Language Ideology of English: its Relation with Linguistic Ownership

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The study investigates language ideology of English through interview and discusses how English users and non-English users conceptualize English differently in Taiwan. Among the 25 informants, thirteen of them are proficient English speakers and the other 12 of informants have relatively low competence in English and seldom use English in daily conversation. It is found that generally all informants, regardless of competence levels, hold the ideology of English necessitation. Under the ideology of English as a necessity, all the informants view English strongly positive for mainly its instrumental functions. Since informants are aware of positive images that English projects, English speakers and non-English speakers position themselves differently. And owing to the fact that English is highly valued and that English users are thought to be more privileged and promising career-wise, English is perceived to be a superior and pretentious attribute dispreferred in local and private sectors. The study shows that linguistic ownership is a significant social factor that influences language ideology of English.

Keywords: language ideology of English, language attitudes, globalization

1. INTRODUCTION

The new forms of economic practices under globalization have altered the value of language, which can be commodified in markets (Heller 2003, 2010). English has thus transformed from a lingua franca to a global language whose functions have become symbolic with socially significant meanings. It is established that English is deemed positive and recognized as a tool of upward mobility. The goal of the study is to take a step further to investigate how English is conceptualized and what images English projects in Taiwan.

To analyze the conceptualizations of English, I would like to bring forth the focuses of the study with a Facebook message I received from my high school classmate during the study wad conducted. She described her encounter with a foreigner at a café, presented in (1).

(1)   Dear Ann, something that happened this morning made me want to strangle myself. A foreigner asked me to translate what he said to a clerk. Why did he turn to me? Because he accidentally cut in line right in front of me. I told him, with a smile, that it was ok and gestured him to order first. He probably misunderstood that I spoke good English. Then he started babbling about how he hated it when clerks placed their hands on cup lids brewing his coffee. I thought he was just trying to banter with me, so I didn't pay too much attention to what he was saying. And then, he asked me to translate what he said to the clerk. He caught me totally off guard, so I asked him to repeat what he said. But I was simply too nervous. I didn't realize that I missed the points entirely until I left. Gosh. I want to strangle myself. I disgraced my school and myself. Do you know that

there was a long line after us? Gosh. I can't believe that I only realized that I completely missed out the most important part.

As can be observed in (1), she revealed the beliefs that it was shameful for her to fail the conversation and that she thought she was responsible for the failure. She was depicting, and condemning, her failure of carrying out an English conversation with a foreigner at a café. The severe self-accusation in line 8 *diule xuexiao de lian woye diusilian le* 'I disgraced my school and myself' implies that she thought she *should have* dealt with the conversation with ease and that she conceptualized English as a necessity.

The values of English in Taiwan are deemed go beyond fulfilling communicative needs. It has been widely studied (e.g. Chen 2010, Lee 2008, Tsai 2010, Wang 2000) that English is viewed decidedly positive. One additional interesting aspect in (1) is her relatively less emphasis on the collapse of information transmission itself. A greater emphasis was instead on her self-deprecation and condemnation, implicating that failing the conversation was more distressing than the failure of conversation. At the communication level, she believed that she should be responsible. And at the social level, what the message conveys is that English is symbolic and indexical to other social attributes. The inability to speak English means a lot more than the incompetence to talk to foreigners in English.

Unarguably, English is comprehensively considered to be positive and instrumental to upward mobility in Taiwan. However, although many studies have provided detailed accounts on the issues, to the best of my knowledge, little attention has been paid to the following facets. First, the ideological aspects that shape the attitudes are seldom accounted for. Dyers and Abongdia (2010) suggest that language ideology, mostly known as beliefs of language rooted in our social experiences, precedes language attitudes. Second, studies on language attitudes have mainly focused on English learners at various levels and seldom recruited informants of non-English speakers out of school contexts.

The study collects data through interview with 25 informants of various social

backgrounds. The present study is aimed at investigating

(1) general language ideology of English in Taiwan, and

(2) social variables, particularly competence, that influences language ideology of English

The study is outlined as follows. Chapter 2 outlines a general discussion on past studies. Chapter 3 illustrates the methodology. Chapter 4 discusses the findings of interview. The summary of the study, along with the limitations, is presented in Chapter 5.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

Language ideology as a field of inquiry has been approached from various facets in order to bridge up relations between language and society (Woolard 1992). Silverstein (1979) suggests that language ideologies are "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (193). Irvine states that ideology is "the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social differentiation that would claim to predict the one from the other" (1989:255). Rumsey defines language ideology as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world" (1990:346). For Woolard (1998), language ideology is "representations … that construe the intersection of language and human beings in the social world" (1998:03). These definitions differ in dimensions they choose to zoom in, but what is mostly agreed upon is that language ideology is reflective of experiences of our particular social position (Kroskrity 2000; Woolard 1992; Woolard & Schieffelin 1994). Woolard (1992) summarizes prototypical features. First, language ideology is conceptual. Second, ideology is power-laden as it can be manipulated by social dominance. Besides, ideology is a rationalization about language. Therefore, language ideology contradicts with truth (Cameron 2003). Language ideology, according to Woolard (1998), is an interpreted rationalization that bridges social and linguistic practices. Significantly, ideology not merely affects the patterns of talk, but also regularizes

(Silverstein 1979, 1985) and neutralizes them (Spitulnik 1998).

Globalization transforms speakers' beliefs about languages. Language is regarded as commodities with market values (Ricento 2010). The new form of economy constructs niche markets in which symbolic values of objects can be commodified (Heller 2003). This new type of economic activity centralizes language as both a resource and a commodity.

2.2 ECONOMIC VALUES OF LANGUAGE

Language receives values through price formation which is primarily regulated by linguistic markets (Boudieu 1984, 1986, 1990). Price formation refers to processes in which language is legitimated and even recognized as prestigious through the legitimation. In a stratified society, language is endowed power of social differentiations owing to the power of its speakers. *Capital* is accumulated and profitable force that can transform freely for reproduction (Bourdieu 1986). Stating that language has economic values suggests that competence, as a linguistic capital, can translate into economic capital. Linguistic capital of English is accumulated when English is constantly distributed without territorial confinements and is favored by learners (Phillipson 2008). With the number of second language learners of English outnumbering that of native speakers and conceptualizations of English as beneficial, learning English becomes an interest that is believed to guarantee social advancements.

2.3 GLOBALIZATION AND THE RISE OF ENGLISH

English has become the foremost world language due to its functions as a lingua franca (Mufwene 2010), defined by Firth (1996:240) as a 'contact language between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common national culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication.' It is found that the competence of English is widely thought of as an access to wider markets. Predictably, English is therefore stereotypically assumed to guarantee social and economic advancements. As English is highly valued, to acquire English in non-English speaking countries is perceived of crucial

importance in globalization.

As many studies (e.g. Grin 2001, Park 2011) have pointed out, English is thought to promise economic and social advancements. Consequently, English is considered to be a marker of superior socioeconomic status (Ricento 2010). However, such a stereotype raises questions of assessments of English competence and the indeterminancy of relations between English and speakers' socioeconomic status. Linguistic competence which, in a functional perspective, refers to the knowledge of proper language use (Hymes 1967), is not an objectively measurable skill. Blommaert et al. (2005) assert that competence depends largely on linguistic markets for recognition. In this fashion, legitimation of competence depends on how this language is positioned in particular regimes which are able to validate or incapacitate speakers' repertoire. Since competence is situation-based, values of the language and what speakers can obtain via the competence are also determined by linguistic markets (Park 2011).

Furthermore, even with support of empirical evidence, there is a certain degree of difficulty to justify English as economic values. To begin with, there is a risk of circularity in deciding whether it is language that affects economy or the other way around (Grin 2001; Park 2011). Even if language and economy are correlated, it does not necessarily indicate that they are in causal relations. What is more, a bundle of other determinants, education in particular, are also in positive correlation with earnings, suggesting the inappropriateness of claiming that English leads to financial advancements (Grin 2001).

2.4 ENGLISH IN TAIWAN

The current sociolinguistic profile of English in Taiwan results chiefly from various institutional power—education, media, and popular culture. Generally, the number of proficient English speakers is still relatively small. As English is not the native language of Taiwan and the number of proficient speakers remains small, functions of English are mostly perceived to be instrumental (see e.g. Chen, Warden & Chang 2005, Wang 2000). The

instrumental motivations in fact surpass its practical functions (Chen 2010).

3. Methodology

The study interviewed 25 persons in Taipei area (both Taipei City and New Taipei City), with the equal number of both English users and non-English users. English speakers are those who make a living with their English competence, use English on a daily basis, or score higher than 80 in iBT. Non-English speakers are those who do not display any of these three features. The 25 interviewees aged from 19 to 51, with their occupations and educational levels varying. Twenty one of them are native speakers of either Taiwanese or Chinese. Four of them are Hakka, but only two of them speak Hakka with native fluency.

The interview contains three sections of questions. In the first part, interviewees were asked to complete their personal information, including age, occupations, native languages, and language repertoire. In the second part, the questions were designed to look into interviewees' daily contact with English. In the last part of the questions, the questions were directed to inquire interviewees' perceptions of English.

4. Discussion

It is found that informants commonly conceptualized English as prerequisite. The ideology is apparent in interviewees' appraisal of English and deprecations of incompetence. Yet, the perceived prominence of English in Taiwan is not the result directly caused by its use-value as the number of proficient English speakers is small. Rather, it is instrumental functions that motivate the acquisition. Additionally, English is not overall celebrated. Thus, this section discusses general language ideology of English and cases in which English is not embraced. The three dimensions, appraisal of English, deprecation of incompetence and dispreferred English are discussed from perspectives of both English users and non-English users. Though English users and non-English users demonstrate seemingly similar perceptions

of English, they differ significantly in *how* they perceive English.

4.1 APPRAISAL IN ENGLISH

The appraisal of English can be approached from interviewees' overt affirmations on the necessity of English and positive evaluations toward English.

4.1.1 ENGLISH AS A NECESSITY

It is found that English is treated as *biyao* 'must' or *bixu* 'essential' by informants. A mid-age restaurant owner Shane, who displayed limited English skills, believed that younger generation in Taiwan should learn to speak English owing to globalization, as shown in (2).

(2)	1	SHANE	我們是比較 (.) 我們是屬於那一種 (.) 我們是屬於傳統
	2		或是那個(.) 比較沒有世界 (.) 不會走向世界的 (10:38)
	3	ANN	喔
	4	SHANE	所以 (.) 我是覺得 (.) 這 (.) 沒有必要
	5		年紀也大了
	6	ANN	嗯
→	7	SHANE	可是那個 (.) 就是 (.) 因為現在是 (.) <u>地球村</u>
	8	ANN	嗯嗯
	9	SHANE	對 (.) 地球村
	10		所以我覺得就是年輕人應該還是要
	11	ANN	年輕人應該要有-
→	12	SHANE	<u>必須</u> (.) 是必須
	13		或者是說 (.) 你有那個企圖
	14		還是要 (.) 還是必須

He stated that younger generation should have basic command of English because of globalization (line 7). And the term globalization seems to strengthen his stance on learning English. He first said that younger generation *may* be able to speak English (line 10), but accentuated the necessity by replacing the epistemic modal *yinggai* 'may' in line 10 to the deontic modal *bixu* 'must' in line 12.

On the other hand, it is found that English users also explicitly expressed their positive

stances on English necessitation. An English major, Jodi, elaborated her opinions on why English is indispensable, presented in (3).

(3)	1	JODI	我覺得因為台灣是島 (18:41)
	2		我覺得台灣的貿易很 (.) 很興盛
	3	ANN	嗯
	4	JODI	比較沒有辦法內需嘛
	5	ANN	嗯
	6	JODI	一定要靠外需
→	7		所以 (.) 我覺得那個 (.) 整個國際貿易什麼的都很重要
	8	ANN	嗯
	9	JODI	然後加上我覺得台灣的 (.) 一些學術競爭力
	10	ANN	嗯
	11	JODI	就是 (.) 發展方面資金不夠
	12		沒有國外來的雄厚
→	13		所以我覺得滿多資訊是要靠外界的
	14	ANN	嗯
	15	JODI	那靠外界的話
	16		如果要等人家翻成中文
	17		我覺得太慢了
	18	ANN	嗯
	19	JODI	所以我覺得英文其實滿必要的

As can be observed, she asserted that English is necessary owing to our high reliance on international trade and information (lines 7 and 13). And English is the foremost medium through which international trade is conducted.

Comparing the both perspectives from English-user and non-English users, both of them seemingly agree on the necessity of English. However, some discrepancies are worth the attention. Though the conceptualization of English as a necessity is prevalent, there is a gap between such a perception and actually speaking it. According to Chen (2010), the population of English speakers remains relatively small. Domains in which English is spoken are still restricted, mostly spoken in academic domains and classroom contexts only. Non-English users, or speakers at a less proficiency level, still represent the majority in Taiwan. Similar a

contradiction has been observed in other Asian countries such as South Korea (e.g. Park 2011). In these Expanding Circle countries, as Kachru (1985) labels, English serves little communication functions and native language can fulfill all communication demands. Consequently, English necessitation in these countries may not originate from the need of using it.

The second discrepancy of English necessitation between English users and non-English uses lies in reasons why English is prerequisite. In (2), Shane, who did not specify his views on English necessitation, briefly mentioned that the global village makes English prevalent (line 7). Similarly, most of the non-English users interviewed either internalized the enforcement of English without providing reasons or connected English to globalization. On the other hand, English users usually hold more elaborated accounts. Furthermore, both parties recognized learning English for instrumental function. Consequently, the prevalence of English in Taiwan is owing to career and social advancements that speakers think English promises.

4.1.2 POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD ENGLISH

A good commend of English is eagerly sought-after and thus English users are usually sung high praise of. To state Taiwanese's great emphasis on English, the section discusses its reasons and perspectives from both parties: how non-English speakers look at English speakers and how English speakers position themselves in relation to non-English speakers

(4)	1	ANN	那如果 (.) 你自己認為英文不好
	2		你對那些英文好的人有什麼樣的想法
	3	HELEN	會很 (.) 很欣賞很羨慕
	4	ANN	很欣賞很羨 (.) 重點是很羨慕
	5	HELEN	對

In (4), a middle-aged accountant in a publishing company, Helen, considered herself an

incompetent English user and expressed her admiration for those who speak English well. She later described her experience of attending a private institute to learn English. However, she gave up before long due to domestic demands and, most of all, the lack of motivations. With such an experience, she admired those who are good at English with owe.

Younger generations are more frequently exposed to English due to media, formal English education, and the abundance of resources. Therefore, it can be expected that they displayed a better command of English. Yet, it is found that informants with basic competence, as shown in (5), still admire proficient English users.

(5)　　1　GABRIELLA　　還是覺得好屬害 *((laughs))*
　　　　2　ANN　　　　　覺得很屬害
　　　　3　NICOLE　　　　對啊
　　　　4　CHERYL　　　覺得很屬害
　　　　5　GABRIELLA　　對=
　　　　6　CHERYL　　　　=很羨慕

As can be seen, Gabriella, Nichole, and Cheryl all expressed their admiration for those who speak English well. In fact, all three interviewees are well-educated music majors with MA degrees, and they still admired those who speak English well, suggesting self-deprecation of their competence. Non-English users provided negative answers to interview questions regarding their daily contact with English. Even though English is agreed to be important, it is not learned to fulfill daily communicative demand.

Owing to the fact that the population of English speakers remains small, those that have a better command of English tend to receive a great amount of positive attention, or even exaggerated flattering sometimes. How English users react to the flattering and position themselves in relation to non-English users reveal how English is conceptualized. English users are aware of their privileges, and thus hey tend to intentionally downplay or neutralize attention and positive comments they receive, as demonstrated in (6).

(6)	1	GILL	我覺得很奇怪 (10:04)
	2		有一 (.) 就是我之前 (.) 喔 (.) 我之前住宿
	3	ANN	嗯
	4	GILL	然後因為我那房間都不是 (.) 語言的 (.) 科系的室友
	5		然後我就只是打開了我的 PPT 在
	6		就之前不是要報告腦神經什麼的嗎
	7	MANDY	嗯
	8	GILL	然後因為 (.) 很焦慮的在準備
	9		你知道他們在旁邊都會說
	10		哇
	11		他們就說 (.) 就很小聲說
	12		因為他看我很認真在那邊弄
→	13		他們說 (.) ㄟ (.) [Gill]的那個 ppt (.) 他們都是英文ㄟ
	14		然後我想說 (.) 我心裡想說 (.) 廢話 ((laughs))
	15		不然怎麼辦呢
	16		然後他們就是會 (.) 然後還全部聚集過來看
	17		然後我就 (.) 喔 (.)
	18		他們說 (.) 那你們 (.) 那個 (.) 報告也是英文嗎 (.) 什麼的 (.)
→	19		我說 (.) 喔 (.) 對啊 (.) 可是又不能講的很 (.)
	20	MANDY	對對對
→	21	GILL	因為我怕他們會覺得 (.) [你很]厲害
→	22	MANDY	[驕傲]

Gill's narration suggests that her roommates found Gill's English slides fascinating (lines 13 to 16). Gill recalled that she was particularly careful when replying to her roommates in fear of sounding arrogant or superior to them (line 19). Mandy's immediate affirmation in line 20 and overlapping with Gill's utterance in line 22 instantiate that such a situation in which an English user is complimented is mutually shared. What is also shared is the need that they feel to downplay their abilities and disagree with compliments. Such exchanges between Gill and her roommates indicate that English carries social power that is socially significant.

A conclusion can be drawn before moving on to the next section. Over emphasis on English but in fact small population of users and limited domains all point to the fact that the ownership of English means a lot more than simply abilities to speak the language. Therefore,

people usually find proficient speakers impressive.

4.2 DEPRECATIONS OF INCOMPETENCE

This section focuses on negative judgments of incompetence in English from two dimensions, deprecation of oneself, and that of others.

4.2.1 SELF-DEPRECATION

During the interview, less competent informants frequently deprecated themselves as bad speakers of English, implying that the lack of English command is considered laughable.

Excerpt (7) is an example of how non-English users deprecated themselves and yet simultaneously derided other's poor English.

(7)	1	ANN	所以你們自己 (.) 嗯 (.) 自己認為的英文能力的程度大概到哪邊
	2	ROCCO	程度
→	3	NICOLE	應該<u>只有</u>國中
→	4	ROCCO	<u>全民英檢初級考三次</u>都不會過
	5	ALL	*((laugh))*
	6	NICOLE	他 (.) 他現在
	7	CHERYL	真的還假的
	8	MARK	好悲哀喔

As can be seen in (7), Nicole downgraded her competence by claiming she was probably *zhiyou* 'only' at the level of junior high school students in line 3. Rocco's deprecation was wrapped in an amusingly ironic expression that he would not pass GEPT basic level even if he takes the exam for three times (line 4). The self-deprecation was accomplished as Cheryl questioned him if he was just being exaggerated in line 7. Mark, who had as little command of English as Rocco does, joked about how pathetic Rocco was. The excerpt shows that lack of competence in English is considered negative.

In addition to self-deprecation, many interviewees, including those that self-reported as

non-English users, outwardly criticized incompetence in English. For example, Kelly and Liz, who are at their early thirtieth, were presented a post from the gossip forum on Bulletin Board System. The person who started the thread codemixed his Chinese post with one English word and the thread became a battlefield in which people fired at others for different voices on codeswitching. Kelly and Liz were asked to elaborate on this debate, as illustrated in (8).

(8)	1	KELLY	我覺得是看不懂就不會問 (39:37)
	2	ANN	嗯
→	3	LIZ	對 (.) [他會覺得丟臉]
→	4	KELLY	ㅤㅤ[看不懂就會覺]得丟臉 (.) 就不會問
	5	LIZ	對

As Kelly is an English major and Liz works in a foreign telecommunication company, English is used on a daily basis. Liz first illustrated that not reading English is shameful (line 3), whose opinions quickly backed up by Kelly. It is found that competent speakers also hold negative attitudes toward the lack of English abilities.

Ridiculing other's bad English is exclusively reserved for English masters. Non-English speakers can quip at friends who know English practically as little as they do, shown in (9).

(9)	1	ROCCO	我 (.) 我老師是常常上課突然是飆一段英文出來
	2		我根本就 (.) 呃
	3	NANCY	對啊
	4		我們老師也會啊
	5	GABRIELLA	有些老師上課也會飆英文
	6	SHARON	主修老師
	7	ROCCO	你老師也會嗎
	8	GABRIELLA	會
	9	ROCCO	可我老師因為在國外很久了
	10	GABRIELLA	我們老師也會啊=
	11	ROCCO	ㅤㅤㅤㅤㅤ=他去十幾年
	12		然後就忽然飆一段 (.) 又一段 (.) 我就 (.) 呃
	13	GABRIELLA	他不會是一段 (.) 但他可能是一個單字=
	14	ROCCO	ㅤㅤㅤㅤㅤㅤ=沒有 (.) 我老師不是

	一個單字
15	他是一串 (.)
16	因為他不知道怎麼表達
17	他就一串出來=

→ 17 SHARON =他可能忘記當時在教(Rocco)

19 ALL *((laugh))*

Rocco, Nicole, Gabriella and Cheryl illustrated that their respective teachers habitually and unconsciously codeswitched between Chinese and English in class (lines 1 to 10). Rocco first stated that he could not follow what his teacher said (line 1), as the sudden change from Chinese to English constantly caught him off guard. However, others only focused on the part that their teachers also spoke English in class, not echoing Rocco's "not understanding" part. So, Rocco asked for affirmation again (line 7). It can be assumed that he expected that they were also perplexed when hearing English suddenly. He rephrased the sentence in line 12 and Cheryl ended the discussion by smartly quipping that Rocco's teacher probably forgot whom he was talking to at that moment. She made fun of Rocco's bad English even though she did not consider herself a competent speaker of English. Through the example, it is shown that even lighthearted banters among friends who are self-claimed bad speakers of English reveal the ideology that the lack of English can evoke negative judgments.

The section has discussed that incompetence in English is viewed negative. Informants used strong emotive terms, such as *beiai* 'pathetic' in (7), and *diulian* 'disgrace' in (8) and (9), to describe the lack of competence. Besides, both English users and non-English users deprecated others' incompetence.

4.3 OTHER CASES

It is established in the previous two sections that English is highly evaluated in Taiwan by both English users and non-English users. Generally, informants do not necessarily favor English over other languages in any context even though they did express their positive

attitudes toward English overtly.

It is found that interviewees, regardless of their proficiency level, were pursuing native-like pronunciation without being able to define what the term "standard" is. Under the operation of standard language ideology (Lippi-Green 1997), fluent but accented English-speakers are considered incompetent in, again, not merely English, but other abilities. In other words, though English and competence of it are highly valued in Taiwan, the socially advanced image that it is supposed to project can be easily challenged when speakers' English conflicts with norms that hearers believed to be, presented in (10).

(10)	1	MARK	我覺得是 (.) 比較慘的是那種 (.) 國外回來
	2		然後唸的很誇張的那種
	3	ANN	嗯
			((omitted))
	4	RAY	他講ㄟV巴第*((laughs))* (everybody)
	5	GABRIELLA	ㄟ v *((laugs))* ㄟ v 巴第
	6	RAY	快笑死了
	7	MARK	那你有聽過(name)講英文嗎
	8	RAY	不敢聽
	9	MARK	他也是留美你知道
	10		摻雜台語
→	11	SHARON	有點台式英文對不對
	12		因為我有一個朋友也是
	13		然後我弟還問我說
	14		姐 (.) 你真的確定他從國外回來嗎
	15	ANN	嗯
→	16	SHARON	然後就是有點台台
	17		就覺得 (.) 他講話就是台灣國語
	18		可是他從國外回來
→	19		我就常常想說他講英文是不是也是這樣

As can be seen, Mark, Rocco, and Gill derided speakers of foreign diploma but with accented English. Sherry pointed out that she could not imagine how a friend of hers with Taiwanese-accented Chinese speaks English (lines 16 to 19). Her description indicates that

images projected by English are not universally positive. Other conceptualizations such as standard language ideology of Mandarin can invalidate one's language.

Additionally, in local contexts, such as lighthearted banters between close friends, English is not preferred due to the social image it projects, as demonstrated in (11).

(11)	1	JACKIE	其實我高中同學 (.) 我周圍同學其實只有我一個人是唸外文
	2	ANN	嗯
	3	JACKIE	然後其他的人 (.) 我比較要好的同學是 (.) 數學 (.) 他是唸數學
	4		然後 (.) 理工科的男生
	5	ANN	嗯
	6	JACKIE	然後還有一個是 (.) 應用華語所的 (.)
	7	ANN	嗯
	8	JACKIE	然後其實跟他們在一起
	9		他們其實都不太喜歡我用英文跟他們講
	10	ANN	嗯
	11	JACKIE	假設甚至有些可能只是一些 keywords
	12		他們都會 (.) 可能聽不太懂
	13		或者是 (.) 你可能很常 (.) 大 (.) 大學都用習慣了
	14		你跟他們在一起的時候 (.)
	15		就是盡量不要講英文
	16	ANN	嗯
→	17	JACKIE	會比較好 (.) 不然他們有時候可能會很抓狂 *((laughs))* 對

In (11), Jackie illustrates that she would avoid using English when talking to friends. A majority of English users also self-reported that they deliberately avoid codemixing.

What is interesting is that the avoidance of using English is spontaneous. That is, English users seldom, and most of them had never, encountered situations in which their friends explicitly expressed that they were uncomfortable about codeswitching. However, for non-English users, codeswitching does easily triggered unintended interpretations such as showing off even though they did not overtly voice that. Deliberate efforts to avoid speaking English in local contexts and over interpretations of English's images by non-English users suggest that people are perfectly aware of social implications that English is made to connote.

Standard language ideology and avoidance of English in local/private contexts shows that English is not always favored as informants explicitly reported in interviews.

5. CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS

The study investigates language ideology of English through interviewing how English is conceptualized by English users and non-English users. Among the 25 informants, thirteen of them are proficient English speakers who have learned English as a foreign language and use English on a daily basis. The other 12 of informants have relatively low competence in English and seldom use English in daily conversation. It is found that generally all informants hold the ideology of English necessitation. Under the ideology of English as a necessity, all the informants view English strongly positive for mainly its instrumental functions. Informants are also aware of positive images that English users are able to project. Consequently, though English is highly valued and English users are thought to be more privileged and promising career-wise, English is perceived to be a superior and further pretentious attribute dispreferred in local and private sectors. The finding is what, to the best of my knowledge, previous studies seldom focused on.

As a rather small-scaled study, several aspects are worth further explorations. First, more informants of different regions, genders, educations and occupations should be recruited for sounder analyses. Second, interview should be viewed as interactional data with different meanings at different discourse levels (e.g. De Fina 2011; Wortham 2011). The present study does not focus on how informants report themselves to be and the stances they implicitly revealed through interaction. With these dimensions taken into accounts, issues addressed in the study will surely yield more objective and informative theoretical accounts.

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論英文的社會形象及其意識形態：與英文所有權之關聯

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　　本研究旨在探究全球化影響之下英文在臺的社會形象、觀感、以及臺灣民眾的英文意識形態，由過去文獻已知英文被賦予十分正面的社會價值，此研究更進一步討論英文的概念化和意識形態。藉由訪談，本研究討論英文的意識形態如何因為英文所有權，即能力與否，而有顯著差異。研究結果指出，在訪談的直接問答之間，所有受訪者皆強調英文的必要性，但是兩方受訪者理由不同。進一步探究更發現，言談之中，受訪者透露出和他們訪談內容不同的態度以及概念。由於英文被視為職場和學術利器的形象鮮明，在非正式或同儕對話中，英文的接受度反而明顯降低，雖英文被視為必要，但訪談者一致認為英文所有權者有責避免使用英文。研究結果發現，英文能力與否影響說話者在言談中的定位，同時也影響英文的意識形態。

關鍵詞：語言意識形態、語言態度、全球化