國立臺灣大學文學院語言學研究所

碩士論文

Graduate Institute of Linguistics
College of Liberal Arts
National Taiwan University
Master Thesis

標準國語的想像？

台灣配音表演的語音與社會意涵分析

The Myth of "Standard National Language"?

Phonetic and Sociolinguistic Analyses

on DubbingPerformance in Taiwan

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中華民國105年9月

September, 2016

摘要

過去有研究指出台灣配音一直以來不受親睞,且有多於一半的觀眾認為配音表演甚不自然(Ishii et al., 1990),但皆並未探討配音表演具體的特性。本研究結合作者自身之語言學與配音訓練,試圖回答以下三個研究課題:聽眾的具體感受為何?配音的語音特性為何?以及與形塑整個情況的社會成因又為何?聽眾感受的部分,作者撥放標準國語版與日文版的十句對白並設計問卷,請台日各一百名參與者評量對白。結果顯示台灣年輕聽眾普遍認為對白極為標準但甚不自然。日本年輕聽眾則認為既標準又自然。語言特性的部分,本文比較配音對白與日常言談之捲舌音,變調,連併,基頻軌跡及逐字時值變異,結果發現配音對白在變調之外都與日常言談有顯著差異。社會成因的部分,本文闡述配音對白之風格來自歷史脈絡下的實際需求與意識型態,結果則不可避免產生政治聯想。例如配音對白之逐字時值變異高於日常言談,而 Low & Grabe (2002) 曾指出高逐字時值變異值是重音計時 (stress-timed) 語言的特性。這足以解釋第一部分問卷中開放式問題收集到不少答案表明配音對白感覺帶有中國大陸腔,因如 Tseng (2004) 所指出,中國大陸的普通話比台灣的國語更加偏向重音計時。綜觀之,研究發現聽眾普遍感受台灣配音不自然,而配音的語音展現大於日常語言的抑揚頓挫,背後的社會成因則帶有政治意味,三者其實環環相扣,因配音表演風格受早期語言政策規範之國語發音所型塑,而今日人們對過去政策加以檢視反省的同時,也對依然處在國語發音框架之中的配音對白有了更加複雜的觀感。本研究運用量化研究方法,從問卷具體語音層次分析配音表演與日常言談之疏離,並可從而窺見所謂標準國語的矛盾處境與不同群體對標準國語之解讀,並或許能從語音學的角度提出一種更加自然的配音風格。

關鍵字:國語,配音,成對變異指數

Abstract
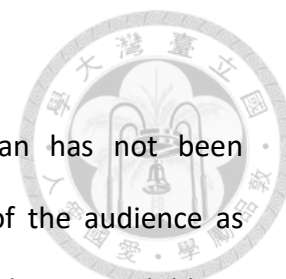
Past studies have shown that dubbing performance in Taiwan has not been well-received by audience, and is rejected by more than 50% of the audience as unnatural (Ishii et al., 1990). However a solid linguistic analysis on dubbing performance has been lacking. In this study I combine my training in linguistics and dubbing performance and try to answer the following three questions: How exactly is dubbing received? What are dubbing's phonetic characteristics? Why is dubbing like how it is now? For the first question, a survey is given to Taiwanese and Japanese audience and they are asked to rank selected dubbing materials in their respective languages. The results show that Taiwanese audience finds dubbing performance very standard but unnatural, while Japanese audience finds their dubbing to be both standard and natural. For the second question, the study compares the retroflexion, downdrifting, contraction, pitch contour and PVI (paired variation index) of dubbing performance and daily speech and finds the two to be significantly different apart from some common downdrifting pattern. For the third question, the study explores the practical and ideological reasons in the history that shaped the dubbing style, which is interpreted politically today. For example, dubbing performance has a higher PVI than daily speech, which, according to Low & Grabe (2002), is a feature of stress-timed language, which in turns explains why some participants comment that the materials sounds like Mandarin from Mainland China in the survey, because as Tseng (2004) points out, Peking Mandarin is more stress-timed than Taiwan Mandarin. All in all, the unnaturalness of dubbing indeed has specific phonetic features, which are influenced by political social cause. Early language policy in Taiwan prescribed the system of Guoyu ('national language'), and today, when the policy is being reviewed critically, the system also starts to receive mixed comments.

The study uses quantitative method to analyse dubbing performance' reception and phonetic discrepancies from daily speech, showing the current situation of Guoyu, namely different groups of people holding very different opinions on the system, and eventually attempts to propose an alternative dubbing style that would be more natural.

Keywords: Guoyu, dubbing, PVI

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Dubbing serves an important function today, as various media productions today reply on either dubbing or subtitling to travel in the globalised industry. However, surveys from past studies shows that dubbing in Taiwan is rather ill-received (Ishii et al., 1990). Linguistic analysis on what causes dubbing to be unfavoured, however, has been missing. This study aims to investigate dubbing performance in Taiwan from a linguistic perspective. There are three main questions. First of all, the audience perception of dubbing performance will be examined by a survey study. Secondly, The exact acoustic characteristics will be analysed using Praat. Finally, the social and historical background of the performance style will be discussed. Overall, the study will point out that, under the particular political and historical circumstance in Taiwan, the social background shaped the performance' acoustic features in a great deal, which in turns led to the unfavourable perception of the audience.

The introductory chapter of this study is divided into 4 sections. Section 1.1 gives a description of the background related to Guoyu pronunciation and dubbing industry in Taiwan. Section 1.2 explains the aims of this study. Section 1.3 outlines the significance of this research, and finally section 1.4 outlines the structure of the following chapters.
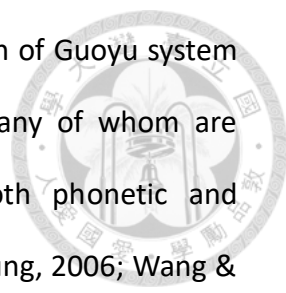
1.1 Background

The unique situation of dubbing performance in Taiwan has much to do with the external linguistic background and internal industry development. It is necessary to examine these aspects before further discussion.

1.1.1 Linguistic Background

Dubbing performance in Taiwan has been conventionally done in so-called Biaozhun-Guoyu (標準國語, 'standard national language'), which is a result of the unique historical background of Taiwan and till today serves as the official prescriptive pronunciation system of the Mandarin spoken in Taiwan. Taiwan was originally inhabited by Austronesian people, who had diverse cultures developed in isolation due to the hilly geography of the island. Since 17th century, from the region of Fujian arrived the settlers who speak Southern Min, a Sinitic language that over time developed into what is identified as Taiwanese and remains the first language of majority of the population (about 70% according to Government Information Office, 2012) till today.

Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895, when Japanese was introduced as superstratum. Subsequently, 1945 saw the outbreak of civil war between Communist Party and Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, often abbreviated as KMT) in China. In its defeat, the KMT regime retreated to Taiwan. Its members are from all over China and communicated in their respective dialects. In 1923, National Languages Committee proposed a dialect called Standard Chinese, which has a pronunciation system, based on Peking dialect and was introduced to Taiwan as official language after KMT took control of Taiwan. From 1945 till 1987, KMT enforced its language policy which promoted Standard Chinese and suppressed other local languages (Huang, 1995;

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Hsiau, 1997; Sandel 2003). Yet despite its status, the pronunciation of Guoyu system is not entirely adopted by all Mandarin speakers in Taiwan, many of whom are influenced by Southern Min or other local languages at both phonetic and phonological level (Kubler, 1985; Li, 1985; Fon & Chiang, 1999; Chung, 2006; Wang & Fong, 2013). After the lifting of Martial Law in 1987 and the subsequent democratisation, the authorities had to loosen their control on media (Chen, 1998), and as a result, various attempts are made to revive formerly suppressed local languages; pronunciation that violates the Guoyu system are more and more frequently heard on TV or radio programmes.

1.1.2 Dubbing Convention and Situation

The dubbing artists in Taiwan, however, are still trained strictly in the system of co-called Biaozhun-Guoyu. A prescribed pronunciation system in accordance with authority's language policy is deeply rooted in the industry's tradition. Chiang (1996) observed that, back in 1992, it has been a requirement for characters, especially the main, attractive ones, to speak in Guoyu with a very standard accent, while the characters (if any) that speak Taiwanese are rural. Chiang pointed out that it might be a propaganda to establish the association that the exalted dialect promoted by the authority belongs to a higher social class whose members are appealing, while those who cannot speak standard Guoyu are less so. Indeed, Chiang records that there used to be a show that were dubbed in various different dialects consistent with the characters' origins, but it was not well-received by the people themselves, who complained that the approach was unnecessarily complicated. For a detailed description of the situation, see Chiang (1996), chapter 1, section 1. Even till today, in my experience, when a character (if any) is allowed to speak with Taiwanese accent

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by either the commissioner or voiceover supervisor, the accent is usually meant to evoke a certain characters (more often than not negative ones). That is to say, the presence of local accents does not actually indicate locality, which would not apply in the case of translated materials anyway.
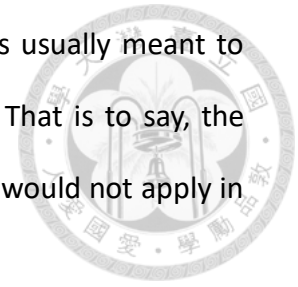
On the contrary, it is not uncommon in other languages' dubbing that an unfamiliar accent is used merely to signify regional difference. For example, in the Dutch dubbed version of Lion King, Pumbaa and Timon speak Flemish, which is a Dutch dialect spoken in the northern part of Belgium. According to the voiceover supervisor, the choice was simply made to reflect the situation that Simba ran away from home and wandered to a faraway land (van Toen, 2016)[1]. Such a "dialect neutrality", where a local accent implies nothing other than locality, has rarely been observed in Taiwanese dubbing industry.
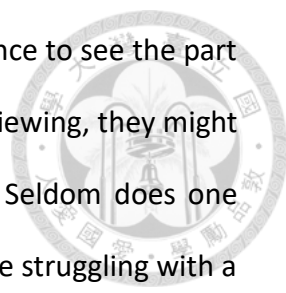
Another example that exhibits dialect neutrality would be Japanese animation. Although Kansai (関西、southern-central part of Japan's main island) accent is usually observed in a role with comedian characteristics, it is linked with the region's actual tradition and innovation that popularised the stand-up comedy in Japan. Moreover, in a show whose setting is in the region, every character would by default be dubbed in the dialect with no comedian effect intended (see *Rabu Kon*,ラブ★コン, 'Love Complex' by Toei Studio, 2007, among others). It is in the case of translating such a pattern that Taiwanese dubbing would use accents neutrally, namely Taiwanese accent is used to translate Kansai accent. The recent Chibi Maruko Chan: Itaria Kara Kita Shōnen(ちびまる子ちゃん イタリアから来た少年, 'Chibi-Maruko: The Boy from Italy') by Nippon Animation is an example.

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[1] In some other dubbed versions, such as French, Hungarian and German ones, Pumbaa and Timon speak with no particular accent at all.

As a dubbing artist myself, I often hear negative comments (from friends who trust me with their true opinion or simply from audiences I do not know) on Taiwan's dubbing performance. Surely it is to be taken into consideration that some audience who watched the shows in original are prejudiced for the original language, but also, two other main differences in the working condition could account for the less satisfactory performance of Taiwanese dubbing artists. Firstly, due to copyright issue, Taiwanese dubbing artists in most cases do not have access to the scripts before recording. It is right before recording that they see the scripts, so there is no time for rehearsal or any preparatory process that usually helps in delivering a convincing performance. Mostly a dubbing artist would have at most 10 minutes before the recording session starts, when the recording engineer is setting up the equipment. The artist would most likely use these 10 minutes to mark the start point of all their lines in the script so that they do not miss the lines and waste everyone's time during the recording, which is a hectic process. After the lines are located, it is possible to read through the scripts, however it will be of little help for the actual performance since the only description apart from the texts they would have is usually brief instructions on vocal expressions such as laugh, cry or gasp[2]. They would not actually see the visual materials, so they would not know the intensity, the context or the duration of such expressions. Moreover they also would not know the overall storyline of the show, unless they have an impressive skill of speed reading and can scan through the usual per-session amount of 4 25-minute episodes in 10 minutes, which is unlikely. Probably the only occasion for them to rehearse is right before
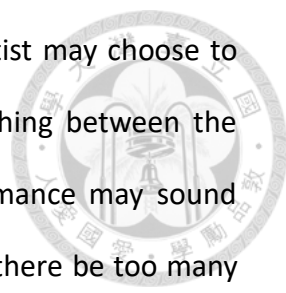
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[2] Commonly referred to as *fan (反)*, the first character of *fanying* (反應), which means reaction. To save space, in the script they are briefly described as *xiaofan*, *kufan*, or *jingfan* (笑反，哭反，驚反) which mean literally laugh-reaction, cry-reaction, surprise-reaction, to instruct roughly what kind of expression to perform.

dubbing every line or short scene, when they might be given a chance to see the part and get a rough idea of what happens in the show. After the brief viewing, they might do a trial take to test, evaluate and modify their performance[3]. Seldom does one need more than two trial takes, unless they are inexperienced or are struggling with a particular tricky line, and there are dubbing artists who take pride in not needing the trial takes at all, although how fast they finish the takes may not correlate to the actual quality of the performance. The absence of proper rehearsal results in the stress which eventually forces most dubbing artist to come up with a fixed, safe pattern of performance for every show rather than deliberating fitting interpretations for each different case.

Another problem is that dubbing projects in Taiwan mostly will not have enough budget to hire one dubbing artists for every single characters, which happens only with the most luxurious projects with works from large studios such as Disney. Most midrange projects would have 6 dubbing artists at most, and these 6 artists will be responsible for acting as every character in a given show, along with at most 6 interns who are only meant to perform the lines of extras. As a result, they will have to spend a majority of their creative energy on changing their voice to sound as different as possible for different roles. And, since voice over supervisors may not read through the script when assigning the roles, a dubbing artist may end up having to dub two characters that have a long conversation, which practically requires them to talk to themselves. The usual way to deal with the situation would be recording one character first and then the other, and eventually using DAW (digital audio workstation, the software used for processing audio tracks) to combine the separate

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[3] Commonly referred to as *te* (ㄊㄟ), which is an abbreviated transliteration for English *test*.

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lines. However, due to time pressure, an experienced dubbing artist may choose to finish the performance without editing, namely constantly switching between the two characters. While saving a lot of time, the resulting performance may sound unnatural. What's worse, inevitably the voices may repeat should there be too many characters in a show. Consequently, among other critics, one comment that the dubbing industry receives most often is that the voices always sound the same.

1.2 Aims of Study

Despite such unfavourable conditions outlined in the previous section, most Taiwanese dubbing artists take their job rather seriously and try to deliver the best result they can. Having been trained as a dubbing artist and practiced professional dubbing myself, I would like to investigate the dubbing situation from an academic perspective.
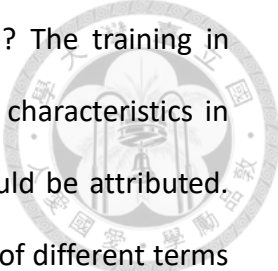
As pointed out in section 1.1, dubbing artists in Taiwan are still trained to speak in "Biaozhun-Guoyu" when they perform. There is no official training institute for dubbing artists in Taiwan. The two most major sources of new dubbing artists are the training courses run respectively by Chinese Television System (華視, *huashi*, in Taiwan Mandarin. It is one of the three oldest broadcast television station in Taiwan) and Dubbing Artist Union (配音工會, *peiyinyuan gonhui*). There are also several smaller private training programmes run by senior dubbing artists. As the market of voice acting is rather saturated, it is rather difficult to successfully enter the industry even after finishing the courses. Only the best-performing students during training will be selected for internship, where they do not get paid and even have very limited chances to practice, being granted only chances to act extra roles. There have also been rare cases where a new dubbing artist gets a principal role directly, usually

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through outstanding talent or nepotism. The latter, unfortunately, does exist and continues to occur. During internship a new dubbing artist may start to get more and more roles, and it is important not to mess up at any given stage, or else they may be deemed unfit for the job.
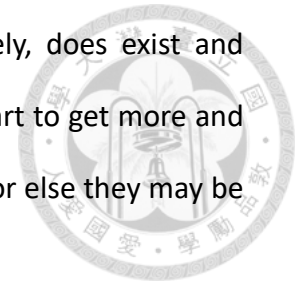
In such a harsh condition, new dubbing artists cannot but listen to whatever the senior ones instruct. Being from another demographic group, they may have different ideas as to how voice acting should be done, but the inequality in position inhibits them from having a possibility to communicate with the senior dubbing artists. The main research questions of the study, hence, are to elaborate from a linguistic point of view the current situation of dubbing performance in Taiwan. In details, the research shall examine how dubbing is perceived, what linguistic features it has, and why it is so, which serve as the three main research questions listed below:

1. How is dubbing performance perceived? I would like to find it out because as a dubbing artist it is usual to hear rather negative comments on the performance. There are dubbing artists running fanpages on social media and share their ideas and processes with audiences nowadays hoping to enhance a better mutual understanding, but it will also help to get a quantified compilation of opinions regarding various aspects of the performance, which could serve as a reference for future performances. Specifically, questionnaires will be given to audiences in Taiwan and Japan to collect their rankings on features such as naturalness and standardness of a series of selected dubbing materials, in their respective language. Statistic analysis will then be run to see the difference between the two groups. Also, there will be open question sections in the questionnaires to collect their general and other miscellaneous impressions.

2. What are the actual acoustic features of the performance? The training in "Biaozhun-Guoyu" must lead to tangible phonetic and phonology characteristics in the performances, to which the results from the first question could be attributed. The dubbing artists practice and consider the art using a whole set of different terms than what linguists use, so the analysis from a linguistic point of view may be worth considering for reference. The dubbing materials in Taiwan will be recorded by a group of non dubbing artist informants who have never received any deliberate training in dubbing or "biaozhun-guoyu". The acoustic difference between dubbing artist performance and non dubbing artist informant speech will be investigated using Pratt. The discrepancies in features such as retroflexion, downdrifting, contraction and pitch and duration variation of the two groups will be analysed and their implication discussed.

3. How has dubbing performance come to how it currently is? From the experience in the industry and examination of relevant references, an analysis can be provided as to how the house style in Taiwanese voice acting is shaped. Social media entries and media interviews of Taiwanese dubbing artists will be extracted and discussed qualitatively. As a result, the social backdrop that is causing the results of the first two questions can be observed.

The hypothesis of the study is that dubbing artist performance follows strictly "Biaozhun-Guoyu" system and is alienated from the natural speech in Taiwan, which in turns result in their being ill-received. Through the investigation into the aspects mentioned above, the study aims to examine the hypothesis, and also reflect the state of media Guoyu in Taiwan today. Further analysis on the results from the first and the second question could answer if there is a way to develop a more natural style of dubbing performance.

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1.3 Significance

This study has 3 points of significance. Firstly, it conducts phonetic analysis on dubbing performance, which has not enjoyed good reception in Taiwan. Ishii et al. (1999) point out dubbing in Taiwan is rejected by a majority of the audience as unnatural. This study itself also does a survey study on specific elements of dubbing performance with consistent results. The predisposition for original language is surely to be taken into consideration, but besides that, this study attempts to derive phonetic account for the unfavourable state of dubbing performance in Taiwan. Dubbing artists have various practical factors to consider when training new voices, and the industry itself has traditions to be honoured, so it would not be possible to simply change the way dubbing artists perform. But the results of the study can nonetheless be potentially worthy reference in gradually deriving some slight new changes in performing style, with substantial theoretical basis in linguistics.

Also, the study discusses the common attitude among the senior dubbing artists, many of whom are responsible for the training of younger voices. Through a comparison between their ideology and early language policy, one can see clearly why it is extremely difficult to change the tradition. Additionally, some of the senior artists' actual content of the training will also be described and analysed, and the result can further explicate the first point, namely why a majority of audience does not find Taiwanese dubbing performance natural.

Finally, through the phonetic and sociolinguistic discussions in this study, one can see why a majority of people in Taiwan have rather complicated, at least not entirely positive feelings towards standard Guoyu pronunciation. The so-called standard national language is still ubiquitous in Taiwanese daily life, and although it is

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passed as standard, people tend to not find it natural and likeable. The study treats the reasons and critical linguistic aspects lying behind the situation, through analysing the single performing art that is probably most tightly connected with Guoyu pronunciation system.
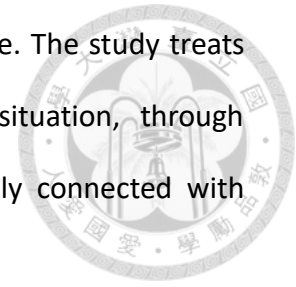
Some senior dubbing artists at the 2013 Lunar New Year Dinner held by Dubbing Artist Union (配音工會) have suggested the personnel in charge of training new dubbing artists to start considering academic research findings when designing the training programme. As will be shown in the next chapter, there have been studies on various aspects of dubbing in Taiwan, including working condition, translation-related practices and such, but the issues directly related to the performance per se has not been much explored in an academic way. Dubbing performance is a linguistic activity, and it would make most sense to study it linguistically as well. This study mainly applies phonetics and sociolinguistics methodologies to begin a preliminary scientific investigation into dubbing performance, and hopefully can serve as a reference for active members in both academy and industry. It should be noted however, that the study by no means intends to criticise the current industry in any way, but simply describes the situation and provides points of view from another perspective. Thus, the study pioneers the use of descriptive linguistics in studying dubbing, an extremely important method of media translation.

1.4 Structure

The following part of the study consists of five chapters. Chapter 2 reviews literature on relevant studies, including the diachronic language environment in Taiwan, the synchronic official language in Taiwan and dubbing industry. Chapter 3

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describes how dubbing is perceived. It includes a survey study conducted to see how audiences from younger generation in Taiwan and Japan find dubbing performance. Statistical results will be displayed and discussed. Chapter 4 analyses what the style actually is. It analyses and discusses dubbing performance' linguistic features such as retroflexion, downdrifting, contraction and pitch and duration variation, which contribute to its difference with normal speech. Chapter 5 investigates why dubbing is so. It explores the social and historical background of dubbing training in Taiwan. Chapter 6 summarises the study and suggests potential implication.

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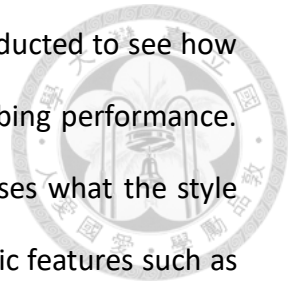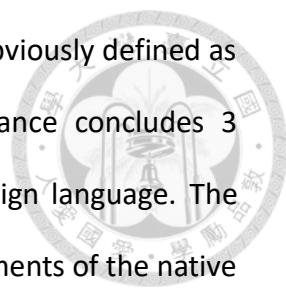
Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter has three sections. Section 2.1 reviews literatures on major language contacts and shifts, and those happened in Taiwan. Section 2.2 reviews past studies on the current official language of Taiwan. Section 2.3 examines and briefly summarises studies related to dubbing industry, and that of Taiwan.

2.1 Language Contacts and Shifts in Taiwan

This study hypothesises that dubbing performance in Taiwan is greatly different from daily speech. The situation that caused the discrepancy actually resulted from a string of language contacts and shifts that happened in Taiwanese history. A brief review of relevant studies will help describe the academ background needed for this study.

Ascoli (1882) first developed the notion of *stratto*, which means layer, to refer to a language that either influences or gets influenced by another in language contact. Ascoli believes the Romance languages originated from the contact between Latin (spoken by the Roman settlers) and Etruscan or Celtic languages (spoken by the local people). Each of these languages interacts in the contact as either superstratum or substratum, which means respectively the more advantageous and the weaker layer

in the contact. Specifically, when there is a language that can be obviously defined as intrusive, Fishman (1985) in their study on language maintenance concludes 3 different possible resolutions arising from the intrusion of a foreign language. The first outcome is the loss of intrusive language, due to legal requirements of the native language, prohibitions of the intrusive language, fostering of social dependency on the native language, cooperation between the two groups, or, in the most doable case, revival of the native language. Fishman believes however that this resolution is not a moral imperative. The second possible resolution is the loss of native language. It is the case with most indigenous people in North America, Australia and New Zealand after the arrival of Anglo-Franco-Hispanic settlers. A third possible resolution is the coexistence of the intrusive and the native languages, which are used in combination in different further patterns depending on the societal and political circumstance.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Taiwan has undergone several introductions of foreign languages as well. With the background provided, it is possible to conclude several language shifts that occurred in Taiwan. The first one was the shift from native Austronesian languages towards the Sinitic languages of the settlers. In late 19th century, only less than 6% of Taiwan's population was Austronesian (Chiung, 2004). As a result, the most widely spoken language in Taiwan became Holo, a Sinitic dialect spoken in Fujian province, where most settlers came from (Scott, 2007). The position and diversity of Austronesian has since then been hugely compromised. A considerable proportion of the plains aborigine language even went extinct due to commonly practiced marriage with the settlers (Pan, 1996).

Following the settlement was the Japanese colonisation which started in 1895. The attempt was made to promote Japanese as the national language. Although a

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complete language shift did not happen, Japanese did become the language of the educated people in written and formal contexts (Chen, 2001). Overall, Huang (1995) points out that by the end of colonisaiton, as much as 71% of the population was able to understand the language.
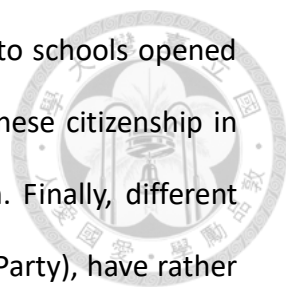
The third language shift happened since the arrival of KMT regime. With a political agenda of controlling the majority of the population (Cheng, 1990), the authority practically banned other local languages in social and pedagogical contexts (Huang, 1995). The notorious school regulation that penalises a local language-speaking student by hanging a signboard from their collar saying "I spoke dialect" was made in this period. Indeed, as Gold (1986) points out, the language policy in this period was rather discriminative against the local people. The strict policy resulted in the shift of official language to a version of Mandarin called Guoyu ('National Language') as exalted by the regime, and also had other consequences such as cultural repressions. For a more detailed outline of the language policy's overall effect in various aspects, see Scott (2007). The situation of this period, although no longer the case today, can be fit into the category of diglossia as Ferguson (1959) defined. In this case, the high language is Guoyu while the low language is Taiwanese.

Other several shifts in a more minor scale have been occurring as well. Contacts between languages that both belong to a relative substratum also result in considerable consequences in the overall language ecology. For an example, Liu (2015) surveyed how the Kanakanavu and Saaroa underwent an in-immigration of Bunun people, another Austronesian group. Equally in substratum facing Mandarin, Bunun language supersedes Kanakanavu and Saaroa as a language with higher prestige and takes up most of the remaining petty space for an Austronesian

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language to survive in an environment that can be roughly defined as diglossic but actually consists of much more elements. Indeed, there have always been minor shifts of not only language but also identity in the society, which, viewed as consisting of small units of community of practice, actually has great potentials for language communities to form (Eclert, 1992; Bucholtz, 1999)

Back to a scale of national language policy and ecology, currently the third resolution concluded by Fishman (1985) seems to be the goal of Taiwan language policy. As Scott (2007) and Chen (2001) points out, attempts are being made to change the policy from "Mandarin only" to "Mandarin plus". Multiculturalism is embraced and formerly banned local languages are now being promoted in media and pedagogical contexts. Even in terms of only Guoyu and Taiwanese, the interaction of various forces discussed above, along with variation in individual spoken language (as in Taiwanese being of more and more interest to even non-native speakers), results in a situation that can no longer be defined as diglossia but closer to what Fishman (1967) describes as diglossia with bilingualism, and the distinction between high language and low language also begins to dissolve.

Also, as Wu (2011) points out, there are three new emerging factors that will continue to affect the language ecology and relevant policy in Taiwan: Southeast Asian immigrants, English education and future political wrestling of parties running for presidency. Firstly, the population of Southeast Asia immigrants has been increasing since late 20th century. Many of the immigrants arrived through marriage and it will eventually require new policies to accommodate these multicultural children in school. Also, there has been an increasing emphasis on English education. Certain local institutes have been attempting to build English-only environment modelled after Korean precedents of education institutes that embrace immersion

language learning. Able parents have been sending their children to schools opened for foreign residents only, sometimes having to obtain non-Taiwanese citizenship in advance, to enjoy the benefits of education conducted in English. Finally, different two major Parties, namely KMT and DPP (Democratic Progressive Party), have rather different political inclination. KMT tends to exhibit more pro-Mainland China attitude and still acts within 92 consensus, the agreement reached in a meeting held in 1992, between Mainland China and Taiwan's official institute that are in charge of affairs related to each other. The agreement contains a political ideology promoting "one China with different interpretations". DPP, on the contrary, does not recognise the consensus and tends to be more vocal about Taiwanese sovereignty. The difference will definitely be reflected in their language policy, in that DPP can be expected to be more supportive of the implementation of the revival of local languages other than Guoyu.

2.2 Taiwan Mandarin

Despite a rather complicated history and emergent new scenario, the official language currently in Taiwan is still considered to be Mandarin. Even so, there is still a great difference between the Mandarin used in dubbing performance and in daily speech. This is because dubbing artists follow the system of the so-called Biaozhun-Guoyu while in daily speech, many Taiwanese speak what is referred to as Taiwan Mandarin, a version of Mandarin that developed many unique features over time. A review on these features serves as a contrast against Guoyu pronunciation and thus against language used in dubbing performance style.

Geographical isolation and historical background has resulted in the unique linguistic development in Taiwan. Formosan languages in the context of Austronesian

langauges (Diamond, 2000) and Taiwanese in the context of Holo/Sothern Min (Scott, 2007) are all regarded as having their own distinct features. Taiwan Mandarin, which is what the Guoyu pronunciation system intended to regulate, also has been widely contrasted with Peiking Mandarin. Indeed, Taiwanese influences its native speakers in the way they speak most foreign languages they learn, as Chang (2000) and Chen (2005) report.

2.2.1 Syntax

Cheng (1985) concluded that Taiwan Mandarin is different from Peking Mandarin in that, for example, Taiwan Mandarin does not use zero markers for future action, and it exhibits a contrast between the simple past and perfect aspect, and it uses auxiliary verbs, rather than directly use adjective and verbs, in short answers. Overall, Taiwan Mandarin seems to develop more and more characteristic towards the pattern of what Cheng calls "southern Chinese dialect", namely Verb-Object languages, and away from the Altaic languages, namely Object-Verb languages.

Kubler (1985) noted various syntactical features of Taiwan Mandarin that developed from the influence of Taiwanese, although he reports them as "errors". In their study they lists clear source of influence from Taiwanese on these features, such as the use of *you* ('have') and *meiyou* ('have not') as auxiliary verbs, which can be traced to Taiwanese *u* and *bou*[4], two words that also mean have and have not and can work as auxiliary verbs in Taiwanese. This pair could work as auxiliary verbs for completion, or even unrelated to completion, or potential complements. Also influenced by Taiwanese are the use of standalone *mei* ('have not') and *bu* ('no'), grammaticalised *hui* ('can'), *buhui* ('cannot'), the word order of *lai* ('come') and *qu*

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[4] The spelling, cited as how Kubler (1985) presented in the study, seems to be inconsistent with major spelling systems today. '*Not have*' would be bô according to Taiwanese Romanization System.

('go') in sentences, *yong* ('use') with nominalised verbs, among much more. All these functions are parallel in Taiwanese and Taiwan Mandarin.
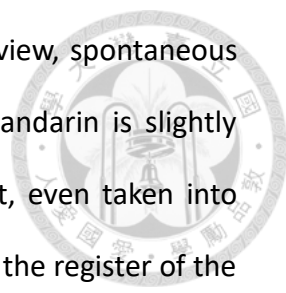
2.2.2 Phonetics and Prosody

How speakers pronounce Taiwan Mandarin has also been reported to be influenced by Taiwanese. Kubler (1985) analyses how the lack of retroflex consonants and their replacement also originated from Taiwanese influence. The same study also covers the vocalic substitution in Taiwan Mandarin, the lack of rise of third tones even in sentence-final positions, and the less frequent realisation of neutral tones.

Later studies analyse retroflexion in a more sophisticated manner and find that the retroflex neutralisation in Taiwan Mandarin is also subject to influence of prosodic prominence, as Chuang (2010) reports. Chuang also finds the degree of retroflexion to be related to gender and region, and relates in turn these two factors to the use of Taiwanese. Jeng (2006) also finds gender to be relevant to the realisation of retroflexion. Another factor described by Jeng is the type of task. Li (2009) points out that retroflexion is also dependent on vocalic contexts. Chang (2011) compared retroflexion by both Taiwan Mandarin and Peking Mandarin speakers and summarises that the neutralisation of retroflexion is actually to be regarded as gradient.

Fon & Chiang (1999) report in study that Taiwan Mandarin exhibits, in comparison with Peking Mandarin, a relatively narrow tone distinction and generally less up and downs of contours. Overall the tonal system of Taiwan Mandarin seems to be a non-equi-exponential one. Fon & Chiang attribute the discrepancy to both diachronic language change and synchronic language contact.

Pronunciation in different narrative styles has been investigated as well.

Torgerson (2005) conducts acoustic analysis on spontaneous interview, spontaneous descriptive and controlled reading and concludes that Taiwan Mandarin is slightly lower in register than Peking Mandarin. It is worthy to note that, even taken into consideration statistically, speech style still does not seem to affect the register of the materials in the study. Tseng (2004) investigates the speech of radio announcers and finds also that Taiwan Mandarin speakers have generally lower register. Consistent with Fon (1995), findings from Tseng's study also suggest that Taiwan Mandarin speakers exhibit a less expansive pitch contour. Other features include downdrifting, a more independent neutral tone and slower tempo.

Chen (2009) compares how the speakers of Taiwan Mandarin and Peking Mandarin realise focus through prosodic mechanism and concludes that, the general way to place focus is similar, but only Peking Mandarin speakers display post-focus lowering of register and intensity. This can actually explain what Fon (1999) observes, namely that Taiwan Mandarin speaker has a less dramatic pitch contour, for the presence of lowered register and intensity in Peking Mandarin speakers actually result in the greater range in overall pitch contour. Chen also finds that from a receptive point of view the prosodic difference also affects different groups of listeners in recognising the focus, suggesting that there is an underlying cognitive basis for the difference.

Finally, Cheng (2008) finds consistency between Taiwan Mandarin and Peking Mandarin in the level of speech rhythm, but acknowledges that there are differences in phonetic level worth investigating such as tonal system and tempo. As the above-cited studies show, these differences indeed exist and are experimentally substantiated.

2.2.3 Sociolinguistics

For a comprehensive illustration of how language interacts with various factors such as ethnicity, identification, economic, social and global concerns, see Scott (2006). In addition to Scott's survey and the studies cited in the previous chapter that describe how several social factors affect Taiwan Mandarin, perhaps the attitude of Kubler (1985) itself has a documentary significance in that it captures how the discrepancies between Taiwan Mandarin and Peking Mandarin are traditionally viewed as "errors".

Finally, Malzahn (1997) draws an interesting comparison between the linguistic ecology in Taiwan and Scotland and concludes several parallels, such as British English is to Scottish English as Peking Mandarin is to Taiwan Mandarin and other alignments between languages from substratum, which serve as a record of how the status of Taiwan Mandarin could be understood in Western context. Malzahn's study also contains interesting attempts in translating poems into different dialects of English with register in consideration.

2.3 Dubbing and Its Condition in Taiwan

What mainly triggered this study is the negative reception that dubbing performance has in Taiwan. It has multiple factors such as industry ecology, translation and style, many of which have been discussed in previous studies.

First of all, Ishii et al. (1999) records that dubbing in Taiwan is not a favoured option, with more than 50% of its population consider it unnatural. Several studies investigated the industry-related issues of dubbing and generally conclude that the condition is not a desirable one either. Hsu (2007) points out that the working condition of dubbing artists has been worsening over the past decades and attributes

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the deterioration to three factors. Firstly, the dramatic growth of demand entailed a huge fall in quality requirements and in turn an increase of new dubbing artists. Also, using celebrities, rather than professional dubbing artists, in projects of larger scales has become a marketing gimmick used universally in show business, and the shift deprives dubbing artists of their already scarce exposure. Finally, technological innovations changed the working condition and greatly lowered the time needed in a project, yet the overall result is a cut in wage and heavier load of work[5].

Yang (2010), after investigating the labour rights of Taiwanese dubbing artists, concludes that there has been great difficulty in improving the labour rights. Yang believes there are multiple reasons for the situation. Firstly, it is a rather closed structure with no transparent way for new forces to enter the industry. Also, the members of the union fail to really unite in protesting against the employers for unjust treatments because some of them choose to prioritise personal interest. As a result, although the regulations concerning dubbing certification and contract in theory are appropriate for the industry, it has yet to be implemented.

Lai (2014) also notices the mass production of dubbing projects, attributing the undesirable condition to factors such as the amount of TV channels taking up advertisement resources and the lack of original works. They further points out that the increase of demand is reflected in quantity, not quality of the works. As a result, the dubbing performance in Taiwan has become cliché and unlikeable. Tsai (2015)

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[5] Indeed, senior dubbing artists have been complaining that they use to enjoy a rather ideal life style and quality, although in the old days it was required for every role to be present in a specific scene to record the scene physically together in the studio and the recording equipment was very intolerant to NGs. Nowadays new technologies allow separate recording sessions of a same scene and swift cut and re-cut to the spots that particularly need to be worked on, and yet the result is they have to rush back and forth among different studios because of the "convenience". The isolation in recording also results in the lack of real emotional elements in the performance. Overall, the speediness in finishing projects did not bring more free time, but simply more work with lower quality.

further compares the conditions of Taiwanese dubbing industry with that of Japanese dubbing industry and considers the latter a potential role model.

Another widely studied aspect of dubbing is its translation and comparison with subtitling. Studies have been done to compare the translation in dubbing and translation in subtitling, such as Luo (2007). Yeh (1998) compares dubbing and subtitling and concludes that the primary difference resides in the principle of policy. Due to the limitations from the media, subtitling should follow the principle of brevity to fit in to the capacity of the subtitle line on screen, while dubbing should follow the rule of synchronisation and extend the lines[6] to match the oral movement of characters on screen.

Lastly, Cheng & Chiang (2003) study acoustic features such as pitch value, pitch variation, apmplitude value, amplitude variation, speech rate and voice quality of dubbing performance and conclude that there is a fixed stereotypical connection between the acoustic features and characteristics of roles. Their study suggests there may be indeed a certain degree of platitude in Taiwanese dubbing performance.

Outside Taiwan, technical aspects of dubbing have been studied as well. Fodor (1976) in his book provides a guideline, in the framework of linguistic phonemes, of how oral movement can be matched. Translational issue has also been a popular topic. Similar comparisons of dubbing and subtitling have been drawn by Voge (1977) and Koolstra et al. (2002), the former citing professional opinions on the practices. Luyken (1991) and Goris (1993) discuss translation and dubbing strategy in context of specific languages and cultures. Adachi (2016) in specific compared a film and its translations in perspective of dubbing in different languages, and draws a stylistic

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[6] Opposite cases, namely dubbing artist having to shorten the lines, exists as well. For a detailed description of the cause and solution, see section 3.1.

implications from the comparison.

Some cases where dubbing has practical function have been reported. Koyama (2016), for instance, introduces in their study a case where dubbing activity is used in a language course. The implementation of dubbing activity is found, according to the survey after the activity, helpful for students to obtain a native-like diction. Overall, dubbing could be fitting as class material for both L1 and L2 learners with appropriate adjustment and scrutinised selection of materials.

Lastly, Danan (1991) points out the social implication of dubbing. They believe the preference of dubbing/subtitling is based on cultural and linguistic identity of a country, and view dubbing as an expression of nationalism.

Danan's study focuses on cultural and translational aspects of the issue, which is also discussed in this study in the context of Taiwanese linguistic scenario. A rather different pattern can be observed: because of the particular political situation in Taiwan, the *rejection* of dubbing is the expression of nationalism. The situation is further evidenced in this study by acoustic investigation of dubbing performances, which serves a more substantial analysis of the scenario. This is an innovative but solid approach that sets this study apart from previous ones.
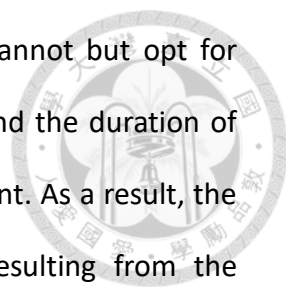
Chapter 3

How Is Dubbing Received: Survey Study

This chapter describes the survey study in this research. It has 3 sections. Section 3.1 gives an introduction on the 20 lines from dubbing performance, which serve as the materials used in this study. Section 3.2 describes the survey that was conducted to see audience' reception on the materials. Section 3.3 discusses the result of the survey, from both qualitative and quantitative point of view.

3.1 Materials

10 lines from Taiwanese dubbed version of Japanese animation are selected as the test material for this study. Different genres of shows are handled by different studios through different processes, and the reason to choose Japanese animation dubbing for the study is as follow: Firstly, some other genres, due to lack of budget to hire a separate script and subtitles/supertitles editor, do not allow dubbing artists to make any modification on the script during recording. This could pose difficulty for dubbing, because the scripts may be translated according to only the texts, that is to say, without consideration on original characters' oral movement during utterance. As a result, sometimes the text on the script does not match the movement. The most common mismatch is duration of the written text and the movement on
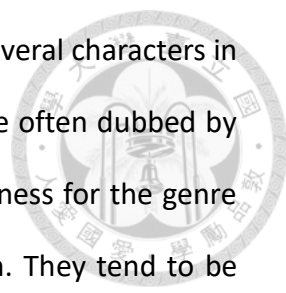
screen[7]. The dubbing artists, not allowed to change the texts, cannot but opt for otherwise undesirable way to perform the line, for example extend the duration of certain parts of the speech, to match the character's oral movement. As a result, the performance may sound awkward. Other possible problems resulting from the difference between written text and onscreen movement include nuances of mouth shape and smaller pauses in between the speech, but they are less obvious to notice and are dealt with only in most large-scale projects with abundant amount of time. On the contrary, dubbing projects for Japanese animation are more likely to have editor, whose presence allows dubbing artists to change the lines when necessary. Sometimes, if available, Japanese-speaking dubbing artists themselves may be hired to translate the scripts which they will perform. With understanding in both the language and the art, they usually deliver the most ideal scripts that are both linguistically natural and pragmatically easy.

Secondly, some other genres of shows are handled by studios that still keep paperback dictionaries for pronunciation reference. As a result, the dubbing artists may use obsolete pronunciation of Mandarin characters which also result in awkwardness. Nowadays with popularisation of mobile network devices, dubbing artists can consult online up-to-date dictionary for reference, but there are still studios that prefer to use paperback ones. Moreover, there are many older shows in other genres already released with obsolete pronunciation, making them unfit for the use of this study.

Thirdly, as described in the first chapter, Taiwanese dubbing industry usually does not provide enough budget for a project to hire one separate dubbing artist for

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[7] Commonly referred to as *zuibugou* or *zuitaiduo* (嘴不夠，嘴太多), literally 'not enough mouth' or 'too much mouth'

each character. It is extremely common for dubbing artists to act several characters in a show. Under such a circumstance, Japanese animations are more often dubbed by artists who, in addition to merely doing their job, have great fondness for the genre and knowledge for the shows' original dubbing artists from Japan. They tend to be more wiling to research, despite the lack of time, how to have the voice quality as close as possible to the original. On the contrary, dubbing artists for other genres tend to care less about the original performance and use a single method in their dubbing. Indeed, studios sometimes get complaints that all the shows always sound the same. Notoriously omnipresent voice from such genres may also by default sounds bad and therefore is not ideal for survey.

The 10 lines are from 5 animations aired from 2002 to 2012. One line by female character and another by male character are extracted from each animation. They are between 25 to 35 characters long in Mandarin. Also, they are about daily life and do not contain supernatural or overly uncommon, dramatic contents so that they would not sound too unfamiliar to affect the perception. Finally, they should not have any background music or sound effect so that it is possible to perform further phonetic analysis. An attempt was made to obtain original audio files of only dubbing without any other non-voice over track from recording studio, but failed due to copyright issue.

Table 3.1 lists the number, source, gender of speaker, year, number of characters and actual text of each line.

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Table 3.1: Materials details

num.	source	gender	year	character num.[8]	text
(1)	Hyōka （氷菓） ep.20　05:10	Female	2012	28	我覺得下午還比較辛苦，要跟親戚們一個個打招呼，一整天都乖乖的。
(2)	Hyōka （氷菓） ep.5　09:13	Male	2012	28	沒有問題。其實我已經跟老師確認過，而且我也跟老師約了時間詳談。
(3)	Blue Exorcist （青の祓魔師） ep.20　12:10	Female	2011	25	我都說過了。像你這樣，就算去了，也只是個扯後腿幫倒忙的嘛。
(4)	Blue Exorcist （青の祓魔師） ep.20　21:19	Male	2011	30	雖然身體有點虛弱，應該是沒有必要入院休養，只要稍微靜養就可以了。
(5)	Detective Conan （名探偵コナン） ep. 102　05:40	Female	2002	26	真不好意思，讓您特地為了我老公來這裡。您可要好好地教他喔。
(6)	Detective Conan （名探偵コナン） ep. 102　05:23	Male	2002	31	以前呢，我把六樓那設了一家辦公室，專門租給別人。不過，現在都沒人了。
(7)	Best Student Council （極上生徒会） ep.24　10:16	Female	2005	27	就請你做開幕式致詞好了。再繼續等下去，會影響後面節目的進行。

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[8] The number of mandarin characters

Table 3.1(cont.): Materials details

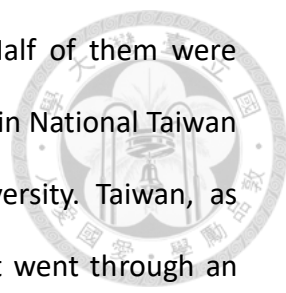|					
(8)	Best Student Council (極上生徒会) ep.18　15:24	Male	2005	28	今天真的非常地抱歉，這麼突然出現在你面前，還說了那麼唐突的話。
(9)	My Little Monster (となりの怪物くん) ep.13　04:10	Female	2012	25	爸爸跟弟弟還待在奶奶家，實在沒有比這更好的念書環境了。
(10)	My Little Monster (となりの怪物くん) ep.09　03:22	Male	2012	35	我本來，也是打算從玄關進來的啊。可是你爸爸好像不知道今天不用上課，被我嚇了一跳。

The corresponding Japanese lines are labeled as (11) to (20) in the study. They are all performed in standard Japanese.[9]

3.2 Methodology

The excerpts of the lines are played to a hundred university students in Taiwan and a hundred university students in Japan respectively. The Taiwanese students listened to (1) to (10), namely to the Taiwanese dubbing performance, while the Japanese students listened to (11) to (20), namely the original Japanese voice acting

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[9] Which is the dialect in whicn voice actors in Japan are trained and required to perform, unless otherwise instructed. Exceptions include *Rabu Kon* and *Chibi Maruko Chan: Itaria Kara Kita Shōnen* mentioned in section 1.1.2, where western accent exhibits neutral locality. Other accents may be used as well; for example, in *Spice and Wolf* (狼と香辛料), the heroine speaks Kuruwa Kotoba (廓言葉), which itself is an accent designed to hide locality and in the show evokes positive characteristics such as elegance and talent because of its association with Oiran, talented entertainer and celebrity ladies arose from Edo Period of Japan (roughly 1600-1800).

performance. The students aged from 19 to 24 in year 2014. Half of them were female and half of them were male. The Taiwanese students study in National Taiwan University while the Japanese students study in Hokkaido University. Taiwan, as described in the first chapter, had different languages spoken but went through an imposition of Guoyu system since 1945. Notice that the Japanese dialects of the Hokkaido region is also shown to contain rather mixed elements, which is the reason it is chosen for this study. Like Taiwan, Hokkaido accommodates immigrants that speak a variety of dialects. Shibata (2003) points out that the dialect is either to be recognised as a branch of eastern Japanese dialects or Tōkai–Tōsan dialect (東海東山方言), which is practically a transition between Eastern and Western Japanese. The complexity of the dialect (if a coherent dialect exists, that is), like that of Taiwan, emerged because settlers to the region are from various parts. Hokkaido primarily had settlers from Tōhoku (東北) and Hokuriku (北陸), which roughly belong to the northern-eastern and nothern part of the main island. However the dialect was also affected by merchants from Kansai (関西). As a result, the dialect exhibits unique and diverse linguistic patterns (Fujiwara, 1965; Sasaki & Yamazaki, 2006; Sasaki, 2007; Asahi, 2010; Sasaki, 2015) but is not dramatically different and characteristic like western Japanese is, making its speakers ideal for taking part in the study.

The lines were played from an AKG K240 headphone and a questionnaire was given to the students who had listened to the lines to see, on a scale of 1 to 5, how natural and standard they find the lines, as well as their overall fondness (they were asked to answer disregarding the contents of the lines). Other questions about the voice, the phraseology and the emotion of performance are also contained in the survey to blur the primary focus of the study so more objective and spontaneous answers can be retrieved. The participants ranked each line on a on-screen form after

listening to each of them, and the next one would be played only after they finished

ranking a line and clicked for the next one. I was with the Taiwanese participants and

my colleague who assisted me was with the Japanese participants to supervise the

answering process and pause the session if participants need to rest. Open questions

about how they generally feel about the lines were also included in the survey. Figure

3.1 and 3.2 show how the Taiwanese and Japanese questionnaires look like

respectively, excluding the part for open question. Figure 3.3 is an English translation

of the questionnaire.

你覺得這段對話

	1	2	3	4	5
感覺自然	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
聲音好聽	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
腔調標準	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
用詞典雅	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
感情豐富	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
整體喜歡 (不考慮內容)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Figure 3.1: Questionnaire for Taiwanese participants

このセリフ読みは

	1	2	3	4	5
感じが自然	□	□	□	□	□
声がいい	□	□	□	□	□
発音が標準	□	□	□	□	□
言葉遣いがエレガント	□	□	□	□	□
感情が豊かな	□	□	□	□	□
全体的な好き (内容に関わらず)	□	□	□	□	□

Figure 3.2: Questionnaire for Japanese participants

The speech

	1	2	3	4	5
feels natural	□	□	□	□	□
is uttered with a nice voice	□	□	□	□	□
has standard pronunciation	□	□	□	□	□
has nice phraseology	□	□	□	□	□
has emotion	□	□	□	□	□
is likable overall (disregarding the content)	□	□	□	□	□

Figure 3.3: English translation of the questionnaire

3.3 Results and Discussion

Table 3.2 shows the questionnaire results. As mentioned in section 3.1, in this study, (1) to (10) are the ten Taiwanese lines while (11) to (20) are their corresponding Japanese counterparts. Following this numbering system, Table 3.2 shows their rankings in how natural, standard and likeable they are according to the participants. Values are rounded off to the 2nd decimal place. The last two rows list the average and standard deviation of each column.

Table 3.2: Results and average of the questionnaire

	natural	standard	likeable		natural	standard	likeable
(1)	1.92	4.31	3.56	(11)	4.65	4.35	4.71
(2)	2.30	4.74	2.37	(12)	4.60	4.53	4.69
(3)	2.05	4.74	2.89	(13)	4.60	4.53	4.42
(4)	2.25	4.84	2.66	(14)	4.60	4.52	4.39
(5)	2.30	4.90	2.30	(15)	4.43	4.61	4.43
(6)	2.11	4.43	1.93	(16)	4.37	4.5	4.5
(7)	1.83	4.71	2.05	(17)	4.60	4.59	4.48
(8)	1.86	4.76	3.61	(18)	4.57	4.47	4.43
(9)	3.12	4.31	4.14	(19)	4.68	4.51	4.45
(10)	3.23	4.68	4.64	(20)	4.52	4.47	4.45
avg.	**2.80**	**4.63**	**3.80**		**4.53**	**4.53**	**4.37**
sd.	**0.47**	**0.20**	**0.88**		**0.09**	**0.07**	**0.11**

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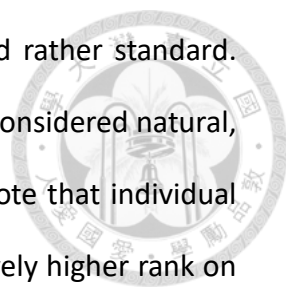
In both languages, the dubbing performances are considered rather standard. However, the lines by Taiwanese dubbing artists are not generally considered natural, while those by the Japanese dubbing artists are. It is worthy to note that individual differences exist nonetheless. (9) and (10), for example, had relatively higher rank on naturalness.

Statistical tests were run to verify the difference in naturalness ranking from the two languages. Each Taiwanese line's ranking is tested against that of its Japanese counterpart. The value retrieved is nonparametric ordinal data, because no normal distribution is assumed and they are represented by rankings on a questionnaire. A Mann Whitney U test is therefore chosen for the test. Table 3.3 shows z and p-value of the test. As there is a sample size of 100, table of critical value of U was not used on the result.

Table 3.3: Mann Whitney U test on naturalness ranking of each pair of line

	(1) (11)	(2) (12)	(3) (13)	(4) (14)	(5) (15)	(6) (16)	(7) (17)	(8) (18)	(9) (19)	(10) (20)
z (corrected for ties)	-11.52	-10.74	-11.76	-12.16	-11.49	-12.13	-11.71	-11.54	-8.08	-8.54
p-value (two-tailed)	0.00E+00	0.00E+00	0.00E+00	0.00E+00	0.00E+00	0.00E+00	0.00E+00	0.00E+00	6.66E-16	0.00E+00

Statistic results show that the naturalness ranking Taiwanese dubbing performance received is significantly lower than that of Japanese dubbing performance. The result is consistent with Ishii et al. (1999) that dubbing performance in Taiwan is mostly rejected as unnatural, and further shows that this seems to be a problem not present in the case of Japanese audience' reaction on Japanese dubbing. Pairs (9)/(19) and (10)/(20) show slightly larger z but the differences are still significant.
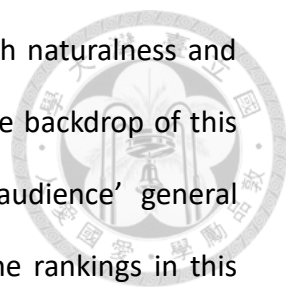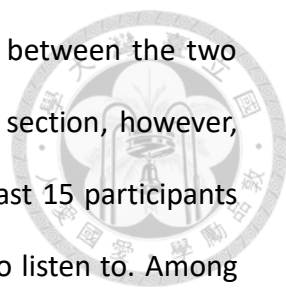
Notice that although (1) to (10) receive lower ranking in both naturalness and fondness, there is no necessarily correlation between the two. The backdrop of this study is Ishii et al. (1999)'s survey, which shows Taiwanese audience' general rejection of dubbing is due to unnaturalness. On the contrary, the rankings in this study are on specific lines heard separately through a high-definition output device, and overall fondness may be influenced by various factors other than naturalness, such as translation quality and voice character[10]. Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was run to see the Taiwanese dubbing performances' ranking correlation of naturalness/fondness. Table 3.4 shows the results.

Table 3.4: Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of naturalness/fondness ranking of (1) to (10)

(1)	-.034
(2)	.117
(3)	-.073
(4)	.012
(5)	-.041
(6)	.000
(7)	.105
(8)	-.118
(9)	-.080
(10)	.041
sample size	100
critical value .05 (two-tail)	0.197

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[10] According to colleagues who were trained in both Japanese and Taiwanese voice acting programmes, Taiwanese training is more restricted in terms of preferred voice quality, while Japanese training is more open to different voices. Taiwanese training almost always prefer a bright and sharp voice, which functions well in terms of signal clarity but may not always be pleasant.

As the table shows, there is indeed no correlation observed between the two rankings. Some of the answers collected from the open question section, however, show more explicit links between naturalness and fondness. At least 15 participants wrote that the lines sounded unnatural and were uncomfortable to listen to. Among these 15, they either noticed excessive amount of retroflexion or pointed out they sense traits of Mandarin speakers from Mainland China. There were also comments on voice and emotion but they tend to be mixed. Some participants liked the bright voice quality while others did not find it pleasant, saying that it sounds fake. Some liked the emotional performance while others found it exaggerated. Some did not have particular feelings to either voice or performance at all. These comments explain why there was not a consistent correlation between naturalness and overall fondness, the latter being affected by different factors and tastes. The only consistency in open question is that if naturalness and standardness are mentioned, the lines were always considered very standard and unnatural. Although in the context of separated selected materials, this may not be the sole or superseding factor causing the low ranking of fondness, the ranking in naturalness itself is worth investigating as it is the reason of general rejection as Ishii et al. (1990) show, and seems particularly low by the comparison made in this study.

For a brief summary, over 30 participants commented that the pronunciation was extremely standard, and half of them noticed the lines always have retroflex sounds. Also there were over 20 participants who pointed out that the lines sounded exaggerated. Over 10 mentioned specifically that the lines remind them of Mandarin speakers from the mainland part of China.

Overall, the survey shows that there is a gap between naturalness and standardness in how audience perceive Taiwanese dubbing performance, which does

not exists in the case of Japanese lines, which are the originals of this study's materials. The responses to open questions show that the exaggerated way of speaking and retroflex sounds seem to contribute the unnaturalness and standardness of dubbing performance. In the next chapter, dubbing performance' specific phonetic characteristics will be compared with those of daily speech so as to see what exactly are making the performance to appear as unnatural.
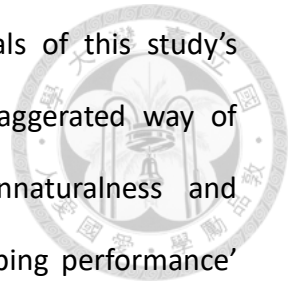
Chapter 4

What Is Dubbing Like: Phonetic Analysis

The previous chapter concludes that audience generally find dubbing performance in Taiwan to be unnatural. To explore from an acoustic aspect what exactly causes the unnaturalness, this chapter describes the phonetic analysis of materials from dubbing artists and non dubbing artist informants. It has a 4-section structure, where section 4.1 introduces the retrieval of non dubbing artists' reading of the same lines as in the materials. Section 4.2 discusses the lines' pronunciation that is inconsistent with the prescriptive standard Guoyu pronunciation. Section 4.3 analyses the pitch contour and section 4.4 analyses the PVI of the performance.

4.1 Non Dubbing Artist Recordings

To get a representation of how younger people in Taiwan speak, 3 female and 3 male Taiwanese students were asked to record the same lines from the materials. Like the participants in the previous chapter, they aged from 19 to 24 in year 2014. The recording was done with a Zoom H2n Handy Recorder. The performances of dubbing artists were not played before recording so that the informants would not be affected in the way they record the lines. However, to get the recordings in speed close to dubbing artists performance for the convenience of analysis, cue lines (21)~(30) was read to the informants before each line was recorded. The cue lines are

similar in speed to each corresponding line and relevant in content, to achieve a more natural effect.

(21) 今天早上真是辛苦你了

(22) 那就麻煩你跟老師安排了

(23) 對不起，好像搞砸了

(24) 醫生，請問他沒事嗎？

(25) 那可以開始上課了喔

(26) 那裡是做什麼用的阿

(27) 他們一直都沒來耶

(28) 那我差不多該回家了

(29) 你為什麼都不出門啊

(30) 你怎麼從這裡冒出來啊

The informants were instructed to record as natural as possible, as if answering to the cue lines and in similar speed. Their recordings were then extracted into DAW Nuendo 4.0 and paired with dubbing artist recordings for listening comparison.
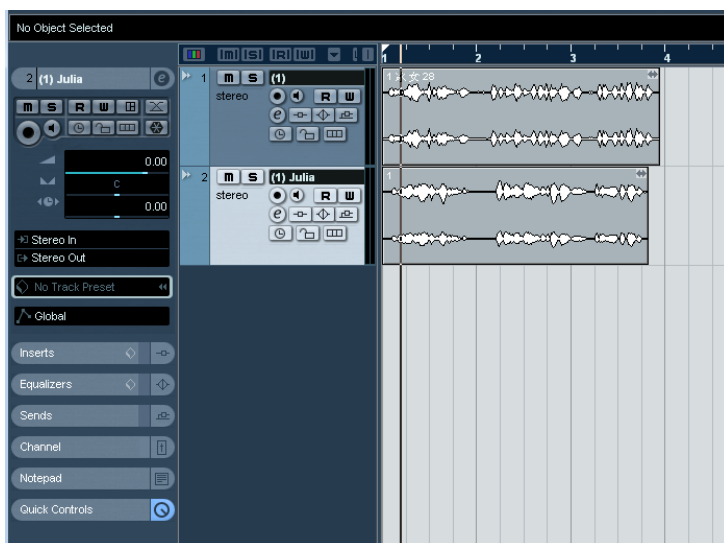
Figure 4.1: A pair of recording in Nuendo 4.0

4.2 Direct Inconsistency with Guoyu Pronunciation

Some features instantly demonstrate discrepancies with the prescriptive system of pronunciation, and even the non dubbing artist informants themselves explicitly noticed them.

4.2.1 Retroflexion

The most prominent difference in non dubbing artists recording, as Kubler (1985) and Li (1985) points out, is the absence of retroflex consonants. Out of 6 informants that recorded the lines, 3 did not pronounce retroflex sounds at all. The other 3, upon listening to their own recordings, reported that they unconsciously pronounced more "retroflexly" than they normally would. As Chang (2011) suggested, retroflexion is gradient, and the result in this study supports the view, because the notion of "more retroflexly" serves as an evidence of psychological truth for the retroflexion gradience.

Indeed, the first lesson in dubbing artists training, before advancing to performance-related, expressional issues, is adhering to Guoyu pronunciation, whose most immediately noticeable difference with daily speech is the phonemes [tʂ], [tʰʂ] and [ʂ], which are replaced by [ts], [tʰs] and [s]. It's an aspiring dubbing artist's absolute prerequisite to pronounce necessary retroflex sounds when performing. Failing to do so immediately disqualifies them from becoming even an intern.

To see an actual example from the materials, figure 4.2 is the spectrum and formants of (4) read by dubbing artist and a non dubbing artist informant respectively, displayed in Praat.

Figure 4.2: Retroflexion comparison from (4), by dubbing artist (left) and non dubbing artist informant (right)

In figure 4.2, the waveform, spectrum, romanisation and character of Mandarin are displayed from top to bottom. The red dots on the spectrum represent formants. In the excerpt *yinggaishi* (應該是 'should be'), it can be clearly seen that the third character *shi* has a much higher third formant in the case of non dubbing artist informant. The lowest point of formant of the dubbing artist is around 3690 HZ while that of non dubbing artist informant is around 4435 Hz. This is because the dubbing artist pronounces the character as [ʂɿ][11], with voiceless retroflex sibilant, while the

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[11] The vowel here is a high back unrounded vowel with preceding consonantal frication, represented by [ɿ] in conventional Mandarin transcription and by [ɯ] (with a slur from the preceding consonant) in standard IPA. The same goes for [sɿ].

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non dubbing artist informant pronounces the character as [sɿ], with voiceless alveolar fricative. As Lindau (1985), Trask (1996) and Stevens (1998) point out, retroflex consonants have lower third formants. *Shi* serves both copular and affirmative function and a frequently occurring character in modern spoken Mandarin. The difference between dubbing performance and daily speech here represents very well the obvious gap between prescriptive and actual pronunciation in Taiwan.
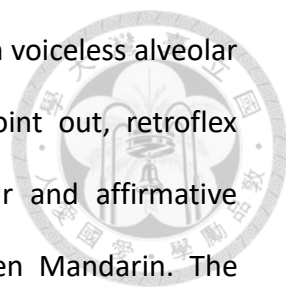
4.2.2 Downdrifting

A less obvious inconsistency is the downdrift of utterance-final rising tone (2nd tone). Interestingly this is observed in both the recordings of dubbing artists and non dubbing artist informants. Tseng (2004) finds downdrift phenomenon a general feature of Taiwan Mandarin speakers. In their experiment Taiwan Mandarin speakers generally pronounce a 1st tone significantly lower after 4th tone. In this study, *jinxing* (進行 'process') in (7) and *mianqian* (面前 'in front of') in (8) both have the first character in 4th tone and the second in 2nd tone. However, no rising of pitch is observed in the second characters at all, in both the recordings of dubbing artists and non dubbing artist informants. Figure 4.3 shows the downdrifting of *mianqian* in (8).
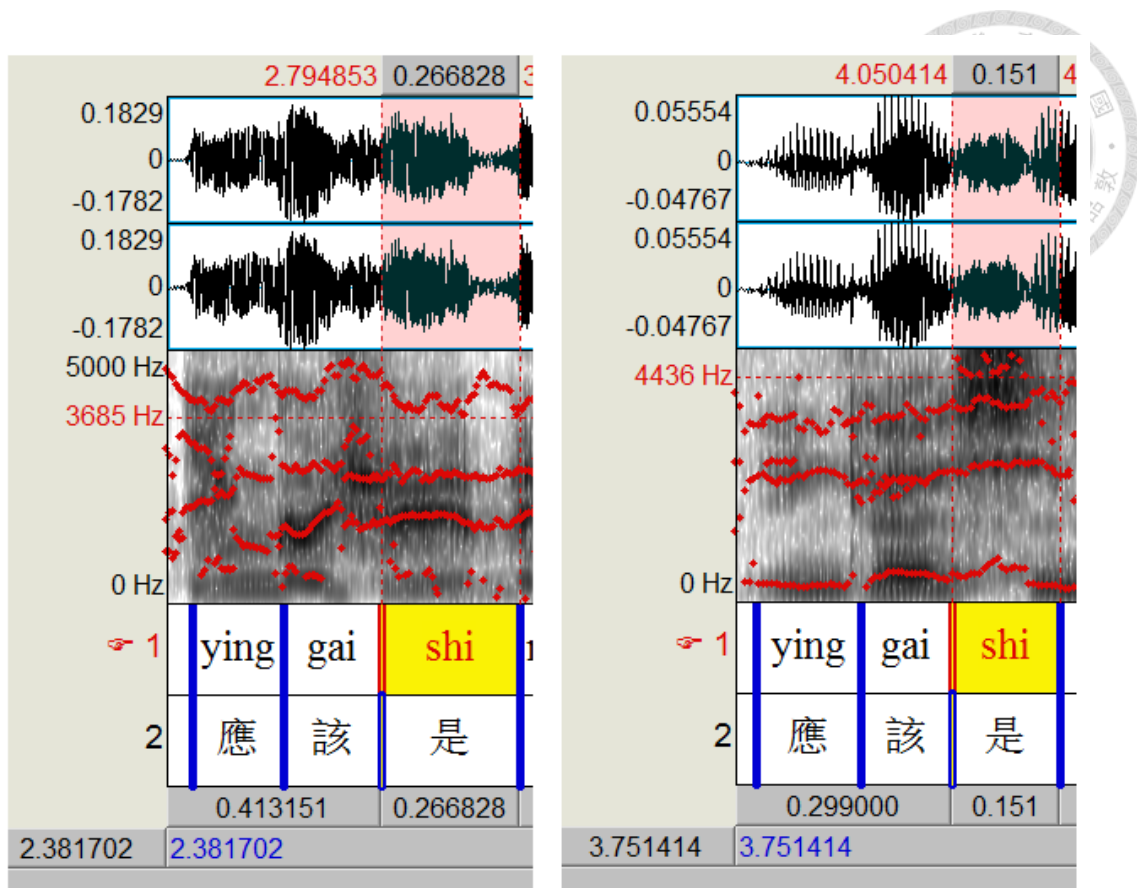

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Figure 4.3: Downdrifting comparison from (8), by dubbing artist (left) and non dubbing artist informant (right)

In figure 4.3, the waveform, spectrum, romanisation and character of Mandarin are displayed from top to bottom. The blue line on the spectrum represents pitch contour. The two recordings exhibit similar pattern of downdrifting. This seems to be consistent with what Tseng (2004) found, because the informants in that study are radio announcers who are also professionally trained. In the basic training of dubbing artists however, the downdrift of rising tone is strictly prohibited and regarded as an extremely undesirable feature of "Taiwanese accent". The presence of such a phenomenon in professional dubbing performance may account for the fact that different groups of dubbing artists in Taiwan very often cannot reach agreement on certain performing issue, accusing each other as inauthentic. Moreover, it also shows that even all voice actors believe they speak "the standard language", their speech still have features that are influenced by "Taiwanese accent" and are inconsistent with the prescribed system.

4.2.3 Contraction

The last feature exhibited by non dubbing artists is the contraction of dissyllable words. The phonetic process is a common phenomenon in natural speech, as Tseng (2005), Tseng (2005), Chung (2006) and Cheng & Xu (2009) studied before. Cheng & Xu describe the phenomenon as "extreme reduction" (the title of their 2009 study) and grouped the phenomenon into 4 types according to obstruction level. Consistent with their finding, non dubbing artist informants in this study all demonstrate obvious contractions in the recording. *Daizai* (待在 'stay in') in (9) and *jintian* (今天

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'today') in (8) belong respectively to the 3rd and 4th type, the types with strongest obstruction levels according to Cheng & Xu (2009) (namely CV+CV and CVN+CV. For a detailed description of the groups, see the methodology section of the study). Figure 4.4 shows the waveform of *jintian* in (8), read by dubbing artist and non dubbing artist informant.
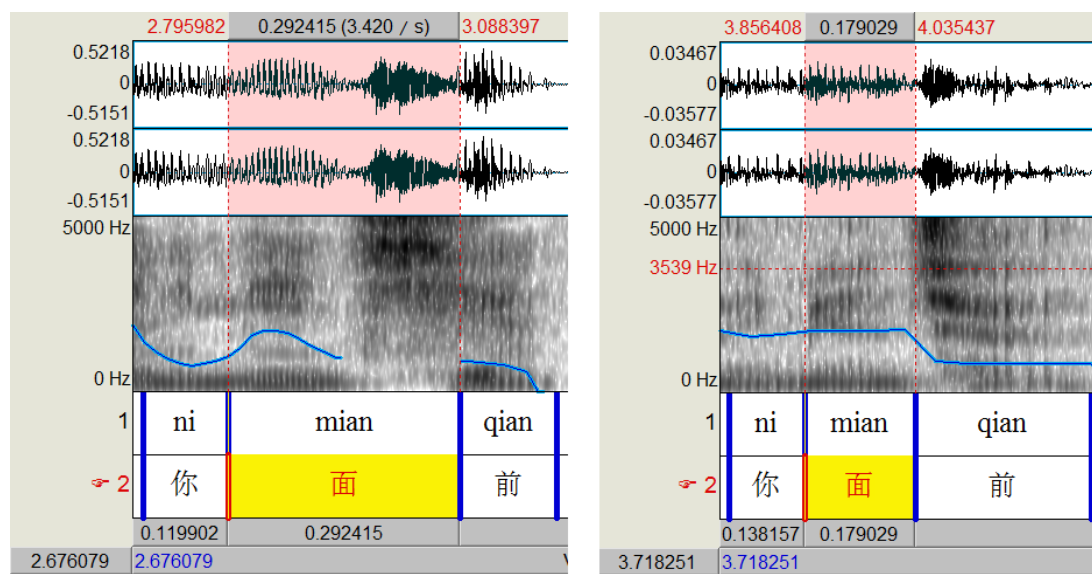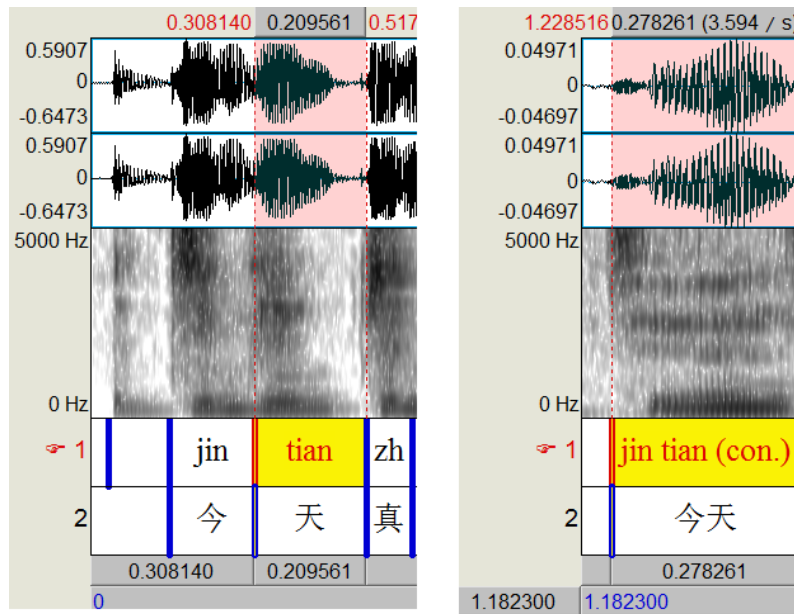

Figure 4.4: Contraction comparison from (8), by dubbing artist (left) and non dubbing artist informant (right)

In figure 4.4, the waveform, spectrum, romanisation and character of Mandarin are displayed from top to bottom. As stated above, *jintian* has to the strongest level of obstruction (CVN+CV), but is contracted here by the non dubbing artist informant, where obvious distinction between the two character cannot be observed in either waveform or spectrum. This however is a phenomenon which is not observed in dubbing artist recordings, where the two characters have rather separated waveforms. Indeed, contraction, despite its common presence in daily Taiwan

Mandarin, is a taboo in dubbing performance[12], and new dubbing artists are reminded not to do so since the beginning of their training.

4.3 Pitch

Non dubbing artist informants exhibit some other noteworthy features which are not really against Guoyu system, but nonetheless mark differences from dubbing artists. Pitch is one of them. A comparison of pitch contour between dubbing artist recordings and non dubbing artist recordings can be made using Praat, and the results show that dubbing artist recordings have significantly more rise and fall.

Figure 4.5 is an example of pitch contour comparison of (2), read respectively by dubbing artist and non dubbing artist informant.
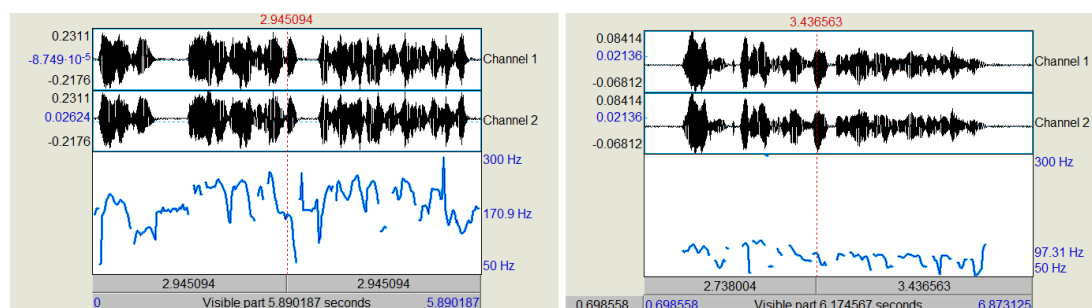
Figure 4.5: Pitch contour comparison of (2), by dubbing artist (left) and non dubbing artist informant (right)

In figure 4.5, the pitch contours are represented by the blue lines below the waveforms. The minimal pith is set to 50 Hz and the maximal 300 Hz in both file. The result is parallel with Fon & Chiang (1999) and Tseng (2004), who point out that Taiwan Mandarin has generally more conservative pitch contour than Peking

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[12] Commonly referred to as *chizi* (吃字), which means literally 'eating characters'.

Mandarin. In this case, it can be observed that daily speech has less up and downs than dubbing artist performance. This explains why dubbing performance is sometimes identified as similar to Peking Mandarin, as open questions in the questionnaire shows.
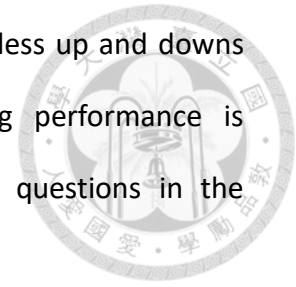
4.4 Duration

In analysing the duration variation of characters, this study follows Low et al. (2000) and examines the PVI (paired variation index) of each recording. PVI is the average value of the difference in duration of each pair of neighbouring word. Especially, Cheng (2011) points out that when measuring Mandarin PVI, one could use consonant, vowel or silence as start of each unit. After comparing PVI under different speech rates and experimenting speakers' unit recognition, Cheng concludes that using vowel as each unit's start most accurately reflects the cognitive reality of Taiwan Mandarin speakers. This study follows Cheng and defines each unit with vowel being its start point. In separating utterances, this study regards any pause longer than 300 millisecond as a between-utterances boundary. As a result, (1)~(8) have 3 utterances each, and (9) and (10) have 4 utterances each. The first utterance of (10) have only 3 characters so is not considered in the study. Figure 4.6 shows the process of extracting character durations using annotation function of Praat.
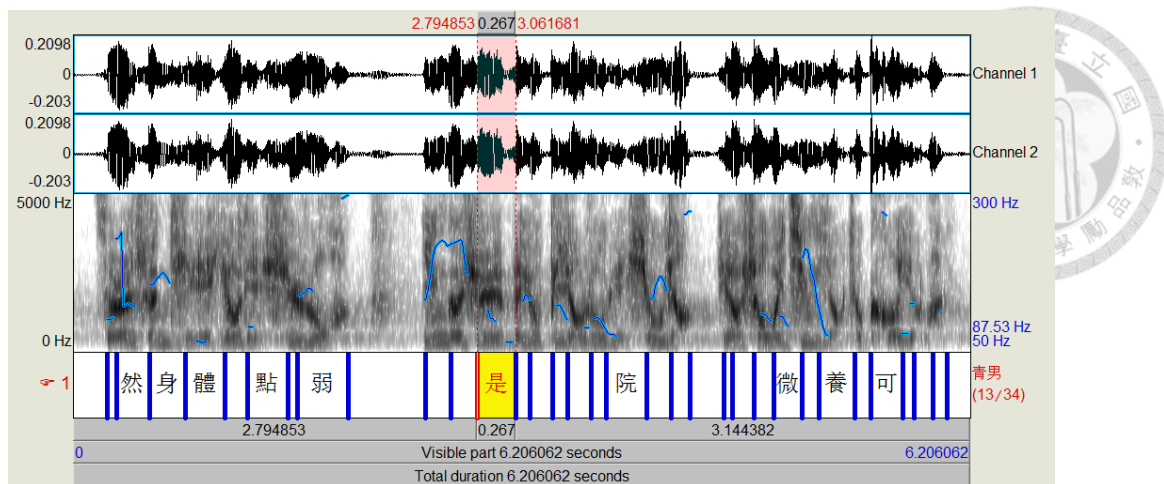
Figure 4.6: Character duration measurement

Table 4.1 serves as an example of how PVIs of (1) are calculated. Table 4.2 summarises the PVI of utterances from (1) to (10), respectively by dubbing artists and non dubbing artists. Duration is in millisecond and values of PVI and standard deviation are rounded off to the 2nd decimal place.

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Table 4.1: PVI calculation of (1) by dubbing artist

(1) 28 characters	character	character count	duration	variation
i	我	1	198	
	覺	2	141	57
	得	3	188	47
	下	4	181	7
	午	5	182	1
	還	6	121	61
	比	7	120	1
	較	8	175	55
	辛	9	319	144
	苦	10	182	137
			PVI	**56.66**
			SD	**53.46**
ii	要	11	167	
	跟	12	225	58
	親	13	205	20
	戚	14	129	76
	們	15	94	35
	一	16	256	162
	個	17	135	121
	個	18	108	27
	打	19	250	142
	招	20	312	62
	呼	21	158	154
			PVI	**85.70**
			SD	**54.42**

Table 4.1 (cont.): PVI calculation of (1) by dubbing artist

iii	一	22	141	
	整	23	224	83
	天	24	156	68
	都	25	136	20
	乖	26	200	64
	乖	27	277	77
	的	28	134	143
			PVI	**75.83**
			SD	**39.71**

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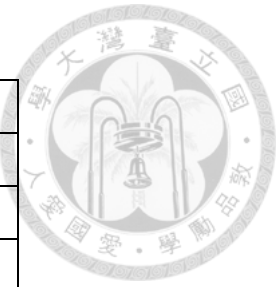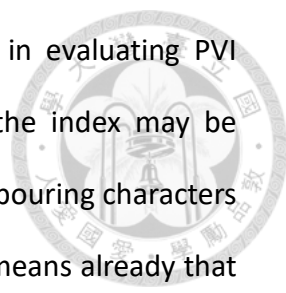
Table 4.2: PVI comparison by dubbing artist and non dubbing artist.

dubbing artist		piv	SD	non dubbing artist		piv	SD
(1)	i	56.67	53.46	(1)	i	43.36	30.45
	ii	85.70	54.42		ii	40.20	32.45
	iii	75.83	39.71		iii	54.58	36.72
(2)	i	76.67	87.15	(2)	i	59.76	29.57
	ii	60.90	29.76		ii	60.61	27.93
	iii	65.83	43.68		iii	54.30	34.66
(3)	i	85.75	22.78	(3)	i	37.76	35.83
	ii	105.86	110.25		ii	45.50	26.33
	iii	55.18	43.68		iii	33.23	29.54
(4)	i	138.00	100.12	(4)	i	45.78	38.71
	ii	82.00	54.90		ii	48.90	36.62
	iii	84.00	45.33		iii	53.68	31.36
(5)	i	74.50	29.22	(5)	i	69.45	35.42
	ii	40.45	20.20		ii	66.64	36.83
	iii	76.00	68.43		iii	63.21	37.41
(6)	i	85.20	65.48	(6)	i	43.43	30.63
	ii	78.20	19.84		ii	37.56	26.53
	iii	63.88	45.98		iii	44.60	28.51
(7)	i	62.80	66.86	(7)	i	59.45	33.33
	ii	64.60	49.41		ii	54.80	31.72
	iii	89.22	68.76		iii	60.39	26.74
(8)	i	73.00	58.15	(8)	i	56.89	33.74
	ii	116.11	62.15		ii	33.45	25.30
	iii	56.00	45.03		iii	44.54	28.66
(9)	i	28.50	13.30	(9)	i	40.30	36.74
	ii	37.20	33.51		ii	40.34	35.41
	iii	39.80	19.61		iii	52.74	32.61
	iv	42.57	40.63		iv	54.55	29.99
(10)	i	41.00	33.50	(10)	i	40.54	33.63
	ii	47.80	30.60		ii	50.81	33.57
	iii	50.40	60.41		iii	49.35	28.49
average		**69.02**	**48.91**	average		**49.70**	**32.11**

Notice that PVI per se is an index of deviation; therefore, in evaluating PVI values, it is still necessary to observe SD when PVI is low, as the index may be affected by a certain part of the utterance where duration of neighbouring characters are suddenly rather even. When PVI has a high value, however, it means already that the durations are uneven. Thus, even when the SD is low, it still means a high degree of deviation. The object of examination is evenness of duration, so under a high PVI, a low SD simply means the durations are equally uneven. Therefore, both low PVI with high SD and high PVI with low SD signify overall unevenness of character duration.

Several past studies have conducted experiments to calculate PVI of Mandarin. Low & Grabe (2002), for example, compared Mandarin with various other languages in terms of PVI. Yet it should be noted that Low & Grabe examined the Mandarin spoken in Singapore. Henceforth, when discussing PVI results, this study chooses not to consider findings from Low & Grabe and refer to Cheng (2011) again for a better comparability.

Cheng measurs PVI under 5 different speech rates and finds that both PVI and SD become higher as the speed goes slower. The lowest PVI and SD, observed under the fastest speech rate, are respectively 49 and 27. In the slowest speech rate, the values go as high as 72 and 38. For a detailed description of defining speech rate and relevant significance, see the methodology section of Experiment 1 in Cheng (2011).

The overall speech rate of this study's materials is close to the fastest rate from Cheng (2011). The PVI of non dubbing artist recording is a consistent 49.70, rather close to 49 as concluded by Cheng, with a SD of 32, slightly higher than Cheng's 27. Recordings of dubbing artists, however, give an overall higher PVI of 69.02, which is close to the highest PVI of 72 that Cheng obtained under the slowest speech rate.

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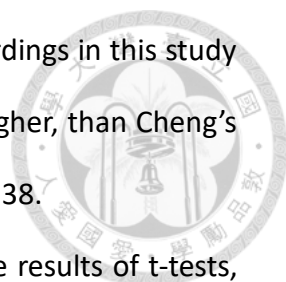
With the SD of 48.91 taken into consideration, dubbing artist recordings in this study demonstrate an overall duration variation that is close to, if not higher, than Cheng's recordings taken under the slowest speech rate, whose SD of PVI is 38.

For a statistically substantiated comparison, table 4.3 lists the results of t-tests, with pooled and unequal variance, as well as z-test, which compare the PVI and SD of recordings from dubbing artists and non dubbing artist informants in this study. Notice that in the following tables, the SD row signifies the deviation of SD values from each utterance, not the SD values of duration variation of neighbouring characters discussed so far. They are therefore not to be considered in the same terms. Values are rounded off to the 2nd decimal place.

Table 4.3: Statistic tests of two groups' PVI

PVI		
	dubbing artists	non dubbing artist informants
mean	69.02	49.70
SD	24.16	9.67
t-test, unequal variance		
t (39) = 4.13***		
t-test, pooled variance		
t (60) = 4.13***		
z-test		
z = 4.13, p-value = 3.58E-0.5***		

***p < .001

Again, the value being compared here are degree of variation themselves, so different tests are used. Z-test assumes that the materials are, and are enough to be, in normal distribution; thus, durational variation exists naturally in speech rhythm in a bell shape distribution across dubbing artists and non dubbing artist informants in this study. T-test with pooled variance assumes that the materials are not, or are not

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enough to be, in normal distribution. Either the sample size is not big enough or different informants recorded in different degree of durational emphases[13]. T-test with unequal variance assumes that dubbing artists and non dubbing artist informants have different degree of variance in terms of durational variation, because the former produced the materials in a context of performance where different lines require different levels of emphases, while the latter produced the materials without deliberately controlling the emphases.

The results of all three tests are significant at $p < 0.001$. Thus, PVI values by dubbing artists would indeed be significantly higher in all hypothetical cases. The recordings by non dubbing artist informants not only are cued in a context made as natural as possible, but also demonstrate PVI and SD that are rather close to the findings from Cheng (2011); therefore, the PVI and SD difference here observed can serve as a valid indication of the deviation of dubbing artist speech from normal ones. Moreover, as Low & Grabe (2002) points out, it is the stress timed languages that tend to have relatively higher PVI. Studies like Tseng (2004) have shown that Peking Mandarin is more stress timed than Taiwan Mandarin, thus, again, it is inevitable that dubbing artist performance style reminds the audience of the Mandarin spoken in Mainland China.

The actual phonetic difference between how dubbing artists and non dubbing artist informants speak discussed in this chapter include degree of consistency with the prescriptive Guoyu pronunciation, such as retroflex sound and accurate execution of character boundary (the tones, however, are sometimes influenced by

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[13] As mentioned in section 4,1 they were instructed and cued to record as natural as possible; however in order to have accurate comparison with materials from dubbing performance, they after all had to read the scripts. It was impossible for them to produce exactly the same speech in a completely natural setting.

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downdrifting in the cases of both dubbing artists and non dubbing artist informants), and degree of variation of pitch and duration. Representative cases from prescribed pronunciation and pitch variation are discussed separately, while the overall tendency in duration variation is examined statistically with a standard quantification method. These high degrees of variations exhibited by dubbing artist performances are shown to be characteristic of Peking Mandarin in previous studies. The social background that allows these differences to form and remain will be discussed in the next chapter.
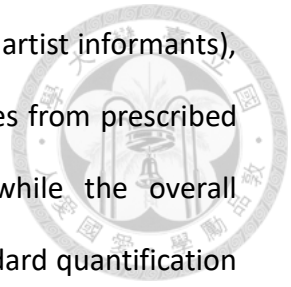
Chapter 5

Why Is Dubbing So: Social Investigation

In chapter 3 and 4, it is shown that Taiwan's dubbing performance is unnatural. Externally, it is not favoured in comparison with Japanese dubbing performance, which is received as natural and likeable. Internally, it is different with daily speech at acoustic level. How does it continue to exist as how it is despite the discrepancies? This chapter discusses the reason behind the emergence and endurance of such a style. It consists of two sections, where section 5.1 outlines the practical background that results in the above-discussed differences between dubbing artist speech and natural ones, and section 5.2 investigate the ideological phenomenon related to the practice.

5.1 Practical Reasons

As mentioned briefly in section 4.2, the training a new dubbing artist receives include the more superficial aspects related to "standard" pronunciation, and beyond which, more expressional details related to performance. The resulting styles from different individual training programmes also differ greatly, which are favoured in different studios and production companies. However, almost every studio claims its

own style to be standard and natural[14].

There is nonetheless an observable general tendency in the training to which the characteristic of dubbing performance can be attributed, and they very well represent a myth of standard and natural language that is causing and strengthening the situation discussed in the previous two chapters, namely the state of dubbing performance being unfavoured and its acoustic differences from daily speech. Firstly, it is of utmost importance to pronounce each character completely with its boundary clear. This originates from a tradition back in the days when the illiteracy was higher than today's, and a certain proportion of audience of foreign shows who was not able to read subtitles had to rely on dubbing to understand the contents. Under such a requirement, it is a dubbing artist's responsible to clearly pronounce each word, making the lines as intelligible as possible. Contraction, although an extremely natural phenomenon, is therefore undesirable because of its potentiality to impede comprehension.

In addition to clear execution of each character's pronunciation, it is also crucial to have variations in pitch and duration. The requirement is referred to as *yiyang-duncuo* (抑揚頓挫) in Mandarin. It appears as an elusive idea for new dubbing artists to grasp, and is sometimes understood mistakenly as a general, rough exaggeration in expression. However, from a phonetic point of view, it is actually quite simple and straightforward, as *yiyang* ('fall and rise') means pitch variation and *duncuo* ('pause and transition') requires duration variation. Like the exact pronunciation of each character discussed above, *yiyang-duncuo* also have a functional origin. In the industry, it is said to go back to the Peking opera tradition of

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[14] At least 3 studios I have been to, including one that produced many notorious Korean dramas, all claim to belong to the so-called *ziranpai* (自然派), which means naturalistic, realistic branch of performance.

youshengjiege, wudongbuwu (有聲皆歌，無動不舞) which literally means singing every line and dancing every move. It is actually an amplification mechanism back in the days when there was no means to expand the reach of audiovisual performance on the stage. The actors had to expand the emphases in the lines to ensure they are heard, and also move in an expansive manner so that the actions can be clearly seen. The way of emphasising gradually evolved into a sophisticated system of vocal and bodily performance, which became the convention of Peking opera acting.

Of course, the training of dubbing performance does not involve turning a line into musical phrases; it however inherits the idea that it is an art to place emphasis on a certain focus in the line. (21) and (22) is a pair of lines used in training of dubbing for beginners.

(31) 他 還是 第一名 呢

   ta haishi diyiming ne

   he *moreover* *first place* particle

   'what's more, he got the first place!'

(32) 他 還是 第一名 呢

   ta haishi diyiming ne

   he *still* *first place* particle

   'he got the first place again!'

The two utterances consist of entirely the same characters, but depending on the semantics of *haishi*, they have different meanings. The difference is self-explanatory for even non dubbing artist speakers and would be easily understandable in

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appropriate context, yet an important training for new dubbing artists is to achieve the difference by placing intonational emphasis on necessary parts of the utterance. In (31), *diyiming* ('first place') is supposed to have higher pitch and longer duration whereas *haishi* would be swiftly slurred through. In (32), it is *haishi* that receives intontaional emphasis, thus turning into an adverb meaning 'still'. It is considered an art to be able to achieve semantic distinction through phonological manipulation. (33) is a more advanced example.

(33)	他	剛才	坐車	回家	了
	ta	gangcai	zuoche	huijia	le
	he	*just now*	*take care*	*back home*	particle

'he just went back by car'

Dubbing artist trainees are required to perform (33) in different ways, with intonational emphasis placed on different parts of the line. Where the emphasis is placed depends on a dramatic mechanism called "subtext", namely a line that is implied but not explicitly spoken. For example, (33) would have *ta* ('he') in higher pitch and longer duration if it means 'he just went home by car, but she's still here', with the underlined part as subtext. Alternatively, if the subtext is 'he just went home by car, leaving his bike here', *zuoche* ('take car') would have the emphasis.

Communicative functions of intonation have also been widely studied in both Mandarin and other languages (Ho, 1977; Xu, 2006; Prom-on, Liu & Xu, 2011; Daneš, 1960; House, 1989; Matsumoto, 2003; Asatiani, 2005; Ma, 2006; Singer, 2006) as a phenomenon often occurring in natural speech. However, the point in the above-mentioned practice is for dubbing artists to deliberately manipulate the

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intonation as necessary, thus achieving foregrounding function. Below is an example where a dubbing artist explicitly elaborates on such a manipulation in an interview on how dubbing artists brings out the emotion in their performance.
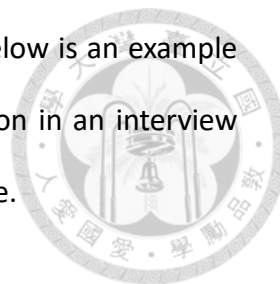
(34)
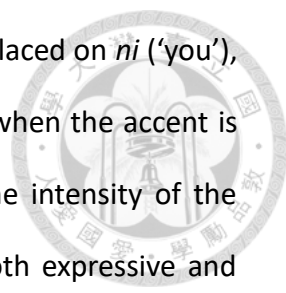
用情感為角色加分

███ 表示，聲音演員應力求情感與自然，而不只是對嘴說話。配音也是經驗的累積，需要不停地揣摩、練習，他說：「情緒是一個很好的入門，再找出句子中的輕重音，如『你~很忙嗎？』和『你很~忙嗎？』，第二句重音在『很』就有濃厚的質疑意味，這就是用聲音表演，當然所含的情緒也會不同。」███ 表示，仔細觀察生活，體驗各式聲音的變化，在配音時才能融入情緒，為角色加分。」

(34) is an excerpt of interview of dubbing artists whose names are hidden. The first dubbing artist gives another example where the intonational accent affects the focus of a sentence. The example is transcribed below as (25) and (26).

(35)　　　你　　　　　很　　　　　忙　　　　　嗎

　　　　　　ni　　　　　hen　　　　　mang　　　　　ma

　　　　　　you　　　　*very*　　　　*busy*　　　　particle

　　　　　　"Are you busy?"

(36)　　　你　　　　　很　　　　　忙　　　　　嗎

　　　　　　ni　　　　　hen　　　　　mang　　　　　ma

　　　　　　you　　　　*very*　　　　*busy*　　　　particle

　　　　　　"Are you really that busy?"

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The dubbing artist in (34) points out that when the accent is placed on *ni* ('you'), (35) is a mere question asking if the addressee is busy. However, when the accent is placed on *hen* ('very'), the focus of questioning is directed to the intensity of the adjective. Interestingly, they claim that the way of speaking is both expressive and natural, although from my experience in training programme and the industry, the performance would definitely yield a result that has a pitch and duration variation much more dramatic than those occurring in natural speech.

After mastering the pitch and duration variation, dubbing artists are encouraged to perform with as much expression as possible. As introduced in section 3.1, a common problem dubbing artists have to deal with is the mismatch between length of the given text and the onscreen oral movement. Besides altering the texts on the script, which may or may not be allowed depending on the commissioner, a way to make up the difference is to put emphases on parts of the lines. The presence of variations makes the durations of the lines much easier to manipulate, and it is also regarded as more desirable because it gives dramatic sense to the lines.

Indeed, even when the length of a line on the script and the character's oral movement is compatible, it is still deemed necessary to perform with emphases[15]. It is even more obvious with original shows or radio drama works where there is no need to match the length of lines with visual material. In these cases, many senior voiceover supervisors still consider it important to place intonational and durational accent on specific parts of the lines, believing it is the more expressive and better way to perform. Each voiceover supervisor has different idea concerning the degree of accents that should be given, but most of them would definitely require the

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[15] Commonly referred to as *qingzhongyin* (輕重音), which means literally light and heavy tones. When and how to perform *qingzhongyin* is one of the important issues that dubbing artists have to master.
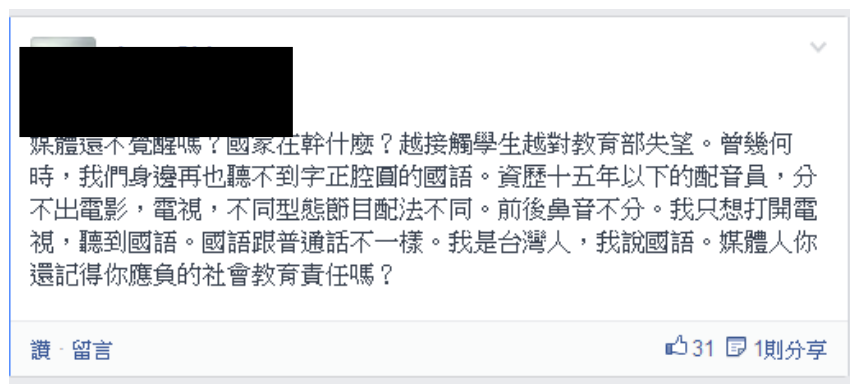
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presence of accents.

5.2 Ideological Reasons

Dubbing artists carries the convention of emphases, as discussed above in section 5.1, into daily linguistic activity and believe it is the only way (and the only level of the way) to achieve emphatic function. This causes the discrepancy between dubbing performance and daily speech, as described in the previous chapter. The attitude is a legacy from earlier years when the authority was promoting Guoyu. Only dubbing artists and radio announcers embracing the idea of "standard national language" could have a career in the media, which was then controlled by the government. In today's circumstance, however, with the governmental control gradually loosening up[16], the idea of a standard way of speaking appears more and more as a myth that is unfit.

Indeed, a wide proportion in training programmes today is dedicated to the aspects described in section 5.1, besides performance-related skills such as voice changing, emotion and genre-specific knowledge. Perhaps such a heavy focus indicates to a certain degree the fact that dubbing performance is based on a speaking style that is rather unfamiliar to at least younger generation in Taiwan. When recording, there is even a majority of younger dubbing artists I know who speak differently than they usually would. A colleague of mine once spoke to recording engineer with her "dubbing mode" off, and was then reproached by a senior dubbing artist, who said "Quit faking that Taiwanese accent, it's not funny and will yield bad influence to the way you speak", while my colleague was merely speaking as she normally does. On the contrary, senior dubbing artists tend to speak

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[16] See Chen (1998) for a detailed description of the situation.

in the same way in both recording session and daily life. This example shows that even dubbing artists themselves, especially younger ones, may have to face the phonetic differences describe in the previous chapter, switching constantly between "two different modes of speaking. The phenomenon itself is not that uncommon in general linguistic activity, but it is again the older generation's attitude behind the requirement that represents the particular ideology of the generation, whose members mostly hold a prescriptive view of language. Such a prescriptive view allows them to believe there is a transcendentally correct way of speaking disregarding how language changes. They also publish on social media the ideas promoting such a way of speaking. The following part of this section collects some representative social media entries or interviews to give a brief review of the general ideology. The names of all personnel are again hidden.

(37)

媒體還不覺醒嗎？國家在幹什麼？越接觸學生越對教育部失望。曾幾何時，我們身邊再也聽不到字正腔圓的國語。資歷十五年以下的配音員，分不出電影，電視，不同型態節目配法不同。前後鼻音不分。我只想打開電視，聽到國語。國語跟普通話不一樣。我是台灣人，我說國語。媒體人你還記得你應負的社會教育責任嗎？

讚．留言　　　　　　　　　31　1則分享

(37) is a typical complaint that younger people do not speak "standard" Mandarin. The author of this entry specifically points out that they are disappointed in the fact that the distinction between coda position /n/ and /ŋ/ is lost. They also accuse ministry of education of not doing its job and media personnel of forgetting their social responsibility. The entry, in addition to demonstrating the prescriptive view of the author, has a moral overtone in relating to the responsibility of media

workers in the society. Indeed, the trainees are sometimes reminded that, especially in shows for children, it is extremely important to use the correct pronunciation so that the children watching the shows can learn to speak "correctly". Apparently the attempt has been failing, for as previously cited studies and chapter 4 of this study point out, Taiwan Mandarin is still heavily influenced by Southern Min (Fon & Chiang, 1999; Chung, 2006; Wang & Fong, 2013), daily speech differ greatly from Guoyu pronunciation (Kubler, 1985; Li, 1985), and considerable amount of audience is not fond of dubbed shows anyway (Ishii et al., 1999).

(38)

In (38), the author more openly criticises the so-called Taiwan-Guoyu ('Taiwan-style national language'), which is a term used for Mandarin with heavy Taiwanese accent. Interestingly, they sound entirely descriptive throughout the first half of the whole entry, saying that Taiwan has developed a unique language that is different from local dialects and Mandarin spoken in earlier days, and has separate versions of pronunciation when written and spoken, and has no neutral tone, nor

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retroflex sounds, nor the distinction between coda position [n] and [ŋ] and between [n] and [l], [r] and [l]. Eventually they point out that the speakers of "standard" Mandarin are so rare that they wonder if they could be protected due to their endangered state. They also comment in their own post asking those who are in favour of what they write to share the entry on social media so that the entry could hopefully reach the "authority", who could potentially do something about the "negative" influence.

This entry shows that they are fully aware of many phonetic changes happening in the language and also are aware it is a unique version of pronunciation system in Taiwan, yet they judge the changes to be harmful and believe it is something to be dealt with by the authority. Also noteworthy is another user that writes with erhua in the comment in favour of the entry. Erhua is a suffixation of [ɚ] which is commonly seen in Beijing Mandarin (Lee, 2005) but relatively rare in Taiwan Mandarin.

(39)

分享了 ▇▇▇ 的近況。

墮啊 墮啊~

10歲以上的孩子從造句練習學得的絕技會一直運用到成年以後，維持相當一段時間。語言科學家調查研究，發現四十歲以下的青年普遍在造句練習的深刻影響下，長期無法擺脫以下這種表達方式。

雖然……可是：

例句1：雖然我很愛我女朋友，可是住太遠了。

說話的人想要表達的是下面這樣的一段意思：

雖然我很愛我女朋友，可是我們兩個人住的地方相隔太遠，不容易見面，交往起來很辛苦。

省略了那麼多字，還能表達明白嗎？

當然可以，現在的年輕人頂多換一個說法，加兩個字。請注意以下例句2和例句1的小小差別。

例句2：雖然我很愛我女朋友，可是住太遠了。對啊（唸作墮啊）！

(39) Criticises not only pronunciation but also the syntax in the language of younger generation. The subject of discussion in the entry is transcribed below as (40).

(40)　　　雖然　　　我　　　很愛　　　我女朋友

　　　　　suiran　　wo　　henai　　wonvpengyou

　　　　　although　　*I*　　*love very much*　　*my girlfriend*

可是　　　住　　　太遠　　　了

keshi　　zhu　　taiyuan　　le

but　　*live*　　*too far*　　particle

'although I love my girlfriend a lot, we live too far away from each
other'

In (39), the author is mainly dissatisfied with "too much omittance" in (40),
where subject of 'live too far away from each other' is omitted. Pronoun drop is a
phenomenon not uncommon in Mandarin (Huang, 1989), but the author regards it
more as an evidence of speakers being linguistically immature and unorthodox. They
also complain that there should be a pragmatic implication of the utterance, in this
case the underlined part of "Although I love my girlfriend a lot, we live too far away
from each other <u>and it's been difficult to meet up. Dating her is kind of tough.</u>" The
author of this entry believes such implication should be spoken explicitly to enhance
the clarity of utterance. Finally, the author ironically points out that young people
have one way to clarify the sentence, which is merely the filler *duia* ('that's correct').
However they again point out that the filler is not pronounced properly, namely with
vowel reduction. The entry claims to cite linguistic study with no specific reference
given, and moreover, overlooks the fact that *dui* ('correct'), an abbreviated form of
duia, is a filler which has actual discourse functions, as Yang (2007) points out. This

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entry is originally by an author in Taiwan and shared by a senior dubbing artist who clearly shares the same value on language.

It should be noted that they have in turn practical justifications for their seemingly arbitrary ideology. (41) and (42) are two examples.

(41)

The author of (41) points out that it is difficult to understand the speech of TV reporters merely by listening to them, without other visual input. They then conclude in the comment that it is a failure in language education. Another user added that it is also difficult to understand the written titles, implying a general low language proficiency of media workers[17]. As discussed above, this idea could originate from the older times when there was a greater degree of illiteracy. Another possible reason for the requirement is simply that it if one could understand the news report by simply

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[17] Interestingly, their comment is full of pro-drop, so they themselves would very likely be reproached by the author of (39) for having "low language proficiency".

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listening to it, one would have more flexibility in engaging in other tasks.

(42)

問：要怎麼調整自己的講話方式呢？
答：像我現在有在給一些人上課，其實人培養一個正確的說話方式最多三個月，就可以培養成一個習慣，你去緊緊督促自己，很多人都互相告訴你三個月就一個週期嘛！改變自己說話的習慣的話，你只要用心聽察，狠狠地盯著自己一個月，然後請身邊的人開始幫你盯著，你旁邊一定要有個人在幫你盯著，要不然你自己的自覺性要非常高。

　　為什麼大家喜歡聽配音員說話？因為配音員說話有抑揚頓挫，但是現代人講話就比較缺少那些熱忱、投入性，在我說話的時候，我對我說話的內容是很有熱情的，我向一個人講事情時，我是很真誠地「說」，當我一直誠起來，我自然就有熱情投入，也能夠有抑揚頓挫了，可是抑揚頓挫你要拿捏得很好，要不然就會變成誇張虛偽了。

問：現在█████有在配訓班上課，那麼您想要傳承配音的動力為何？
答：因為我父親一直很希望我當老師，他希望有人能夠稱呼我為老師；我也是在父親過世這幾年後，我才開始接課的；人年紀大了，就會開始回憶父親對自己有什麼期許(笑)。但是我在接課後才發現，很多人對配音有很多錯誤的觀念，不了解配音，於是在以訛傳訛之下造成了不少的誤解，我覺得這對配音員是很不公平的事情，所以我開始每期課程都接，其實也是想告訴人們，聲音表情不是只有配音員用得到，只要跟人有溝通，就用得到。

　　我想告訴大家，人人都是需要聲音表情的，如果在說話之間多注意自己的咬字、措辭，對上對下對應關係的態度拿捏得好的話，這世界也會因此變得美好喔！因此，學習聲音的運用是很重要的，並不限於配音員。

(42) is an interview where the interviewed dubbing artist holds the view that speech with *yiyang-duncuo* (as explained in Chapter 4, greater pitch and duration variation) is naturally more pleasant because it carries emotion. They believe it is important not only for the dubbing artists but also everyone to learn to "use one's voice", which will make the world a better place. When put in this way, the idea is not only functional but also moral. When elevated to a moral level, the idea will be firmly held by the senior dubbing artists as unfalsifiable and delivered to the trainee in training programmes.

As mentioned above, senior dubbing artists mostly exhibit no distinction in how they speak in recording session and how they speak in daily life. Such a unification is reflected by the fact that they wholeheartedly embrace the "standard" language they

recognise, believing such a version of the language indeed functions better, rather than prescribe an authoritative version of language simply out of malice against the younger generation. There are historical and practical reasons behind their sense of superiority, which justifies them to continue to promote "standard national language" despite its being unfavoured by the audience and alienated from natural speech, as shown in the previous two chapters.
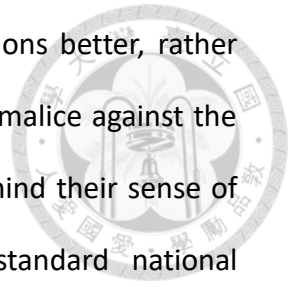
Chapter 6

Conclusion

This chapter divides the conclusive remarks of this study in 3 parts. Section 6.1 summarises the answers to the research questions and significance of this study. Section 6.2 connects the findings and points out that a contributing factor of audience' rejection against dubbing as unnatural is actually political. Section 6.3 further discusses the final implication of the study, namely whether if there could be a stylistic alternative that would make dubbing more "natural".

6.1 Summary

The first question of this study is how dubbing performance is received in Taiwan. The survey results show that Taiwanese audience finds dubbing performance in Taiwan to be standard but unnatural, while Japanese audience finds dubbing performance in Japan to be both standard and natural. Taiwanese audience' overall fondness for dubbing performance in Taiwan is also significantly lower than that of Japanese audience for dubbing performance in Japan. Comments from open question section show a part of the audience associate dubbing performance with Peking Mandarin.

The second question is the exact phonetic features of dubbing performance. The results show that dubbing performance tends to have greater degree of retroflexion and pitch contour, higher PVI, but no contraction, in comparison with daily speech. A

downdrifting patterns, however, is shared by dubbing performance and daily speech.

The third question is the reasons behind the style. This study points out that there are both practical and ideological reasons that shaped the convention of dubbing in Taiwan. The ideology's connection with early language policy allows the phonetic characteristics to endure, and also causes the reception of dubbing performance to be negative.

All in all, this study uses quantitative method to analyse the reception and phonetic features of dubbing performance in Taiwan, and subsequently attribute the results to qualitatively explored background. The hypothesis that dubbing performance is greatly different from natural speech is not only supported but also explained, and in doing so the study provides a successful analysis of dubbing as a linguistic activity.

6.2 Political Association

Comparing the phonetic analysis and social investigation in this study, one can find that although dubbing artists speech phonetically demonstrate features closer to Peking Mandarin such as more expansive contours and higher PVI, it has never been any dubbing artists' intention to speak like someone from Mainland China. Neither in training programme nor in the real industry have I ever heard any senior dubbing artist promote Peking mandarin, and in (27) the senior dubbing artists even explicitly points out that Taiwan mandarin is different from Peking mandarin (they refer to them as *guoyu* and *putonghua*, which are the terms proposed by Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese governments respectively), and that they identifies themselves as Taiwanese so should therefore speak Taiwan mandarin.

Their performance is nonetheless associated with Mainland China accent, as the

open question section in the survey shows. Of course regular audience do not hear the performance in a phonetically analytical way, but upon hearing retroflexion and exaggerated duration and pitch variation (as pointed out explicitly in the questionnaire), they automatically associate the accent with Peking mandarin.

It is however inevitable that a myth of "Biaozhun-Guoyu" is somewhat internalised by the audience. As shown in Chapter 3, every line was ranked very high in standardness. It is after all still the pronunciation version still taught in school. Discrepancy between the prescriptive and actually realised version of pronunciation is extremely common, but in the particular case of Taiwan, because of the complicated political situation (as reviewed in Chapter 2, Scott, 2007; Wu, 2011), the discrepancy is further intensified with a political overtone. This perhaps also explains Taiwanese dubbing performance received overall lower ranking in likeability than Japanese dubbing performance did.

Thus, the dubbing style of senior dubbing artists is created functionally but read politically. The lack of mutual understanding and communication most likely resulted in the rejection of dubbing performance in Taiwan.

6.3 Towards a Natural Dubbing?

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, (9) and (10) are relatively ranked the highest in naturalness. The fact that they are from the same show suggests that decisions of voiceover supervisor can indeed influence the overall style in dubbing. As table 4.2 shows, (9) and (10) also have relatively lower PVI.

In determining if there could be a reference for dubbing style alternatives, two further questions should be discussed in the future. The first one is the necessity of intonational and durational emphases. They are not favoured by the audience due to

the reason discussed above but meanwhile have practical raison d'être. A potential future study would be to find a balanced use of emphases.

The second question is the definition of "Biaozhun-Guoyu". Apparently what is taught in school covers only prescriptive elements such as vowel, consonants and tone, which seem to be more accepted, as some non dubbing artist informants also intentionally read the lines with more retroflexion than they usually would as they reported themselves. However, dubbing artists have a wider idea of how "standard" language should be, which concerns the use of emphases when necessary.

Thus, the pronunciation elements prescribed in school, although deemed as a prerequisite in performance art by senior dubbing artists, seem to be the agreement that could be worked on. Indeed, (9) and (10) achieved relatively higher ranking in naturalness with the presence of retroflex consonants and was accepted (at least by one voiceover supervisor and commissioner) in the industry simultaneously. A potential "new style", therefore, would probably have to reduce emphases to a proper degree. Also it could have a weaker degree of retroflexion and allow downdrifting. The exact degree of retroflexion and emphases' pitch and duration variation required to reach a natural style could be interesting topics for further researches.

Although the situation is currently not ideal, with future studies taking both linguistic and dubbing performance knowledge into consideration, and also more communication, a solution could hopefully be found in the multicultural and tolerant environment of Taiwanese society.
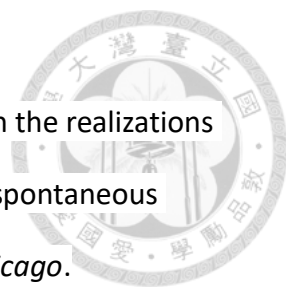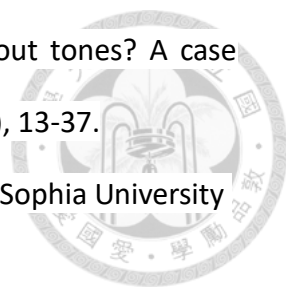
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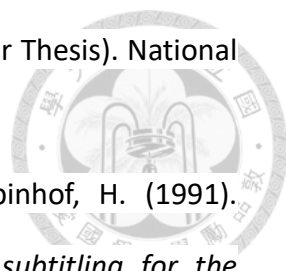
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