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國語中的台語借詞：台灣的方言借入機制
Taiwanese Loanwords in Taiwan Mandarin: Mechanism of a Dialect Borrowing in Taiwan*

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摘 要


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Mandarin has been affected other languages in Taiwan so immensely that many Taiwanese people are not able to speak their mother tongues. However, in the last decade, Taiwanese has re-emerged and challenged the prestigious status of Mandarin. Many borrowings from Taiwanese has been observed in Taiwan Mandarin. This study uses newspaper corpus as the data source, examines the sociolinguistic functions of the Taiwanese loan words in Taiwan Mandarin based on Hock’s (1991) approach of dialect borrowing. Hock stresses the prestige relation between donor and recipient language. Our statistical survey in newspaper corpora indicates that the frequency of loan words such as 走透透 zou-tou-tou ‘visit everywhere’ is dramatically risen after 1990. Furthermore, we argue with Weinreich’s (1974) reasons for lexical borrowing. It is found that some of the Taiwanese loan words are borrowed for filling in lexical gaps in Mandarin, most of loan words are adopted in Mandarin conversation because the speakers consider them being more expressive in showing their attitude and feeling, such as humorous effect, the denotation of solidarity, easing the tone or reinforcing the tone. The Taiwanese society is developing and changing with giant strides. The once substratum influence is now a fashion. The use of Taiwanese loan words is under the joint constraints of social, political and psychological factors.
1. Introduction

Since the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) moved to Taiwan in 1949, Mandarin has joined the speech community of the Taiwanese. Mandarin was then pursued as the national language and has received prodigious status. From 1956 till 1987, Taiwanese was prohibited in schools. School children who spoke Taiwanese were penalized. However, many people speak both Mandarin and Taiwanese. High mutual intelligibility makes interdialect borrowing inevitable. Ke (1991) have given this statistical information that, in 1991, 89.97% people in Taiwan speak Mandarin, 70% speak Mandarin as well as Taiwanese. Mandarin has inevitably borrowed, to a limited extent, from Taiwanese.

This borrowing has become abundant recently, especially with the appearance of a large quantity of Taiwanese loanwords mirrored from the everyday dialogues of the youth and the newspaper headlines. These loanwords have become so popular that a Mandarin speaker who has been away from Taiwan for years might find the following phrases difficult to understand: 打拼 da-pin 'endeavor', 鬱卒 yu-zu 'gloomy' and 鴨霸 ya-ba 'swank', 轉轉 lun-zhuan 'fluently', 黑白講 hei-bai-jiang 'to talk rot', 續卓 ban-zhuo 'to have a big treat' and 臭屁 chou-pu 'fetid fart; snifty'. They are all from Taiwanese.

This study uses newspapers and the conversations of the youth as the data source, examines the sociolinguistic functions of the Taiwanese loan words in Taiwan Mandarin based on Hock’s (1991) approach of dialect borrowing. Further, we argue with Weinreich’s (1974) reasons for lexical borrowing. The use of Taiwanese loan words is under the joint constraints of social, political and psychological factors.
2. Methodology and Basic Concepts

This section first defines the technical terms that appear in the paper, then reports source of our data and the phonetic systems that we use to transcribe the data. Afterwards, we look into the previous research with the focus on borrowing as a survival strategy.

2.1 Definition of the Terms

'Taiwan Mandarin' (or 'Mandarin') in this study is confined to the language used in Taiwan which is also called Guoyu (國語 the National Speech), as opposed to Putonghua (普通話 the Common Language) used in Mainland China. Although Mandarin is used as an official language in both these two areas, after over fifty years of separation, differences have emerged with respect to pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax, semantics, and written characters (see e.g., Li 1983, Cheng 1989, Yao 1994, Tong 1991, You 1991, Lu and Lu 1992).

The term 'Taiwanese' is confined to the Southern Min in Taiwan which is also referred to as Minnanyu (閩南語), Hoklohua (河洛話) and Taiwanese Hokkian (台灣福建話) (Cheng and Cheng 1977, Hsu 1990). It is a variety of the Southern Min spoken in the Fu-jian provience. In the early 17th century, immigrants from Fu-jian and Kuang-dong provinces began to settle in Taiwan. Most of the pioneers merged with one of the aboriginal Pin-pu tribes because of their small population. These two groups' languages were probably assimilated during this time. Until the Qing dynasty,
a large number of people immigrated to Taiwan from Zhangzhou, Quanzhou and east of Guang-dong, bringing with them their native languages. They gradually occupied a larger percentage of the population in Taiwan. Later, Zheng Cheng-Gong (Koxinga) expelled the Dutch, who were the sovereign rulers of Taiwan at that time, and set up the political power of the Han people in Taiwan (Hsu 1988:69-69). The languages they spoke were thus retained.

A loanword is a word used in one language whose origin is in another language. One example of this is the English-produced equivalent of Chinese chao-mian 'fried noodles' in *chow mein*. Another example is the German-produced equivalent of English television in *Fernsehen*. *Chow mein* is a loanword that underwent the process of transliteration while *Fernsehen* underwent the process of loan translation.

Hock (1991) brings up dialect borrowing, i.e., the borrowing between dialects or closely related languages and marks that the difficulty to detect dialect borrowings because the linguistic differences between the donor and the recipient languages are minor. In our data, though most of the Taiwanese loanwords in newspapers such as 鬱卒 *yu-zu* 'gloomy', and 摩手 *qian-shou* 'wife' are written in Chinese characters, and those spoken by the youth are pronounced in Mandarin sounds, these Taiwanese terms in the data can basically be demarcated from the Mandarin lexicon because of their Taiwanese sources. Some of the Taiwanese loanwords can be recognized by their peculiar word-formation. For example, 準準準 *zhun-zhun-zhun* 'precisely, spot-on' is a triduplication that has not existed in Mandarin but is a popular morphological formation in Taiwanese. The NP-V-qu formation, such as 頭殼壞去 *tou-ke-huai-qu* 'screwy', otherwise does not exist in Mandarin before the influence of Taiwanese. Some newly invented characters in Mandarin, e.g., 迴 *chit-tho* 'to loaf' and 吃 *cia* 'to eat' also found their syntactical structures in Taiwanese origin.
Hock (1991) stresses the prestige relation between donor and recipient language in dialect borrowing. Our statistical survey in newspaper corpora indicates that the frequency of loanwords such as 走透透 zou-tou-tou ‘visit everywhere’ and 死忠 si-zhong ‘completely devoted’ are dramatically risen after the governance of the Democracy Progress Party in Taiwan.

2.2 Source of the Data

The data is divided into two forms, spoken and written. The spoken form is collected from the conversations of the youth, and the latter, written form, is taken from newspapers. As lvir & Kalogjera (1991:283) pointed out, in the development of a language, innovations are introduced into the spoken language first, and are applied by anonymous groups of younger speakers. The reason is that the younger speakers are socially sensitive and openminded to the occurrence of innovations whereas their elders are not. On the other hand, a newspaper is a well-planned and practical form of mass media. It witnesses and records social change and language change. In order to attract the attention of readers and to promote the circulation of the newspaper, editors become more reader-oriented. For this purpose, adopting an innovative lexicon such as Taiwanese loanwords is one of their strategies. A questionnaire was distributed and filled in by newspaper editors in order for us to identify the reason why Taiwanese loanwords are used in newspaper. Questions listed in the questionnaire are, for example, ‘Do you think using Taiwanese loanwords in newspaper vivify the paper? a way to draw reader’s attention? …’

The written data in this study is collected from sixteen newspapers, either run by local people or by the government, printed between 1991 to 2003 randomly selected. The data form a database in EXCEL for the present analysis. The

Our statistical survey in newspaper corpora indicates that the frequency of loanwords such as 走透透 zou-tou-tou ‘visit everywhere’ and 死忠 si-zhong ‘completely devoted’ are dramatically risen after the governance of the Democracy Progress Party.

The written data will be adopted as they appear in the newspaper. They will be transcribed into the sound that the character represents. There are two possibilities: (1) the Mandarin sound e.g. 死忠 si-zhong ‘completely devoted’, (2) the Taiwanese sound, when the represented character is not available in Mandarin, e.g. 逃人 chii-tho-lang ‘the loafer’. It should be noted that many of the Taiwanese expressions in the headlines can also be pronounced in Mandarin and, as a matter of fact, quite a few of them sound rather natural in Mandarin pronunciation. Shih (1993:36) explained that "this is basically due to the Mandarin context of the newspapers and partly because some have been borrowed into the Mandarin lexicon."

2.3 Previous Research

Weinreich (1974, originally published in 1953) lists six reasons for lexical borrowing: 1) The designative inadequacy of a vocabulary in naming new things; that is, the need to designate new things, persons, places, and concepts. 2) Low frequency of words. 3) For resolving the clash of homonyms. 4) A constant need for synonyms.
5) Insufficiently differentiated in some semantic fields. 6) Prestige of social value. The present study agrees with some of them and gives further evidence that the mechanism for lexical borrowing in Taiwan is different from that of the Western Igs.

In the examples given by Kubler (1988), it is demonstrated that code-switching usually results from the non-existence of a particular term in the target language. Bilingual repetition for clarifying or reinforcing effect is another factor that induces code switching. Besides, speakers tend to employ Mandarin in a Taiwanese discourse when referring to personal names, place names, and chengyu (i.e. four-character idioms). Sometimes, for the purpose of humorous effect, examples of code-switching can also be encountered in introductory adverbs in informal conversation.

According to a five-minute conversation he transcribes, Kubler (1988) claims the reasons that code-switching occurs between Mandarin and Taiwanese in Taiwan are: (a) ease of communication, (b) conveying sociolinguistic nuances, (c) ensuring complete comprehension on the part of the listener, (d) desire for variety of style, and (e) incomplete proficiency in a particular code. Among these reasons, ease of communication plays the most important role.

When comparing the new words and expressions between Mainland China and Taiwan, Yao (1994) suggests that dialects play a role in the emergence of new words on both sides of the strait. This can be obviously seen in the case of Taiwan Mandarin, which absorbs many Taiwanese lexical items. For example, 柳丁 liu-ding ‘orange’ takes the place of 柳橙 liu-cheng, and 芭樂 ba-le ‘guava’, 番石榴 fan-shi-liu. These two items, as Yao (1994) indicates, have almost become parts of the Mandarin lexicon. New words like these are often found in colloquial, informal conversations, TV dramas, or local novels.

According to Myers-Scotton’s (1993) Markedness Model, unmarked codes are those that are conventionally adopted by the majority of speakers in a given social
context. In some contexts, however, marked codes are chosen to convey some social message or achieve some 'other-than-expected effect'. Based on this model, Shih and Sung (1998) suggest that in Taiwan the use of any language or dialect in newspaper, other than Mandarin, is regarded as a marked choice. Their careful examination of the data indicates that the mixing of Taiwanese are utilized to serve the following functions: (a) humorous and/or sarcastic effect, (b) expressiveness, (c) poetic effect, (d) commentary, (e) authenticity, (f) solidarity, (g) a touch of local flavor, and (h) attention-getting. Among the various functions, (a), (b), (g) and (h) are the main motivations for code-mixing.

Aitchison (2001:251) indicates clearly that "expansion and decline reflect political and social situations, not the intrinsic merit or decadence of a language." According to Holmes (1992:237), language changes will need to have some sort of prestige attached to it, such as overt (social status) vs. covert (solidarity) prestiges. "The standard variety in a community has overt prestige." It is considered as the best way of speaking in the community. Speakers who use the standard variety are usually considered to have higher educational and occupational status. As is the case in Taiwan, Mandarin is the variety with overt prestige. Covert prestige is utilized to refer to people’s "positive attitudes toward vernacular or non-standard speech varieties" (Holmes 1992:347-8). Taiwanese, in the present study, is a case in point.

2.4 Borrowing as a Strategy

When a language is perceived as a measure to achieve national unity, other languages in that area are often repressed and discouraged. More and more members of the younger literate generations acquire the national language with few, if any, traces of the strong regionalisms of their parents. Yet the languages somehow manage
to survive, leading a sort of underground existence from which they may at any moment emerge again. That is, when a language is declining in prevalence, lexical borrowing is always used as a survival strategy. For example, Taiwanese was one of the languages that were suppressed in Taiwan. As Li’s (2000:95-) example says “…till 1987, school children who spoke Taiwanese would be punished in many insulting ways, e.g., having a dog collar hung around the neck.” The survival strategy of Taiwanese was to absorb a large number of the lexicon from the dominant language – Mandarin. The amount of vocabulary borrowed from Mandarin by Taiwanese is enormous, and its striking consequence is that many Taiwanese speakers have to switch to Mandarin often in an originally Taiwanese conversation.

Some of the terms switched are not available in Taiwanese, because they refer to new concept or products, such as 愛滋病 ai-zi-bing 'AIDS; Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome' and 微電腦 wei-dian-nao 'micro-computer'. Some of the words switched are available in Taiwanese, but the speakers simply are not familiar with them, such as 翻筋斗 fun-jin-dou 'the tumble' and 放大鏡 fang-da-jing 'the magnifier' (the ready Taiwanese expressions are chhia-pun-tao 'the tumble' and ham-kia 'the magnifier', respectively.) At first, in the form of codeswitching or codemixing, and later, incorporated linguistically as borrowings.

Code-mixing is the linguistic behavior in the speech of bilingual or monolingual speakers, while code-switching is by definition the linguistic behavior in the speech of bilingual speakers. Code-mixing suggests ‘the speaker is mixing up codes indiscriminately or perhaps because of incompetence’, while borrowing is usually ‘triggered by lack of vocabulary in a language’. Because there are no equivalents in the host language, borrowed words are usually adapted to the speaker’s first language, i.e. they are pronounced and used as if they were part of the speaker’s first language (Holmes 1992:50). Major difference between code-mixing and borrowing can be seen...
by the fact that while borrowing is generally said to fill lexical gaps in the host language, code mixing does not fill gaps in the host language (Tay 1989). Although there are resemblances and differences between code-mixing, code-switching and borrowing, it is also possible that there is a successive relationship between them, i.e., the elements mixed in code-mixing or code-switching can be further developed as borrowings.

On the other hand, a language that is currently dominant may unconsciously adopt the strategy of lexical borrowing to keep its superior status when an originally locally confined language or dialect becomes prosperous and is able to compete with it. The dominant language would adjust itself by imitating or borrowing the vocabulary from its competitor. This is also exemplified by the present situation of Taiwanese and Mandarin; in other words, the roles are switched. Taiwanese has become a doner language while Mandarin the recipient language.

3. The Hint of a Statistic Data

On a five-year basis, we check the frequency of these items in the udndata.com newspaper database. We choose the years 1987, 1991 and 2000 as the watersheds because the martial law was repealed in 1987, President Li Deng-hui started his presidency in 1990 and Mr. Chen Shui-bian, whose public speeches were almost all delivered in Taiwanese, was first elected as President in 2000. All of these events have great influence on the linguistic environment in Taiwan. Four newspapers, Lian He Bao (LH), Jin Ji Ri Bao (JJ), Min Sheng Bao (MS) and Lian He Wan Bao

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1 A complete list of the abbreviation of the referred newspapers is given at the end of the paper.
(LW) are used as indexes because of their popularity and various topic foci: JJ focuses on economics, MS on entertainments, and LL and LW cover general news reports. Four Mandarin lexical items borrowed from Taiwanese are examined and are shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taiwanese loanwords</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>LH</th>
<th>JJ</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>LW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>死忠 <em>si-zhong</em></td>
<td>1982-1986</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘completely devoted’</td>
<td>1987-1991</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1995-1999</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2000-2003</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>1074</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>走透透 <em>zou-tou-tou</em></td>
<td>1982-1986</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘visit everywhere’</td>
<td>1987-1991</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1995-1999</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2000-2003</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>凍蒜 <em>dong-suan</em></td>
<td>1982-1986</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘get elected’</td>
<td>1987-1991</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1995-1999</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2000-2003</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>打拼 <em>da-pin</em></td>
<td>1982-1986</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘endeavor’</td>
<td>1987-1991</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1995-1999</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 When we were doing the database search, one instance of 走透透 *zou-tou-tou* was found. But the instance was ruled out after scrutinization of the whole sentence. The original sentence is 反正得在家裡無聊，出來走透透透氣也好 Fan-zheng dai-zai jiao-li wu-liao, chu-lai zou-zou tou-tou-qi ye-hao ‘Since it is boring to stay home, it’s good to go outside and get some fresh air.’ Here, zho and tou-tou belong to different syntactic constituents and thus are not related to present study.
Table 2 shows that 死忠 *si-zhong* 'completely devoted', 走透透 zou-tou-tou 'visit everywhere' and 榮蔭 *dong-suan* 'get elected' did not appear in any of the newspapers before 1987. 死忠 *si-zhong* 'completely devoted' and 打拼 *da-pin* 'endeavor' emerged when it approached to 1991. Zou-tou-tou and *dong-suan* were not recorded until 1995. Si-zhong and zou-tou-tou grow rapidly after the year 1995, five years after President Li had been in office. All four words have been using frequently since year 2000, after Mr. Chen Shui-bian was elected as president of Taiwan.

Obviously, the change of political environment did affect the use of Taiwanese loanwords. Next section delves into the mechanism of these borrowings.

### 4. Mechanism of Borrowing

The borrowing process of languages can be explained in terms of several interwoven reasons and motivations. The lexical borrowing which operates between Taiwanese and Mandarin is under the constraints of both non-linguistic and linguistic factors: (a) social factors - political environment and the speakers' psychological identity, (b) linguistic factors - to fill in lexical gaps and the need for synonyms.

#### 4.1 The Social Motivation

Borrowing is always primarily stimulated by external factors involved in social change. The external motivation occurs in a large environment and is comparatively more obvious for general speakers to detect. Therefore, the external factors of
language borrowing always initiate the borrowing and invite the internal motivations to join it. The external factors that stimulate the borrowing from the Taiwanese lexicon into Mandarin are the change of political environment and the speakers' psychological identities.

4.1.1 Political Environment

Over the last decade, the political environment in Taiwan has been changing. With political reformations toward a democratic country, the repeal of martial law in 1987, and the lift of political restrictions on newspapers in 1988, several parties have now been able to organize, primarily by Taiwanese people who are interested in politics.

Mr. Chen Shui-bian became the first president from Minjingtang (the Democracy Progress Party) in 2000, after the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) held the reins of government since 1949. Chen often delivers his national speech in Taiwanese. In many public places, government officials are also required to speak Taiwanese. This change of political power wins prestige for Taiwanese and reinforces the dialect borrowing. Examples (1)-(3) gives some political related Taiwanese loanwords.

(1) Liao-de-feng san-fa wen-xuan zhi xin-chao-liu ni cuo-yuan-zi-tang.

廖風德散發文宣指新潮流催促腐敗

‘Liao Feng-Te dissipated flyers that New Tide was going to bribe under-table.’ (LH, 11/30/2001; 17)

(2) Xing nei-ge jio mian-kong duo shi si-zhong pai.

新內閣舊臉孔多是死忠派。

- 112 -
‘The new cabinet with old faces. Most are die-hards’ (ZG, 08/24/2000; 13)

大甲九張犁圳堤防只做一邊，里長抨擊水利課鴨霸。

‘Only one side of the dike of Jiu-zhang-li-zun, Da-jia is done. The head of the district declaims against the irrationality of the Water Conservancy Sub-office.’ (ZG, 07/21/2001; 20)

Taiwanese and Mandarin are now almost adstratums\(^3\) that have equal power in Taiwan. During the time when the Kuomintang alone governed Taiwan, Mandarin was the only language spoken at political occasions. At the present time, the periphery usually speak their mother tongue, Taiwanese, at public occasions. Taiwanese therefore has received an unexpected elevation. People like to speak Taiwanese or to borrow Taiwanese expressions into Mandarin. Initiated by the politicians, speakers' attitudes toward the languages are changing along with political changes. Political reformation becomes a trigger, accompanied by the awakening of ethnic consciousness, so language policy has been re-evaluated to echo the reformation. Hock (1991:411) expresses that languages with “adstratal relationships are most conducive for borrowings of everyday-life vocabulary.”

4.1.2 Speakers' Psychological Identities

\(^3\) Languages of roughly equal prestige, such as English and Norse in early England, are referred to as adstrata. Where prestige is unequal, the terms superstratum and substratum are adopted. The former refers to the language with higher prestige and the latter to the one with lower prestige (Hock 1991: 411).
People are sensitive to political and social changes. Besides adjusting their sense of values, speakers accommodate their language behavior constantly to reflect the social climate. This is because verbal communication is not only used to exchange ideas but is also a device used to claim one's identity in the new class. As Holmes (1992:239) points out that “the functions of linguistic forms as markers of social status or as signals of solidarity.”

Taiwan had been a diglossic community with Mandarin the higher language and other colloquial varieties, such as Taiwanese, as the lower language. With the political stimuli and the re-evaluated language policy, Mandarin speakers no longer consider speaking Taiwanese to be low-status language behavior. On the contrary, they realize that to speak Taiwanese or to borrow Taiwanese directly into Mandarin conversation can create a communicative effect. The role of Taiwanese loanwords is consequently accepted and Taiwanese loanwords have gradually become a fashionable communicative device.

4.2 Linguistic Functions

The internal motivation of lexical borrowing involves the nature of the loan and recipient languages themselves. There are two linguistic factors operating between Taiwanese and Mandarin which motivate borrowing, one is to fill in the lexical gap in Mandarin, another is, for communicative purposes, to borrow some unique or expressive terms, which are, as Tay (1989:413) remarks, considered to be "the most colorful, expressive, shortest or most economic way" of expression in the loan language.

It is widely believed that a lexical gap in the recipient language makes it easy to induce borrowing. After all, a prefabricated lexical item is far more desirable and
felicitous than a long description is. The borrowings that fill in the lexical gap will make the recipient language richer. As for the other loanwords which coexist with the original native words, these make the recipient language subtler and more expressive than it was before.

4.2.1 To Fill in Lexical Gap

Speakers may occasionally fail to find an appropriate lexical item ready in Mandarin to express an idea. In other words, they encounter a lexical gap in Mandarin. As what we mentioned above, it'll be easier for speakers to borrow a prefabricated Taiwanese lexical item in question to fill in the lexical gap. For instance, 損龜 kon-ku is a loanword from Taiwanese meaning a failure in catching fish, as in (4), or any kind of failure, as exemplified by the following examples quoted from newspaper headlines.

(4) Diao you gao-bie gang-gue de ji-jie.

釣友告別損龜的季節 (kon-ku).

‘Anglers said good-bye to the unlucky season.’ (LH, 12/05/1993; 20)


美愛國者飛彈攔截測試 兩枚損龜 (kon-ku).

‘Interception tests of American Patriot Missiles. Two missed’

(ZG, 02/19/2002; 10)

Without a prefabricated expression like 損龜 kon-ku 'failure', a Mandarin speaker will have to say something like 沒釣到魚 mei-diao-dao-yu 'do not catch any
fish’ for example (4), and 没攔截成功 mei-lan-jie-cheng-gong 'failed to intercept' for example (5).

Instead of using this loanword to express an idea appropriately and accurately, we may have to apply a longer and less felicitous speech such as the above suggestion, the same way that speakers did before Taiwanese loanwords like 摟龜 kon-ku ‘failure’ entered Mandarin. As Wang (1991) pointed out, for the speaker, a prefab is easier to bring to mind; and for the listener, it allows more effective and impressive messages to be received. A loanword like 摟龜 kon-ku ‘failure’ is just like the prefab that is ready and effective, while the paraphrase of the long expression in Mandarin is less economic and impressive.

According to the theory of propositional and automatic utterances proposed by Wang (1991), there are basic units and prefabs, named propositional and automatic units respectively, stored separately in our mental cabinet. A prefab, the automatic utterance, is formed by propositional units (which in turn are fundamentally formed at a lower level by some basic units). In other words, an automatic utterance is a prefabricated semi-product ready to be recalled. Whereas, with long speech, the propositional utterance is made up solely of little and basic units. One would go through a rather laborious process combining the basic units to be able to form a proposition. A loanword like 摟龜 kon-ku ‘failure’ is just like the prefab which is prepared and effective, while the paraphrasing Mandarin long expression like 六合彩賭輸了 liu-he-cai-du-shu-le ‘the failure in a lottery game’ is less economic and impressive. Table 2 lists other examples.

Table 3. The Taiwanese Loanwords Borrowed to Fill in the Lexical Gap in Mandarin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taiwanese Loanwords</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
<th>Expressions in Mandarin</th>
<th>Contexts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>龜毛 gui-mao</th>
<th>picky</th>
<th>愛挑人毛病的個性</th>
<th>(4) 龜毛導演戴立忍追求質感不要命 (LH, 08/12/2001; 27)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>送作堆 song-zuo-due</td>
<td>to be sent together</td>
<td>在未經雙方同意下撮合兩人</td>
<td>(5) 蹲喬萍活用易經，鑽研近卅年把老祖宗智慧和管理學送做堆 (LH, 04/15/2001; 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>秘雕 bi-diao</td>
<td>a crooked and not good looking person</td>
<td>其貌不醜又有些駝背的人</td>
<td>(6) 張明仁當秘書，自比秘雕認為角色不起眼卻很重要 (ZG, 10/22/1999; 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>賭爛票 du-lan-piao</td>
<td>boycott ballots</td>
<td>不滿一方，而故意把票投給另一方</td>
<td>(7) 抓鬼新尖兵，抱怨連連，甚至揚言拒投票或投「賭爛票」抵制 (ZG, 10/24/2001; 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>火花 huo-hua</td>
<td>miff, vexedly</td>
<td>心中不快又不知如何是好</td>
<td>(8) 這種話叫人聽了火花</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>脫線 tuo-xian</td>
<td>to get problem in one's mind,</td>
<td>腦筋有問題，做事少根筋，粗心</td>
<td>臺北市時有教師出現「脫線」行為，北市教育局</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some "Taiwanese" loanwords have their origins in other languages, such as Japanese. They came into Taiwanese during Japanese colonial era and then entered Mandarin. The borrowing process is hence Japanese > Taiwanese > Taiwan Mandarin. For example, *yun'jiang* 運將 (うんしゃん, unchan - a driver), *a'sha'li* 阿莎力 (あっさり, assari – generous and open-minded) and *o'ba'sang* 歐巴桑 (おばさん, obasan – an old lady). Zan (1992:228) names these words as Mandarin Chinese-Taiwanese blendings. These Japanese loanwords are articulated in Taiwanese, particularly the above underlined elements (Hsieh and Hsu 2006).
4.2.2 The Need for Synonyms

We can find a lot of loanwords from Taiwanese that are not borrowed in order to fill in any lexical gaps in Mandarin. Nevertheless, these loanwords coexist with equally delicate Mandarin counterparts. For example, we have 快活 kuai-huo, 痛快 tong-kuai, 爽快 shuang-kuai and 暢快 chang-kuai in Mandarin, but the Taiwanese 爽 shuang 'very comfortable' is borrowed. Why do speakers borrow the item 爽 shuang 'very comfortable', when the Mandarin lexical items 快活 kuai-huo, 痛快 tong-kuai, 爽快 shuang-kuai and 暗快 chang-kuai exist?

Words may be borrowed because it is felt that they express an attitude or feeling not adequately expressed in any native expression. In other words, a Taiwanese lexical item may be borrowed not because there is any lexical gap in Mandarin, but because it is felt to be expressive or useful under certain conditions, such as to be able to express a touch of local flavor, to create a humorous effect, or simply due to the speaker's own preference.

◆ 4.2.2.1 A Denotation of Solidarity

As Taiwanese is the native language in Taiwan, the local color inherent in the language is self-evident (Shih 1993:77). A speaker may use loanwords not because he lacks equivalent Mandarin words; rather, he deliberately adopts Taiwanese loanwords to display or claim his identity to the group. This can be best exemplified by campaign speeches during the time of a local election. The candidates and their canvassers grasp every chance to speak Taiwanese or to use Taiwanese loanwords to show a touch of local flavor or to denote their provincialism or solidarity since the ability to speak Taiwanese has been regarded as highly appealing, especially in local speech. In the following we present illustrations of this with some loanwords that were put into newspaper headlines at the time of elections.

埔里選情強強滾。
'The pre-election situation at Pu-li (a place) is boisterous.' (MZ, 01/01/1994; 16)


宋楚瑜籤投罷選要讓扁政府反省。
'Song Chu-yu called on casting boycott ballots. Let Bian government examine itself.' (ZG, 12/03/2002; 02)

(8) Lian Song hu wa qiangjiao A-bian lao-shen-zai-zai.

連宋互挖牆腳阿扁老神在在。
'Lian and Song cut the ground from under each other’s feet. A-bian is confident.' (LW, 08/14/1999; 02)

(9) Xi-wang tai-bei shi-zhang you tai-bei jian-zai xuan.

希望台北市長由台北市民選。
'It is hoped that the mayor of Taipei is selected out of inhabitants.' (ZZ, 12/04/1993; 1)

(10) Xu-yao qian-cheng de ren-xuan.

需要「牽成」的人選。'One that needs to be helped.' (GS, 12/04/1993; 11)

Weinreich (1974:56-61) points out that internal reasons for lexical borrowing are low frequency of words, avoidance of homonymys, and need for synonyms. It is also argued that a bilingual is perhaps even more liable than the unilingual to accept
loanwords because of his familiarity with another culture. Three reasons for this are proposed: first, bilinguals may feel that his semantic fields are not sufficiently differentiated when compared with the other language he is exposed; second, speakers tend to associate the symbolic meaning of the source language with social values, either positive or negative; third, a bilingual’s speech may suffer from the interference of another vocabulary through mere oversight. Examples (6)-(10) furnish good illustrations of Weinreich’s claims. Since Taiwanese is gaining higher and higher prestige, maybe equally prestigious as Mandarin, people no longer avoid using Taiwanese loanwords. Actually, using Taiwanese expressions in campaign speeches has become a necessary means to earn the approbation of the people. Also, these Taiwanese expressions carry overtones which will be lost when the nearly synonymous Mandarin expressions are uttered. That is, these phrases are chosen because speakers hope to convey subtler semantic, emotional, or cultural attitudes. This explains why a Taiwanese expression can enter Mandarin through other synonymous Mandarin forms.

4.2.2.2 Humorous Effect

Large sets of Taiwanese loanwords are used to create a humorous or relaxed effect, especially when young people chat with each other and students speak with their peers in an easy atmosphere, word like 熊熊 xiong-xiong ‘suddenly’, as in (11), is often used.


iu-ba guang-die shao-cheng-le fei-die?

(Contains speech by someone) purchased a CD-ROM (Compact Disc Read-Only Memory) burner, but found that suddenly the CD-ROM was burned into UFO
unintentionally.' (LH, 08/28/2002; 37)


電信促銷唬爛：消費者荷包失血，消費者投訴促加強規範。

‘The telecommunications promotion is a deceit. Customers suffer pecuniary losses. Customer's Foundation frequently receives complaints from customers. A closer supervision is urged.’ (ZR, 02/01/31; 08)


「反對者多半不是花蓮人，該聽聽在地人民的聲音。」蘇花高前景暫露端倪。

‘Most of the opponents are not locals in Hua-lian. Authorities should hear more voices from the locals.” The Su-hua Highway temporarily shows a favorable outlook.’ (LH, 16/12/2003; B02)

Many Taiwanese expressions are in this circumstance translated into Mandarin and established as a loanwords, and then spread out from one to many speakers, e.g. 唬爛 hu-lan 'trick, lie', as in (12). The youth use these loanwords sometimes just for fun, as a wisecrack.

In a formal speech, the lecturer sometimes employs Taiwanese as a comic device. In a speech entitled 'Be the master of yourself' 的自己的主人 zuo-zi-ji-de-zhu-ren, the lecturer, Mr. Zhung Si-Jia said 鐵齒, example (14). The audience laughed out loud for the Taiwanese loanwords or for the effect created, in this way the atmosphere is relaxed and the distance between the lecturer and the audience is reduced. In a formal context, newspaper editors often employs

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4 In addition to the humorous effect, alliteration is adopted here to produce the rhythmic effect, that is,
Taiwanese as a comic device to attract reader’s attention. For example, after Chen Shi-wei won the gold medal of the shooting contest at the fourteenth Asian Games Busan in 2002, the anecdote, as (15) exemplified, made known.

(14) Shuang-fang dou tie-chi po an kao tie-zheng.

‘Dares of both sides. To break case relies on irrefutable evidence.’(ZG, 10/04/2002; 03)


‘Fortunately at first the father fails in opposing. Chen Shi-wei shoots for the gold medal. Chen Shi-wei’s family share the glory with him.’(MS, 10/06/2002; B03)

The readers, or in a speech, the audience, like to have free and easy reading or atmosphere. The communicative effect of the Taiwanese loanwords that serve as a device to create a comic or a humorous effect is thus achieved.

◆ 4.2.2.3 A Touch of Fashion

The desire to appear modern or fashionable may also motivate Taiwanese lexical borrowing. Young people are particularly sensitive to fashion. They are always the first to be aware of the latest trends, and are never too tired to keep up with the current fashion. As we know, speaking or writing Taiwanese loanwords has become

both 鐵齒 tie-chi ‘self-opinionated’ and 鐵證 tie-zheng ‘irrefutable evidence’ have the same initials.
fashionable. The youth surely smelled it already, thus, we can hear Taiwanese loanwords spoken everywhere by youth, such as 鴨霸 ya-ba 'swank', 眉卒 yu-zu 'gloomy' and 啥米 sha-mi 'what', etc. in the following examples:


大甲九張犁圳堤防只做一邊，里長抨擊水利課鴨霸。

‘Only one side of the dike of Jiu-zhang-li-zun, Da-jia is done. The head of the district declaims against the irrationality of the Water Conservancy Sub-office.’ (ZG, 07/21/2001; 20)


美國勞工今年特別鬱卒，勞動節走上街頭。

‘American laborers are extraordinarily depressed this year. American laborers walk onto the street on Labor Day.’ (GS, 09/03/2002; 06)

(18) “Da-heng-ling-hang” zhang-wo zheng-jing chuan-shi sha-mi long-bu-jing

《大亨領航》掌握政經權勢，啥米 撲不離帶領俄國經濟改造向前行。

‘Tycoons Navigate’ knowing political and economic power and influence well and fearing nothing pilots the reform of Russian economy forward.’

(GS, 08/25/2002; 10)


阿兵哥重新油漆，除役飛機大砲煥然一新。

‘Soldiers repainted (the artillery). Out-of-service artillery is now as good as
new.' (LH, 04/08/2003; B02)

As for the older generation, Taiwanese loanwords might not be as popular in their conversation, but still we can find many examples. For instance, the Taiwanese loanword 阿兵哥 a-bing-ge 'soldier', as in (19), occurs frequently in TV news reports. This is probably because the loanword has been nativized and looks like a word with Mandarin origins, so that the anchorman uses it spontaneously and is not aware of the fact that it is a borrowing. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the older generation uses Taiwanese loanwords deliberately to mark their modernity, and to project a fashionable identity.

4.2.2.4 Expressiveness

Aitchison (2001:146) emphasizes that “new words are coined when older words have become over-used and lose their impact, new vivid ones are introduced in their place.” The desire to appear modern or fashionable motivates the dialect borrowing from Taiwanese to Mandarin. Some Taiwanese lexical items may be borrowed simply because the speakers consider them to be vivid, colorful or expressive (Shih 1993:67). A speaker might consider a word expressive because the word can ease his tone or, in contrast, reinforce his tone and express a more suitable meaning. For example, speakers might find the term 腦筋有問題 nao-jin-you-wen-ti 'to get problem in one's mind' too sharp to blame someone who has done something wrong. In the meantime, he might feel that the loanword 脫線 tuo-xian 'to get problem in one's mind' can ease his tone and express his meaning in a less serious way. Likewise, a speaker might feel the term 做不到 zuo-bu-dao 'cannot do it' or 沒辦法 mei-ban-fa 'cannot do it' too sharp to refuse someone, then the loanword 沒法度 mei-fa-du 'cannot do it' might be able to express his refusal in a rather gentle way.5

5 Examples of this kind can also be used to create a humorous effect (see 4.2.2.2).
As Lien (2004) indicates that the Taiwanese formula *li-ma-* is now often used in Mandarin yielding hybrid constructions, such as *li-ma-hao-le* ‘That’s enough’ and *li-ma-bang-bang-mang* ‘Please’. A speaker will use negative forms out of politeness to specify what he/she expects the addressee to avoid doing. Furthermore, a Taiwanese lexical item can be borrowed to replace a taboo word in Mandarin, because the loanword conveys a more moderate tone than the equivalent Mandarin words does. For example, 落翅仔 *luo-chi-zai* 'party girl' is borrowed to replace 妓女 *ji-nu* 'prostitute'.

On the other hand, a speaker might consider that a word is expressive because it can be used to reinforce the tone. For instance, one might think that the Taiwanese loanword 黑白講 *hei-bai-jiang* 'to talk rot' is expressive because it denotes something more than 胡說 *hu-shuo* 'to talk rot' or 亂講 *luan-jiang* 'to talk rot', and that 黑白講 *hei-bai-jiang* 'to talk rot' reinforces his tone of disapproval of someone who speaks something carelessly. Likewise, 莫宰羊 *mo-zai-yang* 'do not know' was borrowed a long time ago to be used as a synonym of 不知道 *bu-zhi-dao* 'do not know'. One might sometimes use 莫宰羊 *mo-zai-yang* 'do not know' deliberately instead of 不知道 *bu-zhi-dao* 'do not know' in a Mandarin utterance, because he thinks that 莫宰羊 *mo-zai-yang* 'do not know' denotes more than 不知道 *bu-zhi-dao* 'do not know'. Other examples are as follows: 雞婆 *ji-po* 'nosy' is stronger than 好管閒事 *hao-guan-xian-shi* 'nosy' and 鬱卒 *yu-zu* 'gloomy' is stronger than 心情不好 *xin-qing-bu-hao* 'in a bad mood'.

It should be noted that whether a loanword can ease or reinforce the tone depends on various situations. Loanwords like 莫宰羊 *mo-zai-yang* 'do not know', as illustrated in the above paragraph, can reinforce the tone, especially when the speaker says it with a strong intonation and adds a particle like 啦 *la* after 莫宰羊 *mo-zai-yang* 'do not know', such as 莫宰羊啦 *mo-zai-yang* 'do not know'. In
contrast, it can also ease the tone especially when the speaker softens the intonation or adds a particle after 莫宰羊 mo-zai-yang 'do not know', like 莫宰羊耶 mo-zai-yang ye 'do not know'.

There is a commonly held belief that greater variety is more beautiful, more expressive, and more logical than limited variety (Ferguson 1959). However, each language or language variety can be just as beautiful, expressive and logical as any other in different respects. Moreover, it can be very subjective to assume a lexical item is being vivid or expressive. That is, there is no principle or theoretical ground to determine whether a word is expressive or not. It depends only on individual identity.

A word that is considered to be expressive to speaker A might be considered just normal to speaker B. However, some people do have similar views on certain things. Consequently, Taiwanese expressions are borrowed and spread from time to time.

To sum up, the internal motivation of borrowing has been roughly grouped into two categories in terms of whether or not they have Mandarin equivalents. In the discussion where there are equivalents found in Mandarin, synonyms for denoting provincialism and creating a humorous effect constitute the main categories. Both of them are situationally dependent, the former is mostly applied by politicians, and the latter is used by general speakers. Where there are no Mandarin equivalents, filling lexical gaps is the main reason that triggers borrowing.

5. Conclusion

Borrowing was considered as improper by some linguistic purist (for example Lejeune 1971, Pearce 1988, Norman 1999). The puristic movement was found at its height in the eighteenth century (Aitchson 2001:8). It was thought that borrowing
caused a language to become corrupted or less “pure” (Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams 2003:15). However, lexical borrowing is the most common type of interaction between languages. Words can be taken very freely from one language into another, with very little effect on the rest of the grammar of the borrowing language. When a given community feels the need, words can be picked up or discarded easily. This phenomenon can be observed today in many languages. For example, of the 20,000 or so English words in common use, about three-fifths are borrowed (Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams 2003:512). It is also well documented that “speakers of Latin were quite liberal in their borrowing habits. Indeed, Latin is full of loanwords from a variety of languages....” (Baldi 2002:462).

The present study agrees with some reasons that Weinreich (1974) put forth for lexical borrowing in Western languages, but does not undertake all his six reasons. Taiwanese loanwords have the function of showing prestige of social value, to meet a constant need for synonyms, as well as to differentiate words of different semantic fields in order to create different tones and effects. Nevertheless, we are not keen to name new things with Taiwanese as Weinreich’s first reason pointed out that borrowing is for “the designative inadequacy of a vocabulary in naming new things.” It seems that a translated English is more widely held. Neither does Taiwanese, as Weinreich’s second and third reasons express that lexical borrowing is to, replace “low frequency of words” and for resolving “the clash of homonyms.” The mechanism for lexical borrowing in Taiwan is different from that of the Western languages.

What is the mechanism that we adopt Taiwanese loanwords in Mandarin Chinese conversations? It is operated by interwoven external and internal factors. External social change primarily stimulated this borrowing. In the last decade, due to the awakening of ethnic consciousness and political reformation, Taiwanese has
unexpectedly gained positive appraisal. The ability to speak Taiwanese has become desirable, instead of being discouraged as before. This social need urges Mandarin to intensively borrow lexical items from Taiwanese in an attempt to keep its status and in order to enrich its own lexicon.

Pragmatically, a speaker would borrow Taiwanese expressions in order to fill a lexical gap in Mandarin. Or, from his personal standpoint, he simply feels that a Taiwanese lexical item expresses an attitude or feeling which is not adequately expressed in any Mandarin words. Besides, Taiwanese loanwords are a communicative device used as the intermediary to create an easy atmosphere in a person's talks. They help to reduce the distance between speakers and hearers.

The classification of the synonyms is subjective. We have some motivations overlapping, and quite a few loanwords are been borrowed or used for more than one motivation. One thing we are sure of is that the coexistence of a Taiwanese loanword with its equally delicate Mandarin equivalent will cause competition between them.

It is under the joint constraint of linguistic, social and psychological factors, Taiwanese loanwords appear copiously in Mandarin Chinese.

Reference


**Abbreviations**

<p>| LH | Lian He Bao | 聯合報 | United Daily News |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
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<th>Chinese Name</th>
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