

Analysis of Code Mixing in the Context of a Taiwanese TV Variety Show

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Abstract

This study reports on the results of an analysis of CM in the Taiwanese spoken discourses occurred in a popular youth TV variety show "大學生了沒". The data is drawn from twenty video recordings of the program as well as four interviews with current university students in order to define main patterns of CM, analyze main motivations and describe general students' attitude towards the phenomenon. The study result shows that most CM units in the data are acronyms, nouns and simple phrases. It is also discovered that the main motivations of CM are the principle of economy, creativity, influence of mass media and intention to show a social position. It is concluded that CM may benefit communication on the condition that the usage of English is moderate and that people involved in conversation have some command in English.

Keywords: Code mixing, TV variety show, Taiwanese spoken discourses

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1. Introduction

The characteristics and particularities of linguistic phenomena of code-switching (CS) and code-mixing (CM) involving English have been already well documented across a variety of languages by Kachru (1986), Muysken (2000) and Callahan (2004). However, the focus of previous studies has been made mainly in connection to bilingual communities where speakers use their native tongue, as the first language, and English, as the second language. Relatively less attention has been given to communities where English is used as a foreign language, and in particular, even lesser attention is given to the linguistic behavior of CS and CM in Taiwan. Therefore, the purpose of the present study is to investigate the CS and CM related phenomena through exploring data of Taiwanese spoken discourses in the context of a popular TV variety show: 大學生了沒. The reason why I chose this particular TV show is that as a foreigner studying in Taiwan I have always been curious about the reasons of such a high rate of CM and CS linguistic behaviors that I have observed among Taiwanese students.

2. Literature review

This literature review section focuses on describing basic terminology and important concepts of code alteration that frame my research paper. In the first part of this section, I discuss definitions of CS and CM, as well as summarize major motivations and theoretical models of the phenomena. In the second part, of background expertise, I briefly review previous studies of Chinese-English code alteration in terms of media discourse.

2.1 CM as code alteration

The most controversial debate in the study of code alteration is the distinction between code switching and code mixing. Thomason (2001) views CS

and CM as the phenomena that occur in a discourse where code alteration takes place on the inter-sentential and intra-sentential levels respectively. Other researchers also maintain that it is necessary to distinguish these two terms (e.g. Holmes, 1992; Wardhaugh, 2002). At the same time, it is claimed that both inter-sentential and intra-sentential code alternation could be referred to as CS (See Clyne, 1991; Appel & Muysken, 1987; Romaine, 1995). It is even argued that CM is an undesirable term because it “implies unprincipled chaos” (Myers-Scotton, 1988, p. 158). On the other hand, Kachru (1983) as well as Bhatia and Ritchie (2004) prefer to use CM as the umbrella term for both inter-sentential and intra-sentential levels as it refers to the transfer of linguistic units from one language into another and the units may not be only for morphemes, words, phrases and clauses but also for the whole sentences. For the present study, I adopt Kachru's definition and use CM as a general term for all cases of code alteration.

2.2 Motivations of CM

There is a great variety of motivations that lead to the code alteration but I would like to focus my review on the four major reasons for mixing English, which was provided by Li (2000) in his research on CM in Chinese language: euphemism, specificity, bilingual punning and principle of economy. I next turn to euphemism for discussion.

Euphemism: The English equivalent of Chinese word is used to allow the speaker or writer to refer to the same concept without potential embarrassment. An example given by Li is that of how an English word "bra" is used to avoid embarrassment of referring to female body parts in Chinese.

Specificity: An English word or expression is preferred because of the more general or specific meaning comparing to its Chinese equivalent. Li illustrates this

function with a frequent usage of the English word "fans" that allows Chinese speakers to avoid any particular specification.

Bilingual punning: An English word that shares the similar pronunciation with its Chinese equivalent is employed to create a possible double meaning. Li explains this function with an example of the word-group "號外" (phonetically similar to English "How? Why?") that was used as a title for a popular advertising paper.

Principle of economy: An English expression is utilized because it is more economical compared to its Chinese counterpart in terms of linguistic efforts. According to Li, many high-frequency English words (for example, "check in" that carries a meaning of one's arrival at a hotel or an airport) are used by many people from Hong Kong without hesitation when the purpose of communication is to convey the message efficiently.

These motivations will be used in the current research for the classification of the CM cases.

2.3 Approaches to studying CM

There are three main perspectives in the study of CM: sociolinguistic, grammatical and discourse-related.

An early and influential work written from the sociolinguistic perspective is the work of Blom and Gumperz (1972). The two researchers discuss the social factors of CM in a small community in Norway and categorize CM into situational mixing and metaphorical mixing. Situational mixing occurs when there is a change in the social setting while metaphorical mixing is triggered by a change in the topic.

Different types of CM can also be classified via a grammatical approach. Thus, according to Poplack (1980), there are three types of CM: inter-sentential,

tag-switching (the insertion of an exclamation or a tag phrase) and intra-sentential. Poplack suggests that this typology of code alteration may indicate the bilingual competence of the speaker. Some scholars also conduct studies on the description and analysis of a CM language. For instance, Gibbons (1987), Chan (1993) and Li (1996) observe that in a Cantonese-English context in Hong Kong, the most frequently code-mixed syntactic category is English nouns (ex. face, bonus), followed by verbs (ex. enjoy, call) and adjectives (ex. firm, good).

More recently, attention is also drawn to CM from the discourse-related perspective. For example, it has been argued that CM may be less frequent in written discourse than in spoken discourse because the writer has more time to produce a message in a more organized way, while the speaker in spontaneous conversations is under real-time pressure to express ideas quickly (Chan, 2009, p. 108). A discourse-related approach is also used in the current research as the CM phenomenon is analyzed within the context of its production.

2.4 Background of the context

Although the mixing of different codes is widely used in Taiwan and most studies focus on a code alteration between Chinese and Taiwanese Hokkien (e.g. Kubler 1988; Lin 1987; Cheng 1989) at a micro level. However, for recent decades research on English CM has been undertaken with a diverted attention to CM at discursive level, particularly in the media.

Chen (2006) examines mixing of English in magazine advertisements in Taiwan. It is revealed that most of the CM patterns used in print media belong to basic vocabulary which can be understood even by individuals with very limited English proficiency. Chen also discovers that noun phrases take up nearly half of all the CM forms. This finding is consistent with the results from other CM studies

conducted in Taiwan (Chang, 2001; Hsu, 2000) which also indicate a high percentage of noun phrase usage.

The attitude of the general public towards the mixing of English in magazine advertisements is also analyzed in Chen's study. The majority of participants demonstrate positive attitudes towards the linguistic behavior of CM. However, there are respondents, who disagree with such a practice. They explain that some people may not be able to understand the English words used in the advertisements. They argue, in these cases, comprehension of the message would be impeded. Some respondents also state that in advertisements, only one language should be used in order to “preserve the purity of [a national] language.”

Nall (2004), investigates motivations for CM English words into spoken Taiwanese and Mandarin Chinese. Partially following Li (2000), Nall identifies several explanations for CM in Taiwan among young people, such as the principle of economy, lexical availability and specificity, euphemisms both benign and manipulative, and the prestige which a speaker tries to achieve by using English words and creating an appearance of being well-educated.

Liao (1993) in analysis of university undergraduates' attitudes on CM finds that the mixture of Mandarin Chinese and English in speaking discourse is evaluated by the research participants as a sign of speakers' high education, authority and wisdom. However, some of the respondents also suggest that if speakers tend to CM, they are probably just showing off.

Based on the above, the current research aims to further study code alteration in the Taiwanese context and particularly to provide a more focused account of the use of CM in the speaking discourse of TV variety shows.

3. Methodology

In this section, I present methodological considerations regarding this study.

The data of spoken corpus for analysis is drawn from twenty video recordings (approximately fifteen hours of naturally occurred conversations) of the daily Taiwanese TV program "大學生了沒" which is broadcasted every evening on the Cti TV channel and is oriented mainly on current college/university students of Taiwan. All the examples of CM within this variety show are carefully written down and discussed.

In addition, analysis for CM motivations is presented through the interviews with four current university students, as they closely represent the audience population of the variety show used in the preceding spoken corpus analysis. Before the interview sessions, the purpose of the research is explained to all interviewees and their permission to use the data is received.

4. Findings and discussion

The following section presents results of the data analysis and discusses major insights into CM within a scope of spoken Taiwanese discourses.

4.1 Structural Composition of CM Data

The description of the CM patterns in the collected spoken corpus of the media is based on the categorization of the three main groups: words, phrases and sentences. Table 1 shows the distribution of the CM data of the defined categories.

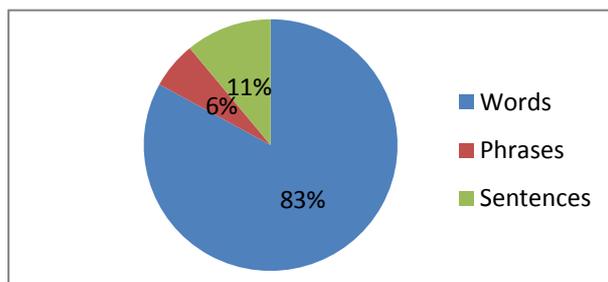


Table 1. Main CM patterns of the collected data

The analysis of the data reveals that English units in the spoken Taiwanese discourses are mostly used at the level of words, followed by sentences and phrases respectively. The classification of English word classes is presented in Table 2 below.

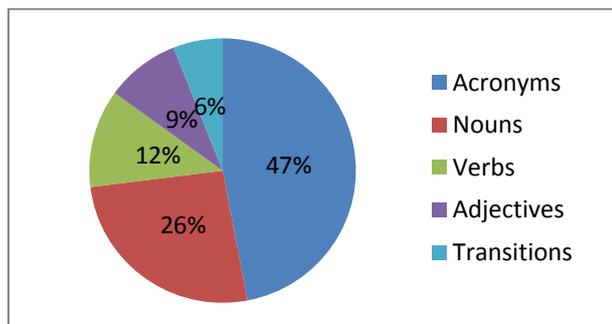


Table 2. Classification of CM word classes

Single-lexical items represent 85% of CM data, with acronyms and nouns leading the category and forming 73% of its tokens. Li (1996) finds that the most frequently CM word class in Chinese-English context is English nouns, followed by verbs and adjectives and the findings of this study as shown in Table 2 confirms his observations.

The analysis of sentences, which is the second largest category in collected media corpus, shows zero use of compound, complex and compound-complex units, making simple sentences as only CM examples.

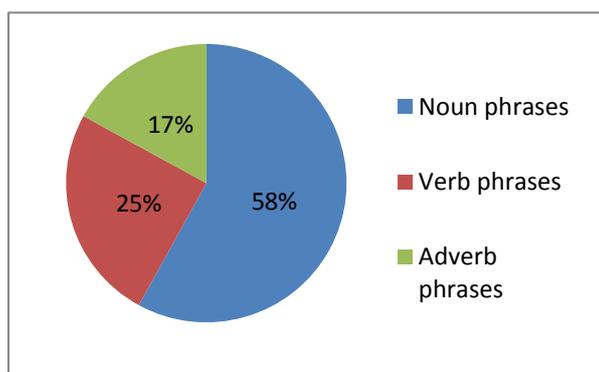


Table 3. Classification of CM phrases

Table 3 describes the distribution of phrases in the spoken discourses, and reveals that only noun, verb and adverb units are CM. This finding is also consistent

with the observations of Chen (2006), Hsu (2000) and Chang (2001) who state that noun phrases are the highest CM units in Taiwanese media corpus.

4.2 CM motivations in Taiwanese spoken discourses.

In the following section, the linguistic motivations of CM found within spoken Taiwanese discourses are discussed. Partly based upon the classification proposed by Li (1996, 2000) all the tokens of CM collected in the study are divided into seven categories: principle of economy, availability, specificity, expressiveness, creativity, euphemisms, collocations and idiomatic expressions.

4.2.1 Principle of Economy

The principle of economy is defined as the cognitive principle of using the least effort in the production of a language (Li, 1996). One of the typical characteristics of the Chinese language is that it is generally monosyllabic (DeFrancis, 1984). Therefore, it is not very surprising to observe that many frequently used English monosyllabic words are mixed into Taiwanese spoken discourses.

Example 1: 你是自己在那邊High什麼

Example 2: 我們Pass 跳過他...

Example 3: 讓那麼的Man男生糗

A monosyllabic English adjective "high" presented in Example 1 is frequently inserted into the Taiwanese speaking discourses to replace its two-syllable Mandarin Chinese equivalent "開心". Originally, used in a description of how a person feels, meaning a physical or spiritual experience of drug intoxication, the word "high" becomes the equivalent of an English adjective "happy" in Taiwanese CM discourses. The principle of economy is also presented with a word "to pass" from Example 2, for

which CM reduces the phonetic efforts from two syllables ("跳過") to only one. The word "Man" in Example 3 is widely employed with the meaning of an English adjective "manly" demonstrating the change of grammatical category in Taiwanese CM English. It is used instead of its Mandarin Chinese counterpart "成熟 / 男子氣概" in Mandarin Chinese and is obviously easier to pronounce in terms of the phonetic efforts.

4.2.2 Availability

Availability is another motivation for CM, described by Li (2000) as the "absence of translation equivalents" in a native language. Accordingly, the cases found in the examined media corpus are discussed below.

Example 4: 就是電腦裡面的Bug

Example 5: 將B-box和Popping

An English word "bug" in Example 4, belongs to a computer jargon. Like many other English technical terms, it does not have a precise Chinese translation. The closest possible equivalent in Mandarin Chinese is "電腦錯誤", which conveys a broad meaning of any computer's malfunction and cannot semantically substitute an English term "bug". Similarly, to the Example 4, it is very difficult to translate the words "B-box" and "Popping" into Mandarin Chinese without the loss of their original meanings. "B-box" has a Mandarin Chinese counterpart "口技" . However, the English term is still preferred due to its direct reference to a particular type of vocal performance. As for the name of a dancing technique "Popping", which is the focus of the Example 13, it does not have any equivalent translation in Mandarin Chinese.

4.2.3 Specificity

Li (2000) claims that one of the major forces which motivates CM behavior is also a lack of semantic congruence between English words and their Cantonese counterparts. This piece of research also reveals several occasions, when an English unit is used because of its more general meaning.

Example 6: PG或者是SG

Example 7: 你要去參加一些特殊的party

The acronyms PG and SG stand for the English noun phrases "promo girl" and "show girl". Only "PG" is discussed in the Example 6 as it carries more general meaning comparing to its Mandarin Chinese counterpart. Using a native language to refer to a promo girl, the speaker usually has to specify what kind of product the girl is promoting. Thus, the range of Mandarin Chinese equivalents becomes rather wide, for example: "酒促小姐 / 車展小姐 / 促銷小姐". At the same time, a word "PG" expresses more general meaning and therefore is often used in the occasions where specification is not important. On the same token, the word "party", presented in Example 7, widely occurs in Taiwanese spoken discourse as it carries more general meaning comparing to its Mandarin Chinese equivalents, such as "聚會" and "餐會".

4.2.4 Expressiveness

Expressiveness reflects an "expedient language mixing" which occurs in informal conversations when the Chinese translation is too formal in style (Luke, 1998). Since students tend to behave more informally when communicating with each other at the show as well as its hosts, a certain amount of CM occurring due to the need for expedience can be identified in the data.

Example 8: 老師 I love you

Example 9: I'm sorry 不好意思了

An English phrase "I love you", shown in Example 8, presents the situation when the speaker does CM in order to "achieve pragmatic and strategic purposes without revealing one's full intentions" (Wei 2003). An English phrase still conveys the same meaning as its Mandarin Chinese equivalent "我愛你" but without such a strong semantic force. In Example 9 the speaker prefers an English phrase "I'm sorry" because it also expresses weaker emotion comparing to its Mandarin Chinese equivalent "對不起" and thus, seems more suitable for informal situations.

4.2.5 Creativity

Crystal (2006) states that people sometimes are very creative as they shape their own languages according to the context of computer-mediated communication. The following examples from the collected data prove that a special kind of creative CM language is produced not only in online communications but also in spoken discourses.

Example 10: 女大生半臉妝PK賽

Example 11: 限量版的美食 你手腳慢的話 你有錢都NO速

The hybridized term "PK賽" can be frequently heard in Taiwanese spoken discourses. It is formed by merging an acronym "PK" with the tail of a Mandarin Chinese word "比賽" ("competition" in English). "PK" originally stands for a phrase "player kill" commonly used in various computer games. It is actively CM by itself with a demonstration of a semantic shift. In Taiwanese spoken discourses it carries the meaning of an English noun "competition" as well as an English verb "to compete". The creative term "PK賽" carries the same meaning. The phrase "NO速" in the Example 11 also represents a unique and creative way Taiwanese people CM in their

spoken discourses. It is formed by combining an English word "no" with a head of a Mandarin Chinese word "速度" ("speed" in English) to constitute the written form of a Taiwanese Hokkien word with the same pronunciation "no1su4". Its usage depends on a context and in this particular case carries the meaning of "沒有用".

4.2.6 Euphemism

CM may also serve a euphemistic purpose, deflecting potential criticism of a “bad language” that violates social norms (Li 2000). Sometimes euphemism may come from foreign languages due to the fact that ‘we have conditioned reactions to taboo words in our native language, but we do not have strong emotional reactions to taboo words in a foreign language’ (Jay, 2003). Two examples of euphemism are observed in the Taiwanese spoken discourses.

Example 12: Gay吧或是什麼東西

Example 13: I'm Sexy Bitch

Sex and sex-related topics are mainly treated as taboo subjects in Taiwanese culture. Therefore, when people talk about these taboo topics, they often do CM, as shown in Example 12. An English word "gay" has a Mandarin Chinese equivalent "同性戀" but the speaker still prefers the English word as it sounds less embarrassing as well as less formal. On the same token, swearing words are also frequently used in English because, compared to their Mandarin Chinese counterparts, they sound much milder and even express a joking note, like in the Example 13.

4.2.7 Collocations and idiomatic expressions

Collocations and idiomatic expressions are CM in Taiwanese spoken discourses mainly in order to convey particular emotion which could not be expressed in Mandarin Chinese. Here are several examples found in the media corpus.

Example 14: Let's go

Example 15: Give me five

An English collocation "Let's go" has a Mandarin Chinese counterpart "走啊/走吧". However, as the phrase in Mandarin Chinese carries more neutral emotion, an English equivalent is preferred. A Mandarin Chinese equivalent of the English expression "give me five" ("來擊掌"), presented in Example 15, expresses only its literal meaning. It is difficult to translate the spirit behind the sentence "Give me five" into Chinese, because an idiom originally belongs to a foreign culture, and it is the main reason of its frequent usage in an original English form in Taiwanese spoken discourses.

4.4 Discussion of the interviews

By interviewing the university students, I aimed to get more insights into their attitudes towards CM and motivations that are considered important by the participants themselves. In the following, seven questions asked during the interviews are presented followed with the discussion of the findings.

4.4.1 Attitude towards CM

1) Do you CM and in what kind of situations?

All of the participants admitted that they CM in daily life. Upon that, two of them mentioned that they did it only with the interlocutors who could understand English, otherwise they were afraid that CM might be considered as an act of

showing-off. One of the interviewees on the contrary confessed that he CM even if he knew that his friends or family members had little knowledge of English. However, he clarified that he often did this unconsciously due to the habit of using English with fellow English major students.

2) Do you think that CM makes communication easier?

Most of the interviewees believed that CM benefitted communication only when people involved in it had some command in English. One of the interviewees also mentioned that when her knowledge of English was poor she did not like it when people CM in conversations. She thought that it put her in a stressful situation and made her feel embarrassed about her lower level of education. At the same time, as soon as her English improved, her attitude towards CM also changed dramatically the day when she started CM herself. Among other comments, one of the students shared the opinion that CM usually made communication harder that even if people understood all of the English words that you were using, they would think that you were showing-off. Another interviewee on the contrary considered CM always beneficiary because it made communication less formal and more fun.

3) If your peer start using an English word in conversation, will you follow?

All of the students unanimously agreed that CM of the peer triggered their own CM. Two of the respondents also explained that they followed the speaker on purpose so that to show their consonance.

4) Do you think that Taiwanese people on TV use English words a lot?

Most of the interviewees shared the same opinion that starting from the latest generation people in Taiwan used a lot of English words on TV. At the same time, one of the students answered that she did not have this kind of feeling, elaborating

that probably it was because Taiwanese society became more "international" and thus, English words did not grate on ears anymore.

5) Do you have a negative, positive or neutral feeling when you hear people CM?

All of the participants said that they had a neutral feeling about the CM. Nonetheless, all of them also agreed that if they heard a person using too many English words they would have a negative feeling about that and considered CM as showing-off. One of the students even confessed that she had this feeling in college too, in cases that professors outside English department started mixing too much English in their Chinese. However, the students also mentioned that if they CM themselves they did it with a positive feeling, because through CM they could make communication more colorful and also showed a sense of belonging to the same group.

6) Do you think that frequent usage of English words in media can influence your native language or culture?

All of the interviewees believed that CM in media could not noticeably influence their culture and native language. Most of them elaborated that even if Taiwanese people often used English in their discourses they would still remember how to say all these words in Chinese. One of the students even assumed that usage of more English words in Taiwanese daily life could enrich the native language, as new terms would be translated in Mandarin Chinese. Nevertheless another participant also shared her concern, that although CM in media could not harm native language and culture of the adults, it might influence children. She proposed that parents should

control the programs available to children so as to avoid any negative effects on their education.

7) Do you think that young people in Taiwan CM because they want to copy Western culture?

Most of the respondents answered that Taiwanese young people really copied American culture a lot due to the fact that it was considered more open and fashionable. One of the students mentioned that it might also be because nowadays more people in Taiwan could afford traveling and studying abroad, so there were more chances to explore and absorb foreign cultures. Another interviewee shared a distinctive opinion that there was no such thing as Taiwanese culture on the first place. She elaborated that Taiwan was not officially recognized as a country and because of this some Taiwanese people did not have a very strong cultural identity. They tended to borrow a lot of things from different cultures, such as Japanese, Korean, American, then "call the mix a Taiwanese culture".

4.4.2 CM Motivations

4.4.2.1 Linguistic motivations

Among the linguistic motivations covered in Section 4.3, interviewees agreed that the most common cases of their CM belong to principle of economy and expressiveness.

One of the examples that the interviewees classified under the principle of economy is the usage of the English word "dear" instead of its Mandarin Chinese counterpart "親愛的". The students assumed that "dear" was often CM because it was easier to pronounce. One more example provided by another interviewee is the English acronym "UV" that was frequently preferred over a more complicated

Mandarin Chinese equivalent "紫外線". On the same token, the following English words are commonly CM in Taiwanese spoken discourse as they require less phonetic affords: "free" instead of "有空" and "call" instead of "打電話".

In terms of expressiveness, one of the examples involved an English word "care" ("在乎" in Mandarin Chinese) was provided. The interviewee explained that if she said "你爲什麼那麼在乎這件事情?" it was more direct comparing to a CM variant "你爲什麼那麼 care 這件事情?". Another example shared by a participant is the usage of the English verb "check". The student commented that a phrase "幫我 check 一下" comparing to its Mandarin Chinese equivalent "幫我決定[看]一下" may convey the meaning that the matter is not really so much important to the speaker. She explained that, for example, if a person wanted to check information about airplane flight information or anything equally important, he/she would definitely use only Mandarin Chinese.

4.4.2.2 Social motivations

The main social motivations of CM mentioned in the interviews were the influence of the mass media and indication of social position.

Concerning the influence of the mass media, one of the participants said that he started to use a word "FU", which is derived from the English noun "feeling", because he frequently heard it in a Taiwanese TV drama. Another example is from the student who shared that she used to say "這不是 fashion" a lot, copying the famous TV host who first started to use this phrase.

Regarding the social position, most of the interviewees confessed that they frequently CM with other students, mostly because they wanted to highlight a sense of belonging to the same social groups. At the same time, they agreed that if they

heard people using too many English words in their speech they would be thought of showing-off their education background and higher social status.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to observe the phenomenon of code alteration within the scope of Taiwanese spoken discourses of a popular TV variety show "大學生了沒". The main types of CM patterns have been found in the media data based on the framework adapted from Li (2000) and the main CM motivations as well as attitude towards CM were discussed by reference to the interviews.

Findings suggested that most of the CM patterns occurred in analyzed Taiwanese spoken discourses belonged to acronyms and nouns, followed by simple noun phrases. The results were consistent with other research of Taiwanese CM conducted by Chen (2006), Hsu (2000) and Chang (2001), with the exception that acronyms were not described specifically in their works. The collected tokens used in this study were also described based on the linguistic motivations of CM, such as principle of economy, availability, specificity, expressiveness, creativity, euphemisms, collocations and idiomatic expressions.

The interviews revealed that the main linguistic motivations of CM employed by the students in their spoken discourses were principle of economy and expressiveness. The interviewees also mentioned the influence of the mass media and indication of social position as the main social motivations that often triggered their CM. All the respondents admitted doing CM actively in their daily life and to follow the peer if he/she started CM in a conversation. In general, the interviewees shared the neutral attitude towards the phenomenon, suggesting that CM could benefit communication in cases where people involved in them had some command in English, as well as warning that overuse of English words could be considered as showing-off.

As current research is a preliminary attempt to investigate CM in Taiwanese spoken discourses, more studies involving larger research data should be conducted to present a more accurate picture of this phenomenon. In the future research the occurrence of CM in Taiwanese spoken discourses can also be observed in a larger scale of TV programs to represent broader audience.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: CM patterns

Acronym/Word/Phrase	# of occurrences
PK	28
CC	20
VCR	12
BB	5
PO	2
OS	2
DNA	1
CD	1
SPF	1
PG	1
SG	1
Model	4
Feel	3
Bug	2
cup	2
Bitch	2
Size	2
B-box	2
B-boy	2
E-mail	1
Dealer	1
Gay	1
Dog	1
Locking	1
Popping	1
team	1
sister	1
Cosplay	1
party	1
boyfriend	1
style	1
Baby	1
Ending	1
Mark	1
Tone	1
Man	8
High	3
Over	2
Good	1

Acronym/Word/Phrase	# of occurrences
Go	5
Pose	3
Call	2
Cue	2
delay	2
High	1
Hold	1
Pass	1
OK	63
Sorry	2
Why	1
No	1
Yes	1
Anyway	6
So	1
Black Jack	1
One more	1
Show hand	1
Number one	1
Happy ending	1
Show girl	1
Let's go	2
Here we go	2
Come on	1
That's ok	1
That's fine	1
Oh my god	5
I'm sexy bitch	2
I'm sorry	1
I love you	1
Give me five	1
Show Lo got it	1
How are you doing?	1

Appendix 2: CM charts used in interviews

Reasons you CM	1	2	3	4	5
More fancy, impressive, fashionable	1	2	1	1	
Easier to pronounce				4	1
Because it sounds odd/strange in Chinese	1		2	1	1
No equivalent Chinese word	1	1	1	2	
It's embarrassing to use Chinese	1	1	1	1	1
Influence of western culture			3		2

Influence of advertising		2		2	1
Influence of Media			2	2	1
Influence of peer speaker				2	3

Reasonswhy people CM on TV	1	2	3	4	5
Mood of the speaker	1		2	2	
Habit of the speaker				1	4
To identify with the group/ to show belonging to the same group				2	3
To address different audience		2	2		1
To attract attention		2	2	1	
To show education	1		1	3	
To exclude another person from the dialogue	2	2		1	
To show off		1		4	
To show social position	2			3	
To make language more colorful and stylish		1	1	2	1
To make the language more strong			2	1	2
To make the language easier to understand	1		1	2	1

Appendix 3: Interviews' transcription

Interviewee 1

- So, first I'm going to ask you several questions, and then I will give you two tables to fill in. I can't do this right now, because I think it may influence your answers.

- Ok.

- I think I've already told you that my research paper is about CM. It is the cases when Taiwanese people insert English words in the Chinese sentence. So, the first question is: Do you often do this when you are speaking Chinese? I mean, insert English words.

- Yes, I do it. But I do it only if I know that this person can speak English.

- But what about very simple words like "FU" or maybe "care" or "power"? I noticed that some people who can't speak English still can understand what these words mean. For example, if they hear them on TV or when other people are speaking they can still understand the meaning. So will you use these kind of simple words?

- Mmm. No.

- Still not.

- If before I know that they can't speak English, even if they understand I will still just speak with them in Chinese because somehow.. I am afraid people will think that "Oh, you are showing off" that you know some English. So I will not insert the words.

- And for example if we take the situations when you usually use English words, what is the purpose of inserting these English words, and can you think about what are these situations in general?

- Like.. em.. for example in Facebook, we will say "那我 TAG 你 " or like.. I can't come up with other example right now.. or.. for example, we will be kidding like "如果你在繼續這樣我就 UNFRIEND 你 "

- And why don't you use the Chinese words?

- Because for me, in Facebook I use an English version, and it's easier for me to say in English, the words.. like some specific words, like "unfriend" or "tag" someone. But if I talk with the people who only know Chinese I will try to rephrase my sentence. Because I know they'll probably not like it.

- But what about not Facebook but situations when you are talking with your friends in real life?

- Talking with the friends.. mm.. I will only insert English words if I want to have fun.. mmm.. if I want to joking around. But mainly I don't insert words so much.

- And for example, in situations when you are talking with a person and this person first uses the English word, like "presentation". When you answer this person will you also use "presentation" or you will use "報告"?

- I will use "presentation"

- So, you will follow the person?

- Yes.

- It's not just for "presentation", I mean for any other words also. Like "FU" will you also use "FU" or other English words in general after the speaker.

- In general I will follow the people who say it.

- And also probably because I am the foreigner and I have a little bit different perspective on the things, when I am watching TV, I have the feeling that on TV in Taiwan people CM a lot. They just insert a lot of English words. For me, I can really see that. Probably because in Russia we never do this. Maybe on TV you can just hear the word "OK" or maybe "e-mail" But they are more like international words already. But for other words people always use Russian equivalents. In Taiwan it is different. And because you are Taiwanese maybe you get used to this kind of thing or maybe it's already the part of your culture so I would like to know your opinion. Do you have a feeling that on TV CM happens a lot?

- Actually, I don't really have this kind of feeling. But I think if they just use the words directly probably they just want to try to educate the people? Make them more international so that they know some terms in English as well. The most known phrases or words in English maybe.

- And if you watch TV or some TV show and hear the person using English word, inserting English word in Chinese sentence, do you have a negative, positive or neutral feeling?

- Mostly just neutral, but if they put just too much.. amm.. inserting too much English words I will feel like "Are you showing off or something?" Because sometimes when I insert the words in English, sometimes it's really because my friends can reach the language. So for some terms maybe I didn't say it a lot in Chinese, like "presentation", I don't say it a lot in Chinese. So maybe we will say: "Oh, 下個禮拜我們有 PRESENTATION". Because I use this word more in college.

- Do you think that if people use so many words in English on TV, this kind of situation somehow may influence the native language? I mean, for example, if people always listen that people there say "你爲什麼那麼 CARE 這件事情" so they will also start to use English words instead of Chinese? And in this way they some kind of forget that there is a Chinese word for this term. So the Chinese language will be hurt in a way. Do you think it can lead to this kind of situation?

- I think I will see this in a more positive way, because if we use more English words, maybe we will come up with a new terms, like for locations for example. And in this way we will enrich Chinese.

- And do you think that young people insert so many English words because they want to copy foreign culture, American culture?

- Yeah, I think maybe it's because most of Taiwanese people are really influenced by American culture. So they want to be cool. Act more cool like them so they tend to use these kind of phrases or to show like I know some culture about America, that's why I'm using this kind of terms.

- Right now I want to ask about the cases when you use English words yourself. Do you think that if you do this your communication with the person will be easier?

- Actually, I think the communication will be harder. But under the condition that when the people who speak Chinese only, I think. But even when I'm talking with a people who knows English, I think sometimes they can't really get what you want to express.

Comments on the chart 1.

- Can you give more examples when it's easier to pronounce?

- For example, the word "tag", when I'm speaking in English I will say "tag", but when I am saying it in Chinese I will just say "Ta-gu" (ㄊㄚˊㄍㄨˋ). It comes from an English word, but I make it to pronounce like Chinese. And for me it just come up more naturally, maybe I'm seeing this word really often. And like the word "FU", it's also like that.

- And for example in a situation, when you say "你爲什麼那麼 CARE 這件事情?", why do you think you use "care" and not 在乎?

- Actually, I don't use this word. But for another examples, I think 寶貝, 貝比 We even create the word that sounds similar to "baby". I think this situation is because it's more fancy. And 親愛的.. we will just say "dear" I think, because it is easier to pronounce.

- And can we say that it's the influence of Western culture?

- For the influence I put 3 of 5.

- And can you give the examples when there is no equivalent of Chinese word?

- For example, "fuck up" or "I'm totally fucked". These are the words I can't come up directly in Chinese. Or also "God wasted"

- And when you were filling in the table you also asked if you can include TV dramas. So, are there any words that you picked up from TV dramas?

- I think the "FU" came from the TV drama, because there was like "有一種很奇怪的 FU" I think because of the drama it influenced people, because we will think oh, it's cool, because recently people are using this. So, they will just pick up this word.

- And how did you know what it meant the first time you heard it?

- From the context. Because they are playing the drama.. and also because the Chinese subtitle.

- In Chinese subtitles this word is used in Chinese?

- Yeah, they just translate it to Chinese word. But afterwards they will just write "F" "U". But I know on TV they still sometimes write a Chinese word. But in Internet everybody just writing "F" "U".

Comments on the chart 2.

- In what cases it indicates the social position? What kind of person is speaking?

- Maybe some.. like, house wife from the rich family. Maybe they will be like "oh, you know I just went to buy LV" and show off how rich they are.

- And in what situations you think English words make the language more colorful and stylish? Or what kind of English words?

- I think it's more about the "F"-words. People hear them often, they know what it means and they want to show that they are stylish, so they use them also.

- And in what cases English words may make language more stronger than Chinese?

- I think it's the words that when we do direct translation will not sound good. So, we just remain it to be English. Especially, when we are talking about something from other countries, not talking about our own culture. Sharing with Taiwanese people about foreign culture, we remain some words from English to make it more strong.

- For example?

- Mm. I will think for a while.. Oh, I can't come up with the example right now.

- That's ok.

- Actually, I really think that I don't really insert the words so much, so can't really come up with a lot of examples. But right now I also remember some feeling. We have the teacher. And when I listen to him I always think "why are you using so many complicated terms, are you trying to show off?" Bt like, PPT, we will not use Chinese word. It would sound really strange.

- Ok. Thank you. I think that's all for today.

Interviewee 2

- So, you know already about my research and I will go directly to the questions. Do you code-mix yourself and in what kind of situations?

- Yeah, I do code-mix and I do it a lot, because.. well, usually, when I am talking with my friends, I use English words a lot and sometimes even when I talk to my family. But, at the same time I make sure first if they understand English or not.

- But do you do this when speaking with the friends who are not English majored or just can't speak English very well?

- Actually, yes. With them I just use very simple vocabulary words, and I make sure they understand what I am talking about.

- And in what kind of situations do you CM? Are there any special occasions when you use English words instead of Chinese?

- Actually, there are no any special occasions, just if I wanna say some words that are more simple, than Chinese. I can say "我不 CARE". "care" this word is more aesy to pronounce. Because in Chinese we will say "我不在乎", right? We have two syllables, but "care" it's one syllable, it is easier to pronounce.

- And if your friends, or just the person you are talking to uses English word, will you also start using this word in your conversation?

- I will be influenced, if she or he start to use an English word. But usually if we just use Chinese to communicate I will just use Chinese as well.

- And about TV shows. Do you have the feeling that people on TV in Taiwan use English words a lot?

- Yeah, we use English words a lot in the TV shows.

- Was it always like this? Or you think it is more common only for the late generation?

- For the late generation, because, you know, previous generation don't code-switch with English a lot.

- And when, for example, you are watching TV and you hear that the host of the show or some invited guests start using English words, do you have the negative feeling about that?

- I feel OK with that. Neutral. But.. if the speaker use them too much in the conversation I will have negative feelings, like this person is just showing-off his English competence.

- I know that some Taiwanese can't speak English but they know some simple words, like "care" or "power", so if you use these simple words in your conversation they will understand, but do you think that they may feel that their position or education is lower?

- I think that is OK, we actually don't care so much about this kind of things. But if I speak to the elder generation, like my aunt, for example, even if she understand some easy words she can say "oh, I am not so educated like you", so I will always just use Chinese with her.

- Do you think that in general when people use English words it benefits the communication or on the contrary it makes communication more difficult?

- It depends. If both speakers can understand English and they don't feel negative about CM, it's OK and it benefits the communication. Because they both can understand. Because, like for me, language is the tool for communication. But if the speaker cannot understand English or if his background of English is not so good, maybe he feels very negative about English. And if I code-switch he will feel bad about it, because he doesn't like English. And about the benefits. Some of us nowadays use English a lot, so it already become a habit. And we know what some English words stand for. And if we use just Chinese for them it is some kind of hard. I don't know why.. like.. if we use English word "care" it becomes more general, more close. But if you use 不在乎, it's hard, the feeling is really heavy.

- And do you think that usage of English words on TV can influence the native language or native culture?

- I don't think so. And I don't think that CM to English is bad for us. As I said I think language is for communication., so if everyone is OK, everyone can understand language or these two languages I think then it's OK.

- And do you think this kind of situation can hurt Chinese language?

- No, because English still cannot replace Chinese. So even if we use "care", this word, a lot, but it doesn't mean that we can forget how to say "care" in Chinese. It's just a choice of people or just the habit of how people speak. Yeah, that's all.

Comments on the chart 1.

- Can you give the examples of the words that are easier to pronounce comparing to Chinese?

- Right now, apart from "care" I can only think of the word "fu"

- And why do you gave culture so little score? Do you think that American culture doesn't really have any influence?

- But what kind of influence do you mean exactly?

- For example, I heard the opinion that Taiwanese people , especially young people, students, use English words so much because they want to copy American style, the way Americans communicate. Chinese reflects local culture, which is more modest, more closed, so they use English to copy more opened American style. So, do you think it is really like this?

- Sometimes we use English words, like code-mix, because it's just sounds funnier. I think it's not really because of the influence of the foreign culture. We know about the word and we wanna use it in a funny, easier way, because we don't want the atmosphere to become so heavy. So, we use CS.

- And you also checked the influence of the advertising. Can you give the example of the words that Taiwanese people picked up from advertising?

- Yeah, like FU.

- So, first it was used in advertising?

- Yeah, because originally.. I think it started from the drink commercial, called Koo. They said if you drink it you will have a very nice FU, or something like that.

- How people understood that FU meant the feeling?

- Because we can relate, we can guess.

- So, they didn't give any english word for this, they just used FU

- Yeah, yeah, yeah. We can just guess that FU means 感覺

- So, you really think that most part of English words people picked up like this from advertising.

- Yeah, and also media. I also know one variety show and there was one girl.. she was quite popular before. She say.. well, she code-switch a lot, because she wanted to show that she had been studying abroad. So she CS in her conversation but it's for performance. So, she used, like "這不是 FASHION" a lot, so after her we also started to say "it's not fashion" a lot. Because we think it's funny and also it's quite catchy, you know.

Comments on the chart 2.

- Here, you scored to exclude a person from the dialogue. Do you think it happens a lot on TV?

- Maybe my case is not really from TV. It's like when two guys are walking together and there's a girl behind us, or in front of us, we will talk about something related to her, or related to sex, and we will use English.

- And can you come up with some other examples, when English word makes the sentence stronger?

- For example, if we say "I'm very excited" and in Chinese.. we don't have.. we can't say "oh,興奮" it's like.. "OK". We say "oh, 好 HIGH" High is an English word, right? So, you can really feel, like, mm! It is very energetic, very vibrate. Or you can say "你看起來好活潑".. 或者好.. 哪一個.. 就是 "很有活力" or you can say "好 HYPER" But it is seldom used with general people, but as an English majors we use it a lot. "好 HYPER" or "好 HIGH"之類的

- When I was watching a TV-show I also noticed that people used an English word "man" a lot, which means manly. Why do you think they use an English word instead of Chinese? Do you have this kind of word in Chinese?

- Because in Chinese for this word we say "男子氣概", it's like four words to describe the personality, but if we say "oh, 好 MAN" it's like more powerful and easier to say.

- Ok, so I think it's basically all. Thank you.

Interviewee 3

- First, I will tell you what I'm writing about. Before when I was watching TV I noticed that Taiwanese people put a lot of English words in their speech. For example, "他看起來很 HIGH". This kind of English words. So, I decided to take one TV show - "大學生了沒", because practically all of the participants are students. I watched the program and collected all the examples when people inserted English words in their speech. But I would also like to conduct interviews among the students so that to clarify some moments and to get their opinions. For example, do you also have an impression that Taiwanese use a lot of English words on TV?

- You want me to give you an example or just to show my opinion?

- We can start with the opinion first.

- Ok. Because sometimes a lot of people use "high" when we have conversations with the others, because if we use "high".. we will say "你看起來非常的 HIGH". If we just use "high" in Chinese, like "你看起來非常高興", it is very strange.

- So, it gives you a strange feeling if you speak like that.

- Yes, and sometimes I think some people just want to show their English very excellent, so they want to put some English words.

- And if you watch TV and hear people use English words in their conversation, do you like it? Or you don't like it?

- Sometimes I hate it, because I will think "don't show off your English"

- So you think, mostly people use English words to show off?

- It depends on what kind of person is speaking. So for me, I sometimes will use just like "high" in my conversation, but not very often. If I'm the audience, I just think they want to show off. If they use the common english like "high" I think it is normal. A special case is someone who just come back from abroad, of course, they put a lot of English words in a sentence.

- And if you watch TV do you often have the feeling that people are just showing off?

- Mmm. Not really. It's only if they put really a lot of English words, I think. And also, for some terms that students will use it when we are in school just like PPT. Maybe because they just get used to it, so when we communicate with other people outside of the campus we will use these English words too. We don't really do it consciously.

- You mean you don't do this on purpose.

- Yes.

- And do you think that if people use so many English words on TV it may change the native language? For, example, if people hear so many English words on TV they will start picking them up and also insert in their daily conversations. So their language will change. Do you think it is really like this?

- Of course, language will change over time when people use it.

- And do you think it's bad that right now so many Taiwanese use English in their speech? Why not just to use Chinese?

- For me, I think it's OK, but if it's about parents and they want to teach their children, I think it is a bad thing. Because in Taiwan we need to teach children in Chinese not in English. If we teach them that Chinese sentence can also put an English sentence, or Chinese and English words together, it may

affect their Chinese and their learning process. I think if we just like a normal conversation it is OK to put some English words in it, but for education like teachers or parents it is bad.

- And do you think if people use English words in their conversations it makes communication easier? Or you think it makes the communication harder?

- It is easier.

- Why?

- I don't know. Maybe because I'm majoring in English so students here also use some specific terms, so if I communicate with others I just get used to it and I don't do it on purpose.

- Do you often use English words like this?

- Yes.

- And in what kind of situations? Can you give some examples?

-我想一下. Sometimes, besides "high" and "care" I also often use "你很 LOW". Another is "social". I often said "跟其他人 SOCIAL" instead of using "跟其他人交際". Also, "你可以幫我 CHECK 一下嗎" could you help me to check whether there is something wrong. When I using "check", sometimes I think it is a kind way to please others help me (but only those I consider them as my good friend). But I will use standard Chinese when please the high position people. In this case, I think I should said I will use our own standard Chinese when communicate with high class. It's more polite and appropriate.

- When you are chatting with your friend and your friend start using an English word, will you also use it or you will stick to Chinese anyway?

- I will also use it.

- So you will follow your friend.

- Yes.

- I also wanted to ask, you said that for the teachers and parents it's not really good to put many English words in their speech, as it may influence the kids. But what about TV, do you think that CM on TV can also have bad influence on kids? And is it only for the kids' programs?

- Only for the kids program. It's also not appropriate to use English words, they need to use Chinese.

Comments on the chart 1.

- Can you give examples when it is easier to pronounce comparing to Chinese?

- Project, or PPT. It is easier.

- Is it easier in terms of communication or in terms of pronunciation?
- In terms of communication more I think. But for pronunciation, maybe "PO" it is easier. But also if we say this in Chinese it is very strange. Because right now people already use "PO" a lot.
- And why do you think it's also the influence of Western culture? Do you think right now young Taiwanese want to copy American culture?
- Of course and that is why they use so many English words. And also right now so many people can go abroad or have foreign friends. So, they will somehow copy their culture and their language.
- Do you think it's bad? Taiwan also has its own culture.
- I think it's normal and everybody do it everywhere. And I think maybe it's very global. But we also need to keep our own culture.

Comments on the chart 2.

- Can you also give the examples, when an English word makes the language stronger?
- I think "抗 UV", it's about the products that can protect you from the sun. So, we can say "這個可以抗 UV" We will not use Chinese for UV. It is more difficult and UV is more easier to understand.
- And the last thing, I know that English majors use English words a lot, but do you use English words when you are talking with other friends? not English majors.
- I will use English words mostly in the campus. And with my senior high friends I won't use English words in our conversation because I am afraid they will just think that I want to show off my English.
- So you mean they will understand what you are saying but they will have the feeling that you are showing off.
- I'm afraid they will have this feeling. But in our school I'm not afraid because a lot of friends will use these kind of English words very often.
- And do you think right now the elder people, like your parents or grand-parents can understand some English words because of TV?
- It depends, just like my parents, they live in a very small city, we live in Nantou, not in Taipei. So, in Taipei it is a very technology center, so people will use some terms like "FB", "LINE" or other things, so they know what they mean. but for my parents if I tell them "FB" they will not understand. And they don't know what "LINE" means. They can't catch the fashion very quickly. If I use English words in conversation, I need to explain what I said. It will waste my time. On the other hand, for those who live in big city, they can catch information very easily. They will be influenced very easily. So they use it very often since they want to catch fashion.

- Ok, I think it's enough. Thank you!

Interviewee 4

- I will give you some details first. Before, when I was watching TV, I noticed that in Taiwan so many people put some English words in the sentences, when they are speaking Chinese. In my research I observe one TV-show "大學生了沒" and collect examples of how people use English words. But because I don't really have the chance to ask TV-show guests and hosts why they speak like this, I also want to conduct some interviews with the university students. So the first question, do you also use English words when you are speaking to the classmates or friends?

- You mean when we are speaking Chinese and also use some English words? Yes I do this sometimes.

- And if you look at the situations when you do this, it's more in college or outside the campus?

- I think both.

- And if your friend starts using an English word in the conversation, will you also start using it?

- I will also use an English word. This way we have the feeling that we are talking on the same language and understand each other.

- And regarding TV, do you also think that Taiwanese use a lot of English words on TV?

- Actually, I seldom watch TV. But I think my friends don't do this a lot. But in Facebook it is more often. Like, many people will say "PO"

- And if you hear or see people using English words, do you have a negative, positive or neutral feeling?

- To tell the truth I don't have any special feeling about this.

- And do you think if people use so many English words in their communication it can hurt the native language? Actually, every word you say in English you can also say in Chinese.

- I think Chinese will still be Chinese. I mean, we will still remember how to say everything in Chinese no matter that we also use English words sometimes.

- And do you think that people using English words just want to copy American culture?

- Yes, sure. If people were not interested in American culture they wouldn't be also interested in English language. If people don't like English they won't use it. Or use it only when they really have to do this. Like, in school or at work.

- And do you think copying an American culture can hurt Taiwanese culture? Replace it in a way?

- What culture? Taiwan doesn't have any culture. So many countries don't even consider Taiwan to be a country. So what kind of own culture can we have if we are not even the country? We have a little bit of this, a little bit of that. A little bit of Japanese culture, a little bit of American culture, everything is mixed together. But look at Japan for example. They don't use so many English words because they protect their Japanese culture. The same like China. But what Taiwan do? We just pick up a lot a lot of things. When Japan was popular in Taiwan we use a lot of Japanese things, when America is popular, so we use a lot of English words. But right now Korea is popular so many Taiwanese learn Korean.

- And do you think that if you use English words in conversation with your friends, your communication will be easier? Or you think that it will be harder?

- It depends. For example, when I was in school and my English was not really good, I had some friends who had tutors and even could go abroad in summer. When they used English words in conversation with me, I can understand the basic words, but for example, if the person is talking and using a lot of this kind of words, even if I understand, I will think talking with him 壓力太大了. And I will feel that my education is lower and I will feel awkward because I'm not so good. But right now when I'm majoring in English I don't have this kind of feeling anymore. So, I think it depends on the English. If all people in conversation have good English it makes communication easier.

Comments on the chart 1.

- Can you come up with some examples when it is easier to pronounce?

- I think for this case I will use "明天 CALL 你" If we use Chinese we should say "大電話". It's obviously much longer and harder to pronounce. "Call" is very fast to say, it's easier. Or maybe "我很 FREE".. or.. "你 OK 嗎?" In Chinese we usually say "你還好嗎?" It's two words, takes more time to speak out.

- And can you give some examples, when there's no Chinese equivalent?

- Let me think.. Oh, I know. Right now so many people will say "你可以去 google 一下"? I think it's because we don't really have a Chinese word for Google.

Comments on the chart 2.

- You also scored high the reason that it may make the sentence more stronger. Can you give some examples?

- Actually, I think you should add the point about making the sentence more softer. Like, if I'm talking with a person and I say "你爲什麼那麼 CARE 這件事情?".. if I say "你爲什麼那麼在乎這件事情?", the feeling is more heavy, it's like I can a little bit hurt the person. If I use the Chinese it's more direct, but if I use "Care" it's a little bit soft., like "I don't want to attack you or to scold you". And the same when it makes the language more softer, maybe more lighter, for example, "幫我 CHECK 一下"

comparing to "幫我決定一下" . "CHECK 一下" means it is not really so much important for me. But, for example, if it's airplane flight or maybe very important something I will not use English I will use Chinese. So the English gives the feeling more light. And I think there are also cases when English words make the sentence stronger, but I can't come up with the examples right away.