

# Language Politics and Identity in Translation: From a Monolingual Text to Multilingual Text in Chinese Translations

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**Abstract**—This paper focuses on how the government-led language policies and the political changes in Taiwan manipulate the languages choice in translations and what translation strategies are employed by the translator to show his or her language ideology behind the power struggles and decision-making. Therefore, framed by Lefevere's theoretical concept of translating as rewriting, and carried out a diachronic and chronological study, this paper specifically sets out to investigate the language ideology and translator's idiolect of Chinese language translations of Anglo-American novels. The examples drawn to explore these issues were taken from different versions of Chinese renditions of Mark Twain's English-language novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in which there are several different dialogues originally written in the colloquial language and dialect used in the American state of Mississippi and reproduced in Mark Twain's works. Also, adapted corpus methodology, many examples are extracted as instances from the translated texts and source text, to illuminate how the translators in Taiwan deal with the dialectal features encoded in Twain's works, and how different versions of Chinese translations are employed by Taiwanese translators to confirm the language policies and to express their language identity textually in different periods of the past five decades, from the 1960s onward. The finding of this study suggests that the use of Taiwanese dialect and language patterns in translations does relate to the movement of the mother-tongue language and language ideology of the translator as well as to the issue of language identity raised in the island of Taiwan. Furthermore, this study confirms that the change of political power in Taiwan does bring significantly impact in language policy-- assimilationism, pluralism or multiculturalism, which also makes Taiwan from a monolingual to multilingual society, where the language ideology and identity can be revealed not only in people's daily communication but also in written translations.

**Keywords**—Language politics and policies, literary translation, mother-tongue, multiculturalism, translator's ideology.

## I. INTRODUCTION

IN the field of translation studies, a translator usually makes some changes based on his or her own ideology and on the poetics or social norms in the target language and culture. Therefore, certain different translation strategies are employed in translation in order to convey the translator's ideology and target language or cultural poetics as well as social norms when

the translation is made. For instance, some translators might omit or add phrases to the translated text in order to make the translation acceptable to the target society and readers, which also implies that the translation is indeed dominated by and reflects the translator's ideology either consciously or subconsciously or both in manipulating the translation.

As far as ideology in translation is concerned, this term refers to the language used to render the source text; therefore, the ideology discussed in this study is based on Simpson's definition,

From a critical linguistic perspective, the term normally describes the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society. An ideology therefore derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value-system which are shared collectively by social groups [1, p.99].

With this clear definition of ideology, the aim of this study focuses on how Taiwanese translators, who made their Chinese translations in different time spans, express their language ideologies and identities textually by selecting different languages to render Mark Twain's *the Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (hereafter *AHF*). The English source text and its Chinese translations are selected and compiled as corpora for this study as both source and target texts contain different dialectal and colloquial languages in respective societies. For the Chinese-language society, in Taiwan, the dialectal language and linguistic communication play important roles in different politically historical backgrounds. More specifically, the focus of this study is how the manner of the speech of the two characters, Huckleberry Finn, the narrator in the story, and Jim, the African-American slave character, are translated into Chinese.

Framed and supported by Lefevere's theoretical concept of translating as rewriting, and carried out a chronological study, this research project specifically set out to investigate the language ideology and translator's idiolect in Chinese language translations of *AHF*. In particular, the following specific questions are central:

- How do translators in Taiwan render and interpret these dialectal languages and colloquial features in Twain's work into Chinese and how individual or group of translators express his or/and her language ideology and identity in translation?
- How the political changes and government-led language policies in Taiwan affect the languages selected in translation?

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## II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

According to Lefevere [2, p.41], two factors significantly influence the image of translation literature: the translator's ideology and the poetics that were dominant in the target language and society when the translation was carried out. The former, the translator's ideology, can be the translator's own personal ideology or identity or can sometimes refer to the constraints imposed by some form of patronage (for example, editorial policy) on the translator. The latter, the poetics or so-called translational poetics, signifies the function and essence of literature in either the target culture or the original culture. These two factors operate and determine the translator's strategies employed while translating, especially when s/he faces problems.

Generally speaking, a translator faces a constant dilemma while translating. This is because s/he, on the one hand, wishes to embrace and espouse her or his ideology in translation, which may mean diverging from or even being diametrically opposed to the original text. On the other hand, the translator is also aware that her/his translated text should be faithful to the original without overlaying the translator's role or responsibility and without running against his/her own ideology in making the translation. Thus, the translator usually faces the dilemma of maintaining the balance between these two sides. Therefore, the strategies which are employed by individual translators to deal with this are worth paying attention to.

In order to meet the expectations of different readers in different periods of time and societies, an original literary work is rendered not only by different translators at specific times in specific societies for readers at different times or in various societies, but also by the same translator for different readers because of the change of language expression, grammar or syntax in the target language; studies [3]-[5], for example, have also confirmed the necessity of multi-translations from the same original text in order to meet the needs of target readers and to confirm the target language and cultural norms.

## III. LANGUAGE POLITICS, IDEOLOGY AND IDENTITY IN TAIWAN

Languages are not only used to communicate, but also employed by speakers to show their ideologies, ethnicities, cultures and identities to listeners. Moreover, the use of language in a nation is always associated with how the country's politics are dominated by the power and the authority of the ruling body [6, p.304]. To take the objective of this study of Taiwan as an example, with the considerable and enormous differences in historical, political, economic, educational and social development brought from mainland China, Taiwan has been growing with a clear strengthening of its identity as a nation and its linguistic make-up, which has not only been caused and often forced by international political changes, but has also undergone domestic political and historical development, and these influences have raised the awareness of Taiwanese consciousness of its linguistic ideology and identity by most of the island's population.

After colonisation by Japan and the period of Japanese

dictatorship, the rule of the Kuomintang (hereafter KMT) autocracy and the imposition of martial law on Taiwan, the Taiwanese, including the descendants of aborigines, the pre-1945 residents of Taiwan and some of the mainland immigrants and their younger generations, started to build their own Taiwanese ideology and identity and even called for the independence for Taiwan to replace the Chinese nationalism propounded by the KMT, especially after the announcement of military threats against Taiwan by mainland China, which claimed that Taiwan is part of China. Noticeable is the directly remarkable and distinctive desire of the Taiwanese to show the difference between Taiwan and China in their 'language speech' which could be manipulated by individuals or groups of speakers to show their Taiwanese identity or ideology by selecting the language patterns and styles used and spoken in Taiwan, to act as confirmation of Taiwanese ideology and identity or to make it clear that they are different from China.

In 1949, the KMT-led forces evacuated the army from the Mainland and withdrew to Taiwan. However, the most difficult and serious problem and cause of conflict was language communication. The mainland immigrants from different provinces spoke different Sinica dialectal languages and could read Chinese characters whereas most Taiwanese people could only speak either Southern Min, Hakka or aboriginal languages as well as Japanese, and had little knowledge of Mandarin Chinese so they were neither able to acquire Mandarin Chinese nor access any materials written in Chinese characters. Consequently, the KMT unified the language policy but selected Mandarin Chinese as the official language to be used in Taiwan, in order to reconcile in terms of language use the original inhabitants and the soldiers from different provinces in China, and to eliminate and later ban Japanese and local Taiwanese languages.

### A. Chinese Language Policy, Ideology, and Identity

After the KMT took over Taiwan from Japan in 1945, in the following year, Mandarin, also referred to *guoyu* ('national language') immediately replaced Japanese and was legalised as the national and official language of Taiwan in April 1946. The use *guoyu* in Taiwan could be not only considered as the KMT's reaction to colonial policy on language but was also "associated with the identity of being a Chinese and a part of China" [7, p.99], so local residents in Taiwan enthusiastically learned Mandarin in the first few months after the restoration, to show their identity to the new KMT government. More specifically, Mandarin Chinese was the only language permitted to be used throughout the nation in 1946, and other dialects and languages (including Hokla, Hakka, and various aboriginal languages), even labelled as disgrace languages, were first restricted and later banned completely in public areas and schools [8, pp.339-347]. In other words, the government held all the power in censorship, language, education, media, publication and almost everything else [7, p.103]. Moreover, "such linguistic discrimination in favour of Mandarin Chinese (and the mainlanders proficient in it) was justified as a *nation policy*", as noted by Simpson [9, p.243].

With the concept that 'Taiwan is the base of Chinese

culture', the KMT government, under martial law (from 19 May 1949 to 15 July 1987), was the only political party and had a monopoly on power in Taiwan. Hence, from the 1950s to the 1970s, the mainlander-dominated KMT continued to insist that Taiwan was the main base of all China, nationally and culturally as well as linguistically; a policy which was spread the use of Mandarin Chinese under the so-called 'National Language Movement' in Taiwan. By the middle of the 1980s, proficiency in Mandarin was growing rapidly and most of the population in Taiwan had native-language-speaker proficiency in it.

In terms of the Taiwanese residents' ideology and identity in language and even in nationalism, these were definitely associated with the various political and language policies imposed in Taiwan, especially for the original residents before 1945. The return of Taiwan to the KMT-led Chinese faction from 1945 was initially met with enthusiasm by the Taiwanese, but the language policy forcibly imposed by the new government had a dramatic effect on them. Adopting an assimilation language policy, the KMT declared and sought to eliminate Japanese language and culture from the island of Taiwan. Even worse, the authority progressively discouraged and later banned the use of local languages and this caused great pain and had a huge influence on the Taiwanese living there for their whole lives. This dramatic change in language policy lasted for more than four decades, from 1946 to 1987, a period featured and characterised as "mandarin-only with the suppression of vernacular languages" [10, p.113].

What has to be noted is that the majority of the inhabitants of Taiwan in 1945-1949 were speakers of Southern Min (also known as Hoklo and Minan) and Hakka or aborigines (as a minority of residents) who were unable to learn Mandarin Chinese for some considerable time. It is important to stress that this linguistic policy created more conflicts and hostilities between the mainlander immigrants (known as *waishengren*; 'mainlanders who moved to Taiwan after 1945') and local Taiwanese people (known as *benshengren*; 'previous Taiwanese immigrants before 1945'), especially after the KMT declared that Mandarin Chinese was the only official language

Later, more campaigns were mounted, and propaganda was designed to create negative attitudes towards Southern Min, such as that it showed vulgarity, lacked grace [11] and was used by low intellectuals and people with "low social-economic status" [12, p.130]. Consequently, these local dialects and languages were mainly spoken at home and in the years before starting school. It was observed in the language restriction policy that local language ideologies and identities in that period were strictly and deliberately suppressed under the language policy and political coercive power of the authorities.

#### B. The Search for Taiwanese Identity (The 1980s-2000)

With the world changing greatly in political terms after the Second World War, Taiwan suffered international isolation in foreign affairs and diplomatic relations, since these were significantly affected by the rise of Communist China and her adjustment of diplomatic strategy. In 1979, the Formosa Incident occurred on 10 December, Human Rights Day, and it

not only drew the attention of Taiwan's residents to political and social activities and events, but also evoked the emotion of Taiwan ideology and identity and marked the advent of democracy in Taiwan. Seven years later, the Democratic Progressive Party (hereafter DDP) was established and called for the end of martial law in 1987. Consequently, the one-party political system was challenged and the demand for a second political party grew in order for democracy to be established in Taiwan. The Taiwanese urgently wanted a Taiwanese identity as well as getting their languages back.

As a result, the more the KMT tried instilling a Chinese national identity in Taiwan, the higher the negative feelings in resistance grew. Even the mainland Chinese who had been living in Taiwan for more than thirty years also supported this and even perceived themselves as inhabitants of Taiwan and had no desire to go back to communist China [9]. Gradually, the militants vigorously pushed the political leaders to want Taiwanese identity rather than a Chinese national identity.

#### C. Taiwanese Identity and Language Ideology before 2000

The way that the notion of a Taiwanese national identity replaced that of a Chinese national identity could be easily observed from language identity was again widely used by the Taiwanese to show their national identity. This is because, instead of using Mandarin Chinese, local languages such as Southern Min, Hakka and aboriginal languages were revived and used throughout Taiwan in the public domain to demonstrate that Taiwan was different from China and certainly not part of it. By highlighting these distinctive differences in terms of languages, local culture, shared history and political freedom, the Taiwanese identity was celebrated by the DDP politicians and by intellectuals as well as by some Taiwanese day after day, even the younger generation, including mainland immigrants and their younger generation.

According to Dupré, by 2003, there were 23 million people living in Taiwan and comprised four main types of ethnicity, with the population made up of 70% Southern Min, 12% mainlanders, 15% Hakka and 3% aborigines [13, p.433]. Clearly, the Southern Min speakers remained the majority, so it is completely understandable that the Taiwanese sought to highlight their language ideology and identity by deliberately using their local languages, or combining their local language with Mandarin Chinese in daily communication to show their Taiwanese language identity, as more than 70% of the population could understand their native and mother tongue, Southern Min. Even so, Mandarin Chinese, which was regarded as an official and national language by 2000, is one of the common languages in Taiwan and still has the lion's share of language policy support in Taiwan, but it was common for local Taiwanese residents to switch between Mandarin and Taiwanese in their daily conversation, which was confirmed by Kubler's [14, p.275] findings that about 80% of daily conversation was in Mandarin and 20% was in Taiwanese, and that more than 56% (nine of seventeen cases) of conversations started in Mandarin and switched to Taiwanese and 44% (six of seventeen cases) switched from Taiwanese to Mandarin. Clearly, most people in Taiwan can use both languages equally

well.

#### *D. Political Changes and the Growth of a Taiwanese Identity*

In 2000, political power in Taiwan shifted from the KMT to the DDP in 2000 and then again in 2004. Significantly different from the KMT, the DDP government put emphasis on multiple cultures, languages and societies, as well as a multi-ethnic Taiwanese identity comprising the Southern Min, Hakka, the aborigines and the mainland settlers. Therefore, the respective cultures and languages of the different ethnicities on Taiwan were encouraged, preserved and featured. Also, different voices emerged, seeking to make Taiwan a Taiwanese nation. Danielsen's [15] research (carried out at the Election Study Centre, National Chengchi University, in 2011), found that at the start of this century, a new authoritarian era under the DDP government (2000-2008) created and imposed a strong Taiwanese identity and culture, especially in language, to differentiate Taiwan from Chinese nationality.

The Southern Min language was elevated to the status of a national language by the DDP after 1987 because, as has already been discussed, more than 70% of the population in Taiwan were Southern Min who wished to promote their native language to a national language; and the DDP intended to make it a language at the national level, not just a localised dialect. Thus, the Southern Min language is referred to informally as a representative national language of Taiwan - 'Taiwanese'. Thus, the use of Taiwanese alone, or mixed with Mandarin, is now widespread, a vigorous part of people's daily lives, and used as a symbol of Taiwanese national identity. Speakers of these other languages found it difficult to promote their languages as national languages because, as previously explained, only about 12% of the population spoke Hakka and 6% spoke an aboriginal language [16, p.11]. So their mother tongue languages survived only in local pockets, which caused the non-Southern Min speakers not only to have a negative attitude towards the DDP politicians but also to see the loss of their languages in the younger generations, who were reluctant to speak Hakka and other local languages in public [17]-[19]. Therefore, after 2000, a multi-lingual and multi-cultural Taiwanese national identity was adopted by the government, so that all the languages could be openly learned and used for communication and in education. Even after 2008, when the political power switched back to the KMT and again in 2012, the emphasis on a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multilingual Taiwanese identity continued to encourage a Taiwan-specific culture, history and democracy. In fact, the multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic society has been respected and cherished in contemporary Taiwan, even though political power returned to the KMT from 2008 to 2016 and the DDP assumed power again in 2016 after island-wide elections. The multiple Taiwanese specific cultures, languages and historical development deserve to be respected in an open-minded way by the whole of Taiwan, regardless of which political party is in power.

#### *E. Local Language Education and Language Policy*

Looking back at the history of language education in Taiwan,

the school was always seen as one of the important places to reinforce whatever language was being imposed in Taiwan. This is because language education is regarded as a useful and achievable way to implement a language policy. Local language education in Taiwan started in the early 1990s. Local languages were reintroduced and were taught in some prefectures and were later taught in elementary schools throughout the island in the late 1990s. At the start of the twenty-first century, an open policy was in wide use in respect of different ethnicities, cultures and languages, rather than Sinicisation, particularly after the political change from the KMT to the DDP in 2000, and the (local) language policy was first changed remarkably and significantly [20]. Moreover, in March 2002, Southern Min and English were regarded as the second official languages; in other words, apart from Mandarin Chinese, Southern Min and English can also be used in public and learned in school. However, many Taiwanese people have no knowledge of English and the Southern Min language has no formal written form, which makes it difficult to sustain the local dialect and a foreign language as official language in Taiwan. Also, the open language policy caused some debate, especially for the other local language speakers. Consequently, on 13 February 2003, the 'Act of Language Equality' was legislated and all the languages used in Taiwan were made legal and acceptable, which meant that all the different languages used by people living in Taiwan had legal status and could be used in public anywhere in Taiwan. One month later, the abolition of the national language promotion law was enacted in March 2003, which meant that Mandarin Chinese was no longer the only official national language in Taiwan from then on.

To sum up, the development of language history in Taiwan from 1945 went through different imposed languages and the official language in Taiwan for different eras and different political histories and background. Taiwan society in this century is a multi-lingual community. Despite the use of different languages such as Mandarin, Southern Min, Hakka, English or/and aboriginal languages, they are all considered as common languages, and can all be freely used and spoken anywhere. As this discussion has clearly shown, language policy in Taiwan has a significant link to different ethnic groups, to the national identity and ideology as well as to political change.

#### IV. CORPORA OF THIS STUDY AND DATA COLLECTION

The translations selected for this study is the novel of *The Adventure of Huckleberry Finn* (AHF), written by the Mark Twain [21] who on purpose to use different dialects used in American. As already mentioned, in terms of dialectal, societal and colloquial speech in literature, AHF is considered as a particularly significant and prominent representative work. This is because its particularly rich and predominantly non-standard English text can be studied from the aspects or perspectives. In Chinese renditions of this book, there have been a large number of Chinese translations rendered for various societies and readers in different ages, even though the dialect and colloquial languages used by in both local people and black salver may cause some difficulty for the translator

[22, p.6]; yet, the languages do truly reflect and feature the characters, sociality and epics of the 19th century American society.

As this study seeks to explore the translator's ideology and translation strategies employed by the Chinese translations published after 1949 in Taiwan, all the renditions of *AHF* were therefore collected for this study. More specifically, with the aim at investigating the specific dialectal and colloquial features encoded in Twain's work, the data used for deeper study in this paper were simply a selection of the texts that contained the dialectal and colloquial language which is particularly identified in the discourse spoken by Huckleberry and Jim.

#### A. Data Collection

In this study, different Chinese renditions of *AHF* formed the corpora through which to carry out the investigation. Originally, the texts collected for this study included full translations and adaptations of *AHF* as well as some English-Chinese bilingual books; different versions of adaptation had been rendered from the adapted or abridged version of *AHF*, which had been abbreviated by some (unidentified) editors from the original full text written by Twain.

Unfortunately, in the adaptations and abridged versions of Chinese translations, the translated text was not rendered directly from the original dialectal language employed by the original author Mark Twain, including the original Pike-county dialectal language spoken by Huck and the Missouri Negro dialect spoken by Jim. That is to say, the dialectal and colloquial languages used in the originally full English text might not have been preserved in the abridged English version as well as the Chinese translations which were made from it. Therefore, the Chinese translations rendered from the abridged version were unable to interpret the original dialect style of writing in the abridged renditions. Because of this, these abridged versions of Chinese translations are left out from this study. As a result, only eight full translations were used in this study – those by [23]-[30]. However, the two translators, Hu and Li, are actually pseudonym names which caused the difficulty to identify their nationality, although both renditions are edited and published in Taiwan. Therefore, the two translations, rendered by Hu [23] and Li [24], are only carried out the corpus quantitative analysis as they both were published in Taiwan and met the censorship imposed at the time the translations were published; yet, they are left out for qualitative discussion in Section V as this study seeks to investigate specifically Taiwanese translators' ideology in their literary translations. Eventually, only eight translated texts were collected, analysed and discussed in this study.

### V. TEXT ANALYSIS

With the aim at investigating the translator's ideology and the translation strategies employed to render the dialectal and colloquial features encoded in Twain's work, it is necessary to understand how Twain presented these language features in the novel. The linguistic characters are clearly indicated at the very

beginning of Twain's novel,

In this book a number of dialects are used, to wit: the Missouri negro dialect; the extremist form of the backwoods South-Western dialect; the ordinary 'Pike-country' dialect; and four modified varieties of this last. [21, explanatory note]

Moreover, in order to present and feature Huck's poor education background, many different approaches are adopted by Twain to suggest Huck's basic level of literacy, including the disagreement between subject and verb in number of person and verb form, and using non-standard verb forms such as using the present instead of the past tense. Apart from the deliberate use of grammatical errors, the use of particular dialect terms in place of more standard choices by Huck is also one of the strategies by which Twain placed errors [31, p.64].

With better and clearer ideas about how Twain chose to feature the mistakes through Huck's spoken text in English, it is very interesting to find out how these problems can be featured in the Chinese language, which is an ideographic language rather than an phonographic language as the English source language is. That is to say, Chinese is unlike western European languages such as English and German, which are phonetic languages that can be easily mimicked from the original English when rendered into German [32]-[33].

It is worth pointing out that Huck's unique and specific patterns of poor grammar mentioned above might create difficulty when a translator comes to re-present them in Chinese, such as the incorrectness in the writing of tenses, of verb forms and of spelling. Thus, the translation strategies which were employed to feature Twain's language characteristics are illustrated in the following paragraphs using examples extracted from the Chinese translations specifically from Huck's and Jim's discourses in the novel.

#### A. Taiwanese Loan Words in Mandarin Used in Translation

As discussed above, the Taiwanese language which is referred to as 'Southern-Min' is actually a dialect and was used in Taiwan solely as a spoken language before the 1980s. However, more and more words or phrases have been formed as Mandarin characters by borrowing the phone of Mandarin Chinese and making neologisms in terms of Chinese phrases such as 'xiami 啥米 (what)' and 'meifadu 沒法度 (no other way)' [34, p.568]. Currently, such Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin are widely used by the inhabitants of Taiwan. Interestingly, such Taiwanese loan words have also been identified and employed to render the literary work in the full translations published after 1990s in this study, in order to feature the dialectal and colloquial forms of language spoken by Huck and Jim. For instance, the following sentences extracted from each rendition serve as examples of how Taiwanese loan words are used by individual translators.

(1) ST: So they all made fun of him, and called him *crybaby*,....[21, p.22]

TT: 於是大家開始譏諷他，叫他哭包，.... [25, p.10]

(2) ST: He had been drunk over in town, and laid in the gutter all night, and he was a sight to look at. A body would a

thought he was **Adam** .... [21, p.39]

TT: 爸爸喝口酒暖暖身子，又開始破口大罵。他在鎮上已喝得差不多，看來今晚有得鬧了。他癱在那兒像個「**阿達**」一樣...。 [29, p.30]

(3) ST: and ain't you had nothing but that kind of **rubbage** to eat? [21, p.54]

TT: 然後你就什麼都沒吃，只吃那什麼**碗糕**的東西？ [27, p.66]

(4) ST: Well, o' course dat nigger **want' to keep me out er de business**, bekase he says dey warn't business 'nough for two banks, .... [21, p.57]

TT: 當然囉，那個黑奴要我**別肖想**，因為這個小地方可容不下兩間銀行...。 [26, p.75]

As highlighted in the four instances given above from different renditions, the different Taiwanese translators or editors have either consciously or unconsciously chosen to use some Taiwanese loan words in their translations (*i.e.* **kaokian** 哭困 (cry baby), **ada** 阿達 (one who has mental problem), **wage** 碗糕 (some identified food), and **bie xiaoxiang** 別肖想 (don't dream about)). Such usage of Taiwanese Mandarin is revealed and identified more or less according to each individual translator's personal preferences. For instance, Lin [27, p.27] clearly indicated that the use of a Taiwanese loan word in Mandarin in her translation was intended to highlight Huck's discourse in the original as a 'dialectal discourse'. By this strategy, Taiwanese dialect language symbolised the dialectal language used in the original; moreover, the strategy of using Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin in translation has also been employed to feature the teenagers' discourse of spoken language in Taiwan, in reaction to the influence of the Taiwanese dialect on Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan.

Similarly, using the Taiwanese language in translation was also a strategy chosen by Liao [26], who selected some Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin such as '**bie xiaoxiang** 別肖想 (don't dream about)' or '**maoqilai** 卯起來 (do the best)' to highlight the dialectal and colloquial language in the target culture. This is because Liao, in order to make the translation as colloquial as the original text, rendered this literary work by interpreting it orally first and then typing it into Chinese characters consecutively. Liao [36] explained the method he used to render this novel; he first interpreted the text orally, sentence by sentence, to an audience, the typist, and then they both carried out further revisions based on Liao's interpretation. By adopting such translating strategies, Liao expected to make the translation not only colloquial in the target language but fluent for the reader, not only to conform to Twain's style of writing, but also to convey the language ideology and identity for perspective Taiwanese readers.

Lin [27] even used the Southern-Min Taiwanese dialect exclusively to interpret the words of the African-American slave Jim. The employment of standard Chinese characters to

present the Southern-Min verbally is shown in the following example:

(5) ST: ... Jim would happen in and say, "**Hm! What you know 'bout witches?**" [21, p.19]

TT: ...吉姆就會**假仙**剛好走進去，然後插嘴說：「**哼！你算啥，嘛知影女巫的代誌？！**」 [27, p.69]

(Literal translation: ... Jim would **pretend** that he did happen in, and say, "**Hm! Who you are? What you know about witches?**")

Rather than employing Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin to render Jim's words here, Lin deliberately rendered Jim's words entirely using the Taiwanese (Southern-Min) dialect. The employment of Taiwanese Mandarin as opposed to traditional Mandarin in the translation is used to feature and highlight Jim's non-standard English as opposed to the so-called standard or correct English in the original, as Lin claimed [27, p.38]. In other words, unlike other translators who might (un)consciously select some Taiwanese loan words to highlight or make the translation more colloquial, the translation strategies employed by Liao [26] and Lin [27] have clearly set Taiwanese inhabitants as their intended readers; therefore, the use of Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin is deliberately employed to draw the attention of their target readers and to feature and present their individual translation styles as well.

#### B. Modern Language Terms Used by the Teenagers

The language set by Twain as direct speech or used by Huck as the narrator is about the teenager's discourse in the original, and this also raised a significant and crucial factor for translators to decide their translation strategies and select an appropriate lexicon in translation. For instance, translators would set their target readers as teenagers and young adults, and some specific language features were therefore selected to interpret the discourse of the narrator, Huck. Thus, the language markers used between teenagers or young adults in the target language society were used in the translation, for example,

(6) ST: ...He was just suited – **this kind of thing** was right in his line. [21, p.36]

TT: 他就適合**搞這種飛機**，這種事他真是太拿手了。 [27, p.85]

As highlighted in the above example, the phrase "**gao zhezhong feiji** 搞這種飛機 (which literally means 'making such planes', but colloquially it means 'making this kind of thing or matter') is one of the contemporary language terms spoken by teenagers in the modern society of Taiwan and it was selected on purpose to imitate the narrator's style of language choice and teenagers' language discourse or syntactic patterns in the original. The translator Lin clearly stated that some modern language terms that are particularly used by teenagers in Taiwan were selected to render the text, to feature the narrator's lexicon and discourse in the original and to present the difference between the dialectal colloquial languages and standard English [27, p.26].

Interestingly, such translation strategies have been employed by different translators from Taiwan to seek their target

readers' identity in terms of language use. More examples are extracted from different translations as follows:

(7) ST: Pretty soon I wanted to *smoke*, and asked the widow to let me. But she wouldn't. [21, p.15]

TT: 過沒一會兒，我向那寡婦說想 *哈* 根煙草，但她哪准哪！ [29, p.4]

(8) ST: , and then the widow made her easy up. I couldn't stood it much longer. Then for an hour it was *deadly dull*, .... [21, p.15]

TT: ...後來，道格拉斯寡婦叫她放輕鬆一點，不然我可能會受不了。於是，接下來的一個鐘頭簡直 *無聊斃了*。 [28, p.23]

As shown by the emphasis and italics of the verb 'ha 哈 (to smoke)' and the adjectival phrase 'wuliao bile 無聊斃了 (extremely bored)', such colloquial modern language terms could be any parts of speech. Most importantly and significantly, it is worth pointing out that such modern language terms are widely used and spoken by teenagers and young adults in modern Taiwanese society.

The reason why such modern colloquial terms were employed in the translation is that the translator's ideology of language identity towards the target readers was an essential factor for the translators to select and employ such modern language markers in translation. As far as the target and intended readers are concerned, as both Lin [27] and Liao [36] have stated, the intended target readers for their renditions covered teenagers and young adults in Taiwan, which caused them to select some target language specific and accepted terms such as Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin, modern language terms used by teenagers and young adults, and colloquial language markers, to make the translated texts familiar to the target readers' society and language culture.

As discussed in the above two sections, the Taiwanese language ideology and identity, the combination of Southern-Min (Taiwanese loan words) with Chinese Mandarin, is widely used among the inhabitants of Taiwan. More importantly and significantly, such language changes and mother tongue movements also affected the language used in the translations, as illustrated in examples discussed above.

Added to that, apart from the increased lexicon in Taiwanese Mandarin as more and more Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin are incorporated, the dialect language 'Southern-Min' which is strongly and deliberately promoted and habitually used in Taiwan also brings significantly influence on the grammar and sentence patterns in Mandarin Chinese used in Taiwan as discussed in the subsection.

### C. The Spoken Taiwanese Sentence Pattern: The Temporal Marker 'You 有 (have)' in Translation

As indicated in many literature, the mandarin used in Taiwan has significantly influenced by the Southern Min dialects to form what so-called "Taiwanese mandarin" and many language features and sentences patterns are identified, according to Huang's [37] study, which claimed that the Mandarin Chinese

used in Taiwan is significantly changed and influenced by the dialectal languages spoken in Taiwan. Among them, the temporal/aspect marker 'you 有 (have) +verb (phrase)' used in spoken language is considered as one of distinctive features of Taiwanese mandarin. Therefore, this language market serves as a good example to investigate if the grammatical change in modern Taiwanese Mandarin does also affect in written translations. In this respect, the character 'you 有 (have)' used in Mandarin has been regarded as a linguistic marker in the use of Taiwanese Mandarin and it is currently and widely used by the inhabitants of Taiwan, especially in spoken language. In vernacular mandarin, the character 'you 有 (have)' is a 'verb' followed by an adjective or/and noun. However, when the term 'you 有 (have)' is used in Taiwanese dialect, it refers to some events or matters that have been done, and the pattern, 'you 有 +verb (phrase)', is how it is used in Taiwanese Mandarin ([38]-[39], to cite but two). The following examples extracted from the Lin's rendition of AHF can be a good instance of such usage in both.

(9) ST: ... you see, yet finding a power of fault with me for doing a thing that *had some good* in it. And she *took* snuff too; .... [21, p.15]

TT: ...可是我抽菸是 *有好處的*，她卻卯起來挑剔抽菸不好。她也有 *吸鼻煙* 啊.... [27, p.66]

The former usage, 'you haochu de (有好處的; beneficial)' in Example (9) is typically vernacular mandarin; the Chinese character 'you 有 (have)', as a verb form, is usually followed by an adjective or/and noun. However, more and more Taiwanese are putting it to use in the pattern 'you 有 (have)+verb(phrase)' to form, the latter, "you xi biyan 有吸鼻煙 (have smoke/take snuff)", in which form the two verbs 'you 有 (have)' and 'xi 吸 (smoke or take)' are used together to form the Taiwanese Mandarin pattern, 'you 有 (have)+verb(phrase)'; the construction of 'you 有' used in this pattern is only identified in Taiwanese Mandarin, which indicates that the character 'you 有' can be regarded as a language marker since the Mandarin Chinese form is influenced by the Southern-Min Taiwanese dialect in Taiwan, according to Wei's [39] study and conclusion. That is to say, the latter, the use of 'you 有' in the example above is influenced by Taiwanese Mandarin, and, most importantly, it is particularly used in Lin's rendition to highlight and show the adapted form of Taiwanese Mandarin used by the inhabitants of Taiwan and to conform to the language culture in the target society. This device is expected to gain more confirmation in terms of language identity and ideology.

In order to find out whether the use of the spoken language marker 'you 有' can also be identified in other translators'

renditions, the collocation of ‘you有’ identified in all Chinese renditions was subjected to a quantitative study, to see whether the particular Taiwanese spoken linguistic pattern ‘you有 (have)+verb (phrase)’ in Mandarin can be identified in other translators’ translations or whether it is simply the translator Lin’s [27] personal ideology or preference to feature her style of translating.

With the help of the corpus tool, all the instances containing the word ‘you有 (have)’ in individual renditions can be extracted for further analysis and study. To assess the linguistic features used by the translators to characterise the narrator Huck’s colloquial and dialectal discourse designed and created by Twain, this study collects three chapters (*i.e.* Chapter One, Two and Eight) of individual renditions as sample corpora to carry out further quantitative research. The first two chapters were selected because they comprise the longest monologue by the speaker, Huck, the narrator of the whole story in the novel and the black slave Jim’s talk; plus, there is the longest passage of Jim’s direct speech in Chapter Eight. The collected and the total number of instances of ‘you有’ in the three Chapters of each translation of the novel are listed below:

TABLE I

THE OCCURRENCE OF ‘YOU有(HAVE)’ IDENTIFIED IN EACH RENDITION			
Translator	You有 Taiwan Mandarin you有+Verb	Mandarin you有 + (adj) +Noun	Total number of you有
Hu [23]	0	56	56
Li [24]	0	81	81
Liao [25]	1	38	39
Wu [29]	1	48	49
Wen [28]	3	74	77
Lin [27]	8	72	80
Liao [26]	4	62	66
Wang [30]	2	107	109

The occurrence of ‘you有’ identified in the three chapters of each Chinese translation is clearly indicated in Table 1 and the total number of occurrences of individual patterns, ‘you有 (have)+verb(phrase)’ and ‘you有 (have)+(adjective)+noun (phrase)’ are statistically stated for each book. Interestingly, the instance of Taiwanese spoken linguistic patterns ‘you有 (have)+verb (phrase)’ in Mandarin translation was only identified in these translations published after 1990s, including Liao’s (25) translation with one instance, Wu’s [29] with one instance, Wen’s with three instances, Lin’s with eight instances, Liao’s [26] with four instances and Wang’s with two instances respectively, while the other two translations rendered and published before the end of martial law, the year of 1987, contained no instances of that particular Taiwanese Mandarin formation. That is to say, the Taiwanese mandarin linguistic pattern is not only common in the colloquial language, but also the written form as well as the translated text. As far as the strategy employed in translation is concerned, Lin

[27] clearly indicated that she herself employed this Taiwanese spoken linguistic pattern deliberately to feature the modern colloquial language used by teenagers and young adults in Taiwan. In other words, such style of using a Taiwanese spoken linguistic feature was deliberately employed to feature the discourse and colloquial language style common in Taiwan, which was one aim of Lin’s translational strategies. On the other hand, the other translator, Liao, has stated that he did not aim to feature such linguistic features or patterns on purpose or (sub)consciously [36]. Even so, it is worth noting that Liao’s translation strategy or/and approach plays a crucial factor in the production of such Taiwanese spoken colloquial Mandarin in translation. As mentioned previously, the translation procedure employed by Liao was first to interpret the translation orally and then type it into Chinese characters after carrying out minor revisions with the help of his typist. This translation strategy aimed to make the translation colloquial and readable for target readers in Taiwan.

Also during the revising process, the translator Liao would also replace some terms or apply particular language patterns which are widely used in the target language society. As a result, apart from employing the pattern ‘you有 (have)+verb (phrase)’ investigated above, Liao added many Chinese colloquial auxiliary words such as ‘la啦’, ‘de的’, ‘le了’ and ‘lo囉’ as ‘meaningless’ sentence-end colloquial language markers in his translation. The Chinese characters highlighted and underlined in the very beginning of the first paragraph of Chapter One in Liao’s rendition of *AHF* serve as good examples:

(10)如果你從來沒讀過《湯姆歷險記》的話，你是不會知道我是誰的啦。不過那也沒啥大不了的。那本書是馬克吐溫先生寫的的，雖然有些事他是說的誇張了點，但大部分他所說的都是實話。不過那也沒什麼大不了的，我從沒看過誰不偶爾撒撒謊的，除了玻莉姨媽，或者是那寡婦，也許瑪莉也可以算進來吧...。  
[26, p18]

Here is the source English text:

“You don't know about me without you have read a book by the name of The Adventures of Tom Sawyer; but that ain't no matter. That book was made by Mr. Mark Twain, and he told the truth, mainly. There was things which he stretched, but mainly he told the truth. That is nothing. I never seen anybody but lied one time or another, without it was Aunt Polly, or the widow, or maybe Mary..... [21, p.15]”

As discussed above, the strategy and approach used by Liao to carry out his rendition of *AHF* were slightly different from those of other translators. Liao first interpreted the original text in Chinese orally and then had it typed into Chinese by his typist, who also acted as an audient and offered some suggestions or comments for Liao if the interpreted and translated sentences did not read smoothly and fluently in the



target Chinese translated text. Also, Liao set only Taiwanese readers as his intended and prospective readers, so he (sub)consciously added these unique target colloquial language markers and language patterns in his renditions to confirm the target language norms. Furthermore, the Taiwanese language marker shown in the Table I is also identified in Wang's [30] rendition. Interestingly enough, such usage can be considered as sub-consciousness, as Wang, having different opinion with Lin's Taiwanese mandarin translation strategy [30, p.39], clearly indicated how Wang carefully selected the mandarin in her translation as Wang set the readers of her translation are all Chinese readers including those in mainland China, Hong Kong, Singapore and, of course, Taiwan. So, Wang deliberately chose the proper and decent mandarin in translating her work [30, pp.37-44]. As a result, the original writer Mark Twain's colloquial and dialectal language style as well as the unwell educated narrator Huckleberry and Jim both of their incorrect grammar use and sentences are expected unveiled in Wang's rendition. Moreover, in order to increase the readability and the characteristics of colloquial and dialectal language in translation, Wang, adopting the same strategy employed by Liao [26] as illustrated in above Example (10), added many of the meaningless colloquial auxiliary characters including 'la啦', 'de的', 'le了' and 'lo囉' sentence-end colloquial language markers in her translation.

#### D. Using the English Source Text in Translation

Generally speaking, a Chinese translation is expected to be rendered in Chinese characters as it is the target language. However, the source language, English, is also employed in translated text, which is worth noting as it is associated with the language policy and education in Taiwan.

(11)ST: Then she told me all about *the bad place*, and I said I wished I was there. [21, p.15]

TT1: 然後她跟我講了很多那個壞地方 (Potter版注: 華森小姐過於虔誠, 「地獄」一詞無法說出口, 「天堂」(好地方, *the good place*) 一詞亦然。) 的事情, 我說真希望可以去那邊. [27, p.66]

TT2: 然後, 她告訴我有一個「壞地方」(注14這個「壞地方」(*the bad place*) 指的是「地獄」, 華珊小姐是個虔誠的清教徒, 相信壞人死後下地獄, 好人死後上天堂) 的種種壞處, 而我說, 我巴不得到那裡去。 [30, p.17]

As highlighted and indicated in Example (11), both TT1 and TT2 translators not only rendered the source text into Chinese, but also offer extra note or footnote inside a parenthesis to explain these understatement implied in the source text. For instance, 'the bad place' is rendered as '*deyu* (地獄; hell)' in the TT1, but the translator also add 'the good place' in the translated text to refer to 'Heaven (*tiantang*; 天堂).

Similarly, the same translation strategy of offering extra

information in both English and Chinese in the translated text can be also revealed in TT2. Apart from that, the TT2 translator Wang [30, p.17] also explains the original in details by offering the correct English description in the translated text as the following example:

(12)「赫克貝里, 不要把腳蹣在那上面」; 還有「赫克貝里, 不要那樣縮頭縮腦——身子坐直起來」(原文 "Don't scrunch up like that, Huckleberry-set up straight;" 中的scrunch有兩類意義, 一指「喀嚓喀嚓的咀嚼或壓碎」, 一指「捲縮或揉成一團」, 兩者都可以形容赫克毛躁躁的行為, 但是參照後半二句( **set up** straight ) (正確拼法應該是 ( **sit up** straight ) 「身子坐直起來」.

As can be seen in the Example (12), the translation not only explains the word "scrunch" for two different meaning for two meanings, but also states that the phrase 'set up straight' in the source text should be spelled as 'sit up straight' and then offer the translation for the latter 'sit up straight' in Chinese translation as 「身子坐直起來」. Such both English and Chinese languages appearing in the translated text seem more and more common in translation as the translator not only wishes to offer extra information from the source language into translated text, but also expects the target readers who are ability to read the English words or phrases.

In this section, different types of translation strategies are employed by Taiwanese translators to not only convey their language ideology and identity in translations, but also conform the language norms used in the target culture. These languages selected in translation with the monolingual vernacular Chinese mandarin rendered before 1987 as it is the only language used in the island of Taiwan. However, with political changes and local languages are used as an approach to show the speaker's national ideology and identity; more and more Taiwanese mandarin are used together with vernacular mandarin, such languages hybridity is used not only in people daily communication, but also in written texts, including translations. Moreover, with the multi-linguistic and multi-cultural society proposed in Taiwan as well as the English education promoted in the island of Taiwan, multilingual text in Chinese Translation can be also acceptable for publishing, especially for these translation for the readers who can read or understand these different languages. It is expected such multilingual text translated text would be more and more as the language politics and policies developed in Taiwan.

#### VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate how translators in Taiwan have dealt with the dialectal features encoded in Twain's work and how the use of Taiwanese dialect in translation relates to language politics, the movement of mother tongue language, and language ideology as well as social and political change in Taiwan. As discussed above with the examples offered, not only is the Southern-Min Taiwanese dialect widely spoken by the inhabitants of Taiwan and widely used or combined with

Mandarin Chinese in their daily life, it also brings a great impact in literary work translated into Chinese, including the use of 'Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin' and 'modern language terms' as well as the temporal marker 'you有+verb (phrase)' used in Taiwanese Mandarin. These instances and the discussion of them above also answer my first research question, which asked how the translators in Taiwan dealt with the dialectal features encoded in Twain's work.

It is also worth mentioning that most of the translators or editors in this study, including Liao [26] and Lin [27], set only teenagers and young adults in Taiwan as their target readers, which caused them to select particular specific target language forms and accepted terms such as Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin, to enable the target intended readers to feel familiar with the colloquial language used in the translation. In this respect, the finding of this study suggests that these Taiwanese translators can be regarded as spirited translators as they, unlike faithful translators, paid less attention to remaining loyal to and sticking with the original text in terms of syntax, grammar and logical form; instead, they employed "the corresponding modern phrases" in translation to make their translation acceptable and readable, or close to the modern pragmatics and "connected with modern manners", which can be the characteristics of spirited translators, according to Lefevere's [2, p.50] definition and classification.

There is still the question of the reasons why Taiwanese spoken linguistic patterns, modern terms, and Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin were only identified in some translations. Discussion of this can take two directions; one is translation strategies, which are influenced by the translator's own ideology and poetics according to Lefevere [2, pp.49-51]; the other is that of the time in which the translation was made. For the latter, as far as the time of the Chinese translation being rendered or published is concerned, the Chinese translations examined in this study were published before the end of martial law in 1987, when the official language used in Taiwan was Mandarin Chinese, which was the only language allowed to be used in public and in all published texts under the censorship rules which applied then. That may explain why no instances of the particularly 'Taiwanese Mandarin' sentence pattern 'you有 (have) + verb (phrase)' were identified in any of the translations published before 1990, and why no Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin or modern language terms were identified in those translations produced before 1987.

After the lifting of martial law, the Taiwanese language was used in the island as a *lingua franca* with many mother tongue dialectal languages starting to be used and spoken again in public, and the language was gradually considered as a tool to show one's national identity or ideological ties to the island of Taiwan. Among the different dialects, the majority of the population can speak and understand Southern-Min, which was therefore used by some politicians to show and raise the issue of language ideology and national identity. Thereafter, more and more inhabitants of Taiwan have consciously and unconsciously attempted to speak or use terms composed of Taiwanese loans words to form Southern-Min in Mandarin

Chinese sentences to show their 'language identity' commitment to the island of Taiwan.

Interestingly, the movement promoting the use of the mother tongue in colloquial language also affected the language used in Chinese translations published after 1990, and, as illustrated in above examples (1) to (8), 'Taiwan loan words in Mandarin' were used and employed by different translators or editors in their translations. The strategy of interpreting the dialectal language into written form and incorporating several Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin was not only a way to show the translator's personal ideology and language identity but also to confirm the poetics in that target language and culture at the time the translation was made, which supports Lefevere's [2, pp.49-51] theory. Moreover, the language used in the island was even regarded as a marker of national identity or ideology after the end of the 1990s, when speaking in a Taiwanese dialect language alone or combining it with Mandarin Chinese or the so-called 'Taiwanese Mandarin' in public came to be regarded as a way of displaying one's language ideology and identity towards the island of Taiwan. Therefore, inhabitants of Taiwan would prefer to use 'Taiwanese Mandarin' on purpose and consciously, to show their language ideology and identity towards the island and to differentiate themselves from the Mandarin Chinese used in mainland China, in terms of underlining their different political ideology – Taiwan is not a part of Mainland China, the PRC. As a result, some grammar and sentence patterns have become more or less influenced by the Taiwanese dialect; the Taiwanese load words in Mandarin and the sentence pattern 'you有 (have) + verb (phrase)' illustrated above can be regarded as good examples of this, which not only indicate that the traditional Mandarin Chinese sentence patterns have been changed in the spoken language now used in Taiwan ([37]-[39], for instance), but are also confirmed and supported by being employed in translations, as revealed in the literary translations rendered either consciously by Liao [26] and Lin [27] subconsciously by other translators. Remarkably, apart from the fact that Taiwanese loan words in Mandarin are continually increasingly used in translation, some modern language terms used by Taiwanese teenagers or young adults have also been used in translations as discussed in the previous sections and illustrated by the examples provided.

In conclusion, languages used in translation not only show the translator(s) idiosyncrasy, language style, but also reveal the poetics at the time the translation made and the censorship that guided by the government as well as the language policy that decided by the authoritative power. For example, one language, especially dialects, is prohibited in one period of time could, oppositely, be encouraged and popular in other time, and it has been in many countries, such as Ireland, Quebec, and Taiwan [20], [35]. These languages worldwide are revived and even encouraged to learn are all decided and influenced by the power of the authority or the supremacy.

This study aims at illustrating and demonstrating how government-led language policy and language political have great influenced on the translations made in different periods by different translators who chose the languages employed in

translating not only to confirm the target language norms but also to show their personal language identity to the sociality that they live in. The result of this study confirms the hypothesis set for this study – that ‘the language changed in translation is influenced by the changes in socio-political development in Taiwan’. This finding also answers the second question raised in the Introduction, which asked “How does the use of Taiwanese dialect in translation relate to the movement of mother tongue language education and language ideology as well as social and political change in Taiwan”. By making a close examination and comparison of all the full renditions of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* published in Taiwan, this study offers an example of how to study language ideology and identity in literary translation.

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