

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES IN SHANGHAI, CHINA

A Thesis

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By

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ABSTRACT

The present study uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to examine language attitudes and ideologies of university students in Shanghai, China. The research project consists of two parts: a matched-guise experiment and one-on-one interviews. A total of 34 participants took part in the study, with 24 female participants and 10 male participants. For purposes of cross-comparison, all 34 participants took part in both the matched-guise experiment and the interviews. The matched-guise portion tested participants' attitudes toward two varieties: Standard Putonghua (PTH) and the local Shanghainese dialect (SHH). The interviews dealt with issues involving linguistic capital and Shanghai identity.

The results of the matched-guise experiment show that language attitudes among the current university generation in Shanghai do not conform to the expected situation in which the H variety is ranked higher in social status while the L variety is ranked higher in group solidarity, as PTH is rated significantly higher than SHH on a dimension of social status, but SHH is not rated significantly higher than PTH on the dimension of group solidarity. Shanghai males are shown to ascribe a higher social status to PTH than Shanghai females. Curiously, the hypothesis that those with a strong Shanghai identity would rank SHH higher in group solidarity was shown to be false, as those with a strong Shanghai identity are found to ascribe higher social status to PTH than those without. A

hypothesis is put forth that this is due to the increasing usage of PTH in domains typically dominated by SHH, especially among university students.

Participants' views on the linguistic market in Shanghai are discussed by examining their beliefs on the importance of three linguistic varieties (SHH, PTH, and English) and their plans for what variety or varieties to speak with their children in the future. Participants are shown to value PTH and English highly for the linguistic capital they offer in the workplace, especially for finding employment. SHH is valued for its uses in interpersonal relations, including those in the workplace. Participants' value judgments regarding these varieties, such as a belief that people with high moral standards speak PTH, are also examined. Participants' usage of SHH and PTH is examined through self-reports of language behavior, and it is determined that PTH has made significant inroads into typical L variety domains. Results from this study show that university students in Shanghai do not consider PTH to be at odds with their local identity, and suggest that belief in a one nation-state one language model of modernization has firmly taken hold in the current university generation in China.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Shanghai

It is difficult to read almost anything about China today without reading about Shanghai. It is the darling city of the new China--a country where infrastructure change and economic growth are taking place on a scale once thought impossible. It is a city in constant change. To live in Shanghai is to be surrounded by cranes and constant construction. To return to Shanghai after a yearlong absence is to return to a different city. In Shanghai it is not uncommon to go to one's usual bus stop and discover that a new sign has been erected with a built-in television showing programming from Shanghai Public Transportation Mobile Television (*Shanghai Gongjiao Yidong Dianshi* 上海公交移动电视); neither is it unheard of to go to one's favorite restaurant only to discover that it has been torn down to make way for a new subway line. Pudong New District (usually referred to simply as Pudong, which in Chinese means "east of the Huangpu river"), located across the Huangpu river from the historic and main location of the city, Puxi, has transformed from a rural countryside to the most developed business district in China (and the most recognizable skyline in all of China with the possible exception of Hong Kong) in a little over a decade.

While Shanghai's infrastructure continually changes, its economy is also making vast leaps. According to the *People's Daily Online*, Shanghai's GDP has recorded double-digit growth for 14 straight years, achieving a total of 912.5 billion yuan (\$114 billion U.S.) in 2005 (January 31 2006). A Gallup poll released in January of 2005 found a substantial increase in urban incomes in China from the late 1990s. According to an Associated Press report about the poll, "The Gallup project found that urban incomes have increased by almost 75 percent between 1997 and now—to an annual total equivalent to almost US\$3,000—but that amount buys much more in the Chinese economy than it would in the United States" (Associated Press, 2005). These changes are also reflected in the opinions of Shanghai residents, as a Shanghai Statistics Bureau survey released in January of 2005 showed that 32 percent of Shanghai families said that their lives were better than five years before (Zhu, 2005).¹

A report from China's national English language newspaper *China Daily* (December 12 2003) states that a 2003 survey showed that Shanghai had a population of 20 million, 3 million of which were members of the so-called "floating population," a term used to describe people from the Chinese countryside who live in the cities without a legal household registration permit, or *hukou* 户口. People from all over China and the world live in Shanghai. The 3 million members of the floating population who live in Shanghai are mostly migrant workers from the countryside who toil daily with all the manual labor that is required to keep up Shanghai's tremendous growth (and that most

1. Another 50 percent responded that their lives were the same as five years before. The report did not mention the remaining 18 percent.

Shanghai do not want to do). In this way, they are similar to illegal immigrants in the United States. However, the city is also filled with middle- and upper-class residents from other cities. This creates a very diverse population by Chinese standards, and a very diverse linguistic population by any standard. The continual addition of people migrating to Shanghai from all tracts of life means that this diversity will only continue to grow.

Of course, for Shanghai, this is old news. In fact, Shanghai has been at the forefront of Chinese modernity for a good portion of its relatively short—by Chinese standards—history.² Shanghai was opened to international trade in 1842 with the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing, and quickly became an important and influential city. Before long, it was full of immigrants from all over the country (as well as immigrants from all over the world living in the international settlements), and boasted a bustling economy. In the years shortly after the establishment of the Communist government in 1949, taxes paid by Shanghai to the national government made up “between a quarter and a sixth of the central government’s total revenue” (Xiong, 1996, 102). Speaking of Shanghai in the early 20th century, Hanchao Lu states in his book *Beyond the Neon Lights*:

So here we have a city that was new in three basic senses: it sprang from pastoral farmlands, but quickly overshadowed the old walled county town; its population consisted overwhelmingly of newly arrived immigrants; and it was spiritually stimulated and driven by Western commercial values and vigor, something that was novel in China. (1999, 28)

2. One possible exception to this is the period of time from the founding of the Communist government in 1949 until the institution of “Reform and opening up” (*gaige kaifang* 改革开放) by Deng Xiaoping in 1979 (and really not until Shanghai itself was allowed to initiate economic reforms in 1991), during which time Shanghai, though economically important, was often eyed with suspicion by the Communist government.

Today Shanghai is the most economically successful and modern city in China. It is also a city in the midst of sweeping changes, perhaps even large enough to be considered on the scale of the Industrial Revolution in the West. The question is, how will these changes affect—and indeed, how are they affecting—the life of the average Shanghai citizen? Specifically, since this is a sociolinguistic study, what kind of effect have these changes had on the sociolinguistic situation in the city today?

1.2 Focus of current study

The main focus of this study, as stated above, is to seek to determine how the changes mentioned above have affected the sociolinguistic situation in Shanghai. Specifically, this research seeks to understand the language attitudes and ideologies of Shanghai university students—that is, university students who grew up in Shanghai, speak the Shanghai dialect (or *Shanghaihua* 上海话, herein referred to as SHH), and consider themselves to be Shanghainese. This study will compare its findings with those of previous studies of Shanghainese language attitudes (Bai, 1994; Zhou, 2001).³ It will also seek to add a new dimension to these studies by incorporating work that has been done in the area of language ideologies. The current study also seeks to analyze results with an eye toward the Shanghai identity and what, if any, influence that identity has on Shanghainese language attitudes and ideologies.

General hypotheses of this study are as follows:

3. See “Literature Review” below for a detailed analysis of these two articles

1. Participants' reports on language usage will show a significant presence of PTH in domains typically dominated by the L variety.
2. This will cause there to be a significant division in language attitudes along gender lines (Zhou, 2001).
3. The presence of PTH in L variety domains will cause Shanghai identity to be a significant factor in determining language attitudes toward SHH.
4. Participants will display a significant level of pride in being Shanghainese that will be reflected in their language ideologies regarding SHH.
5. Participants' language ideologies will be significantly affected by the perceived linguistic market in Shanghai (Sandel, 2003).

This paper will examine results in light of the linguistic market in China in general and Shanghai in particular, and the value of SHH, standard Mandarin (or *Putonghua* 普通话, herein referred to as PTH), and other linguistic varieties in terms of linguistic capital as perceived by participants. To that end, it is necessary to examine briefly some important topics: 1) the current university generation in China, 2) Shanghai identity, 3) the sociolinguistic situation in Shanghai, 4) the linguistic market in Shanghai and the country as a whole, and 5) an introduction to the Chinese language, specifically focusing on the two main varieties found in Shanghai, SHH and PTH. First, a word on the generation currently in university in China.

1.3 China's current university generation

It is important when discussing the generation currently in university in China to understand that in many ways, they are members of the first generation to truly grow up

in a world filled with PTH. While members of their parents' generation often grew up with teachers who either spoke PTH poorly or didn't speak it at all, members of the current college-aged generation grew up with a much higher percentage of teachers capable of speaking standard PTH. As a result, a speaker of PTH who spends any time in Shanghai will notice right away that the generation currently in university is much better at speaking PTH than are their parents.

However, it should be noted that there was still resistance to the government's promotion of PTH while this generation was growing up. In his article "Language attitude changes in Shanghai and Guangzhou," Minglang Zhou (2001) says of Shanghai and Guangzhou:

As late as the mid 1980s, there still appeared to be a lot of resistance to PTH promotion in Shanghai and Guangzhou. For example, each had two full-time radio/TV services, one in the local variety and one in PTH, whereas most cities in other Chinese variety communities had only a full-time radio/TV service in PTH. In communication between local variety speakers and PTH speakers in those two cities, the latter generally found the locals responding to them in local varieties, even if the conversation had been initiated in PTH and the locals were able to speak some PTH. (233)

What that means, then, is that the generation currently in university in Shanghai is better (sometimes much better) at speaking PTH than their parents. What is not known, however, is if they have any vestiges of the resistance to PTH that was found in Shanghai during the mid 1980s and prior.

There is much anecdotal evidence available to both support and deny the existence of this resistance to PTH. I have heard students from elsewhere in China who were studying at a university in China (and do not understand SHH) complain that their Shanghai classmates speak SHH all the time, sometimes even when non-SHH speakers such as

themselves are a part of the conversation. At the same time, I have also observed Shanghai students switch from SHH to PTH the minute a non-SHH speaker joins the conversation. I have sat by and listened while a table full of SHH-speaking university students chatted rapidly in PTH, without a word of SHH to be heard anywhere. As will be discussed later, many of my participants reported this behavior themselves when speaking with their classmates. For now, however, I will move on to a discussion of the Shanghai identity.

1.4 Shanghai identity

In *Beyond the Neon Lights*, Lu says of Shanghai: “From the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, immigrants consistently made up about 80 percent of the city’s population (1999, 28). However, despite this immigrant makeup, the notion of a distinct Shanghainese identity became a strong one, both inside Shanghai and in the rest of China. Regarding this identity in the early and mid 20th century, Lu states:

Almost as a rule, a new immigrant to the city would soon be proud of being not just a city person but a “Shanghai person,” or Shanghairen. Along with the rise of Shanghai as China’s number one city, Shanghairen were popularly associated with sophistication, astuteness, and a certain degree of Westernization. (48)

Xiong Yuezhi also talks about this concept of the Shanghainese in his article “The Image and Identity of the Shanghainese.” When speaking about the international character of the city, he states:

Whatever the origin of this international atmosphere, however much shame and struggle had been brought by it, and however complex its background, the fact is not altered that it made an impact on Shanghai culture. It is a consequence of Shanghai’s international character that Shanghainese people were considered knowledgeable, broad-minded and defiant.

The concept of a definitive Shanghai identity has continued to today. This quote from a 2002 article by Hanchao Lu entitled “Urban Superiority, Modernity and Local Identity - a Think Piece on the Case of Shanghai” discusses this:

To this day, many Shanghainese believe, apparently with some degree of justification, that a non-Shanghainese can be easily identified in Shanghai’s streets, stores, or bus stops simply by his or her manner and *mien*. By the same token, a Shanghainese - even if that person had left the city for years and lived in a place thousands of miles from Shanghai - could still be readily identified and/or would self-identify as a Shanghainese. (138)

In fact, it could be argued that the concept of a distinct Shanghai identity has grown stronger since the mid 20th century, as those families that immigrated to Shanghai from Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and other areas of China have now lived in the city for multiple generations, producing Shanghainese for whom SHH is their native language, while the dialects of their places of origin are often either completely unfamiliar or something that is only spoken when they visit their grandparents for Spring Festival. Xiong (1996) discusses this. He begins by mentioning that in the 19th century many Shanghainese still tended to identify themselves by their places of origin. However, he notes that in January of 1900 “1,231 civic leaders in Shanghai signed a petition in opposition to” the Dowager Empress’s attempt to force the emperor from the throne. He points out, “Most of these signatories were not native Shanghainese...However, they signed themselves as the ‘gentry and merchants resident in Shanghai.’” He continues on to provide other examples of people choosing to identify themselves as Shanghainese rather than by their *laojia* 老家, or places of origin, concluding by saying, “It is obvious that with the passage of time, many sojourners became native” (104).

After the hukou system was implemented in 1949, migration within China became practically impossible, and thus immigration to Shanghai slowed down considerably. According to Xiong (1996), this caused Shanghainese identity to become “a stable category,” which “strengthened the Shanghainese self-image” (104). Today, while concepts of the Shanghai people may differ from external to internal, no one claims that “Shanghainese” is not a legitimate category.

In his book *Shanghai in Transition* (2002), Jos Gamble also discusses the Shanghai identity. He says that Shanghainese define themselves in opposition to the world of non-Shanghainese, including other Chinese people (70). He goes on to say that Shanghai’s impressive history of development beginning in the 19th century has caused Shanghainese to believe in their own superiority, and that migrant workers are “vilified” and claim to be treated with disdain by Shanghainese (74-80). He also mentions an article in the *Shanghai Star* discussing how many Shanghainese often use SHH as a test to determine if a person should be viewed as in-group or out-group, stating that for Shanghainese, *waidiren* 外地人 (literally “people from other places”) are people who cannot speak SHH (83). He further states that many Shanghainese say that speaking in SHH immediately gives one a feeling of being *qinqie* 亲切, which can be translated as “intimacy” or “closeness” (82). However, Gamble concludes his section on Shanghai identity by saying that, despite all of this, the “sense of ‘all being Chinese’ is powerful enough to override” Shanghai people’s feelings of superiority (89).

Much of the literature on Shanghai discusses the salience and strength of the Shanghai identity. However, practically no work has been done in an effort to determine

exactly what sort of relationship exists, if any, between the Shanghai identity and the language attitudes and ideologies of Shanghainese people.

1.5 The sociolinguistic situation in Shanghai

Perhaps the best source of information available on the sociolinguistic situation in Shanghai is Chu Xiao-quan's 2001 article "Linguistic diversity in Shanghai." Chu begins the article by positing a distinction in Shanghai between High, Middle, and Low varieties. The High variety is PTH, the Middle is SHH, while the Low is actually a number of different Chinese dialects that are spoken by families who themselves or whose ancestors immigrated to the city. This means that "A large proportion of Shanghai's inhabitants possess...linguistic competence of a third variety" (17).

However, Chu argues, these varieties do not correspond to fixed domains of usage, as seen in other di- and triglossic situations throughout the world. Many patriarchs of "well-to-do clans," for example, refuse to learn PTH or other varieties, instead continuing to speak in their native dialect, and are in fact respected for it (18). However, the domain of the low variety, remarks Chu, is continually shrinking, as more people become fluent in SHH and use it as their main language for everyday communication, although of course new immigrants not familiar with SHH continue to use their native dialects for communication within the family. Domains of usage for SHH have changed as well, claims Chu, as many young professionals prefer to use PTH as a means of showing their high education level and the fact that they do not work in state-owned enterprises.

Despite this, though, Chu argues that SHH remains salient as a means of expressing one's identity as a Shanghainese person. Regarding this, he states the following:

For most Shanghainese, the adoption of Shanghai dialect as a primary means of communication is motivated by a quest for communal identity...the local people see in this dialect the only manifestation of their identity or the only external sign to demarcate 'us' from 'them'. In this dialect resides their pride as members of a prosperous and developed community. A Shanghainese is nothing else but a speaker of the Shanghai dialect. (20-1)

Spread of PTH, meanwhile, is a direct result of government intervention. Chu argues that this is mostly couched in a rhetoric of development: "One of the implications of this motivating concept in the domain of language planning," he says, "is the largely shared conviction that proportionately with its social and economic advances a society should eventually reach uniformity in its speech" (21). He refers to the western notion of "one nation-state one language" as a goal of language planning in China.

Despite this commitment, however, there is still a noticeable difference from the historical situation described in Sandel (2003), as Chu points out that "Throughout the 20th century never was anyone barred from an office because of his/her inability to speak Mandarin or Putonghua" (22). Furthermore, although a strong command of PTH is required to be hired as a teacher in China, teachers are not actually legally required to teach in PTH. Thus, according to Chu, "many teachers, especially those in less prestigious schools and in tertiary institutions (because of their age), continue to conduct classroom work in some dialectal speech other than Putonghua without being subjected to sanctions or forced to pass special training courses in Putonghua" (22).

Chu concludes the article by making the claim that Shanghainese will continue to use their native dialect despite consistent government efforts to promote use of PTH. He also mentions that the current trend toward English teaching will continue to increase, citing the primacy of economic concerns over political concerns as his main reasoning. Chu

concludes his article with the following sentence, saying: “For a city where conformism reigns, language diversity may appear to be a solace to those who take difference as a healthy sign of life” (23).

1.6 The linguistic market in Shanghai and China

PTH is the official recognized language of the People’s Republic of China. It is taught in schools beginning (at least) in kindergarten. It is the language of the government, and is also the language used by all newscasters on both Chinese Central Television, or CCTV, the main television network in China (similar to the BBC in Britain) and on all local channels (such as the stations run by Shanghai Media Group). Throughout Shanghai, one can find signs that read *Qing jiang putonghua* 请讲普通话, or “Please speak PTH.”

This is not to say that PTH is the exclusive language of social status and success in Shanghai. As discussed above, many respected people in Shanghai do not speak PTH. However, it is safe to say that even in Shanghai one would be very hard-pressed to find a good job without proficiency in PTH.

There are many jobs in China that require one to display a particular level of proficiency in PTH, which is determined by taking the PTH Proficiency Test. The highest requirements are for broadcasters, reporters, and hosts of television programs. There are also high requirements for teachers, with requirements for language teachers higher than those for other teachers. However, any university student will know that certificates, or *zhengshu* 证书, like the one given when one passes the PTH Proficiency Test, are very useful in the Chinese job market, and many times people who do not necessarily need to

take the PTH Proficiency Test still do so on the grounds that it always helps to have one more certificate.

Additionally, in recent years English has become very important in the job search. The Ministry of Education has developed the Public English Test System, which offers certificates at various levels similar to the PTH Proficiency Test. Again, these certificates are very useful (or at least perceived as such) in the current job market in Shanghai.

However, in Shanghai today, SHH still dominates many conversations at home and places of work, just as Norman (1988) found in the 1980s (248). In fact, many participants in this study, as will be discussed later, mention the importance of SHH in relationships between colleagues.

1.7 The Chinese language

The term “Chinese” actually encompasses enough diversity to rival that of many language families. However, throughout history the different varieties contained under the umbrella of this term have traditionally been thought of as one language. According to Jerry Norman in *Chinese*, his wonderful and thorough treatise on the Chinese language and all its varieties, the main reason for this is “the profound unity of Chinese culture that has been transmitted in an unbroken line beginning from the third millennium BC and continuing down to the present day” (1988, 1). John E. Joseph (2000) says of the tendency to think of the vastly different variants of Chinese to be part of one language:

Indeed, throughout the Sinic world there is general belief in a single Chinese language of which Cantonese, Shanghainese, and the rest are dialects, and it is reinforced by the existence of a unified written language, which, however, is not nearly so monolithic as it is often made out to be. (20)

Since the present research will discuss different varieties of Chinese, although mostly SHH and PTH (which is actually not a language variety in the traditional sense at all), it will be useful to briefly introduce them here.

According to Norman (1988), the Chinese dialects⁴ are traditionally classified into seven groups along the criteria set forth by Yuan Jiahua's 1961 work *Hanyu fangyan gaiyao* 汉语方言概要 (*An outline of the Chinese dialects*). They are: Mandarin, Wu, Xiang, Gan, Kejia (Hakka), Yue (Cantonese), and Min (Norman, 1988, 181). Of these, the Mandarin dialect family is by far the largest, being spoken by around 70% of Han Chinese in China. The Mandarin dialect family is also the most homogeneous. Generally speaking, two people who speak different subdialects of Mandarin will have very little difficulty understanding each other. PTH is based mainly on the Mandarin dialects, and most closely resembles the variety spoken in the capital city, Beijing (Norman, 1988). SHH belongs to the Wu group. In Norman's own classification scheme, which differs slightly from the traditional scheme given above, he places the Wu group into what he calls the "Central group" of Chinese dialects along with the Xiang and Gan groups. These groups, according to Norman's scheme, share features of both the Mandarin dialects and the "Southern group" of Kejia, Yue, and Min dialects (183).

For the purposes of this study, the most important thing to note concerning the different varieties of Chinese is that a great many of them are mutually unintelligible. In some areas, such as Fujian province where the Min dialects are mainly spoken, the rate of

4. I use this term here simply because it is the term used in this and almost every classification system regarding the language varieties typically referred to as "Chinese." Throughout the rest of this paper I will use the term "varieties" whenever possible.

diversity is extremely high. In other areas, however, there is more homogeneity. A quote from Norman (1988) regarding this issue is particularly relevant to the present research: “In the Central zone there are some relatively large areas, comprising many counties in some cases, which share a mutually intelligible form of speech, such as the region around Shanghai” (188). As will be discussed later, many of the participants in this research spoke varieties found in the outskirts of Shanghai (what in Chinese are called *jiaoqu* 郊区, which means “suburbs,” but without the accompanying oversized houses and SUVs found in the United States) that differ somewhat from SHH.⁵

1.7.1 A note on terminology

The term *Shanghaihua* is actually an umbrella term that, in normal usage encompasses a number of smaller subvarieties spoken in Shanghai. For instance, those of my participants who grew up in Pudong, across the river from the majority of the city, considered themselves to be speakers of SHH, yet when asked specifically all said that Pudong dialect was different than SHH, which they tended to define as the dialect spoken in Puxi, the main area of the city (*Puxi* means “west of the Huangpu river” in Chinese). Most linguistic studies of Shanghainese have taken the strict view of only considering the language spoken by those born and raised in the city center of Shanghai (as opposed to the *jiaoqu*) as SHH (Liu, 2004, 1-2).

5. Interestingly enough, the typical pattern I found was that speakers of these varieties tended to underplay the differences between them and SHH, while speakers of SHH were much more apt to claim mutual unintelligibility.

The term as used by the average Shanghainese person is not as exact. This can be seen upon examination of participants' perceptions of what constitutes authentic SHH. Participants were divided into more or less two camps on this issue: those who felt that authentic SHH was simply the dialect spoken in the city center, and those who appealed to some older, "purer" version of the dialect, whether that be the form spoken by those in their grandparents' generation or the variant found in Pudong or an area on the outskirts of the city that has preserved more of the old SHH.

This inexact usage of the term reflects confusion as to who can be considered "real Shanghainese," another topic about which there are many differing opinions among Shanghainese people, sometimes expressed by the same person in the course of a single conversation. See Gamble (2002, 82) for further discussion of this issue. The present research found a considerable amount of material for further study available in this area. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this paper.

1.8 Linguistic characteristics of PTH

Although SHH and PTH are not mutually intelligible, there still exist many similarities between the two varieties. Both varieties are morphemically monosyllabic—that is, each syllable corresponds to a single morpheme.⁶ Both varieties are also tonal, although the nature of the tonal contrasts in the two varieties are quite different. SHH and PTH also share a great deal of vocabulary, which are written with the same Chinese char-

6. Many readers will certainly be aware that there are certain exceptions to this rule. However, these exceptions are beyond the scope of the present paper, and knowledge of them is not necessary to understanding the research presented here.

acters, yet pronounced differently enough as to be mutually unintelligible. Furthermore, both use the Chinese writing system, although SHH often uses characters that are not used in the Mandarin family of dialects, such as the word for “you,” written with the character 你 in PTH, while SHH uses the character 侬.

As stated above, PTH is based on the Mandarin family of Chinese dialects, especially the variety spoken in Beijing. In Chinese phonology, the syllable is typically divided into an initial, final, and tone. Norman (1988) describes these concepts as such:

The initial is the consonantal onset to the syllable...The final is the remainder of the syllable minus the tone...Tone, which pertains to the entire syllable, is primarily characterized by voice pitch, although other features like length, intensity and glottality may also play a role in its perception. (138-39)

According to Norman, PTH initials distinguish primarily between obstruents (stops, affricates, and fricatives), which are all voiceless, and sonorants (nasals, laterals, and semivowels), which are all voiced (139). The initial stops in PTH have a two-way distinction between aspirated and unaspirated. The initial η of Middle Chinese is not found in PTH. PTH has also lost all p , t , or k endings from Middle Chinese. Syllables in PTH can only end with a vowel or one of the following: n , η , N , or ɿ .

The tonal system in PTH contrasts between four tones. In Chinese phonological studies, the four tones of PTH are referred to as *yinping* 阴平, *yangping* 阳平, *shang* 上, and *qu* 去. The first two tones are so named because they are descendants of the Middle Chinese *ping* 平 tone, which has split into a high register (*yin* 阴) and a low register (*yang* 阳) in many Chinese dialects. The latter two tones are both found in Middle Chinese. The Middle Chinese *ru* 入 tone, characterized by the presence of a p , t , or k at the

end of the syllable, is missing from PTH, and all the former *ru* tone words have been divided into the other tonal categories.

The most common way for describing Chinese tones is to use the system developed by Y.R. Chao in his 1930 paper “A system of tone letters” (Norman, 1988, 145). In this system, pitch is represented using the numbers 1 through 5, with 1 representing a low pitch and 5 representing a high pitch. To convey the movement of a tone, at least two numbers are used, with the first number representing the starting point of the tone and the second number representing the finishing point. To convey a tone that moves down and then up again—or up and then down again—three numbers are used. A tone that remains on one pitch is represented by writing the same number twice. Using this scale, Jerry Norman represents the four tones found in PTH as follows (Norman, 1988, 147):

Tone name	Tonal value
<i>yinping</i> 阴平	55
<i>yangping</i> 阳平	35
<i>shang</i> 上	214
<i>qu</i> 去	51

Table 1.1: PTH tones and their tonal values

In addition to this basic system, there are also rules of tone sandhi in PTH. Tone sandhi refers to the change in value that a tone undergoes when certain conditions are met. In the case of PTH, the *shang* tone changes from 214 to 21 when immediately preceding another *shang* tone. There are also other tone sandhi rules in PTH, for instance

those regarding the word for the number one, *yi* 一, that are not relevant to the present discussion.

1.9 Linguistic characteristics of SHH

SHH is a member of the Wu group of dialects. Wu dialects are divided into northern and southern types, although Norman (1988) points out that the reasons for such a division are not totally clear (199). According to Norman, the most salient difference between SHH and PTH is the presence of “a three-way distinction of initial stops” (199). That is to say, in addition to distinguishing between voiceless aspirated and voiceless unaspirated initial stops, SHH has an additional category of voiced stops. In addition to this, the Middle Chinese initial *ŋ* is preserved in SHH. The Middle Chinese *ru* tone is also still present in SHH, although the original *p*, *t*, and *k* have been replaced by a glottal stop. On the whole, there exist a greater amount of sounds in SHH than in PTH, as it contrasts between more initials and also has a greater number of vocalic contrasts, although it should be noted that PTH has a higher number of diphthongs and triphthongs (Norman, 1988, 201).

There are five tones in SHH, as opposed to only 4 in PTH. The *shang* tone is missing completely, although there are two *ru* tones that are both lacking in PTH. The table below shows the SHH tones and their values (Qian, 2002, 208).

Tone name	Tonal value
<i>yinping</i> 阴平	52
<i>yangqu</i> 阳去	334
<i>yinqu</i> 阴去	223
<i>yinru</i> 阴入	<u>55</u> ^a
<i>yangru</i> 阳入	<u>12</u>

a. Underlined values signify that the tone is shorter or more abrupt than other tones.

Table 1.2: SHH tones and their tonal values

It should also be noted that tone sandhi in SHH works rather differently from tone sandhi in PTH. While tone sandhi in PTH is dictated by the final syllable in a grouping (e.g. when two syllables with a *shang* tone are immediately next to each other, the second syllable dictates that the tone value of the first syllable will change), tone sandhi in SHH is dictated by the first syllable. There can be up to five syllables in a tone sandhi group in SHH. There are different tone sandhi patterns for each of the five tones in SHH, affecting the tonal value of all of the syllables in the tone sandhi group, including the first syllable (Qian, 2002, 209).

The above is a brief exploration of a small portion of the differences between SHH and PTH. Following is an examination of literature that is relevant to the present study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature on language attitudes and language ideologies. Both of these topics begin with a review of literature discussing the overall theory, followed by a review of studies that have applied the theory to the Chinese context.

2.1 Language attitudes

Language attitude studies is a rich field that has received a great amount of scholarly attention. Scholars in the linguistic community have been studying it since it was pioneered in the 1960s. Some of the largest contributions to the field have been made by the likes of Wallace Lambert (pioneer of the matched-guise technique), Howard Giles, and Richard Bourhis. According to Aaron C. Cargile, et al. (1994)'s article "Language attitudes as a social process: A conceptual model and new directions," work in this field has mainly employed three different methods: observational, participant-observation, and ethnographic studies; use of questionnaires and interviews; and use of the matched-guise technique, in which participants are asked to listen to the same passage recorded in different languages, dialects, or styles, and evaluate the individual speakers on criteria such as friendliness or intelligence (cf. 212-213).

In their discussion of language attitudes, Cargile, et al. (1994) refer to the “process whereby hearers react to both linguistic and paralinguistic variation in messages” (211). They proceed to claim that “An understanding of this process, along with the different kinds of evaluative profiles that arise from such language variation in different social contexts and cultures, is the heartland of the study of ‘language attitudes’” (211). As the title clearly states, Cargile, et al. (1994) sees language attitudes as a social process. The “process” of language attitudes functions on two levels. On the level of interpersonal communication, language attitudes held about a style that a particular speaker is using affect the hearer’s reception of the speaker, which can in turn affect the hearer’s evaluations of the speaker and influence his/her consequent choice of communication strategies and other behavior. There is also, however, a process involved with language attitudes on the level of attitude formation. That is to say, one’s history of interactions, perception of overall macro-level social situations, and a variety of other factors affect the actual formation of language attitudes. This stress on the process of language attitude formation also implies that language attitudes can change over time, as people continue to interact with speakers of different languages and varieties, and as macro-level social situations (or people’s perceptions of them) change.

Giles, et al. (1991)’s work “Contexts of accommodation: Developments in applied sociolinguistics” conceives of language attitudes as a “pre-interaction mediator.” That is to say, language attitudes are one of many factors that individual speakers bring into an interaction. When and how certain language attitudes become salient, then, is determined

by individual interactions, and is mediated by such things as transactional goals, perceived communication strategies of the other party, and the like.

2.1.1 Language attitudes in the Chinese context

While language attitude studies is a rich discipline of linguistics, not much work has been done in the area of Chinese language attitudes. Furthermore, most of the work that has been done has focused on either Hong Kong (especially immediately preceding and following its return to Chinese sovereignty) or Taiwan. One such study is found in Mee-ling Lai (2001), a paper entitled “Hong Kong students’ attitudes towards Cantonese, Putonghua and English after the change of sovereignty.” In this study, Lai opted for a direct method of assessing language attitudes, distributing a questionnaire to 134 students, 70 poor students from low-achieving Band 5 schools, and 64 wealthy students from prestigious Band 1 schools. Her findings, in her words, “reveal a three-tier ethnolinguistic identity: (1) Cantonese or mixed-code for Hong Kong identity; (2) Putonghua for Chinese identity and (3) English for a modern and westernised identity” (125). She also discovered that, contrary to her hypothesis, lower class Cantonese did not display a greater loyalty to PTH as a new and more-accessible language of upward social mobility, but rather showed even more negative attitudes toward it than did the upper class students, perhaps, according to Lai, because of fear of job competition from the increasing number of mainland immigrants.

Lai argues that, based on the attitudes displayed toward the three most common linguistic varieties in Hong Kong, “As long as Hong Kong people still believe that they are superior to the mainland Chinese, it is not likely that Putonghua will replace any of

the roles that Cantonese and English are playing in society without much government imposition" (129). In the end, she concludes that English is considered the most useful language for one's career, Cantonese is the language of local identity, while PTH is valued for enabling wider communication and for a sense of "Chineseness" to which it appeals.

While it is difficult to find studies concerning language attitudes of Shanghainese, two works are available that deal with it to some extent. The first is Bai Jianhua's 1994 article entitled "Language attitude and the spread of standard Chinese in China." In this study, Bai distributed a questionnaire on language attitudes to 55 students and visiting scholars in the Pittsburgh area, ranging in age from 20 to 55. His findings show that PTH is considered to be a prestigious variety by most of his participants. Bai does find, however, exceptions to this, one being that SHH is also accorded a certain level of status in Shanghai. Bai also finds a general trend of loyalty to local languages, with 82% of participants saying that they feel awkward using PTH in their home towns, and 76% agreeing that doing so will result in them being accused of disloyalty to their ancestors.

Bai also groups his participants into three categories: people from Beijing in Group 1, people from Cantonese and SHH dialect areas in Group 2, and all other participants in Group 3. He bases this decision on his "personal contact with people of various dialect areas," which has led him to the conclusion "that PTH is most difficult to spread in Shanghainese and Cantonese dialect areas" (133). While he does not go into great detail about these results, he does say that an ANOVA analysis indicates that Group 1 has the most favorable attitudes toward PTH, while Group 2 displays the least. Thus, Bai's

study seems to suggest that Shanghainese may have a more pronounced sense of loyalty to their local language over PTH than people from other areas of the country.

The other study that deals with language attitudes in Shanghai is Zhou Minglang's 2001 article entitled "The spread of Putonghua and language attitude changes in Shanghai and Guangzhou, China." Zhou uses a combination of a direct questionnaire and a matched-guise procedure to examine the attitudes of 40 Cantonese and 42 Shanghainese college students. Zhou purposefully chooses these two places so that he can compare with earlier studies, stating that "The current study aims to address the general concern about language attitude evolution in China's language planning program and specifically compare language attitudes in the 1990s in Shanghai and Guangzhou with those found in the two early studies" (232). The earlier studies to which he is referring are Bai (1994) and Kalmar, et al. (1987), which is concerned with language attitudes in Guangzhou.

Zhou's questionnaire was divided into two main sections. The first asked participants to rate a stereotypical Beijing speaker on 22 different personality traits, which Zhou uses as a way to test attitudes toward PTH, arguing that Beijing speakers are considered to be as close as anyone comes to speaking PTH natively. The second part of the questionnaire involves questions on "personal data, family data...course grades, evaluation of one's own PTH, and impression of Chinese language classes in PTH; and a battery measuring integrative orientation, instrumental orientation, anxiety, intensity, and desire in learning and using PTH" (235). For the matched-guise procedure, Zhou uses a "70-80 second passage on Confucian ideas about education," which is read by two male and two female bidialectal speakers from both Shanghai and Guangzhou. Participants were then

asked to evaluate the speakers on 19 different traits, 5 of which indexed social status and 14 of which indexed group solidarity.

The results that Zhou gets are complicated, but one thing that stands out is that they are not what is typically expected of situations that conform to a diglossic distribution of varieties, in which the H variety is rated positively in social status while the L variety is rated positively in group solidarity. This finding stands in opposition to the earlier findings in both Bai (1994) and Kalmar, et al. (1987). Zhou explains this change in terms of what he refers to as “social distance,” arguing that “If the social distance between PTH speakers and local variety speakers is not high, the differences between PTH and the local variety do not assume primacy, and ratings of the two may not contrast very much” (243). In other words, as the number of PTH speakers in SHH speakers’ social networks increases, PTH will be used more in domains usually dominated by the L variety, causing the ratings of the two varieties to become more similar.

Zhou then proceeds to conclude that while PTH is still a status marker (in Shanghai more than in Guangzhou), the distinctions between attitudes toward PTH and attitudes toward SHH/Cantonese are blurring due to a change in social distance from PTH speakers. He couches this in the concept of a demand-supply model of language spread, which argues that the language that best meets the demands of a given situation will always be the one that is used. Thus, as immigrants from other areas of China living in Shanghai and Guangzhou continue to increase, PTH will receive more and more usage, resulting in a continual blurring of the distinction between attitudes held toward PTH and local varieties.

The above represents all the current literature available on language attitudes in Shanghai. As another area of interest to the current research is language ideologies, I now turn to a brief review of work that has been done in this area.

2.2 Language ideologies

An area of study similar to language attitudes, language ideologies began receiving scholarly attention in the 1970s. In her 1989 article “When talk isn’t cheap: language and political economy,” Judith Irvine defines language ideologies as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (255). Language ideologies, then, are the overriding metalinguistic beliefs of a society, often in the form of “commonsense” truisms (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994).

Woolard and Schieffelin’s 1994 article “Language Ideology” provides a comprehensive look at the field as it stood in the early 1990s. They discuss the different methodological and theoretical traditions from which language ideology work has been done, which they identify as ethnography of speaking, politics of multilingualism, literacy studies, historiography of linguistics and public discourse on language, and metapragmatics and linguistic structure (58-9). In their conclusion, they state:

The topic of language ideology is a much-needed bridge between linguistic and social theory, because it relates the microculture of communicative action to political economic considerations of power and social inequality, confronting macrosocial constraints on language behavior. It is also a potential means of deepening a sometimes superficial understanding of linguistic form and its cultural variability in political economic studies of discourse. (72)

They go on to say that “Many populations around the world...posit fundamental linkages among such apparently diverse cultural categories as language, spelling, grammar, nation, gender, simplicity, intentionality, authenticity, knowledge, development, power, and tradition” (72). The job of language ideology studies, then, is to determine the nature of these links and the ways in which they are formed.

2.2.1 Language ideologies in Taiwan

One excellent work that uses the concept of language ideologies in a Chinese context is Todd L. Sandel’s 2003 article “Linguistic capital in Taiwan: The KMT’s Mandarin language policy and its perceived impact on language practices of bilingual Mandarin and Tai-gi speakers.” In this article, Sandel uses data collected from interviews regarding folk ideologies of child-rearing, examining it from the perspective of language attitudes. He is able to do this because of the history of KMT language policy in Taiwan, which forced children to speak *Guoyu* 国语 at all times on school grounds until 1987. Thus, for many people throughout Taiwanese history, language-related issues played a key role in child-rearing decisions.

Sandel’s examination of the linguistic ideologies of the parents who were interviewed draws largely from the concept of linguistic capital. He refers to Pierre Bourdieu’s 1991 work, *Language and Symbolic Power*, saying “Bourdieu 1991 claims that language is ‘symbolic capital’ that producers use, most often unwittingly, ‘to maximize the symbolic profit’ that can be gained in linguistic practices” (524). He then argues that “To understand why and how a given market, or society, evaluates” certain languages or varieties as more valuable than others, one must “look at the whole history of language

practices in that market” (525). For Sandel, then, languages in a diglossic (or multiglossic) situation are all symbolic capital with different values attached to them, and these values are determined by the overall history of linguistic and social practices of the area in question.

What then arises for Sandel out of this framework for examining the situation in Taiwan, is the need to examine linguistic ideologies as a means of understanding why speakers “wittingly or unwittingly choose to hold onto a dispreferred speaking style or language” (525). Before he can carry out this examination, however, Sandel first provides an overview of public language ideologies throughout Taiwan’s history. After this overview, Sandel proceeds to examine the interview data acquired in Taiwan, dividing participants up into three generations. The criteria he uses for this division are based on Taiwan’s language history. The first generation is all people who were the first in their families to attend school under the old KMT language policy. The second generation are their children, who attended school under the same policy but had parents who had already done so. The second generation are all those who began school after 1987, when the KMT no longer required children to speak Guoyu in schools.

Sandel’s main conclusion is that the language policies of the KMT had a great amount of impact on both language practices and language beliefs at the personal level. All of the participants perceived links between the policy on language use in school and their own individual practice, with many third generation participants saying that they purposefully spoke Guoyu with their children in order to help them avoid the struggles they themselves faced in school. Sandel’s conclusion that language policies affect perso-

nal language practices and beliefs was strengthened by the responses of one person, Teacher Tan, who told of how she began speaking Taiwanese more with her children after she moved to Bangkok and met children who spoke perfectly native Taiwanese. Sandel also concluded that speakers will sometimes wittingly choose certain language practices based on their own ideologies and their perceptions of the linguistic market.

Sandel's analysis of Taiwan's language ideologies provides an excellent ethnographic view of personal and institutional orientations toward language in Taiwan. Such an approach holds excellent potential as a balance to the more data-oriented, quantitative sociolinguistic methods employed in studies such as Bai (1994) and Zhou (2001).

Unfortunately, I have been unable to discover any studies that have used a similar approach in examining communities in Mainland China. In fact, there are precious few resources available to anyone interested in a more in-depth analysis of the overall sociolinguistic situation in any cities in Mainland China, much less analysis focused specifically on Shanghai. My current research aims to fill in this void by combining quantitative, indirect methods such as those employed in Bai (1994) and Zhou (2001) with more qualitative, ethnographic methods such as those employed in Sandel (2003). Drawing from these sources as models, as well as the important theoretical concepts found in works like Cargile, et al. (1994), Giles, et al. (1991), Irvine (1989), and Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), I hope to arrive at a fully-fleshed, comprehensive analysis of language attitudes and ideologies of university students in contemporary Shanghai.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the methodology used for the present study. It begins with a description of the participants involved, including their background information and the linguistic varieties that they speak. This is followed by an explanation of the research design. The methodology used for the matched-guise technique is explained, including a discussion of the content used for the recordings. Following this is a brief introduction to the interview portion of the research. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the statistical tools used to analyze the matched-guise results.

3.1 Introduction

This study was carried out at Shanghai Normal University in Shanghai, China in May and June of 2005. Research materials were prepared in both the United States and China.

3.2 Participants

Thirty-six participants from Shanghai Normal University in the southwest of Shanghai were originally recruited to participate in this study. Of these 36 participants, 35 participants completed both the matched-guise and interview portions of this study

and will be included among the data presented here. Additionally, one other respondent was allowed to participate but will not be included in any analysis as she is the only respondent who was in graduate school at the time of the study.⁷ Recruitment was done through networking by using contacts that I had made at Shanghai Normal University when I taught there under the auspices of the Ohio State University during the summer of 2004. Participants were found through contacts and then informed orally of their responsibilities should they choose to participate. In order to encourage participation, all participants were paid a total of 80 RMB for their time. The payments were divided in half: 30 RMB at the beginning of the matched-guise portion of the research, and the other 50 RMB at the beginning of the interview.

At the time of the study, all of the participants were undergraduates at Shanghai Normal University in either their first or third year of study. They range in age from 19 to 22 with an average age of 20.3 and a median age of 21.

As with many studies, it was easier to recruit female participants than male participants. As such, the data presented here include 24 female participants and 10 male participants. All of the participants were undergraduate students at Shanghai Normal University at the time of the study. All participants were born in Shanghai, with the exception of SNU-25, who moved to Shanghai at the age of four (the cutoff age decided upon for this study was five). The only other participant apart from SNU-25 who has lived outside of Shanghai for any considerable period of time is SNU-14, who spent two years in Shen-

7. As all participants completed the matched-guise experiment and were thus assigned numbers, including the two participants not included here, please note that respondents SNU-5 and SNU-6 will be missing from all subsequent data.

zhen, a city in the south of China right across the border from the Hong Kong special administrative region.

Participants come from eight different majors: Chinese, Classical Documents, Community Sport, Economics, Environmental Engineering, Financial Management, Physics Education, and Science Education.⁸ Of these eight majors, Chinese is the most represented with 10 participants, while Classical Documents has only 2 participants. Participants were all in either their first or third year of undergraduate study at the time of the study. The table on the next page contains the background data collected from the participants.

8. The Chinese names for these majors are *hanyu yanwenxue* 汉语言文学, *gudian wenxian* 古典文献, *jingji* 经济, *huanjing gongcheng* 环境工程, *caiwu guanli* 财务管理, *shehui tiyu* 社会体育, *wuli (shifan)* 物理 (师范), and *kexue jiaoyu* 科学教育, respectively.

Participant	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Lived elsewhere	Grade	Major
SNU-1	F	19	SH	N/A	1st	Economics
SNU-2	F	19	SH	N/A	1st	Economics
SNU-3	F	19	SH	N/A	1st	Economics
SNU-4	F	19	SH	N/A	1st	Economics
SNU-7	M	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Community Sport
SNU-8	M	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Community Sport
SNU-9	F	20	SH	N/A	3rd	Science Education
SNU-10	F	20	SH	N/A	3rd	Science Education
SNU-11	F	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Science Education
SNU-12	F	22	SH	N/A	3rd	Chinese
SNU-13	F	20	SH	N/A	3rd	Chinese
SNU-14	F	21	SH	Shenzhen (4-6 years old)	3rd	Chinese
SNU-15	F	20	SH	N/A	3rd	Chinese
SNU-16	M	20	SH	N/A	1st	Physics Education
SNU-17	M	19	SH	N/A	1st	Physics Education
SNU-18	M	19	SH	N/A	1st	Physics Education
SNU-19	M	19	SH	N/A	1st	Physics Education
SNU-20	M	19	SH	N/A	1st	Physics Education
SNU-21	F	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Financial Management
SNU-22	F	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Financial Management
SNU-23	F	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Financial Management
SNU-24	M	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Classical Documents
SNU-25	F	21	Hanzhong, Shaanxi	Hanzhong (0-5 years old)	3rd	Chinese
SNU-26	F	20	SH	N/A	3rd	Classical Documents
SNU-27	F	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Chinese
SNU-28	F	20	SH	N/A	3rd	Chinese
SNU-29	F	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Chinese
SNU-30	F	20	SH	N/A	3rd	Chinese
SNU-31	F	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Chinese
SNU-32	M	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Env. Engineering
SNU-33	M	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Env. Engineering
SNU-34	F	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Env. Engineering
SNU-35	F	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Env. Engineering
SNU-36	F	21	SH	N/A	3rd	Env. Engineering

Table 3.1: Background information of participants

Being college students (and thus well-educated), all of the participants are able to converse comfortably in PTH. Asked to self-report on their PTH ability on a scale of 1 to 5, the median response of the participants was 4, with a high of 5 and a low of 3. SHH ability among the participants shows a different story, as participants self-reported on average lower ability in SHH than in PTH. For SHH, the median response was 3.5, with a high of 5 and a low of 1, although it should be noted that the participant who reported her SHH ability as 1 said that she would give her listening comprehension a score of 5.

Of the 34 participants used in this study, 14 speak a third variety beyond PTH and SHH, with 1 participant who can also speak a fourth variety. There are 10 different varieties in total reported by participants as other varieties beyond PTH and SHH in which they are proficient. It should be noted that all 10 of these varieties belong to the Wu family of dialects. Moreover, 7 of the 10 are actually dialects spoken in districts in the larger province-level municipality of Shanghai.⁹ They are Baoshan dialect, Fengxian dialect, Nanhui dialect, Jiading dialect, Jinshan dialect, Pudong dialect, and Qingpu dialect. The remaining varieties reported by participants are Jiangsu dialect, Ningbo dialect, and Suzhou dialect.

Finally, all participants were asked what variety they felt most comfortable speaking. The picture that results is rather complicated. Of the 34 participants, 11 participants reported that they felt most comfortable when speaking PTH. Another 11 participants reported feeling most comfortable when speaking SHH. Six participants claimed

9. The city of Shanghai is actually located within the much larger Shanghai municipality, which is a direct-controlled municipality on an equal administrative level to that of a province. Shanghai municipality has a total of 18 districts (Liu, 2004, 1).

feeling equally comfortable speaking both PTH and SHH. Yet another five participants said that they are most comfortable speaking their local varieties rather than either PTH or SHH. Finally, one participant (SNU-36) claimed to be equally comfortable using either PTH or her local variety, Qingpu dialect.

The table on the next page shows participants' self-reported proficiency in PTH and SHH. Note that participants were allowed to give scores ending in .5. The table also shows what other varieties (if any) each respondent can speak along with each respondent's self-reported proficiency in his/her other variety(-ies). Finally, the table also records participants' answers to which variety they feel most comfortable speaking.

Participant	PTH	SHH	Local varieties and proficiency	Most comfortable variety
SNU-1	4	3	Nanhui 5	Nanhui
SNU-2	4.5	3	Suzhou 2	PTH
SNU-3	4	3.5		SHH
SNU-4	3.5	4		SHH
SNU-7	3.5	2	Fengxian 5	PTH
SNU-8	4	3	Nanhui 5	Nanhui
SNU-9	4	4.5		SHH
SNU-10	4	4.5	Pudong 5	SHH PTH
SNU-11	5	5		SHH
SNU-12	4	4		PTH
SNU-13	4.5	3		PTH
SNU-14	5	3	Baoshan 4	PTH
SNU-15	4	4		SHH PTH
SNU-16	4	2.5	Pudong 4.5	Pudong
SNU-17	4.5	4.5		PTH
SNU-18	4	3		PTH
SNU-19	4	3		SHH PTH
SNU-20	5	2	Pudong 3; Jiangsu 1	PTH
SNU-21	4	3		SHH
SNU-22	4	4		SHH PTH
SNU-23	4	4		SHH
SNU-24	4.5	3.5		PTH
SNU-25	4	3		SHH
SNU-26	4	3		SHH PTH
SNU-27	4.5	4		SHH
SNU-28	4	4	Jiading 2.5	PTH
SNU-29	4	4	Ningbo 2	SHH
SNU-30	4	1	Qingpu 5	PTH
SNU-31	4	5		SHH
SNU-32	5	4	Jinshan 5	Jinshan
SNU-33	3	4.5		SHH
SNU-34	3	2	Qingpu 4.5	Qingpu
SNU-35	4.5	4		SHH PTH
SNU-36	4	3	Qingpu 5	PTH, Qingpu
Median	4	3.5	N/A	N/A
Mode	4	3	N/A	N/A

Table 3.2: Language proficiency in PTH and SSH as reported by participants

3.3 Research design

Research design for this study consisted of two main parts. The first was a matched-guise experiment conducted with all participants together on May, 2005. The second part consisted of individual 45-90 minute interviews with each participant in June of 2005. This research design was chosen in order to achieve a more well-rounded understanding of the issue of language attitudes and ideologies among Shanghai university students.

All participants were asked to fill out a simple background questionnaire at the beginning of the session in which the matched-guise experiment was conducted. This questionnaire asked for each participant's name, sex, age, place of birth, and major. Other background questions were asked during the course of the interview. The background form can be found in Appendix B.

3.3.1 Matched-guise experiment

The first portion of this research was the matched-guise experiment. Participants were asked to listen to two different recordings of the same passage and evaluate the speaker in each recording on eight different criteria on a scale of 1 to 5.¹⁰ Participants were not allowed to give answers that were not whole numbers. Recordings were done by the same Shanghai speaker, a 21 year-old female college student at East China Normal University. The speaker was a student in East China Normal University's Department of Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language at the time of recording. As with the research

10. See below for a description of passage's content.

participants, the speaker for the matched-guise recordings was recruited through networking.

Recording 1 was done in SHH. For recording 2, the Shanghai speaker spoke in her best, most standard PTH. The Shanghai speaker who made the recordings was chosen based on two criteria. First, having been born and raised in Shanghai, she is a native speaker of SHH. Second, she scored 90 points out of 100, or second level, first degree, on the PTH Proficiency Test, a test administered by the Chinese government, and required for anyone who wishes to become a teacher in China. This is the required score to be a language teacher.

Since the matched-guise test was first pioneered in the 1960s, various techniques have been employed in choosing a passage or passages for matched-guise experiments. These differences can be seen simply by examining two of the more prominent studies on language attitudes in the Chinese context: Kalmar, et. al (1987) and Zhou (2001). In Kalmar, et. al (1987)'s study of attitudes toward standard and "Cantonized" PTH, the authors interviewed speakers in a public park and "selected two brief stretches of speech from the same speaker," making sure that to choose one passage that was more standard and one that was more "Cantonized" (500). The advantage to this approach is obvious: the resultant recordings will contain very natural speech. However, a disadvantage comes in the form of a lack of controlled content. Although Kalmar, et. al never explicitly explicitly mention anything about the content of their recordings, one can reasonably presume that the content of each recording varied, although the extent of variation is impossible to guess. While all matched-guise studies are limited in that participants' evaluations could

be based on content or a number of other factors other than a difference in language, the extent of variation between each recording in Kalmar, et. al's study makes it even more difficult to accurately determine the exact cause for participants' evaluations.

The choice of content for the matched-guise passage in Zhou (2001)'s study, on the other hand, offers much greater experimental control. Regarding the recording content, Zhou simply states:

The recording consists of a 70-80 second passage on Confucian ideas about education read by four (two female and two male) native-like bidialectal speakers from each of the two speech variety communities, with each speaker reading the passage once in PTH and once in the participant's native variety of Chinese.

While Kalmar et. al's choice for recording content lacks Zhou's control over content, Zhou's choice of a Confucian passage lacks Kalmar's recordings' authenticity of speech. Confucian passages are written in classical Chinese, which differs greatly from that spoken by Chinese people today, to the point that it is often difficult to understand simply by hearing it. Moreover, classical Chinese carries with it strong connotations of a high level of education from having served as the high variety in a strongly multiglossic society for thousands of years, and from the fact that it is still taught in school today. Not only would such a read passage not be "natural," but listeners would almost certainly know that it is being read rather than spoken.

In an effort to achieve as many of the benefits to both of these approaches while also trying to avoid their drawbacks, I wrote a short narrative of a person who sees a former neighbor while getting on the bus, but doesn't have time to say anything to him.¹¹

11. See Appendix A for a general English translation of the narrative as well as transcripts of both of the recordings discussed here.

My reasoning for designing this passage was to try to avoid recordings that sound as if they are read. I also hoped to create a narrative that could naturally be said in both SHH and PTH, as opposed to content that already lends itself to one variety's domain over another's.

In making the recordings, I stressed to the speaker the necessity to sound as natural as possible. Special effort was made to ensure that both recordings sounded authentic and unrehearsed. In order to achieve authentic language use for each of the recordings, small changes were made in both lexicon and sentence structure between the SHH and PTH recordings.¹² Interested readers can refer to Appendix A to compare word-for-word transcripts of the two recordings. Effort was also made to ensure that both recordings were similar in terms of length, speech rate, and other such variables. The lengths of the SHH and PTH recordings were 46 and 41 seconds respectively.

Participants were asked to listen to each recording one time through. They were then given two minutes to rate the speaker in terms of the extent to which she possessed eight different qualities. Rating was done on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 represents “not at all” and 5 represents “very much.” The first three qualities—honesty, friendliness, and sense of humor—represent solidarity. The next four—intelligence, leadership, education, and wealth—represent social status.

The final quality perhaps needs a little bit more explaining. It is rather common to hear Chinese speakers praise the beauty of the Chinese language. There are many rea-

12. I owe my thanks to my speaker and two of her classmates in the Department of Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language at East China Normal University for helping ensure that the changes made were all authentic to SHH.

sons often given, including the language's conciseness and capacity for poetic expression. It is also quite common for Chinese speakers to attribute the beauty of the Chinese language to more aesthetic reasons, such as the cadence of the language (*iyangduncuo* 抑扬顿挫), often associated with the Chinese tones. In order to determine if these qualities are generally ascribed to PTH over and above one's own native variety, I included a final quality, "pleasant sounding." Please see Appendix B for the original evaluation form along with an English translation.

The present research also included an interview portion in an effort to complement the matched-guise experiment. The following section explains the methods used for the interviews.

3.3.2 Interviews

Interviews were conducted with each of the participants individually. Most interviews fell between 45 minutes and an hour in length. The shortest interview was 33 minutes. The longest interview lasted for an hour and 47 minutes. Interviews were conducted in PTH. Participants occasionally referred to words or phrases in SHH or their own particular third varieties. I conducted all interviews personally. The list of questions used for the interviews can be found in Appendix C.

I made special effort to conduct the interviews in such a way so that participants would feel as at ease as possible. I did not ask the questions in a specific order, but rather tried my best to let each participant control the conversation while also asking all of my questions. In this way, at least a small portion of the material from each interview is anecdotal in the sense that it can't be compared to anything in any of the other interviews.

Often times it is this material that is the most interesting, even if it cannot be analyzed in any scientific manner. As such, readers will find a lot of this material in the results and analysis chapters below. Readers should note that due to constraints of time and space, the discussion found in the following chapters deals with only a fraction of the issues that arose from the interviews, and many of the questions asked of participants in the interviews are not mentioned in the following pages.

The present paper also, however, uses more scientific data analysis methods to help arrive at its conclusions. The following section explains the data analysis methods employed for this study.

3.4 Data analysis

Matched-guise results were analyzed statistically to determine the different ways in which the scores given to SHH and PTH were different enough to be considered statistically significant. A t-test for dependent means was used for all statistical analysis. The t-test for dependent means is used in experiments in which there are two measurements for each subject, as in the present study, in which each subject ranked both the SHH and PTH speaker for each personal quality. The t-test for dependent means analyzes the difference in means of the two sets of scores—in this case the participants' rankings of the PTH and SHH recordings for each personality quality. The t-test determines whether the means of these sets of scores are statistically different from each other. That is, it determines whether the differences between the two sets of scores can reasonably be said to be due to some difference in the experimental circumstances for each group (in this case, the presence of a SHH guise versus the presence of a PTH guise), or whether the differ-

ences are merely random. In a t-test, the null hypothesis is that the means of both sets of scores are equal. For all instances in which the null hypothesis is proven false, one can reasonably claim that the results are due to the difference in experimental conditions between the two groups. For this study, all t-tests were conducted at 95% confidence (alpha level of .05), meaning that when the null hypothesis is rejected one can be 95% confident that the means are different (Aron and Aron, 1994).

For the purposes of this study, an unbiased standard deviation was also calculated. To calculate an unbiased standard deviation, one first subtracts the mean score from each individual score and then squares the resulting number. This number is known as the squared deviation. All the squared deviations are then added up, and divided by the number of deviation scores minus one (N-1). One the square root of this resulting number, which is known as the variance, is taken, resulting in the unbiased standard deviation. This differs from a biased standard deviation, in which the sum of squared deviations is simply divided by the number of deviation scores, or N. An unbiased standard deviation for a distribution of scores is always higher than a biased standard deviation. Unbiased standard deviation are chosen over biased standard deviations because scores taken from a population sample is less likely to include scores on the extreme ends of the spectrum. If one calculates a biased standard deviation of a population sample, it is likely the resulting number will be lower than a biased standard deviation of the entire population complete with extreme scores. Because the present study involves only a small sample of participants, an unbiased standard deviation was calculated rather than a biased standard deviation (Aron and Aron, 1994, 37-48).

The first step taken was to calculate the t-test for the entire population group to determine which personal qualities elicited statistically significant differences between SHH and PTH. The participants were then divided according to two different criteria, gender and presence or absence of strong Shanghai identity. With each of these divisions, t-tests were done on the divided groups separately to test the differences in the way the groups ranked the different speakers. The results of these tests are discussed in the following chapter.

3.4.1 Determination of presence or absence of Shanghai identity

Whether or not someone has a strong Shanghai identity cannot be determined with complete accuracy, as it is a strongly subjective notion that is highly dependent on situation and circumstance. However, efforts can be made to decrease the amount of subjective case-by-case judgment as much as possible. For the purposes of this study, participants were divided into two groups: those who have a strong Shanghai identity and those who do not. Criteria for making this division were based on participants' answers to questions in the interview. Specifically, the two questions examined were:

1. What does it mean to you to be a Shanghainese person?
2. Are you proud to be a Shanghainese person?

The latter of these two questions was only asked if participants did not themselves volunteer whether or not they felt proud to be Shanghainese in response to the first question. Out of these two questions, the latter was given more weight in determining presence or absence of strong Shanghai identity.

Generally speaking, there were three responses regarding whether participants felt pride in being Shanghainese. Many participants claimed to feel pride (sometimes great pride) in being Shanghainese. These participants were determined to have a strong Shanghai identity. Still other participants claimed that they did not feel any special sense of pride at being Shanghainese. These participants were determined to lack a strong Shanghai identity. Finally, many participants said that they did not feel pride in being Shanghainese, but they did feel fortunate that they were born in Shanghai rather than a poorer area of China in which the standard of living is much lower. As this study is most interested in those with a strong sense of Shanghai identity, rather than those who simply have positive feelings toward Shanghai, these participants were determined to lack a strong Shanghai identity and were placed in the same group as those who claimed no special feelings toward being a Shanghainese person.

CHAPTER 4

MATCHED-GUISE RESULTS

This chapter discusses the results of the matched-guise experiment. First the mean scores for each of the eight qualities are given, followed by the individual scores given by each participant as well as the standard deviation for each set of scores. Next, a t-test is conducted to determine the categories in which there is a statistically significant difference between the scores given to SHH and PTH. The participants are then divided according to gender, and t-tests are conducted again, showing that male participants rated PTH higher in social status than their female counterparts. Finally, the participants are divided according to presence or absence of strong Shanghai identity, and t-tests are conducted again. The results found differ from the original hypothesis that strong Shanghai identity would cause participants to rank SHH higher than PTH in group solidarity. Conversely, participants with strong Shanghai identity are shown to rank PTH higher in social status than those without a strong Shanghai identity. Discussion of possible reasons for this is left to the final chapter, "Discussion and Conclusions."

4.1 Matched-guise results

The following table shows the mean score of each of the eight qualities for the three recordings used in the matched-guise experiment.

	SHH	PTH
Honesty	4.147	3.824
Friendliness	3.882	3.824
Sense of Humor	2.206	2.412
Intelligence	2.265	2.735
Leadership	2.176	2.824
Education	3.029	3.588
Wealth	2.529	2.618
Pleasant Sounding	3.029	3.588

Table 4.1: Mean score of each quality for SHH and PTH recordings

Of course, averages do not tell the whole story. Therefore unbiased standard deviations were taken for each of the eight qualities in order to see how much difference there was between the scores. In addition, it is informative to examine the individual scores given by each participant as well. Table 4.2 below shows the scores given by each participant for the first three qualities, honesty, friendliness, and sense of humor. Beneath that, table 4.3 gives the scores for the next three qualities, intelligence, leadership, and wealth. Finally, table 4.4 gives the scores for the last two qualities, wealth and pleasant sounding. For each distribution of scores in these three tables, the unbiased standard deviation is provided at the bottom of the table.

Participant	Honesty		Friendliness		Sense of Humor	
	SHH	PTH	SHH	PTH	SHH	PTH
SNU-1	4	5	4	4	1	2
SNU-2	5	5	5	5	3	1
SNU-3	4	5	4	4	1	3
SNU-4	5	4	4	3	2	1
SNU-7	4	5	3	4	2	3
SNU-8	4	5	4	4	1	3
SNU-9	4	4	3	4	2	3
SNU-10	5	4	5	4	1	2
SNU-11	5	5	5	5	1	2
SNU-12	5	5	5	5	1	1
SNU-13	5	3	5	3	2	3
SNU-14	5	4	3	4	3	3
SNU-15	3	3	4	4	4	5
SNU-16	4	3	3	3	3	4
SNU-17	3	4	4	5	2	1
SNU-18	5	5	5	5	3	3
SNU-19	4	1	2	5	1	4
SNU-20	4	3	4	3	4	2
SNU-21	4	1	3	2	4	2
SNU-22	5	4	5	4	3	2
SNU-23	3	4	4	4	2	2
SNU-24	5	5	4	5	2	2
SNU-25	5	5	5	4	2	2
SNU-26	4	3	4	3	2	1
SNU-27	4	3	3	3	2	2
SNU-28	4	4	4	4	3	3
SNU-29	2	3	2	2	2	2
SNU-30	2	4	2	4	1	5
SNU-31	3	3	2	3	3	2
SNU-32	5	5	5	5	3	3
SNU-33	5	4	5	2	2	1
SNU-34	3	1	3	3	2	2
SNU-35	4	4	5	4	3	3
SNU-36	5	4	4	4	2	2
Std. Dev.	0.892	1.167	1.008	0.904	0.914	1.048

Table 4.2: Individual scores and unbiased standard deviation for the honesty, friendliness, and sense of humor

Participant	Intelligence		Leadership		Education	
	SHH	PTH	SHH	PTH	SHH	PTH
SNU-1	2	2	2	3	4	4
SNU-2	2	2	2	2	3	5
SNU-3	1	3	3	4	3	4
SNU-4	2	3	2	4	4	4
SNU-7	2	3	1	1	3	3
SNU-8	2	4	1	3	3	4
SNU-9	2	3	2	3	2	3
SNU-10	4	3	4	4	3	4
SNU-11	1	2	1	1	4	4
SNU-12	1	1	1	1	4	3
SNU-13	2	2	1	2	2	3
SNU-14	2	3	2	4	3	4
SNU-15	4	4	3	4	4	4
SNU-16	3	4	4	3	3	3
SNU-17	3	2	1	3	3	4
SNU-18	2	4	2	3	3	4
SNU-19	1	3	1	4	2	3
SNU-20	2	2	3	3	4	3
SNU-21	3	4	2	5	3	4
SNU-22	4	3	4	3	5	4
SNU-23	1	2	2	2	3	3
SNU-24	2	2	1	2	3	2
SNU-25	2	2	3	3	3	4
SNU-26	2	1	2	2	2	2
SNU-27	2	3	2	3	1	3
SNU-28	3	4	3	3	2	4
SNU-29	3	4	3	3	3	3
SNU-30	2	4	1	4	2	4
SNU-31	3	3	2	4	2	3
SNU-32	3	3	3	2	4	5
SNU-33	2	1	2	1	4	4
SNU-34	2	1	1	1	1	3
SNU-35	2	3	3	3	4	4
SNU-36	3	3	4	3	4	4
Std. Dev.	0.828	0.963	0.999	1.058	0.937	0.701

Table 4.3: Individual scores and unbiased standard deviation for intelligence, leadership, and education

Participant	Wealth		Pleasant Sounding	
	SHH	PTH	SHH	PTH
SNU-1	2	3	2	4
SNU-2	3	3	2	2
SNU-3	2	2	4	5
SNU-4	1	3	4	3
SNU-7	3	3	4	3
SNU-8	3	3	4	3
SNU-9	2	2	3	4
SNU-10	3	4	3	3
SNU-11	1	1	3	3
SNU-12	1	1	4	3
SNU-13	3	3	1	3
SNU-14	3	4	4	3
SNU-15	3	4	4	5
SNU-16	3	3	2	3
SNU-17	4	1	2	2
SNU-18	2	3	5	5
SNU-19	3	3	2	4
SNU-20	3	2	4	3
SNU-21	2	3	2	3
SNU-22	3	3	3	4
SNU-23	3	3	4	4
SNU-24	3	1	4	5
SNU-25	2	2	2	4
SNU-26	3	3	4	4
SNU-27	2	3	2	3
SNU-28	3	4	3	4
SNU-29	3	3	2	3
SNU-30	3	2	1	4
SNU-31	2	1	2	4
SNU-32	3	2	4	5
SNU-33	3	4	5	2
SNU-34	1	2	1	4
SNU-35	2	2	4	4
SNU-36	3	3	3	4
Std. Dev.	0.748	0.922	1.141	0.857

Table 4.4: Individual scores and unbiased standard deviation for wealth and pleasant sounding

Overall, standard deviations for the eight qualities show a considerable amount of agreement among participants. Standard deviations for all qualities were around 1, with the highest standard deviation of 1.167 found in participants' rankings of the PTH guise's honesty, and the lowest standard deviation of 0.701 found in participants' rankings of the PTH guise's education.

Next, a paired-sample t-test was used to determine for which of the eight qualities the difference between the SHH and PTH rankings were large enough to be statistically significant. The table below shows the paired-sample t-test results for each of the eight qualities. Note that positive quantities mean that SHH was ranked higher than PTH, while negative qualities mean that PTH was ranked higher.

	t-test ^a
Honesty	1.644
Friendliness	0.312
Sense of Humor	-0.909
Intelligence	-2.856*
Leadership	-3.204*
Education	-3.644*
Wealth	-0.533
Pleasant Sounding	-1.809

a. An asterisk (*) denotes a value that is statistically significant at 95% confidence (alpha level of .05); *t > 2.035

Table 4.5: Paired-sample t-test results for each of the eight qualities

Only three of the eight personality traits—intelligence, leadership, and education—produced statistically significant results. Note that all three of these traits fall in the social status category, and for all three of them, PTH was ranked higher. For none of

the categories was SHH ranked enough above PTH to be statistically significant. In fact, in only two of the categories—honesty and friendliness—was SHH ranked higher at all. This is interesting when viewed in light of the results in Zhou (2001) and Bai (1994). They suggest that the pattern Zhou (2001) discovers, that “The younger generation seemed to regard PTH almost as favorably as they did their local variety,” has continued progressing to the present day, so that now there is not a single category in which the participants rated SHH significantly higher than PTH.

4.1.1 Gender

Zhou (2001) found that Shanghai females were “much more progressive in their attitudes toward PTH than the Shanghainese males” (244). In order to compare his results with those of the current study, participants were divided by gender and t-tests were administered for each personality trait. The table below shows t-test results divided by sex.

	Female t-test ^a	Male t-test ^b
Honesty	1.895	0.408
Friendliness	0.371	0
Sense of Humor	-0.749	-0.519
Intelligence	-1.430	-3.857*
Leadership	-1.856	-3.087*
Education	-2.460*	-2.862*
Wealth	-0.592	-2.862*
Pleasant Sounding	-1.796	-1.809

a. n = 24; *t > 2.069

b. n = 10; *t > 2.262

Table 4.6: Paired-sample t-test results divided by sex

Amazingly enough, female participants produced a statistically significant difference in rating in only one of the eight personality qualities, education. Meanwhile, the male participants ranked PTH significantly higher than SHH in all four of the categories related to social status. Interestingly, these results are the opposite of the results discussed in Zhou (2001), as the males in this study showed themselves to be more “progressive in their attitudes toward PTH.”

4.1.2 Shanghai identity

One of the purposes of the present study is to determine if the strength of one’s identity as a Shanghainese has any impact on language attitudes and ideologies. To help determine this, the matched-guise data was divided according to whether or not participants displayed a strong Shanghai identity. The strength of each participant’s Shanghai identity was determined during the interview portion, and will be discussed in more detail

below. The table below shows t-test scores when divided up by presence or absence of a strong Shanghai identity.

	Strong Shanghai identity t-test ^a	Lack of strong Shanghai identity t-test ^b
Honesty	1.128	1.477
Friendliness	0.165	0.433
Sense of Humor	-1.369	0.519
Intelligence	-2.648*	-1.148
Leadership	-4.256*	0.365
Education	-4.183*	-1.237
Wealth	-0.384	-0.433
Pleasant Sounding	0	-1.720

a. n = 21; *t > 2.086

b. n = 13; *t > 2.179

Table 4.7: Paired-sample t-test results divided according to presence or absence of strong Shanghai identity

While the results yielded by the division according to sex are fairly typical and conform well to results reported in Zhou (2001), these results seem to be the exact opposite of what one would expect. Not only does the group reporting strong Shanghainese identity not rank SHH significantly higher in any of the categories, but they rank PTH significantly higher in three of the four social status categories, while the other group does not.

These results are obviously much different from the hypothesis that strength of Shanghai identity would be a determining factor in participants' language attitudes to-

ward SHH. More on possible ways to interpret these results in light of results from the interviews can be found in the “Discussion and Conclusions” chapter below.

CHAPTER 5

INTERVIEW RESULTS

As is to be expected with a free interview format used for this study, participants' answers varied greatly, as did the directions in which different participants took certain topics. This section focuses on participants' comments on topics that are of interest to the present study. Due to time and space constraints, this chapter does not deal with all of the questions asked to participants during the interviews. For a full list of questions asked to every participant, please see Appendix C. The first topic examined here is participants' perceptions of the qualities possessed by Shanghainese people, and what it takes to be a Shanghainese person. Following this is a discussion of participants' views regarding the linguistic value of SHH, PTH, and English by examining their views on the importance of each and what variety(-ies) they plan to speak with their children. Finally, information gathered during the interviews is used to discuss participants' language usage and the presence or absence of PTH in typical L variety domains. Throughout this discussion, participants' comments are compared to their rankings from the matched-guise test. All translations of information from the interviews are my own.

5.1 Being Shanghainese

This discussion will deal with participants' answers to three questions, all three of which deal with characteristics of Shanghainese people. They are:

1. What are Shanghainese people like?
2. What does it mean to you to be a Shanghainese person?
3. What type of people can be considered Shanghainese people?

Interestingly, participants were largely in consensus on the first of these questions, as many of them provided similar responses. The table below lists the most common qualities of Shanghainese people given by participants, divided into positive and negative traits. "Astute" (*jingming* 精明) is listed as both a positive and negative quality, as the Chinese word can be taken either way, depending on context.

Positive	Negative
Astute (<i>jingming</i> 精明)	Astute (<i>jingming</i> 精明)
Amiable (<i>suihe</i> 随和)	Haggle over everything (<i>jinjin jijiao</i> 斤斤计较)
Know how to enjoy life (<i>hui xiangshou</i> 会享受)	Arrogant (<i>zi'ao</i> 自傲)
Quick to accept new things (<i>rongyi jieshou xin shiwu</i> 容易接受新事物)	Reject <i>waidiren</i> (<i>paichi waidiren</i> 排斥外地人)
Trendy (<i>shimao</i> 时髦)	Don't know how to bear hardship (<i>bu hui chiku</i> 不会吃苦)
Fond of culture (<i>dui wenhua bijiao rezhong</i> 对文化比较热衷)	Stingy/narrow-minded (<i>xiaoqi</i> 小气)
Hardworking (<i>qinlao</i> 勤劳)	
Good at English (<i>yingyu bijiao hao</i> 英语比较好)	
Intelligent (<i>congming</i> 聪明)	
Progressive (<i>kaifang</i> 开放)	
Meticulous (<i>xiang shiqing bijiao xi</i> 想事情比较细)	
Multicultural (<i>duoyuanhua</i> 多元化)	
International (<i>guojihua</i> 国际化)	
Practical (<i>wushi</i> 务实)	
Modern (<i>xiandaihua</i> 现代化)	
Forthright (<i>zhishuang</i> 直爽)	
Civilized (<i>wenming</i> 文明)	
Westernized (<i>xifanghua</i> 西方化)	
Like to express themselves (<i>biaoxian ziji</i> 表现自己)	
Traditional (<i>chuantong</i> 传统)	

Table 5.1: Characteristics of Shanghainese people as given by participants

Of the traits listed above, the most commonly given ones were “astute,” “haggle over everything,” “quick to accept new things,” “know how to enjoy life,” and “progressive.” As is to be expected, most of the responses were positive. There was also a greater diversity in the positive responses, while the negative responses showed a greater degree of similarity between participants. Some participants even qualified their negative responses by pointing out that those qualities are often ascribed to Shanghainese by oth-

ers. Below is the response given by SNU-3, a female first-year economics major, when asked this question. This response is fairly typical of the responses given by participants to this question. Readers interested in reading the original Chinese transcription of this and all other interview quotes should see Appendix D.

Interviewer: What type of characteristics do you think Shanghainese people possess?

SNU-3: ...I think first that they're pretty hardworking, just that when they do things they are very sincere and keep their promises, just that if they promise someone they'll do something then they'll usually do it. And I think they're pretty astute, and pretty amiable, pretty good at cooperating...They like to be white collar, they don't really want to be entrepreneurs, don't really want to take risks...And I also think that they tend to like being at home with their families...still very traditional...but also pretty open-minded, and are willing to accept new things, they accept new ideas from elsewhere pretty easily...

Examining participants' answers to this question, there is not a single respondent for whom the perception of Shanghainese people is mainly negative. Similarly, when asked what it meant to them personally to be Shanghainese, none of the participants responded that they were ashamed of being Shanghainese. In fact, 20 of the participants claimed to feel proud of the fact that they were Shanghainese, while only 10 of them claimed to lack such feelings. The two responses quoted below can be said to represent the two extremes in regards to participants' feelings towards being a Shanghainese person. The first passage is from the interview with SNU-33, a third-year male student who grew up in Hongkou district, a district that would be considered to fall within the boundaries of city center. Notice that for this respondent, there is a direct relation between Shanghai's development and the need to preserve SHH.

Interviewer: Then do you feel proud to be a Shanghainese person?

SNU-33: Definitely. I mean, Shanghai is a metropolis. The best place is Shanghai. I think that Shanghai is the paradise of China. *Waidiren* might find this a little exaggerated, but I definitely think that Shanghai is one of the best cities in China. If it's not the best, then it counts as one of the best. I mean, the center of economic trade, the most advanced management, the most human-centered design are all in Shanghai. I don't think there is a city in China that can compare with Shanghai. It rivals a lot of foreign cities. Speaking from this perspective, I think there is an even greater need to preserve the Shanghai dialect. Let Shanghai understand the world, and the world understand Shanghai. This is another path to that. I hope that in the future there are foreigners who know how to speak SHH.

This view stands in stark contrast to SNU-2, a first-year female who grew up in Yangpu district. Yangpu district is on the edge of the main city, but would not be considered part of the outskirts (*jiaoqu*).

Interviewer: Then do you feel that being a Shanghainese person has any special meaning for you?

SNU-2: There's no special meaning.

Interesting results can be discovered if one examines the matched-guise results for these participants in light of these quotes. SNU-33, who is obviously very proud of Shanghai and his identity as a Shanghainese, ranked SHH higher than PTH in all three qualities relating to group solidarity, ranking it three points higher in honesty, one point higher in friendliness, and two points higher in sense of humor. Meanwhile, SNU-2 ranked SHH and PTH equally in honesty and friendliness, only ranking SHH higher in sense of humor (by two points). SNU-3, on the other hand, ranked SHH *lower* by one point in honesty and sense of humor, while ranking the two equally in friendliness.

It should be noted that some participants also claimed to feel pride in being Chinese, as well as pride in being Shanghainese. This harkens back to Gamble (2002)'s claim that the sense of "all being Chinese" overrides pride in one's Shanghainese origin,

and is reminiscent of many scholars' explanation for the impressive cultural unity that China has displayed throughout its history (Norman, 1988, 1; Sandel, 2003, 531). Below is one such response.

Interviewer: What does it mean to you to be a Chinese person?

SNU-4: I think...we are...China is a country with a very long history. I think that I still feel really proud. I won't say anything like China...before when China was backwards and looked down on by others and stuff, that's all in the past. I think that China now is really good. I won't say that I...I...if I go to another country, I won't say I'm not Chinese or anything. And I would very proudly say that I'm a Chinese person.

The final interview question dealing with Shanghai identity asked participants what is necessary in order to be considered a Shanghainese person. I chose to ask this question based on reading that suggested that for many Shanghainese, ability to speak SHH was an important (if not the main) criterion for claiming Shanghainese identity (Gamble, 2002, 82; Chu, 2001). Results to this question were even more one-sided than the question of whether or not participants were proud of being Shanghainese, with only 7 participants responding that it is not necessary to know SHH in order to be considered a Shanghainese person. Another 3 participants said that it is necessary to be able to understand SHH, while the remaining 18 said that it is necessary to be able to speak SHH. One of the more interesting views on this question came from SNU-26, a third-year female student. She claimed that it is not necessary to be able to speak SHH in order to be considered a Shanghainese person by appealing to the concept of the "New Shanghainese" (*Xin Shanghairen* 新上海人), a concept that seems to harken back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries when migration to Shanghai was at its height.

Interviewer: What sort of person do you think can be considered a Shanghainese person?

SNU-26: ...Of course if you are born in Shanghai and grow up in Shanghai then...you couldn't really think that you're not a Shanghainese person. Now there is a saying, the so-called "New Shanghainese"...like some intellectuals, or some students who come to Shanghai to study. And actually I know that except for those students who come from Beijing or a big city, actually if they've come from a relatively small place the reason they've come is so that they can stay here in Shanghai...Actually Shanghai now maybe isn't a lot like before, when the *hukou* regulations were really strict...Now I'm not too sure but I think that if you bring in those intellectuals then they can get a Shanghai *hukou*. Then he is a "New Shanghainese." There's also a lot of foreigners or Taiwanese who come here to live, like in Gubei¹³ there are a lot of Taiwanese, I think that they can count as "New Shanghainese" too...I think that the most important is that they have a positive influence on Shanghai...

Interestingly enough, while almost all of the participants spoke of Shanghai as being accepting of new things, the overall concept of what constitutes a Shanghainese person was still fairly conservative, and also rather tied up with linguistic competence in SHH. Furthermore, even those who did allow for less linguistically-based criteria for determining Shanghai identity, such as SNU-26 above, only seemed to do so for middle- and upper-class migrants to Shanghai, while denying the same ability to migrant workers from poorer areas. Shanghai residents' sometimes poor treatment of migrant workers, especially those from northern Jiangsu province, has already been the subject of other studies (Chen et al., 1985). However, the relation of such treatment to linguistic beliefs on both sides is a subject that is still ripe for further study.

13. Gubei is an area in the western part of Shanghai known for having a high proportion of foreigners.

5.2 Importance of PTH

Another area of interest that came out of the interviews was participants' views on the relative importance of SHH and PTH. Participants' answers to these questions provide a great amount of insight into their views on the linguistic market in the city of Shanghai as well as the country of China and the linguistic capital provided by each of these varieties. I will first discuss participants' views on the importance of PTH. The two questions to which participants responded are written below.

1. Do you feel it is important to know PTH?
2. Do you feel it is important to speak PTH with a standard accent?

Answers to the first question were incredibly uniform, as not a single participant claimed that it is not important to know PTH. However, participants were more divided on the importance of speaking PTH with a standard accent, with just slightly more than half of the participants (19) saying that it is important. The other 15 participants claimed that it is not necessary to speak PTH with a standard accent, although several of these participants allowed caveats for certain occupations, such as broadcasters or teachers. Reasons given for the importance of PTH and of a standard accent can, for the most part, be broken down into three categories: 1) national language and ease of communication between dialect groups, 2) personal value and linguistic capital, and 3) value judgments.

5.2.1 National language and means of wider communication

Probably the reason participants most often gave to explain why PTH is important involved communicating with people from other areas of the country. An example of this can be found in the views of SNU-9, a third-year female student in Science Education.

Interviewer: Is it important to know how to speak PTH?

SNU-9: That is pretty important. Because if...just that I think Chinese people more or less all know how to speak PTH, because it has been popularized. If you speak SHH to other people, and they're not Shanghainese, what can you do? Then if you say he's the same, he doesn't speak PTH, he just speaks the dialect from his home, then isn't that chaos? It's necessary to have a language that everyone can use.

Another example is found in the response of SNU-15, a female first-year student majoring in Chinese.

Interviewer: Do you believe that it is important to know how to speak PTH?

SNU-15: Yes, it's important.

Interviewer: Why?

SNU-15: Because without PTH, then you wouldn't be able to understand the languages spoken in half of the places in all of China.

Interestingly enough, belief in the necessity of PTH as a language of wider communication did not dictate whether one felt that it was necessary to speak PTH with a standard accent. Some participants, such as SNU-3 below, a first-year female student in economics, felt that one's PTH need only be standard enough so as to be understood by others.

Interviewer: Then do you think that it is important to know how to speak standard PTH?

SNU-3: I think that if you're not doing that type of work then it shouldn't be too important, because...actually if other people understand what you mean, just if you can make people understand and there are no barriers to communication then that's enough. Having to speak really standard, like retroflexing sounds that should be retroflexed and stuff, first this is really hard to do, second I think that it's not necessary. Because as long as they can understand then that's enough, it's not like you need to go teach people how to

speak Chinese and need to speak really standard, so it doesn't matter.

SNU-10, a third-year female student majoring in science education, expressed a similar opinion. She felt that one's accent need only be standard enough to conform to the requirements of one's job. However, it should also be pointed out that she does reserve somewhat of a value judgment for TV hosts, broadcasters and reporters, who in her mind need to speak standard PTH not only because their job requires them to do so, but because they are models for everyone to use in speaking PTH themselves.

Interviewer: Do you think it is important now to know how to speak PTH?

SNU-10: Knowing how to speak PTH is really important, because...there are a lot...of people who come to Shanghai from other areas, they don't necessarily know how to speak SHH, or understand SHH, but they will definitely understand PTH. So using PTH to communicate is still...very necessary. So speaking PTH well is still very important.

Interviewer: Then do you think it is important to know how to speak standard PTH?

SNU-10: Know how to speak standard...is not necessarily very important. If it's TV hosts, broadcasters, or reporters I think that it is extremely important to speak very standard PTH. Because they need to provide a model for everyone to study. So, for us, if you are a teacher, you just need to meet a particular standard and that's enough. The demands aren't very high.

Interviewer: Uh-huh. So you're saying that you feel that your level now is definitely enough...for what you will do, your work, in the future?

SNU-10: Right...except for language teachers, other people who become teachers just need to get second level, second degree, and that's enough.

Others, meanwhile, still felt that it is important to be able to speak with a standard accent based on its position as a means of wider communication. For instance, SNU-24,

a male third-year student in classical documents who expressed pride in his own PTH level, felt that it is important that Chinese people, and especially teachers, are able to speak standard PTH. Readers may also notice his belief that PTH is more pleasing to the ear than SHH, a belief that matches with his matched-guise results, in which he ranked PTH two points higher than SHH for the category pleasant sounding.

Interviewer: Why do you personally like speaking PTH better?

SNU-24: Because PTH sounds nice. I've even taken part in the PTH test. I think that we should develop the habit, for instance if you meet some people from outside of Shanghai, and they ask you for directions or something, if you use SHH to talk to them they definitely won't understand you. PTH is a language that everyone can accept and understand. Plus I think that PTH is very pretty. Plus I think that my PTH is pretty standard, too. I took the PTH test and got second level, first degree. If you get first level, second degree, you can be a broadcaster for local television. First level, first degree, and you can go to Central Television—CCTV, you know? All the show hosts on CCTV have first level, first degree PTH.

Interviewer: So you're saying that you think it is important to be able to speak PTH, right?

SNU-24: Of course. For instance if later in your life you run into someone who asks you for directions, or teaching in school, I think that teachers in elementary school or kindergarten especially should have even more standard PTH. Because they're children, they're still little, the language they come into contact with the most is you, so speaking PTH is the most important.

Interviewer: Do you think it is important to speak standard PTH?

SNU-24: Of course it's important.

Interviewer: Why?

SNU-24: Because this is a common language for communication...typically SHH or other dialects, people with relatively strong language abilities might be able to understand some, but PTH erases this barrier for all aspects, people's communication, in their lives, in their studies.

These responses represent a pattern among the participants, the majority of whom mentioned the necessity of PTH to facilitate wider communication in China. This seems to suggest that this generation has accepted the justification provided by the Chinese government for the promotion of PTH, namely that it is necessary for widespread communication so that China can advance in today's world. Chu (2001) refers to the general acceptance of this reasoning, calling it "the largely shared conviction that proportionately with its social and economic advances a society should eventually reach uniformity in its speech" (21). Participants' comments regarding the importance of PTH seem to bear out this statement.

However, it should be noted that the speakers quoted above varied greatly in their attitudes toward SHH and PTH as measured by the matched-guise experiment. This seems to suggest that belief in PTH as necessary for wider communication does not affect one's language attitudes in any significant manner.

5.2.2 Personal value and linguistic capital

While many of the participants argued for PTH's importance based on its importance to greater communication, many participants also mentioned the importance of PTH to their own personal development. For SNU-33, a third-year male student in environmental engineering, the relationship between PTH and his own career was very clear.

Interviewer: Do you think it is important to know how to speak PTH?

SNU-33: I think that looking at it from two perspectives, looking at it from a micro perspective it's not that important, because my life is in Shanghai, and there are more Shanghainese people in my circles. But from a macro perspective, it's still very important, because Shanghai is an international city that is constantly bringing in tal-

ented people. In the future I'll meet a lot of *waidiren* and foreigners, and I'll have to use PTH to communicate with them.

Interestingly enough, SNU-33 ranked SHH higher than PTH in all three categories relating to group solidarity, while ranking PTH higher in all categories relating to social status. This matches well with his very practical view regarding SHH and PTH shown above.

Such a link between one's own career and PTH was made by many of the participants in this study. This was especially true of those participants who planned on becoming teachers after graduation. The response below comes from SNU-17, who felt that PTH would be important to her later career as a teacher. Again, readers should also notice the value judgment found in her response, as she feels that teachers should speak PTH not only because it is required, but also because the casual feeling of SHH does not belong in the classroom.

Interviewer: First let me ask, do you think that it is important now to know how to speak PTH?

SNU-17: I think, if in the future I am a teacher, knowing how to speak PTH should be important.

Interviewer: Do you think that it is important to know how to speak standard PTH?

SNU-17: Yes. If you...actually I, maybe you can't tell, if a teacher stands on the lecture platform and everything is in SHH, I think...my impression of him would be bad. If he does it this way it's not too standard, even though it's SHH, but him talking like this is really—how should I say this? Teachers should be a model for others. If—SHH gives people a casual feeling. Too casual of a feeling, like in a classroom—how should I say this? It's better to speak PTH.

Finally, some participants felt that PTH, and especially PTH with a standard accent, is important because it gives a good impression in job interviews.

Interviewer: Then do you think that it is important to speak standard PTH?

SNU-18: Uh-huh, that's important too. Because I think that as a Chinese person your PTH needs to be standard.

Interviewer: Uh-huh.

SNU-18: If you don't speak a dialect with a standard accent, that's not too big of a problem, but you need to speak PTH well.

Interviewer: Uh-huh. So you're saying you think that if you can only speak one thing with a standard accent it should be PTH?

SNU-18: Right.

Interviewer: Uh-huh. Then do you think knowing how to speak standard PTH is important for your future development?

SNU-18: It's very important. Because I believe that later when I'm looking for jobs I will definitely need to do interviews. Speaking standard PTH and speaking non-standard PTH will make an extremely obvious contrast.

It is important to note that the belief that PTH can help one's career is very practical in nature, and shows no correlation to attitudes toward SHH or PTH. Two of the participants quoted above, SNU-33 and SNU-18, ranked SHH higher in at least two of the categories related to group solidarity. Meanwhile, none of the participants' rankings in the categories relating to social status differed greatly from the mean rankings discussed above.

5.2.3 Value judgments

In addition to the above reasons, many participants also justified the importance of PTH and (sometimes) standard PTH based on their own value judgments. The responses of participants SNU-10, SNU-24, SNU-17, and SNU-18 above already included some sort of value judgment in which they viewed PTH as either inherently superior, as

in SNU-24's position that PTH simply sounds nicer than SHH, or because they had some sort of feeling that PTH was *supposed* to be used for certain purposes or in certain situations, as in SNU-10's belief that TV hosts, broadcasters, and reporters should use PTH because it is their job to be a model of PTH usage for the country. Below are examples of this type of response in which the value judgments serve as a major justification for the participants' positions. The first response is from SNU-11, a third-year female student in science education.¹⁴

Interviewer: Then do you think that it is important to know how to speak standard PTH?

SNU-11: Of course. Because my PTH isn't very standard, but...I probably still need to go train to practice really standard PTH.

Interviewer: Why?

SNU-11: Because I can't overcome the habit of speaking SHH that I've had since I was little. So my PTH isn't very standard. I always add in some SHH.

Interviewer: Why do you think you should practice standard PTH?

SNU-11: I think being...being a Chinese person, you should just be able to speak standard PTH. Plus PTH pronunciation and how it sounds when it is spoken make me feel very comfortable. Also it's just a habit to speak PTH. I've felt that it's important to speak standard PTH since I was little.

.....

Interviewer: Do you feel that speaking standard PTH will be beneficial for your later individual development?

SNU-11: Yes, it will be beneficial. Because if I work as a teacher, the school will definitely have a rule that teachers must speak PTH. Because

14. A series of ellipses on a single line (.....) indicates that multiple lines of dialogue have been skipped.

it meet's the school's education standards. Plus it gives my future students a good model, just that you need to start studying PTH when you're little. Also you need to give them a PTH atmosphere, an atmosphere of speaking PTH.

The second response is from SNU-20, a first-year physics student in physics education. Notice that SNU-20 expressly states that one should speak PTH because the government advocates it.

Interviewer: You know how to speak PTH. Do you think that you feel proud or very good or anything because of this?

SNU-20: I think that I am very principled. Just that I always speak PTH. Because the country advocates it.

.....

Interviewer: And you feel proud of yourself?

SNU-20: Proud...I don't think I've felt proud. I just feel I should observe these, um, requirements of the country. I just feel that that is how you should be.

.....

Interviewer: Do you think it is important to speak PTH?

SNU-20: Yes, it's important.

Interviewer: Why?

SNU-20: Because, for instance, if you speak with some students or people from other places it is easier to use PTH.

.....

Interviewer: Do you think it is important to speak standard PTH?

SNU-20: Yes, it's important.

Interviewer: Why?

SNU-20: It's very comfortable.

Interviewer: Uh-huh. Just because you feel comfortable?

SNU-20: Right. I think it seems that speaking fluent PTH has a certain relationship with morals.

Interviewer: Uh-huh. Can you explain?

SNU-20: It's just that, usually someone with good moral character, his PTH is usually pretty good. I think those people who always speak the local dialect and refuse to learn PTH maybe feel that since Shanghai is in a more developed part of China, they feel I know how to speak SHH...just that they have a kind of feeling of superiority. So they always speak SHH.

Interviewer: You feel that this is bad? Just that because they have that kind of feeling of superiority, you feel that they shouldn't.

SNU-20: I don't think they should have this kind of feeling of superiority. It makes no sense.

Note that SNU-20's language attitudes as determined by the matched-guise experiment reflect his belief that one should speak PTH all the time, in that he ranked PTH at least two points higher than SHH in all qualities except wealth, in which he ranked the SHH guise one point higher than the PTH guise.

Another participant linked speaking SHH with the negative stereotype of Shanghainese people looking down on *waidiren*. For her, Shanghainese need to speak PTH to overcome this negative treatment of others.

SNU-27: Um...SHH makes me feel, if I go to another place, some people don't necessarily speak SHH, because this will make people feel like you're arrogant, so sometimes they will purposely make things difficult for you. SHH, if you're in Shanghai, it's pretty important. Because I've discovered that some Shanghainese, if you don't know how to speak SHH, they will purposely take advantage of you, that's how I feel.

Interviewer: Then do you feel that this is a fairly common phenomenon?

SNU-27: It's much better now than before. Everyday when I ride the bus, some ticket sellers use PTH to announce the stops, but some still use SHH. I feel like this doesn't really conform with the city of

Shanghai. Because it isn't a city that makes people feel like it's small and closed off. It's more and more open, and we should speak PTH now. I still remember not long ago I heard an example. I have a relative who was on a plane, and he heard the stewardess use SHH to talk to a passenger, and it felt a little not formal enough. For him as a Shanghainese person, he felt bad, he felt that she should use PTH, he felt that this way damages the image of Shanghainese people.

5.3 Importance of SHH

In addition to the questions discussed above, participants were also asked whether they felt that it is important to know SHH. In terms of simple yes or no, opinions were very uniform. Only 9 participants said that SHH is not important while the other 25 claimed that it is important in some manner or another. Many of those 25, however, clarified that they felt SHH is important in Shanghai, but not necessarily outside of Shanghai.

With the exception of appealing to usage as a wider means of communication—which a dialect as difficult to understand for speakers from other parts of China as SHH cannot reasonably claim to be—reasons given for why SHH is important can be broken down in the same manner as reasons for the importance of PTH: 1) personal value and linguistic capital, and 2) value judgments.

5.3.1 Personal value and linguistic capital

Reasons for the importance of SHH that relate to linguistic capital made frequent mention of career development, just as in relation to PTH, although the specific uses participants felt that SHH provides for one's career differed. For instance, while PTH was often considered important for the advantage participants felt it offers in job interviews,

SNU-22 argued that SHH is important for use in communicating in the workplace, especially with older colleagues.

Interviewer: Then do you think it is important to know how to speak SHH?

SNU-22: Is it important to know how to speak SHH? How should I say this? It's like what I said to you earlier that I know how to speak SHH because I was born in Shanghai. Then for people from other places who come to Shanghai to work, I would suggest that he, at least he should be able to understand SHH, understand it relatively well. Now it's not a requirement, but it's an advantage, right? If, including now, there are a lot of those kind of companies that hire people, sometimes when they're looking at your resume they'll ask you, "Are you Shanghainese?" If you say say, "I'm not a Shanghainese person, I'm a *waidiren*," then maybe you have a certain disadvantage on this aspect. Actually I'm not saying, this actually isn't discrimination, there are actually a lot of *waidiren* here. They're very excellent in their studies. Now why is that? It's because maybe they have thought about this language aspect. Then for instance say there are a few Shanghainese people, because these companies, Shanghai local businesses, there are a lot, maybe they have a lot of those old comrades, he's pretty old, his PTH isn't standard, he's used to speaking SHH, then if he tells you, this young person, to do something, to come over and work and communicate with him, but when he speaks SHH with you, you don't understand, then how can you work? Maybe that's where the advantage is, so I think it's best to at least understand SHH, if they come to Shanghai, those *waidiren*.

While SNU-22 argued that SHH's importance in Shanghai's linguistic market does not come from discrimination, others linked it very closely with Shanghainese people's discrimination toward *waidiren*.

Interviewer: Then do you feel that it is important to know how to speak SHH?

SNU-23: SHH, for communicating in Shanghai it's more convenient, it's more convenient for communicating with other people. Plus...anyway it's possible that in Shanghai there's a kind of...I don't know if every place is like this or if it's just Shanghai has a kind of local area...you know how there's racism? Shanghai has a kind of "localism." Just like you know how to speak SHH, like if you're a Shanghainese person you'll feel more intimate, but if

you're a *waidiren*...maybe other people might look down on you a little bit or something. Haven't they said that Shanghainese call everyone who isn't Shanghainese *waidiren*? Like they look down on *waidiren*, it feels like that.

Participants also mentioned other ways in which they felt that SHH provided valuable linguistic capital in Shanghai, such as its uses when shopping in stores where one is supposed to haggle. When reading the following quote from SNU-9, please note that the City God Temple is an area of the city filled with small shops selling souvenirs and food. In this area of the city, a person with bad haggling skills can expect to pay much more than the worth of the goods they are purchasing.¹⁵

Interviewer: Then why do you think SHH is important in Shanghai?

SNU-9: Because everyone speaks SHH. If you...the strange thing is, if you go to places like the City God Temple, if you speak SHH, you just feel, "You're a Shanghainese person, I won't rip you off." The last time I went there to buy something to eat, I said "Which of these is good to eat?" and because I asked in SHH, then she said, "Oh, you're Shanghainese, then I won't lie to you, none of them are good, don't buy them." (laughs)

In addition to this, participants also mentioned more abstract types of linguistic capital afforded by SHH, such as being identified as a Shanghainese person and a feeling of closeness (*qinqiegan* 亲切感).

Interviewer: What kind of benefits do you think there are in Shanghai if you know how to speak SHH?

SNU-14: Um, first is that you can make Shanghainese people identify you as one of their own, and then can make them feel close to you. Also, just because now there are still a lot of Shanghainese people who can only speak SHH, just that their PTH is really bad, especially older Shanghainese people, then you won't have any problems communicating with them.

15. In all quotes, underlined text indicates that the speaker used SHH.

Interviewer: What you said about knowing how to speak SHH will get Shanghainese people to identify with you, what do you mean?

SNU-14: I just feel that this is a not-too-good side of Shanghainese people, it's not that all Shanghainese people are like this, but I think there is a considerable portion of Shanghainese people, just like Shanghainese people better rather than *waidiren*, they have a sort of discrimination against *waidiren*. It can't be considered anything like a level below them. It especially shows up in those, for instance we have a female classmate in our school, for instance if she were to have a boyfriend who is from outside of Shanghai, her mom might not approve, just because he's from outside of Shanghai, and speaks a different language from us, that's what I think. Because I think everyone is Chinese, there's nothing different in our natures. In other words, if he is a foreigner, and not a *waidiren*, then the situation is different, so if foreigners can't speak SHH it's not a problem.

However, SNU-14's attitudes toward SHH do not suggest that she herself ranks SHH higher in group solidarity. In fact, her attitudes toward SHH and PTH as determined by the matched-guise test are very similar—she ranked PTH higher by one point in sense of humor and intelligence, while giving equal scores to both varieties in all other categories.

5.3.2 Value judgments

Just as with PTH, some participants argued that SHH is important because of either some perceived inherent property of SHH or because of requirements placed on one by virtue of being Shanghainese. Such reasoning was often mixed together with mention of the linguistic capital of SHH as well, as in SNU-11's response below.

Interviewer: Then do you think that it's important to know how to speak SHH?

SNU-11: As a Shanghainese person, of course it's important to speak SHH. If I were a person from somewhere else, I wouldn't think that SHH is actually very important.

Interviewer: Why do you feel that speaking SHH is important as a Shanghainese person?

SNU-11: Because I'm a Shanghainese person, why wouldn't I speak SHH? I was born here, if I don't know how to speak SHH, then...can I be considered a Shanghainese person? Just like that.

.....

Interviewer: Do you think that knowing how to speak SHH will be beneficial to your later personal development?

SNU-11: It should...I have never thought about this question before. It should...(laughs) it should be beneficial, I guess. If I work in Shanghai a lot of my colleagues around me would definitely be Shanghainese, so it would be convenient for me to communicate with them. Plus there won't be barriers between colleagues. At the very least other people won't...won't make you feel like you're being estranged.

5.4 Importance of English

Throughout the course of the interviews, it became very evident that, in addition to SHH and PTH, many participants felt very strongly that English is very valuable in the current linguistic market in Shanghai and the rest of China. When asked about the importance of SHH and PTH, many participants also volunteered their opinions on the importance of English. Participants viewed English as extremely important for the current job market. Take, for example, SNU-7's position on this issue.

Interviewer: Do you think it is important now to know how to speak SHH?

SNU-7: I don't think it is especially important.

Interviewer: Why?

SNU-7: I think that Shanghai now is not totally Shanghainese people, there are a lot of *waidiren* and foreigners, so the most important are PTH and English.

.....
Interviewer: What do you think is the most important to your later personal development?

SNU-7: In terms of language?

Interviewer: Yes, in terms of language.

SNU-7: For me...I think that English is the most important.

Interviewer: English is the most important? What benefits do you think English has for your future?

SNU-7: It's easier to get into companies if you can rely on good English.

SNU-32, a third-year male student in environmental engineering, had very clear views on the usage of each of the three varieties in discussion, SHH, PTH and English, and their linguistic capital in the job market and workplace.

Interviewer: Do you think that English is important? Do you think you should study it?

SNU-32: Now...you can say that for looking for jobs, English is pretty important. But my English isn't very good, so...

Interviewer: Do you think English is important for your major?

SNU-32: It should be pretty important, because right now environmental protection is better in foreign countries. China's environmental protection...just that if in the future I really work in environmental protection, English would be very important for reading documents from other countries.

.....
Interviewer: Then do you think, for instance that it is important to speak PTH well?

SNU-32: Definitely...PTH...actually...looking for jobs now, speaking good English is better than speaking good PTH. In other words, it's very *chi xiang*. People with good English are very *chi xiang*.¹⁶

Interviewer: I'm sorry, what does that mean, "*chi xiang*?"

SNU-32: "*Chi xiang*" means that they are well received.

Interviewer: Oh, so in other words because there are less people who know English.

SNU-32: It's not that there are less people, it's just that now...everyone puts more stress on English, so people with good English will be more well received.

.....

SNU-32: PTH, SHH and English, as far as looking for jobs in Shanghai these three should be considered to be in the same class.

Interviewer: Oh?

SNU-32: Because if you are in a foreign company English is definitely important. But if you go to a foreign company, and communications between colleagues, or also if you go out or have banquets or something, then PTH and SHH are definitely important. At foreign companies, a lot of people from other places, of course you don't need SHH, if you want to develop good relationships with your colleagues then PTH is definitely important. Then if those colleagues are Shanghainese, then of course, SHH is definitely important.

5.5 The next generation

Taking a page from (Sandel, 2003), I chose to ask participants if they had ever considered what language they would speak with their children in the future and their reasons for their decisions. Interestingly enough, just as in Sandel's study, this question seemed to get at the heart of many of the beliefs participants held about SHH and PTH.

16. 吃香.

Some participants felt that it was absolutely crucial that their children are able to speak SHH, appealing to notions of Shanghainese identity or the desire to maintain particular (positive) aspects of Shanghainese culture. Still others said that they will speak PTH with their children, often pointing out that good PTH is necessary to get jobs, or appealing to a sense of pan-Chinese identity. The following chart gives a short description of each participant's position on this question:

Participant	What will you speak with your children?
SNU-1	PTH (more civilized); SHH; Not a shame if they don't know Nanhui dialect
SNU-2	PTH; Will naturally learn SHH by living in Shanghai
SNU-3	SHH (must preserve SHH); PTH for teaching names and giving instruction
SNU-4	SHH and PTH; Speak as much English as possible
SNU-7	PTH (all children speak PTH now)
SNU-8	PTH and English for career development; Not a shame if s/he doesn't know SHH or Nanhui dialect
SNU-9	PTH for school; Will learn SHH naturally
SNU-10	Whatever comes natural; Will learn both SHH and PTH naturally
SNU-11	SHH and PTH (whatever comes natural)
SNU-12	Mainly SHH; PTH also
SNU-13	SHH and PTH; Cantonese (better preserves ancient Chinese pronunciation)
SNU-14	PTH and English (international city); Children learn SHH from other kids
SNU-15	SHH (Older sister speaks only SHH with her child)
SNU-16	Mainly Pudong dialect; PTH
SNU-17	SHH at home; Also speak PTH and English
SNU-18	PTH more important; SHH need to understand and know basic phrases
SNU-19	SHH at home (feels more like home than PTH); Also speak PTH
SNU-20	PTH and English
SNU-21	Whatever comes natural; Make effort to use English
SNU-22	SHH for child's name, playing; PTH for teaching lessons; English
SNU-23	SHH; PTH and English when they start school
SNU-24	SHH and PTH (make sure they can understand SHH)
SNU-25	Whatever comes natural; Want children to be good at SHH and PTH
SNU-26	PTH and English
SNU-27	SHH (should be their native language)
SNU-28	SHH (in home); PTH; English a must
SNU-29	English a must; If child speaks PTH at school, will speak SHH at home
SNU-30	Whatever comes natural
SNU-31	SHH (preserving local culture starts with me)
SNU-32	If wife from Shanghai, speak SHH at home; no special effort to teach SHH
SNU-33	SHH at home; PTH at school
SNU-34	Qingpu dialect and PTH; Doesn't matter if they don't know SHH
SNU-35	Whatever comes natural
SNU-36	Whatever comes natural

Table 5.2: Participants' responses regarding what language they will speak with their children

When examining these results, a few things are of particular interest. First, six of the participants answered that they will simply do whatever comes natural, rather than making a particular effort to teach any particular variety to their children (note that one of those six, SNU-21, did say that she will make an effort to teach English to her children). Of course, this doesn't necessarily mean that these participants truly have no preference as to what variety their children speak. Rather, this is in many ways a tacit acknowledgment of a belief that PTH is more important than SHH, since it would be almost impossible for a child to grow up in Shanghai (or in any other large or medium-sized city in China) without learning PTH.

When answering this question, the most common reasons that participants used to explain their preferences were based around their ideas on the value that each language provided in terms of linguistic capital, especially as regards school and employment. Below are some examples of participants' justifications for their views on this issue. The first quote is from SNU-8, a male student in his third year.

Interviewer: Have you ever thought about if you have children, what language you will speak with them?

SNU-8: PTH.

Interviewer: PTH.

SNU-8: Right.

Interviewer: Just speak PTH.

SNU-8: Right, because looking at further (personal and career) development, PTH, or say English, this is what you need for later long-term development.

Interviewer: Then if your children can't speak Nanhui dialect, will you think that is a shame?

SNU-8: A shame...that wouldn't be a shame, I guess you should say. Because now my relatives in my family, when they teach their kids they all make them speak PTH, speak English and stuff.

These comments match well with SNU-8's attitudes as shown by the matched-guise test, in which he ranked SHH higher in only one category, pleasant sounding, while scoring PTH higher in five categories, including two in group solidarity (honesty and sense of humor).

SNU-9, a female student in her third year studying Science Education, gave a similar response. One point of particular interest is how this respondent mentions not only PTH's value for China's linguistic market, but how she also appeals to her own relative lack of ability in PTH as a justification for why she will teach PTH to her children. Despite the very different approaches to promoting the standard language found in mainland China and Taiwan, this response is very reminiscent of the views espoused by participants in Sandel (2003), in which many of the participants spoke Guoyu with their children to help their children avoid the problems in school that they themselves experienced as children. SNU-9's positive appraisal of PTH is also reflected in her scores from the matched-guise test, in which she ranked PTH higher by one point in all categories except honesty and wealth.

Interviewer: If you have children later, what do you think you will speak with them?

SNU-9: PTH.

Interviewer: PTH. Why?

SNU-9: (*Laughs*) Because I think learning PTH well is really good. Just like me, I think that actually my PTH isn't the best, so I said that it's not as good as my SHH, because I'm used to speaking SHH,

since I started speaking it first. If you teach him PTH first, then in the future his PTH will definitely be good.

5.5.1 Value judgments

As with participants' views on the importance of SHH, PTH, and English above, some participants based their decision on what to speak with their children on value judgments regarding the different varieties. One example of such reasoning comes from SNU-1, a first-year student in economics who speaks Nanhui dialect in addition to SHH and PTH.

Interviewer: Have you ever thought about if you have children later what you will speak with them?

SNU-1: PTH.

Interviewer: PTH? Why?

SNU-1: It's most important.

Interviewer: You mean for their later job opportunities or their studies will be more smooth?

SNU-1: I think that if a person speaks PTH they appear to have standards.

Interviewer: They appear to have what?

SNU-1: They have standards. Just like usually if you yell at someone or something it's all said in local dialects. I think speaking PTH appears more civilized.

Interviewer: Then for instance if your children can't speak Nanhui dialect, would you think that is a shame?

SNU-1: It's not a shame.

Interviewer: It's not a shame? What about SHH?

SNU-1: SHH? They'll definitely need to speak SHH, because when you graduate, these company interviews...most of them all use SHH. But if you go to Nanhui and speak SHH, it's not a problem.

These opinions are reflected in SNU-1's scores from the matched-guise test, in which he ranked PTH higher in three categories of social status and two categories of group solidarity, while not ranking SHH higher in any categories at all.

Conversely, SNU-33, a third-year male student in environmental engineering, says he will speak only SHH with his children, even if their teachers want them to speak PTH in the home. His response to this question is very interesting, in that he moves from discussing what language he will speak with his children to providing justification for why one should always speak SHH. In the course of the quote below (which is rather long despite the fact that it is not quoted in its entirety), he bases his justification largely on the fact that if a person does not speak SHH, then one cannot tell if that person is Shanghainese or a *waidiren*. He gives many reasons for why this is important. In addition to the reasons quoted below, he also mentions lawyers being able to give better advice if they know that their client is from Shanghai, as they would be able understand him or her better based on an understanding of the characteristics of Shanghainese people.

Interviewer: Just now you mentioned children speaking PTH with their parents. If you have children in the future will you want them to know how to speak PTH and SHH? What do you plan to do?

SNU-33: I think that if in school the teacher makes it a rule, then he should do his best to speak PTH. When he comes home, then I'll definitely speak SHH with him. Even if he comes home and says to me that the teacher has a rule that he needs to speak PTH at home with his parents, then I'll say, "Then you can speak PTH at school, but when you come home I hope you'll still speak SHH with me. Because your mother and I or other relatives all speak SHH." I think that SHH actually is a language, and it can be mastered. If you bump into something like this in the future then it would feel very

intimate (*qinqie*), especially if you're in another country or another place, if you bump into someone from Shanghai and can say a few words in your local dialect, hearing that you would be very happy, I think. That's how I am, I hope that he can still speak SHH, and then I think that for instance he can speak SHH ordinarily when he's with his friends. Not like kids now who use all PTH no matter if they're at school or somewhere else or go home or say a few words with their classmates. I think actually if they speak all PTH it's wrong. For instance especially if you deal with personnel matters, and you need to talk with someone...If you speak PTH you might not be able to tell if he is a Shanghainese person or a *waidiren*...If you know he is a *waidiren*, if you do a particular kind of work, then you can understand the characteristics of Shanghainese people. The characteristics of Shanghainese people are, for instance *waidiren* understand Shanghainese as being pretty astute and pretty capable. And also pretty scholarly, pretty refined. Not like Northerners that kind of more straightforward personality...When *waidiren* evaluate Shanghainese people that's how they evaluate them. But I think that this way you can't tell them apart...Or another example, if you are dating in college, and you meet a girl classmate or meet a guy classmate that you like, and if she speaks PTH with you, and you don't know if she is a Shanghainese person, it's possible that can create a certain level of misunderstanding...For instance my parents are like this, she told me if I look for a girlfriend I definitely need to look for a Shanghainese person, she doesn't want me to look for *waidiren*. Why? It's not saying anything like *waidiren* are bad. It's just that in the future if you get married her parents are elsewhere, and my parents are in Shanghai, and now everyone is an only child, right? So two adults need to take care of four elderly people. She has her parents to take care of, I have my parents to take care of. If my parents get sick, and her parents get sick, then who should we take care of first?...This created an unnecessary problem...And then if we go back to the problem I was talking about earlier, if you don't know if she is a Shanghainese person, if she speaks PTH with you, then you don't know if she is a Shanghainese person or a *waidiren*, and then...if there are two girls, one always speaks SHH, if it were me I would definitely pick the one who speaks SHH. If in the end the other girl is a Shanghainese person too, then I would definitely regret it. Because maybe I liked her more. But since she spoke PTH with me, I thought she was a *waidiren*...Actually this is a fairly exceptional example, but actually this possibility still exists. I think that there are certain differences between PTH and SHH. I hope that if you can then you should do your best to speak SHH ordinarily-

ly, but if you go to some formal occasions I think it's still better to speak PTH, because, after all other people in this language environment all speak PTH, if you speak SHH it would be really *linglei*¹⁷, just really strange.

SNU-33's beliefs are reflected in his matched-guise results, which show very positive attitudes toward SHH over and above PTH in terms of group solidarity. SNU-33 ranked SHH higher than PTH in every one of the three categories related to group solidarity. Furthermore, he was one of only two participants to rank SHH three points higher than PTH in honesty, and one of only three participants to rank SHH two points higher than PTH in sense of humor. In both his language attitudes and ideologies, SNU-33 has shown himself to be on the extreme of this study's participants in terms of positive appraisal of SHH.

5.6 Usage of SHH and PTH

The present study examines participants' usage of SHH and PTH by asking them to self-report on their own patterns of language use, along with basic questions about their social circles and social activities. Interview questions related to these topics are listed below:

1. Who do you spend most of your time with? What do you speak with them?
2. What do you speak with your parents/classmates/boyfriend/girlfriend?
3. What is the language that your father/mother/grandparents use most of the time?

17. 另类.

Based on participants' self-reports of their activity, the overall picture presented is one in which PTH is present in interactions with many of the closest people in participants' social networks, significantly blurring the functional distribution between SHH and PTH in domains typically dominated by the L variety. All but one of the participants reported speaking SHH or another dialect with their families. However, only one participant reported spending the most time with his parents. All the rest of the participants reported spending the most time with people their own age, with 30 participants saying it was either classmates or roommates, 2 participants reporting friends, and 1 participant saying that she spent the most time with her boyfriend. Regarding what participants spoke with the people with whom they spent the most time, 18 of them reported speaking more PTH. An even higher number—22 of the 36 participants—reported speaking more PTH with their classmates than SHH.

In fact, one participant, SNU-4, even went so far as to say that she has a feeling of closeness (*qinqie*) toward PTH. Interestingly enough, however, her matched-guise results show that she still ranks SHH higher in terms of group solidarity, as she scored the SHH guise one point higher than the PTH guise in honesty, friendliness and sense of humor.

Interviewer: Do you think that it is important now to know how to speak PTH?

SNU-4: Yes, it's important. Because...when you communicate with people from different places it is very intimate. If you don't know how to speak PTH and only know how to speak SHH, if you talk they won't understand you...

Interviewer: So you think it is mostly useful as a communication tool?

SNU-4: If you speak it...it feels pretty intimate (*qinqie*) too.

Interviewer: So you think PTH is more intimate?

SNU-4: I'm just saying that everyone uses the same language, so PTH is—it's like English is the global language—PTH is a language for Chinese areas to communicate. I should say they all should know how to speak it, if say in another country you run into a Chinese person who speaks pretty authentic PTH, you will definitely have a feeling of intimacy.

Interviewer: Then do you have a kind of feeling of intimacy toward SHH?

SNU-4: SHH, if, in Shanghai since everyone is Shanghainese, then there's no special feeling with everyone speaking the same language. If you go somewhere else, or if again in another country you run into a Shanghainese person who speaks SHH, you would definitely have that kind of feeling.

The above quote, along with information about participants' usage of PTH and SHH from their self-reports, as well as the results from the matched-guise experiment, seem to suggest a decreasing functional distribution between SHH and PTH in L variety domains. While SHH appears to still have the family domain firmly in its grasp, PTH, at least for university students, is used either almost as frequently or more frequently than SHH, and is used almost exclusively in the classroom. In fact, many participants only mentioned having a feeling of closeness toward SHH when they are outside of Shanghai, similar to SNU-4's sentiment above.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter discusses the issues that arose during the analysis found in the previous chapters. First is a discussion of Shanghai identity. The results from the matched-guise experiment are discussed in light of information gathered in the interviews, and a hypothesis is put forth that the reason why participants with strong Shanghai identities ranked PTH higher in social status while failing to rank SHH higher in group solidarity is due to such participants' pride in Shanghai's position as the foremost city in China, and their perception of PTH as the language of education and modernization. Following this is a discussion of linguistic capital as perceived by the participants in this study. It is suggested that results show that China's university students have accepted the one nation-state one language model model of modernization put forth by the Chinese government. The chapter then discusses language usage, suggesting that PTH will continue to make inroads in L variety domains in Shanghai. Limitations of the current study are then discussed, followed by areas open for further research. The chapter ends with a short conclusion on the study as a whole.

6.1 Shanghai identity

The results of this study regarding Shanghai identity were much different than the original hypothesis. While participants' feelings toward Shanghai and Shanghainese people were along the lines of what was originally anticipated, and many of them expressed very strong feelings of pride in being Shanghainese, there was no noticeable link between Shanghai identity and positive language attitudes toward SHH. While participants' overall positive feelings toward PTH and failure to rank SHH higher than PTH in any of the solidarity categories can be ascribed to PTH's increasing presence in L variety domains, this concept fails to provide an adequate explanation for the results regarding identity.

Why then did those participants displaying a high level of Shanghai identity fail to rank SHH higher than PTH in solidarity, while conversely attributing a higher social status to PTH than did those participants who did not display a strong Shanghai identity? I think one possible explanation for this can be found by examining the trend toward increasing usage of PTH in traditional L variety domains. Self-reports on language behavior from participants in this study showed that many of them use PTH with their closest friends and classmates on a regular basis. Cargile, et. al (1994) argue that one's attitudes toward a particular variety are influenced by one's history of interaction with speakers of that variety. If university students in Shanghai have a rich history of positive interaction in PTH (there are no "PTH speakers" per se, as it is a variety with no native speakers), it only follows that they would have positive attitudes toward PTH in terms of group solidarity. In other words, participants with a strong Shanghai identity did not fail to show

positive attitudes toward SHH as much as they showed the same positive attitudes toward both PTH *and* SHH.

6.2 Linguistic capital

The present study provided a thorough look at perceived linguistic capital of SHH, PTH, and English among Shanghai college students through examination of what varieties participants felt were important and what they plan to speak with their children in the future. Some participants favored SHH or PTH based on more abstract reasons related to their own personal values, such as belief that all Chinese people should speak PTH well, or that as a Shanghainese person one must be able to speak SHH. Most participants, however, based their decisions on more concrete appraisals of each variety's value in the linguistic market. PTH was perceived to be useful in the job market, although participants were split on the importance of standard PTH. SHH was perceived to be important in interpersonal relations in the workplace, and in projecting an identity as a member of the in-group in Shanghai. Many participants also mentioned the importance of speaking English and reported a desire to speak English with their children in the future.

On the whole this study showed that people are skilled at evaluating a particular linguistic market and making decisions accordingly. Participants showed an awareness of the advantages offered by each variety at their disposal and how to use them for their own benefit. Participants' beliefs on the relative importance of these varieties were based much more on practical matters such as linguistic capital than on such things as their own personal patterns of language use or self-reported language ability.

Participants also showed a strong belief in the necessity of PTH as the language of national communication, as advanced by the Chinese government. This seems to suggest that the current university generation believes in the government's language plan and accepts, at least to a certain degree, the government's position that having a single national language is necessary for further development (Chu, 2001; Zhou, 2001).

6.3 Usage of SHH and PTH

The results of the matched-guise study showed a significant favoring of PTH in qualities relating to social status, but no significant favoring of SHH in qualities relating to group solidarity. These results are even less alike those found in the typical diglossic situation than the results reported in Zhou (2001), and suggest that PTH is continuing to make significant inroads into L variety domains among university students in Shanghai. Slightly over half of the participants reported speaking more PTH than SHH with the person or people with whom they spend the most time. While only one participant reported speaking PTH with her parents, only one participant reported spending more time with his parents than with his classmates. Participants live on campus in an environment in which they are constantly hearing and speaking PTH.

6.4 Limitations of current study

There are several factors that limited the current study. One was the absence of a proven matrix for determining strength of Shanghai identity. Presence or absence of strong Shanghai identity was determined in the individual interviews, mainly by asking participants about the characteristics of Shanghainese people and whether or not they

were proud to be Shanghainese. Perhaps a more effective matrix for this would have yielded different results.

Time and space constraints also limited the amount of data I was able to draw on for analysis. With each interview lasting approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour, the amount of possible data to analyze was significant, and I had to make decisions based on my notes from each interview and my impression as to what topics would be most worthy of examination.

6.5 Areas for further study

The present study has left much open that can be examined in later studies. For example, does PTH usage in L variety domains decrease when one graduates from college and leaves the education environment for the work environment? If so, is there a corresponding change in language attitudes? What sort of relationship can be shown to exist between the language attitudes of Shanghainese people and their linguistic behavior?

Also, there was disagreement among participants in this study as to what constitutes pure or authentic SHH. An investigation as to the different beliefs regarding this issue, as well as how each of those beliefs came about in the history of Shanghai's sociolinguistic situation and linguistic market would be very fruitful, and would lead to a better understanding of how language standards and language ideologies come about when there is no intervention from an authoritative body such as a government.

In terms of the Shanghai situation in particular, an investigation of language issues surrounding migrant workers would be very fruitful. Areas awaiting further study in

this area include language attitudes of migrant workers as well as language attitudes of Shanghainese toward varieties typically spoken by migrant workers; language ideologies of migrant workers, especially their perception of the linguistic market in Shanghai as it applies to their unique situation; and language attitudes and ideologies as well as language competence of migrant workers' children, many of whom receive substandard schooling because of the *hukou* system.

As shown in Appendix C, more was discussed in the interviews with each participant than is dealt with here. Further systematic exploration of other issues that arose in the interviews would also yield interesting results.

6.6 Conclusion

The present study has tried to produce a comprehensive survey of language attitudes and ideologies of a group of university students in Shanghai, China. While it can certainly be said to fall short of this goal, it is my hope that it will prove useful in the linguistic community, especially among those interested in linguistics in the Chinese setting, as well as to people involved in language planning and those interested in sociological issues in China and Shanghai.

APPENDIX A

MATCHED-GUISE SCRIPTS

Matched-guise script: PTH

昨天下午我坐公共汽车的时候，觉得有一个下车的老大爷特面熟。当时人挺多的，我就没来得及仔细看，等我上了车再往外边儿看，才想起来那人其实是我以前一个邻居！在我很小的时候他住我们家隔壁，后来就搬走了。他人挺好的。我本来都把他给忘了，没想到这次碰到居然还认得出来！当时其实挺想叫他的，但门已经关上了。可惜没早点儿认出来，否则就可以跟他好好聊聊了。

Matched-guise script: SHH

昨日子下半天我乘公交车的辰光就觉着有个下车的老伯伯面孔老熟的啦。当时辰光人也老多，我就没来得及仔细看，等我上了车子再往外头看的辰光，才想起来那个人其实是我老早的隔壁邻居啊！在我老小的辰光伊住辣阿拉厢隔壁的晓得伐？后头就搬掉了。伊人老好的啊。我本来都拿伊忘记掉了。没想到碰着居然认得出来一刚！其实那个辰光老想叫伊的，但是门已经关掉了。就可惜没早点认出来，勿然的言语就可以跟伊讲讲啊聊聊啥。

Matched-guise script: English translation

Yesterday when I got on the bus, there was an old man who got off the bus who I felt was very familiar. At the time there were a lot of people, and I didn't have time to look carefully. It wasn't until I got on the bus and looked outside that I remembered that person was actually a former neighbor of mine! When I was very little he lived next to us. Later, he moved away. He was very nice. I had forgotten about him. It never occurred to me that if I bumped into him I would still recognize him! At the time I actually

really wanted to say something to him, but the door had already closed. It's a shame I didn't notice him sooner, or I could have talked with him.

APPENDIX B

BACKGROUND FORM AND MATCHED-GUISE EVALUATION FORM

Background form: Chinese

个人信息

姓名：

性别：

年龄：

出生地：

专业：

联系方式

手机：

寝室电话：

e-mail：

Background form: English translation

Personal Information

Name:

Sex:

Age:

Birthplace:

Major:

Contact information

Cell:

Dorm phone:

e-mail:

Matched-guise evaluation form: Chinese

您认为此说话人具备以下特点吗?

	不具备				完全具备
诚实	1	2	3	4	5
友善	1	2	3	4	5
幽默	1	2	3	4	5
机智	1	2	3	4	5
领导才能	1	2	3	4	5
受过良好教育	1	2	3	4	5
富有	1	2	3	4	5
说话动听	1	2	3	4	5

Matched-guise evaluation form: English translation

Do you think this speaker possesses the following qualities?

	Not at all				Completely
Honesty	1	2	3	4	5
Friendliness	1	2	3	4	5
Sense of Humor	1	2	3	4	5
Intelligence	1	2	3	4	5
Leadership	1	2	3	4	5
Education	1	2	3	4	5
Wealth	1	2	3	4	5
Pleasant Sounding	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview questions: Chinese

Background information

如果你不是在上海出生的，您是什么时候搬到上海来的？

你现在住在什么地方？

你现在和谁同住？

你在中国其他地方或是其他国家居住过吗？如果是，什么时候？居住时间？

你是什么民族？

你的父母从事什么工作？

你会使用哪些方言或语言？

你使用哪种语言或方言会让你感到交流最自如？

请评价您使用普通话的熟练程度 1 2 3 4 5

请评价您使用上海话的熟练程度 1 2 3 4 5

如果您还会使用其他方言或语言，请评价您使用此方言或语言的熟练程度
1 2 3 4 5 方言/语言：

Career plans

你毕业以后有什么计划？

你打算长期从事哪种职业？

你毕业以后打算住在上海吗？你是否打算一直留在上海？

Use of SHH and PTH

你是从什么时候开始学普通话的？

你和谁在一起的时间最多？你跟他们说什么话？

你跟你的兄弟姐妹 / 父母 / 祖父母 / 表（堂）兄弟姐妹 / 朋友 / 男（女）友 / 老师 / 同学 / 陌生人交谈时，会讲什么话？

你的父母 / 祖父母说什么话说得最多？

如果你和你祖父母 / 父母 / 朋友说普通话，你会不会感到惭愧？为什么？

Shanghai identity

上海这个城市哪些方面吸引你？

你觉得上海人有什么特点？

你觉得什么样的人可以被看作是一个上海人？

做一个上海人对你有什么意义？

你作为一个上海人感到骄傲吗？

你认为上海现在面临一些什么样的问题？

你认为上海对全中国有什么样的意义？

Linguistic capital

你认为会说普通话重要吗？为什么？

你认为能说标准的普通话重要吗？为什么？

你认为会说上海话重要吗？为什么？

你将来打算用什么话来和你的孩子交谈？为什么？

Interview questions: English translation

Background information

If you were not born in Shanghai, at what age did you move here?

Where do you currently live?

With whom do you currently live?

Have you lived in any other areas of China? Other countries? When? For how long?

What do you consider as your ethnic background (e.g. Han, etc)?

What do your parents do?

What dialects/languages do you speak?

What dialect/language are you most comfortable speaking in?

Please rate your proficiency in PTH 1 2 3 4 5

Please rate your proficiency in SHH 1 2 3 4 5

Please rate your proficiency in any other dialects/languages you speak
1 2 3 4 5 dialect/language:

Career plans

What are your plans after you graduate?

What are your long-term career plans?

Do you plan to live in Shanghai after you graduate? Do you plan to stay here long-term?

Use of SHH and PTH

When did you begin to learn PTH?

Who do you spend most of your time with? What do you speak with them?

What do you speak with your siblings (if any)/parents/grandparents/cousins/friends/
boyfriend/girlfriend/teachers/classmates?

What is the language that your father/mother/grandparents use most of the time?

Would you feel bad using PTH to talk to your parents/grandparents/friends? Why or why not?

Shanghai identity

What do you like about Shanghai?

What are Shanghainese people like?

What type of people can be considered Shanghainese people?

What does it mean to you to be a Shanghainese person?

Are you proud to be a Shanghainese person?

What are some problems you feel that Shanghai is currently facing?

What do you think Shanghai's role is for the country of China?

Linguistic capital

Do you feel it is important to learn PTH? Why or why not?

Is it important to speak PTH with a standard accent? Why or why not?

Do you feel it is important to know SHH? Why or why not?

What will you speak with your children in the future? Why?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUOTES: ORIGINAL CHINESE TRANSCRIPTIONS

p. 60

Interviewer: 你觉得上海人有什么样的特点?

SNU-3:我觉得第一个比较勤劳,就是做事很认真就是守信,就是答应做到的事一般都会做到,然后比较精明,还有就是比较随和吧,比较易于合作.....比较喜欢做那种白领,不太愿意做企业家吧,不太愿意冒险.....还有我觉得就是比较念家比较喜欢自己家里嘛.....还是蛮传统的.....但是也比较开明,也愿意接受新的事物,外面新的观点比较容易接受.....

pp. 60-61

Interviewer: 那你作为上海人会感到骄傲吗?

SNU-33: 那肯定会,上海是个大都市嘛。最好的地方就在上海了,我认为上海就是中国的天堂了,可能在外人看来有点夸大了。但我的确觉得上海是中国最好的城市之一。如果不是最好也算是最好的之一了。经济贸易中心,最先进的管理,最人性化的设计都在上海嘛,我觉得中国没有一个城市可以和上海比,它可以和很多国外城市媲美。从这个角度来说我觉得更有必要保留上海方言了。让上海了解世界,让世界了解上海。这也是一种途径嘛,我希望将来有外国人会说上海话。

p. 61

Interviewer: 你自己作为一个上海人觉得对你有什么样的意义?

SNU-2: 没什么意义。

p. 62

Interviewer: 你自己作为一个中国人有什么样的意义?

SNU-4: 我觉得.....我们是.....中国是一个历史很悠久的国家。我觉得还是蛮自豪的。不会说什么中国.....以前那个时候很落后啊被人看不起啊什么,那都是以前的事了。我觉得现在的中国很好。我不会说我.....我.....出去,我到国外去,我不会说什么我不是中国人。然后会很自豪地说我是中国人。

p. 63

Interviewer: 你觉得什么样的人可以算是一个上海人?

SNU-26:当然就是如果你生在上海长在上海那就.....不太可能认为你不是一个上海人。就是现在有一种说法就是所谓的新上海人.....就或者像一些高级的知识分子,或者是到上海来上学的一些大学生,然后其实

我知道除非是那种像是北京或者一个大城市的那些学生，其实如果是比较小的地方出来他们出来就是为了能够在上海这个地方留下来……其实上海现在可能已经不太像以前那样，就是户口规定得很严格了吧……现在我不太清楚但是好像说如果你是引进了那些高级知识分子的话你就可以有上海户口。他就是一个新上海人。还有很多就是像外国人或者是台湾人到我们这边定居，像那边古北有很多台湾人，我觉得他们也可以算是新上海人……我觉得主要就是对上还有积极方面得影响

p. 65

Interviewer: 会说普通话重要吗？

SNU-9: 这还是比较重要的。因为如果……就是我觉得中国人嘛基本上大多数都会说普通话的，因为普及了嘛。如果你对人家说上海话，人家不是上海人的话你怎么办？那如果你叫他同样，他也不说普通话，他就说他那个地方的方言，那不是乱套了。总是要有一个大家都共通的语言。

p. 65

Interviewer: 你认为现在会说普通话重要吗？

SNU-15: 重要。

Interviewer: 为什么？

SNU-15: 因为不讲普通话的话，整个中国大半个地方讲的话都听不懂。

pp. 65-66

Interviewer: 那你觉得你觉得会说标准的普通话重要吗？

SNU-3: 我觉得不是搞这方面的工作的话应该不重要，因为有的话其实人家明白你的意思，就是让人家明白沟通没有障碍就可以了，一定要讲的很标准的，卷舌的卷舌什么的，第一个也很难办到，第二个我觉得也没有这个必要。因为只要听得懂就可以啦，又不是要去教人家讲中文，要讲的很标准，所以无所谓。

p. 66

Interviewer: 你觉得现在会说普通话重要吗？

SNU-10: 会说普通话蛮重要的，因为……有很多到，从外地到上海来的，不一定他们会说上海话，或者听得懂上海话，但是他们肯定会听得懂普通

话的。所以用普通话交流还是很……很需要的，所以讲好普通话是很重要的啦。

Interviewer: 那你觉得会说标准的普通话重要吗?

SNU-10: 会说标准的……不一定很重要，如果是主持人呐，播音员呀，记者我觉得说好很标准的普通话是非常重要的。因为它要提供大家来学习的……一个……模、模本。所以，对于我们来说，如果做老师的话，只要讲到一定的标准就可以了，要求不是很高。

Interviewer: 嗯，那就是说你觉得自己现在的水平肯定够了，就是，就是对于你将来要做得事，工作。

SNU-10: 对。我们做，就是除了语文老师，其他做老师的只要达到……二级乙等就可以了。

p. 67

Interviewer: 为什么你个人比较喜欢说普通话?

SNU-24: 因为普通话很好听啊，我还去参加普通话的测试了。我觉得应该养成这种习惯，比如说你碰到一些外地来的朋友，他们向你问路什么的，你用上海话跟他们说他们肯定听不懂。普通话是大家都能接受，都听得懂的语言，而且我觉得普通话非常好听。而且我觉得我讲普通话还是蛮标准的。去考普通话考了2级甲等，1级乙等就可以去地方电视台当播音员。1级甲等就是到中央台，CCTV知道吗？中央台里面的主持人都是普通话一级甲等的。

Interviewer: 那就是说你现在觉的会说普通话比较重要是吗?

SNU-24: 当然了，比如说以后生活中碰到别人问路，或是在学校里教书，我认为尤其是在小学或者是幼儿园的老师普通话应该更加标准。因为他们是孩子，还小，语言接触最多的就是你，所以说这个普通话是最重要的。

Interviewer: 你觉得会说标准的普通话重要吗?

SNU-24: 当然重要。

Interviewer: 为什么?

SNU-24: 因为这是一种共同的交流语言嘛，……，一般上海话或者外地的方言，语言能力比较强的可能也能听懂一点，但普通话就消除了语言的障碍。各方面人的交流，生活中，学习中。

pp. 68-69

Interviewer: 你觉得会说普通话重要吗?

SNU-33: 我觉得从两个方面来看,从微观的角度来看不是很重要,因为我的人生就是在上海了,我的圈子里上海人较多。但是从宏观的角度来说,学好普通话还是很重要的,因为上海是国际大都市嘛,不断的人才引进,以后工作会遇到很多外地人外国人和他们交流还是要用普通话的。

p. 69

Interviewer: 就先问你觉得现在会说普通话重要吗?

SNU-17: 我觉得,我如果以后将来当老师,会说普通话应该是重要的。

Interviewer: 你觉得会说标准的普通话重要吗?

SNU-17: 对,如果你,你,如果,其实我,也许你没感觉,如果一个老师站在讲台上,全都上海话的话,我觉得,首先这个老师感觉,对我的印象,我对他的印象就不行,不太规范这样的话,虽然是上海话,但是他这个讲实在是,怎么说呢,老师嘛,应该为人师表嘛,如果,上海话,给人一种随便的,太随便的感觉,像课堂里面,怎么说呢,还是讲普通话。

p. 70

Interviewer: 嗯嗯。那你觉得会说标准的普通话重要吗?

SNU-18: 嗯,也很重要。因为我觉得作为一个中国人你普通话得说的标准。

Interviewer: 嗯。

SNU-18: 方言说得不标准没关系,问题不是太大,但普通话得说好。

Interviewer: 嗯。就是觉得如果只能说一种话说得比较标准应该是普通话?

SNU-18: 对。

Interviewer: 嗯。那你觉得对你自己将来的发展会说标准的普通话重要吗?

SNU-18: 很重要。因为我相信以后应聘的话肯定要面试,一口标准的普通话和一口不标准的普通话会形成一个非常鲜明的对比和反差。

pp. 71-72

Interviewer: 那你觉得会说标准的普通话重要吗?

SNU-11: 当然。因为我的普通话也不是很标准，但是.....很标准的普通话我应该还要去训练训练。

Interviewer: 为什么？

SNU-11: 因为不能克服自身从小养成的那种说上海话的习惯。所以普通话不是很标准。总是夹点上海话。

Interviewer: 你觉得为什么应该练一练标准的普通话？

SNU-11: 我觉得作为.....作为我是一个中国人吧，就应该是标准的普通话。而且普通话发音和说起话来让我觉得很舒服。再来就是习惯上就是说好普通话。我从小我认为说好标准的普通话比较重要。

.....

Interviewer: 你觉得会说标准的普通话以后对你个人的发展会有好处吗？

SNU-11: 会有好处。因为如果我以后从事教师职业的话，学校肯定是规定教师必须讲普通话。因为符合学校教育规范。而且是给我的以后的学生做出一个好榜样。就是从小要学习普通话。而且要给他们普通话的氛围，讲普通话的氛围。

pp. 72-73

Interviewer: 你会说普通话，你觉得你会不会因为这个而感到什么骄傲或者觉得很好什么的？

SNU-20: 我觉得我自己很正气。就是一直说普通话嘛。因为是国家提倡的。

.....

Interviewer: 然后就是会对自己有一种.....谈得上自豪感吗？

SNU-20: 自豪感.....好像还没有过。就是觉得遵守这种国家的，那个，一些要求，就觉得应该这样做的。

.....

Interviewer: 你觉得会说普通话重要吗？

SNU-20: 很重要。

Interviewer: 为什么？

SNU-20: 因为比如说和外地的一些学生或者人交流起来的话用普通话更容易。

.....
Interviewer: 你觉得会说标准的普通话重要吗?

SNU-20: 很重要

Interviewer: 为什么?

SNU-20: 很舒服。

Interviewer: 嗯。就是因为自己感觉很舒服吗?

SNU-20: 对。我觉得好像会说一口流利的普通话跟道德上面也有一定的关系吧。

Interviewer: 嗯。可以解释一下吗?

SNU-20: 就是，一般如果品德比较好的人，他普通话都一般说的不错的。我觉得那些不肯学普通话一直说那些本地话的人他可能有一种觉得上海因为是在中国比较发达的地区嘛，他就觉得我会说上海话这种本地话.....就是觉得有一种优越感。所以他就一直要说上海话。

Interviewer: 你自己觉得这样不好吗？就是因为有那种优越感你觉得不应该的。

SNU-20: 我觉得不应该有这种优越感。莫名其妙。

pp. 73-74

SNU-27: 嗯.....上海话让我感觉，去外地的话，有些人还不一定说上海话，因为这会让人觉得高高在上，他们就会有时候故意为难你这样。上海话，如果在上海的话，还是比较重要的。因为我发现有些上海人，如果你不说上海话的话，他们就会故意欺负你那种感觉。

Interviewer: 那你觉得这是一个比较普遍的现象吗?

SNU-27: 现在比以前好多了。每天坐公交车，有些售票员会用普通话报站，但有些还是用上海话，我觉得这就与上海这座城市不太相符了。因为她不是一个让人感觉很小的、封闭的城市。她现在越来越开放了嘛，就应该讲普通话。我还记得前不久听到一个例子。我有个亲戚坐飞机，他听到航空小姐用上海话跟乘客讲话，就有点不正式的感觉。他作为一个上海人，心里有点很难过的，他觉得应该用普通话，他觉得这样子有损上海人的形象。

p. 75

Interviewer: 那你觉得会说上海话重要吗?

SNU-22: 会说上海话重要吗？这个怎么说呢，就像我前边跟你说因为我生在上海所以我会说上海话，那如果对于外地到上海来打工的人，我建议他还是，至少要听的懂吧，听得懂比较好一点，就现在不是一个必然条件，但是是一个优势，对吧？如果，包括现在，就有很多的那种用人单位，他也许有的时候会看你简历的时候会问你，你是不是上海人啊，就说我不是上海人我是外地人，也许这方面就有一定的弱势了，其实并不是说，这个方面并不是歧视，其实外地人有很多，他们学得很优秀，那是为什么呢，就是有可能考虑到语言的这一方面。那比如说几个上海人，因为这些用人单位，上海本土企业嘛，有很多他们也许有很多那种老同志，年纪比较大了，他普通话讲不标准，他平时习惯讲上海话的，那他叫你这个小青年做事，过来跟他一起工作沟通，他跟你说上海话你又听不懂，那怎么进行工作呢？这也许就是优势所在，所以我觉得最好至少听得懂吧，来上海的话，那些外地人。

pp. 75-76

Interviewer: 那你觉得会说上海话重要么？

SNU-23: 上海话啊，就是在上海交流比较方便，跟别人交流比较方便，而且……反正有可能上海人有一种……不知道每个地方都会这样子的还是就是上海方面有种地区……不是有种族歧视么？上海就是有一点地方主义。就是你会说上海话了，像你是上海人就会比较亲近，但如果你是外地人……外地人的话，可能别人会有点看不起你呀什么的。以前他们不是说上海人把除了上海人以外的人都叫做外地人。就是看不起外地人的这种感觉。

p. 76

Interviewer: 那你觉得在上海为什么重要？

SNU-9: 因为大家说的都是上海话，如果你……很奇怪的就是，如果你到像城隍庙的地方，你说上海话，你就觉得哦，“上海人啊，就勿斩侬了”。就是上次我到那里去买那个东西吃嘛，我说这个东西哪个好吃，因为我就带上海话问的嘛，然后他说：“哦，你是上海人，那我就不骗你了，都不好吃，你不要买了。”（笑）

pp. 76-77

Interviewer: 你觉得在上海会说上海话会有怎样的好处？

SNU-14: 嗯，第一么就是能够博得上海人的认同，然后就是让他们对你有亲切感，然后，就是因为现在还是有很多上海人只会说上海话，就是普通话有点糟糕，特别是就像年级大的那种上海人，然后跟他们交流的话也不会有什么问题的。

Interviewer: 你说的这个会说上海话会得到上海人的认同感，是什么意思？

SNU-14: 就是我觉得这是上海人不太好的一点，就是也不是所有上海人都是这样子的，但是我觉得有相当一部分的上海人，就是比较喜欢上海人而不是外地人，对外地人就是一种歧视还算不上么比它低一个等次。特别，尤其表现在那种，就比如我们学校里的一个女同学，比如说她谈了一个男朋友如果是外地的，他妈妈就可能就不同意，就是因为他是外地的，讲和我们不一样的话，我是这么认为的。因为我觉得大家都是中国人，在本质上没有什么不一样。但是换而言之，如果他是一个外国人，而不是一个外地人，那情况又是不一样的了，所以外国人不会说上海话是不要紧的。

pp. 77-78

Interviewer: 那你觉得会说上海话重要吗？

SNU-11: 作为我是上海人，说上海话当然重要的。如果我作为其他地方的人，我觉得说上海话其实并不是很重要。

Interviewer: 为什么觉得作为上海人说上海话很重要呢？

SNU-11: 因为我本来就是上海人，为什么不会说上海话呢？我本来就在这里出生的，如果我不会说上海话，那我……算上海人吗？就是这样。

.....

Interviewer: 你觉得会说上海话对你以后的发展会有好处吗？

SNU-11: 应……应该，这个问题我从来没考虑过。应该……（笑）应该会有好处吧。如果我在上海工作，周围很多同事肯定很多是上海人，方便我们交流。而且同事之间不会有隔阂。最起码别人不会……不会让你产生一种疏远感。

pp. 78-79

Interviewer: 你觉得现在会说上海话重要吗？

SNU-7: 我觉得并不是特别重要。

Interviewer: 为什么？

SNU-7: 我觉得现在上海不全是上海人，有许多外地人和外国人，所以最重要的是普通话和英文。

.....

Interviewer: 你觉得，对你以后的个人发展，你觉得什么最重要？

SNU-7: 语言方面的？

Interviewer: 嗯，语言方面的。

SNU-7: 对于我.....应该还是英文最重要吧。

Interviewer: 英文最重要啊？觉得英文对你以后会有什么样的好处？

SNU-7: 进公司什么的都比较方便，靠英文好。

pp. 79-80

Interviewer: 觉得英文重要吗？觉得应该学吗？

SNU-32: 现在的话.....可以说为了找工作的话，英文还是蛮重要的。不过，我英文不是很好，所以.....

Interviewer: 你觉得你这个专业英文也很重要吗？

SNU-32: 应该很重要吧，因为现在国外的环保比较好一点。中国的环保.....就是说以后真的就做环保这方面的话，看这种外国文件的话，英文还是很重要的。

.....

Interviewer: 那你觉得，比如说会说一口流利的普通话也很重要吗？

SNU-32: 肯定的吧.....这个普通话.....其实.....现在找工作的话，会说一口流利的英语比说一口流利的普通话要好。就是说，很吃香。英文好的人很吃香。

Interviewer: 不好意思，什么意思，吃香？

SNU-32: 吃香就是说很受欢迎。

Interviewer: 哦，就是说因为会英文的比较少。

SNU-32: 也不是比较少，就是现在.....大家都比较看重英文，所以英文好的人总归是比较受欢迎吧。

.....

SNU-32: 就是普通话，然后上海话、英文这三个在上海找工作应该放在同一个档次。

Interviewer: 哦！

SNU-32: 因为如果你在外企的话英文肯定很重要，但是外企你说的话和同事之间或者还有你出去外面或者应酬啊什么的，肯定普通话和上海话肯定

也很重要。外企的话，很多可能外地来的话上海话不用说了，如果要和同事要搞好关系的话普通话肯定很重要，那如果你那些同事是上海人，那不用说了，上海话肯定很重要。

pp. 83-84

Interviewer: 有没有考虑过以后有孩子的话，会跟他们说什么话？

SNU-8: 普通话。

Interviewer: 普通话。

SNU-8: 对

Interviewer: 就说普通话。

SNU-8: 对，因为照以后的发展下去，普通话，或者说是英语嘛，这个是以后的长久发展是需要的。

Interviewer: 那么如果孩子不会上海话南汇话，你会觉得可惜吗？

SNU-8: 可惜啊.....这个，不会可惜吧，应该来说。因为现在像家里面自己的亲戚啊，他们教育小孩子都是让他们说普通话，说英语啊什么的。

pp. 84-85

Interviewer: 不知道你有没有考虑过这个？假如说以后有孩子，觉得会跟他们说什么话？

SNU-9: 普通话。

Interviewer: 普通话。为什么？

SNU-9: （笑）因为我觉得普通话学好还是蛮不错的。因为如果我.....就像我，我觉得我其实普通话不是最好，所以我说没有上海话好嘛，因为上海话说惯了，先入为主。如果你先教他普通话的话，他普通话将来肯定很好。

pp. 85-86

Interviewer: 你以后有没有想过假如有孩子会跟他们说什么说什么话？

SNU-1: 普通话。

Interviewer: 普通话？为什么？

SNU-1: 最重要。

Interviewer: 就是为了他们以后的什么就业机会或者是学习方面的都比较顺利?

SNU-1: 我觉得说普通话显得这个人有点水准。

Interviewer: 显得这个人什么?

SNU-1: 有水准。就是一般骂人啊什么话都是本地话说出来的, 我觉得说普通话比较文明。

Interviewer: 那假如说以后你的孩子不会说南汇话, 你会觉得可惜吗?

SNU-1: 不可惜。

Interviewer: 不可惜? 上海话呢?

SNU-1: 上海话? 上海话肯定要说的, 因为出来这种公司面试啊有的因为大多数都是像这种上海话。但是如果到南汇那边讲上海话的话, 也不要紧的呀。

pp. 86-88

Interviewer: 你刚才提到孩子和家长说普通话, 那要是你以后有孩子了你会希望他们既会说普通话又会说上海话吗? 你打算怎么样?

SNU-33: 我觉得就是在学校里面如果老师规定的话, 那么还是尽量说普通话。回到家里那我肯定是和他说上海话。就算他回来跟我说老师规定在家里也和父母说普通话的话, 那我就会说: 那你在学校里面可以说普通话, 但是回到家里我希望你还是和我用上海话交流。因为我和我的妈妈或者其他的亲人都是说上海话的。我觉得上海话也其实是一门语言, 也能掌握。万一以后碰到这样的也很亲切, 特别是在异国或者在异地, 碰到老乡能说出几句乡音的话听到会非常开心, 我觉得。我就是这样的我觉得希望他还是能说上海话, 然后我觉得比如说他平时在朋友圈子里面也能说上海话。不像现在的孩子不管是在学校还是在其他地方回家或者是跟同学说几句话同学都用普通话交流。我觉得其实如果他们都说普通话的话还有弊端, 就是比如特别是如果你是处理人事方面的嘛, 然后你是需要和人交流.....如果说普通话的话说不定你不能看出他是一个上海人还是一个外地人.....如果你知道他是外地人的话, 如果你是从事某一方面的工作的话, 那你就能了解上海人的特点。上海人的特点是, 比如外地人了解上海人是比较精明的, 比较能干的。然后比较儒雅一些的, 比较文雅一些的。不像北方那种性格比较豪爽一些的.....外地人评价上海人是这样评价的嘛。我觉得这样也不能区分.....又比如说, 如果你在大学里谈恋爱的话, 然后你碰到一个女同学或者是碰到一个男同学是你比较喜欢的, 然后如果她和你交流是用普通话说出的话, 你不知道她是上海人的话, 有可能会造成一定的误会.....比如我父母就是这样的, 她叫我说如果要找女朋友的话一定要找上海人, 不希望我找外地人。为什么呢? 并不是说什么外地人

不好，就是以后你如果成家了以后她父母在外地，我父母在上海，现在就又是独生子女，对吗？就是两个大人要照顾四个老人。她有她的父母要照顾，我有我的父母要照顾，如果我的父母生病，她的父母也生病了，那先照顾谁呢？……这就造成不必要的麻烦了……然后如果回到我前面说的的问题，如果你不知道她是上海人，她如果用普通话跟你交流的话，那你不知道她是上海人还是外地人，然后……如果有两个女孩比较的话，一个一直说上海话，如果是我的话那我肯定会选择说上海话的。如果最后那个女生她也是上海人的话，那我肯定会后会的。因为或许我更喜欢她一点。但是因为她是和我说普通话，我觉得她是外地人……其实这是一个比较特殊的例子，但是其实还是有这个可能存在的嘛。我觉得普通话和上海话还是有一定区别的。我希望就是能说的话还是尽量平时说上海话的，但是如果到一些正式场合的话我觉得还是说普通话比较好一点，因为毕竟人家在这个语言环境里都说普通话你说上海话就觉得很另类一些，就是很怪的。

pp. 89-90

Interviewer: 你觉得现在会说普通话重要吗？

SNU-4: 还是重要的。因为……与各地之间那个人流往来都蛮密切的，如果说你不会说普通话只会说上海话，如果说他们听不懂……

Interviewer: 就是说觉得它主要就是起一种交流工具的作用？

SNU-4: 如果说……也会觉得比较亲切一点吧。

Interviewer: 就是觉得普通话比较亲切一点？

SNU-4: 就是说大家用同一种语言，就是普通话它是，就像英语它是世界性的那种语言，普通话就是说是华人地区交流的一种语言。应该说都要会说吧，如果说你在国外碰到一个华人它会说比较纯正的普通话，你肯定会觉得有一种很亲切的感觉。

Interviewer: 那你会不会对上海话有一种亲切的感觉？

SNU-4: 上海话如果说，在上海因为大家都是上海人，都说一样的话没什么感觉，如果你到了外地，或者说也在国外碰到一个上海人说的上海话，肯定也会有这种感觉。

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