

**Revised Mandarin Grammar with Taiwanese Goyu and Some Min
Language Patterns and Rules. Research and Book Project
(CCS Fellowship Report 2021)**

臺灣華語語法新編

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The Aim. The main aim of the project was to prepare the basis for the writing and publication of the “Grammar of the Chinese language”, taking into account the peculiarities of the Guoyu language in Taiwan, including: the theoretical basis, the description of the main features, the examples. No less important goal is to prepare material for lectures and textbooks for Chinese language departments in Russia, where universities either pay little attention to Taiwan, or teachers and students have totally no idea about the island at all. Taiwanese Mandarin or Taiwanese Goyu, in any case, is a separate phenomenon, no matter how it is classified, but in Russian academic circles there is an opinion that Taiwanese Goyu is just an insignificant “distortion” of the Mainland (i.e. “normative”) Chinese.

The Process. The preparation of the material should include the study of literature on the Goyu (it was assumed that the sources would be quite rich in Taiwan), the analysis of live communication: with native speakers, teachers, students, scholars dealing with similar topics.

Examples. As for examples, I relied on my own communication experience, and also borrowed the phrases from Guoyu Corpus (中央研究院現代漢語標記語料庫 4.0 版: asbc.iis.sinica.edu.tw), sometimes — from the other authors’ books and articles, sometimes — from websites where features of Guoyu were discussed.

The Term. Initially, the work was designed for 1 year, as written in the plan, but the grant was awarded for 6 months, although work continues beyond this period. Therefore, some subtopics and sections of the study were “left out”. In addition, when starting to research the topic that was completely unfamiliar in Russia, I could not even imagine how many materials, sources and methods had been accumulated in Taiwan, and also — in the USA, and Western Europe (i.e. the countries from the outside of the Mainland’s influence).

Taiwan Mandarin in Russia. Russia has a rich Sinology tradition, but from 1949 to 1990 there were no contacts, including humanitarian ones, between Russia and Taiwan, so no one studied / explored in Taiwanese Mandarin. Since the 1990s, in Russia, a new era began when experts from Mainland China began to try to occupy leading positions in teaching. And for various reasons, including political, in fact, there are no works in Russia that would describe the features of the Taiwan Mandarin. Only in recent years, some articles by Tang Meng-wei (Tang Meng-wei 2019, 2020), a graduate of the magistracy of Taiwan ChengChi University and a doctorate at Moscow State University, who is working in Moscow, have appeared.

Among the teachers of Mandarin in Russia, it is generally accepted that the only one worth studying is Mainland Mandarin (Putonghua), which is facilitated by the network of Confucius institutions in our country. The same is true for the middle schools where the Chinese language is taught — such schools are oriented towards Mainland, many graduates of these schools seek to enter universities in the PRC. In addition, the study of the Chinese language in Russian universities is growing like an avalanche, and there are not enough qualified teachers, and it often happens that there are no local teachers in universities, only those from Mainland Guojia Hanban who do not study either theory or regional variants of the Chinese language, and they often are some random people: Russianists, specialists in the field of technical or natural sciences, etc.

“A Course in Theoretical Chinese Grammar” (Kurdyumov 2005, 2006). My grammar of the Chinese language was published in Russia twice: in 2005, 2006, with a total circulation of 9000, and still remains the main textbook for courses in the Theoretical Grammar of the Chinese language (this subject is usually taught in the third year) in many Russian universities, — while only the first volume (576 p.) was published, the second volume remains unpublished to this day. And, now it is becoming obvious that the book needs to be rewritten: it was created according to the “classical” canons, and most of it is occupied by “morphology”: a description of (“traveling”, but yet) “parts of speech”. The examples in the book were often eclectic, including a little part from Wenyan and Cantonese “dialect”, Dungan language etc., but there was no Minnan “dialect” and Taiwanese Mandarin in it. This is an unfortunate omission, but at that time I had no contact with Taiwan: my first visit to the island took place only in May 2009, when I was the dean of the Chinese language department at Moscow City University.

At the time of publication, "Grammar" could be viewed in three different ways: as a textbook, a monograph and a reference book.

At present, if I was preparing the book, then I would revise its structure completely, include a separate chapter on the general characteristics of the Goyu language in Taiwan, shorten the somewhat messy examples, but add both grammatical rules and examples from the Goyu. The main goal for the Russian audience is not even a theoretical explanation, but a visual, and, at the same time, a systematic description of Taiwanese Chinese: as a regionolect or a separate language.

Politics vs linguistics. For political reasons, there is still a serious confusion with the concepts of “language” and “dialect”: Urdu and Hindi, Tatar and Bashkir, Macedonian and Bulgarian, and many others are considered different. Meanwhile, absolutely mutually incomprehensible “dialects” of the Chinese language are required to be combined into a single whole (in Mainland Chinese and Soviet / Russian linguistics) and to be considered a common “Chinese language”, as, for the same reasons, the “common” Arabic in different Arab countries.

In addition, in our opinion, the problem is that de facto only synchronicity has been yet taken into account. I believe that the language begins to be created together with the nation (which is not in contradiction with “the theory of waves” or something like that): with the (state) isolation of a certain people / part of the people in a certain territory, while, following politics, wars and annexations, such a process can slow down or stop, or, conversely, be artificially stimulated. Proceeding from diachrony and within the framework of our predication concept (Kurdyumov 1999, 2019, 2020), which presupposes the total dynamism of the language, since 2012 (since my report on the Dungan language at the University of Latvia in Riga) I have proposed and now prefer the term “dialect process”, postulating that it a) occurs and b) at each stage is characterized as a whole by certain synchronous / systemic features. The process as a whole proceeds according to the scheme “common language → separate variant → (perceived) dialect → new separate language”. At the same time, I am interested in the process and its characteristics, politics goes beyond the competence.

In relation to Taiwan Goyu, it is worth emphasizing that I am not talking about the synchronous distortion of the Mandarin language by individual speakers, as some too enlightened students often imagine, but about a natural, holistic communication system formed under the influence of external and internal determinants on a certain permanent territory (partially recognized “Republic of China”: the islands of Taiwan, the islands of Mazu and Penghu, the island of Kinmen etc.), which has the right to exist and be described.

The Theoretical Basis. In general, we highly appreciate the achievements of linguistic variantology and concepts of language separation, most detailed

explored for variants of English. In Russia, these are, first of all, the works of Z.G. Proshina (2001, 2017, 2020, etc., Proshina, Nelson 2020, also Oshchepkov 2006). Variantology assumes separation from a common source of a language variant, which is quite enough for a systematic description of such a variant. Based on the understanding of discourse of our predication school (Kurdyumov 1999, 2019, 2020), regional variants / languages are discourses that are formed (including) under the influence of national ideas (integrativity / separativity), ideologies, etc.: (“China — as whole”, “Taiwan is a genuine China”, “Taiwan is a separate nation”, etc.), resulting in a systemic language policy.

The “Taiwan Local” Sources. In my research I relied more on my own observations than on any theoretical sources, especially local ones; I think, my experience in Taiwan allows me to do this. However, for me it was a pleasant surprise that a sufficient number of works describing the “autonomous” features of the Taiwanese Mandarin have been collected in Taiwan libraries. There are a lot of such works, both monographs / dissertations and articles, often they reproduce the “obvious” facts “on the surface” (therefore, when describing a particular linguistic phenomenon, it is very difficult to refer to a specific source: I read the articles and listened real speech).

In Taiwan, for example, Professor He Wan-shun (One-Soon Her, for example: 2010), one of the significant researchers of the process of isolation of Taiwanese Goyu in diachrony, and a number of other specialists are engaged in a systematic description of the features of the Goyu language.

The Contents. The experience of my studying the Chinese language, especially the years spent in Taiwan, shows that the differences between the Guoyu and the Putonghua languages are not limited to minor accents in phonetics and minor differences in vocabulary: the differences cover all levels of the language — phonetic, morphemic, lexical, grammar of the sentence, style and structure of the text / discourse. Initially, it was supposed to include in the project significant material on the Minnan language, but the work experience has shown that it is more important to focus on the difference between Guoyu and Putonghua and to show that the current idea of their identity is far from to be correct.

Actually, the generalization of the material shows that the identification of significant discrepancies can become one of the most important results of the work.

The Conclusion. Even if we proceed from the concept of “regional variety of the language” or “regionolect” (as in sources in Russian), the totality of significant differences from Mandarin suggests that Taiwanese Mandarin, aka Goyu, can be considered a fairly well-formed separate language: its own phonetic system (although, in many aspects, not normalized), discrepancy in

vocabulary by about 60-70%, certain grammatical phenomena, stylistics that require maximum politeness in the construction of the text (that is, separate rules of linguistics of the text).

The Practice in the Universities. While teaching the practical and theoretical aspects of the Chinese language (since 1990, more than 30 years), as well as when heading the departments of the Chinese language in various Moscow universities, I always defended the following point of view: the graduate must not only have the basic skills of Baihua (in the form of Putunghua), but also, at least, have an understanding of the fundamentals of classical literary Wenyan language, Chinese “dialects” and regional varieties and accents, and also — should have skills to explain the reasons of “derivations”.

Participation in conferences and publications on the topic of the current Fellowship:

- International Chinese Studies Conference “Chinese studies in the 21st century”, Banzarov Buriat State University, Ulan-Ude, Russia, October 12, 2021. Presentation: **Dialect Process And Regional Chinese Language Varieties In Professional Education** + Article (7 pages) (to be published in October, 2021, in Russian).
- Kurdyumov, Vladimir. **Taiwan: Language Situation and Characteristics of the National Language.** Phonetic aspect. — In: Russian Journal of Bilingualism Studies. No.1, 2021. p.39-51. (in Russian) <https://bilingualism.ru/s123456780015069-6-1/>
- XXXIVèmes Journées de Linguistique d’Asie Orientale / 34th Paris Meeting on East Asian Linguistics. 7-9 Juillet 2021 / July 7th - 9th 2021. Presentation: Kurdyumov, Vladimir. **The Standard Set of Sentence-Final Particles in Taiwan Guoyu.**
- V Gotlib Readings. International Chinese Studies Conference. Irkutsk State University, Irkutsk, Russia, October 19-21, 2021. Presentation: Kurdyumov, Vladimir. **Chinese Language And Ideologies In Linguistics** + Article (11 pages) (to be published in October, 2021, in Russian).
- LEIC Research 2021: Linguistic, Educational and Intercultural Research 2021, Vilnius, Lithuania. October 21–22, 2021. Presentation: Kurdyumov, Vladimir. **Taiwanese Mandarin: Some Features Distinguishing it from the Mainland Variety of Chinese.** October, 21 2021.

1. “DIALECT PROCESS” vs “SPEECH COMMUNITY”, “REGIONAL VARIETY” etc.

We (that is, I and my followers) are conducting research within the framework of the “predicational theory or concept of language”. This implies an understanding of language as a Humboldtian *energeia*: language is neither a product (*ergon*) nor a Saussurian system / “warehouse”. Language is a set of processes: of generation-perception, in synchronicity and diachrony, a process, and, in the highest understanding, Heidegger's existential Being (stream of being).

With regard to movement in diachrony, as I said earlier, we are using the concept of a “dialect process”, since the concepts of a (separate) language as opposed to a dialect, a regional variant do not suit us. Opposition of language and dialect is approximate enough and depends on the political situation, and the notion of “the regional variety” is much more convenient, but it relies on variations in English, which makes comparison to Chinese not always obvious. In Western linguistics, the notion of “speech community” is rather common (Rampton 2009): as any “group with a shared code of communication”, but it seems to us mechanistic, and, like much in empirical linguistics, does not contribute to the formation of the foundations of the theory. In addition, I do not really understand why the mechanistic terms like “communication code” should be used.

I agree with the opinion that the term “speech community” “...refers to any group with a shared code of communication. Various attempts have been made to theorize speech communities since its inception. Linguists have devoted their attention to identifying a shared, and often homogenous, linguistic structure as the determining characteristic of group membership. Under this paradigm that prioritizes the denotational regularity of language, the complex relationship between a group of people and a specific linguistic code has been greatly reduced to a simplistic view. With the penetration of this assumption to the level of nationalist discourses, the ability to use this single linguistic code legitimates the speaker’s membership to a larger cultural collective. ... What it generates is the “one-language-one-culture assumption”, as Irvine elegantly puts it ...”. (Chen 2018:4).

Based on the understanding of discourse developed by our predication school (Kurdyumov 1999, 2019, 2020), regional variants / languages are discourses that are formed (including) under the influence of national ideas (integrativity / separativity), ideologies, etc.: (“China - whole”, “Taiwan is a genuine China”, “Taiwan is a separate nation”, etc.), resulting in a systemic language policy.

If to speak about a “separate language”, then: it appears there and then when a real separation arises: political or territorial, — the potential for the formation of a people or a nation. For example, the Ukrainian language is considered a

separate language, functioning since 1990-91 in an independent state, while until 1917 it was considered as a “Malo-Russian dialect” of the Russian language. Hindi and Urdu, Bulgarian and Macedonian are also considered separate, as we have already mentioned. Taiwanese Guoyu had all the potential to consider it a independent language: geographical and de facto political separation.

2. HISTORIC BACKGROUND

The historical, political and geographical reasons that led to the formation of the distinct Taiwan Mandarin are well known in academic circles. Of course, when writing grammar for Russian students, such reasons should be cleared, since students after high school are usually poorly versed in history and are not oriented in international politics. The current version of my “Grammar” briefly describes the historical and sociolinguistic background, it is indicated that currently Taiwanese Goyu is one of the national standards of the Chinese language, along with Putonghua and Hong Kong Cantonese. A fairly concise overview is given, for example, in the article by Spencer C. Chen "Visualizing language ideologies" (Chen 2018: 3), and many others.

The main stages, if briefly and in my version:

1. 1949 - the movement of the Republic of China to Taiwan, the situation of the introduction of Goyu into the language environment, where the Japanese and South Min languages initially prevailed; the movement to Taiwan of masses of intellectuals, military elites, industrialists, etc.

2. 1950s-1960s — the establishment of Goyu as a state standard in the Republic of China in Taiwan, policy and efforts to unify the language under the “Peking” standards" (which was noticeable in the fiction films of that period, for example).

3. Since 1950s — the influence of the Minnan language and, at the beginning, Japanese on general pronunciation and grammatical norms. Geographic isolation from processes in the changing Mandarin in Mainland.

4. Conservation and isolation of the norms of the written “polite” Goyu, as opposed to the processes on the Mainland, where both simplification and communist ideologization took place.

5. From the 1950s-1960s to the present, there have been changes in pronunciation norms and grammar, which have begun to form a new, comprehended as familiar and normative, look of the modern real Taiwanese Goyu: a dialect process that led to the formation of a new regional variety or language, which continues to this day.

As for the language-forming process, a certain, but apparently not decisive role was played by the composition of those who arrived in Taiwan. According to Professor One Soon Her (One Soon Her 2010:9), the largest percentage (among almost 1 million asked) came from the following provinces (according to the data from 1956):

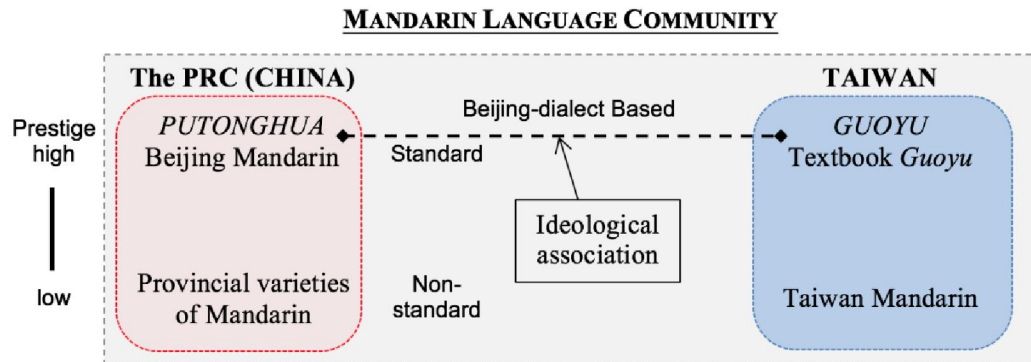
福建省	142 520	15.35%
浙江省	114 830	12.37 %
江蘇省	95 836	10.32 %
廣東省	92 507	9.97 %
山東省	90 068	9.70 %

but not from Beijing (0,85%), Nanking (1,35%), Shanghai (1,74%). So they were originally from the South regions or from seashore. The accents from these localities may have left an imprint on the general phonetic appearance of Goyu (and, moreover, on the "family" accents), but, in our opinion, the interaction between the normative Goyu before 1949, the Minnan language and the Hakka language played the decisive role.

3. THE QUESTION OF NORM AND NORMALITY

Both Putonghua and Taiwan Guoyu are based on Peking pronunciation and grammatical rules. However, a serious question is that 1) the world study of Chinese as a foreign language has been almost monopolized by the People's Republic of China — both by the state and by immigrants from the state, 2) individual transformations in Taiwanese Goyu are still considered inaccuracies and mistakes. Therefore, I order not to complicate the life and learning of foreign students, the teaching standards and requirements of the Taiwanese Ministry of Education are often have been adjusted to the “Peking” standards.

I can generally support the scheme given in (Chen 2018:10) (see below), but in relation to my study, some clarifications could be needed.



• Figure 1: The Hierarchical Order of Standard Mandarin in Taiwan in Comparison to the PRC (China)

So called “Textbook Guoyu” in Taiwan (right) is a norm, but real spoken “Taiwan Mandarin” constantly influences the norm, regardless of whether the influence is institutionally recognized. So my scheme will be the following.

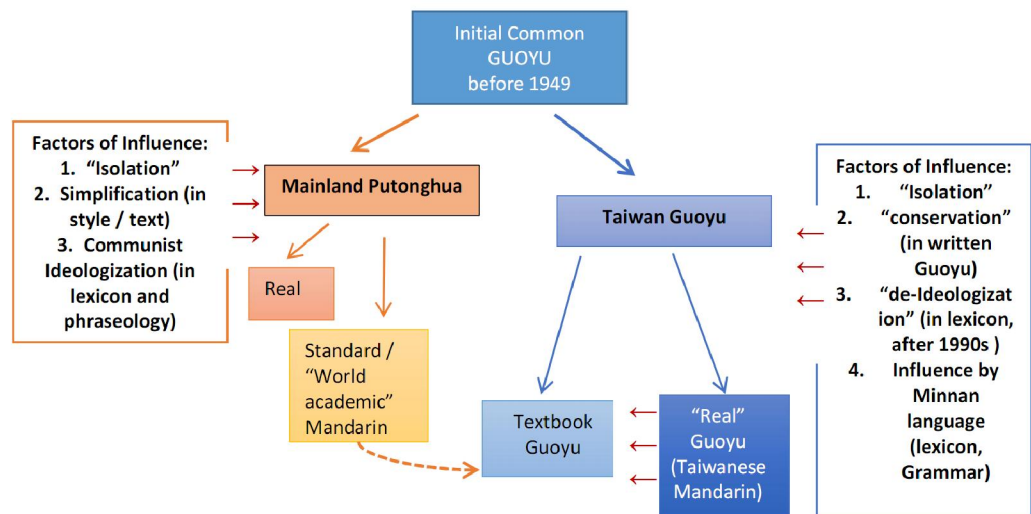


Figure 2. Taiwan Guoyu: Origin, Reality, Factors of Influence

And the most interesting for me is “Real Guoyu”: the processes and phenomena in it forming the real spoken form. If to abstract from the partially useless and monopolized by the state ideology notions of language / dialect / regional variety, then for me, as a native speaker of Slavic languages, the difference between Putonghua and Goyu is approximately the same as between Russian and (West) Ukrainian: *they are mutually understandable (mostly), but have significant difference in vocabulary, and other features.*

3. BASIC PHONETIC FEATURES OF GUOYU

According to Polivanov (...), the Chinese syllable is a system of positions: 1+2+3+4, where (in a “full” syllable) the first sound is a consonant, the second is an intermediate vowel like *-u-*, *-i-*, *-ü-*, the third — vowel, fourth — final nasal (mistakenly considered a consonant) *-n (= ĩ) / -ŋ (= i)* (Alexahin 2006): for example *huang = h+u+a+ng (hua-ĩ)*. Further in the text the symbols #1, #2, #3, #4 will be used.

At the same time, while the Latinized alphabet 拼音字母 *pinyin zimu* reflecting the formula rather approximately is widely used on the Mainland, then in Taiwan — the alphabet 注音字母 *zhùyīn zìmǔ* (ㄅ ㄆ ㄇ ㄏ *bopomofo*), which is (much) more logical, has been used commonly.

For me, as not an expert in acoustics, therefore, only clearly audible differences in sound-types are significant for educational purposes and for the understanding the differences. A sound type is one of the understandings of a phoneme as the level unit: a national / regional conventional “ideal” of sound.

3.1. Mixing of fricatives / sibilants: the hushing vs the alveolar hissing consonants.

There is an illusion that the people in Taiwan necessarily “alter” into sibilants those sounds that are the hushing in the norm (but not in us; “thick” sounds are translated into “thin”): *f → s*, *tʃ → ts*, *dʒ → dz*. The real problem is more complex, depending upon the local and family accents, and the following standard matches are more real: “hushing → alveolar hissing”; on the contrary, “alveolar hissing → hushing”, “hushing → dental crevice like English (th): ð and θ”.

她是學生 *Tā shì xuéshēng → Tā sì xuésēng (Tā θì xuéθēng)*

她有公司 *Tā yǒu gōngsī → Tā yǒu gōngshī (Tā yǒu gōngθī)*

3.2. Reduction / addition of *-u-* (#2); *-eng → -ong*

3.2.1 Reduction of the *-u-* sound in #2 (the “無中介音” phenomenon).

Not very noticeable, but nevertheless, a clear phenomenon, most often, in *-uo*: 說 *say shuō → shō / sō*, 我 *I wǒ → ōu*, 錯 *be wrong cuò → cò, còu*. In Putonghua, the combination of *-o* directly after consonants, without *-u*, is almost forbidden (except for *bo, po, mo, fo*).

3.2.2 Addition of *-u-* (#2), often but not obligatory

- 老婆 *lǎopó* → *lǎopuó* ‘wife’
- 魔法 *mófǎ* → *muófǎ* ‘magic’
- 玻璃 *bōlí* → *buōlí* ‘glass’

3.2.3 - *eng* → - *ong*

- 聯盟 *liánméng* → *liánmóng* ‘alliance’
- 風景 *fēngjǐng* → *fōngjǐng* ‘landscape’
- 颱風 *táifēng* → *táifōng* ‘typhoon’

3.3 Transition -*ü-* → -*i-* (無中介音 phenomenon).

In the Mainland, in syllables like [1+ü+əĩ]: *yuan* etc., the second sound is -*ü-* (another modification of the sound -*i-* (Alexahin 2006) is pronounced quite clearly and is perceived as such (something like “*yu*” (“*ю*”) — in the second position and “*yui*” (“*юй*”) — as a terminal — for an untrained Russian ear) by a native speaker of Russian. In Taiwan, in most cases, -*ü-* tends to become “pure” -*i-*, and syllables like *yuan* [üəĩ] sound like *yan* [iəĩ] or *yeán* [iəĩ]: 公園 *gōng üán* → *gōngy(e)án* park, 圓山 *yuánshān* → *y (e) ánshān* (MRT station Yuanshan). For example, the Russians living in Taipei who do not know the language call the mentioned metro station *Yenshan* — as they can hear it. The same is in the joke: 你是台灣國語還是台灣狗蟻? (國語 *Guóyǔ* vs. 狗蟻 *gǒu yǐ*: -*uó* → *ǒu* & *yǔ* → *yǐ*).

The same can happen with syllables like *qu* [tɕü]: the phrase *Where will you go tomorrow?* 你明天要去哪裡? is heard as 你明天要企哪裡? — *qu* [tɕü] → *qi* [tɕi] (你要企那裡? 什麼時候肥來?)

If to talk about Mainland, then such an accent is a feature, for example, of the residents of Sichuan province and some others (as I can rely on my long time interpreter practice).

3.4 -*ng* & *n* (#34)

3.4.1 Transition *-ng* → *n* [ŋ (= i) → n (= ĭ)] in the #4 of the syllable (“-eng 全變 *en*” & “-an, -ang 不分” phenomena, including *-ing* → *-in*).

Students are persistently taught to distinguish between terminal sounds, which are heard in Russian as *-n* (-н) and *-n'* (-нб) (and, according to Aleksakhin [2006], they more likely are also — the modifications of *i*: *i* & *ĩ*).

However, in speech on the island, such sounds are usually / often not differentiated. Most often this happens in the syllables *yíng* (→ *yín*), *-eng* (→ *-en*), *-ang* (→ *-an*) (in addition, in Taiwanese phonology, the syllables *yíng* & *yín* are interpreted as combinations *i* + *-eng* & *i* + *-en*, which is usually sharply denied in Mainland).

A Russian interpreter, focusing on sound quality rather than tone, hears instead of 綠營 *lùyíng* ‘camping’ – 錄音 *lùyīn* ‘sound recording’, instead of 曾經 *céngjīng* ‘in the past’ — *cénjīn*, instead of 幫忙 *bāngmáng* ‘to help’ – *bānmán*, etc.

3.4.2 *ung* → *ong*

According to phonological logic, a sound recorded in the *Pinyin* transcription as *-ung* should include three sounds: *u* + *e* + *ng* (*u* + *ə* + *i*). However, in the textbooks published in Mainland, this combination is interpreted as *-ung*, without the syllabic sound *-e-*. In Taiwan, *-ung* is still structured as *u* + *e* + *ng* (234), but the real sound is *-ong* (*o* + *i*) or *-oen* (*o* + *ə* + *i*), with *u* → *o*.

- 公園 *gōng yuán* → /k ō i + i á ĩ/ ‘park’
- 痛 *tòng* → /th ō i / ‘pain’
- 阿公 *agōng* → /a +k ō i / ‘grandpa’

3.4.3 *-ing* → *-in* (could be explained as *-i ə ng* → *-i ə n*)

- 心情 *xīnqíng* → *xīnqín* ‘mood’
- 應該 *yīnggāi* → *yīngāi* ‘should’
- 蜻蜓 *qīngtíng* → *qīntín* ‘dragonfly’
- 名字 *míngzì* → *mínzì* ‘name’
- 聖誕節 *Shèngdàn jié* → *Shèndànjié* ‘Christmas’

3.5 Mixing *l* & *n* in #1 (*n/l* 不分 phenomenon), and *m* & *b* in #1.

The $l \rightarrow n$ and $n \rightarrow l$ (position #1) transitions are quite typical in the southern regions of China. In Taiwan, the phrase 我很老 *Wǒ hěn lǎo* ‘I am old’ may sound like *Wǒ hěn nǎo*. The reverse transition $n \rightarrow l$, from my point of view, does not occur so often: 女護士 *nǚ hùshì* \rightarrow *lǚ hùshì* ‘nurse’, and is still a more Chinese Mainland phenomenon (or maybe only some regional accents of Taiwan), as I suppose, despite the common fact that for the Mandarin syllables like 女 *nǚ* Taiwan Minnan equivalent is *lu2* (Lin 2019 : 54).

3.6 Unclear *r-* & non-differentiation of *r-* and *l-* (phenomenon *l/r* 不分).

Taiwan Ministry of Education is demanding that Mandarin “*r-*” (in position #1) should be pronounced clearly. Meanwhile, even in the Peking norm, there is no clear acoustic ideal: Peking people pronounce something like Russian “*zh*” ($\text{ж} = z$), teachers and narrators for textbooks may well bring that sound closer to the Russian “*й*” or “*й-solid*”. In Guoyu, *r-* is often identified with Chinese *l-* (a little more back-speaking than Russian), thus the phrase 今天好熱喔 *Jīntiān hǎo rè o* ‘Today is, oh, how hot’ sounds like 今天好樂喔 *Jīntiān hǎo lè o* ‘Today is, oh, how fun’ with no misunderstanding, however).

Like in some Mainland provinces *r-* may also be substituted by *z-* (like English ‘*buzzy*’ or even (something like) English voiced *ð-* in ‘*the*’ or ‘*them*’).

So, for example the syllable *ren* (她是台灣人) may be heard as: *ren*, *zen*, *reng*, *zeng*, *ðen*, *ðeng* (not counting *yan* etc. versions)

3.7 Reduction of erization (無兒化 phenomenon).

Phenomenon at the junction of phonology and morphology (事 (shì) (thing) \rightarrow 事兒 *shìr* / $\text{ʃə}\text{V}$), normative in Putonghua and much more common in Peking dialect (圖書館 *túshūguǎn* \rightarrow 圖書館兒 *túshūguǎr*).

Erization (erhua, rhotacization) is the (almost) fusional constriction of the suffix 兒 *-er* with the radical, as a result of which nouns become (discursively

acceptable) diminutive in Putonghua (both normal and outside): 老頭兒 *lǎotó[u]r* ‘grandfather’, 小孩兒 *xiǎohá [i]r* ‘child’, , while terminal sounds drop out. On the island, this is excluded in principle and is considered one of the signs of “rudeness”, for example: 一會見 / 待會見 *Yī huì jiàn / Dài huì jiàn* ‘See you later’ would be natural in daily speech, but 一會兒見 / 待會兒見 *Yīhur jiàn/ Dài hur jiàn* would be not.

In contrast to 兒 *-er*, the suffix 子 *-zi / -zi* is much more common in Guoyu (but, on the contrary, it often drops out when it is needed in Peking: 鞋拔子 *xiébázi* → 鞋拔 *xiébá* ‘shoehorn’). People in Taiwan, in principle, do not like *-er* in the final position of lexical unit (#34 in 0034), preferring, even in foreign loan units (unlike the inhabitants of the Mainland), to use simply *-e* instead of, for example, 爾 *-ěr*: 香奈鵝 *xiāngnài’è* ‘Chanel’, 模特鵝 *mótè’è* ‘model’ — which creates a comic effect: “Chanel goose”, “model goose”. And even 女兒 *nǚ’ér* is often pronounced as *nǚ’é*.

3.8 Fusion of the root (#34) and particles in Taiwan southern pronunciation (*-²i* → *-w-*). In the speech (of young residents of the Tainan region, as I discovered), the affirmative 對 *duì* [tu²i 4] ‘yes’ merges with the particles of the series 啊 *a* / 喔 *o* / 哦 *o*, while the final *-²i* of the syllable disappears, forming something like *-w-* / *-u-* (reduction of *-i* + dereduction of *-ə* → transition *-ə* → *-u-*), so 對啊 / 對喔 will sound like *du-wa* / *du-wo*, and it doesn't even have to retain an explicit fourth tone.

3.9 Absence of a zero tone (輕聲消失 phenomenon): in lexical units where the “norm” requires a neutral tone in Putonghua, and where the second root morpheme tends into an affix: 先生 *xiānshēng*, 學生 *xuéshēng*, as well as 東西 *dōngxī*, 沒關係 *méi guānxi*, 舒服 *shūfú* etc.

The rule according to which a (contextual) part of speech could be determined by the toning / non-toning of the second syllable — cannot be applied in Taiwanese Mandarin: for example, both for the noun and the verb pronunciation of 生活 will be *shēnghuó*, of 下場 will be *xiàchǎng*. If to pronounce the second syllable by neutral tone, such units, of course will be understood by Taiwanese, but recognized as different part of speech.

3.10 Different tones in Guoyu. The most commonly known examples are 俄羅斯 *Éluósī* → *Èluósī* ‘Russia’, 法國 *Fǎguó* → *Fàguó* ‘France’: the fourth tone “instead of” the second and the fourth tone is instead of the third [Tang Meng Wei, p. 178]. Also less widely known: 星期 *xīngqī*, 危險 *wéixiǎn*.

3.11 Full / partial change of phonemic composition: 垃圾 ‘garbage’ sounds like *lès(h)è* instead of *lājī*, 說服 ‘persuade’ like *shuǐfú* — instead of *shuōfú*, 包括 *bāoguā* / *bāokuā* instead of *bāokuò*, etc. [9, p. 178]. Also 液體 as *yītǐ* instead *yètǐ*.

3.12 Prosodic phenomena. It is not so difficult to notice that in the normative Mainland “persuasive” speech somewhere in the second third of the utterance (in the commentary) there is an increased phrasal emphasis (one of the signs of the "Peking" accent), which seems alien and unpleasant to the inhabitants of the island, especially in a situation of criticism (which is not explicitly accepted; speech should be “sweet”, not harsh and smooth in prosodic intonation).

3.13 Of course, one would assume that the five tones of Mandarin (4 “real” and one neutral) sound and perceived differently in Taiwan than in Mainland. However, studies by specialists in the field of phonetics and dialectology show that this is most likely not the case — with some individual “deviations” (Torgerson 2005).

3.14 The question of origin. And, naturally, in Guoyu there are some accents depending on the “original” language: if a Taiwanese is of Minnan or of Hakka origin. For example, Minnan people would replace *f-* by *h-* / *hu-*, because there is no *f-* in Minnan language and Hakka people *w-* / *u-* (#1) by *v-*, almost similar to Russian *v: f- → h- / hu-*: 發展 *fāzhǎn* → *huazhǎn*:

- 我們國家發展是重要的 *O-men go-ja dei hua-zan su zongyao dei*).

4. SOME GRAMMAR PHENOMENA

4.1. Modal particles

Our experience shows that modal particles are used somewhat differently than in Standard Putonghua.

4.1.1. Widespread particle 耶 *ye* / 欸 *ei*

We agree that this particle “...is likely a recent product of the influence on Guoyu of Taiwanese, the native language of a large segment of the Taiwanese population” (Baumel 2020:12). 耶 *ye* / 欸 *ei* means “nevertheless, on the contrary” (including the “expressive” / “underlining” meaning), and some researchers believe that it indicates some feminization of speech. Perhaps even a specific “stretched intonation” demonstrates a certain mannerism, but I did not meet any signs of gender dissociation. To a “conventional” European, this mannerism seems somewhat surprising, but knowing the culture of communication among Taiwanese, one can assume that the use of 耶 *ye* / 欸 *ei* indicates goodwill towards the interlocutor and unwillingness to offend him in any way.

這程度很差耶! (*but*) *This level is terrible!*

我今天考不好耶! (*but*) *I didn't do well in the exam today!*

這麼壞, 找工作不容易耶! (*but*) *It's so bad, it's not easy to find a job!*

我還去唱歌, 跟伯伯帶來的兩隻小狗玩, 牠們不會咬人耶。

I also sang and played with the two puppies brought by my uncle. (nevertheless) They can't bite people.

我們下星期只上四天的課欸! (*but*) *We only have four days of class next week!*

你插隊欸! (*Hey!*) *You're cutting in line!*

4.1.2. Widespread particles 哦 *o*, 喔 *o*, 啲 *yo*, 唷 *yo*

According to our previous works “the standard set” of modal particles (of Putonghua) includes (among others) “Group of *a*” (Kurdyumov 2005): 啊 *a*、哇 *wa*、呀 *ya*. They also exist in Taiwan Mandarin, but, according to my experience are often (not always) “replaced” “Group of *o*”: 哦 *o*, 喔 *o*, 啲 *yo*, 唷 *yo* — as Hsin-I Tseng stated, borrowed from Minnan language (曾心怡 2003:24).

- 當你遇到一份真正的愛情時, 也許想法會不一樣哦!

- 上億的耶！！ //不行...//這個不要哦？ //不要...//如果不要哦，好啦，再來這個，這張啦.....這個啦！
- 然後你就一起約出去喝咖啡哦？以前哪有什麼咖啡廳呀，沒有啦！如果出去哦，兩個人哦，就走在田邊，還那樣子一人走一邊啦。
- 突然想到一件事，我覺得很有趣喲。

As far as I can feel and suggest, 哦 *o*, 喔 *o* has the “meaning” between 啦 *la* / 囉 *luo*, *lou* and 啊 *a*. In situation, when there is 了 *le* before 哦 *o*, 喔 *o*, the phenomenon is close to: 了 *le* + 哦 *o* / 喔 *o* → 囉 *luo*, *lou*.

- 她問我就要生氣了喔 → 她問我就要生氣囉。

4.1.3. Particle 囉 *luo*, *lo*, *lou*

Particle 囉 *luo*, *lo*, *lou* is like a “brutal” / “mature” version of 啦 *la* (often with a joke connotation).

- 她問我就要生氣囉。
- 民生國小的小朋友更有福囉！
- 他碰廚房東西的機會少之又少，甚至根本不會做，只好靠我自己囉！

It is stated in some sources, that 囉 *luo*, *lo* conveys semi-question or shade of less decisiveness than 啦 *la* or 啊 *a*:

- 我先離開囉 *I'm leaving (if that's alright).*
- 我先離開啦 *I'm leaving, see you.*
- 是喔 (if) that is right
- 是啊 means “That's right.”

4.1.4. Other specific particles

There are also more sets of the specific Guoyu articles (捏 *ne*, 唬 / 吼 / 齣 / 呼 *hou*), they are mostly out of the Corpus, and I hope they will become the further object of my explorations.

4.2. Preposition reduction in verb-object complexes and in "intransitive verbs"

When teaching the Chinese language in Russian universities, there are a number of strict rules regarding the combination of a verb and an object, especially if the micro-syntax of the verb is built as verb-object complex. In Goyu, this rule (not always, but often) is not strict — despite the fact that in Putonghua, almost the only exception is 動員.

- 幫他的忙 ↔ 幫忙他
- 對我的工作很滿意 ↔ 滿意我的工作
- 住在台北 ↔ 住台北
- 對你很合適 ↔ 很適合你
- 開一次會 ↔ 開會一次

4.2.1 Omission of preposition along with conversion “macro-syntax → micro-syntax”

- 往右轉 *wǎng yòu zhuǎn* (3 lexemes) → *yòuzhuǎn* 右轉 (1 lexem)
- 往左轉 *wǎng zuǒ zhuǎn* (3 lexemes) → 左轉 *zuǒzhuǎn* (1 lexem)

4.3 有 *yǒu* as a marker of time /tense (like English *have*)

Probably one of the most well known features of Taiwanese Guoyu (and South regions in Mainland). Like the English ‘have’ 有 *yǒu* may mark the perfection of an action: past tense or perfect. As I can see, there are two type of constructions: a) if in “normal” form the verb includes suffix 過-*guo*, so the

Guoyu form will be: 有 *yǒu* + V + 過 *-guo*, but if it should include suffix 了 *-le*,
so the Guoyu form will be: 有 *yǒu* + V:

- 你有在聽我說話嗎?
- 你有去過韓國嗎?
- 你妹妹有吃飯嗎?
- 她有生氣嗎?

4.4 Modal verb 會 *huì* as marker of verb construction with “adjective”

component (= 要 / 將 / 感覺 in Putonghua): 會 *huì* + “adjective” → verb + verb.

- Putonghua: 你熱不(熱)?
- Minnan: 汝會熱嚟?
- Guoyu: 你會不會熱?

- Putonghua: 我(覺得)冷。
- Minnan: 我會寒。
- Guoyu: 我會冷。

- Putonghua: 他比你胖嗎?
- Minnan: 伊會 / 有比汝卡大箍勿會 / 嚟?
- Guoyu: 他會 / 有比你胖嗎? (楊憶慈 2007 :118-119)

5. LEXICON AND POLITICAL CORRECTNESS IN THE LEXICON

As we have mentioned, there are significant differences in lexicon between Putonghua and Guoyu.

5.1 Incorrectness of status addressing to a person and titles

Lexical units like 領袖 *lǐngxìu fūhrer / dux*, 領導人 *lǐngdǎorén* ‘leader’, 首長 *shǒuzhǎng* ‘chief’ are obscure and unacceptable in Taiwan as a democracy;

instead of them used are 長官(的) *zhǎngguān (de)* ‘chief (as a main clerk)’, 主管(的) *zhǔguǎn (de)* ‘(person) in charge of’, and, according to my experience, 長官(的) *zhǎngguān (de)* ‘chief’ is not used so often.

5.2 Loan lexical units from Minnan

According to Hsieh (Hsieh 2009), such loan units include: those filling the gaps in Mandarin / the existing in parallel, borrowed from Japanese via Minnan etc., initiated in certain historic period.

- 鬱卒 *yùzú* ‘gloomy’, 牽手 *qiān shǒu* ‘wife’,
- 阿公 *agōng* ‘grandpa’ (= 爺爺 *yéye*), 阿嬤 *amà* ‘grandma’ (= 奶奶 *nǎinai*),
- 打拼 *dǎpīn* ‘endeavor’, 鴨霸 *yābà* ‘swank’, 輪轉 *lúnzhuǎn* ‘fluently’, 黑白講 *hēibáijiǎng* ‘to talk rot’, 辦桌 *bànzhuō* ‘to have a big treat’, 臭屁 *chòupì* ‘fetid fart; sniffy’. (Hsieh 2009: 2)

5.3 Synonyms: Guoyu ↔ Putonghua

- 藝術片 *yìshùpiàn* ↔ 故事片 *gùshìpiàn* ‘movie’
- 水準 *shuǐzhǔn* ↔ 水平 *shuǐpíng* ‘level’
- 捷運 *jiéyùn* ↔ 地鐵 *dìtiě* ‘metro’
- 保全 ↔ 保安 *bǎoquán* ↔ 保'ān ‘security’
- 文檔 ↔ 文件 *wéndàng* ↔ 文'jiàn ‘file’
- 櫃檯 *guìtái* ↔ 前台 *qiántái* ‘front desk, counter’

5.4 Geographic and proper names: Guoyu ↔ Putonghua

- 紐西蘭 ↔ 新西蘭 *Niǔ Xīlán* ↔ *Xīn Xīlán* ‘New Zealand’,

- 寮国 ↔ 老撾, *Liáoguó* ↔ *Lǎowō* ‘Laos’
- 杜拜 ↔ 迪拜 *Dùbài* ↔ *Díbài* ‘Dubai’
- 蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯邦 ↔ 蘇維埃社會主義共和國聯盟
Sūwéi'āi Shèhuìzhǔyì gònghéguó liánbāng ↔ *Sūwéi'āi Shèhuìzhǔyì gònghéguó liánméng* ‘USSR’
- 富豪 *Fùháo* ↔ 沃爾沃 *Wò'ěr wò* ‘Volvo’
- 賓士 *Bīnshì* ↔ 奔馳 *Bēnchí* ‘Mercedes’

5.5 Classifiers: Guoyu ↔ Putonghua (not obligatory)

- 一台車 *yì tái chē* ↔ 一輛車 *yí liàng chē*
- 一台電腦 *yì tái diànnǎo* ↔ 一部電腦 *yí bù diànnǎo*

5.6 Forms of politeness: lexicon, stylistics, discourse

5.6.1 Widely used 不會 (的) *bù huì (de)*, 不會啦 *bù huì la* ↔ 不客氣 *bù kèqì*.

And 不會 (的, 啦) *bù huì (de, la)* is often used in much more wider situations than 不客氣 ↔ *bù kèqì* in Putonghua:

- 謝謝你順道開過來。— 噢, 不會啦! *Thank you for stopping by.* — *Oh, anytime!*
- 謝謝你想到我。— 不會! *Thank you for thinking of me.* — *Sure, no problem!*
- 會很麻煩? — 不會啦! *Will it be troublesome?* — *No way!*
- — 不會啦, 尷尬就不會來了啦! *No, if awkward, (I) won't come!*

5.6.2 The third person addressing instead of “polite form” of the second person addressing

In most situations when polite 您 *nín* can be supposed the Taiwanese

people mostly use **the third person**: “請問教授幾點要過來？” “*What time will professor come over here?*”

5.6.3 Guoyu 位 *wèi* Putonghua 個 *gè* / 名 *míng*: 這位老師, 三位學生.

5.6.4 Guoyu 小朋友 *xiǎo-péngyǒu* ↔ Putonghua 孩子 *háizi*, children, meaning “someone's children” and / or “children in general”.

你有小朋友嗎? *Nǐ yǒu xiǎo-péngyǒu ma?* *Do you have children?*

5.6.5 Guoyu 你幾歲? *Nǐ jǐ suì?* (any age) ↔ Putonghua 你多大 (歲數)? ... *duō dà (suìshù)?*

6. TEXT / DISCOURSE: EXTREMAL POLITENESS

If a foreigner enters into business correspondence with a Taiwanese university or any official institution, then he notices that 1) written Guoyu sharply differs from the spoken form — strictly following the templates and being even more polite, 2) due to the abundance of archaisms and forms of politeness, such letters are often difficult to understand, because the main meaning is drowned in an oceans of politeness.

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