

## Chapter 43

# LINGUA FRANCAS IN GREATER CHINA

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### 43.1 Introduction

*Greater China*, a term that refers loosely to four more or less distinct polities—mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao—covers a land space of about 9.6 million square kilometers and is home to over 1.35 billion inhabitants. More than 90 percent of the people identify themselves as members of the biggest ethnic group, the Han (漢族, *Hanzu*). Other non-Han ethnic groups (e.g., Tibetans and Uyghurs) are found mainly in the northwestern and southwestern parts of China. This chapter provides a brief account of the national and regional Chinese lingua francas spoken by its Han speakers.

The term *lingua franca* has been defined and used in different ways. In a narrow sense, a lingua franca (or working language, bridge language, vehicular language) refers to a language used by speakers of “the neighboring heterolingual communities [who] do not speak each other’s languages but [who] use instead a third language as a means of mutual communication” (Chirikba 2008:31). Thus when English is used in dyadic communication between Mexicans and Koreans, or between Japanese and Chinese, English is used as a lingua franca. In other words, neither side is a native speaker of the lingua franca. For our purpose, however, the term is used in a broader sense to include situations in which native speakers of the lingua franca may be involved.

Like other major languages in the world, the Chinese language consists of many varieties and subvarieties. These are generally referred to in Chinese as *fangyan* 方言 ‘dialects’. Research shows that, historically, regional dialects in China have always coexisted with the national lingua franca *minzu gongtongyu* 民族共同語, literally ‘nationality-common-language’, which tended to be the language(s) spoken by the politically more powerful and socioeconomically well-educated elite group(s). Since the Yuan Dynasty (1271 CE–1368), Beijing gradually became the political, economic, and cultural center of the Middle Kingdom. Putonghua, the national language and lingua franca since 1949, is largely modeled on the pronunciation of the Beijing dialect. Depending on the region, however, other local Chinese varieties may serve as regional lingua francas, either in addition to or in place of Putonghua.

Linguistically, the term *Chinese* is internally complex as it may refer, in speech, to one of seven major Chinese dialects, each with its own subdialects (Li 2006:153):

- Mandarin (北方方言, *Beifang fangyan*; spoken in northern, northwestern, and southwestern parts of China)
- Wu (吳語, *Wuyu*, spoken mainly in Shanghai and the provinces Jiangsu and Zhejiang)

- Min (閩語, *Minyu*, spoken mainly in Fujian)
- Yue (粵語, *Yueyu*, spoken mainly in Guangdong and Guangxi)
- Xiang (湘語, *Xiangyu*, spoken in Hunan)
- Gan (贛語, *Ganyu*, spoken in Jiangxi)
- Kejia [Hakka] (客家話, *Kejiahua*, mainly spoken in small enclaves in different provinces in southern China, notably Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian, and Sichuan)

These are generally referred to as Sinitic languages, a branch of Sino-Tibetan (see, e.g., Chappell 2006). The dialect of Beijing is a subdialect of Northern Mandarin. As the six dialects are spoken in the regions south of the Yangtze River, they are collectively known as “southern dialects.” The Mandarin subgroups and the speakers of southern dialects account for about 70 and 30 percent of the Han population, respectively. An overview of the geographical regions where these dialects are spoken may be found in the *Language Atlas of China* (Wurm et al. 1987).

As a loose translation of *fangyan*, the term *dialect* as used in the Chinese context should be interpreted with caution. As many Western linguists have observed, given that speakers of different regional dialects tend to have great difficulties communicating with each other, Chinese “dialects” are in reality more like languages from the point of view of mutual intelligibility. For instance, the chance of successful communication between dialect speakers of Min (from Fujian or Taiwan) and Cantonese (from Guangdong or Guangxi) is slim, compared with that between speakers of Spanish and Portuguese, or Norwegian and Swedish, each speaking their national language (cf. Wang 1997). In the latter cases, success is assured by proximity in the respective linguistic subsystems from phonology (the system of pronunciation) to lexis (vocabulary) and grammar. It is therefore not surprising that Chinese dialects are regarded by Western linguists as more like languages.

If Chinese speakers of different dialects cannot communicate with one another, why aren't they called languages (語言, *yuyan*)? There are two main reasons. The first reason is rooted in a culturally determined and ideologically perpetuated “linguistic cosmology,” in that successive generations of Chinese are taught to believe that all Han Chinese have a common ethnolinguistic ancestry despite considerable diversity in their vernaculars. One telling example is the Chinese reference grammar *Zhongguohua de wenfa* (中國話的文法, *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*, Chao 1968:12), where the author states that “what is true of that [Beijing] dialect, especially in matters of grammar, is usually true of all the northern dialects, and very often true of all the dialects.”

The second reason is related to the way Chinese is written, a logographic (i.e., nonalphabetic) writing system, more commonly known as *fangkuaizi* 方塊字 ‘Chinese characters’. Unlike alphabetic languages such as English, German, and Russian, which are written or spelled based on the mapping of discrete speech sounds (e.g., consonants and vowels) onto different configurations of graphical units or letters that make up the alphabet, the Chinese writing system is nonalphabetic but logographic. For instance, a bisyllabic Chinese word such as 大學 is pronounced as *dàxué* by Mandarin speakers, and *daai<sup>22</sup> hok<sup>22</sup>* by Cantonese speakers. As Wang (1997:61) observes, such a writing system “is uniquely well-suited to the spoken forms, satisfying the equation: ‘character = morpheme = syllable’.” Apart from preserving the link with historical Chinese heritage and maintaining lingua-cultural continuity in writing, this orthographic principle or design of written Chinese allows its users to read or pronounce Chinese words in their respective dialects. One interesting consequence is that dialect speakers who fail

to get their meanings across may resort to writing, often with a fair chance of success—subject to two caveats. First, in the People’s Republic of China, Chinese characters have undergone considerable simplification (e.g., 国, ‘country’), whereas traditional Chinese characters continue to be used in Taiwan and the two Special Administrative Regions (SARs), Hong Kong and Macao (e.g., 國, ‘country’). Second, while dialectal elements in writing are not encouraged in mainland China, words specific to Southern Min and Cantonese are commonly used in Taiwan and the two SARs, respectively, especially in “soft” genres of print media, including on the Internet. Not surprisingly, this is a source of literacy problems for Chinese readers who are unfamiliar with Southern Min or Cantonese.

In terms of learning how to write, unlike learning words in an alphabetic language, the pronunciation of a Chinese word, which may consist of one or more morphosyllables or characters, must be learned along with its meaning(s) and written form. For Chinese as an additional language learners, therefore, the acquisition of written Chinese is generally more challenging and time-consuming compared with learning how to write an alphabetic language.

## 43.2 National and Regional Lingua Francas in Mainland China

### 43.2.1 Putonghua/Mandarin: The National Lingua Franca of Mainland China

In addition to being a symbol of national unity, a standardized national language is needed for effective governance, socioeconomic development, social advances through education, and the cultivation of shared cultural values. The national spoken languages of China and Taiwan are linguistically very similar, although they go by different names: *Putonghua* 普通話, literally ‘common language’ in mainland China, and *Guoyu* 國語 literally ‘national language’ in Taiwan.<sup>i</sup> In China, the phonological system of Putonghua is essentially based on the norms of pronunciation in Beijing, while its vocabulary and grammar are modeled on those of northern Mandarin dialects and exemplary modern works in *baihua* 白話 ‘vernacular literary language’ (Chen 1999:24). As such, Putonghua does not coincide with any regional dialect; rather, it is virtually a product of careful language planning. For speakers of other dialects, the learning of Putonghua is akin in many ways to the learning of a second language in the border regions of nation states in Europe (compare, e.g., the learning of standard German by native speakers of Luxembourgish, which for speakers of standard German is a German-based dialect).

Since the founding of the People’s Republic, the vitality and use of regional dialects is assured by a national language policy that fosters “dialect bilingualism” or “bidialectalism” (Erbaugh 1995). Accordingly, official and media events should be conducted in Putonghua, while informal interaction at the local or regional level may take place in the local people’s preferred vernacular(s). The promotion of Putonghua is certainly a high priority, but this does not take place at the expense of regional dialects, which is officially recognized as a crucial and integral part of their speakers’ shared lingua-cultural heritage rooted in their local identity in the same “hometown” (e.g., programs featuring opera sung in the regional dialects are routinely broadcast locally on the radio and TV). Consistent with the spirit of this benign national language policy, enforcement takes the form of carrots rather than sticks, for example, by eulogizing cadres who publicly advocate the use of Putonghua at official functions.

The promotion of Putonghua has been one of three important policy goals since the 1950s,<sup>ii</sup> when the number of speakers who could understand Putonghua in China was estimated

to be less than 50%. Given considerable linguistic diversity within its borders, however, the promotion of Putonghua has been and remains a thorny task, one that has met with some resistance in the dialect areas despite significant progress in the decades since 1949. To facilitate the learning of Putonghua, a standard Romanization system called pinyin was introduced. It has proved to be a very useful learning aid. In addition, local dialects are banned in the classroom, and classes from preprimary to tertiary levels are conducted in the medium of Putonghua. Slogans and reminders that teachers should speak in Putonghua are not uncommon in teachers' rooms and elsewhere on the walls within school premises. Specific Putonghua-level requirements are also set for certain professions on a scale of 1 to 3, with 1 being the highest level. Thus Level 1 Putonghua is required for media professionals such as journalists, newscasters, performers, and artists. To enter the teaching profession in the dialect areas, Level 2 is the threshold. In other sectors in the dialect areas, such as the civil service and service industries in general, a Putonghua-preferred policy is more or less strictly enforced.

Thanks to measures such as these, there is some indication that the percentage of people who are conversant in Putonghua nationwide has been steadily on the rise. By 1984, about 90 percent could understand Putonghua, but the percentage of people who could speak it remained rather low at only about 50%. Today, the percentage of speakers who can understand and speak Putonghua must be considerably higher, but there are no reliable recent statistics to my knowledge.

How successful the Putonghua promotion campaign is depends in part on the relative proximity of the speaker's home language to Putonghua linguistically. In general, for those in the Mandarin-speaking areas roughly in the north, northeast, and the northwest, the learning of Putonghua is relatively straightforward, for it means adjusting their pronunciation and lexicogrammatical choices more or less to meet the norms of the standard. Their learning is thus generally more successful than those in other dialect areas. Indeed, the learning of Putonghua is not at all straightforward for dialect speakers residing roughly south of the Yangtze River. To facilitate the learning of Putonghua by these dialect speakers, contrastive analysis between Putonghua and various dialects and subdialects has been carried out, yielding a body of research that has led to the publication of many informative references and learning aids for dialect speakers.

Another hurdle toward the effective learning of Putonghua is lexical variation, which is considerable within and across dialect groups, as shown in the number of lexical variants. For example, in the Mandarin-speaking areas, more than thirty lexical variants have been found for basic vocabulary such as *zhangfu* 丈夫 'husband' and *qizi* 妻子 'wife'; seventeen lexical variants for *cesuo* 廁所 'toilet', and twenty-two for *chufang* 廚房 'kitchen' (cited in Li 2006:156–158). This helps explain why, despite relative phonological proximity among the Mandarin subdialects, intelligibility problems between their speakers cannot be avoided. Cross-dialectal variation is even more marked. For instance, with regard to closed lexical sets of function words such as adverbials of time, measure words, demonstrative pronouns, and terms of address, several dozens of lexical variants have been identified in different dialects and subdialects. This is why communication across dialects is anything but smooth and a lingua franca is needed to minimize intelligibility problems.

Apart from acquisitional problems rooted in the relative linguistic distance with Putonghua, dialect speakers' emotional attachment to the local and regional dialects is another barrier. Even though Putonghua is the official medium of instruction from preprimary nurseries to tertiary education, and Putonghua is the preferred language in formal national or regional

events, the regional dialects have mass followings and tend to rival the prestige of Putonghua in informal settings.

In terms of the effectiveness of the Putonghua promotion campaign, there is some indication that the amount of schooling—Putonghua medium by definition—is a fairly good predictor of a speaker’s ability to understand and speak Putonghua. Dialect speakers who are illiterate are therefore unlikely to be fluent Putonghua speakers. Other relevant factors include whether there is a competing, prestigious local or regional dialect and whether the dialect area is linguistically heterogeneous. Thus, in Guangzhou, the provincial capital of Guangdong province, the promotion of Putonghua is less effective partly because of the presence of a prestigious dialect and regional lingua franca, Cantonese (compare Hong Kong and Macao; see later discussion). In contrast, where the local vernaculars are mutually unintelligible, such as the subdialects of Min in Fujian province, the promotion of Putonghua has been relatively more successful.

Recently, more linguists and sociolinguists in mainland China recognize that, instead of expecting everyone to attain Level 1 Putonghua, some of the “learner features” in the learning process may be more appropriately seen as terminal learning goals in their own right rather than being labeled as “errors.” Accordingly, there is growing recognition of local or regional varieties of Putonghua in China.

### 43.2.2 Regional Lingua Francas in Mainland China

In the dialect areas, Putonghua has to compete with one or more regional lingua francas. In general, the economically better off the dialect speakers are, the more prestigious their vernaculars. Cantonese, by virtue of the fact that it is also the dominant vernacular of more prosperous speakers in Hong Kong and to a lesser extent, Macao and the Pearl River Delta region, is by far the most prestigious southern dialect. Since the 1980s, mainland business people wanting to do business with their counterparts in Hong Kong are eager to learn some Cantonese. From the 1990s onward, Hong Kong-based Cantonese TV programs transmitted via satellite are increasingly accessible to mainland viewers in Guangdong province and beyond. Cantonese is also both the inspiration and the carrier of sundry cultural consumables such as Cantopop songs, karaoke video discs, and TV dramas. All this explains why many mainlanders are eager to learn it as an additional language or dialect. More recently, such a trend has been further enhanced by rapidly expanding cross-border visits of mainland Chinese tourists to Hong Kong, although this development has also motivated many Cantonese-dominant Hong-Kongers, notably employees in hospitality industries, to learn some Putonghua.

A few other regional lingua francas, especially those spoken by people living in regions along the South China coast, are popular for similar reasons. For over half a century, since the late 1900s, many Chinese migrants fled political instability and economic hardship in search of a better life in diasporas, notably in Southeast Asia and North America. Over time, the descendants of these early migrants have accrued wealth and, taking advantage of their mother country’s open door policy since the 1980s, invested in businesses and/or initiated charity projects through making generous donations in their hometowns. The inability of these *huaqiao* 華僑 ‘overseas Chinese’ to speak Putonghua matters little; what matters is their economic success, which makes them proud of the vernacular passed on to them by their forefathers and others from the same hometowns in the coastal regions. This is essentially why Yue, Wu, and Min—dialects spoken in regions along the South China coast—are relatively more prestigious compared with the other

three dialects Gan, Kejia, and Xiang, which are spoken in landlocked provinces. One consequence is that speakers of less prestigious dialects and subdialects tend to find it useful to learn one or more prestigious dialects to facilitate communication with the locals. In sum, in the economically more prosperous coastal regions, one perennial reality that Putonghua speakers must contend with is that Putonghua has to compete with the local or regional lingua francas, especially in informal interaction with the locals.

### 43.3 Guoyu and Southern Min in Taiwan: National and Regional Lingua Franca

Ethnolinguistically, Taiwan is essentially a multilingual Chinese community. With a population estimated at over 23 million, the majority of Taiwanese are probably best characterized as bilingual speakers of Guoyu (Mandarin), the national language since 1949. Two other Han Chinese varieties are Southern Min (*Minnanhua*) and Hakka (*Kejia*), regional dialects that were brought to the island by early migrants from the south of Fujian and the north of Guangdong across the Taiwan Strait since the 17th century. Guoyu, on the other hand, was mandated by the Kuomintang (Nationalist) government under Chiang Kai Shek, who fled to Taiwan after losing the civil war. For nearly four decades until 1987 when the martial law was lifted, a draconian Guoyu-only policy was enforced. During this period, no other languages were tolerated; harsh punitive measures (e.g., in school) were imposed. One consequence is that those Taiwanese whose home language was one other than Guoyu—descendants of earlier settlers, so to speak—grew up to become Guoyu-dominant speakers, with or without developing native-like competence in their (grand)parents' home language. Interestingly, their embittered sentiments are reflected linguistically in a deep-seated “them versus us” divide: the term *waishengren* 外省人 ‘outsiders’ (literally, ‘people outside of the province’) was coined in reference to the Guoyu-speaking settlers who arrived after the Second World War, and is still in common parlance today (and amplified, e.g., in high-stake election campaigns).<sup>iii</sup>

In addition to Han Chinese, there is a tiny non-Chinese population of Polynesian origin. These indigenous peoples are collectively referred to as *yuanzhumin* 原住民 ‘aborigines’. There used to be dozens of mutually unintelligible aboriginal languages. Today, few young Taiwanese of aboriginal descent are able to speak the language(s) of their forefathers, largely as a result of sociopolitically hostile language policies of successive governments in the past century.<sup>iv</sup> Sadly, therefore, aboriginal languages in Taiwan have either undergone language death following the demise of their last speakers or are undergoing radical language shift and classified as “endangered,” for the number of fluent speakers is numerically not significant enough to warrant effective language revitalization or maintenance.

In terms of distribution of the speakers, broadly speaking, Guoyu prevails in the northern part of Taiwan; the south is dominated by Southern Min, while smaller enclaves of Hakka-speaking and aboriginal language communities are scattered in different parts of the island. This is why, in general, the further down south one travels, the more apparent it becomes that Southern Min is the preferred lingua franca of local inhabitants. In sum, being the national language, Guoyu is the most widely learned and spoken lingua franca across Taiwan, except in the south, where it competes with Southern Min, the regional lingua franca.

Linguistically, Putonghua in mainland China and Guoyu in Taiwan are cognate languages. Intelligibility problems in communication between their speakers are minimal. For

over six decades since the 1950s, however, having undergone sociocultural development more or less unique to successive generations of its speakers, Guoyu or “Taiwan Mandarin” has evolved its own regional linguistic characteristics. Systematic linguistic differences between (mainland) Putonghua and Guoyu are especially pronounced in vocabulary, in phonology to some extent, and less so in grammar.

## 43.4 Cantonese as a Lingua Franca in Two Special Administrative Regions: Hong Kong and Macao

Through an unprecedented sociopolitical arrangement, ‘one country, two systems’, the former colonies Hong Kong and Macao returned to China and became SARs (HKSAR and MSAR) on July 1, 1997 and December 20, 1999, respectively. As far as language policy is concerned, whereas the language of the former colonial masters (English in Hong Kong, Portuguese in Macao) continues to be listed in the Basic Law as a co-official language after the handover, the term *Chinese* is tacitly understood as referring, in speech, to Cantonese rather than to Putonghua. Consequently, Cantonese continues to thrive in such important domains as government, education, law, and media in the two SARs. Putonghua is recognized as a national language, but its use remains restricted to ceremonial and symbolic functions.

With few exceptions, in school, from the preprimary to the tertiary level, written Chinese (traditional rather than simplified characters—unlike in the mainland) is taught and pronounced in Cantonese as before. Some sociolinguists believe this policy has important implications with regard to ensuring the continued vitality of Cantonese in the two SARs. The fact that Chinese literacy is developed essentially through Cantonese helps explain the spread of written Cantonese in informal settings. As is well known, dialect writing is not encouraged in mainland China. In the Chinese newspapers of the two SARs, however, it is not difficult to find Cantonese-specific words in such “soft” genres as chatty columns, infotainment news, cartoons and advertisements, where the norms of (informal) speaking rather than writing are followed, including the Cantonese-English mixed code. Indeed, the more tabloid-like the newspaper, the more one could expect to find Cantonese elements, especially in the back pages. Hard news stories appear to be the only exception to this rule. Hence Cantonese is the only southern dialect that has developed a written language rivaling the Northern Mandarin-based standard written Chinese (Chen 1999: 51; cf. Snow 2004).

### 43.4.1 Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

With over 7.07 million inhabitants (as of February 2012) living on a land space of around 1,050 square kilometers, HKSAR is one of the most densely populated places in the world. Over 95 percent of the population is ethnic Chinese; of these, nine out of ten use Cantonese as their usual (home) language. A few other regional Chinese varieties are spoken by older people and new immigrants, but their numbers are negligible and they tend to understand and speak at least some Cantonese.

After the return of sovereignty to China, English remains an important language in such domains as government, education, business, and law. Putonghua is now a compulsory school subject in primary school and an optional examination subject in the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education. The HKSAR government recognizes the importance of a workforce

equipped with English and Putonghua skills. Every year, huge amounts of resources are made available to various institutions in the education sector from primary to tertiary levels to help students improve their competence in these two important international/regional languages and to promote their literacy skills in English and Chinese. This language policy goal came to be known as “biliteracy and trilingualism” (兩文三語).

Cantonese is the most prestigious Chinese dialect that rivals the status of Putonghua in the Pearl River Delta region. There are several reasons for this. In addition to the sui-generis economic success of the “Pearl of the Orient” (more recently: “Asia’s World City”) and the relative affluence of its inhabitants, coupled with the fact that Cantonese is the language of popular consumables ranging from Cantopop CDs to Hollywood-style blockbusters, Cantonese is increasingly perceived by younger generations as an integral part of their Hong Kong (Chinese) identity. Many mainland Chinese are interested in learning it as an additional language or dialect.

There are, however, some indications that the golden age of Cantonese as an additional language or dialect may have peaked following the economic downturns since 1998. One recent development is that Hong Kong’s economic well-being is increasingly dependent on the spending patterns of mainland tourists and shoppers arriving in large numbers. Since relatively few of these Putonghua-speaking visitors from the north understand or speak Cantonese, more and more local shop owners and assistants and others in the hospitality industries (e.g., hotel employees and travel agency personnel) are taking the initiative to learn some Putonghua. No wonder knowledge of Putonghua is one important or even required skill in many local job adverts.

#### 43.4.2 Macao Special Administrative Region

Situated in the estuary of the Pearl River Delta some 40 nautical miles to the west of Hong Kong, Macao is a former Portuguese enclave with a total land area of about 30 square kilometers; it is home to over half a million people (542,200, as of January 2010). Like Hong Kong, the majority of the inhabitants in Macao have Cantonese as their usual (home) language. Unlike Hong Kong, however, little significance is attached to Portuguese, the language of the former colonizers. As the colonial government was not very keen in promoting Portuguese, there were very few fluent speakers of Portuguese.<sup>v</sup> In this regard, little has changed in the postcolonial era. There are signs that Putonghua is getting more important; knowledge of Modern Standard Chinese is a requirement for joining the civil service.

Economically, Macao is probably best known for its gaming industry and tourism. Many casinos and luxury hotels have been opened since the return of sovereignty to China in 1999. In recent years, China’s “Monte Carlo of the Orient” has outperformed other gaming capitals such as Las Vegas in terms of total revenues. In the tourism sector, the MSAR government’s successful application in 2005 to add Macao to China’s “UNESCO World Heritage List” is like a magnet attracting tourists and business travelers from different parts of the world. The need to interact with English-speaking and Putonghua-speaking visitors every day has generated a great demand for learning English and Putonghua. The principal economic activities in Macao thus help explain why English and Putonghua are increasingly important in the SAR’s manpower planning.



## 43.5 Prospects of Putonghua as an International Lingua Franca

As a national lingua franca, Mandarin has the largest number of speakers in the world. It is one of the six working languages of the United Nations. Thanks to the rise of China as a global political and economic player in the new millennium, more and more people outside of Greater China are attracted to learning Chinese as an additional language. There is some indication that Putonghua is slowly evolving into an international lingua franca; witness, for example, the rapid increase in the number of Confucius Institutes worldwide (more than 300 as of January 2012), and the Swedish government's plan to make Chinese a mandatory school subject in primary and secondary schools starting in 2020 ("Every School Must Teach Chinese" 2011).

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<sup>i</sup> In Singapore, Standard Chinese is called *Huayu* 華語, literally 'language of Han Chinese'. The norms of speaking and writing are largely modeled on those in mainland China, including the use of simplified characters.

<sup>ii</sup> The other two important goals are (a) the codification and standardization of Modern Standard Chinese, spoken and written and (b) the simplification of Chinese characters.

<sup>iii</sup> The corresponding 'us' designation is *benshengren* 本省人, literally 'people of this province', referring to descendants of early settlers who have always belonged to Taiwan.

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<sup>iv</sup> Japanese was imposed for fifty years during the colonial period (1895–1945). Guoyu was mandated beginning in 1949 under the Nationalist Kuomintang government.

<sup>v</sup> There is a small group of Mekanese of mixed Portuguese and Asian descent (less than 10,000 as of 2006). Many Mekanese are professionals fluent in Portuguese and Cantonese; some have a good knowledge of English as well. During the colonial era, they served as middle persons between Portuguese officials and local Chinese.