

Reading Between the Signs:

How the presence of English in Taipei's urban linguistic landscape
changed from the 1950s until the lifting of Martial Law in 1987

A thesis presented by

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- Anon.

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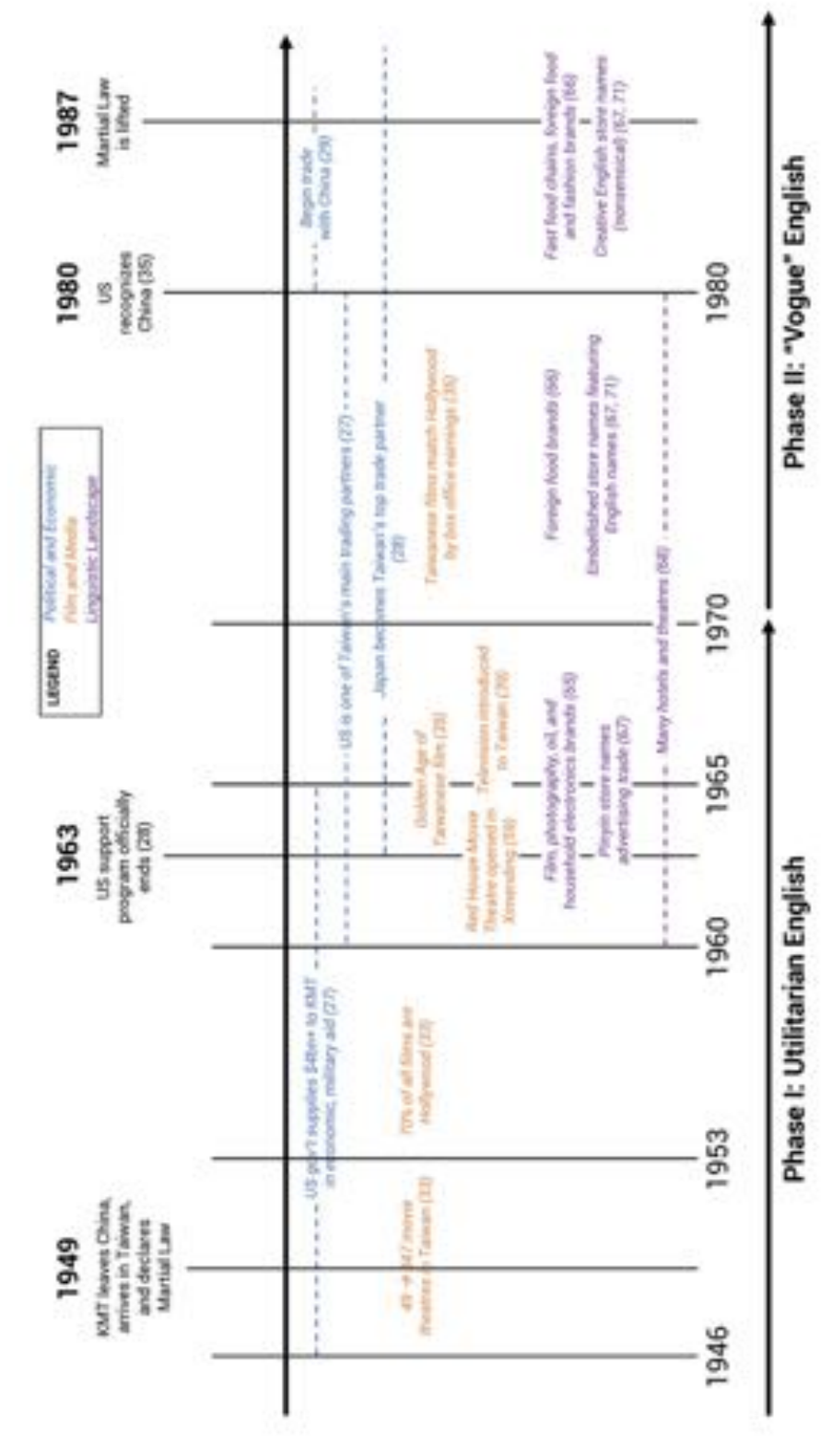
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Timeline



Chapter I: Introduction

I began my thesis fascinated by the far-reaching influence of English around the world. Combining my background in linguistics and urban studies, I narrowed the topic down to the physical manifestations of English's influence in urban environments. Further research led me to Taipei, a city that I have visited consistently throughout my life. Taipei, the capital of Taiwan, is a unique city that has been significantly exposed to Western culture – in particular, English. Today, Taipei bears marks of this exposure. While walking through the city, I am always taken aback by how many of its elements bear English labels: street signs, transit maps, subway signs, store names, and even menus in restaurants. Sometimes the English is crystal clear in conveying a particular message, although more often than not, it is a source of amusement because it is so indecipherable to me and my English-fluent parents. These jokes are often lost on our local relatives, who seem to harbour an attitude of admiration towards English and any level of competence with the language, no matter how basic.

This phenomenon left me baffled. The English that I saw in Taipei was only occasionally functional in conveying a translated message: it primarily seemed impractical. However, not only did the locals engage with all instances of English indiscriminately, they often also contributed to the English that was so baffling to me. For instance, brands that are well-known in the English-speaking world are often referenced in unrecognizable ways in Taipei. One of my

favourite examples is IKEA, which is pronounced *ai-key-yah* in North America¹, while it is pronounced *ih-key-yah* in Taiwan². In a similar way, English names that are common in the Western world are often taken, modified, and used by Taiwanese people. For example, self-given names that I have seen include Sammi, Archer, Mango, and Ark. These names appear frequently on social media such as Line³ or Facebook and are often used in place of Chinese names for self-identification by these individuals.

I set out on my research, determined to gain a little more insight into the role of English in Taipei today. However, I could not investigate this topic without first understanding the modern linguistic history of the city, specific to English. As I began to perform background research on Taipei's modern history, it occurred to me that perhaps the point at which English was most aggressively introduced to the city would coincide with certain political changes at the national level. The most pertinent event in Taiwan's modern history that I encountered was the imposition and lifting of Martial Law, which occurred in 1949 and 1987, respectively. Martial Law was instated in Taiwan at the end of WWII when the Kuomintang (KMT) fled Mainland China following the Chinese Civil War and took power in Taiwan.

¹ The following link contains an advertisement for IKEA in North America, recorded by Magick Lantern Studios in Atlanta, GA. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iXErc6ES2QI>.

² The following link contains an advertisement for IKEA in Taiwan, posted by IKEA Taiwan. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f2P2w4PaTwQ&list=PL541EB7E272C4BF7F&index=14>. Incidentally, rumour has it that the Taiwanese pronunciation of 'IKEA' is vastly closer to the Swedish pronunciation.

³ Line is a Japanese social media application – not unlike Facebook Messenger or WhatsApp – that is extremely popular in Taiwan.

The imposition of Martial Law began an era of strict control over many aspects of Taiwanese life, including language use. The government placed great emphasis on Mandarin Chinese while discouraging the use of other local dialects. Furthermore, the new style of governance sought to isolate Taiwan from the outside world. There was a particular emphasis on creating a metaphorical wall to keep out anything deemed unsavoury by the government. I hypothesized that Taiwan would have had very little contact with the outside world under Martial Law, and thus the lifting of Martial Law in 1987 would have led to a sudden influx of foreign culture, including English. Consequently, I decided to frame my research around the changes in the presence of English in Taipei during and after Martial Law.⁴

I decided that the best data for researching how much English there was in Taipei between the 1950s and the 1990s would be photographs of the city dating back to those decades. These would provide objective measures of how much English had been present over the decades. In addition, I also researched the history of media such as television, literature, and film in Taipei, as media is generally one of the most effective ways of introducing a new language and culture to a given place: it is easily reproducible, large scale, and generally accessible. These media were most likely the ways in which English was introduced into Taiwanese life (and thus the driving mechanisms behind changes in the presence of English in Taipei). Ultimately, I analyzed a dataset of

⁴ What I failed to consider at this point is why and whether the linguistic restrictions imposed as part of Martial Law entailed English. As it turns out, English was not particularly restricted during this era. Naturally, I will further address this later.

over 3,000 photos of Taipei from the National Repository of Cultural Heritage, based on content, style of English and location in Taipei, among other characteristics. I performed further analysis of the history of media (film, literature, television, music, etc.) through literature searches and interviews. The changes in Taipei during each decade were apparent and correlated to the concurrent economic, political, and social trends in the city and even the nation at large. Ultimately, I explain how English has come to play such a unique role in Taipei today.

Hypothesis

As explained above, many of the policy changes associated with Martial Law affected language and culture. I initially hypothesized that the greatest change in Taipei's linguistic landscape would have occurred around the inception and lifting of Martial Law, given the changes in linguistic policy that would have occurred at the same time. I expected to see very little English in Taipei before and during Martial Law, followed by an uptick in its presence immediately after the lifting of Martial Law.

As I began my analysis, it appeared that English was already present in Taipei around the imposition of Martial Law in non-negligible quantities. I revised my hypothesis as I gained greater insight into Martial Law; indeed, Martial Law entailed a series of nuanced policies that led to Taiwan's diplomatic isolation from only particular nations (such as Mainland China), consequently strengthening its relationships with the nations that recognized and supported

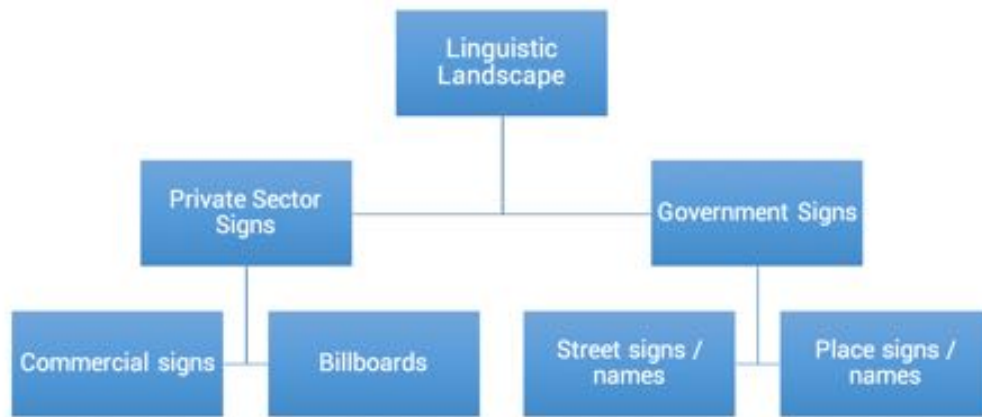
its independence. In particular, one of those nations was the United States, which played a large role in supporting Taiwan's independence. My revised hypothesis was that the imposition of Martial Law marked the beginning of an increase in the presence of English in Taipei because of the diplomatic relationships it entailed. Instead of serving as a wall between Taiwan and the rest of the world (and English), the imposition of Martial Law was actually the construction of a metaphorical wall that was porous to several nations, but most notably to the United States and both its language and culture.

What Is Linguistic Landscape, and Why Is It Important?

"Landmarks of the city are to be read, which was and is a defining feature of city life." (Shohamy and Gorter 23)

Earlier, I describe my experience in modern day Taipei with reference to the elements of the city that bear English labels, such as street signs, transit maps, subway signs, store names, and even menus in restaurants. These elements of Taipei comprise its *linguistic landscape*, which is a term that is used to refer to all the elements of the urban environment that are labeled with words. The core of my analysis is centred around the presence of English in the linguistic landscape of Taipei, as it is depicted in my photographic dataset.

Most frequently, the linguistic landscape of a given space is made up of signs that belong to either the private sector or the government. Private sector signs include (but are not limited to) commercial signs and billboards, as well as advertisements. Government signs typically are street or place markers.



The oldest existing literature on linguistic landscape describes it as the “visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region” (Landry and Bourhis 23). The “visibility” of languages refers to how often one sees a particular language being used in a given space, while “salience” brings into question the importance and sphere of impact that each particular language has in its given environment.

Linguistic landscape is valuable for study because it “may serve important informational and symbolic functions as a marker of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the territory” (Landry and Bourhis 23). Its “informational” function serves to delineate boundaries and indicate in-group versus out-group members (where in-group members are those who speak a particular language). The “symbolic” function indicates the strength and vitality of a particular in- or out-group and gives insight into its status in society. In *Linguistic Landscape in the City*, linguistic landscape is also described as “the scene where the public space is symbolically constructed” (Shohamy, Rafael, and Barni xi). The constructors of this space are the different

language groups that employ their own languages in the space as symbols of their status.

Other academics link linguistic landscape to collective identity theory. Barni, Machetti, Kolyva, and Palova suggest that because space plays a role in identity formation, examining the linguistic landscape shows which individuals have the power to promote their own interests. As Gorter (2013, 191) writes, "The study of linguistic landscape aims to add another view to our knowledge about societal multilingualism by focusing on language choices, hierarchies of languages, contact-phenomena, regulations, and aspects of literacy." In a similar vein, linguistic landscape has also been linked to ethnolinguistic vitality, which indicates the relative power and status of different communities. A group's ability to behave and survive as a distinct and active collective entity in a multilingual setting depends on socio-structural factors: demography, institutional support, and status. The weaker a particular group's performance on these measures, the higher the likelihood of that group assimilating linguistically.⁵ An example of a group that has maintained its status as a distinct and active collective entity is the Chinese population of San Francisco. The linguistic landscape of the Chinatown neighbourhood in the city features both English and Chinese, although for almost every instance of English, there is one of Chinese. Today, Chinese is often the most-heard language when one

⁵ The argument can be made that linguistic assimilation and ethnolinguistic vitality exist in a chicken-and-egg relationship. Regardless of causation (and its direction), the correlation between the two factors is enough to support my focus on the linguistic landscape in Taipei.

strolls through Chinatown. There are even Chinese immersion schools for future generations to preserve the linguistic tradition.⁶

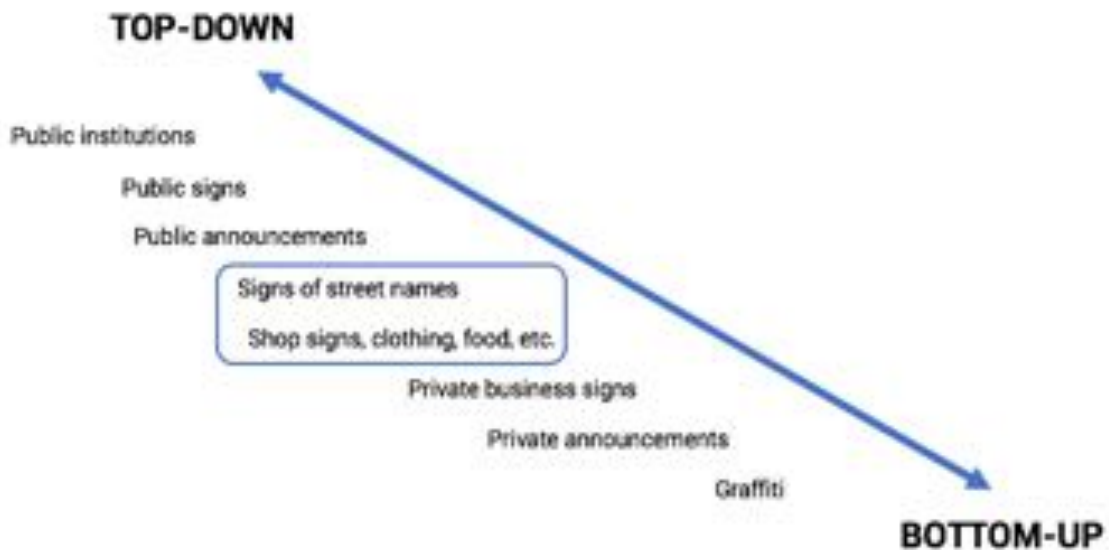
Additionally, linguistic landscape can indicate both multilingualism and monolingualism in an area. For the majority of its history, Taiwan has had a monolingual policy. During the Japanese occupation, Japanese was the mandated language and any others were not tolerated. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, under Martial Law, control was also exerted through mandating that the Taiwanese had to use Mandarin Chinese. Both of these eras and their linguistic policies left their respective marks on the linguistic landscape of Taipei.

Conflicts between different groups – such as attempts by political bodies to exercise linguistic control through strict regulations – can also become clear through the linguistic landscape. A modern example from Taipei is the conflict between different systems of Romanization that are employed throughout the city. Each of these systems transforms Chinese words into unique representations using Roman characters while simultaneously conveying a different political allegiance. There are factions that use Wade-Giles, while others use *Tongyong Pinyin*, and yet others who use *Hanyu Pinyin* (Chiung 27). The way in which these conflicts manifest themselves in the linguistic landscape can often offer a clue into the dynamic amongst the parties involved and into which hold the greatest power or influence.⁷

⁶ The Chinese American International School and DeAvila Elementary School in San Francisco both offer Chinese immersion programs.

⁷ Often, there are also correlations to group characteristics such as patriotism, national pride, and ethnic allegiances.

In light of Taipei's specific political history, it is fitting to turn to the model of linguistic landscape that is classified along a spectrum ranging from official to unofficial. The official end of the spectrum includes "top-down" signage, which is primarily governmental. The unofficial end of the spectrum entails "bottom-up" signage, which is primarily driven by the private sector as well as unaffiliated individuals. At the middle of this spectrum are the two categories entitled "Shop signs, clothing, food, etc." and "Signs of street names."



Adapted from <https://murbll.wordpress.com/what-is-linguistic-landscapes/>

I will focus most heavily on the middle of the spectrum where the official and unofficial intersect within Taipei's linguistic landscape. In particular, the shop signs, clothing, and food form a space where the private sector chooses to employ language as it pleases within an arena that is overseen by the government. Here, there is a tension between creative expression and the laws

that shape society. Apart from the top-down elements that are directly dictated by the government, these are the elements of the linguistic landscape that are most affected by changes in the economy and national politics, such as the imposition and the lifting of Martial Law.

One particularity of Taipei is the lack of graffiti in the city. In contrast to most European and North American cities in the world, Taipei has fewer informal, "bottom-up" linguistic elements. This is attributable to the longstanding intolerance of graffiti: traditionally, graffiti artists – or even those suspected of writing graffiti – would be arrested.⁸

Ultimately, linguistic landscape not only reflects the cultural dynamic of a given place but also provides a means of studying changes in the urban space.

As written by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006):

"Linguistic landscape, indeed, constitutes the very scene – made of streets, corners, circuses, parks, buildings – where society's public life takes place. As such, this scene carries crucial sociosymbolic importance as it actually identifies – and thus serves as the emblem of societies, communities and regions." (Ben-Rafael et al. 8)

The languages in the signs indicate what is locally relevant, thus any changes in signage over time indicate changes in the urban experience.

⁸ In recent years, Taiwan has seen an increased openness towards graffiti in sanctioned areas, such as in Ximending where there is now a graffiti alley. Artists can submit their ideas and if approved, they are assigned a spot for their creation, which will not be written over. See article here: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-3268117/New-urban-canvas-Taiwans-graffiti-artists.html>

However, the tolerance for graffiti in non-sanctioned areas is still very low. See article from September 19, 2016 on the arrest of a man suspected of writing graffiti in non-sanctioned areas: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2016/09/19/2003655446>

A study of cities that underwent political change found that the linguistic landscapes of the cities all evolved as the political environment did (Barni, Machetti, Kolyva, Palova). In *Linguistic Landscapes: A Comparative Study of Urban Multilingualism in Tokyo*, there are a few instances of political situations where language became the centre of debate. Prominent examples include Brussels (French and Dutch), Montreal (English and French), and Jerusalem (Hebrew and Arabic). In all of these cases, linguistic landscape is the tool employed for understanding the roots and outcomes of tensions between different groups. In addressing my research question of how English has changed in Taipei's linguistic landscape over time, it is of utmost importance to also understand how the political environment has evolved. The linguistic landscape most likely contains traces of these tensions and reflects how they were ultimately – or are still in the process of being – resolved.

Thus, studying linguistic landscape comes down to two questions, which are proposed by Shohamy and Gorter (2009) in their overview of the topic:

- 1) Who is able to read this sign?
- 2) Who reads this sign?

The underlying theme in the two questions is that in order to read a sign, an individual must have a certain level of fluency in the sign's language. In addition, not everyone who is able to read the sign will read it, as not everyone who visits a given urban space is seeking the same information – therefore, only subsets of the entire population will read the sign.

How Language Reflects Culture

The changes in Taipei's linguistic landscape over time appear to be linked to changes in other spheres of Taiwanese life, such as politics and economics. Changes in the linguistic landscape can also provide a concrete means to capture changes in the culture that would otherwise be quite nebulous.

As Charles Peirce describes it, there are two realms of reality: "a world in itself *and* a world as represented" (as quoted in Parmentier 23). The world as represented is conveyed through language, which humans use to shape reality, in turn creating culture. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. makes a similar claim that language and culture are inherently related through his research on black rhetoric and the black experience. In the case of Taipei, the incorporation of English into daily life potentially reflects a broadening of national identity and perspective.⁹ To acknowledge that a language exists beyond Chinese is to acknowledge the outside world. To use such a language is to grapple with the potential of incorporating oneself into the outside world.

The increasing presence of English is not an unusual phenomenon – indeed, it is one that is seen in many places around the world, particularly as globalization continues to increase. Taipei is a city where the foreign language seems to have been welcomed with open arms as well as a certain admiration.

⁹ It could also be the imposition of an outside culture, although such an imposition would likely lead to the same increased awareness of the outside world.

In many ways, as I will explore later, it seems that the standard for excellence and value have become fundamentally linked to this foreign language.

Why English

English is undeniably the *lingua franca* of the world today, despite having less than half the number of first-language speakers than Chinese (CIA World Factbook). English has become the *de facto* medium of communication in countless environments, ranging from business to education. It is fascinating just how widespread English has become in the world, especially in developing nations where it is often considered cool to speak English. Having lived my entire life in the English-speaking world, I have always been surprised by the presence of English in Taiwan. It seems to appear in many places – certainly at a higher frequency than I can say for Chinese in English-speaking parts of the world. The Taiwanese employ English not only in the form of scattered words in daily conversation but also for self-identification in the form of English names. Further, as mentioned earlier, English signs appear all over Taipei to be viewed by locals and foreigners alike. Although there are other languages present in Taipei's linguistic landscape, none other plays a role quite like that of English. Arguably, the same can be said for English everywhere else in the world: it occupies a unique position and provides the richest basis for analysis.

In addition to English's global importance, I felt it was particularly important to consider English in Taipei's linguistic landscape given the unique history between Taiwan and the United States. Taiwan's role within the world

has always been dynamic, changing from era to era. After WWII, Taiwan was liberated from Japanese occupation and quickly taken over by the KMT party from China. While the KMT worked to build Taiwan as a nation of its own, it was also building a progressively stronger relationship with the United States of America. Over time, it could be argued that through economic support, the US was able to hold a certain degree of “soft power”¹⁰ over Taiwan and its development trajectory. America supported not only many Taiwanese businesses through trade, but also various Taiwanese military efforts. It is quite possible that these ties played a role in English's introduction to the nation, as addressed in my hypothesis.

Why Taipei

Taipei is not only the capital of Taiwan but also the nation's largest city. It has been the subject of many academic studies because of its centrality in the nation's development. In particular, one of the building blocks of the thesis is the work of Melissa Curtin, a linguistics professor at UC Santa Barbara. Curtin focuses her research on contemporary Taipei for a few reasons. The first is Taiwan's unique linguistic history: prior to the lifting of Martial Law, the only language permitted in the public sphere was traditional Chinese. This was because the use of traditional Chinese was – and continues to be – one of the

¹⁰ In Chapter III, I will further explain the concept of “soft power” as coined by Joseph Nye. Nye defines *soft power* as the use of financial support to impact and shape the culture of another nation in a way that is politically advantageous for the country with wealth.

key differentiating factors between Taiwan and China, which uses simplified Chinese. Curtin writes that:

"Linguistic landscape has therefore been part of a decades-long KMT nationalist effort at erasure, the eliding of details not consistent with the ideological position of a unified, Mandarin-speaking, Chinese nation-state." (as quoted by Shohamy and Gorter 227)

Just as described earlier, the linguistic landscape contains countless elements that span from "top-down" to "bottom-up." Taipei is a city where the linguistic landscape has been long under the control of the government with an intent to cultivate a certain culture (which I will address in Chapter III). My research focuses on the elements of the linguistic landscape that are not in traditional Chinese.

The second reason Curtin chooses to focus on Taipei is due to the broad presence of foreign businesses, such as 7-Eleven, Pizza Hut, Costco, Carrefour, McDonald's, and Starbucks. Over the last few decades, these businesses have been increasing their presence, alongside local businesses that embrace foreign languages in their signage.

In her research, Curtin establishes a certain type of signage that she terms "cosmopolitan." She provides various definitions of cosmopolitanism, giving examples of each from Taipei's linguistic landscape. For example, there is a "cosmopolitanism that embraces cultural multiplicity" (Curtin 158), exemplified by a restaurant named "Oola Mexican Grill," where "oola" can be interpreted as a play on Spanish's "hola," the French expression "ooh la la," and also a Korean pop song by the same name, in addition to being the anglicized

version of a Chinese phrase meaning “hot spicy.” There is also “elite cosmopolitanism,” which refers to well-known brands such as Armani, Coach, Hermès, and Prada. Another category is “an everyday cosmopolitan aesthetic indexed in ‘vogue or display language’ – ‘global scripts’ displayed on movie posters, housing complexes, scooters, school notebooks, magazines, clothing and other artefacts of consumption” (Curtin 160). These are only a few of the examples and types of cosmopolitanism that Curtin describes, though they encompass most of the instances of English that I have seen in Taipei’s modern linguistic landscape.

For the purposes of my research, I will consider all of these examples as part of one larger category: English that is used to convey a sense of “vogue” appeal. As Curtin quotes, these signs employ the “visual appeal of foreign words [that take] precedence over their accuracy and appropriateness” so as to “convey a mood as much as a message” (Kay 1992: 542, from Shohamy and Gorter, page 228). Curtin’s research confirms the importance of foreign languages in Taipei’s contemporary linguistic landscape.

As J. Joseph Errington writes, “language is embedded in purposive, creative social interaction” (288), and this category of “vogue” signs seems to be an example of language being thusly used. English is used to generate greater economic value – as shown through Curtin’s examples. Ultimately, I believe that the modern day linguistic landscape of Taipei and the heavy presence of English hints at an ongoing admiration of the outside world – and in particular, the United States. It is likely that much of this attitude stems from the

soft power that the US historically exerted over Taiwan. It is worthwhile to note that the relationship between the two nations was quite asymmetrical, with the US providing help to Taiwan and Taiwan looking to the US for support. It thus follows quite logically that the attitude of admiration that developed is also an asymmetrical one. My examination of the history of English in Taipei's linguistic landscape will shed light on this theory and potentially offer explanations of the dynamic today.

Photograph Dataset

My photograph dataset is entirely taken from the National Repository of Cultural Heritage, which can be found here: <http://newnrch.digital.ntu.edu.tw/nrch/>. It is a collection of photographs of Taiwan that is maintained by the government. Photographs in this collection are typically tagged with a year as well as a brief description of location and contents.

For my analysis, I chose to use a subset of these photographs as curated by Zhang Zhe Sheng (張哲生) on Facebook. Zhang Zhe Sheng proclaims himself to be a producer, although he is also a historic researcher and curator. In the mid 1990s, he created his own website, began to curate online content, and eventually even started a social network of sorts, with a chatroom on his site. He was renowned throughout the 1990s for web design. In the early 2000s, he began to collect nostalgic Taiwanese comics, going as far back as the 1960s. By 2004, he published 飛呀！科學小飛俠 (literally meaning *Fly! Sci-fi Peter Pan*,

named after a Japanese comic), a compilation and description of the comics he had collected. His historic focus shifted after, culminating in the production of 中華商場的興衰 (*The Rise and Fall of the Chinese Market*). Around this time, he began to also curate and collect old photographs of urban life in Taiwan. His recent collections are known amongst the academic community as being the most comprehensive representations of historical urban life in Taiwan (primarily in Taipei).¹¹ He sources all of his photographs from the National Repository of Cultural Heritage¹² and sorts photographs into albums that he publishes on Facebook. His Facebook page with the full list of photo albums can be found here: <https://www.facebook.com/zhangzhesheng/photos/?tab=albums>.

I ultimately chose to use Zhang Zhe Sheng's collection because he is renowned within the scholarly community for his curation work. Moreover, his collections are divided by area as well as era, so it was straightforward and economical to build upon his work.

Addressing Potential Sampling Bias

There are a few potential biases within the sample I chose to use for my analysis. First, there may be inherent biases in Zhang Zhe Sheng's curated sampling of photographs. His curations could have focused more on billboards and other advertisements instead of functional signage such as store signs. Or perhaps his sampling could have been skewed in favour of landscapes rather

¹¹ Several of the professors with whom I met suggested I refer to his work.

¹² I was able to verify his sources via personal correspondence on Facebook in December 2015.

than portraits. However, I began with a collection of over 3,000 photographs from Zhang Zhe Sheng's various albums. There were photos spanning the late 1800s through to today. Locations varied both within and beyond Taipei, and the photos were diverse in layout, content, as well as compositional style. Given that no distinct themes emerged from his curations – beyond urban life in Taipei – I decided to proceed with using Zhang Zhe Sheng's collection.

Second, there may be further biases in the National Repository of Cultural Heritage's collection at large. I initially harboured concerns over whether the photographers who had taken these photographs could have been biased, particularly to certain neighbourhoods or events in urban life. Ultimately, I concluded that the photographers most certainly had to have been drawn to certain events or locations in order to photograph them and that we can assume what was interesting to them was representative of what was new and different about the evolving urbanity of Taipei. The new and different elements of Taipei's linguistic landscape are of utmost relevance to my analysis because these would be the most representative of any turning point that may have occurred in Taipei's history.¹³ Furthermore, I must emphasize that photographs are the only resources available for providing clear depictions of historic urban life in Taipei in a visual manner.

More broadly speaking, in the context of depictions of the past, photographs are the most objective means of understanding history. Unlike written or other creative representations of the past, photographers have a

¹³ I will discuss the notion of a "turning point" and how it ought to be defined in Chapter II.

limited ability to manipulate the scenarios at hand. In particular, given that most of the photographs I used were of city scenes, the photographers would have been less able to manipulate the juxtaposition of objects, behaviours and actions of actors, and messages being conveyed directly.

Additional Data Sources

I elected to enhance my analysis with a few other data sources. The basis of this thesis was built during my month-long stay in Taipei from December 2015 to January 2016. I was able to consult with a variety of professors in Taipei at National Taiwan University, National Taiwan Normal University, National Dong Hwa University, and National Chengchi University. Many referred me to online national resources as well as a variety of books and other publications that gave me a foundation for understanding and contextualizing Taipei's linguistic landscape over time.

In addition to these consultations, I performed a series of 12 interviews with Taiwanese individuals who had grown up in or around Taipei between the 1950s and the 1970s. These interviews are detailed in Chapter III. In Chapter IV, I perform a geographical analysis of Taipei over time using historic maps of Taipei from the Pusey Map Collection at Harvard.

Key Definitions and Questions

In my study, I seek to confirm whether the imposition of Martial Law marked the beginning of an increase in the presence of English in Taipei's linguistic landscape because of the diplomatic relationships it entailed. The definition of linguistic landscape that I use for my study is as follows:

*Any element within a landscape that presents itself to us **to be read**, typically part of a cityscape. In particular, **elements that consist of linguistic elements** such as (but not limited to): **government signs (street and place signs) and private signs (commercial signs, billboards, graffiti, tagging, and apparel).***

I centre my analysis around the changes in Taipei's linguistic landscape from the early 1950s to the late 1990s and focus on answering the questions proposed by Shohamy and Gorter (2009) as well as two additional questions on intent:

- 1) Who is able to read this sign?
- 2) Who reads this sign?
- 3) Who made this sign?
- 4) Who is this sign intended for?

The former two questions fail to account for the intentionality with which actors may shape or influence the linguistic landscape. Thus, the two additional questions cast light on the intent behind the signs, the parties that were responsible for their creation, and any unintended consequences that may have arisen.

Ultimately, the answers I find to these questions will guide me in better understanding not only how the presence of English in Taipei's linguistic

landscape has changed over time, but also the drivers behind the change, whether they had to do with Taiwan's diplomatic relationships during Martial Law, and the greater cultural implications of the changes.

Chapter II: Imposition of Martial Law

Given the importance of Martial Law in my initial hypothesis, I began with comprehensive background research on the political and economic circumstances that led to its inception. I sought to better understand the mechanisms behind Martial Law as well as the policies that it entailed. In particular, I wanted to know how Martial Law had shaped daily life in Taiwan – especially in Taipei – with respect to language usage, cultural exposure, urban development, and economic growth. This chapter is focused on the policy and legal history of the era, while the following chapter focuses more heavily on daily life and the cultural arena.

Overview of Martial Law

In 1949, the Kuomintang (KMT) fled from Mainland China (henceforth referred to as “China”) after being defeated by the Communists in the Civil War. The KMT took over Taiwan, which had previously been under Japanese control. As the island underwent a period of transition, characterized by extreme change and shortage in resources, the KMT declared Martial Law in Taiwan. The government instituted a myriad of laws, regulations, and executive orders in order to control the society. The early years of the KMT’s rule in Taiwan were defined by the fear of insurgence. On the surface, an emphasis was placed on public order and safety. In reality, many of these efforts were implemented in hopes of maintaining control over the “native” Taiwanese people: both the Aborigines and those who had moved to the island under prior rule.

During this period, the government had two primary goals: first, to restrict access to information and knowledge of the outside world (in particular, China and communism), and second, to ensure against insurgence. As a result, free assembly, association, demonstration, and the right to petition were deemed illegal. Similarly, religious activities, worker and student strikes and demonstrations, and freedom of expression in mail were restricted. Those suspected of being anti-governmental were often imprisoned “under vague charges” (Luce and Rumpf 11). Censorship was at the forefront of daily life during this era as well, with the Commander-in-Chief keeping “control over speech, teaching, newspapers, magazines, pictures, notices, and other publications...” (Luce and Rumpf 11).

The structure of the government was designed to maximize the stability of the nation. There was a strong anti-democratic sentiment as Taiwan was led solely by the family in power. During the era, it was generally accepted that “[to] suggest that the future of Taiwan ought to be decided by the people living in Taiwan [would be] considered treason” (Luce and Rumpf 17).

Ultimately, the KMT instituted the era of Martial Law in order to maintain the myth that they held legitimate rule over all of China in order to control the people of Taiwan. The measures they implemented to maintain a stable society had ripple results in the economic trajectory of Taiwan, which I will discuss in the following section.

The Taiwanese Economy During Martial Law

Prior to Martial Law, Taiwan had been under Japanese rule. The island had a strong production economy and was at the point of self-sufficiency. With the change in rule, the industries in the nation were completely taken over by the new government. In 1946, there were 22 state firms. When Martial Law was first declared, the government incurred a large deficit due to its defense and refugee expenditures. However, as the period of Martial Law continued, the nation's economic trajectory stabilized, making it an ideal candidate for foreign investment.

One of the key drivers of this stability was support from the American government. From 1946 through 1965, the American government supplied over \$4 billion to the KMT in economic and military aid. The ties with the American nation went beyond this support though. The US was one of Taiwan's main trading partners from the 1960s onwards, through to the 1980s, followed closely by Japan. Further attesting to the closeness of the two countries was the fact that there were many Taiwanese spies in America who were working to ensure that the freedom of press did not translate into any publications about the KMT and the ruling family at all.

By the mid 1950s, the Taiwanese government was able to encourage saving and private investment. At this point, they had successfully taken over all of the production facilities in the nation and were operating them at full capacity. They removed subsidies, raised public utility rates, and liberated trade regulations.

By 1960, they implemented the 19 Point Program of Economic and Financial Reform. In 1963, the US support program came to a close and Taiwan's main import partner switched from the US to Japan. From 1964 through to 1973, export processing zones were implemented and import controls were relaxed as the result of pressure to increase direct foreign investment. Taiwan was becoming more integrated with the rest of the world and no longer focused solely on becoming self-sufficient. This era was characterized by a spike in entrepreneurship with the creation of many small- to mid-sized companies, many of which had American customers.

With the establishment of the bond market and introduction of a floating exchange rate system in the 1970s, more and more Taiwanese became exposed to Western democracy and society. A decade later, in the 1980s, Taiwan was thriving in a period of accelerated growth and high-tech industrialization. Many of the entrepreneurs from the 1960s were now handing businesses down to the second generation. Trademark and patent laws were amended, the capital market was liberated, and bank interest rates became deregulated. Labor laws were standardized and ultimately, a value-added tax (VAT) was implemented to replace the previous tariff system. An increasing number of Taiwanese youth were studying in the Western world – in particular, in the US. They would work abroad in the US for a few years and then bring back their business experience to Taiwan.

Between the 1940s and 1980s, Taiwan saw a lot of social change. These decades were marked by the rise of the middle class and the average income, an

increase in diffusion of education along with quality of political participation, and stronger consciousness of power in the masses. Ultimately, after all the basic life necessities had been satisfied, people turned to the pursuit of a democratic society.

The Lifting of Martial Law

By 1987, Taiwan was filled with demands for wider political participation and greater individual freedom. Chiang Kai-Shek, the leader of the KMT when it had moved to Taiwan, had passed away in 1975 and his son, Chiang Ching-Kuo had taken over. Chiang Ching-Kuo ultimately decided it was no longer worthwhile to suppress the growing opposition.

Thus, in 1987, Martial Law was lifted. This marked the beginning of trade with China, which grew rapidly, as well as a loosening of the previously tight political control. The calls for democratization were addressed with the proclamation that the KMT would allow the formation of other political parties in Taiwan. They further promised that there would be future island-wide elections in which all political parties could contest. This culminated into the first popular vote for the governor of Taiwan as well as for the mayors of Taipei and Kaohsiung in 1994. In 1996, the first popular vote for president was held. Political reform was in large part spurred by the United States government.

Economic changes that occurred following the lifting of Martial Law included a reduction in import tariffs, as well as a move to liberalize trade in

1993 so as to join the World Trade Organization.¹⁴ This increased Taiwan's competitiveness in domestic and foreign markets, which resulted in the island's rapid industry specialization. Furthermore, in the 1990s, Taiwanese firms became the second largest investors in China (after only Hong Kong).

The lifting of Martial Law also played a role in the sphere of influence that the government exercised over culture. In 1987, restrictions on language use were lifted as well. For example, the punishment and fine aimed at students who spoke languages other than Mandarin in schools were removed. Similarly, the use of local languages in the public domain came to be officially tolerated and was no longer forbidden.

With respect to media, the lifting of Martial Law resulted in looser regulation of cinematic content. It was described that "the Bureau of Journalism released new cinematic regulations shortly after the lifting of Martial Law in direct response to the reconceptualization of the relationship between State censorship and public cultural artefacts" (Chao 238). Prior to 1987, many censored topics in film were manipulated to convey certain values: for example, the official conceptualizations of both the representable female body and the representable nation were structured around the notion of 'integrity' (Chao). Depictions of nudity and other vices were only tolerated when they were cast as the hobbies of Taiwan's enemies (such as the Communists). Now, however, such restrictions were no longer in effect.

¹⁴ Taiwan finally joined the WTO officially on January 1st, 2002. It is possible that the preparations and changes Taiwan made in order to qualify for the WTO had a greater impact than the actual membership itself.

Martial Law as a Turning Point

The lifting of Martial Law is undoubtedly a significant event in the history and development of Taiwan. However, it is difficult to pinpoint when Taiwan truly transitioned from being a nation under strict military rule to being a politically and economically liberal one. In "Complexity and Collapse," Niall Ferguson makes the argument that it takes very little to incite the collapse of an empire. Once catalyzed, the collapse occurs abruptly. Ferguson claims that "empires behave like all complex adaptive systems. They function in apparent equilibrium for some unknowable period [and] then, quite abruptly, they collapse" (32). Examples of such abrupt collapses include the fall of the Roman Empire, which "came within the span of a single generation" (28) and the fall of the Ming Dynasty, which "took little more than a decade" (28). While the lifting of Martial Law is not quite the fall of a great empire, the transition can still be thought of in the way that Ferguson describes. Just as the fall of a great empire requires the rejection and replacement of a set of fundamental ideas, the lifting of Martial Law required such a paradigm shift as well. Thus, the "fall" of Martial Law certainly spanned more than just one night, though most likely no more than a few years.¹⁵

In "Economic Liberalization and Development: The Case of Lifting Martial Law in Taiwan," Hsiao and Hsiao investigate a handful of economic indices in

¹⁵ The turning point from Martial Law to post-Martial Law is defined as the moment when its component parts – defining characteristics – disintegrate, disappear, and are replaced by new ones. My thesis focuses on the manifestations of the turning point in the linguistic landscape of Taipei rather than seeking to define the specific turning point itself.

Taiwan before and after 1987. Most of the indices trend stationary across the 1987 year line – most notably, real GDP, real/worker GDP and direct foreign investment seem completely unaffected by the political change. Even more fascinating is that the growth rates of real GDP and direct foreign investment decrease after 1987. These observations show that the lifting of Martial Law did not immediately propel economic development. Similarly, political changes did not occur overnight. Most of them occurred gradually over the next decade as explained above.

Ultimately, these statistics reaffirm that the lifting of Martial Law was a turning point that spanned multiple years. It is for this reason that I examine the decade after the lifting of Martial Law in its entirety; the pace of change does not call for a more granular examination of Taipei's linguistic landscape. Liberalization occurred gradually in spite of what was perceived as an instant democratization of the nation. After all, even the instant democratization came only in the form of a promise rather than as an actual change in government overnight. As written in one editorial on the repeal of Martial Law, "Political reform cannot be achieved overnight. Problems accumulated over a long time, and the settled political mindset will not be completely changed in a short period" ("Editorial 11: 'The Acceleration of Political Reform: The Repeal of Martial Law in Taiwan', 24 March 1988" 165).

Chapter III: Media During Martial Law

Although my research question is on the presence of English in Taipei's linguistic landscape during and after Martial Law, it would be an oversight to not research the presence of English in other media in Taipei during the same time period. Media – including television, film, literature, and music – is one of the most effective ways to spread a language and consequently, a culture.

Moreover, media is often a driver behind the content of the linguistic landscape. For example, media finds its way into the linguistic landscape of a city through billboards and posters (primarily as advertisements), and even products (such as books and branded paraphernalia including clothes). Thus, in order to better understand whether the English that appeared in Taipei's linguistic landscape was an isolated instance of Western culture, I conducted further research on various forms of media in Taiwan between the 1960s and 1990s.

The Growth of Film in Taiwan

To begin, I examined the presence of film in Taiwan during the Martial Law era. Between 1941 and 1953, the number of movie theatres in Taiwan grew from 49 to 347 (Zhang and Xiao 50). In the era following World War II, film in Taiwan was dominated by Hollywood. In 1954, more than two-thirds of all films shown were American (Zhang and Xiao 50). Different American film companies had introduced themselves to Taiwan in that period with 3-D arriving in 1953, and CinemaScope, Vista Vision, and Stereophonic sound in 1954. At the end of this era, 70% of the market share was held by Hollywood (Zhang and Xiao 50).

These statistics suggest that either the local audiences were enthralled by American films, or that there were many Americans present in Taiwan at the time and they frequently watched films from back home. The prominence of American film manifested itself in the linguistic landscape of Taipei through billboards and other posters, as I will describe in detail in Chapter IV.

In this era, the KMT sought to control and stop the flow of Communist ideology into Taiwan and thus created a movement to rid the nation of three "evils": leftist materials, pornographic literature, and sensational inside stories. These regulations eventually extended to also include films. By 1955, a new censorship law was created, decreeing that films had to "be created for the purpose of anti-communism and refrain from questioning the legitimacy of the KMT government, attacking government leaders, harming Taiwan-US relations, or revealing the dark side of Taiwan society" (Zhang and Xiao 51). In the same year, a series of films were produced with American financial backing. This was a clear display of American support of the government's new policy, which hints at the intricate role that the US played in Taiwan during this era.

Over time, the funding for films that met the censorship criteria attracted more local filmmakers. Homegrown films became more prominent, with 21 films in 1956 and 38 in 1957 (Zhang and Xiao 50). These films were often adaptations of Taiwanese legends and myths, with incorporations of folk songs and real-life crime stories. The only catch to this small success was that the government taxed the industry heavily, taking 70% of gross income from any film (Zhang and Xiao 50).

The Golden Age of Film

By the mid-1960s, Taiwanese film rose to its golden age. With aggressive governmental support, Taiwan was now the third most lucrative film nation in Asia, ranked only behind Japan and Bollywood¹⁶. While government censorship and control still applied to films, the free flow of talent between Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the West gave Taiwanese filmmakers an advantage over those working in creative isolation in China. Between 1968 and 1970, a total of 398 films were produced (Zhang and Xiao 52). The box-office earnings of Taiwanese films began to match those of Hollywood films. Many theatres that had previously only screened foreign films now screened exclusively Chinese films. However, the Golden Age came to a gradual decline with shrinking revenues across the board in the 1970s. Film took on a role of lesser prominence in Taiwanese life until the era of New Taiwanese Cinema began in 1982.

New Taiwanese Cinema

The period from 1982-1990 is known as the era of New Taiwanese Cinema. In 1980, when the United States officially recognized China, Taiwan suffered a plethora of consequences including the loss of markets elsewhere in Asia and political isolation. By then, national films had declined significantly in

¹⁶ During the modernization of Taiwan, the government had also developed the Central Motion Picture Corporation (CMPC) in 1963. The CMPC promoted “wholesome realism” (*jiankang xieshi zhuyi*) in the films, emphasizing the depictions of the lives of working class people, highlighted by Taiwan’s economic development, in order to support social transformation. Also prominent in this era were traditional kung-fu films and romantic melodramas. Many of the kung-fu films also featured extensive sword fights, which Hong Kong audiences demanded.

revenues and local students often prided themselves on only going to see international films. Supposedly, such a trend would have manifested itself into the linguistic landscape of Taipei through an increase in foreign film posters once again.

In response, the government began to emphasize the dissemination of traditional and contemporary Taiwanese arts. This era was marked by a series of failed events and programs, although for a few years, the arthouse style was made prominent by one young filmmaker, Edward Yang. Yang's film *In Our Time* was said to mark the start of New Taiwanese Cinema, where films did not necessarily resemble Hollywood's in style (Yang and Black). Films in this era came to be defined by a more personal tone, with autobiographies, childhood memories, and individual experiences. An emphasis was placed on ordinary, insignificant people who were not heroes or historical figures. Themes such as modernization, the deterioration of patriarchy, and crisis in the urban nuclear family and juvenile delinquency emerged (Zhang and Xiao 57).

The Second New Wave

From 1990 to 2010 came the Second New Wave. This wave began with additional funding set aside by the government. In 1992, film was singled out for special protection as "cultural enterprise." 1993 was declared the National Film Year. In this era, films such as *The Puppet Master*, *Good Men*, *Good Women* and *Goodbye, South, Goodbye* began to win awards and prizes at different film festivals around the world, such as those in Shanghai, Singapore, Tokyo, Berlin,

and Venice. The films grappled with topics that had not been tackled before, such as homosexuality (*The River*).

Ang Lee rose to fame in this period, with his most famous works: *Pushing Hands* (1991), *The Wedding Banquet* (1992), and *Eat Drink Man Woman* (1994). He was one of the first to push his films into European and North American markets successfully. His films explored themes of the individual versus family, modernity versus tradition, love versus duty, and East versus West. Many attributed his success to presenting Chinese culture with just enough international flavour for foreign audiences to appreciate. Films such as Lee's led to the creation of film posters and billboard advertisements that featured not only Chinese but also English. For example, below is a poster of Ang Lee's *Eat Drink Man Woman* that is primarily in Chinese but includes a prominent display of English. While it may not be initially apparent, the increasing outflow of Chinese films to the Western world did indeed have an impact on the linguistic landscape back home in Taipei.

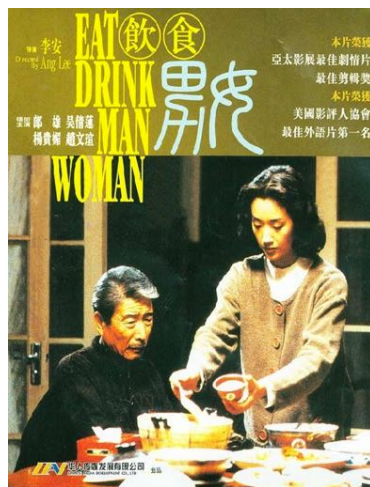


Image from Gold Poster: <http://www.goldposter.com/77155/>

Films Depicted in Photos

In the dataset of photos examined, many instances of English were in film names as part of billboards or posters outside of movie theatres, therefore confirming my hypothesis that media is intricately tied to the linguistic landscape. The theatres tended to be in the Ximending theatre district (e.g. Shin Sheng Theater, Yuan Dong Theater, and Da Tong Theater) and most sported English names. The films featured in English ranged from American to British to European to Japanese. American films included *The Court Jester*, *Five Branded Women*, *Empire Strikes Back*, and *Jurassic Park*. One Japanese film was *Magic Boy*, although it was produced by MGM, an American company. British and European films included *Passionate Summer* and *The Charge of the Light Brigade*. Most films were depicted in photographs between one and three years after their initial American release dates.

With respect to time, the number of foreign films depicted in the early 1960s was twice that of the number depicted in the 1970s as well as the 1980s. This follows quite logically as the latter half of the 1960s was defined by the Golden Age of Taiwanese cinema. What is surprising is that the decline in Taiwanese cinema in the 1970s did not lead to a spike in foreign films as depicted in the dataset. However, it is extremely likely that the 1970s was characterized by Hong Kong cinema, which would be labeled in Chinese. The New Taiwanese Cinema era followed, explaining the low number of foreign films depicted in the 1980s.

Responses from the interviews that I conducted mapped onto a similar trend. Most respondents reported viewing a range of Chinese and Western films in the 1980s, while fewer reported doing so in the 1970s. Films included *E.T.* and *The Mission*. Most respondents also mentioned viewing martial arts films from Hong Kong in the 1970s, corresponding to the era of film in Taiwan. Lastly, the theatres attended by the respondents included those in Ximending's theatre district, as well as other neighbourhood theatres scattered throughout Taipei.

History of Television

Unlike film, the advent of television in Taiwan was more limited by the lack of technology and infrastructure. The Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV) was the first network on the island, created in 1962. It was built using a transfer of Japanese expertise with a 40% investment from four leading Japanese electronic firms. In 1969, China Television Company (CTV) was launched, backed exclusively by domestic financing. Chinese Television System (CTS) followed in 1971, bringing general broadcasting service to Taiwan.

In the 1960s, television was employed as a channel through which the KMT sought to exert political legitimacy over Taiwanese politics. Government ties to all three networks were strong. For example, Fukienese could only be heard of in 20% of all television programming despite being the most spoken language at the time. All television programs were subject to review by the Government Information Office (GIO) while newsrooms were subject to self-censorship, ensuring that the content aligned with the government's agendas.

Ultimately, the censorship primarily took on a political nature. Beyond political content, most other themes were permitted.

Indeed, the interviews that were conducted revealed yet again a similar trend in television. Respondents indicated that in the 1980s, they watched television shows such as *I Love Lucy*, *Mister Ed*, *MacGyver*, *60 Minutes*, as well as Hong Kong comedies aired. The balance of American and Hong Kong television content followed the same trend as film in Martial Law Taiwan.

History of Foreign Literature

There is not an extensive history of literary control – with respect to language – during Martial Law. Instead, literary censorship was more heavily focused on content. In October 1977, an index of censored books entitled the *Chajin Tushu Mulu* was published (Jones). The list consisted of 3000 titles as well as the legal justification for censorship and information on each book. There were three key themes that were targeted: literature with erotic and sexual features, works on the historical/contemporary situation that could be interpreted as criticisms of the KMT, and any work challenging the cultural/national sovereignty of Taiwan. Most of these books were left-wing publications. As was the case with television, the goal was to maintain anti-communist policies, public order, and social morals, and ensure that nothing was written to damage the government.

Translations of foreign books – American, European, and Japanese – were permitted and existed in circulation amongst those who could afford

them.¹⁷ Interview respondents mentioned reading foreign literature, ranging from Agatha Christie novels to classics such as *Les Misérables*, Shakespeare's works, *Little Women*, and *Don Quixote*. Most were made available through translations – and often in simplified form intended for younger audiences.¹⁸ Further review of the censorship guide issued in 1961 revealed that the categories of censorship were delineated into *Wei Fan Chu Ban Fa* (Violations of Publication Law), *Cha Jin Wai Wen Shu Kan* (Illegal Foreign Language Books and Magazines), *Wei Fan Jie Yan Fa* (Works Against Martial Law), and *Cha Jin Za Zhi* (Illegal Magazines). These categories indicate that the censorship was aimed at content rather than language, unlike on television where Fukienese was actively suppressed.¹⁹ Foreign language books that were banned typically had content that was sexual. The list included titles such as *The World of Sex*, *The Call Girl*, and *Nude Album*.

Soft Power of the US through Media

One of the key themes in this section is the heavy density of American media in Taiwan throughout the Martial Law era. As described above, the majority of films depicted in the photographs were American films, as were the majority of television shows that interview respondents viewed. While the

¹⁷ Most of these books would have been printed abroad and then imported to Taiwan. It thus follows that there would have been an import premium on the pricing of the books.

¹⁸ There is perhaps a correlation between socioeconomic status and likelihood to have accessed foreign literature in Taiwan during this era. Through my interviews, I got the sense that foreign books were regarded as a novelty and treated as treasured possessions.

¹⁹ This is also potentially attributable to the fact that Fukienese exists only as a spoken dialect without a written form.

literature that was read came from a blend of American and European sources, most of the aforementioned music is also American. Beyond media, other facets of American culture such as sports also found their way into Taiwanese life.²⁰ Ultimately, the extent of American influence in Taiwanese media during this era is tied to the financial support that America provided from the 1940s through the 1960s, as well as America's role as a top trade partner into the 1980s.

Evidently, the financial support from the US manifested itself beyond just political influence, expanding into cultural influence as well. Joseph Nye writes about this phenomenon, terming it *soft power*. He explains that power refers to the "ability to do things and control others, to get others to do what they otherwise would not" (Nye 154), though it is typically expressed through military strength. However, in the post WWII era, "the definition of power [loses] its emphasis on military force and conquest that marked earlier eras" (Nye 154). Instead, power takes on a new form: *soft power*. Nye ultimately defines *soft power* as the use of financial support to impact and shape the culture of another nation in a way that is politically advantageous for the provider of funding. This reaffirms that American soft power during Martial Law may have served as the seedbed for the attitude of Western admiration that is seen today.²¹

²⁰ One of the most popular sports in Taiwan today is baseball, which originated in the United States. According to Baseball Reference, baseball was allegedly introduced to Taiwan during the Japanese occupation. However, the modern baseball league in Taiwan was not created until 1990, after Martial Law was lifted, suggesting that Taiwan's interest in the sport may have been furthered by American influence. For more information, please refer to: http://www.baseball-reference.com/bullpen/History_of_baseball_in_Taiwan.

²¹ It is also possible that foreign films, books, and music were initially most accessible to the well-off, and thus there was a relationship between English and the social elite. This association could have also played a part in paving the road for today's "vogue" applications of English.

Conclusion

Ultimately, during Martial Law in Taiwan, there was fairly easy access to foreign media as long as it was from nations other than China. In film, television, and literature, censorship applied only to profanity and political dissent. Indeed, foreign media was so easy to access that even local radio stations played foreign music. Over half of the interview respondents mentioned "Western" or "foreign" music as the content to which they listened. Artists and groups that were popular included ABBA, Air Supply, Doris Day, The Carpenters, The Beatles, and the Bee Gees. Most importantly, examining the presence of foreign media in Taiwan during Martial Law reveals the source of many elements of Taipei's linguistic landscape, such as billboards and film posters. Media is one of the easiest ways for foreign culture – and thus language – to enter a new space and its linguistic landscape. Examining the media in Taiwan during Martial Law actually reveals that during this era, instead of having a solid wall around Taiwan to block off the rest of the world, the KMT effectively created a porous "wall" that served only to block out China, democracy, and any "unwholesome" ideas. Moreover, the porosity of this wall was especially high to the United States and its culture, reaffirming the importance of the United States in Taiwan's development.

Chapter IV: Photo Analysis

When reading this section, it may be helpful to refer back to the Timeline presented on page 5 for greater context.

With both historical and anecdotal confirmation of English's presence in Taipei starting in the 1940s onwards, I sought to use my photograph dataset to confirm the trends that I had already seen. Based on the history of Taiwan under Martial Law, I anticipated an uptick in photos containing English starting in my earliest photos, continuing into the late 1970s and even early 1980s, when the trade importance of the US was challenged by those of Japan and China. The type of English I expected was primarily pragmatic, centred around trade and daily amenities that any businessmen would need. Any other English that was present would most likely be cultural, reflecting the introduction of Western culture to Taiwan that was confirmed by many of my interviewees.

A. Summary Statistics

Beginning with over 3000 photos, I sorted them by decade and removed duplicates. There were very few photos from each decade between the 1890s until the 1940s, thus I did not analyze those decades. I focused instead of the photos from the 1950s through the 1990s.

I began my analysis of the photographs by sorting them into the following two categories within each decade:

- Photographs with English
- Photographs without English

This process yielded the following summary statistics:

	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999
English	11	83	73	34	18
Other	66	257	302	158	66
Total	77	340	375	192	84
% English	14%	24%	19%	18%	21%

The percentage of photos containing English did not point to a definitive trend, suggesting that the volume of English in Taipei had not changed greatly between the 1950s and the 1990s. This is likely given Taiwan's early exposure to the Western world through the US. Other Asian nations – such as China – where English has recently become prominent in their linguistic landscapes tend to have also only recently established trade with the Western world. On the contrary, it is also possible that in each decade, the photos added to the collection consisted only of new instances of English in the city. This would suggest that only cumulative percentages are valid in representing the presence of English in Taipei during each decade. The following summary statistics are based on cumulative records of English in Taipei's linguistic landscape for each decade (i.e. data for each decade includes those of past decades):

	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999
English	11	94	167	201	219
Other	66	323	625	783	849
Total	77	417	792	984	1068
% English	14%	23%	21%	20%	21%

However, these percentages are also not conclusive in suggesting consistent growth in the volume of English in Taipei. Based on this cursory

analysis, it seems that the volume of English in Taipei did not experience notable growth or decline between the 1950s and the 1990s.

B. Locational Analysis

Given this dataset of photos that spans multiple decades of Taipei's history, the first step was to understand how the city's linguistic landscape had changed over time. I thus decided to analyze the locations of the instances of English within Taipei's linguistic landscape. My locational analysis accounted for both location in the city as well as certain characteristics of each photograph's contents. My overarching goal was to find any trends over time that correlated to the urban development and growth of Taipei as well as any trends with clustering or grouping of certain types of English signage.

I. Categories by Decade

During my cursory analysis of the photographs, I discovered that there were many photographs whose content was film-related, featuring either theatres that were playing films in English or posters for these films. This is consistent with the history of Taiwanese film as described in Chapter III. As mentioned earlier, more than two-thirds of all films shown were American in 1954 (Zhang and Xiao 50); this number rose to 70% by the 1960s. It was thus fitting to consider the photographs with film-related content separately from other depictions of Taipei's linguistic landscape, because of the volume of related content.

I thus grouped and tagged the photographs that contained English into the following:

- Photographs with English in movie theatre contexts
- Photographs with English in store signs (only horizontal, above storefront ones)
- Photographs with other instances of English (such as billboards, lighted signs on top of buildings, and vertical signs)

Next, employing Google's My Maps, I performed locational analysis of the photographs in my dataset. I created layers for each of the three aforementioned "types" of signs. Then I assigned one pin to each photograph and placed it in the appropriate layer of the map. The colour coding indicates which decade the photographs came from, with the following legend:

- Blue: 1950-1959
- Purple: 1960-1969
- Green: 1970-1979
- Orange: 1980-1989
- Red: recurring over the decades, to prevent over crowding and diminished readability of the map

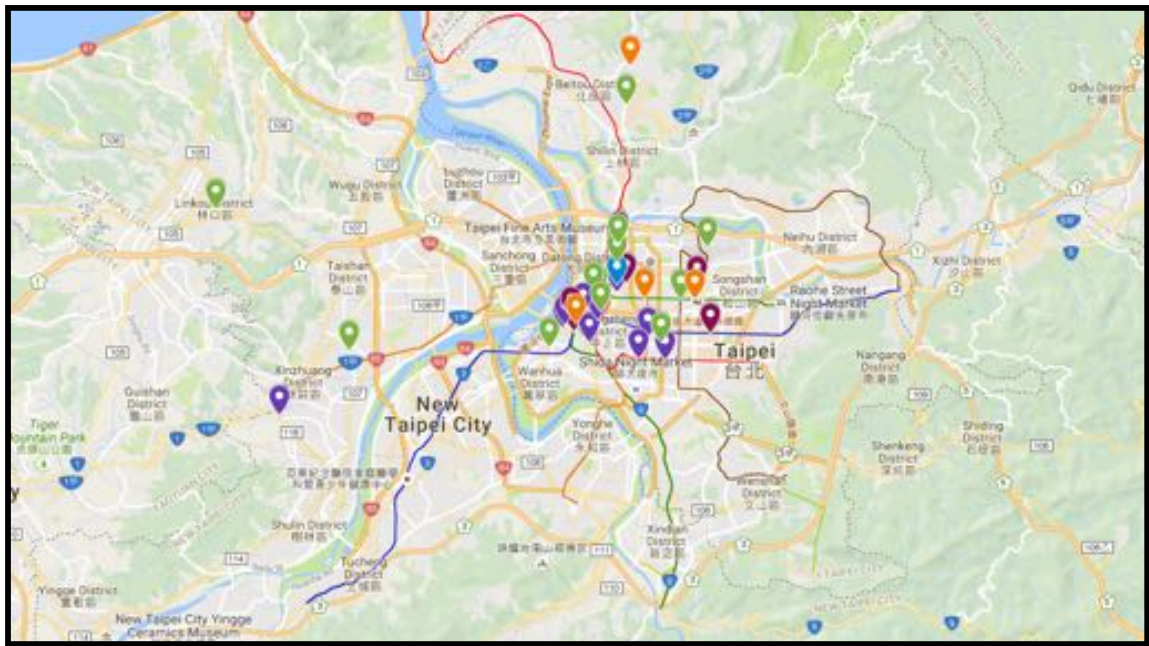
The output of my analysis can be found at the following link:

<https://goo.gl/FlxWtk>.

I chose to only plot photographs dating between 1950 and 1989 because the number of photographs with English beyond this range was quite low and followed inconclusive trends.²²

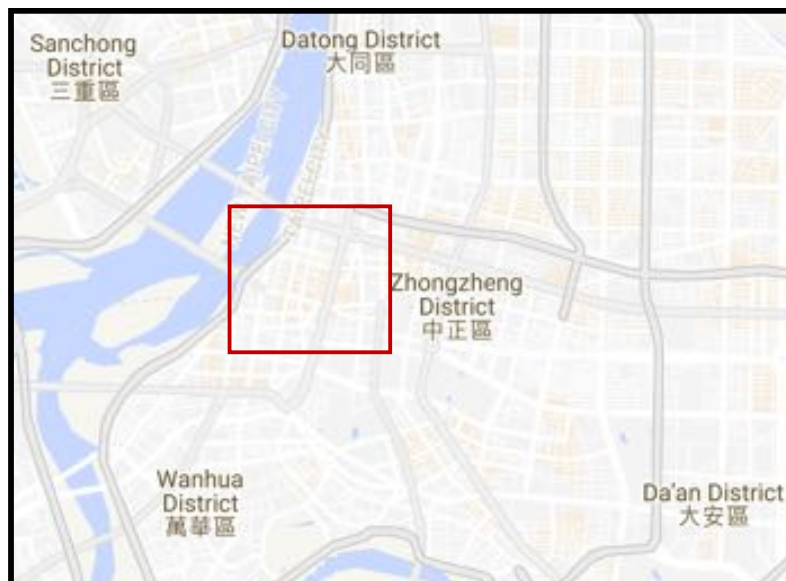
²² This is most likely because photos after the 1990s were considered contemporary and thus excluded from the photo repository as well as Zhang Zhe Sheng's curations.

This is the map I produced with all layers displayed.

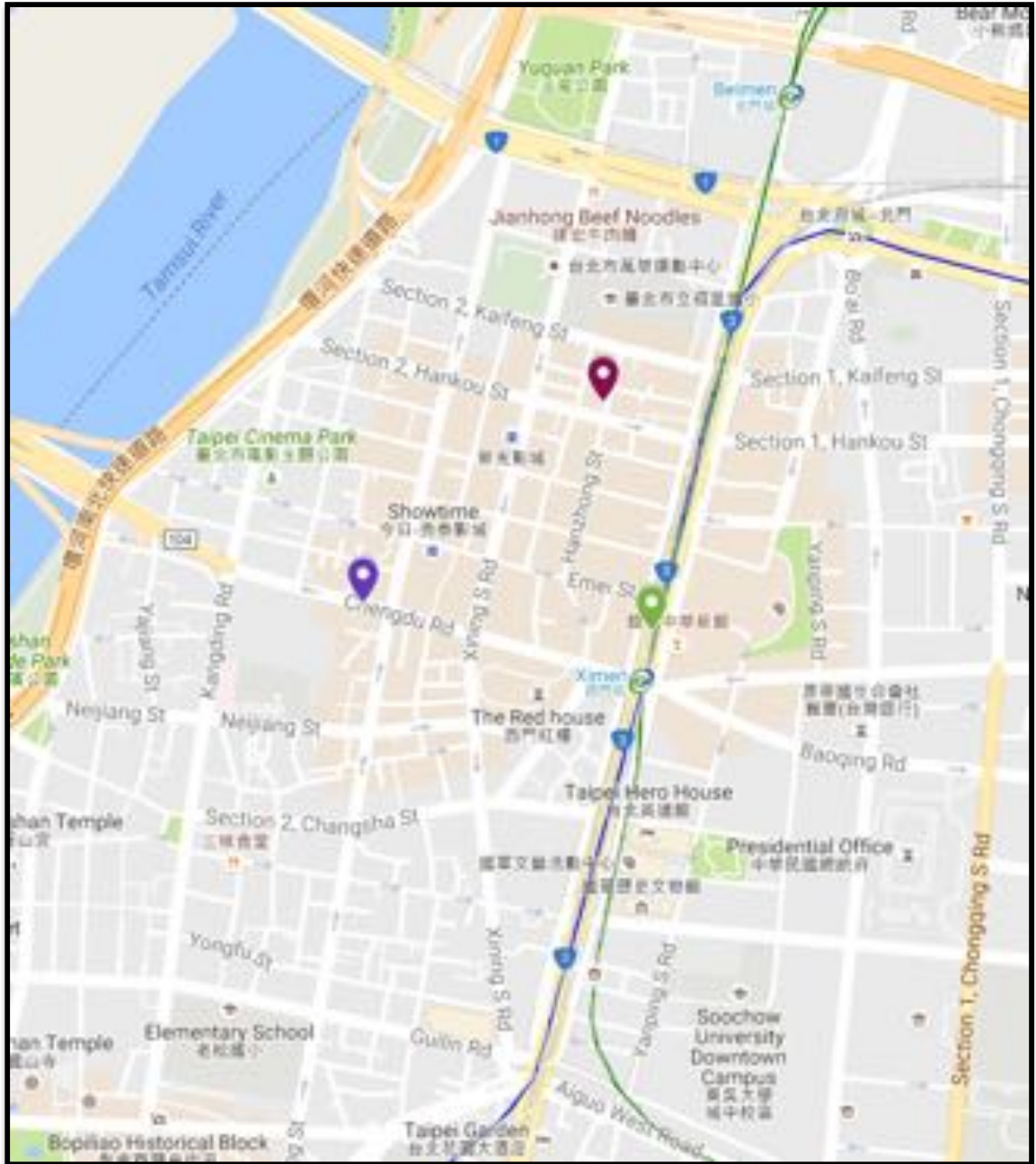


Above: All English signage with all layers shown, as captured from MyMaps available at: <https://goo.gl/FlxWtk>

My initial observation was that most of the English signage relating to films and theatres were clustered in the Ximending area, which is outlined below in red.

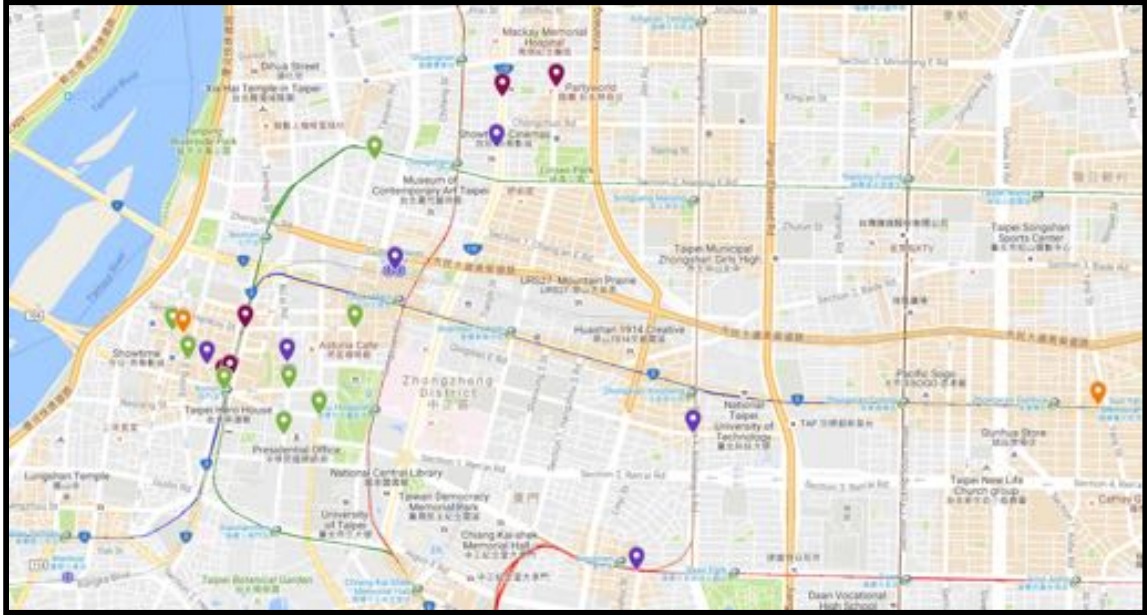


Above: Map of Taipei with the Ximending area outlined in red

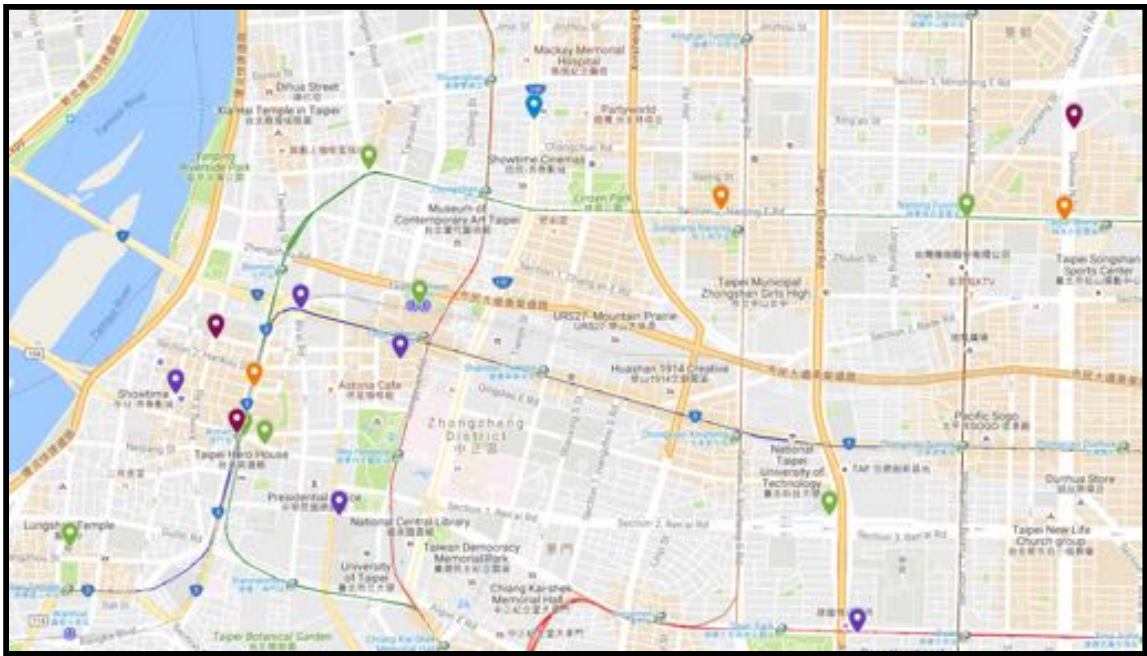


Above: Locations with English film names

Locations with English store names did extend beyond Ximending, though they were heavily concentrated in the neighbourhood.



Above: Locations with English store names



Above: Locations with other English

Both of the categories above followed the same trends as did English store names, though these two latter categories expanded outwards slightly more.

The region between Ximending and Taipei Railway Station appeared to be most heavily concentrated with respect to English signage. Most of the points beyond the Ximending/Taipei Railway Station areas were orange, purple, and green, meaning they were photographed after the 1960s. This suggested that a lot of the newer instances of English arose with the development and growth of Taipei. In order to further investigate this hypothesis, I proceeded to the second part of my analysis using a series of historical base maps of Taipei rather than the modern-day Google Maps depiction of Taipei that I had used here.

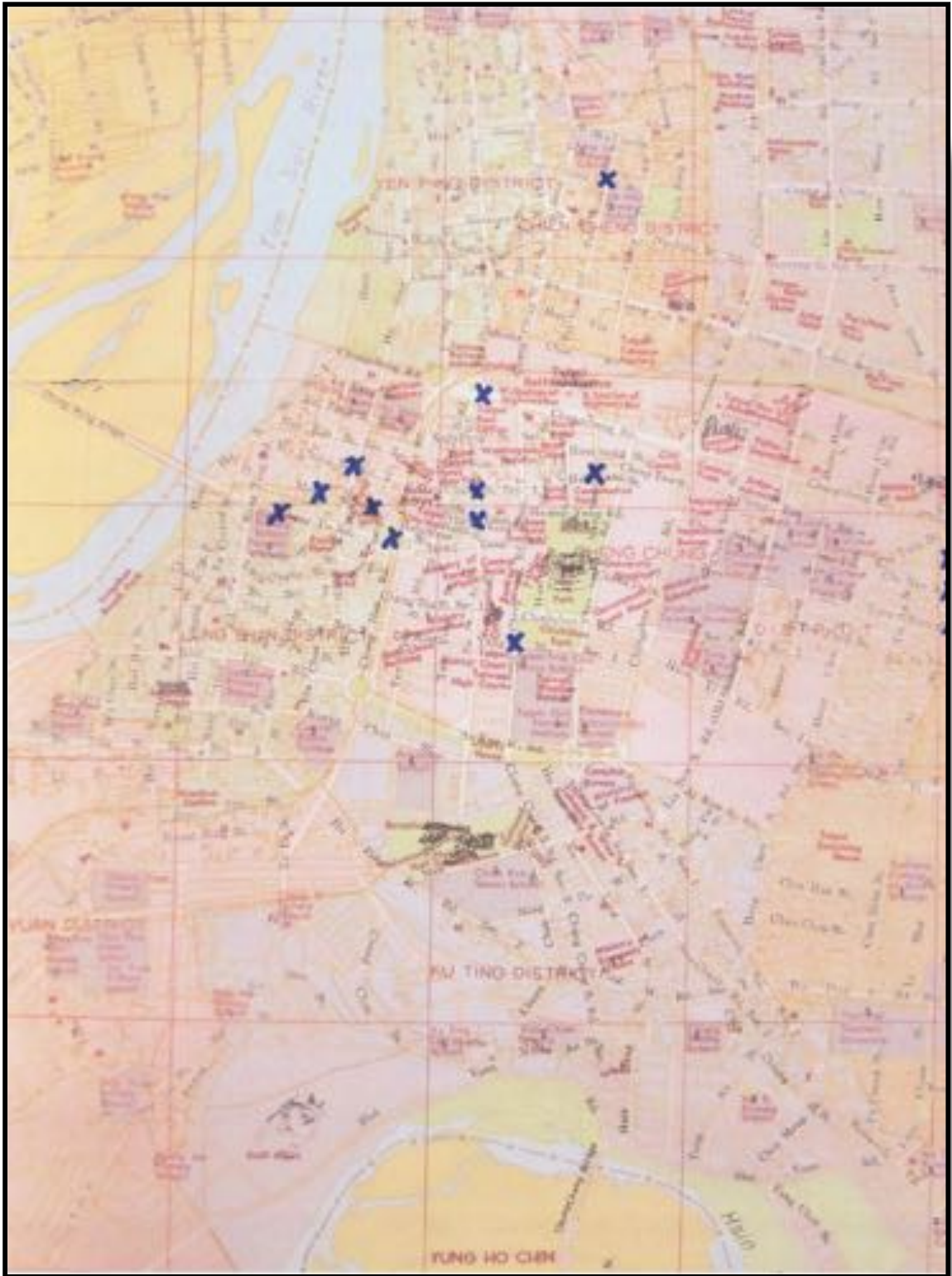
II. Urban Growth by Decade

I sought out historical maps of Taipei from the 1950s through the 1980s in order to juxtapose the changes in the linguistic landscape against development and growth in the city. The various maps that I used indicated that the city grew outwards over time, as an increasing number of neighbourhoods became labeled beyond the city centre. In order to examine whether the increase in English over time corresponded to urban development, I created two sets of maps:

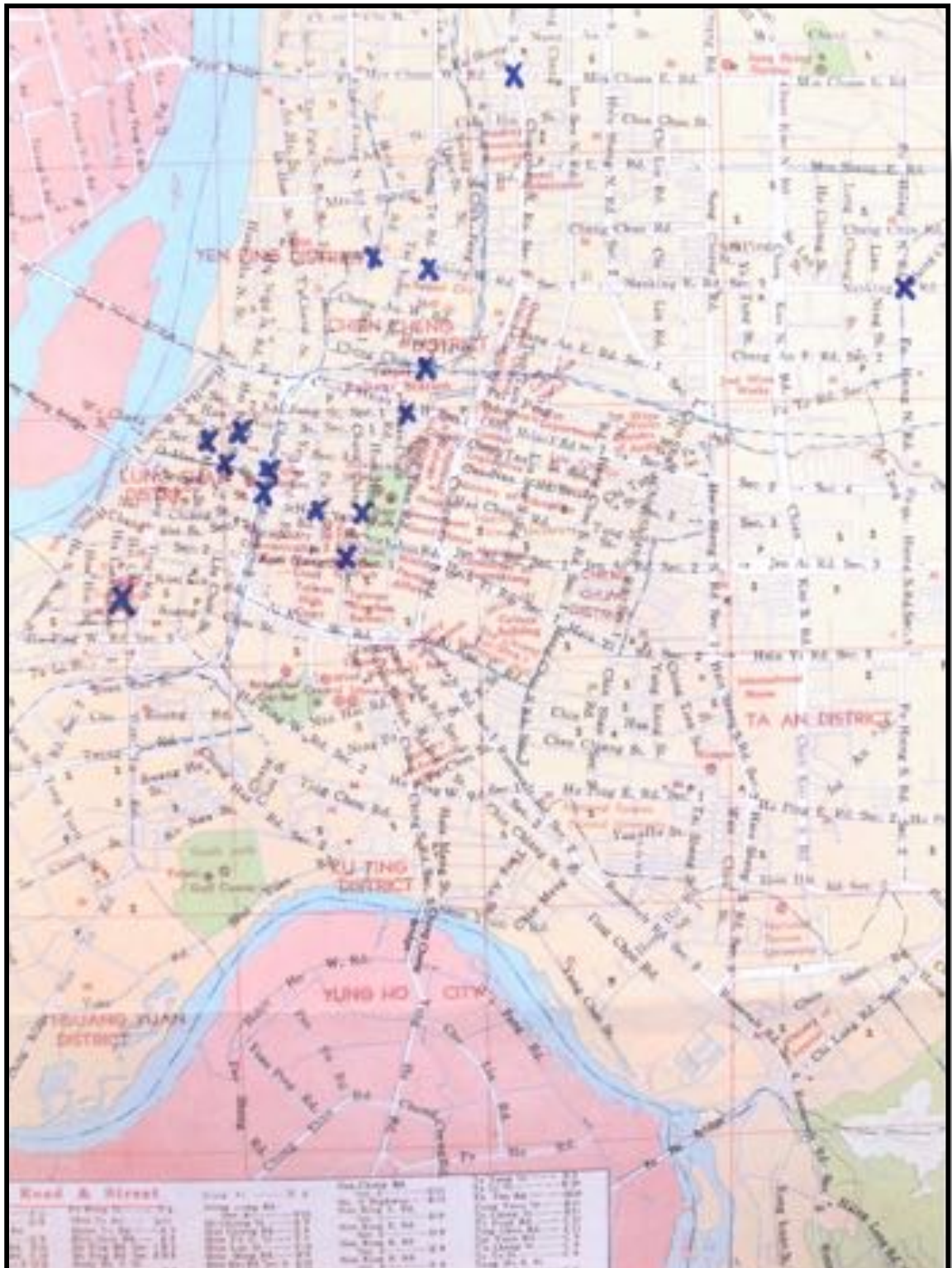
- Maps from 1970, 1983, and 1988 indicating **new** instances of English signage
- Maps from 1983 and 1988 indicating **cumulative** instances of English signage

While both sets of maps would show the growth of the city centre, the former would draw attention to whether growth in each decade had been particular to specific neighbourhoods.

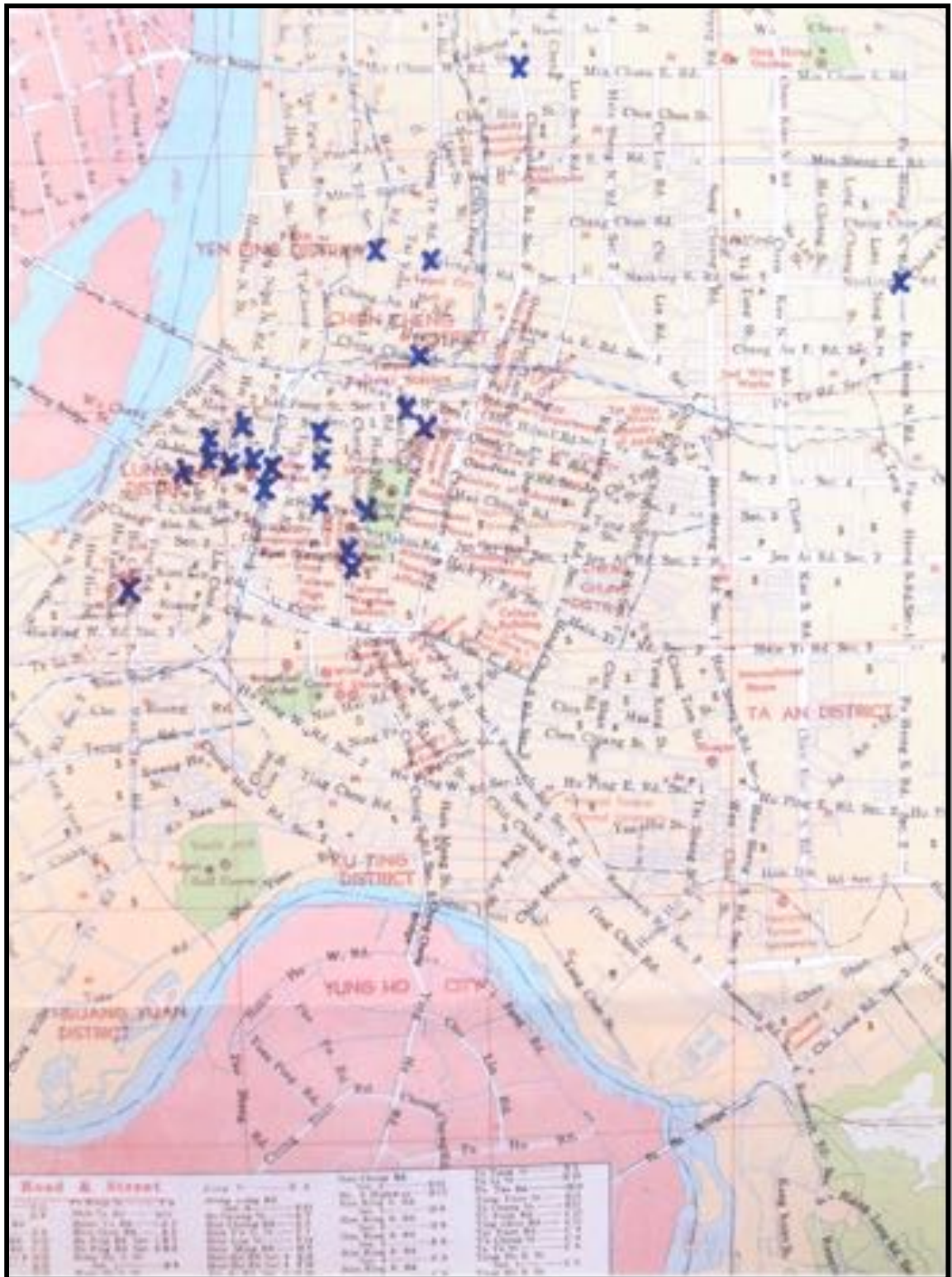
Below: 1970 Nan Hua publisher map (annotated with new instances of English from 1960-1969). Take note of the concentration of points in the Ximending area



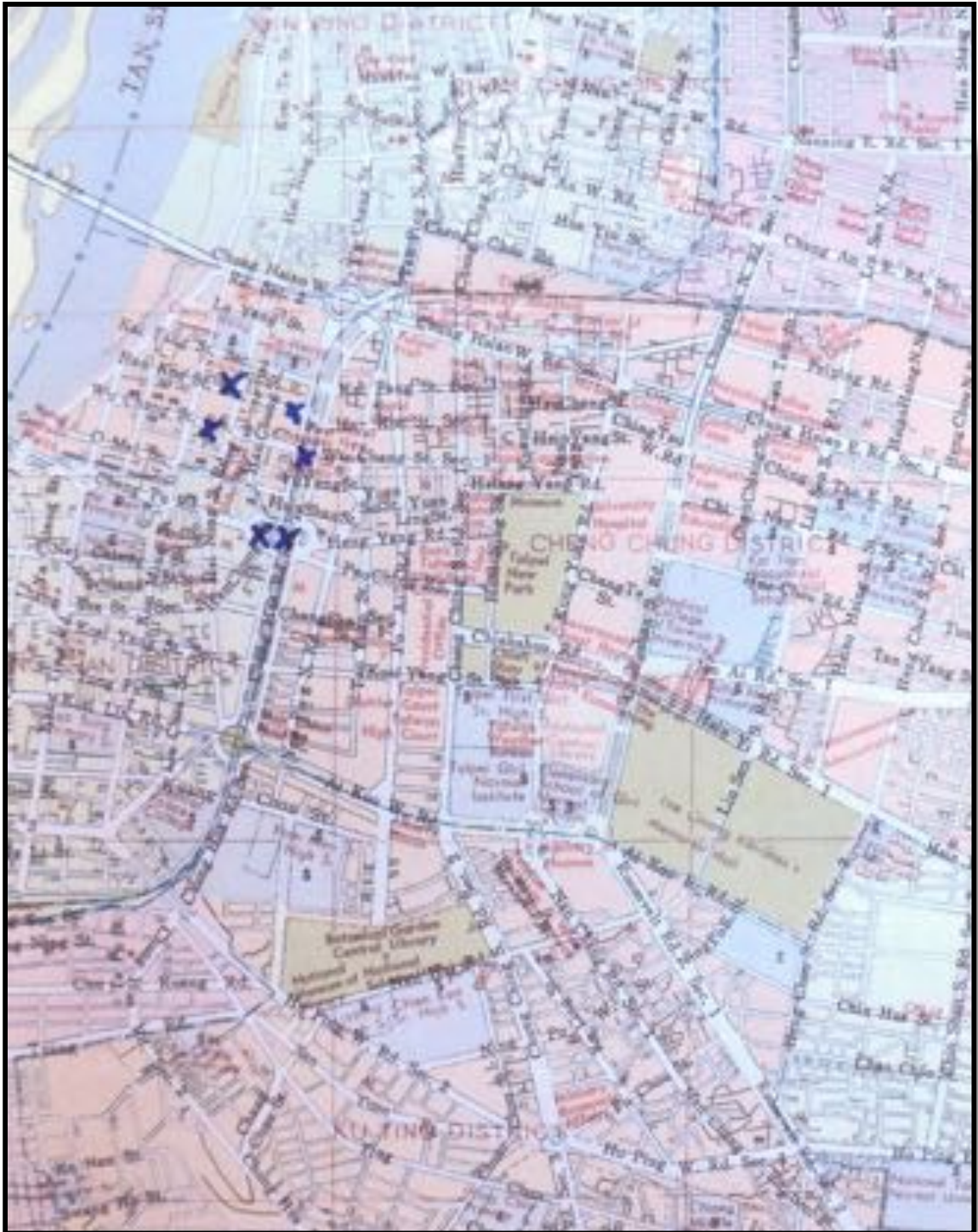
Below: 1983 Nan Hua publisher map (annotated with new instances of English from 1970-1979). Take note of the expansion outwards beyond the Ximending area



Below: 1983 Nan Hua publisher map (annotated with cumulative instances of English up to 1979). This is essentially an overlay of the two previous maps



Below: 1988 Nan Hua publisher map (annotated with new instances of English from 1980-1989). Take note of the continued increase in Ximending area; expansion into rest of the city is not noted here due to map scaling but did occur (see MyMaps images above)



Below: 1988 Nan Hua publisher map (annotated with cumulative instances of English up to 1989)



The different maps over time confirmed the growth of the city outward. Moreover, plotting the new instances of English by decade confirmed that most of the development did indeed begin with the Ximending area and expand outwards.

Through better understanding where English appeared in Taipei's linguistic landscape and how it expanded over time, I was able to focus my research. Following the results from the second part of my analysis is a deep dive into the Ximending area and its unique characteristics as a district. Considering the unique characteristics of the Ximending area alongside the growing presence of English in Taipei revealed potential drivers of linguistic landscape evolution. For instance, the heavy presence of theatres in the Ximending area reaffirms that a lot of English was introduced to Taipei through the film industry, as I have already explored.

History of the Ximending Area

Ximending is a classic example of an "epitome district." The term "epitome district" was coined in 1966 to describe regions of new cultures and behaviours, often characterized by large inflows of immigrant populations (Clay 39). In cities, change most often begins in epitome districts because of the density and echo chamber effect. Epitome districts exist all around the world; examples primarily include neighbourhoods with strong cultural affiliations such as Little Italy and Chinatown, which can be found in most major cities.

Before the 20th century, the Ximending area was quiet and home to the 18th century Tin Hau temple. The dominant road in the neighbourhood led to the West Gate of Taipei, which is today's Wanhua District, giving this area its name: Xi (west) Men (gate) Ding (district, from Japanese). Because of its prime location just beyond the city, Ximending underwent a transformation in the 20th century, becoming an entertainment centre that was frequented by members of the Japanese colonial government. In spite of the demolition of the West Gate in 1905, the area retained its name of Ximen. In 1908, the first public market in Taipei was built, constructed in Western-style architecture, featuring the Ximen Market Octagonal Display Hall. The area became a centre of local business and life until the market was converted into the Red House in 1947. It is unclear how the patronage of the area changed after this conversion, although the heavy presence of English in the region in the 1950s onwards suggests that it served a similar purpose to the Americans as it did to the Japanese.

Despite the change in Taiwan's rule, Ximending continued to be an epitome district, which explains why it was the seedbed for such cultural growth. In 1963, the Red House Movie Theatre was opened and became popular for Westernized youngsters – young Taiwanese who sought Western entertainment. As the prominence of American and European film in Taipei increased, so did the popularity of this area. It came to be known as the theatre area, with row upon row of theatres, cinemas, and also billboards advertising films. It is likely that during this era, Ximending also attracted foreigners who were in Taipei due to its high concentration of English.

The decline of the area in the 1990s was largely spurred by development of other areas in Taipei and the introduction of theatres elsewhere. Ximending became less fashionable for films and shopping. In an effort to revive the area, the municipal government transformed it into the first ever pedestrian-only spot in the city, mimicking the Harajuku District in Tokyo. Similarly, Harajuku is an area that is also known for inciting cultural growth: it is the hub of youth culture and fashion and home to many pop-up stores.

Even today, the Ximending area continues to be the seedbed for cultural growth. The area is home to one of Taiwan's first legalized graffiti canvases. The zone is managed by Jimmy Cheng, a former graffiti artist, who reviews artists' portfolios before they are allowed to make their artistic contributions ("New Urban Canvas for Taiwan's Graffiti Artists"). What is most important is that the area not only provides artists with a space where they can create but also propels a shift in local perception of graffiti, transforming public views of it from disdainful to appreciative.

Ultimately, within the context of this thesis, these findings confirm the important role that media played in introducing English to Taipei's linguistic landscape, as explored in the previous chapter. Better understanding the characteristics of the Ximending area enabled me to isolate the factors that may have contributed most strongly to the dissemination of English in Taipei's linguistic landscape.

C. Content Analysis

Following my analysis of the geographic distribution of the dataset, I undertook a more detailed examination of the content of the photographs. I categorized each photo on four dimensions:

- 1) Source of English
- 2) Type of English (literal)
- 3) Photo Composition
- 4) Type of Signage

Each of these dimensions offered insight into what English was being used for and whether the photos were representative of trends specific to language or rather those of changing times and their consequences, such as modernization. I will detail these trends in depth in the following sections, which are devoted to my four dimensions of analysis.

I. Source of English

Each of the photos in the refined dataset featured English in the depicted linguistic landscape. Here, I account for the different elements of the linguistic landscape that can contain English. The five categories I created are:

- 1) Brand
- 2) Store name
- 3) Product sold (including movie titles on posters and billboards)
- 4) Company name (including banks and other large institutions)
- 5) Other

Categories

They are defined and exemplified as follows:

- 1) Brand: any logo or other imagery with text that is used to represent a given brand



- 2) Store name: any label above or beside a store as an identifier, typically mom-and-pop stores

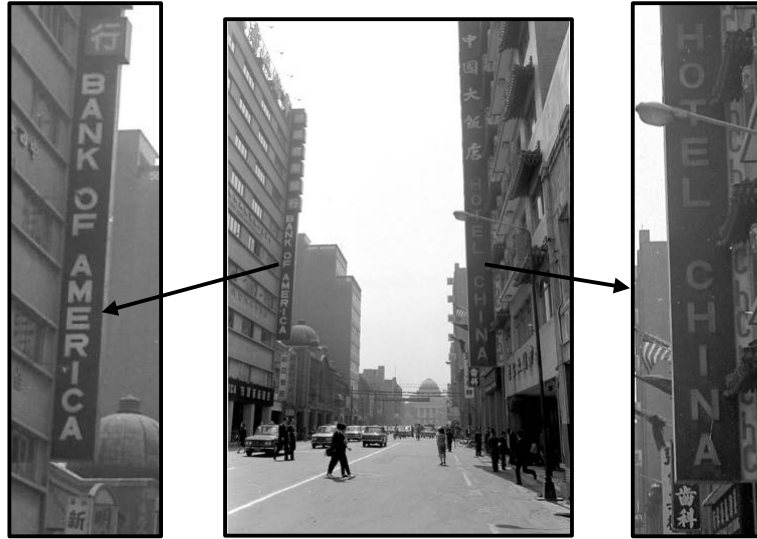


3) Product sold: any label on a product, e.g. soda brands



4) Company name: any label on a professional building, such as those of banks and other institutions

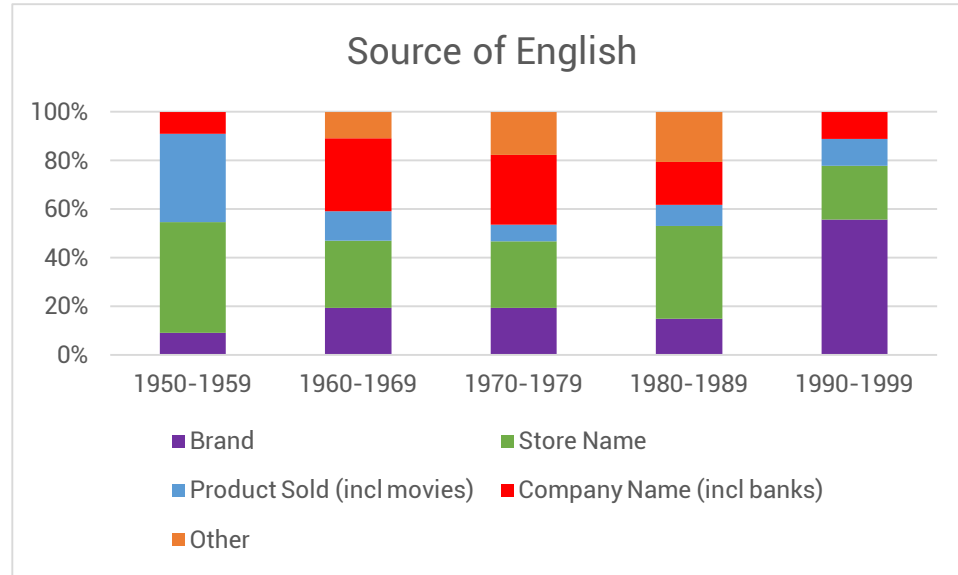




- 5) Other: any English appearing on media that is not part of the aforementioned categories, e.g. street signs, brochures, fliers, etc.



Trends



The most prominent trend according to this graph is the increase in instances of English brand names. However, the uptick in the 1990s is not quite as extreme as depicted. There are fewer photos in total from the 1990s than the 1980s. Thus, approximately the same number of instances of English brand names in the 1990s becomes a higher proportion than that of the 1980s. That being said, the relative increase in percentage of brand could be related to the decrease in percentage of product sold. It is possible that over the years, as people became more in tune with different foreign brand names, a greater emphasis was placed on advertising the brands rather than the products themselves.

Examination of the raw data reveals that the greatest change was between the 1970s and the 1980s. In the 1960s, the brands that appear are MGM, Kodak, Mobil, Omega, RC Cola, Sanyo, and Sony. These brands are primarily associated with film, photography, oil, and household electronics. Only

RC Cola and Omega are foreign brands of food and fashion. In the 1970s, we see the addition of Canon, Citizen, Pepsi, Pepsi-Cola, Seiko, and Yamaha. The presence of foreign food increases with Pepsi and Pepsi-Cola, while the other categories stay quite consistent. In the 1980s, many of the same brands reappear. However, new additions include Toshiba, Longines, and Konica, and then the three fast food chains: Kentucky Fried Chicken, McDonald's, and Wendy's. The increase in foreign food and fashion is apparent, with Longines (foreign jewelry) and the three fast food chains. The 1990s continue this trend with the following brands: Adidas, Motorola, Rolex, and Seiko.

Conversely, English used in the names of products being sold decreased quite significantly over time. This trend is likely attributable to the nature of the category, as there were very few photos of products being sold with English labels in each decade. Alternatively, it is possible that brand recognition strengthened over the years and people began to use brand names rather than product names. Western examples of this phenomenon include the use of "Xerox" to replace "photocopy," "Hoover" for "vacuum," and "Kleenex" for "tissue."

The presence of English in store names has retained a fairly high proportion of all instances of English in Taipei's linguistic landscape over time. The trend in this category is more evident when we examine the raw data. In the 1950s, there is Terry's American Restaurant in this category. In the 1960s, there are more stores that appear in this category: Sheau Hua Yuan Embroidery, Kitchen Store, Textiles Co., Yeng Shiang Jewelry Co., Daan Pharmacy, and China

Photo Studio. These are all sorts of trade stores, advertising in English, presumably for foreigners who have come to Taipei for commercial reasons. Perhaps the American restaurant from the 1950s was also aimed at those foreigners – a place for the homesick to find a little familiarity? The 1970s feature English store names such as Contemporary Tailor, Diamond Barber Shop, Jerry's Realty, Kent Photo Instrument, Modern Optical Co. Ltd., and even Miss One Dressmaking. Although there is still an emphasis on conveying each store's trade to potential customers, there are also more embellishments on the store names: *Diamond Barber Shop*, *Jerry's Realty*, and *Modern Optical Co. Ltd.* The 1980s furthered this trend with the following instances of English store names: Gennie's Maternity, Hardee's, International Brand Saloon, Napoleon Tourist Barber, New Life Square, and Expression. Some of these names do not even convey what the store would have sold. Coinciding with the decline in Taiwanese trade with the US, we see more instances of English being used as a means of creative expression rather than literal translation from a Chinese name. Hardee's is not an Anglicization of a Chinese name, indicating that someone must have chosen that name in English. If we look back to the trends in brand names from the 1960s onwards, we see also that the percentage of Japanese brands – such as Sanyo, Sony, Canon, and Yamaha – also grows steadily in this era, corresponding to the growth of Japan's role as one of Taiwan's trade partners.

Lastly, the presence of English company names seems to begin in the 1960s, peak a few decades later, and gradually decline. The decline is likely once

again a result of the varying numbers of photos per decade and thus not indicative of an absolute decline. The growth of English company names is likely initially the result of the presence of Americans in Taipei. The earliest company names include Bank of America, First Commercial Bank, The Cooperative Bank of Taiwan, First National City Bank, and Today's Co. Ltd. Most of these were banks and other financial institutions, with the exception of Today's Co. Ltd., which is a publisher. These institutions initially existed and were labeled in English in order to serve Western customers. In the 1960s and 1970s, there were also many English names on theatres and hotels: Cataya Hotel, First Hotel, Hotel China, Century Plaza Hotel, Empire Hotel, The Ambassador Hotel, Hotel Orient, Lux Theater, and Royal Theatre. These amenities were likely catered to foreigners and labeled in English for their convenience. In the 1980s, there are fewer hotels and theatres, suggesting a decline in the number of foreign English-speaking visitors. Eventually, as America's role in Taiwan decreased, the names that remained in English – primarily of banks – were likely maintained because the locals had grown to recognize them.

II. Type of English (literal)

Here, I account for the different ways in which English is used. English – broadly speaking – refers to anything that contains the Roman alphabet. However, the Roman alphabet can be employed either to convey meaning through forming English words or merely to convey sounds (that may hold meaning in other languages). The three categories I created are:

- 1) English
- 2) Pin Yin
- 3) Other

Categories

They are defined and exemplified as follows:

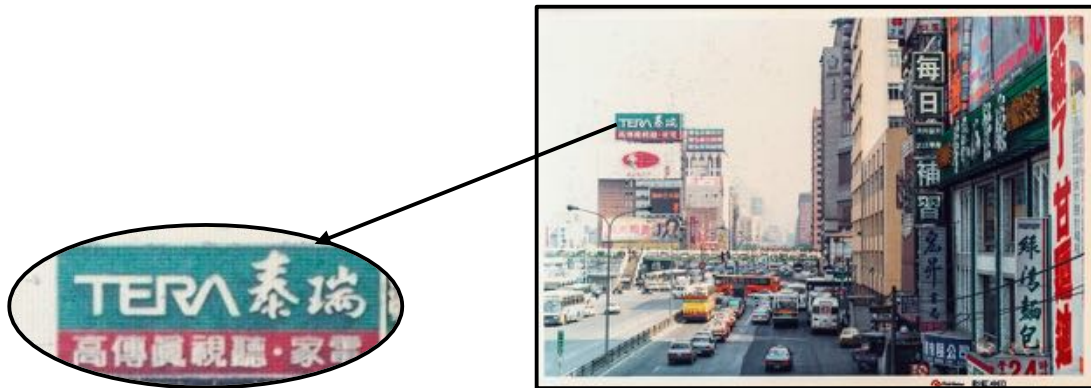
- 1) English: use of English with words that can be found in dictionaries to indicate a certain meaning



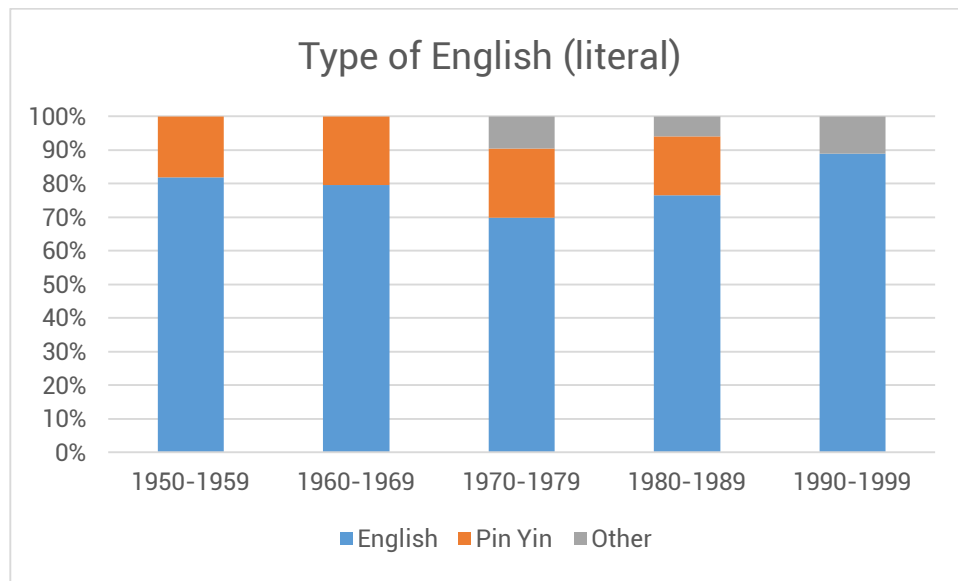
- 2) Pin Yin: use of English for phonetic representations of Chinese, usually of names



- 3) Other: use of English with words that are neither found in a dictionary nor phonetically connected to Chinese



Trends



The relative breakdown between English and Pin Yin appears to be quite consistent over the decades, while there is an increase in the other forms of English by the latter half of the era.

Initially, signage in the 1950s and 1960s is dominated by the "English" category, which included film names such as *Magic Boy* and *The Court Jester*,

as well as names for urban amenities. These names were sometimes entirely in English, such as Hotel Orient, Ambassador Theatre, and First National City Bank. Other urban amenities had names partially in Chinese that was represented through pinyin, such as Daan Pharmacy (named for the Daan area), Sheau Hua Yuan Embroidery (which literally means “embroidery garden”), and Chien Sing Company (pinyin of the company’s Chinese name). Also visible in the linguistic landscape of those decades were brand names that are still familiar to us today, such as Mobil, Cathay Pacific Airways, Omega, Sanyo, and Sony.

By the 1970s, a shift began to occur. There were fewer instances of pinyin English. Instead, English was appearing in brand names. Brands that were found in the linguistic landscape include YKK, Seiko, Sanyo, Yamaha, Canon, Citizen, and Pepsi. There were still amenities that had English names, such as hotels and restaurants, as well as banks. In the 1980s, there is the appearance of urban amenities (primarily stores) with names that do not make sense in English. This is the increase in other forms of English that is depicted on the trends graph. The “Other” category consists of English that is essentially nonsensical: linguistically legitimate in neither literal English nor pinyin Chinese. For example, there were stores named S Kiss, Akai, and New Life Square Cosmos. By the 1990s, we see names such as TERA, Ether, HOT, and Gurio Market. While “ether” and “hot” are recognizable in English, they appear to bear little or no relevance to the products they are selling.

During these latter decades, another trend appears. The English names of stores begin to include English names, such as Gennie’s Maternity, Thomas

House, and St. John's Institute. There is also a barbershop named after Napoleon. This trend suggests an increasing level of English fluency in the local community, perhaps as the children of the 1960s become young adults who have learned English in their schooling.

This trend likely follows the earlier one of the increase of "vogue" English, as described in the previous dimension: source of English. Many contemporary uses of English are misspelled or creative variations on language that can leave native English speakers and others similarly baffled. They often serve no more purpose than to appear cosmopolitan and foreign; the names are merely a way to identify a particular product or brand. This too suggests that over time, English was used less out of necessity for situating foreigners and rather as a status symbol or means of adding value to a given product or business.

III. Photo Composition

Here, I account for the different ways in which each photo is composed. The composition of the photo can give an indication of the linguistic landscape that it portrays, and whether it focuses more on the macro or the micro. The three categories I created are:

- 1) Streetscape
- 2) Building
- 3) Other

Categories

They are defined and exemplified as follows:

- 1) Streetscape: featuring a segment of a street with multiple stores, people, and other signs of life



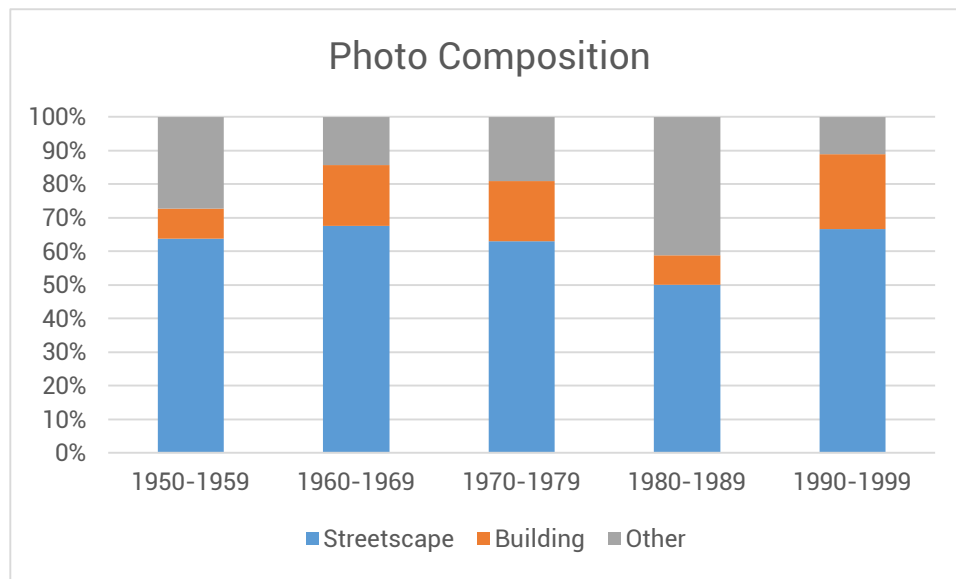
- 2) Building: focused on one structure only and its immediate surroundings



- 3) Other: non-photos or photos that feature events or other gatherings rather than mere architectural structures or streetscapes. Examples in the dataset include product labels, shots of stores from the interior, as well as advertisements, posters, and flyers



Trends



There is no significant change in the breakdown of photo composition from the dataset. Over time, the proportion of building photos increases slightly while other artefacts decrease. This does not necessarily indicate any trends that track political and social changes over time.

IV. Type of Signage

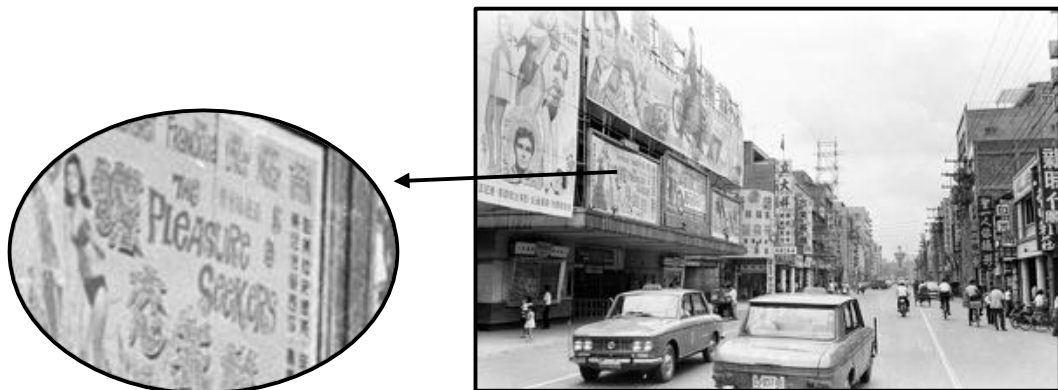
Here, I account for the different media through which the linguistic landscape of Taipei is depicted. The five categories I created are:

- 1) Billboard
- 2) Lighted sign (on building)
- 3) Vertical sign
- 4) Sign above doorway
- 5) Other

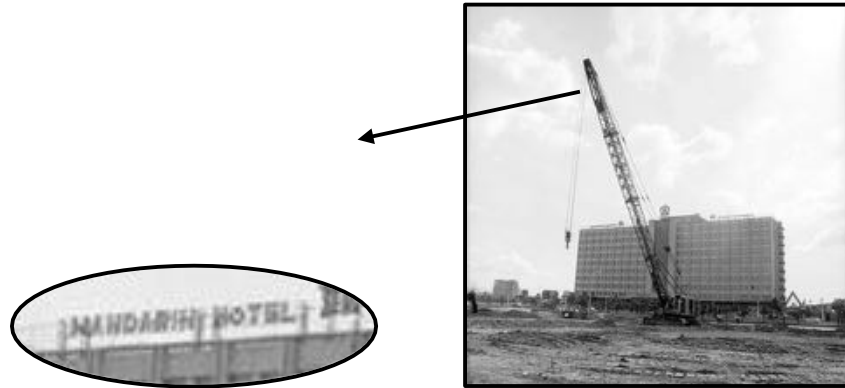
Categories

They are defined and exemplified as follows:

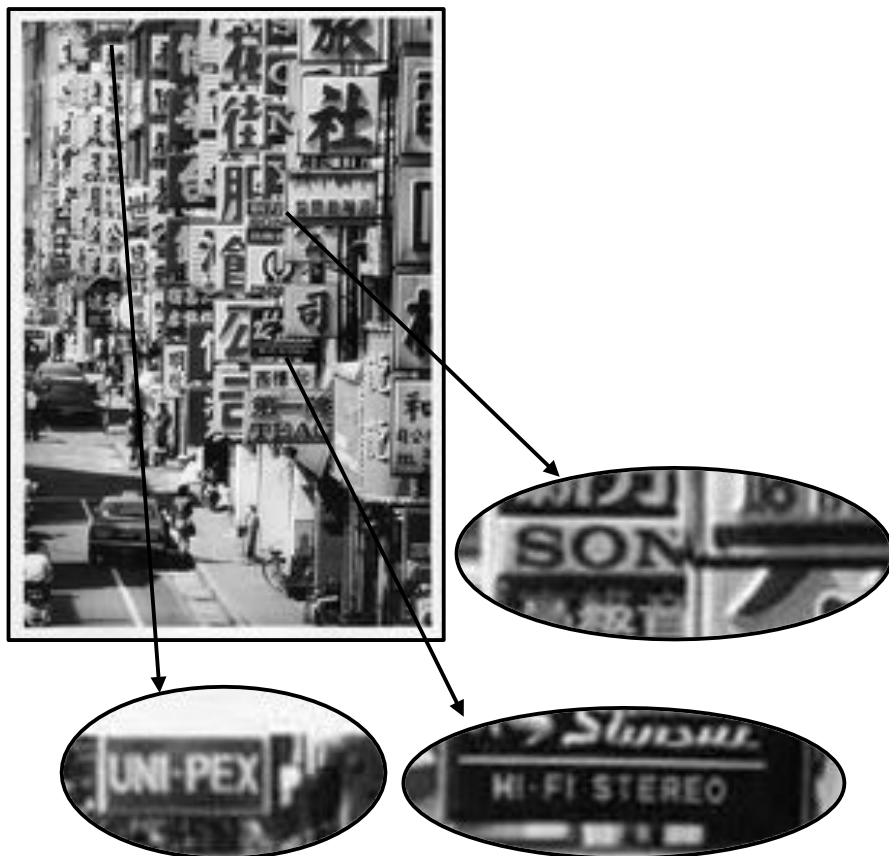
- 1) Billboard: any large poster that is advertising a particular item, in paper form and not backlit



2) Lighted sign (on building): any sign found on top of a building that is lit up or displayed in large block letters, generally used to indicate a company



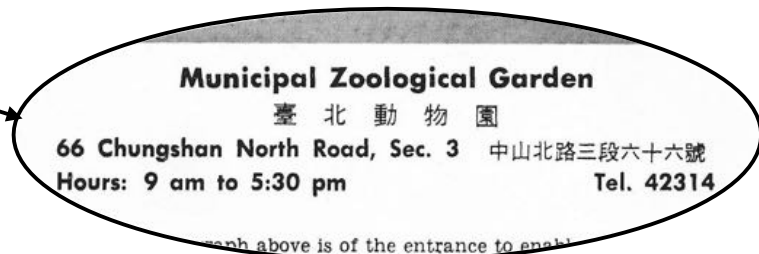
3) Vertical sign: any lit or plain sign that is vertical in orientation



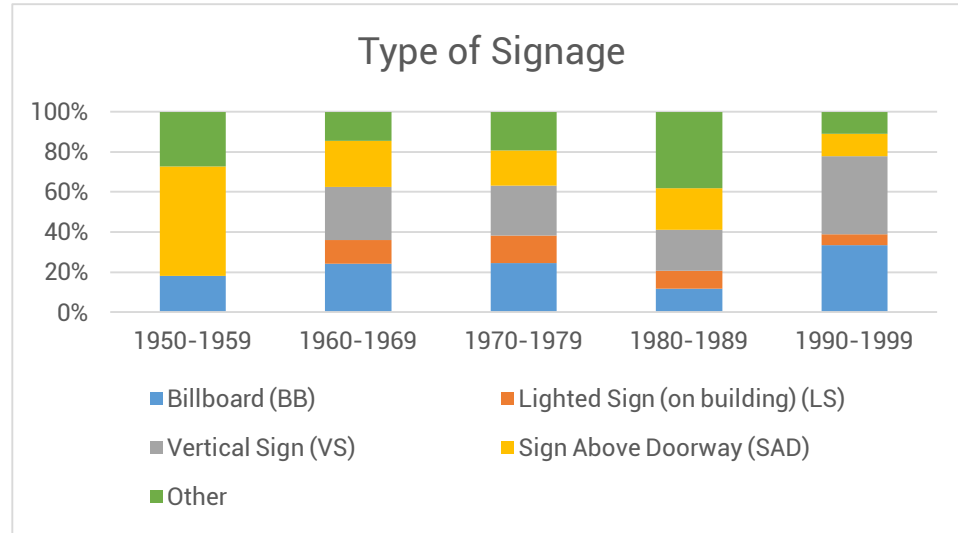
- 4) Sign above doorway: any lit or plain sign that is above a store front, used to indicate the store name and its line of business



- 5) Other: any other form of English, such as flyers, street signs, or brochures



Trends



One of the most noticeable trends over time is the increase in vertical signs and the decrease in signs above doorways. These two trends are most likely related to the increase in urban density of Taipei. The linguistic landscape of Taipei became progressively more crowded as time elapsed, and the presence of English signage increased concurrently, as seen in the spatial analysis section. These two trends result in an increasing demand for space in the urban landscape for each individual business, ultimately culminating in the reduction of horizontal sign space (signs above doorways) and the turn to vertical signage. Vertical signage is denser and allows for more signs to be erected. The introduction of vertical signage also coincided with the increasing usage of faster-moving vehicles, such as motorcycles and cars. This is likely because vertical signage is easier to see from roads than horizontal signage, which requires travelers to stop in their paths and reorient themselves perpendicular to their direction of travel. In addition, the advent of vertical

signage and its growth in popularity is seen not only in Taipei but also in the rest of Taiwan as well as East Asia. This is one of the most visibly poignant changes that occurred in Taipei's linguistic landscape from the 1950s through the 1990s, and reflects the modernization and growth of the city.

In tandem with these two changes, there is also a decrease in lighted signs (on buildings). This most likely occurred as a result of the increasing density in the urban environment as well. Fewer buildings were devoted to solely one company, thus it became less feasible to feature one company's logos or name on top of the building. Many of these spaces were also converted to accommodate billboards or multiple vertical signs.

Another prominent trend in this dimension is the increase of billboards in the 1990s. While this does not necessarily mean there were more billboards in Taipei overall, this does show that there were more billboards with English on them. Many of these billboards feature products and services, which are most likely being marketed with English in order to index a certain "vogue" value.

Correspondence to Models of Semiotics and Iconography

The importance of analyzing the content of the photographs can be traced to models of semiotics and iconography. The two most pertinent concepts are Saussure's notion of signification and Peirce's model of iconography. Saussure presents the idea of the signification: the process that connects a sign (*signifier*) to that which it stands for (*signified*). One example, as described by Daniel Chandler, is that a literal sign on the front door of a shop

that says "OPEN" serves as a signifier for the notion that the shop is open for business, the signified. Saussure's model distinguished between the written and spoken word as different types of signifiers, though in modern semiotics the written and spoken word are accepted as analogous. In the analysis of my dataset, all of the instances of signification are based on written word as the photos are still images of printed signs.

The one shortcoming of Saussure's model is that he does not account for signifiers that refer to objects in the world. He focuses only on signifiers that are linked to concepts within the human mind, which are nebulous and typically more complex than can be represented with a singular word. Peirce's model of iconography takes Saussure's model of signification one step further by including physical objects as well.

Peirce's model of iconography is built upon the idea that there does not exist a dyadic relationship between a sign and an object. As Albert Atkin writes, "a sign signifies only in being interpreted." In other words, if there exists a sign but no one to interpret it, it has no signification value. Peirce thus defines three types of representation: icon, index, and symbol. In my analysis, all three types of representation can be found.

The first form of representation is an icon. Peirce defines icons as patterns that physically resemble what they stand for: the most straightforward form of representation. For example, a photograph of a store could be considered an icon, as it has a reproduction of the same image. Another instance of an icon is a no smoking sign, that indicates a ban – with the use of

the circle and line cutting through it diagonally – of smoking, indicated by a cigarette.

The second form of representation is an index. The index is defined by a sensory feature that correlates with or implies that which it represents. Typically, the index appears in the form of a word or an object, although it can also be an idea. An example of an index is dark clouds in the sky that signify impending rain. Alternatively, a particular spelling of a given word can also be used as an index for understanding a certain person's nationality. For example, *color* is an index of an individual's American nationality, as other English-speaking nations follow the British spelling system, which would render the word *colour*. Unlike icons, which are intuitive and often do not need to be taught, indices are often artificial because the association between two ideas or objects needs to be explicitly conveyed. Many animals are unable to understand or learn indices while most are able to interpret icons.

The third form of representation is a symbol. Symbols are easily removed from their original context and often bear close associations to other sets of symbols. The most common form of symbols is words. Although words rely on indexicality – or even iconicity – when they are first taught, they eventually exist independently of what they represent. For example, the word *penguin* refers to the species regardless of whether a penguin is present when it is discussed.

In my analysis, the photos contain icons, indices, and symbols. Initially, most of the English signage appears to serve the function of symbols. They are

literal representations of a particular conveyed meaning, intended to assist foreign visitors in their daily activities. The existence of English words as symbols appears to only be necessary because of the failure of icons in the linguistic landscape. If there were a sufficient number of icons in the linguistic landscape, then most of the signage would transcend language barriers, as icons tend to rely on images for conveying their meanings. It is only when icons are insufficient that we rely on symbols.

Over time, as the presence of English words plays a growing role, English is no longer used solely as a symbol. It becomes an index of all things foreign and then oftentimes, conveys vogue value. Without the right social priming – in particular, the soft power of the US in Taiwan and the asymmetrical relationship between the two nations that this created – English would not have changed from being a symbol to an index, as there would have been nothing for English to index other than foreignness.

Conclusion

Ultimately, my analysis of the photos reveals several changes over time that can be explained in tandem with the political and economic changes in Taiwan during each corresponding decade. For example, the decline in trade with the US mapped directly to a decrease in the use of practical English in the city's linguistic landscape. In addition to the clear urban development that Taipei experienced over these decades, the photos also reveal the changes in the type of English and intended use. During the peak of Taiwanese trade with

the United States, most of the instances of English were practical, intended to label goods or services that were available and facilitate the interactions between small local businesses and outsiders who lacked background in Chinese. Later, during the 1980s, as Taiwan's trade partners began to diversify, the presence of English did not diminish but its purpose grew beyond being merely functional. It adopted a nuance – frequently, the English was no longer literally interpretable by a native English speaker. Instead, the use of the English was clearer to the local Taiwanese as it had been adopted to index a certain attitude or class or degree of quality: the “vogue” element. Examples include stores such as New Life Square Cosmos and S Kiss from the 1990s.

These trends reinforce my revised hypothesis about the impact that Martial Law had on Taipei's linguistic landscape. With the inception of Martial Law came an increase in the impact of the United States on Taiwanese culture because of the soft power that the nation exerted. Thus English became a key component of the linguistic landscape not only out of trade necessity – as was the case initially – but also out of an attitude of admiration that resulted from the United States' role in Taiwan's development. In many ways, the US became a lifeline for Taiwan during an era of diplomatic isolation. Ultimately, the asymmetrical relationship between the two nations played a large role in driving the presence of English in Taipei's linguistic landscape. Even today, the lasting impact of the US can be seen in how English continues to be used to evoke a certain “vogue” characteristic.

Chapter V: Conclusion

Results of Analysis

Although I cannot conclude whether the presence of English in Taipei's linguistic landscape has grown from the 1950s through the 1990s, my analysis reveals that the geographical distribution of English in the linguistic landscape of Taipei has spread. Moreover, the function and type of English used in the city's linguistic landscape have evolved significantly.

I initially hypothesized that the presence of English in Taipei grew significantly after Martial Law was lifted, though my numerical analysis does not provide substantial evidence that this was the case. On the other hand, my geographical and spatial analysis revealed that the instances of English in the city began in a concentrated cluster in the area between Ximending and Taipei Railway Station and spread out gradually over the decades. This suggests that the use of English did become more widespread and diverse in use, even if it did not grow in volume.

One of the primary mechanisms behind the introduction of English to Taipei's linguistic landscape was media. As hypothesized, the presence of foreign media – such as films, books, and music – directly contributed to English in the linguistic landscape through billboards and other signage. Moreover, the media served as one of the most prominent ways in which American culture entered Taiwan, reflecting the soft power of the United States. The soft power of the United States – arguably an intended consequence of America's close involvement in Taiwan's political development – led to the

gradual cultivation of a Taiwanese admiration of the English language, as it was associated with fiscal support, national development, and external power. This admiration ultimately paved the road for modern-day “vogue” applications of English.

My findings with respect to the function and type of English used in Taipei's linguistic landscape revealed a pivot in the 1970s. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, which I coin Phase I of English in Taipei (henceforth referred to as “Phase I”), the presence of English in Taipei was highly utilitarian in nature. The instances of English were practical, used to translate Chinese, and intended to facilitate daily life for foreigners in the nation. I will delve deeper into the characteristics of this phase in the following section. Phase II, beginning around the 1970s, is the “vogue” era of English. It is marked by a transition to broader applications of English, beyond facilitating the lives of foreigners in the city. In this phase, the instances of English in the city begin to go beyond the practical, often containing embellishments in the form of adjectives or even words composed of English letters in permutations that are nonsensical to a native English-speaker.

In the following two sections, I will address the four questions I posed initially while also providing an in-depth overview of my findings.

- 1) Who is able to read this sign?
- 2) Who reads this sign?
- 3) Who made this sign?
- 4) Who is this sign intended for?

Phase I: Utilitarian English (1950s to 1970s)

This phase of Taipei's linguistic landscape history is characterized by the use of English for pragmatic purposes. In the 1950s and 1960s, there are a few English brand names that appear, although they are primarily limited to photography, natural resources, and household electronics brands. For example, there are photos containing Kodak, Mobil, Sanyo, and Sony. Most of these brands seem to have existed in Taipei as part of the local Taiwanese people's lives. Apart from brands belonging to these three categories, there are also two recurring brands during this era from the consumable goods industry: RC Cola and Omega. Other characteristic instances of English from the 1960s include Terry's American Restaurant, Sheau Hua Yuan Embroidery, Kitchen Store, Textiles Co., Yeng Shiang Jewelry Co., Daan Pharmacy, and China Photo Studio.

In this era, Taiwan's relationship with the United States was at its strongest. The United States played a leading role in Taiwan's development and was also its largest trade partner. Inevitably, this would have led many Americans to Taiwan throughout the decade. With the presence of foreigners comes the necessity for using their language, whether it is to facilitate trade or to provide them with basic daily services, such as pharmacies, restaurants, or barbershops. Most of the English signs existed in tandem with corresponding Chinese versions, showing that the English existed to aid foreigners in the city. Had there been no foreigners, there would have been no reason to provide any non-Chinese signage, as all business would be conducted with Chinese-speaking locals. In further support of the importance of foreign trade during this

era, the majority of stores with English signage advertised textiles, jewelry, photography, and other bulk products/services for sale to foreign businessmen. In addition to stores, there were also many hotels and theatres with English names, such as Cataya Hotel, First Hotel, Hotel China, Century Plaza Hotel, Empire Hotel, The Ambassador Hotel, Hotel Orient, Lux Theater, and Royal Theatre. Presumably, these also catered to the foreign business travelers.

Lastly, there were many companies in the city with English names. For example, the photos contain: Bank of America, First Commercial Bank, The Cooperative Bank of Taiwan, and First National City Bank. These banks were most likely the mechanism through which the United States was able to support Taiwan in its development and exercise its soft power. With respect to my four research questions, most of these signs were made by the Taiwanese, intended for the Americans and other Anglophone foreigners, and ultimately read by the intended audience. In this era, most locals did not have fluency in English and they would likely have read the original Chinese signs instead. This reaffirms that the English signage could only have been intended for foreigners.

Phase II: "Vogue" English (1970s onwards)

The "vogue" phase of English in Taipei's linguistic landscape history begins in the 1970s, as the use of English in the city evolves and is no longer strictly utilitarian. In the first phase, the only English names that contained adjectives or embellishments were the hotels and theatres, which were thusly named to appeal to their clientele. The store names that had English in them

were very matter-of-fact, defined by either pinyin versions of Chinese names or plain English words that indicated what they sold. In Phase II, English took on an embellished form, which is often indecipherable to native English speakers as it can comprise nonsensical permutations of the Roman alphabet. This change from English intended for English-speaking foreigners to English intended for locals is quite logical in accordance with Taiwan's history, as the 1970s mark the beginning of the gradual decline of American presence in Taiwan.

In this era, the most notable change is the introduction of foreign brands. Suddenly, the following brands appear: Canon, Citizen, Pepsi, Pepsi-Cola, Seiko, and Yamaha. In the 1980s, Toshiba, Longines, Konica, and even Kentucky Fried Chicken, McDonald's, and Wendy's appear. These brands are no longer just practical additions to everyday life; they are American imports, luxury apparel and accessories, and fine appliances. This trend continues into the 1990s with the addition of Adidas, Motorola, Rolex, and Seiko. With respect to my four research questions, this change suggests that the signs were now also intended for locals rather than solely for native English-speaking foreigners. The people behind these signs were likely still locals – merchants, in particular – although some proportion of the lighted signs advertising brand names and logos may have been erected by larger foreign corporations.

Concurrently, the store names that contain English become embellished. We see Diamond Barber Shop, Jerry's Realty, Contemporary Tailor, and Modern Optical Co. Ltd. By the 1980s, there is Gennie's Maternity, Hardee's, International Brand Saloon, Napoleon Tourist Barber, New Life Square, and Expression. What

is most noteworthy about this phase is that these are not just names that are made to be more appealing to foreigners or to better convey what a certain store sells. Instead, these are names that begin to appeal to the locals by leveraging English to convey a sense of “vogue” appeal, as I describe in Chapter I. In the 1990s, names such as TERA, Ether, HOT, and Gurio Market appear. They go beyond embellishments but carry the same intent: to convey “vogue” appeal. Names such as New Life Square, S Kiss, and Akai are fairly meaningless to native English speakers, as they give little indication of what is sold. Unlike the case with the foreign brand names, these signs are most likely only crafted by locals for locals, as the type of English employed would be difficult for a native English speaker to produce.

Amongst the store names that are more descriptive, such as Jerry's Realty and Gennie's Maternity, another change becomes apparent. English names are increasingly commonplace – they are also found in Thomas House and St. John's Institute. At this point, in the 1980s, the generation of individuals in their twenties has grown up in Taiwan under American soft power. This generation – that learned English in school, listened to American music, and watched American television growing up – is now the generation that is driving the trends in the linguistic landscape. Likely, most of them have basic fluency in English and begin to look for the language in their world. This is fundamental in changing the answer to my research questions: the locals can now read these signs and increasingly more of these signs are thus intended for them. The beginning of the 1970s is just the beginning of increasing English fluency in the

local population. The cycle builds upon itself: as more locals can read English, they begin to read more of the signs that were intended for foreigners, and thus the local businesses begin to cater more signs in English, now expressly intended for the locals.

Today in Taipei

Today, there are few young people in Taipei who do not have English names. Sometimes, the English names they choose for themselves are nonsensical permutations of letters of the Roman alphabet such as Vincci, Emmie, Eatihg, Rola, and Florrie.²³ While this type of name choice may not be the most practical in the Western world²⁴, it certainly seems to be of utmost importance within the Taiwanese world.

It is in many ways redundant to turn to a different language as a medium of communication when everyone speaks the same language already, which suggests that in contemporary Taiwan, English is employed as a medium of expression rather than a means of mere communication. Its use is not driven out of practical need but instead out of an interest for the outside world – that beyond Taiwan, where there are different modes of self-expression. Oftentimes, the English that is used does not make grammatical or linguistic sense – it is used to convey a certain impression of foreignness, just as I discuss in the

²³ These names were found on the Facebook friend lists of my cousins who were born and raised (and continue to live) in Taiwan.

²⁴ Think about the number of times an individual named “Emmie” might need to repeat his or her name to someone who is unfamiliar with it. Consider also how unlikely it would be to ever have the name “Emmie” spelt correctly at Starbucks.

introduction. This applies not only in the context of names that the Taiwanese choose for themselves but also in the context of the linguistic landscape, as described above. Ultimately, English gains its popularity because the presence of the Roman alphabet in some permutation – linguistically accurate or not – indexes foreignness and is thus enough to add “vogue” value to a brand, product, or individual.²⁵

All in all, the presence of English in Taipei’s linguistic landscape is heavily driven by the nation’s history with the United States, rather than simply the imposition and lifting of Martial Law. In Phase I, English is present in the linguistic landscape because of its practical value – the locals are catering to the Americans who are present. In Phase II, we see the aftermath of the imbalanced power dynamic that was generated during Phase I. America had not only served as the financial driver of a large portion of Taiwan’s development, but had also lent its culture to the Taiwanese as a role model – a culture worthy of admiration and perhaps even aspiration. Long after America’s direct investment in Taiwan ended, the cultural impacts left its mark. The asymmetrical relationship continues to manifest itself in the way in which the Taiwanese employ and value English in their lives.

²⁵ A European example of this is described in Olivier Magny’s tongue-in-cheek depiction of Parisians (*Dessine-moi un parisien*). He claims that in Paris, it is cool to intersperse one’s daily conversations with random English words.

Implications and Future Research

The shifting Taiwanese culture revealed in my findings has many implications and raises several follow-up questions. Some may argue that the youth embrace English and strive for fluency and immersion in outside cultures in order to better prepare themselves to integrate and succeed in the Western world, where more opportunities can be found. However, the fact that many of the youth use what one might even call an argot of English means that this argument is invalid, as they would not be able to use their version of English to communicate beyond Taiwan. Having grown up abroad, I always felt that being an immigrant in a Western country put me at a disadvantage for maintaining my cultural traditions and language skills. In contrast, I thought that it would be easier for youth growing up in Taiwan to maintain their traditions and language because of the homogeneity. Now, having investigated this topic to this extent, it seems that there are indeed potential threats to Taiwanese culture even within Taiwan.

While I study the elements of Taipei's linguistic landscape that are most relevant to my research question, a thorough investigation into elements of the linguistic landscape that have only recently gained prominence could provide farther insight into the questions I raise above. For example, as I mention briefly, graffiti is a recent addition to Taipei and there are many questions around how it fits into the linguistic landscape. Ought it be considered an organic (bottom-up) element, or one that is heavily guided by the government behind a guise of freedom, thereby making it top-down? Another element of the linguistic

landscape worthy of further investigation is apparel. Graphic t-shirts have become an increasingly popular choice of apparel and the graphics on these shirts often include brand names as well as instances of "vogue" English. An exploration into who creates these shirts, who buys them, and how they are viewed by locals could also yield further insight into this topic.

An ethnographic examination of the experience of Taiwanese youth growing up in Taipei could further confirm or negate my claims. As well, an in-depth exploration of Taiwanese education policy with respect to English education would supplement this ethnography. Defining one's cultural identity is an entire other field of study of its own, and there are scholars who have already begun to explore Taiwanese identity in the modern day, particularly in reference to the ongoing political debate over Taiwan's independence²⁶.

Another element of the Taiwanese youth experience that ought to be examined is the use of the Taiwanese dialect of Chinese. Taiwanese, Mandarin Chinese, and English are the three most prominent languages in Taipei. Because Taiwanese is only spoken – and English primarily only written – the juxtaposition of the usage of the two languages may reveal certain patterns. It would be interesting to understand whether the increasing prominence of English over the years led to a decline in Taiwanese. Moreover, it could be the case that openness and interest towards Taiwanese have declined over the

²⁶ See, for example, "'The double identity' of Taiwanese Chinese: A dilemma of politics and culture rooted in history" (Huang et. Al), "The Taiwanese/Chinese identity of the Taiwan people in the 1990s" (Ho and Liu), and "Towards the End of a Long Journey: Assessing the Debate on Taiwanese Nationalism and National Identity in the Democratic Era" (Schubert).

years as they have increased towards English. In other words, is it a zero-sum game between the two languages?

A deep dive into the statistics around migration of Taiwanese youth could also shed light into whether the Western admiration runs deep enough to actually propel the youth out of the country. Many Taiwanese youth study abroad during their post-secondary studies, but how many of them actually move away and settle elsewhere? For the ones who do migrate outwards, do they find that they are able to integrate, or is their knowledge of the Western world indeed still quite limited? Is "vogue" foreignness so far removed from its foreign origins that it is more Taiwanese than anything else?

A cultural comparison of Taiwanese youth with youth from other Asian nations would help pinpoint whether Taiwan's historical relationship with the US actually continues to shape its culture today. Perhaps it is the case that many nations in Asia look to the West with admiration and allow their local cultures to be affected by the Western world.

Lastly, as the world continues to globalize and technology continues to close distances that once felt very polarizing, it will be interesting to see whether the presence of English in Taipei's linguistic landscape continues on its current trajectory – defined by "vogue" uses – or if it will take a turn back to the utilitarian, or to something completely beyond our imagination.

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Appendix

Tally of Photos by Type

Source of English

	1950-59	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99
Brand	1	16	14	5	10
Store Name	5	23	20	13	4
Product Sold	4	10	5	3	2
Company Name	1	25	21	6	2
Other		9	13	7	0
Total Photos	11	83	73	34	18

Type of English (literal)

	1950-59	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99
English	9	66	51	26	16
Pin Yin	2	17	15	6	0
Other	0	0	7	2	2
Total Photos	11	83	73	34	18

Photo Composition

	1950-59	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99
Streetscape	7	56	46	17	12
Building	1	15	13	3	4
Other	3	12	14	14	2
Total Photos	11	83	73	34	18

Type of Signage

	1950-59	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99
Billboard	2	20	18	4	6
Lighted sign	0	10	10	3	1
Vertical sign	0	22	18	7	7
Sign above doorway	6	19	13	7	2
Other	3	12	14	13	2
Total Photos	11	83	73	34	18

Comprehensive List of English Signage by Decade

1950-1959	1960-1969	
Blue Sky	Ambassador Theatre	Max Factor
Cinemascope	Bank of America	MGM
Cosmopolitan		
Theatre	CAT	Mobil
Dressmaker	Cataya Hotel	National
		Natural Juice,
Fujifilm	Cathay Pacific Airways	mango/guava/orange
	Cheng Fu agricultural & livestock	
He Sung Pai	co, ltd	Omega
MGM	Chien Sing Company	RC Cola
Night People	China Photo Studio	Record Store
Passionate		
Summer	Curios & Paintings	Rio Grande
Shin Sheng	CVFRSFASCHINESE EMPORIUM	Rong Shing Bowling Centre
Terry's American		
Restaurant	Daan Pharmacy	Rosemarie
The Court Jester	Dah Don Sports Co.	Rotarians
Vistavision	Dahlem Co	Royal Theatre
	Diamonds, pearls,...jewellers of all	
	kinds	Sanyo
	Far Eastern First Co, Ltd	Send me no flowers
		Sheau hua yuan
	First Co., Ltd.	embroidery
	First Hotel	Sony
	First National City Bank	Spartacus
	Five Branded Women	Sung Tsuan Co.
		Szechuen flavored noodles
	Green Oil	and snacks
	Headquarters Military Assistance	
	Advisory Group	TCC
	Hotel	Textiles Co.
		The Cooperative Bank of
	Hotel China	Taiwan
	Hotel Orient	The pleasure seekers
	Hsiang Tai Cotton & Silk Piece	
	Goods Comp.	TIOCTAN
	Kelly Restaurant	Toys
	Kitchen store	Waldorf Night Club
	Kodak	Wigs
	Lux Theater	Yeng Shiang Jewelry Co
	Magic Boy	

1970-1979

... Hotel	Hotel Roma	Seiko
... Lih Tong Drug Co.	Hua Nan Bank	Sheng Chang Optical
...n Co. Ltd	Ice Skating & Restaurant	Singapore Airlines
Alex Haley	International Building	Sun Shine Optical Co.
Ande restaurant	J. J. Restaurant	Ta Cheng Department Store
		Ta Chung Motion Picture Co., Ltd.
Bank of Taiwan	Jerry's Realty	
	Jong Shinn...electric & furniture dea...	Tailor
BASF		Taipei Chung San Kiddie Play Ground
Cakes & Jam	Kent Photo Instrument	Taipei International Airport
Canon	Ladies	TEAC
CAT	Lai Lai	TEL
CDC	Lin... Books & Records, Co.	Tel
Century Plaza Hotel	Lions Plaza	The Ambassador Hotel
Cherico	Lyceum Art + Craft	The Last Crusade
Cherico	Mandarin Hotel	The Mandarin Flight
Citizen	Marbles	The Voice of Free China
Citizen	Massesco	Tigers Don't Cry
Contemporary Tailor	Miss One Dressmaking	
Diamond Baber		
Shop	Modern Optical Co. Ltd.	Today's Co, Ltd.
Duke Club	Nanyang Co.	Tom's House of Beauty
Empire Hotel	National	UCI Co, Ltd.
First Co., Ltd.	National	World Theatre Restaurant
First Commercial		
Bank	Open	Yamaha
First Commercial		
Bank	Pepsi	Ying Kuan Marblecraft &...
Fox Studio	Pepsi-Cola	YKK
Fu-Jen Public		
University	Platina Tuner	Young Young
Grace Optical Co.		
Ltd.	Rodania	
Hi-fi stereo	Sanyo	

1980-1989		1990-1999
...Cleaning...	Photo Color & DPE	7-Eleven
Akai	Picasso...	A Universal Release
All new wool	S Kiss	Adidas
Asiaworld	Seiko	C...Ch...
Benoit's...	Shih-Lin	D
Citizen	SOGO Taipei	Ether
Department Store	Sony	Giordano
Designer Fashion	St. John's Institute	Gurio Market on the 3rd floor
Evergreen	Studio-365	Hardee's
	Super Value Breakfast	
Expression	Combo	HOT
Famous European	Super Value Tea Time	
Boutiques	Combo	Hotel
Gennie's Maternity	Tea...	Jurassic Park
Hardee's	Thanks!!	McDonald's Hamburgers
Hobby Sports	The China Syndrome	Motorola
Hotel Phoenix	The Empire Strikes Back	National
I <3 Juice	Thomas House	New
International Brand		
Saloon	Today's Co, Ltd.	New Men?
		Old Fashioned American
It's finger lickin' good	Today's News	Breakfast
Kentucky Fried Chicken	Toshiba	Panasonic
Kodak	Wendy's	Panasonic
	Why we have nutritious	
Kodak	choices	Proton
KONI		Rolex
Konica		Seiko
Longines		Silver Carriage
McDonald's		
Hamburgers		Sunny
Napoleon Tourist		
Barber...		Swensen's
New Life Square		
Cosmos		TDK
New look new life		TEL
One Just Men		TERA
Pau Tou Studio		Timer...
Penthouse		Yardee beauty Salon