography, which refers to the adoption of non-standard or incorrectly-considered spellings for conveying the effect of dialectal or foreign speakers (Bowdre 1971). In novels, writers usually use it to emphasise the speech of certain characters by spelling the words in an unusual manner. (e.g. ‘gonna’ for ‘going to’; ‘woz for ‘was’).

In the following examples, it is evident that 偶 *ou* ‘a mate/an image’ is widely used to represent 我 *wo* ‘I/me’ in Taiwanese Mandarin. In (72), 可愛 *kouai* /k^houai/ is used rather than 可愛 *keai* /k^həai/ ‘lovely/cute’; in (73), 倫 *lun* /luən/ stands for 人 *ren* /zən/ ‘people’; in (74), it is funny to find that 豬 *zhu* /tʂu/ ‘pig’ is applied for both 知 *zhi* /tʂ/ in 知到 ‘know’ and 汁 *zhi* in 柳橙汁 ‘orange juice’; 訴 *su* /su/ ‘to sue/tell’ refers to 是 *shi* /ʂ/ ‘am/are/is’; 鞋 *xie* /xiɛ/ ‘shoes’ and 猴 *hou* /xou/ ‘a monkey’ is combined together for 學佛 *xuefo* /ɕyɛfo/ ‘embracing Buddhism’. In (75) and (76), 粉 *fen* /fən/ ‘powder’ and 渾 *hun* /xuən/ ‘turbid’ is used both for 很 *hen* ‘very’.

(72) 真口愛捏~~~^O^ (#16 04/03/07)

‘It’s so cute.’

(73) 有倫 PO 過了 (#131 15/03/07)

‘Someone has posted this.’

(74) 你豬到我訴誰嗎??

可是偶鞋猴,偶不能喝酒,偶要喝柳橙豬 (#159 18/03/07)

‘Do you know who I am?’

‘But I embraced Buddhism. I can’t drink alcohol. I want to drink orange juice.’

(75) 而且大甲媽每一次出尋可以帶動粉多產業吧 (#431 12/04/07)

‘And each visit of *Dajia* Buddha can promote many kinds of business.’

(76) 偶這樣潭美齣? (#584 25/04/07)

‘Aren’t I very beautiful like this?’

5.3 Syntax

Kubler (1985b) and Teng (2001) have identified several Taiwaneseised syntactical features in Taiwan Mandarin. In line with their findings, the following three features in the data are also found to have been influenced by Taiwanese.

I. 有 *you* ‘have’ as a marker

In Mandarin, 有 *you* is originally limited in functioning as a main verb for ‘to have/exist; there is’. For example, 我有一本書 ‘I have a book’ or 有人在這裡 ‘There is someone here’. Nevertheless, 有 *u* in Taiwanese is used much more regularly for a wider variety of syntactic structures. Not merely can it be used as a main verb, but it can also act as auxiliary, expressing the completion of an action or the assuredness of existence. This kind of usage has spread to online Taiwan Mandarin. Examples (77) and (78) illustrate the most common type of 有, which

occurs before an action verb and indicates the finishing of it. In this sense, it functions similarly to the Mandarin verbal 了 *le*, which denotes the perfective aspect. When represented in Mandarin, 有說 ‘**perfective** say’ should become 說了 ‘say **perfective**’ for ‘having said’, and 有回頭 ‘**perfective** turn the head back’ should become 回頭了 ‘turn the head back **perfective**’ for ‘having turned the head back’. In (79) and (80), 有 functions as the stative and redundantly realises the affirmation or negation of the adjective being modified. In other words, it is unnecessary to put 有 in front of an adverb-adjective term within a sentence, for it already contains the element of ‘being’ (e.g. 新版主**真好笑** ‘the new board manager **is really funny**’).

(77) 報導 有 說 兩人都 在 大陸 不 是
 The report **Perfective** say both of them in China Negative is
 ‘Haven’t the report said that both of them are in China?’ (#307 03/04/07)

(78) 但 她 有 回頭 很大聲 和我們 說 bye
 But she **Perfective** turn the head back very loudly to us say bye
 ‘But she has turned her head back and said bye to us very loudly.’
 (#512 19/04/07)

(79) 不 知道 以上 有 沒 有 八卦 到
 Negative know the above is Neg is gossipy reach
 ‘(I) don’t know whether the above is gossipy or not.’ (#104 11/03/07)

(80) 我 只 能 說 新版主 真的 有 好笑
 I only can say new board manager really **is** funny
 ‘I can only say that the new board manager is really funny.’ (#683 14/05/07)

II. 說 *shuo* ‘say’ as a discourse marker and intensifier

Like 有, 說 *shuo* or 講 *jiang* is adopted in Mandarin only as a main verb ‘to

say/speak’. In Taiwanese, however, the main utterance verb for ‘speak’ is 講 *jiang*, which occurs initially in a sentence. On the other hand, there is a greater range of using 說 *shuo* in Taiwanese (e.g. it can be placed after a verb acting as the complementiser, similar to ‘that’ in English). Under its influence, some of the syntactic structures in 說 are now also observable in online Taiwan Mandarin. From the observation of the data, it can be found that 說 occurs at the final position of a sentence and serves as an utterance-concluding marker and intensifier without lexical element. In (81), the author is talking about a famous writer’s wife. In addition to describing her as 好漂亮 ‘so pretty’, he/she puts 說 in the end to emphasise her beauty and convey individual feeling of admiring. Likewise, in (82) the participant is commenting on the new board manager’s speaking (writing) style in the BBS. By adding 說 after 好就可風 ‘very joking style’, he/she expresses the emotion or compliment on this humorous way of speaking. In (83), the author is objecting to another participant’s opinion that some online character is just imaginary by providing the evidence that there is still a video file of this person. As a result, 說 here acts as an expressive marker which reveals the author’s disagreement and intensifies the existence of the file.

(81) 如 井上雄彥 的 老婆, 好 漂亮 說..

Such as *Jingshangxiongyan* ’s wife so pretty **intensifier**

‘Such as *Jingshangxiongyan* ’s wife, she is so pretty.’ (#452 13/04/07)

(82) 新 版主 講話 好 就可 風 說

New board manager speak very joke style **intensifier**

‘The new board manager speaks in a joking style.’ (#668 13/05/07)

- (83) 五 小姐 並 不 虛幻 呀 還有 影片檔 說!!
Wu Miss is Negative unreal ya there is still movie file intensifier
 ‘Miss Wu is not unreal. There is still movie file.’ (#489 16/04/07)

III. 不錯 *bucuo* ‘not bad’ as a lexicalised state marker

Another Taiwanised syntax feature in online Taiwan Mandarin is the adoption of 不錯 *bucuo* as a lexicalised state marker. In Mandarin, 不錯 is primarily used as an adjective, describing a thing or person is not bad, okay or right. For instance, 她的成績不錯 ‘Her marks are not bad’; 你看起來不錯 ‘You look okay’. On the other hand, 不錯 *be bai* in Taiwanese can also be placed in front of a verb or an adjective, functioning as an adverb and marker which represents the good state of the verb or adjective being modified. In (84), the Taiwanese syntactic structure of 不錯 is used here to indicate that the state of getting together with some one is not bad. In (85), it implies that the state of the length of some star’s leg is not bad.

- (84) 還 不錯 相處 :)
 still **state marker** get together with
 ‘The state of getting together with (someone) is not bad.’ (#347 05/04/07)

- (85) 腿 不錯 長?
 leg **state marker** long
 ‘The state of the leg is not bad long?’ (#467 15/04/07)

5.4 Discourse: online Taiwan Mandarin-Taiwanese code-switching

Like English, Taiwanese is usually used in CMC in Taiwan. Nonetheless, the frequency of switching from Mandarin to Taiwanese and the structural categories of the switched items seem to be less than those in the case of switching between

English and Mandarin. This section analyses the phenomenon of code-switching between Taiwanese and online Taiwan Mandarin according to the different syntactic categories of code-switched Taiwanese items. In addition, a table of the frequency and related examples of each syntactic category is also provided as a comparison with Table 2, followed by a discussion about its implications.

5.4.1 Structural analysis of code-switching

In general, the main factor regarding the following Taiwanese switches may be to do with their uniqueness and people's familiarity with these terms. In other words, people have to switch for specific Taiwanese words or phrases since they have no Mandarin equivalents (e.g. 交關 *gau guan*). Another reason for choosing these preferred codes is the informality in BBS talk. For example, it would be odd to select Mandarin 懦夫 *nuofu*, instead of 俗辣 *su la* 'a coward' in such an informal context, for it is usually used in quite formal written Chinese.

I. Nouns

In the following examples, these three switched nouns are all human-related. In (86), Mandarin word 董事 *dongshi* 'a director/president' is switched into Taiwanese 總ㄟ *zong ai*. It should be noted that ㄟ, one of the *Zhuyin* Symbol is used directly here as the transliterated sound of *ai*. This kind of usage is also a typical linguistic feature in online Taiwan Mandarin, thus will be discussed in the later section. In (87), 人客 *lang kei* is switched from 客人 *keren* 'a guest/customer' and in (88) 俗辣 *su la* is switched from 懦夫 *nuofu* 'a coward'.

- (86) 是 由 大 眾 當 總 へ
Shi you dazhong dang zong ai
 ‘It’s *Dazhong* Company that operates as the **director**.’ (#455 13/04/07)
- (87) 也 不 跟 人 客 說 一 聲
Ye bugen lang kei shuo yisheng
 ‘(She) even didn’t say a word to the **guest**.’ (#681 14/05/07)
- (88) 下 跪 就 遜 掉 了 俗 辣 一 ㄍ
Xiagui jiu xundiao le su la yi ge
 ‘Kneeling down sucks. (You are) a **Coward!**’ (#768 27/05/07)

II. Verbs

In (89), ㄥへ斗 *siat dou* is a switch that replaces Mandarin 打/裝扮 *da/zhuang ban* ‘to dress/make up’. ㄥへ is the *Zhuyin* transcription for *siat*. In (90), 巴 *ba* is switched from 打 *da* ‘hit/beat’; in (91), there is no such a specific term for 交關 *gau guan* in Mandarin, which only has a similar word 捧場 *peng chang*, meaning ‘to act as a claque and do some business for others’.

- (89) "ㄥへ斗" 好 才 出 來 照 相
Siat dou hao cai chulai zhaoxiang
 ‘(He) came to take photos only after **dressing and making up**.’
 (#323 04/04/07)
- (90) 我 真 想 把 那 個 死 記 者 巴 下 去
Wo zhen xiang ba nage sijizhe ba xiaqu
 ‘I really want to **hit** that damn reporter.’ (#18 04/03/07)

- (91) 剛好 小老板 跟我是同梯. 我常 會去 交 關
Ganghao xiaolaoban gen wo shi tongti wo chang huiqu gau guan
 ‘The little boss happens to be my mate. I often go there **buying things**.
 (#572 24/04/07)

III. Adjectives

As in nouns, it is noticeable that most of the switched adjectives are also human-related. In (92), instead of using 黑皮膚 *heipifu* in Mandarin, 黑肉底 *o bhah de* is adopted to describe someone’s skin is quite black. In (93), 聳 *song* is switched from 俗 *su* to indicate that a person is vulgar.

- (92) 她 真的 是 "黑 肉 底" 耶~
Ta zhende shi o bhah de ye
 ‘Her skin is really **black**.’ (#297 03/04/07)

- (93) 看起來 他 真的 很 聳 啊~
Kanqilai ta zhende hen song a
 ‘He looks really quite **vulgar**.’ (#717 18/05/07)

IV. Phrases

In (94), 歐北共 (黑白講) *Ou bei gong* is switched from 亂講 *luanjiang* ‘talking carelessly’, and in (95), 討客兄 *tor keh hia* is the particular Taiwanese slang for condemning married women’s having an affair with other men.

- (94) 歐 北 共... 那 不是 常威 拉
Ou bei gong...na bushi Changwei la
 ‘You’re **talking through your hat**. That’s not *Changwei*.’ (#592 25/04/07)

- (95) 要是 沒有 討客兄 不就 什麼事 都 不用 怕了 哎
Yaoshi meiyou tor keh hia bujiu shemeshi du buyong pale ai
 ‘If she didn’t **have an affair with other man**, there’s nothing to be afraid of.
 Ah!’ (#308 03/04/07)

V. Interrogatives

In (96), 安怎 *an zua* is switched from the Mandarin interrogative 怎麼 *zeme* ‘why’;
 in (97), 蝦咪 *sia mi* is from 什麼 *sheme* ‘anything/what’.

- (96) 我的 推文 安怎 不見 了 ?
Wo de tuiwen an zua bujian le
 ‘**Why** has my posting gone?’ (#356 06/04/07)

- (97) 增 有沒有 蝦咪 表示
Zeng youmeiyou sia mi biaooshi
 ‘Did Zeng say **anything**?’ (#129 14/03/07)

VI. Mixed switching

In (98), it is interesting to find that there is more than one syntactic category having been switched into Taiwanese. To express 這 *zhe* ‘this’, the transliterated English word ‘Jay’ is even used for *Ze*. 丟洗 *ziu si* is the switched term for 就是 *jiushi* ‘exactly; namely’ and 親民 *cin bhin* ‘to be close/kind to the people’ is also the loanword in Mandarin. The *Zhuyin* Symbol ㄜ is applied here again for 的 *de* ‘of/s’.

- (98) Jay 丟洗 親民 ㄜ 表現 阿
Ze ziu si cin bhin e biaoxian a
 ‘**This is exactly** the behaviour **of being kind to the people.**’ (#323 04/04/07)

5.4.2 Frequency of code-switching and its implications

Table 3 Frequency of Mandarin—Taiwanese code-switching

Syntactic categories	Number	Frequency (%)	Examples
Nouns	10	20	<i>zong ai; lang keh; su la</i>
Verbs	15	30	<i>siat dou; ba; gau guan</i>
Adjectives	12	24	<i>o bhah de; song</i>
Phrases	9	18	<i>ou bei gong; tor keh hia</i>
Interrogatives	3	6	<i>an zua; sia mi</i>
Mixed switching	1	2	<i>Ze ziu si cin bhin e</i>
Total	50	100	

As shown in table 3, the most frequent code-switched syntactic category in Taiwanese is verbs, which accounts for 30% of all the switched items. It is worth noting that the fact that Taiwanese code-switched items in the verb category exceeds those in the noun's contraries to most findings in western languages, where the nouns are often proven to hold the biggest part of code-switching. The same is true in the present study. The rate of code-switched nouns in Taiwanese is much lower in comparison with that in English. In contrast, the frequency of code-switched verbs and phrases in Taiwanese is much higher than that in English (see table 2). Some implications and explanations for this phenomenon may be to do with the functions and status of Taiwanese in CMC. To begin with, people usually switch from Taiwan Mandarin to Taiwanese in order to express their emotion, humor and solidarity. Consequently, Taiwanese verbs and phrases are especially preferred owing to their strength of performing these functions more vividly. Besides, they can be more easily switched into the Taiwan Mandarin discourse than English or other foreign languages since the difference between them is mainly in phonological aspects (e.g. tone and pronunciation), while merely little in syntactical structures. Finally, English lexical items seem to be more influential than Taiwanese in forming new concepts or objects

and transmitting them to people around the world, particularly through CMC.

6. Relevant Issues

6.1 Other typical features of online Taiwan Mandarin

In addition to Englishised and Taiwaneseised features, there are still some distinctive characteristics shown in the data. Viewing their importance in shaping and constructing online Taiwan Mandarin, this section focuses on describing these features and examining the factors triggering the usage.

6.1.1 An informal written-spoken style

I. The use of expletives

The addition of expletives (e.g. 喔 *o*; 啦 *la*; 吧 *ba*) at the end of a sentence or phrase is quite usual in the spoken Taiwan Mandarin, especially in informal context. Nowadays, this usage is also getting popular in CMC. For example,

(99) 我也是雨農的耶

‘I’m also from Yunong *ye*.’ (#26 05/03/07)

(100) 不過可以了解 FAN 的心情阿

‘But (I) can understand the fan’s feeling *a*.’ (#38 05/03/07)

II. The use of swearwords

Swearing is usually restricted in informal conversation owing to its offensiveness and impoliteness. However, many people begin to adopt it freely in CMC for its richness in expressing their anger or disagreement. It is noticeable that both Taiwanese and Mandarin swearwords are used in the data. For example,

(101) 職棒球員, 嗯嗯, 我他馬的欣賞!!

‘Professional baseball players...um...I **goddamned** admire them!’

(#12 04/03/07)

(102) 騙肖 明明就有整

‘That’s **bullshit!** (She) absolutely has had an anaplasty.’ (#560 22/04/07)

III. The use of Zhuyin Symbol

A high occurrence of Zhuyin Symbol (e.g. ㄅ *bo* ㄆ *po* ㄇ *mo* ㄊ *fo*) is observed in the sample, particularly serving as sentence particles. The emergence of 注音文 *zhu yin wen* (words or articles represented directly in the Zhuyin Symbol, rather than Mandarin Chinese characters) reflects the electronic element of the internet language. Even though it is unacceptable and inappropriate to use the Zhuyin Symbol in the formal written text, the innovation of the Zhuyin key-in word-processing system makes it popular in cyber culture since netizens can save a lot of time when typing Zhuyin symbols alone. Moreover, the code-switching into Taiwanese promotes this trend as well because Taiwanese has not been well codified in Mandarin Chinese characters. Some examples are shown as follows:

(103) 有啥好爛的~還有比他更爛的ㄌㄟ

‘It’s not really bad. There’s still others even worst than him *lei.*’

(#221 24/03/07)

(104) ㄉㄩˇㄉㄩˇ!是喔!!太詭異的組合了

‘**Ha!** Is that so? What a weird team.’ (#715 18/05/07)

6.1.2 A humorous style

I. The use of emoticons

The use of emoticons in CMC is very popular throughout the world. Since people can not talk face-to-face on the internet, using emoticons or special symbols to describe one's feeling and facial expression is essential and preferred for vivifying the communication and the mood of the participant. For instance, people usually use “^_^”, “:P” or “XD” to show that they are happy, smiling or laughing loudly. On the other hand, “_ _” and “_(_)_” means ‘helpless’ or ‘what can I do’; “(_ c _)y” is somehow ‘sneering’ or ‘scoffing’ at the author. Some funny emoticons from the data are:

(105) @@你不會是我同學吧～ (#88 11/03/07)

‘(dazzled) You do not happen to be my classmate!’

(106) 以前欣賞她....現在討厭到爆=.=凸 (#370 07/04/07)

‘(I) used to admire her...now I dislike her very much. (angry)’

II. The use of action words within brackets

Another interesting feature in online Taiwan Mandarin is the adoption of brackets to indicate the author's action or feeling about the message he/she posted. Like emoticons, this method of posting creates a humorous atmosphere for presenting the intended action of the participant in an indirect while vivid manner. Some examples from the data are:

(107) 我覺得更像姊妹淘 XD (光速逃)

‘I find that they are more like sisters. XD (running away at light speed)’

(#33 05/03/07)

(108) 這是她婚前的八卦.. 方 XX!?(心碎)

‘This is the gossip before her marriage. Fang XX? (**heartbreaking**)’

(#65 09/03/07)

6.2 Some implications of the research

6.2.1 Cross-modality influence in language change

As Baron (1984) pointed out, cross-modality linguistic influence is a possible way of facilitating language change. There have been some studies regarding this issue and confirming that some Englishised or Taiwanised features, the code-switching between Taiwan Mandarin and English or Taiwanese in particular, also appear in written text such as magazine advertisements (Chen 2006) and headlines in newspapers (Shih and Sung 1998) or in spoken context such as radio broadcasting news (Hsu 1994) and conversations in campus setting (Chen 1996). Moreover, the role of young netizens in spreading online Taiwan Mandarin to other communities is also of much importance. Since most of these young netizens view this new variety as a cool and prestigious way of expressing themselves and showing solidarity in the online community, they may further use it offline and spread it to other context or communities composed of people who are reluctant or even resistant to its usage in formal settings. In the meantime, their interests and creativity in producing novel terms continually for the variety also reinforces its development.

In this sense, the extending of online Taiwan Mandarin to other domains of non-electronic communication, no matter in spoken or written forms, formal or informal settings, may also become predictable and in turn result in changes in Taiwan Mandarin in the near future.

6.2.2 The rising status and significance of Taiwanese

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, Taiwanese could be used in public freely and legally, instead of being restricted to special occasions. An interest and trend in learning and teaching Taiwanese have also gradually increased since the encouragement of teaching it and other non-Mandarin languages at elementary schools in 1993. In addition, with the media's assistance in reviving Taiwanese by creating associated programmes or songs, people are getting more and more used to speaking and hearing it in public domains. This alteration in policy and people's positive attitude toward Taiwanese has further changed the status of it. Despite its being considered non-standard and related to lower social-economic status (Berg 1986; Huang 1993, 2000; Tse 2000) previously, many scholars and politicians emphasise its importance in remaining Taiwan's identity and culture. As a result, a number of Taiwanese-related course books or materials have been published regarding the establishment of a more correct and systematic system of representing Taiwanese phonetic symbols and writing characters.

On the other hand, the use or switching of Taiwanese in communications, particularly in CMC has become increasingly popular among young netizens. Not merely do they treat a switch to Taiwanese as an ethnic symbol showing solidarity (e.g. only people who have some proficiency of Taiwanese can understand the message and belong to this group), they also consider it a strategy of conveying humorous or expressive effect on their postings. This explains why they sometimes suddenly code-switch with weird or funny Chinese characters or phonetic transcription for the purpose of imitating Taiwanese or Taiwanese Mandarin, even though it may take them extra time and effort to do so. Take (93) and (94) for example, 聾 *song* is switched from M 俗 *su* to indicate 'vulgar' and 歐北共 *Ou bei gong* is used to represent 亂講 *luanjiang*

'talking carelessly' in Mandarin. In consequence, the spreading of the use of Taiwanese through the internet may further reinforce its development and influence on other domains such as education and politics, hence lead to the rising of its status.

7. Conclusion

This paper investigated the phenomenon of language change in Taiwan Mandarin through its contact with English and Taiwanese in CMC. By observing and analysing the data collected from the most popular BBS in Taiwan, the results demonstrated that both English and Taiwanese have had a great influence on the lexical, syntactic, and discursive aspects in online Taiwan Mandarin. At the lexical level, the effect is shown in the formation of borrowings such as loanwords (e.g. 粉絲 *fensi* 'fans'; 虎爛 *hulan* 'to lie; play tricks') and loanblends (e.g. 估狗大神 *gugoudashen* 'Google'; 撇步 *piebu* 'knacks of living'), native innovations (e.g. 狂笑ing; TMD) and eye dialect for Taiwanese Mandarin (e.g. 口愛; 渾美), and these involve the processes of phonological transliteration, semantic translation, or a combination of both. Compared to lexis, the impact at the syntactic level is much weaker and it is represented mainly in the alteration in word category, order or function within a sentence (e.g. 說 *shuo* 'say' as an intensifier). As to the discourse level, frequent code-switching between two contact varieties has been identified according to various syntactic categories of the switched items. It is noticeable that a difference exists in the frequency and categories in two sets of switching, and this possibly results from varied functions and nature of the code-switched language. Moreover, several other typical linguistic features in online Taiwan Mandarin are also examined. One of them attempts to create humorous effect upon the message (e.g. the use of emoticons or action words within brackets). The other posts articles in an informal written-spoken style (e.g. the use of expletives, swearwords, or Zhuyin Symbol). Last but not least, the present study

argues that firstly there may be cross-modality influence on the change in Taiwan Mandarin. By virtue of the far-reaching effect of CMC on non-electronic domains and young netizens' spreading online Taiwan Mandarin to other communities, some research has confirmed that it has been adopted in both written and spoken context such as the press, magazines, or campus conversations. Consequently, it is quite possible that this may contribute to the further change of Taiwan Mandarin in other settings. Secondly, the high value of Taiwanese being concerned and the popularity of using it in CMC may result in the revival and rising of its status and importance in Taiwan society.

One limitation of this paper may be that the range of the data is a little too narrow. Since the collection of the data is mainly from one particular board of the BBS, the topics are only confined in the gossiping related articles, in which the majority of them during the collection period are about celebrities' private lives. In this sense, some specific terms or ways of talk that occur in discussing other special issues may be ignored. Consequently, a selection of more diverse range of topics and longer period of data collection are suggested for conducting a more comprehensive investigation on the linguistic features in online Taiwan Mandarin.

To conclude, the present study demonstrates that English and Taiwanese have played a significant role in the formation of online Taiwan Mandarin, and it is likely that this new variety may expand to other less informal domains such as public speech or publications. In this sense, it is expected that the contact between these two varieties will induce further change in Taiwan Mandarin.

The paper has made a contribution to the study on the newly formed variety—online

Taiwan Mandarin, particularly on its linguistic features under the influence of English and Taiwanese, which is only little investigated in previous literature. In addition, it has also provided a qualitative and systematic model for the analysis of language contact in CMC and significant implications for future research on how online Taiwan Mandarin will keep on developing and how it will merge into the language in other domains and thus result in the change in Mandarin writing.

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Appendix

I. Englishised loanwords

- (1) 許醇美每個晚上都要狂摳我朋友，跟她抱怨想要回台灣，一抱怨就是整晚。
(#554 22/04/07)
- (2) 當年都是年幼無知的粉斯阿 (#11 04/0307)
唉~只是爲了出書騙粉絲的錢.... (#441 12/04/07)
- (3) 尬的 不會是被鄉民鬧的那次吧 ...orz (#43 06/0307)
- (4) 感覺很嚇克,陳 X 有那麼淫亂喔.. (# 105 12/03/07)
- (5) 講先生手上還抱著小北鼻 (#495 18/04/07)
聽老師說她生貝比的時候 (#595 25/04/07)
- (6) 因爲小時候學過芭蕾 所以 hip-hop 學起來還滿得心應手的.....
跳過八雷再跳 hiphop 會硬梆梆吧 (#441 12/04/07)
- (7) 我早就是很有名的麻豆了.... (#506 18/04/07)
- (8) 新版主講話好就可風說，阿漢姐的前夫 "+奇鬆" XD (#668 13/05/07)
- (9) 而她的...不知道是 T 還是雷絲邊就是她的秘書 (#311 03/04/07)
- (10) 記者該做的事很多,上網古狗一下就寫成聳動標題 (#626 06/05/07)
- (11) 就這樣被記了大過,跟二中說了掰掰 (#404 10/04/07)
- (12) 喔買尬 真的是相當節省呢!! (#4 03/03/07)
- (13) 然後阿亞說長輩要你跟他一起萬模禿模又不能不理他 (#681 14/05/07)

II. Englishised loanblends

- (14) 在估狗大神上找到照片@__@ (#139 16/03/07)

III. Taiwanised Lexis

A. Transliteration

- (56) 首先先聲明 這並非我虎爛 也不知道是不是大家都知道 (#187 21/03/07)
- (57) 我不是有錢人啦...只是有次航空公司出槌... (#734 21/05/07)
- (58) 八樓的...這不在我業務範圍...拍謝...^^"a (# 693 15/05/07)
- (59) 她的脫窗是有名的阿~~ (#728 20/05/07)
- (60) 張菲知道此事後阿沙力的答應 (#19 04/03/07)
- (61) 劉傑沒有配馬蓋先 但熊熊忘記配馬蓋先的是誰了 (#116 13/03/07)
- (62) 好野人!! (#217 23/03/07)
- (63) 他的老闆很喜歡在假日要他開車出去趴趴走 (#75 10/03/07)

B. Loan translation

- (64) 因為那位藥頭已經嗑藥嗑到頭殼壞去了 (#349 06/04/07)
- (65) 但該歌迷團對天后的支持實在很死忠 (#477 15/04/07)
- (66) 不是我們要討論，是他太牽拖 (#549 21/04/07)
- (67) 我的表叔和幾個親戚在花蓮開餐廳作辦桌 (#622 06/05/07)
- (68) 教育界中有這麼樣一個怪角 (#442 12/04/07)
- (69) but 徐生明沒啥反應 看起來是老神在在 (#34 05/03/07)

C. Mixed word creation

- (70) 裡面的好用生活小撇步也都整理好 (#1 03/03/07)
- (71) 講話也算客氣不會像是個澳客 (#159 18/03/07)