

教育部语信司—南京大学中国语言战略研究中心主办


- 主 编：沈 阳 徐大明
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中国语言战略

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**CHINA
LANGUAGE
STRATEGIES**

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出版说明

《中国语言战略》以语言规划为主题,由教育部语信司指导,教育部语信司—南京大学中国语言战略研究中心主办。中国语言战略研究中心成立于2007年,以推动和发展中国的语言规划研究为宗旨。

语言规划有助于引导语言生活向健康、和谐的方向发展,有助于保障个人或群体语言使用权益的充分实现,有助于促进国家统一、民族团结、社会稳定、经济发展和文化进步,对于像我国这样的多民族、多语言国家来说,意义尤其重大。

语言规划学是一门新学科,但语言规划的实践活动却历史悠久。在我国,语言规划的实践可以追溯到秦始皇的“书同文”政策,其后各朝各代在社会语言文字使用方面也不断进行着引导或干预。新中国成立后,语言文字工作成为政府工作的一个重要组成部分。改革开放以来,特别是新世纪以来,语言文字工作进入了一个新的阶段。与此同时,我国的语言规划研究也逐步开展起来。

世界范围内,现代科学意义上的语言规划研究始于第二次世界大战以后,我国学者紧跟时代步伐、顺应社会需要,开展了一系列具有划时代意义的语言文字工作。老一辈语言学家罗常培、王力、吕叔湘、周有光等,肩负起知识分子的历史使命和社会责任,在推动、促进文字改革,推广普通话和现代汉语规范化方面发挥了重要的作用,为我们树立了优秀的榜样。通过几代人的不断努力,语言规划研究已经初步形成了一个学科体系。

语言规划学是一门学术性和政策性、理论性和应用性兼重的学科,它的研究融语言本体研究成果与国家、民族和社会的发展需要于一体,不仅进行理论研究,而且力图影响国家和政府的语言政策及语言文字工作。目前,国际上语言规划的研究已有重要的发展,也创办了一些有影响的专业期刊,如1977年创刊的《语言问题和语言规划》(*Language Problems and Language Planning*),2000年创刊的《语言规划的当前问题》(*Current Issues in Language Planning*)和2002年创刊的《语言政策》(*Language Policy*)等。随着中国社会的发展,创办一种以中国语言规划为主要研究对象、以中文读者为主要读者群的专业集刊也成为迫切的需求,《中国语言战略》就是对这一需求做出的反应。

《中国语言战略》主要关注中国社会所面临的种种具体的语言问题,以及这些语言问题与政治、经济、教育、文化等的相互影响,关注中国社会所发生的剧烈变化所引起的语言使用、语言认同、语言教育、语言保护、语言规范等方面的一系列变化。《中国语言战略》提倡实地考察和个案研究,强调运用科学的方法,对中国社会复杂而丰富的语言生活及相关问题进行描写、分析和解释,鼓励引进和借鉴国外的理论与经验,同时以中国语言规划的研究和实践丰富语言规划学的理论与方法。《中国语言战略》将遵循中国语言战略研究中心的宗旨,积极推动语言规划和语言政策的理论研究,促进适应中国国情的语言规划理论和语言规划学科的产生。

《中国语言战略》2012年卷由上海译文出版社出版,中国语言战略研究中心在此对上海译文出版社表示感谢。《中国语言战略》2015年卷本的出版工作由南京大学出版社承担,在组稿和审稿过程中得到了海内外学者的热情支持与帮助,在此表示诚挚的谢意。中国语言战略研究中心希望能够聚合国内外学者的智慧和力量,通过《中国语言战略》,为语言规划、语言政策的理论和实践研究提供一个新的交流平台,我们热切地邀请海内外的学界同仁一起投身于这项事业,让我们一起为建设中国和世界的语言新环境努力。

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Long-term Accommodation and Language Planning Strategies: Network Density, Dialect Vitality, and the Restructuring of the Shanghai Speech Community

Marinus van den Berg

Abstract: In a society, citizens are exposed to measures taken at the national level, and adjust to these measures over time. This process is called long-term accommodation toward a national norm or norms. One of these norms set by the government is the standard language, and national level support for education will push students with knowledge of the standard language into the job market, which in the ideal case is matched by a pull factor from various services and industries. The results of this process were monitored in Shanghai via a questionnaire study and direct observations of language use. The results are interpreted in the light of speech community theory and vitality theory. A central concept in the latter framework is "network density", and it is argued that this concept allows predictions of accommodation processes within the wider society. This model is offered to language planners as a point of orientation on which to base their language strategy decisions. The recommendations offered are wider media support for dialects and the establishment of dialect academies.

Key words: long-term accommodation; standard language; push and pull forces; speech community theory; vitality theory; network density; language planning strategies

Introduction

When citizens grow up in a certain country, it is taken for granted that they will follow the norms set by that society. The implications of such a matter-of-fact principle, however, are far-reaching and not immediately understood by lay-people and scholars alike. The first is the relation between planning at the national level and language interactions in local speech communities. Traditional speech communities may see themselves as autonomous, and find themselves mainly independent of planning at the national level, but that

perceptiond changes when industrialization attracts large numbers of migrants to the urban areas in search of jobs and a better way of life. In what way will migrants adjust to the local situation and what influence will their presence have on the structure of the (traditional) speech community? The second implication is the relation between industrial planning at the national level and the language requirements of the job market. Migration from all parts of China creates demand for a national lingua franca in the work place as well as in the retail and service industries. A lingua franca is needed in order to make communication across

dialect boundaries possible. There remains, however, a substantial number of settings in which the local vernacular is needed. Examples are administration, transportation, and the health and service industries, all of which cater to the needs of members of the local speech community. The general question that follows is how members of the local speech community will react to network changes, which sometimes force them to use a language variety which is not their customary mother tongue, but also gives them access to the opportunities of national level contacts and a national job market? What attitudes will the parent generation develop toward the national language and in what way will they translate that attitude into action toward their children?

In the following, we will first introduce the concept of long-term accommodation and relate that to the push and pull forces of education and the job market. Thereafter we will analyze language use in Shanghai and relate that to the city's social hierarchy. After introducing the main tenets of speech community theory and network density, we will use these concepts to construct a dialect vitality model that can handle the restructuring of the Shanghai speech community, as well as predicting attitude formation, maintenance of dialect features and language choice behaviour by native Shanghai residents. We finally will reflect on the implications these findings can have on language planning efforts and we will recommend two measures in particular, wider media access for dialects, and the establishment of dialect academies.

Long-term accommodation

The concept "long-term accommodation toward a societal language norm" asks attention for the national level setting of a nation and the implications this setting has for the behaviour of that nation's residents (van den Berg, 1988, 1992). In the quoted papers, it was shown that given a certain political configuration, citizens adjust overtime to the language norms as defined by that society. The data showed that in each period Taiwanese residents adjusted their language behavior toward the cultural and political setting of that time. At the end of the Qing empire, the cultural setting determining which language variety should be acquired for reading and writing was Wenyan 文言, "classical Chinese", and that language variety and the associated imperial class structure determined education targets and expectations for employment. When power over Taiwan came in the hands of the Japanese Empire, they did not immediately discontinue that tradition, but set an alternative in the form of modern education, introducing modern subjects as well as the Japanese language, and after a number of years made the Japanese language the education target, and the Japanese society the orientation point for job selection (Tsurumi, 1977). When after the Second World War Taiwan returned as a province to the Republic of China, measures were taken for the immediate replacement of Japanese and the introduction of the national language, Putonghua 普通话 (He Rong, 1971).

When studying the language repertoire of grandparents and parents of undergraduate students at Taiwan University in 1977, the effect of these three consecutive governmental phases were reflected in the language repertoires of the three generations, grandparents, parents, and students, growing up under these different national level configurations (cf. van den Berg, 1986, 1988, 1992). Among the oldest generation, born between 1888 and 1898, who received schooling between 1895 and 1918, one-out-of-five of the grandmothers and 50% of the grandfathers acquired a

working knowledge of Japanese during the Japanese period (table 1). After the retrocession of Taiwan, one-out-of-seven of the grandfathers also acquired a working knowledge of Putonghua in addition to that of Japanese. Grandmothers, however, were not reported as having acquired Putonghua. These data reflect the social priorities among the older generation and are in agreement with what would be expected in a traditional, but modernizing Chinese society. Nevertheless, these developments were still more advanced than in most places in the Chinese mainland at the time.

Table 1 Language repertoire of three generations of Taiwanese residents, who grew up under consecutive political constellations; 1977/78 data (%)

Generation	Language repertoire				
	Mi	MiJa	MiMaJa	MiMa	T
Maternal					
—Grandmothers	71	22	0	—	93
—Grandfathers	52	27	14	—	93
Paternal					
—Grandmothers	74	21	0	—	95
—Grandfathers	48	35	14	—	97
Parents					
—Mother	20	18	46	—	84
—Father	9	12	57	—	78
Students					
—Male/Female	7	—	—	90	97

The parent generation, born between 1918 and 1928, who received schooling between 1925 and 1948, grew up under two consecutive governments, and this is reflected in their language repertoire, which for half of them (a little less for the

mothers, and a little more for the fathers) contained both Japanese and Mandarin. Monolingual Minnan 闽南 speakers were in comparison with the older generation strongly reduced, as was the group of Minnan/Japanese bilinguals (table 1).

The third generation students, growing up under the Republic, as expected, did not acquire Japanese, and in a wide majority claimed to be bilingual in Minnanhua 闽南话 and Putonghua. A small minority among these students reported to see themselves mainly as Minnanhua speakers. Each generation then, as the data show, accommodated to the norms set by the respective authorities, and for the two older generations, this meant adjusting to both Japanese and Putonghua.

The previous data show that a shift in government is not free, it has consequences. And it is those consequences we need to look at when we consider the next governmental shift, that to the PRC, the People's Republic of China, a long term-process of adjustment to the language standards set at the national level. This accommodation is not simple and linear, moving in a straight line from the dialects to Putonghua. In the beginning years of the PRC, standardization of the national language was completed, but this was not followed-up by consistent and cohesive implementation of modern knowledge based education. Education was ideology based, and did not address the various issues of job creation, which need to accompany education planning. As a result, after 1980, when jobs were created, a rush toward Shenzhen, the first Special Economic Zone, and the first job creation center in the South, followed. When thereafter the city of Guangzhou and the wider Pearl River Delta joined the melee, the language that spread North was Cantonese and it was not

Putonghua that spread South (Guo Xi, 2004; Zhang Bohui, 1993). That is, until the mid-nineties, when planning at the national level had become consistent, supporting a modern market economy with successful Putonghua based education that could provide the kind of technical knowledge and expertise that was required by a fast-growing, modern economy, in which China had become one of the main players.

A long-term accommodation model for Mainland China

After 1980 and the establishment of the SEZs, the Chinese government set new targets for the spread of Putonghua (Chen Ping, 1999). The effects were first of all visible at the various Normal Universities, from which they spread to the various schools in the education system (Chen Ping, 1999). At the same time, success of industrial planning pushed China increasingly in the direction of a market economy, and with that success Putonghua spread as well. The question that begs many researchers is the exact way in which Putonghua spreads in large urban centers, and the effects of that spread in these urban speech communities. The latter issue, we will address later in this contribution in more detail. The model underlying the push and pull mechanism is represented in figure 1. The model indicates that the education system pushes people with various levels of education into the market, from where state organizations and increasing numbers of private enterprises attract their work

force. This pull, however, is not one-sided. For administration, transportation, building industry, health and service industries, knowledge of the local language remains crucial, especially in an aging population, and availability of bilingual personnel remains a serious issue.

we can observe that each following generation is somewhat more sophisticated when it enters the job market and has skills that more closely match the continuously rising demands by knowledge based industries. It is this latter effect that makes us expect an increase in acquisition, proficiency and use of Putonghua when an older generation and a younger generation are compared, and that is what we will look at now first, using data from Shanghai.

The Putonghua push factor: acquisition shift

In Shanghai in 2007 and 2008, data were collected about language behavior of students, their parents, their parents' co-workers, relatives and friends (Xue Caide, 2010). Two-third of the community members consisted of persons older than forty years, leaving one-third (36%) for the younger community members (see table 2 for the details of age group composition). Comparison of the language acquisition data shows a strong reduction (27%) in the acquisition of Shanghainese and a corresponding increase in the direction of bilingual (Putonghua / Shanghainese) and Putonghua only language acquisition by the student generation (table 3).

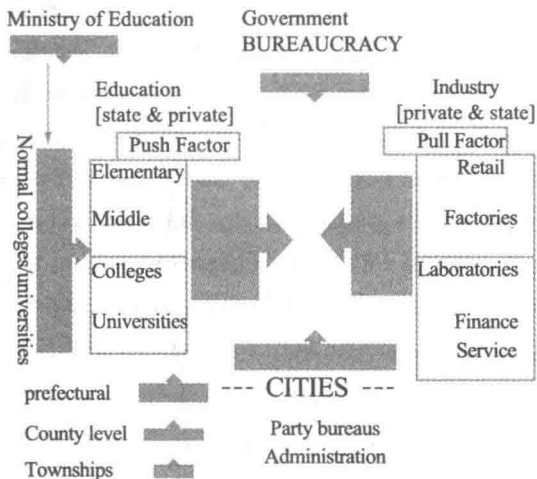


Fig. 1 National level planning and the push and pull forces regulating the job market

It is important to observe that the Normal Universities not only provide better-and-better trained teachers, but that this also translates into better-and-better educated students, especially so since the education system allows participation by private schools, which are supported by private investment and help to diversify market forces. Given this diversification,

Table 2 Age group distribution of Shanghai University home community survey; 2008

Respondents	Age group					T
	20—29	30—39	40—49	50—59	60+	
N	157	124	213	175	113	782
%	20	16	27	22	15	100

Table 3 Language acquisition by students and community members; Shanghai survey 2007/2008

Generation	Language variety		
	SHN	SHN/PTH	PTH
Community members	63	12	6
Students	36	23	24
Generation shift	-27	+11	+18

Variation in language use across social situations

Data on language behavior of the community members further revealed that (self-reported) language use varied considerably across situations. The situations listed in the questionnaire were talking with same age-group members, with children, with colleagues at the work-unit,

and with shop assistants in local stores. The percentages for the use of Shanghainese fell from 60% for interactions with same generation family members to 25% for interactions with shop assistants, whereas the percentage for bilingual interactions and Putonghua increased in the order from family members, to children, to colleagues and to shop assistants (table 4).

Table 4 Shift in use of Shanghainese (SHN) across social situation; community survey 2008

Interaction	N	SHN	SHN PTH	PTH	T	OTH
Family members	634	60	13	8	81	19
Children	662	46	34	10	90	
Colleagues	760	31	42	21	94	
Shop assistants	781	25	48	24	97	

Before interpreting these data further two comments are necessary. The first relates to the category “Other” in table 4. This shows that one-in-five of the family members used a not further specified Chinese dialect at home. This data is not unexpected and confirms earlier reports by among others Chu Xiaoquan (2001). The important thing to note is that these dialect speakers helped to increase the percentage of Putonghua use with children, as well as with colleagues and shop assistants. These dialects, as will be clear, can hardly be used outside the protection of the home.

They can be used with their children and with some of their colleagues, but only in very few instances with shop assistants, as the data in table 4 confirm.

The second comment concerns the education background of the community members. Data provided in the paper show that 12% of the respondents received a college degree education or higher, whereas the figure of educational attainment of college level and higher for Shanghai for 2005 was 17%. A wide majority of the respondents had a High School or lower education, which is in agreement with the 2005

statistics (Xue Caide, 2010). It is on the basis of the data in table 4 that we like to make a comparison with direct observations of language use in various department stores in Shanghai in order to see to what extent these reports can be corroborated by actual observations, which were made by the present author and his observation team of Shanghainese students in 2007, the same time period in which the questionnaire data were collected.

When we now take a closer look at the use of Shanghainese in table 4, we first of all must make a division into two groups. The first two present data within-family interactions, which in sociology are referred to as communication between in-group members. What these data reveal is the push force of families toward the language behavior of their children, which according to these data show that one of every seven families (14%) lowered the level of Shanghainese only, when talking to children, while increasing the level of bilingual, Shanghainese and Putonghua, interactions. As said, we consider this confirmation of the presence of a push factor in support of Putonghua among certain Shanghainese families. What kind of families these are, would be the next question, but the paper quoted did not provide that level of detail. We can guess, however, that these are the families with a higher education background, and the percentage quoted indeed supports that view.

The work unit interactions show a different picture. Interactions with colleagues in the work unit show language adjustment

motivated by either the nature of the job, or by the presence of other dialect speakers. In the first case, we see the influence of the standard language through speech practices, Putonghua terms and expressions take over certain sections of dialect discourse (Qian Nairong, 2010; You Ru-jie, 2010). The second case brings to the surface the role of Putonghua as the national lingua franca when there are dialect speakers among the colleagues, and a shared lingua franca is needed (Brosnahan, 1963).

The last case, interactions with shop assistants, brings in the language repertoire of shop assistants as a variable, and in order to clarify the nature of such interactions, we will now first look at data collected in two Shanghai shopping centers, in order to see how these data can best be interpreted, by establishing the extent to which these self-report data are in agreement with direct observations. In the next section, we will present data, which were collected in Nanjing East Road 南京东路, Shanghai's most famous shopping area, and in Xujiahui 徐家汇, a more recently established shopping area, located in a new city district (cf. van den Berg, f.c.).

Language use in Nanjing East Road

In order to set a base line for the use of Shanghainese, we will present language use in the original Mecca of shopping, Nanjing East Road. In this street, we selected the four most ancient shopping environments Xianshi 先施, Yong'an 永安, Diyi Shipin 第一食品, and Diyi Baihuo 第一百货. The

first of these, the Xianshi Company (Sincere in English), was established in 1917, and since 1956 functions under the name Shanghai Shizhuang Shangdian 上海时装商店, “Shanghai Fashion Store”. Opposite this store, we find the building of the Yong’an Department Store, which was established in 1918, by the Guo brothers, who had opened the Wing On (same characters) store in Hong Kong in 1907, where it still can be visited in one its five outlets. The third store in our list is the Sun Sun Department Store, established in 1925, and at that time attracting customers by providing radio broadcast of popular programs. It is now the Diyi Shipin, “the Shanghai First Provision Store”. This store’s principal activities are production, processing and sale of food related items. Our fourth department store is the Sun, established in 1936, the first department store in Shanghai having escalators, which attracted great crowds. It is now known as Shanghaishi Diyi Baihuo Shangdian 上海市第一百货商店, or in English, “Shanghai No. 1 Department Store”, as it announces above its entrance. The store, to give an indication, is located at the entrance of Nanjing East Road, just on top of the escalator when entering through the Renmin

Guangchang Subway Station 人民广场地铁站.

Observations on language use in these four stores in 2007 were collected by four students from Shanghai University, all fluent in Shanghainese. The data showed that the level of Shanghainese was around 60% in three of the four stores, whereas the level of Putonghua use in the fourth store, Shizhuang 时装, was at a comparatively high level of 53% (table 5). This on first sight is striking, since at the time Shizhuang was one of the stores that had not modernized and therefore was unlikely to have attracted large numbers of Putonghua speaking customers. However, this at the same time is the explanation, being a relatively cheap store, using a traditional Chinese display technique of goods, it attracted large numbers of migrant workers, and it are precisely these workers, who during the business transaction are forced to use their linguistically nearest lingua franca, Putonghua, and by doing so disturb the expected much higher level of Shanghainese, for use with local Shanghainese salespeople. It seems safe therefore to establish a base line for the use of Shanghainese, as demonstrated by these four well-established Nanjing Road stores of 60%.

Table 5 Language use in four traditional Nanjing East Road stores; customers interacting with shop assistants; 2007 observations (%)

Language	Department Store			
	一百	永安	一食	时装
Putonghua	30	36	38	53
Shanghainese	63	61	60	47
2LGS/code-switching	1	0	1	0

Continued

Language	Department Store			
	一百	永安	一食	时装
Mandarin Dialects	3	1	1	0
Wu Dialects	3	2	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Having set this benchmark of 60% and explained most likely reasons for deviation of this level, we can now move to the relatively recently established Xujiahui shopping area. That area was researched by a more extensive group of enumerators, which included the four who did the Nanjing East Road observations, all students from Shanghai University. These students observed the language use in four department stores. These stores were selected on the basis of a quite different principle, social stratification. The stores selected were different as regards the kind of goods on offer, the price level, and their general appearance.

The first two of these stores both offered Chinese brand name goods and could be easily ranked according to price level and type of goods on offer. The first of these, Huilian 汇联, was a popular but low priced establishment, having features of a traditional Chinese outlet, also selling food from an outside window. The second department store Liubai 六百, had a more impressive appearance, but also offered mainly goods with local Chinese brand names, and prices therefore were relatively low. Low at least in comparison to the two remaining stores, which mainly or only had foreign brand names on sale. On entering these stores, one could immediately see

that these were more upscale shopping environments. Of the two stores, Huijin 汇金 obviously distinguished itself from the two previously introduced stores, but also was far less luxurious than its across street neighbor Ganghui 港汇, a genuine shopping Plaza.

Listing of the percentages for Shanghaiese and Putonghua used by customers for the business transaction shows that use of the two languages developed in opposite direction ($r = -.989$). In Huilian 汇联 the figure was 70% for Shanghaiese, and fell to 29% for Ganghui, whereas Putonghua started at a low of 21% and increased to 63% (table 6). The age composition of the customers further shows that the use of Shanghaiese is related to the higher age groups, and that of Putonghua in contrast, to customers representing the younger age groups. The details are given in table 7.

Table 6 Language use in four modern Xujiahui stores; customers interacting with shop assistants; 2007 observations (%)

Store	Language variety		
	SHN	PTH	TOT
Huilian(汇联)	70	21	91
Liubai(六百)	62	34	96
Huijin(汇金)	47	49	96
Ganghui(港汇)	29	63	92

Table 7 Age group composition of customers in Xujiahui department stores; 2007 observations (%)

Store	Age group customers				
	20—29	30—39	40—49	50—59	T
Huilian(汇联)	7	14	27	39	87
Liubai(六百)	22	27	20	21	90
Huijin(汇金)	32	29	18	14	93
Ganghui(港汇)	45	29	10	7	91

Note: Customers under 20 and over 60 not counted.

When we now compare the level we found for the four old stores in Nanjing East Road and look at the Xujiahui data, it becomes clear that Liubai matches most closely the findings for the traditional Nanjing East Road stores with 62% for Shanghainese and 34% for Putonghua. This finding is in agreement with the fact that Liubai is the store selling the typical Chinese brand goods, and in that sense matches the Nanjing Road stores best. We therefore can conclude that Shanghainese is strongly supported by people with High School and related education levels, representing working class and upper working class people in Shanghai.

The data also suggest that, at the time of the research, Shanghai harbored a Putonghua speaking minority of more than one-third, a figure based on the total number of Putonghua speaking customers in both Nanjing East Road and Xujiahui. We take the position that the Putonghua speaking group was hierarchically organized, in the same way as found for Shanghainese customers. In Huilian, for instance, Putonghua speaking customers formed a group of one-in-every-five customers. During the business transaction, the group of

Mandarin dialect speaking customers in majority continued to use their home dialect when interacting with salespeople, which supports our analysis of (lower) working class backgrounds for the Putonghua customers in this store. In Liubai, just as we argued for the Shanghainese speaking customers, we find upper working class people, with a High School education. In that store, they represented one-third of the customers observed as participating in a business transaction, demonstrating that in the (upper) working class, Shanghainese speakers are the majority group.

In the middle class Huijin store, we find people with on the average higher education levels and increased spending power. In that store, the number of Putonghua speaking customers, who were observed participating in a business transaction, increased to one-in-every-two customers, indicating that in the new Shanghai middle class, half of the population is Putonghua speaking migrants. In Ganghui, we find that the Putonghua speaking group became the majority in terms of actual spending. They formed two-third of the customers observed during a business transaction. Given their age group of in majority around