

中原大學應用外國語文學系
碩士論文

新竹縣新埔鎮的客語轉移現象：
三代家庭的個案研究

**Language Shift of Hakka in Sinpu Town,
Hsinchu County: A Study of Three Generations
in an Extended Family**

指導教授：許慧如 教授

Advisor: Dr. Hui-ju Hsu

研究生：呂亭慧

Graduate Student: Ting-hui Lu

中華民國九十七年六月

June, 2008

本論文獲行政院客家委員會
98 年度客家研究優良博碩士論文獎助

行政院客家委員會獎助客家研究優良博碩士論文精要

一、 論文名稱：新竹縣新埔鎮的客語轉移現象：三代家庭的個案研究

二、作者：呂亭慧

三、獎助年度：98 年度

四、獎助金額：柒萬元整

五、研究過程(含研究方法、研究對象、研究工具等)

1. 研究方法及研究工具

本研究採用三個主要的研究方法---問卷，訪談，及觀察。問卷透過受訪者的自答，檢測受訪者的語言選擇和態度。訪談探究本土語言教育，對受訪者除了語言選擇之外的影響。最後，透過觀察受訪者日常生活的語言調節和語碼轉換，檢測他們實際的語言選擇。三個研究方法，反覆檢測本研究的核心問題---語言選擇。

1.1 問卷

問卷主要用於探究受訪者的語言選擇及對客語的態度。受訪者的背景資料，包含年齡，性別，和教育程度，是問卷第一部分的重點。問卷的第二部分檢測受訪者的語言選擇。在第三部分，則透過受訪者對不同陳述的贊成程度，探討受訪者對客語的態度。問卷的初稿，主要是根據 Young (1988)， Baker (1992)， 和 Liang (2004)的研究，根據一再地測試及修正至完稿。

1.2 訪談

訪談內容的設計，主要參考客委會 2004 年的普查。除了進一步探討受試者少說客語的原因外，訪談的重點在於受試者對本土語言教育的想法及意見。訪

談內容有七個問題，包含三個部分：(a) 根據問卷的衍生問題，如受訪者為何不在某些語域說客語；(b) 受訪者對本土語言教育的態度，及這些語言教育對受訪者的影響；及(c) 受訪者對客語學習的態度。每次的訪談，進行約十分鐘。

1.3 觀察

觀察主要是在家庭語域執行，執行時間共一個月，每週有兩次，分別在八個個別的小家庭。每次的觀察時間大約是一個小時，主要觀察受訪者的語言選擇，語碼轉換及語言調節。觀察中記錄的內容，包含觀察時間，觀察地點，對話主題及參與談話的受訪者。

觀察的主要目的是補充受訪者在問卷及訪談中的答覆。在問卷及訪談中，受訪者主觀的回答個別的情形。而透過觀察得到的資料，則進一步客觀地印證受訪者主觀地答覆。當觀察得到的資料與問卷和訪談的資料有衝突時，原因將被進一步的分析。

2. 研究對象

為了要檢視新埔鎮的客語轉移現象，受試者從一個新埔鎮三代家庭中篩選出。受訪者在血緣上，屬於同一個客家社群。傳統方言學強調受訪者的穩定性，因為受訪者的流動性會是研究的變項 (Chambers, 2000)。因此，從這個大家庭篩選受訪者時，有一些門檻及條件：

條件一：年齡最長及中生世代的受訪者，從三歲到十五歲須定居在新埔鎮，主

要是確定受試者有足夠時間語言環境的影響。

條件二：年齡最幼世代的受訪者，從三歲到六歲須定居在新埔鎮，主要是確定

受試者有足夠時間語言環境的影響。

條件三：符合條件一與條件二的受訪者，目前需仍住在新埔鎮，以確認他們單

純的語言環境，並未受其他語言的影響。

條件四：通婚家庭的小孩，如父親為閩南人而母親為客家人，則並未列入本研究的研究範圍。

根據以上四個條件，從八個小家庭中，共篩選出四十位家族成員。年齡最長的世代有十三位受訪者，中生世代有二十二位受訪者，而最幼的世代，則有五位受訪者。年齡最幼的受訪者呈現短缺，主要是由於受試者的父母，皆須為客家人。

六、主要研究發現

本研究有以下幾個重要的發現：

1. 受訪者的語言選擇反映客語轉移

跨世代比較不同語域中，受訪者的語言選擇，研究發現中生及年齡最長世代的受訪者，比起最幼世代的受訪者，明顯使用大量的客語。比較起之前的研究，最不同的發現是，和之前研究中年齡相仿的中生代受訪者，仍仰賴客語和其他人溝通，尤其是在家庭語域。雖然客語轉移在年齡最長和中生代間並不明顯，但在中生代及最幼世代間，則呈現很劇烈的轉移。此外，三個世代的受訪者因為不同的理由，同樣有語碼轉換的現象。

2. 受訪者的語言選擇反映客語轉移

檢測三個世代受訪者對客語的態度，發現年齡最幼的世代對客語的態度最為消極，這反映出新埔鎮的客語轉移。三個世代受訪者對客語的態度，隨著受訪者的年齡減少，呈現負成長。客語的態度在中生代和最幼世代的受訪者間，明顯衰退，所以最幼世代的受訪者對客語的認同感最低。雖然最幼世代的受訪者，都認為客家人要能夠說客語，但是他們的認同和行為呈現了很大的落差。

3. 客語的推動帶動保留客語的意識

檢測訪談的資料，藉以了解受訪者對其母語的想法。研究結果顯示，大部分受訪者認為（1）透過媒體散播客語的效果，目前為止很有限；（2）客語是他們對客家身分認同的象徵，所以願意學習客語；（3），為了要有較好的學習成效，客語學習應同時在家中及學校實行；（4）本土語言教育是需要，因為身為客家人，就有責任為保留客語盡一份力；最後（5）客語學習需優先於其他本土語言的學習。

4. 社會變項對客語轉移影響微弱

別於較早期的研究，本研究中，社會變項，如性別和教育背景，似乎和受訪者的語言選擇和語言態度呈現弱相關。例如，本研究中受訪者的性別並未和語言選擇呈現明顯的相關性。不管是男性或是女性，在任何的語域，都沒有呈現較多或較少說客語。受訪者的教育背景也未影響他們的語言選擇及語言態度。教育程度較高，或是教育程度較低的受訪者，都沒有傾向大量使用客語，或對客語有較正面的態度。女性受訪者傾向對客語有相對較正面的態度。此外，有學士學位的受訪者相對上似乎較少使用客語且對客語的態度也相對消極。

七、結論及建議事項

1. 結論：

本研究透過檢測新埔鎮一個客家社群中，受訪者的語言選擇和語言態度，調查該社群的客語轉移現象。研究結果可以回答提出的四個研究問題。

問題一：在新埔鎮，受訪者的語言選擇如何影響客語轉移？

在受訪者的日常生活中，有隨著年齡的降低，說越來越少的客語的傾向。透過分析語域和受訪者說客語的頻率，從客語到華語的語言轉移可以看見。此外，

透過觀察受訪者在客語和華語之間的語碼轉換和語言調節，客語轉移也可以被印證。

問題二：在新埔鎮，受訪者的語言態度如何影響客語轉移？

在三個世代中，受訪者對客語的態度，和年齡成正比。然而，年齡最長的世代和中生世代的受訪者，對客語的態度差異不大。在第三世代中，則呈現明顯的衰退。換句話說，年齡最幼世代的受訪者對客語的態度，明顯不如另外兩個世代正面。

問題三：推動客語保留是否在新埔鎮減緩從客語到華語的語言轉移？

研究結果呈現，推動客語保留的影響很有限。例如，本研究中的受訪者，很少接觸客家相關媒體。國小的本土語言教育，也並未促使年紀最小世代的受訪者在日常生活中說更多的客語。然而，本研究受訪者大多仍認為客語需要被保留。而且，客語被視為是客家人的一個象徵。

問題四：社會變項，例如性別和教育背景，如何影響新埔鎮的客語轉移？

本研究受訪者的社會背景，如性別和教育程度，並未和客語轉移有強烈相關。例如，有碩士學位的受訪者，與大學生相比較，傾向較常說客語。然而，有學士學位的受訪者，比起中學畢業的受訪者，卻較少說客語。

總之，新埔鎮的客家社群，是一個單純的雙語言環境，沒有其他語言的干擾。因為客語主要是在非正式的語域使用，如家庭和群組內部的語域，所以在這個雙語言環境中，客語是低標準語言。反之，華語是可以被在大多數語域使用的高標準語言。客語轉移在年齡最長的世代和中生世代的受訪者間，發生得相對較慢；而在中生世代和年齡最幼世代的受訪者間，明顯地存在。

雖然客語一直趨向轉移至華語，但本研究大多數受訪者，仍然認為身為客

家人，要能說客語。隨著大力地推動本土語言，若再加上客語能被規律地使用，且決策者也認同多語能力能帶動多元文化社會的繁榮，客語就可以被保留下來。

2. 建議：

本研究的研究方法仍有改善空間。第一，由於研究人員控制受訪者的一致性和單純性，所以年齡最幼世代受訪者的數量，呈現短缺。因此，本研究結論的一般性是有限的。既然本研究只囊括最道地的新埔客家人，所以結論就少了一般性。顯然，未來進一步的研究是需要的。

第二，被觀察的受訪者不完全與參與訪談的受訪者相同，可能會引起的爭議。由於想要收集到最真實的資料，所以在觀察中，不容易在同一個時間點，同一個地點，收集到全部受訪者的資料。為了要獲得更可靠和客觀的資料，進一步大規模的研究，可以包含非當地的客家受訪者。

中原大學碩士班研究生
論文口試委員審定書

第九十六學年度第二學期

學系 君所提之論文
應用外國語文 研究所 呂亭慧

題目：(中文) 新竹縣新埔鎮的客語轉移現象：

三代家庭的個案研究

(英文) Language Shift in

Sinpu Town, Hsinchu County:

A Study of Three

Generations in an Extended

Family

經本委員會審議，認為符合碩士資格標準。

學位考試委員會 召集人

委員

委員

委員

指導教授

系(所)主任

劉如君
劉如君
鄭曉華
許登如
黃修文

應用外國語文碩二 9556006

中華民國 九十七 年 六 月 二十四 日

20P029-053

中原大學應用外國語文學系
碩士論文

新竹縣新埔鎮的客語轉移現象：
三代家庭的個案研究

Language Shift of Hakka in Sinpu Town,
Hsinchu County: A Study of Three Generations
in an Extended Family

指導教授：許慧如 教授

Advisor: Dr. Hui-ju Hsu

研究生：呂亭慧

Graduate Student: Ting-hui Lu

中華民國九十七年六月

June, 2008

中原大學碩士班研究生
論文口試委員審定書

第九十六學年度第二學期

學系 君所提之論文
應用外國語文 研究所 呂亭慧

題目：(中文) 新竹縣新埔鎮的客語轉移現象：

三代家庭的個案研究

(英文) Language Shift in

Sinpu Town, Hsinchu County:

A Study of Three

Generations in an Extended

Family

經本委員會審議，認為符合碩士資格標準。

學位考試委員會 召集人

委員

委員

委員

指導教授

系(所)主任

劉如君
劉如君
鄭曉峰
許登如
黃修文

應用外國語文碩二 9556006

中華民國 九十七 年 六 月 二十四 日

20P029-053

摘要

本論文從三代家庭成員的語言態度及語言選擇，探究新埔鎮的客語轉移。新埔鎮位於新竹縣，客家人口占總人口的 84.5%。華語在西元一九四〇到一九八〇年間，中國國民黨的統治下，被獨尊為國語。戒嚴令解除後，保有台灣本土語言的意識覺醒。這個覺醒甚至帶來近年語言政策的轉變。西元二〇〇一年起，為了要保有這些台灣語言（客語、閩南語、和原住民語），本土語言教育全面實施。

本研究的資料透過問卷、訪談、和參與觀察收集。40 位受訪者經由條件篩選，參與本研究。受試者接受問卷調查及錄音訪談。此外，研究者還用參與觀察法，觀察受試者達一個月。問卷回答被量化分析，訪談及觀察資料則被質化分析。

結果顯示從客語到華語的語言轉換，明顯發生在家庭及工作語域。訪談收集的資料，透過質化分析來了解受試者的語言態度。語言轉換和語言態度被發現是互相影響的。然而，即使大多數受試者對客語持正面態度，結果顯示大多數的受試者很少說客語。有趣的是，較高比例客語人口的地區，卻不一定等於對客語較多的保存。

關鍵字：客語，語言轉移，語言態度，語言選擇，新埔，台灣

ABSTRACT

This study investigated language shift of Hakka from the perspectives of language attitude and language choice of the members in a three-generation family in Sinpu, a town in Hsinchu County with 84.5% of the residents Hakka. From 1940 to 1980, Mandarin had been promoted as the only national language under the governance of the Chinese Nationalist Party (or Kuo Min Tang, KMT). After the lift of martial law, the awareness of maintaining local Taiwanese languages arose; this awareness even resulted in a language policy shift in recent years. Since 2001, local Taiwanese language education has been implemented whole through Taiwan for the purpose of maintaining these local languages (Hakka, Southern Min, and aboriginal languages).

The data were collected through questionnaires, interview and observation. 40 family members were selected to participate in this study. All of them were surveyed with questionnaires, and interviewed with audio-recorder. Furthermore, these participants were observed by the manner of participation observation for one month. Questionnaire responses were analyzed quantitatively; data collected through interview and observation was analyzed qualitatively.

The results indicated that language shift from Hakka to Mandarin had apparently occurred in the domains of family and work. Language attitude was examined from data collected through interview which was analyzed qualitatively. The relationship between language shift and language attitude was found of bidirectional. However, even most participants held the positive attitude toward Hakka language; the result showed most participants seldom speak Hakka language in their daily life. A finding of interest was that higher percentage of Hakka residents in population was not definitely equal to higher maintenance of Hakka language.

Keywords: Hakka language, language shift, language attitude, language choice, Sinpu, Taiwan



中原大學

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The accomplishment of the thesis attributes to the support and encouragement of my professors, friends, and family. First and foremost, I'm especially indebted to Professor Hui-ju Hsu. Without her inspiration, patience, and encouragement, this research would probably never have happened. Under her guidance, I gained a lot of valuable and wonderful life and learning experiences during these two years. I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the commit members. Professor Hui-jun Liu, one of the committee members, who offered insights comments and suggestions for helping make my discussion of the results more persuasive and polish my thesis in numerous ways. Professors Hsiao-feng Cheng, as another committee member, also gave me invaluable suggestions about making my writing more reader friendly for those who are not familiar with this field.

In addition, I would like to thank Professor Yi-jhen Feng in NTU and Professor Hsiu-chi Chen in NCU for giving me the chances to be the auditors in their classes. The auditing experience not only had me acquire new knowledge in the different fields but also broadened my horizons. I would also like to thank Vada Lin, a fantastic research partner, who gave me a lot of help and support while conducting the research.

My deepest thanks go to my family, a constant source of vast emotional and financial support, for always supporting my decision and tolerating my anxiety while doing this research. Tzong-liang Fan, my boyfriend, has been always my joy and my pillar in my life, and I thank him.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

摘要.....	I
ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	V
TABLES.....	VIII
FIGURES	IX
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND	1
1.1.1 Historical and linguistic background of Taiwan	1
1.1.2 Demographic information of Taiwan	3
1.2 SINPU PROFILES.....	5
1.3 MOTIVATION	7
1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	7
1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	8
1.6 OVERVIEW	8
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	10
2.1 LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT	10
2.1.1 Language contact.....	10
2.1.2 Diglossia	11
2.1.3 Language domain.....	12
2.2 LANGUAGE CHOICE IN LANGUAGE SHIFT	14
2.2.1 Code-switching.....	15
2.2.2 Language accommodation	15
2.3 LANGUAGE ATTITUDE IN LANGUAGE SHIFT.....	16
2.3.1 Language attitude and multilingual society.....	17
2.3.2 Language loyalty.....	18
2.4 REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT MOVEMENTS.....	19
CHAPTER 3 METHODS	21
3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN	21
3.1.1 Questionnaires	22

3.1.2 Interview.....	24
3.1.3 Observation.....	25
3.2 PARTICIPANTS	27
3.3 DATA COLLECTION.....	31
3.4 DATA ANALYSIS	32
CHAPTER 4 RESULTS.....	35
4.1 RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRES.....	35
4.1.1 Participant's Background Information.....	35
4.1.2 Participant's listening capability of Hakka language	39
4.1.3 Participant's fluency of Hakka language	43
4.1.4 Participant's language choice.....	47
4.1.5 Participant's frequency of Speaking Hakka.....	51
4.1.6 Participant's language attitude	54
4.1.7 Gender vs. language use in language shift.....	58
4.1.8 Gender vs. language attitude in language shift.....	59
4.1.9 Educational background vs. language choice in language shift.....	59
4.1.10 Educational Background vs. Language Attitude in Language Shift.....	60
4.2 RESULTS OF INTERVIEWS	61
4.2.1 Participant's reasons that they did not speak Hakka.....	61
4.2.2 The influence of Hakka media	63
4.2.3 Participant's desire of learning Hakka language	64
4.2.4 The "right" place of learning Hakka language	65
4.2.5 Participant's attitudes toward local Taiwanese language education	66
4.2.6 Participant's Expectation on Children's Language Learning	69
4.2.7 Whether learning Hakka language is a burden for children	70
4.3 RESULTS OF OBSERVATIONS	71
4.3.1 Code-switching among participants.....	71
4.3.2 Language accommodation	74
CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	77
5.1 DISCUSSION	77
5.1.1 Participant's language choice reflected Hakka language shift	77
5.1.2 Participant's language attitude toward Hakka reflected Hakka language shift	80
5.1.3 The promotion of the Hakka language resulted in the arousal of maintaining it	82
5.1.4 Social variables weakly correlated to Hakka language shift	83

5.2 CONCLUSION	84
5.3 SIGNIFICANCE	86
5.4 LIMITATION	86
REFERENCE	88
APPENDIX A.....	94
APPENDIX B.....	98



中原大學

TABLES

Table 1.1 Demographic Data of the Taiwanese	4
Table 3.1 Qualified Participants in Each Generation.....	28
Table 4.1 Participants and Their Households.....	36
Table 4.2 Gender and Frequency of Speaking Hakka.....	59
Table 4.3 Gender and Positive Language Attitude toward Hakka	59
Table 4.4 The Reasons that Participant do not Speak Hakka.....	62
Table 4.5 Whether Participants under the Influence of Hakka Media	64
Table 4.6 Whether Participants are Willing to Learn Hakka Language.....	65
Table 4.7 The Place That Hakka Language Should be Learned	66
Table 4.8 Attitudes toward Local Taiwanese Language Education	68
Table 4.9 The Expectation on Children's Language Learning.....	69
Table 4.10 Whether Learning Hakka Language a Burden.....	71
Table 4.11 Participant's Code-switching	73

CHUNG YUAN CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
1955

中原大學

FIGURES

Figure 1.1. The Progression of Regimes in Taiwan and the Focus on Language Policy.	2
Figure 1.2. The Geographic Distribution of Hakka Population in Taiwan	5
Figure 1.3. Hakka People and Hakka Varieties in Sinpu and its Surrounding Towns	6
Figure 3.1. Research Mode	22
Figure 3.2. Age Boundaries for the Three Generations	29
Figure 3.3. The Family Structure of the Qualified Family Members	30
Figure 3.4. Brief Outline of Data Collection	31
Figure 4.1. Gender Distribution of the Participants	36
Figure 4.2. The Average Ages of the Participants	37
Figure 4.3. Education Levels of Each Generation	38
Figure 4.4. Major Language Policy in Participant's Educational Background.....	39
Figure 4.5. G1's Listening Capability Levels of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin	40
Figure 4.6. G2's Listening Capability Levels of Southern Min, Hakka, Mandarin.....	41
Figure 4.7. G3's Listening Capability Levels of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin	42
Figure 4.8. Participant's Hakka Listening Capability Levels in Three Generations.....	43
Figure 4.9. G1 Participant's Fluency Level of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin..	44
Figure 4.10. G2 Participant's Fluency Level of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin	45
Figure 4.11. G3 Participant's Fluency Level of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin	46
Figure 4.12. Participant's Hakka Fluency Level of Each Generation.....	47
Figure 4.13. G1 Participant's Language Choices with Different Interlocutors	48
Figure 4.14. G2 Participant's Language Choices with Different Interlocutors	49
Figure 4.15. Language Choices of Each Generation	50
Figure 4.16. G1 Participant's Frequency of Speaking Hakka.....	51
Figure 4.17. G2 Participant's Frequency of Speaking Hakka.....	52
Figure 4.18. G3 Participant's Frequency of Speaking Hakka.....	53
Figure 4.19. Frequency of Speaking Hakka in Three Generations.....	54
Figure 4.20. G1 Participant's Positive Language Attitude toward Hakka	55
Figure 4.21. G2 Participant's Positive Language Attitude toward Hakka	56
Figure 4.22. G3 Participant's Positive Language Attitude toward Hakka	57
Figure 4.23. Averages of Participant's Language Attitudes toward Hakka	58
Figure 4.24. Educational Level and Frequency Level of Speaking Hakka	60
Figure 4.25. Educational Level and Positive Language Attitude toward Hakka	61

Chapter 1 Introduction

Taiwan is a multiethnic and multilingual country. Aborigines, Southern Min people, Hakka people, and Waishengren are main ethnic groups in Taiwan. No language has been greatly promoted as a national language until the Japanese rule. From 1895 to 1987, Japanese and Mandarin in succession were two dominant languages in Taiwan. Language shift inevitably occurred with the suppression of other local Taiwanese languages. Some previous studies showed that Taiwan has undergone the language shift from local Taiwanese languages to Mandarin (Berg, 1986; Hsu, 1998; Huang, 1993; and Young, 1989). However, most of the previous studies quantitatively investigated and analyzed languages shift in Taiwan.

The study bases on an attempt to supplement the findings of these earlier studies. It is similar to the previous studies that focusing on the exploration of language choices and languages attitudes in the language shift. It differs from previous studies, however, in the way participants' language choice in the language shift is observed.

1.1 Background

There are two parts in this section. The first part briefly introduces the historical and linguistic background of Taiwan from the late 19 century to the early 21 century. The second part describes the demographic information of Taiwan, including the ethnic groups, their distribution in Taiwan, as well as, the languages they use.

1.1.1 Historical and linguistic background of Taiwan

Over the past one hundred years, Taiwan has undergone a language shift from local Taiwanese languages, such as Hakka, Southern Min, and aboriginal languages, toward national languages, such as Japanese and Mandarin. Fishman (1991) stated the importance, need, and

possibility of maintaining native languages by the promotion of reversing language shift movements. In recent years, Taiwan has become increasingly more conscious of a reversing language shift and aware of the need to maintain its local Taiwanese languages. The implementation of local Taiwanese language education in Taiwan represents the intention to reverse the past language shift.

Spolsky (2004) stated that because of the high correlation between language and language policy, the modification of one might have correlated effects on the other. From 1895 to 2008, Taiwan was governed by Japan, the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), and then the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) (see Figure 1.1). This progression is reflected in the history of Taiwan linguistic ecology. From 1895 to 1945, Taiwan was a colony reigned by Japan and Japanese was promoted as the colonial language for the purpose of assimilating the Taiwan people. In 1945, Japan returned Taiwan to the Nationalist government according to the Treaty of Shimonoseki. After 1949, the Nationalist Party retreated to Taiwan following its defeat by the Chinese Communists in China.

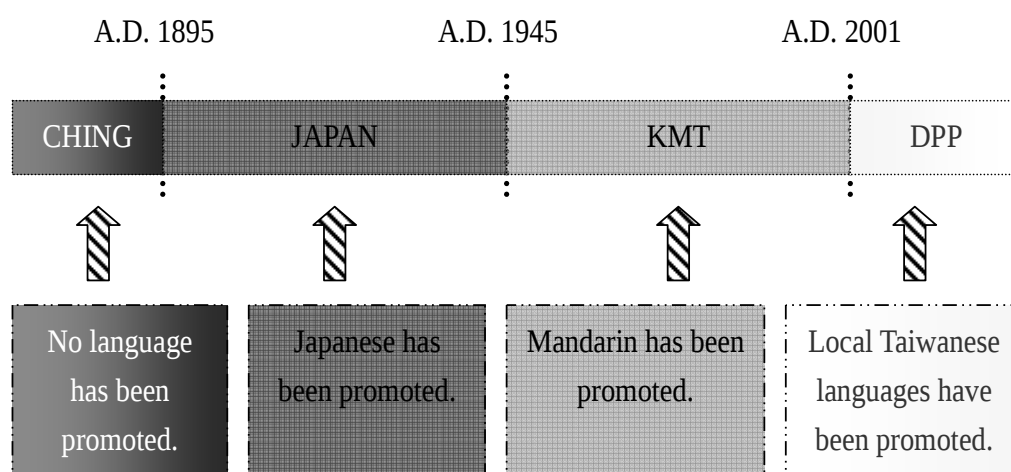


Figure 1.1. The Progression of Regimes in Taiwan and the Focus on Language Policy

Just like Japan, the Nationalist Party regarded language policy as a tool in ruling the country. Therefore, Mandarin was upheld as the official language, and the only language allowed in education, media, and government. All other local Taiwanese languages were demoted to the position of “local dialects.” During this period, schools would fine or punish students who spoke these local dialects (Huang, 1994; Sandel, 2003).

The situation changed after martial law was lifted in 1987. This led not only to the appearance of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the first local political party established since 1986, but also to an awareness of the need to maintain the native languages. In the fall semester of 2001, those ever forbidden languages began to be taught in the primary schools for 1 hour per week. Local Taiwanese language education, as claimed by Sandel, Chao, and Liang (2006), ended the 100-year effort by successive governments to change the language of the majority of Taiwan’s residents.

1.1.2 Demographic information of Taiwan

Aborigines, Southern Min people, Hakka people and Waishengren are the four main ethnic groups in Taiwan. Table 1.1 provides demographic data of the Taiwanese in the investigation. Table 1.1 reflects the fact that participants were allowed to identify themselves with multiple selections; for example, they could identify themselves as both Hakka and Southern Min people. This resulted in a figure larger than 100% for the population sum shown in the second column of Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Demographic Data of the Taiwanese

Ethnic Group	Population (%)
Sum	—
Southern Min	78.6
Hakka	22.4
Waishengren	13.1
Aborigines	5.3
Others	3.7

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (2006)

The geographical distribution of Hakka population in Taiwan was investigated on a large scale (Chen 2004). Figure 1.2 presents the results of that study in three curves, from three different viewpoints. The lowest curve indicates the result for participants claiming a single identification. That is to say, participants that would subjectively identify themselves as Hakka people if they were asked, “Who are you?”

In contrast, the middle curve shows results from participants claiming multiple ethnicities. Participants identified themselves, not only as Hakka people, but also as a member of another ethnic group. The highest curve is the result of a broader definition for Hakka people. In other words, participants regarded themselves as Hakka people either subjectively, from personal self-awareness, or objectively, from their consanguinity. Even though the participants identified themselves differently, leading to the three different results, the Hakka distributions shown in Figure 1.2 are generally similar, with no crossovers. It can be seen in Figure 1.2 that Hsinchu

County, where the town of Sinpu is located, contains the highest proportion of Hakka people.

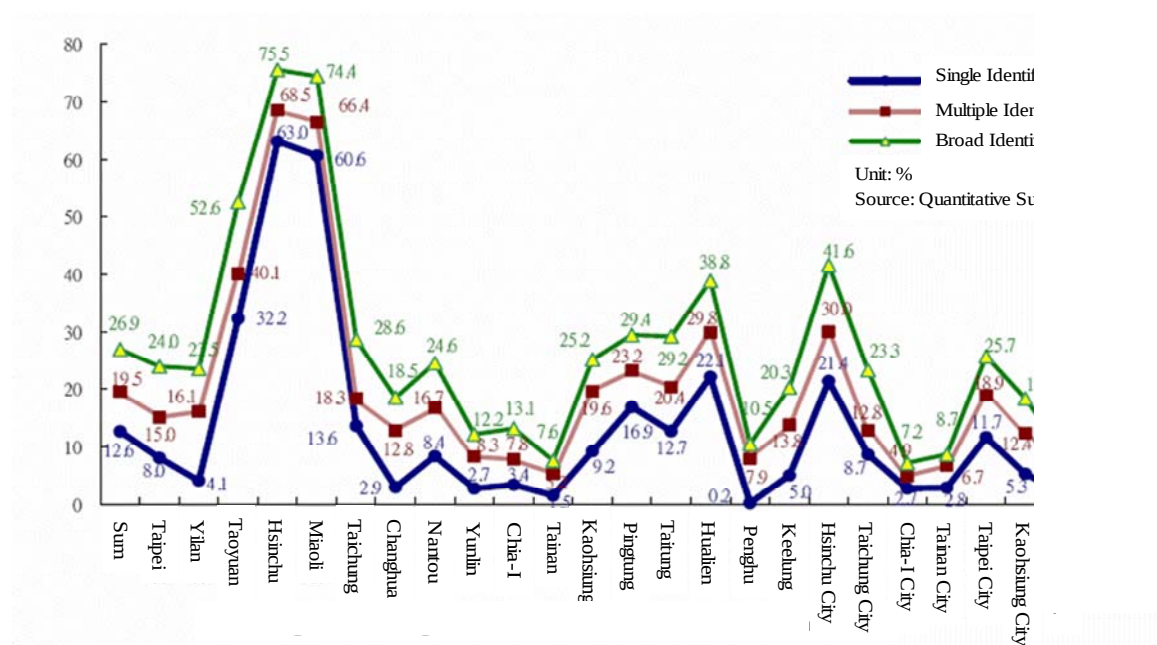


Figure 1.2. The Geographic Distribution of Hakka Population in Taiwan

Source: General Investigation on Hakka People, by W. S. Chen, 2004, p. 18 [Text in Chinese]

1.2 Sinpu Profiles

This study is done in Sinpu, a Hakka town in Hsinchu County. Sinpu town is close to the towns of Guansi, Hukou, Qionglin, and Chupei in Hsinchu County, as well as Longtan and Yangmei in Taoyuan County (Lin, 1997). Taoyuan County contains the third-highest Hakka population, as shown in Figure 1.2. As mentioned above, both Sinpu and its nearby towns have a high proportion of Hakka people.

Sinpu Township has approximately 36,000 residents (Household Registration Office, 2005). Among these, Hakka people, as shown in Table 1.2, account for 84.5% of the population (Chen, 2004). Table 1.2 helps us to understand the proportions of Hakka people and the Hakka

variety spoken in Sinpu and its surrounding towns.

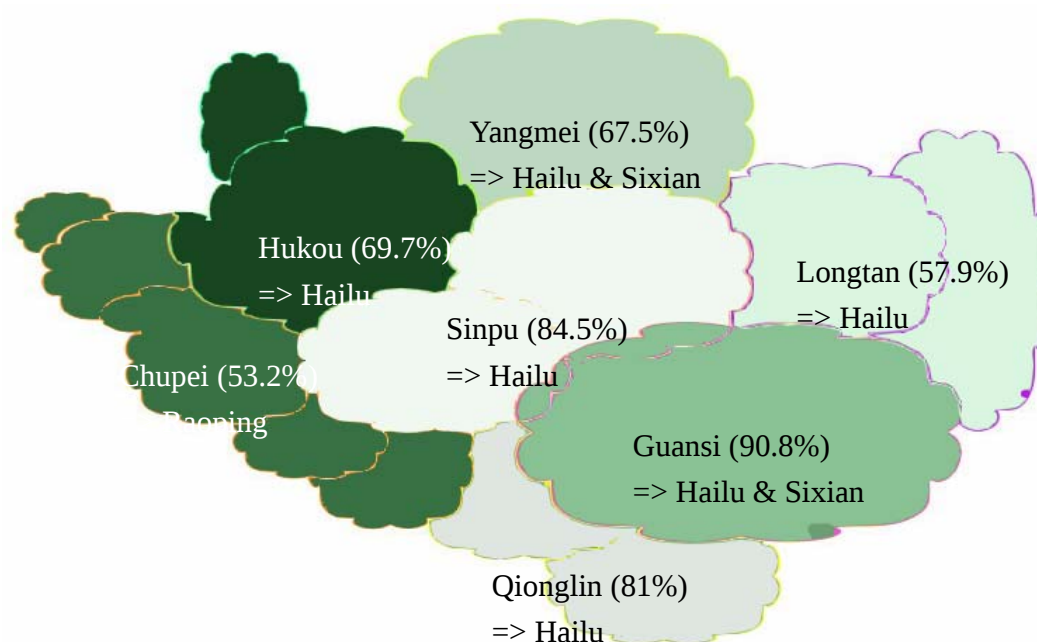


Figure 1.3. Hakka People and Hakka Varieties in Sinpu and its Surrounding Towns

Source: 1. General Investigation on Hakka People, by W. S. Chen, 2004, p. 18 [Text in Chinese]

2. World Annual, 2006, in Government Information Office [Text in Chinese]

The Hakka language in Taiwan contains several varieties, including Sixian, Hailu, Raoping, and Zhaoan Hakka (Gu, 2007). Since Sinpu is entirely surrounded by towns that contain a high proportion of Hakka people, as shown in Table 1.2, we can expect that the maintenance of the Hakka language in Sinpu is relatively higher than in a town with nearly equal proportions of Hakka and Southern Min people, such as Hsinfeng (Shiao, 2007).

To more explicitly understand the whether language shift occurs in Sinpu town, the language choices and language attitudes of a Sinpu family were examined, both quantitatively and qualitatively, across three generations. This examination focused on how social variables,

such as age, gender, and educational background, were related to language choice and attitude.

1.3 Motivation

A fairly large body of literature exists that discusses language choice and language attitude in relation to language shift. However, most of these studies employed quantitative methods to collect and analyze the data. There is a relative lack of language choice information that was collected through practical observation of the participants.

Shiao (2007) claimed that in Hsinfeng town, which contains nearly equal proportions of Hakka and Southern Min people, Hakka and Southern Min languages are mainly spoken by the older generation or by others when speaking to the older generation, but not among younger generations. Sinpu town contains a relatively high proportion of Hakka people. The language shift away from Hakka was expected to be relatively lower than that experienced in Hsinfeng town. As was mentioned above, the language shift away from Hakka in Sinpu was worthy of examination.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to describe whether Hakka language is in the language shift toward Mandarin in Sinpu town by depicting in detail the language choices and language attitudes of the participants. This research outlines and illustrates the language ecology in Sinpu. It is derived primarily from three bodies of literature, that dealing with language choice, language attitude, and language shift.

In light of these concerns, this research had three purposes: (a) to provide data on the language ecology in Sinpu town, which was obtained using a qualitative method; (b) to report on

trends in researching language shift in recent years; and (c) to practice promising qualitative research paradigms.

1.5 Research Questions

This study investigated language ecology in Sinpu town from an analysis of the language choices and attitudes of the participants. Questionnaires, interviews, and observations were employed during the research process. In view of the preceding research purposes, four major sets of research questions were addressed in this study:

1. How does language choice influence Hakka language shift in Sinpu town?
2. How does language attitude influence Hakka language shift of in Sinpu town?
3. Does the promotion of Hakka language slack Hakka language shift in Sinpu town?
4. How do social variables, such as gender and educational background, influence language shift of Hakka in Sinpu?

1.6 Overview

This thesis is composed of five chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study. It discusses background information, the motivation and purpose for the study, the research questions, and the organization of the thesis. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature dealing with language choice, language attitude, and language shift, besides defining these key terms. Chapter 3 describes the methods used in the study, including descriptions of the research design, participants, procedures, and analyses of the data. The data, which were collected with different methods, are analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Chapter 4 presents the results of the research and discusses the data from different perspectives, such as the ages, genders, and

educational backgrounds of the participants. The results for the various analyses are given after each of these descriptive sections. Chapter 5 discussed the main findings, provides a conclusion and depicts the significance and limitations of the study.



Chapter 2 Literature Review

Chapter 2 composes of four sections and focus on the attributions to language shift. The first section deals with the literature of language maintenance and language shift. The second section describes on the literature of language choice. The third section discusses the literature of language attitude. Finally, literature of reversing language shift movements is reviewed.

2.1 Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Fishman (1964) defined ‘the study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other’. In other words, the study of language shift investigates the change of the habitual use from one to another. Clyne (2003) explicated the meanings of language shift in three aspects: (1) it is a language behavior of a community or an individual; (2) it is a gradual process where an individual or group goes from employing to abandoning a language; and (3) it leads to a change in the dominant language in one or more domains, as well as a change in the four language skills.

2.1.1 Language contact

The term “language contact” can be simply defined as the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time (Thomas, 2001). He further claimed that the definition would be more complete by considering the concept of *bilingualism*. The pervasiveness of English is the most typical example for this statement. Millions of non-English speakers have come into touch with English. The contact and conflict among English and other languages have echoed the

definition of language contact.

Language contact is a precondition for language shifts (Brenzinger, 1997). Thomason (2001) classified the results of language contact into three types — contact-induced language change, extreme language mixture, and language death. This was in contrast to the categorization proposed by Huang (1994), who categorized the results of language contact as follows: (a) diglossia and (b) language death. There is a suggestion here (if I interpret the author correctly) that language contact and a language shift, can be described and occurs in a continuum; moreover, diglossia occurs somewhere in the middle of this continuum.

2.1.2 *Diglossia*

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson, 1959, p. 336)

The term is further defined by Wardhaugh (2000) as two languages coexist and show different functions; to put it another way, one language is employed in one set of conditions and the other in an exclusively different set of conditions. Shiao (2007) proposed a study in Taiwan to investigate language maintenance and language shift in a Southern Min and Hakka bilingual speech community. In this community, residents communicate with each other in Hakka and Southern Min language except for Mandarin. The results showed that the younger a generation is, the less they use their native language. In addition, the Southern Min people tended to use their

native language more than the Hakka people used theirs.

Several studies, like Shiao (2007), quantitatively examined intergenerational language shifts in family and non-family domains in Taiwan (Huang, 1994; Hsu, 1998; Sandel et al., 2006). Huang (1994) quantitatively surveyed the language shifts in aboriginal communities. In this research, their native languages were experiencing a loss of about 15.8% across two generations and 31% across three generations. Sandel et al. (2006) discovered a significant language shift occurring from Southern Min to Mandarin between parents and children. In addition, a faster shift was visible in urban versus rural circumstances.

In contrast to the researchers mentioned above, Hsu (1998) added participant observation in her study, to further verify the quantitative results. She examined the language shift in a relatively smaller community, a four-generation family in Taiwan, and found that there was a language gap associated with the age gap, leading to cross-generational communication problems.

2.1.3 Language domain

Domain is a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships and interactions between communicators and locales of communication in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture in such a way that individual behavior and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other. (Fishman, 1972, p. 82)

Leinonen and Tandefelt (2007) gave another definition to language shift and indirectly emphasized the importance of domain analysis: language shift is the language choice within a domain undergoing a change, so that the previous language choice is replaced by another. Cooper (1983) further claimed that language choice varied with the differences in domains. A

number of studies in Taiwan have also analyzed the domains for language choice and verified the importance of analyzing language choice in domains (Chen, 2007; Huang, 1994; Mo, 2000; Sandel et al., 2006; van den Berg, 1986; Young, 1988).

Van den Berg (1986) analyzed language choice in the different domains and concluded that different contexts attracted different types of people; moreover, at different points in time various types of people would be attracted to the same domain. He illustrated this by pointing out the fact that the customers in a traditional market were different from those in a supermarket; the customers in the morning were even different from those in the evening because some people went to department stores after work.

Language domains have been classified differently by different scholars. For example, Fishman (1972) proposed nine different domains for languages. They are the family, the playground and the street, the school, the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and the governments. On the contrary, Frey (1945) proposed less language domains namely: home, school, and church. Religion, family, friends, school and work, are the five domains frequently discussed in the research on language choice (Chen, 2007). Among these domains, the family has been regarded as the crucial domain, since it is not only the place where a person's language usage begins but is also an important defense in preserving that language (Chen, 2007). In other words, language choice among family members across generations has often been considered as a way to evaluate language shift (Young, 1988).

Huang (1994) conducted language choice research in Taipei. He noted that 47.5% of the participants usually spoke Mandarin at home; 44.8% of the participants picked Southern Min as the language that was frequently used at home; and only 7.6% of the participants used Hakka when they were at home. Based on this research, Huang (1994) concluded that Hakka was a

language with low-vitality in Taiwan; furthermore, it was mainly used for intra-group communication.

Mandarin was regarded as the language that should be used in formal domains, such as school, work, and government, whereas Taiwanese languages were viewed as languages to be used in informal domains, such as with family, friends, and in religion. The language shift not only caused a language to have low-vitality, it also caused a communication gap between generations (Giles, Doreen, & Louis, 1977).

2.2 Language Choice in Language Shift

The study of changes in language use involves in understanding not only factors relating to social change, but also language behaviors toward language itself (Chen, 2003). Brown (1980) defined language usage as the language used in a speech community for communication. Yeh et al. (2004) stated three possible results of language choice: (1) language maintenance by continuously using the previous language; (2) language shift by adopting another language and abandoning the traditional language; and (3) coexistence of language maintenance and language shift.

Language choice has often been related to socioeconomic status or educational background in the previous studies of language choice in Taiwan (Chen, 2007; Huang, 1994; Mo, 2000; Sandel, Chao, and Liang, 2006; van den Berg, 1986; Young, 1988). In these studies, the use of native languages was seen to decrease with an increase in educational level.

However, the correlation between language choice, socioeconomic status, and educational background is not as strong as mentioned in earlier studies. The results of van den Berg (1986) and Chen (2007) clarified this. In van den Berg's study, participants with a higher

level of education tended to unconsciously use Mandarin more often than their native languages. Conversely, Chen (2007) claimed that there was no significant relationship between language choice and educational background. In other words, speaking native languages is no longer regarded as a symbol of vulgarity, a poor-education, and a low social status.

2.2.1 Code-switching

The particular language that a person uses on any occasion is a code; it involves in a language system used for communication between two or more speech community (Wardhaugh, 2000). A speech strategy that a bilingual speaker appropriately adjusts his code for the encounter in the interaction referred to code switching (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). The language use of speakers has been examined in order to explain the motives underlying code switching (Gumperz, 1988). These acts of linguistic choices seem to be visible in the conversation. However, previous studies showed that speakers are not always aware of code switching behavior (Verma, 1976).

Scotton and Ury (1977) claimed that speakers have different sensitivity to code switching in different language domains. For example, two Irish/English bilinguals spoke to each other in Irish in a grocer's shop but they immediately switched to English when they notice a monolingual auditor (Bell, 1984). These codes relate to different sets of social values, such as ethnicity; in other words, speakers are aware of the appropriateness of using a given language with a particular type of conversational participant.

2.2.2 Language accommodation

Language accommodation has frequently been discussed when discussing language choice (Giles, Liang, Noels, & McCann, 2001; Huang, 1994; Sandel et al., 2006; van den Berg,

1986). Giles (2001) claimed that accommodation is “the adjustment of one’s speech or other communicative behaviours *vis-à-vis* the people with whom one is interacting.” Accommodation has been divided into convergence and divergence based on to interlocutor’s cognition (Huang, 1994). Bell (2006) stated that convergence occurs when a speaker intends to congregate with others, whereas divergence drives a person to differentiate himself from others.

As van den Berg (1986) and Huang (1994) observed, salespeople usually accommodate their clients in business transactions. Language accommodation has been applied, not only to clients and customers, but also to family members (Huang, 1994; van den Berg, 1996). Young adults accommodate children by speaking Mandarin and accommodate the older generation by speaking Southern Min (Sandel et al., 2006).

2.3 *Language Attitude in Language Shift*

Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982) viewed language attitude as any affective, cognitive or behavioral index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or their speakers. Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007) has a more complete definition on language shift by claiming that language attitudes were a sign of the well-accepted notion that a language is more than just a tool of communication, but is a symbol of a society and a group. To put it another way, language behavior and language attitude are closely related. Feifel (1994) purposed a study in Taiwan and further claimed that the effect of language attitude on language choice did not necessarily occur consciously, but rather language attitude and language choice were automatically associated with each other in a speaker’s unconsciousness.

2.3.1 *Language attitude and multilingual society*

Fishman (1971) indicates that the standard variety may be associated with high status, competence, high culture, and the aspiration for social mobility. In the multilingual society, the power of particular social groups is reflected in the use of its language variation and in attitudes towards those variations. When social or ethnic groups differing in power are also identified with language varieties, the speech differences between the groups frequently play roles in social justice, educational policy, and intergroup attitudes (Feifel, 1994).

The desire to maintain a mother tongue was attached to ethnic affection (Young, 1988). People with ethnic affection for their mother tongue tended to maintain their mother tongue. Southern Min and Hakka participants in his study strongly agreed to maintain their mother tongues because they had sentimental attachment to these mother tongues (Young et al., 1992). Similarly, Waishengren agreed with the language shift toward Mandarin because they had a sentimental attachment to Mandarin. The results showed that a craving to maintain a mother tongue was related to a sentimental attachment toward one's mother tongue, whereas a positive attitude toward a language shift away from one's mother tongue was connected to an instrumental attachment to the non-mother tongue. It can be seen that even when speakers knew the importance of preserving their mother tongue, they may still have used other languages for communication. This resulted from the instrumental attachment to the non-mother tongue.

Feifel (1994) discussed language attitude from three aspects: (1) status/ competence; (2) solidarity/integrity; and (3) activity. The languages under discussion were Southern Min, Mandarin, and Taiwanese-Mandarin. Taiwanese-Mandarin referred to Mandarin spoken with a Taiwanese accent. Mandarin, as observed by Feifel (1994) enjoyed a prestigious status in many domains, such as in school, work, the family, and so on. It could be interpreted that Mandarin

had a wider domain than other Taiwanese languages, not only in formal but also in informal settings.

In a study by Huang (1994), among 327 college students, 79 agreed to treat Taiwanese languages as official languages; in contrast, 111 participants disagreed with this statement. The rest had no opinion on this. It seemed that there was a big gap between having a positive attitude toward a mother tongue and viewing it as equal to Mandarin.

Even though these studies indicated that most people held a positive attitude toward maintaining Taiwanese languages, their positive attitude was not strong enough to prevent a shift away from the local languages. As stated by Huang (1994), Mandarin occupied those domains that were previously dominated by other, local languages.

However, the results brought to light another interesting finding. In contrast with the attitudes toward Taiwanese languages, in all of the previous and more recent studies, the language attitude of the participants toward Mandarin did not vary. Their language attitude toward Mandarin was always positive, whether viewed in an instrumental or sentimental way. In short, language choice and language attitude have been the two main issues in discussing language maintenance and language shift (Chen 2007; Huang, 1994; Sandel et al., 2006; van den Berg, 1986).

2.3.2 *Language loyalty*

Language loyalty is a principle— its specific content varies from case to case—in the name of which people will rally themselves and their fellow speakers consciously and explicitly to resist changes in either the functions of their languages (as a result of language shift) or in the structure of vocabulary (as a consequence of interference) (Weinreich, 1968:99)

Language loyalty refers to the sentimental arousal of an endangered language which leads the language speakers to defend that language. Guitart (1977) states language loyalty is awakened only when language users have positive attitudes toward their tongue, however, it is not always the case. If one language is perceived as more useful and more standard, such as English and Mandarin, the abandonment of the original tone is usually the effect.

T'sou and You (2007) felt that language loyalty and language shift are just the opposite sides of the same coin in a diglossic environment. It might be clearer to say that greater loyalty to a language resulted in a lower negative language shift, and vice versa. In their study, language loyalty was more or less under the influence of urban development, population density, and traditional concepts.

In all of the studies mentioned above, the researchers tended to discuss language shift in terms of the participants' language choices and attitudes, as well as their social backgrounds. Hence, these variables, which contribute to language shift, are discussed in the following three sections.

2.4 Reversing Language Shift Movements

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines “mother tongue” as ‘one’s native language.’ Tulasiewicz and Adams stated that linguistics has usually regarded the ‘mother tongue’ as L1, which is the language first acquired by children. To avoid any ambiguity or confusion associated with the term ‘mother tongue,’ such as viewing it as the language spoke by a person’s mother, this research used the more neutral word—native language, instead.

Fishman (1991) stated the importance of investigating language maintenance, language shift, and reversing language shift among languages. The United Nations Educational, Scientific

and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), also values these issues and has mentioned nine indexes to evaluate the vitality of a language. The higher the vitality of a language, the higher the maintenance for that language will be.

Language shift results, not only in a shift in culture and identity, but also in a loss of heritable knowledge (Tse, 2007). By the rejuvenation of a native language, language maintenance attempts to reverse these processes (Brenzinger, 2006). Since 2001, Taiwan has been promoting native language education for the purpose of maintaining the native languages that used to be suppressed. Since the effect has been limited within this short period, researchers tend to investigate a participant's attitude toward their native language (Lin, 2000).

The study presented here was an attempt to supplement the findings of these earlier studies. It is similar to the previous studies discussed above, in that the focus is on the effect of language choice and language attitude on language shift. It differs from these previous studies, however, in that it further observed and recorded the participants' language choices in daily life.

中原大學

Chapter 3 Methods

This chapter depicts methods of the study; including four parts—research design, participants, procedures, and data analysis. In the first part, research design outlines the purposes of each method. Criteria, as mentioned in the second part, are set to select the participants. The procedures processed in the research are described in detail in the third part. Finally, the data collected are qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed.

3.1 Research Design

Surveys, interviews, and observations are three of the typical methods used in sociolinguistic research (Milroy, 1987; Wardhaugh, 2000). Therefore, a three-stage study that included surveys, interviews, and observations was proposed to explore whether the Hakka language is being maintained or is experiencing a shift across three generations of a Sinpu family.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the methods used in this research and the relationships between them. Surveys used self-reporting to examine the participants' language choices and attitudes. Interviews investigated the influence of local language education on participants in addition to language choice. Finally, the observation of participants examined their actual language choices in the daily life through their language accommodation and code-switching. The overlapping areas of these three methods indicate the core of this study—language choice.

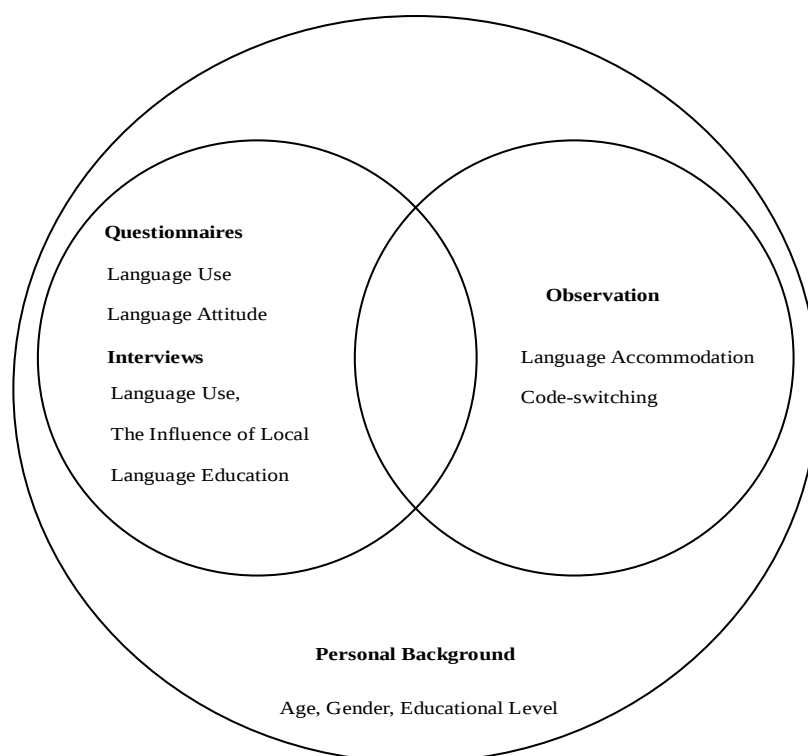


Figure 3.1. Research Mode

3.1.1 Questionnaires

Allowing sufficient time has always been of critical importance in this type of research, since language shift is a constant and gradual change (Mo, 2000). Because of this, time limitations have always been a problem when conducting research on language maintenance and language shift. Two methods were proposed to cope with this problem. The first was the use of retrospective questions and the other was a comparison of a parent's linguistic behavior with that of their children (Lieberson, 1980).

Fishman (1964) has pointed out that language choice and language attitude were major subdivisions of language shift. To investigate participant's language choice and language attitude, five steps are implemented and listed as followed:

- (1) Collecting literature for understanding the reasons of language shift
- (2) Designing questionnaires and revising questionnaires according to pilot studies
- (3) Making appointments with participants to ensure participants have sufficient time for being surveyed
- (4) Giving and recollecting questionnaires
- (5) Organizing and analyzing data

The questionnaire's aim was to probe into a participant's language choices and attitude toward Hakka (see Appendix A). The first part of the questionnaire focused on the participant's background, including their age, gender, and level of education. The second part used self-reporting to investigate the participant's language choices. The third part was intended to determine the participant's language attitude via their levels of agreement with various statements. The questions of this Likert questionnaire were selected from the studies of Young (1988), Baker (1992), and Liang (2004). Participants specified their agreement with the statements in terms of levels of agreement. The Likert questionnaire was revised based on pilot studies using a draft version to develop the final version used in this study. Taking one revision for example, questions were presented with tables instead of original lists for the purpose of being clear at a glance.

With the intention of discovering a participant's language choices, the questionnaire incorporated several variables, such as their understanding of the Hakka language, their fluency when speaking Hakka, the main language used with different interlocutors and in different domains, and how often they would speak Hakka with different interlocutors and in different domains. The participant's language attitudes toward Hakka were examined to determine

whether the participant had a positive or negative attachment to the Hakka language. For example, whether they like speaking Hakka and whether they feel that the Hakka language is useful when communicating with others.

To summarize, the questionnaire consisted of 20 items and was divided into three parts: background information, language choice, and language attitude. It should have taken participants about 10 minutes to fill out the questionnaire. The entire data collection process, from distributing the questionnaires to receiving them back, took a total of 2 weeks.

3.1.2 Interview

Milroy and Gordon (2003) stated that interviews often produce valuable qualitative data that complements a quantitative analysis. Hence, interviews were the second research method utilized in this study. Five steps are processed in conducting interviews and listed as followed:

- (1) Collecting literature for understanding the reasons of Hakka language shift
- (2) Outlining interviews in accordance with the purposes of the study and the results of the surveys
- (3) Making appointments with participants to ensure the sufficient time for them to be interviewed
- (4) Interviewing participants by audio-recording
- (5) Organizing and analyzing data

The interviews were designed by referring to Chen's study (2004), which was entrusted by the Council of Hakka Affairs. They focused on the participant's opinions about local language education, both on-campus and off-campus, besides further examining the reasons why some

participants seldom speak Hakka. The interviews were composed of seven items, including: (a) more extensive questions based on the questionnaire, such as questions to determine why they do not use Hakka in some domains; (b) their opinion on local language education and whether such education had an influence on them; and (c) the participant's attitude toward learning the Hakka language. The participants were required to further explain their reasons based on their responses. Each interview took about 10 minutes.

The interviews were recorded with an Olympus digital voice recorder DS-10. To reduce any nervousness associated with being recorded, each interview was conducted privately at the participant's home. After the interviews, the recordings were used to create main-point transcriptions. The whole process of interviewing the participants took 2 weeks.

3.1.3 Observation

There were four advantages of employing observation (Sapsford & Jupp, 2006). First, the environments and behaviors of the participants could be directly recorded without relying too much on retrospective or anticipatory accounts from others. Second, the observers could see things that the participants neglected to mention but that were closely related to the analysis of the study. Third, observation provided information about additional individuals who did not participate in the survey and interviews. Finally, observation was a useful technique for checking and supplementing the data obtained from other sources. Milroy and Gordon (2003) noted the benefits of employing participant observation in a study.

Participant observation is particularly valuable as an approach to studying variation in a bilingual context. The observer's paradox can be especially problematic for bilingualism researchers because of the influence of an audience in determining language choice. The

presence of a community outsider, the researcher, will likely bias the results. (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 71)

Hence, participant observation is utilized in this study to investigate participant's language choice in their daily. There were five steps in conducting observations from literature review to data analysis in this study:

- (1) Collecting literature for realizing the reasons of Hakka language shift
- (2) Listing the focus of observation
- (3) Making appointments with participants to ensure the sufficient time for participants to be observed
- (4) Participant-observing the participants by taking notes
- (5) Organizing and analyzing data

Observations were implemented mainly in the family domain twice a week for 1 month in eight separate households. Each observation period was roughly 1 hour and consisted of the observer noting the participant's language choice, code-switching, and language accommodation. In addition, the variables documented in the observations included time, place, theme, and participants. As mentioned above, the participant observations were carried out during eight sessions, each of which lasted approximately 1 hour. In addition, there were two extra observation sessions which took around 2 hours implemented to observe the participants' family activity, since the various family members frequently have contact with each other, especially in their ancestral home.

The purpose of these observations was to supplement the responses given by the participants on the questionnaires and in the interviews. In the questionnaires and interviews, the

participants were required to report their situations subjectively. The observations allowed their responses to be further verified objectively. Whenever there were discrepancies between the observations and surveys or interviews, the reason for the discrepancy would be further discussed.

3.2 Participants

With the intention of examining the Hakka language shift in Sinpu, the participants in this study were selected from three generations of a Sinpu family. Consanguineously, these participants belonged to the same Hakka speech community. Dialectologists specify nonmobility in traditional dialectology because mobility, in contrast, is a great leveler of accent and dialect (Chambers, 2000). Therefore, some criteria were set to select the participants for this study within the family:

Criteria 1: G1 (first generation) and G2 (second generation) participants had to have lived in Sinpu from the time that they were 3 years old until they were 15 years old to ensure enough exposure to the language environment.

This was because, according to Brown (2000), children start to express their thoughts freely in language from the time that they are 3 years old. With respect to the limitation of living there until they were 15 years old, this was selected because people often move to other places for different purposes, such as work or education, after they are 15 years old. Because of the 9-Year Consecutive Compulsory Education program and the school district rules (students can only attend schools that are within the district where they live), most people stayed in their hometowns for primary and secondary education.

Criteria 2: G3 (third generation) participants had to have lived in Sinpu from the time that

they were 3 years old until they were 6 years old to ensure their exposure to the language environment. Furthermore, participants from this generation had to have taken mother tongue education for no less than one year. In other words, children of a preschool age were excluded from the study.

Criteria 3: All of the participants meeting criterion 1 or 2 had to still live in Sinpu to ensure that they lived in a stable language environment with no interference from another language.

Criteria 4: Children from intermarried families (parents were from two different ethnic groups; this was also called interethnic marriage by Young in 1988), such as children from one Southern Min and one Hakka parent, were not taken into consideration. This means that the participants in this study only came from Hakka-Hakka families.

Eventually, 40 family members were selected from eight households in accordance with these selection criteria. As shown in Table 3.1, there were 13 participants from the first generation, 22 participants from the second generation, and 5 participants from the third generation. There seemed to be a shortage of G3 participants because of the Hakka-Hakka family limitation.

Table 3.1 Qualified Participants in Each Generation

Generation Gender	G1	G2	G3	Total
Male	7	13	3	23
Female	6	9	2	17
Total	13	22	5	40

In this study, age 24 was the dividing line between G2 and G3, and age 51 was the age boundary between G1 and G2 judging from the selected participants (see Figure 3.2). In addition, the youngest G1 participant was older than the oldest G2 participant by 1 year. Further, the oldest G3 participant was younger than the youngest G2 participant by 11 years.

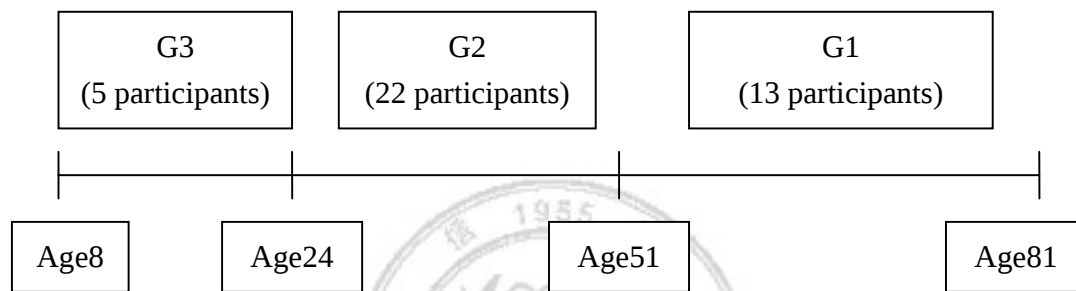


Figure 3.2. Age Boundaries for the Three Generations

Figure 3.3 illustrated the family structure of the qualified participants. Abbreviations of their names were used as a code for the participants. “M” and “F” in the parentheses mean “Male” and “Female.” Their gender is followed by the age of the participants. Dotted squares present G1 participants, striped squares stand for G2 participants and white squares indicate G3 participants.

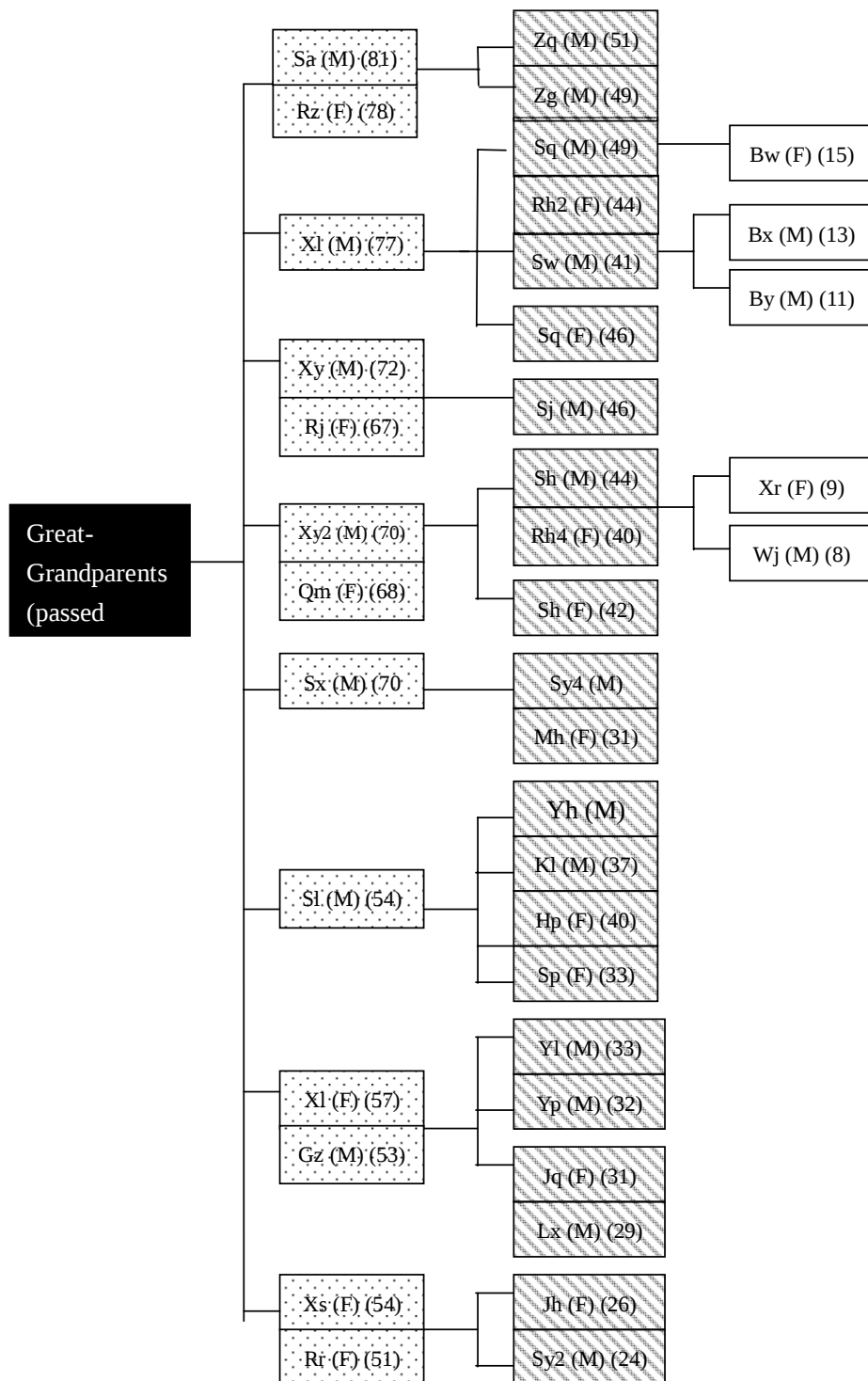


Figure 3.3. The Family Structure of the Qualified Family Members

3.3 Data Collection

None of the participants were unaware of the nature of the experiment. They were told prior to participating that we were interested in whether language choice and language attitude influenced language shift; they were not told, however, what types of results were expected. The data collection in this three-stage research took two months to accomplish. A brief outline of the data collection is presented in Figure 3.4.

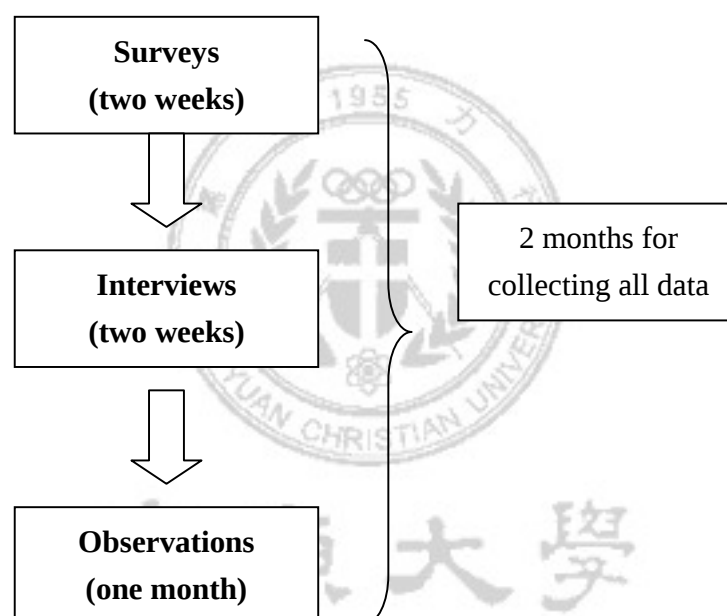


Figure 3.4. Brief Outline of Data Collection

In the first stage, all of the participants self-reported their language use in daily life, as well as their attitude toward the Hakka language. It took 2 weeks to distribute and collect the questionnaires. Each of the 40 qualified participants was given a questionnaire to fill out. A total of 27 questionnaires were returned, resulting in 65% being valid (27 out of 40).

In the second stage, 1 week after the surveys, personal interviews were conducted to further explore the participants' responses on the questionnaires, as well as their thoughts and opinions about the program for Hakka language education. In other words, the same 27 participants were involved at this stage. Each participant spent 10–15 min being interviewed. It took 3 weeks to interview the 27 participants.

As the last stage, 1-hr observation sessions were conducted for a month in each participant's family domain to further verify their language choice, as well as their language accommodation in daily life. Observations focused on those participants who had been surveyed and interviewed in the earlier two stages. Furthermore, all of the interlocutors they spoke to were involved in the observations, even though they had not been included in the surveys and interviews. This meant that the observations involved many more participants than the previous two stages. The age range of the participants was also wider than the range for the participants in the surveys and interviews. The data collection sessions were conducted individually and were audio-recorded for later coding and analysis.

3.4 Data Analysis

The analyses of the surveys, interviews, and observations, were based on the participants' social variables, such as gender, age, and educational background. According to Chambers (2000), the relative prominence of race, age, and sex have increased in areas ranging from traditional dialectology to modern sociolinguistics. The use of Mandarin, Hakka, and Southern Min were measured mainly in the family, work, and friend domains. Variables, such as an instrumental attachment to Mandarin, an instrumental attachment to a native language, a sentimental attachment to a native language, or a sentimental attachment to Mandarin, were used

to explore a participant's language attitudes.

The analysis of the data was in accordance with the four major research questions of the study. The first asked, "How does language choice influence the Hakka language shift in Sinpu?" To answer this question, a statistical program was used to analyze the frequency that the Hakka language was used and the interlocutors that the participants spoke to (See appendix I). The reasons why participants seldom or rarely spoke the Hakka language were summarized as well. Moreover, observation diaries were reorganized as a supplement for obtaining self-reporting data from the participants.

Research question two asked, "How does language attitude influence the Hakka language shift in Sinpu?" The levels of agreement on 20 statements were analyzed to evaluate a participant's language attitude toward Hakka. Mean ranks were calculated for each generation.

Research question three asked, "Does the promotion of Hakka language slack Hakka language shift in Sinpu?" The responses in interviews were summarized to explore the impact of the promotion of Hakka language on participants.

Research question four asked, "How do social variables, such as age, gender, and educational background, influence the Hakka language shift in Sinpu?" Language choice and language attitude results were analyzed in terms of the participant's social background, including age, gender, and educational level.

To summarize, data were analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively in this research. The data collected through surveys, which were related to the language choices and attitudes of the Hakka people, were analyzed quantitatively. The participant's opinions on Hakka education were also quantitatively analyzed. The data was divided into three parts according to generation differences. Numbers were used to encode the participants' questionnaire responses to make it

easier to enter the information into a statistical program. The variables being investigated in this research included gender, age, and educational background. A descriptive analysis was used to analyze the data.

In addition, observations further verified a participant's language choice. The focal point of the observations was the language choice of the participants in their daily lives. Context, theme, interlocutors, and so on were summarized with the aim of searching for points in common; for example, when to speak more Mandarin than Hakka or where to speak more Hakka than Mandarin. The data collected through interviews and participant observations were transcribed into main-point transcripts with the intention of summarizing and organizing a participant's opinions. Further, interview data was also analyzed statistically with the intention of comparing it with the survey analysis.

All of the results of the analyses will be explained in the following chapter and this study will be translated into English. The following section discusses a data analysis of the research questions in three parts — questionnaires, interviews, and observations.

中原大學

Chapter 4 Results

The results of the study constituted five sections. The first section provided the descriptive data of the participants in terms of their age, gender, and educational background. The following four sections dealt with four research questions: (1) how language choice influences the language shift of Hakka in Sinpu; (2) how language attitude influences the language shift of Hakka in Sinpu; (3) the influence of the spread of the Hakka language on language shift in Sinpu; and (4) how social variables, such as gender and educational background, influence the language shift of Hakka in Sinpu.

4.1 Results of Questionnaires

4.1.1 Participant's Background Information

A total number of 27 family members from eight households participated in all three-stage research procedures. This study numerically coded the data collected from questionnaires; including participants' background information, language choices, and language attitudes, for the purpose of succinctly analyzing and performing the results. For example, "G1M(1)" means a "male member from generation one who was numbered (1)" and "G3F(24)" means a "female member from generation three who was numbered (24)."

Table 4.1 shows the correspondences between participants and their households. Eight households, coded from H1 to H8, with 27 participants from three generations, were engaged in this research (see Table 2.1 & Figure 4.1). Figure 4.1 indicates the mean age of the participants by gender and generation. Figure 4.3 presents the educational background of the participants.

Table 4.1 Participants and Their Households

Households (H)	Participants
H1	G1M(1), G1F(2)
H2	G1M(3), G1F(5), G2M(12), G2F(13), G2F(17), G3F(24), G3M(25)
H3	G1M(4), G2F (16), G2M(18)
H4	G1M(6), G1F(10) G2F(22), G3M(23)
H5	G1F(7), G1M(8) G2M(21)
H6	G1M(9)
H7	G2M(11), G2M (14), G3M(26), G3M(27)
H8	G2M(15), G2M(19), G2F(20)

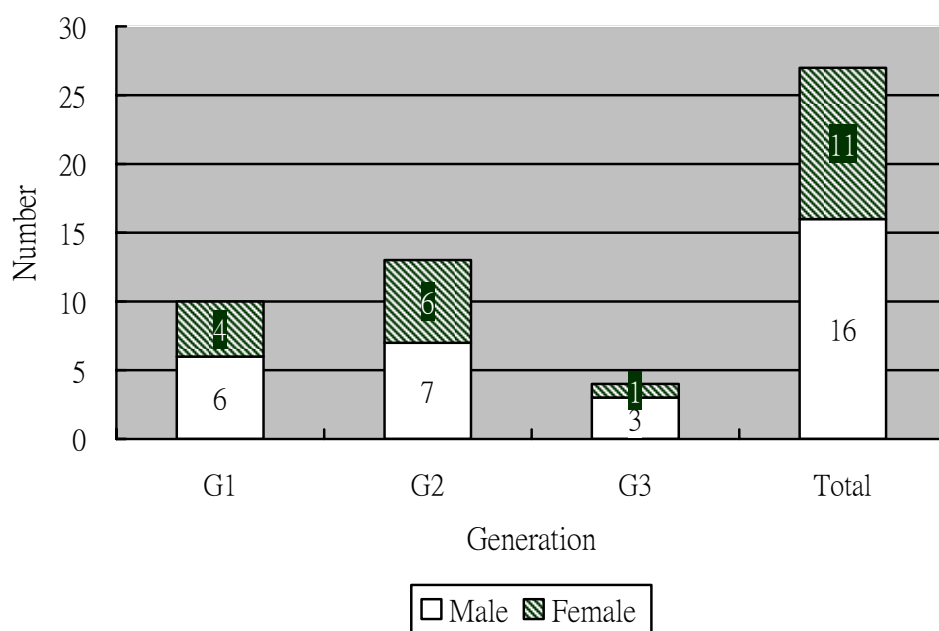


Figure 4.1. Gender Distribution of the Participants

Figure 4.2 indicates the average age of the participants by gender and generation. This figure shows that the average age of the male and the female were nearly equal in each generation. Hence, the average ages of the male and the female across three generations were nearly equal as well. There was a limitation here. G3F(24) was the only female participant in the third generation. Therefore, we could not consider 13 years as the average age of G3 female participants.

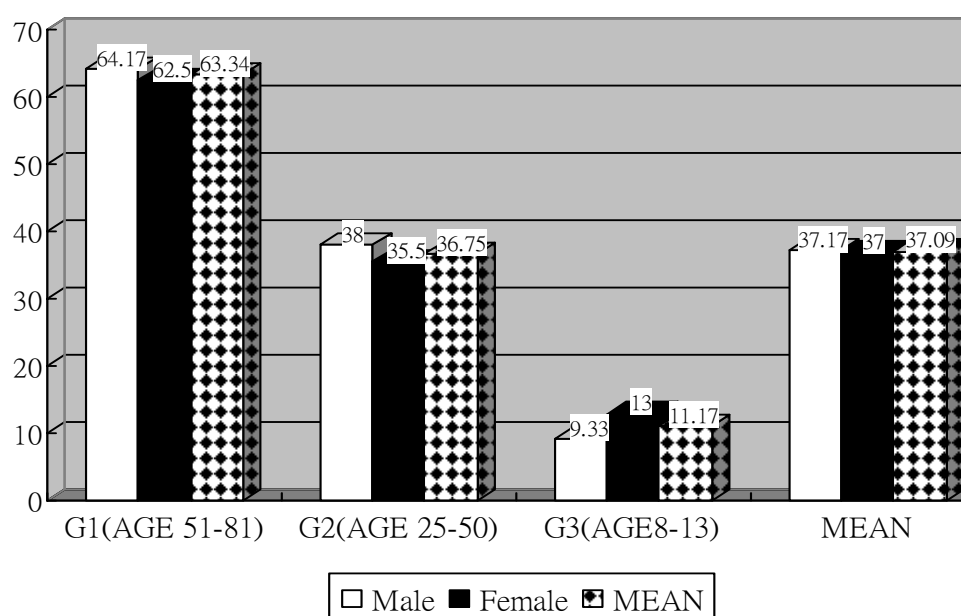


Figure 4.2. The Average Ages of the Participants

The educational levels of the participants are illustrated in Figure 4.3. Most of the participants were classified into the group of university and college students. The number of participants who were better educated (e.g., university/college and graduate school) is nearly equal to those who were not so well educated (e.g., primary and secondary school).

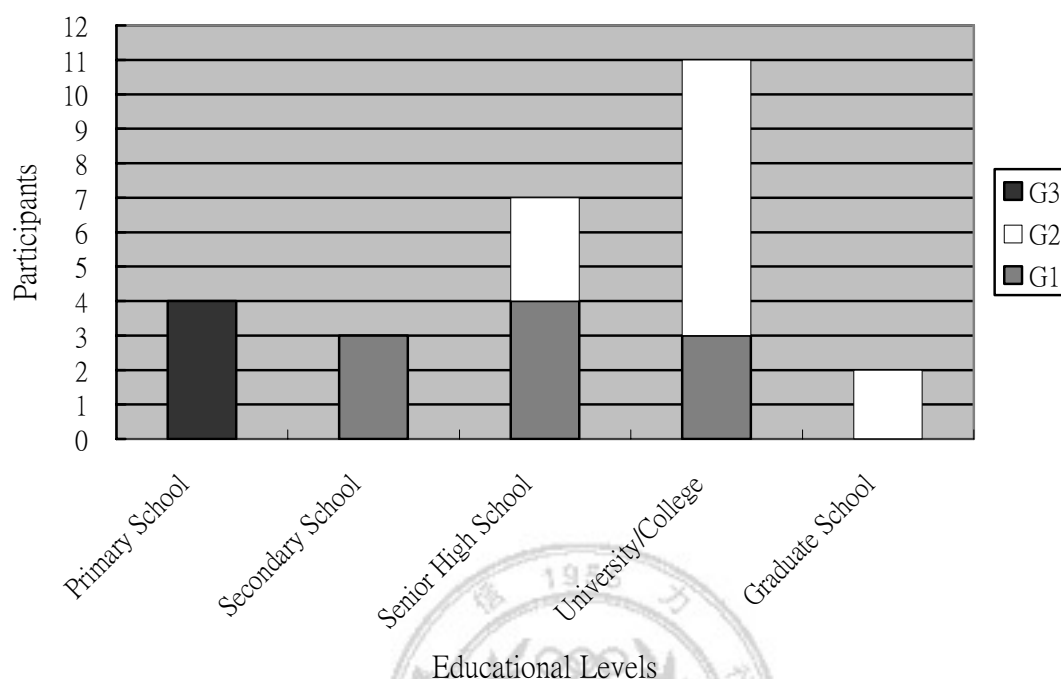


Figure 4.3. Education Levels of Each Generation

Figure 4.4 presents the continuum of the major language policy that influenced the education of the participants in this research. Two G1 participants received Japanese education under the Japanese rule. G1M(3) was exposed to the interregnum of Japan and the Nationalist government. More specifically, he received both Mandarin and Japanese education during his compulsory education period. Starting from G1M(3), Nationalist governments tended to promote Mandarin as a national language by suppressing other languages. However, there was no strict punishment for speaking non-Mandarin till G1M(6). Participants from G1M(6) to G2F(20) were under the Mandarin-only policy. At the same time, local Taiwanese languages were suppressed until the lifting of Martial Law. In 2001, the government integrated local Taiwanese-language education into the formal educational system. Each G3 participant of this study received local

language education for at least one year.

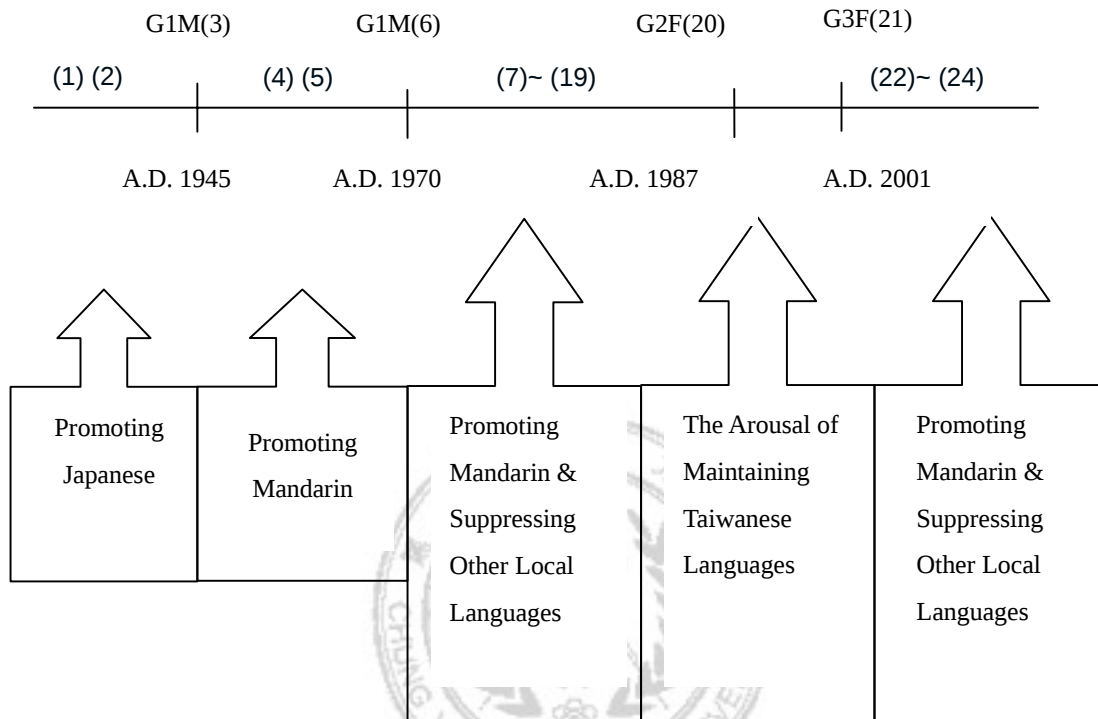


Figure 4.4. Major Language Policy in Participant's Educational Background

4.1.2 Participant's listening capability of Hakka language

It can be assumed that the Southern Min language had a relatively small influence on the preservation of the Hakka language among G1 participants in Sinpu. Figure 4.5 highlights the differences in G1's listening capability for Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin. The participants' listening capability of the Hakka language was categorized into five levels, that is, 5: completely understands, 4: mostly understands, 3: partly understands, 2: understands a little, and 1: cannot understand at all. As shown in Figure 4.5, only two female participants showed relatively weaker listening capability of the Hakka language than the other languages. The rest of

the participants showed either equal or stronger capability of the Hakka language in comparison with other languages. In addition, their listening capability of the Southern Min language was relatively weaker compared to that of the other two languages.

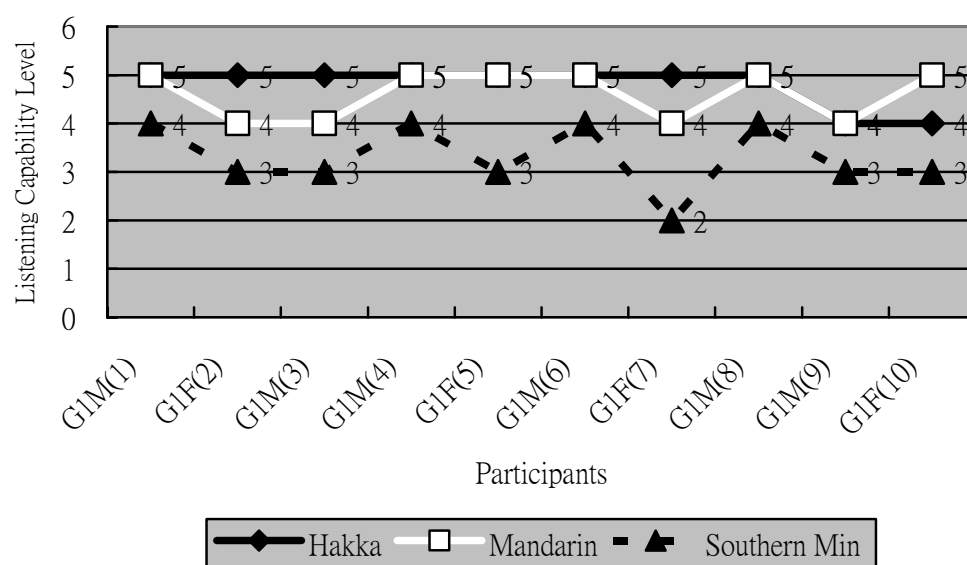


Figure 4.5. G1's Listening Capability Levels of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin

Most of the G2 participants showed a weaker ability in understanding the Hakka language in comparison to the G1 participants. Figure 4.6 summarizes G2's listening capability of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin. It presents that G2M(23) had the lowest listening capability of the Hakka language among the G2 participants. Apart from G2M(14), the rest of the G2 participants showed weaker listening capability of Southern Min as G1 did. G2M(14) showed an equal listening capability of Hakka and Southern Min because he had completed his senior high and university education separately in the cities of Taipei and Tainan. The results echoed

that of one of the G1 participants wherein the Southern Min language had a comparatively small influence on the Hakka language shift in Sinpu.

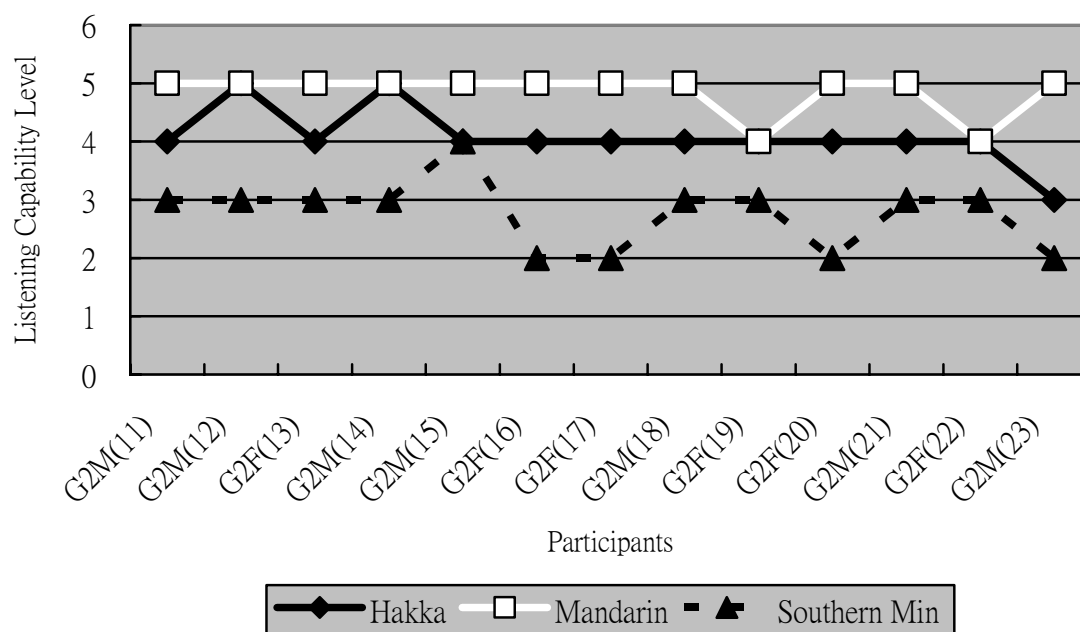


Figure 4.6. G2's Listening Capability Levels of Southern Min, Hakka, Mandarin

G3's background influenced their listening capability of the Hakka language. It is evident from Figure 4.7 that G3 participants know nothing about the Southern Min language. It can be seen in Figure 4.7 that G3F(24) and G3M(25), on the one hand, had nearly equal listening capability of the Hakka language. G3M(26) and G3M(27), on the other hand, had roughly equally listening capability of the Hakka language. The reasons for this in terms of their upbringing background were as follows: (a) G3F(24) and G3M(25) lived together and spoke Hakka before they entered primary school; however, (b) G3M(27) and G3M(28) lived together and have seldom spoken Hakka since birth.

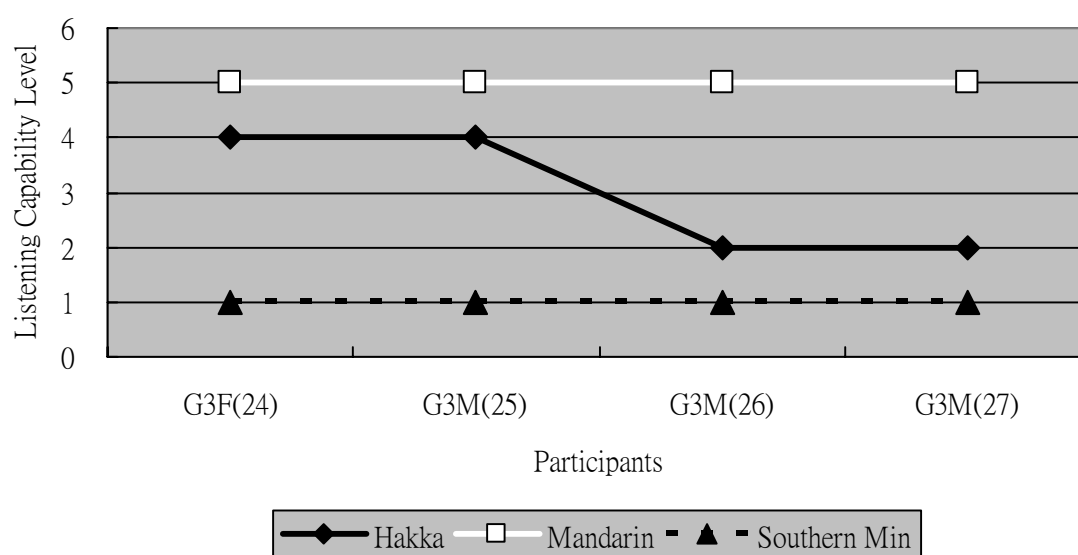


Figure 4.7. G3's Listening Capability Levels of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin

One may assume the decreasing listening capability of the Hakka language in this family across three generations. Figure 4.8 shows a decline in that there was a decline from G1 (4.8), through G2(4.08), to G3(3), by comparing the participants' ability in understanding the Hakka language. The participants' listening capabilities of these three languages were formed through the intragroup comparison but not through the intergroup comparison. This implies that G1 participants' listening capability of the Hakka language was not twice as good as that of G3 participants.

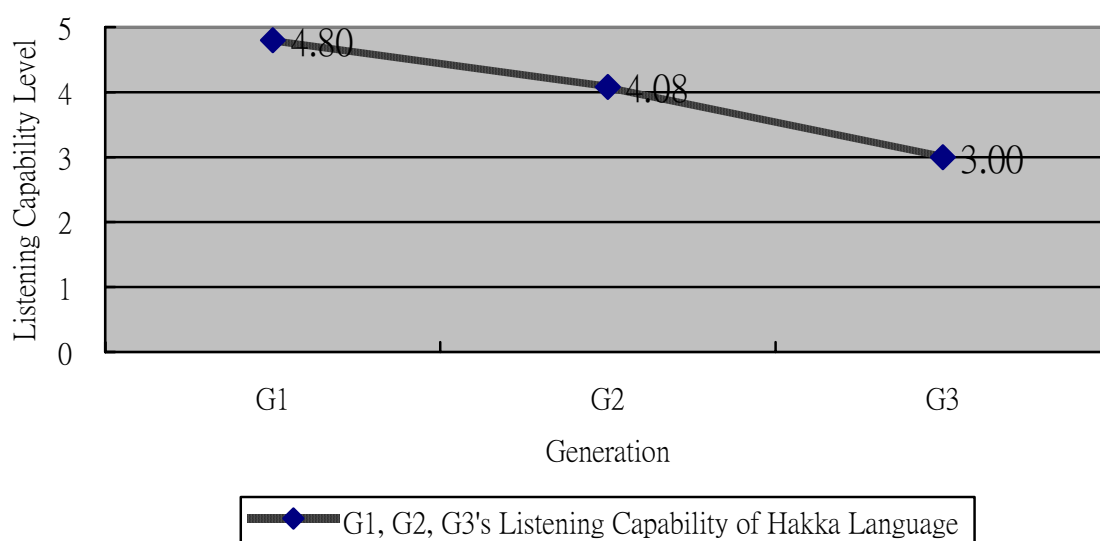


Figure 4.8. Participant's Hakka Listening Capability Levels in Three Generations

4.1.3 Participant's fluency of Hakka language

Figure 4.9 graphically presents G1's fluency in Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin. The participants' fluency in the Hakka language was categorized into five levels, that is, 5: very fluent, 4: fluent, 3: able to communicate, but with difficulty, 2: can understand but cannot speak, and 1: does not understand at all. Figure 4.9 indicates that 8 out of 10 participants claimed that they could speak both Hakka and Mandarin fluently. Further, 2 out of 10 participants even regarded that they could speak better Hakka than they could speak Mandarin. No one claimed that his/her Hakka fluency was worse than that in the other two languages. G1F(2) did not speak better Mandarin or Southern Min than others in comparison to other G1 participants; however, she spoke better Hakka than Mandarin and Southern Min. This could be traced to G1F(2)'s growth environment. She was not under the influence of the Mandarin-only policy. She never worked outside and has lived in Taipei for two decades. In addition, her husband is fluent in the

Hakka language. These were the possible reasons why G1F(2) has better speaking capability of the Hakka language than the other two languages.

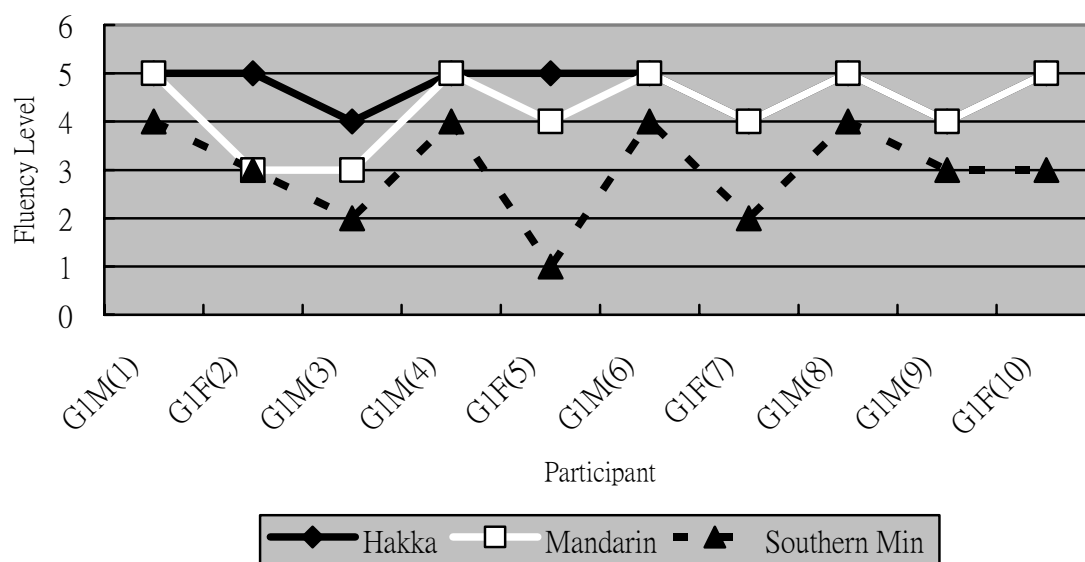


Figure 4.9. G1 Participant's Fluency Level of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin

Figure 4.10 illustrated G2's fluency of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin. As presented in Figure 4.10, 4 out of 13 participants are equally fluent in Hakka and Mandarin. G2M(23) presented the least fluency in the Hakka language among all G2 participants. Most of the G2 speakers claimed that their fluency in Mandarin was better than that in the Hakka language. No G2 participant regarded that his/her fluency in the Hakka language was better than that in Mandarin in comparison to G1's fluency in the Hakka language. This was rather different from the result of G1. Moreover, 2 out of 13 cannot speak Southern Min at all.

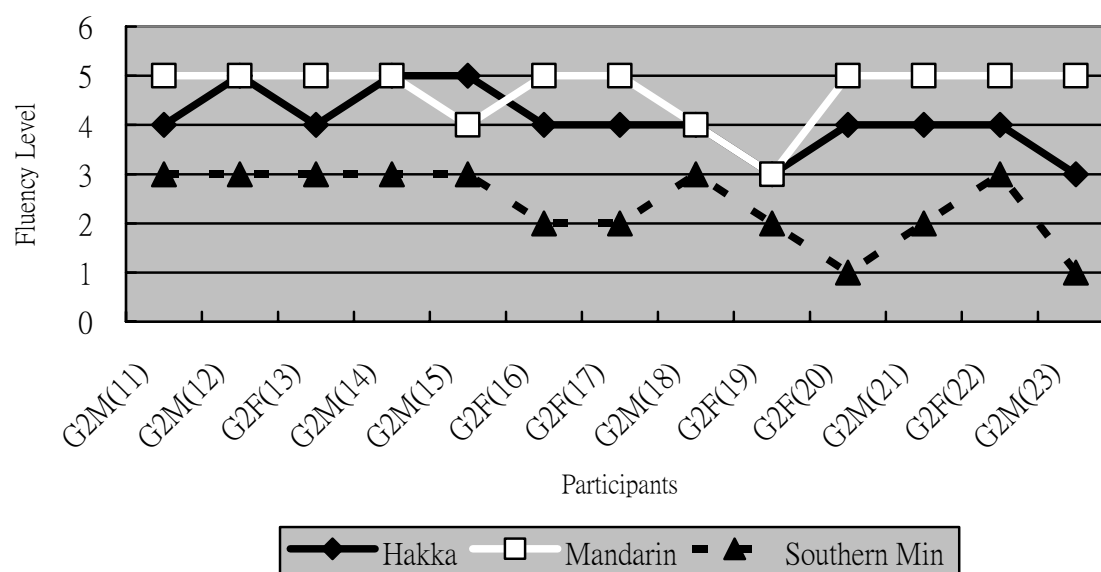


Figure 4.10. G2 Participant's Fluency Level of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin

Figure 4.10 presents that Mandarin is the language that G3 participants use to communicate with others in comparison to the other two languages. Furthermore, G3 participants' fluency of Hakka was not as good as their fluency in Mandarin; their fluency in the Southern Min language cannot be considered here.

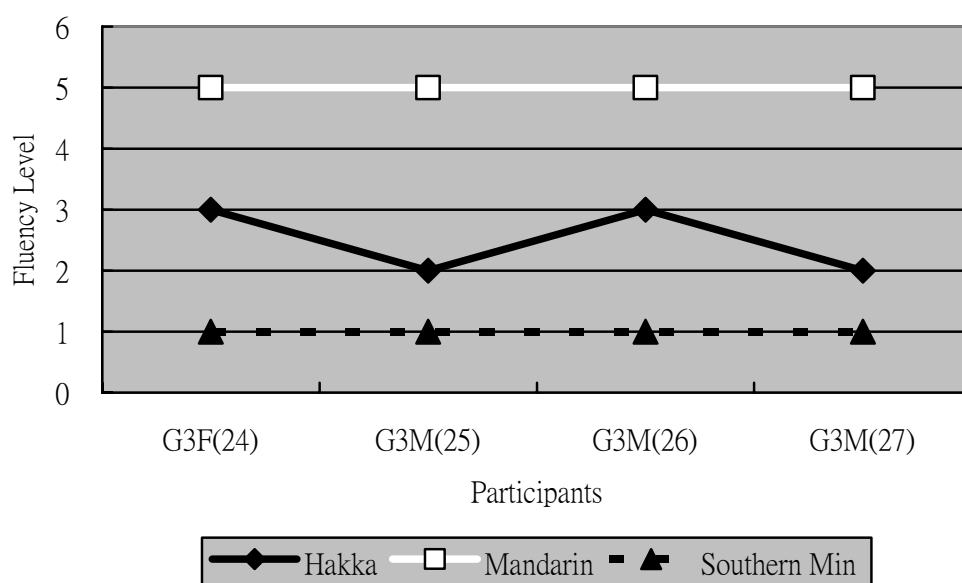


Figure 4.11. G3 Participant's Fluency Level of Southern Min, Hakka, and Mandarin

A comparison of the participants' fluency in the Hakka language across the three generations was in tune with the results of their listening capability of this language. Figure 4.12 shows a decline from G1 to G3. Therefore, it could be assumed that participants' ability to express in Hakka dwindles with a decrease in their age.

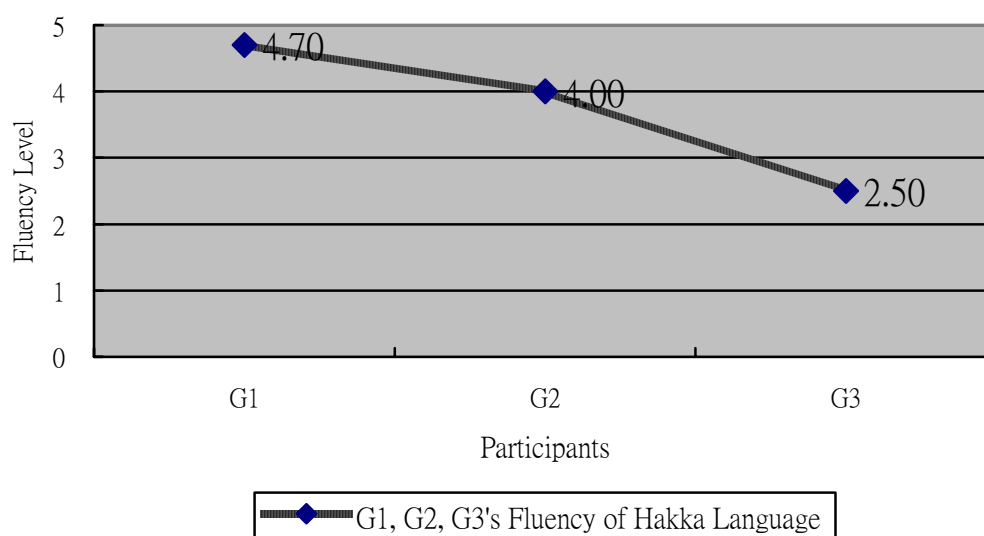


Figure 4.12. Participant's Hakka Fluency Level of Each Generation

4.1.4 Participant's language choice

G1 participants spoke Hakka in about 76% of the domains mentioned in this research, according to Figure 4.13. In order to answer RQ1 (Research Question One) presented in Chapter 1—"How does language choice influence the Hakka language shift in Sinpu?" the participants' language choices were analyzed with the intention to explore the relationship between language choice and language shift. G1 participant's language choice is presented in Figure 4.12, which shows the following findings. First, G1 participants spoke Hakka in most domains except in "Grandchildren" and "Work" domains. Second, the proportions of those speaking Hakka and Mandarin presented a wide gap. For example, 90% of the G1 participants spoke Hakka with their sons whereas only 10% of the G1 participants spoke Mandarin with their sons. Third, G1 participants altered their language choice when talking to people of different genders in the "Children" and "Grandchildren" domains. For instance, G1 participants tended to speak more

Mandarin to the female descendants in comparison to the language choice made when communicating with the male descendants. Finally, the Southern Min language was listed in the questionnaire; however, no G1 participant regarded it as the main language to communicate with others irrespective of the domain. This indicated that there are few Southern Min people around G1 participants in this study.

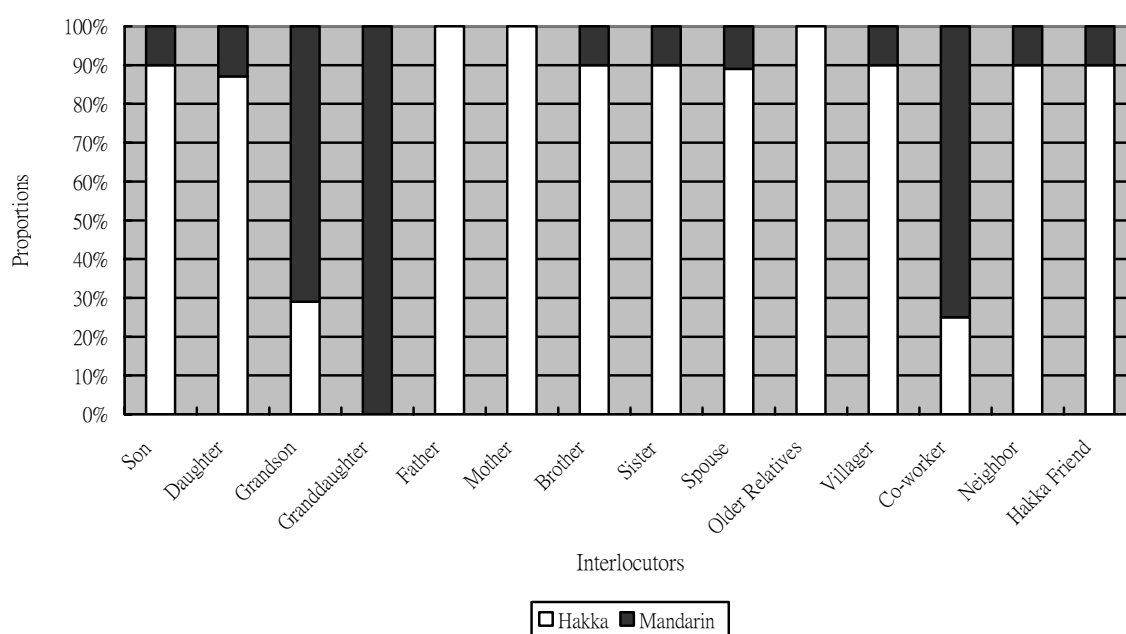


Figure 4.13. G1 Participant's Language Choices with Different Interlocutors

In the work domain, both G1 and G2 participants spoke a relatively high proportion of Mandarin in comparison with other domains (see Figure 4.14). The number of domains in which G2 participants mainly spoke Mandarin was more than those in the case of G1 participants. In addition, G2 participants mostly spoke Mandarin to the next generation; on the contrary, they

largely spoke Hakka to the older generation. One point was worth noting in Figure 4.14. Some G2 participants spoke Hakka to their siblings, but they did not speak Hakka with their spouses, even though their siblings and spouses were Hakka people as well as of similar ages. This results relates to the participants' sense of intimacy with different interlocutors even though the interlocutors fall in the same age group.

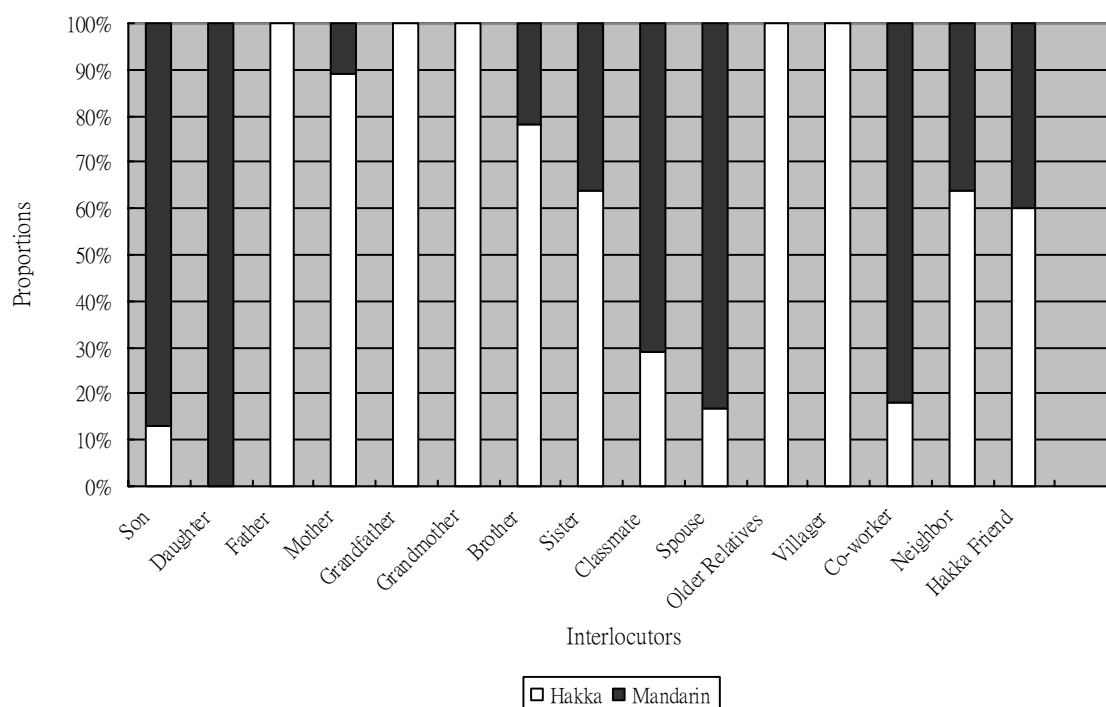


Figure 4.14. G2 Participant's Language Choices with Different Interlocutors

The results of G3 participants' language choice showed consistency irrespective of the domain. G3 participants spoke Mandarin no matter whom they spoke to or what domains they were in. In other words, G3 participants mainly spoke Mandarin even to their grandparents. This

was noted and further examined during participant observation.

The use of Hakka dwindled with the decrease of participants' ages whereas the use of Mandarin grew with the increase of participants' ages across the three generations. The comparison of language choice among the three generations is presented in Figure 4.15. G3 participants spoke no Hakka in all the domains mentioned in this study. This related to their weak Hakka proficiency level, as shown in Figure 4.8 and Figure 4.12.

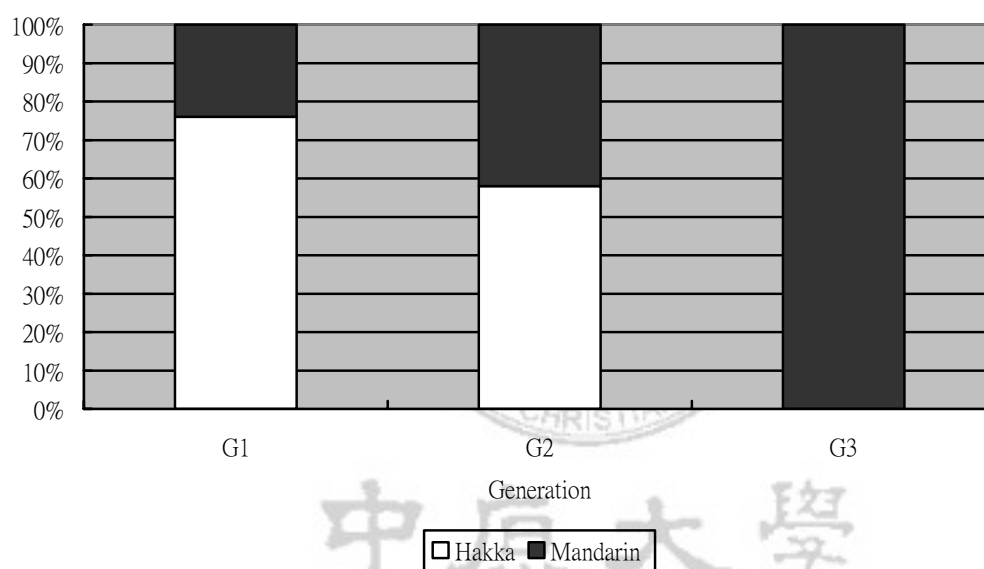


Figure 4.15. Language Choices of Each Generation

There were some similarities in different generations. For example, the similarities between G1 and G2 were that they usually spoke Hakka to the older people; additionally, they seldom spoke Hakka in the work domain. The major difference between G1 and G2 participants was that G1 usually spoke Hakka to their spouses, whereas G2 seldom spoke Hakka to their spouses. Through the comparison, the language shift of Hakka was traced to this particular point.

4.1.5 Participant's frequency of Speaking Hakka

Investigating the frequency of participants' use of the Hakka language provides a more detailed understanding of their language choice of Hakka. Figures 4.16, 4.17, and 4.18 separately depict the frequency of speaking Hakka in three generations. The frequency was categorized as “usually,” “often,” “sometimes,” “seldom,” and “rarely” in terms of the levels.

G1 participants mainly relied on the Hakka language to communicate with others. Figure 4.4 provides the frequency with which G1 participants spoke Hakka in different domains. Most of the G1 participants “always” or “usually” spoke Hakka in most domains, except with their grandchildren and in the work domain. In addition, G1 participants “always” spoke Hakka to their parents and in the community. The total proportion in which G1 “always” spoke Hakka ran up to 64%.

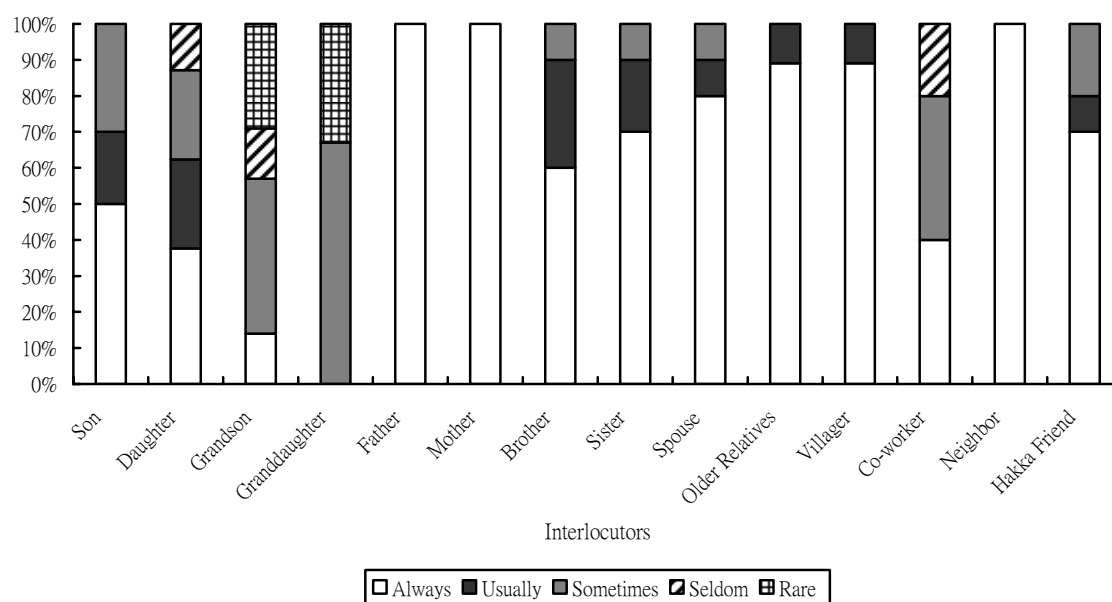


Figure 4.16. G1 Participant's Frequency of Speaking Hakka

The number of G2 participants and their frequency of speaking Hakka are presented in Figure 4.17. In general, most of the G2 participants “always” spoke Hakka, especially to the older people. The proportion of G2 participants who spoke Hakka to their parents ran up to 100%. It could be assumed that G2 participants were able to communicate with others purely in Hakka. There were certain similarities between G1 and participants, for example, G2 participants “seldom” spoke Hakka to G3 participants and “rarely” spoke Hakka in the work domain.

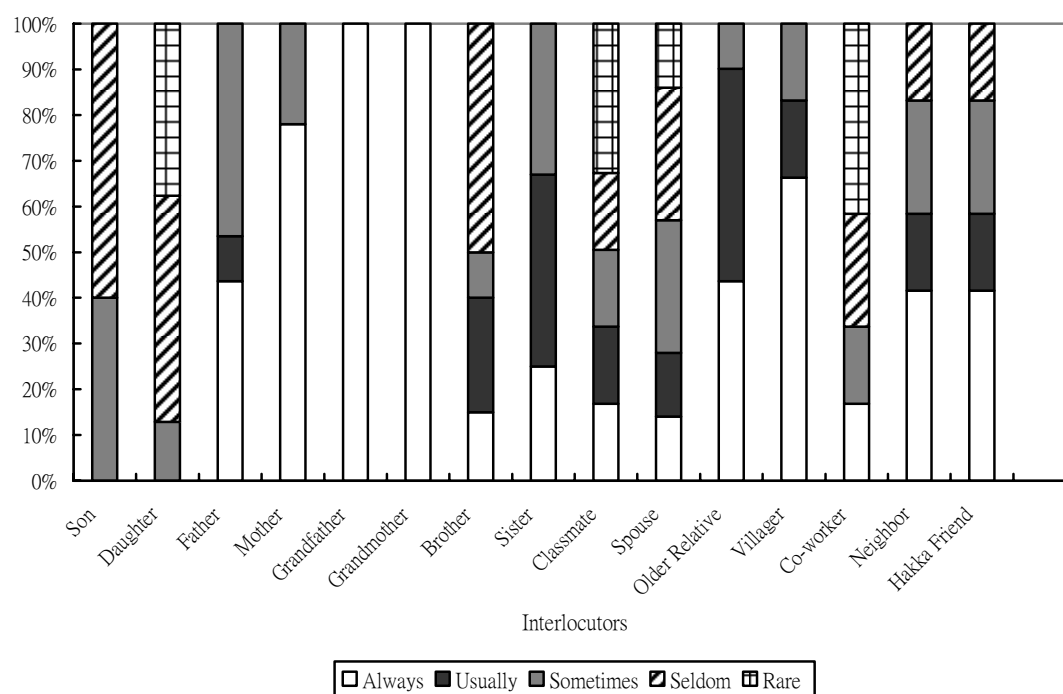


Figure 4.17. G2 Participant's Frequency of Speaking Hakka

As can be seen in Table 4.6, only a relatively low proportion of G3 participants “seldom” spoke Hakka to their grandparents. The rest of the G3 participants “rarely” spoke Hakka irrespective of the domains they were in. The language shift of Hakka, hence, was evident between G2 and G3 participants.

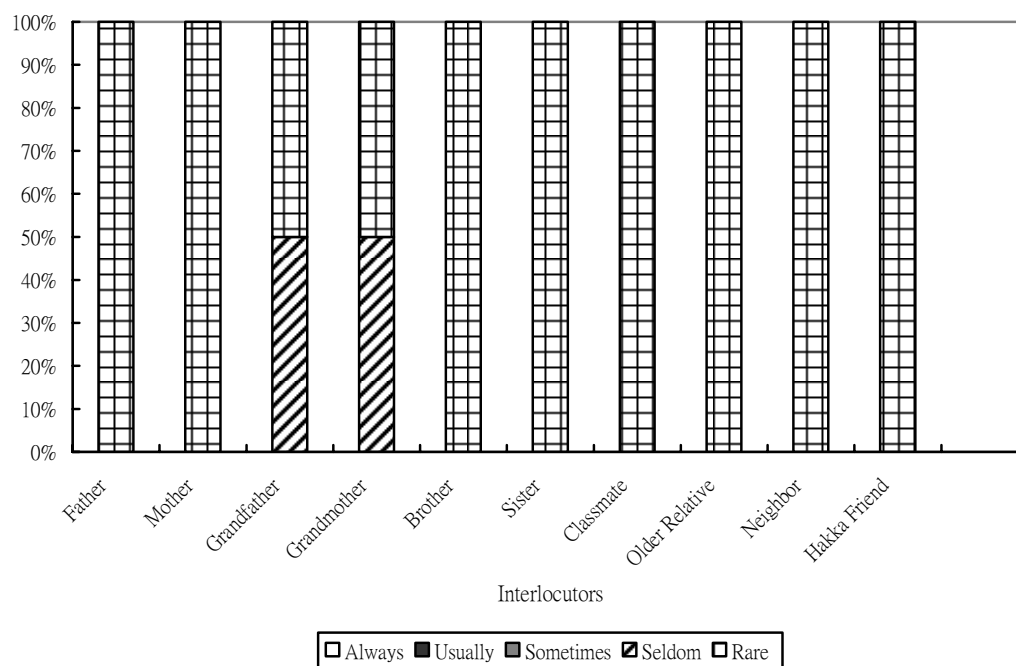


Figure 4.18. G3 Participant's Frequency of Speaking Hakka

With respect to the relationship between the age and frequency of speaking Hakka, Figure 4.19 showed that the Hakka language was the main language for G1 participants to communicate with others. The total proportion of “always,” “often,” and “sometimes” ran up to 82%. G2’s proportion at 74% was slightly lower. However, the results of G3 participants presented a wide gap in comparison to those of G2 and G3 participants. No G3 participant “always” “usually” or “sometimes” spoke Hakka. This reflected on G3 participants’ curve and showed a steep rise from “seldom” to “rarely.”

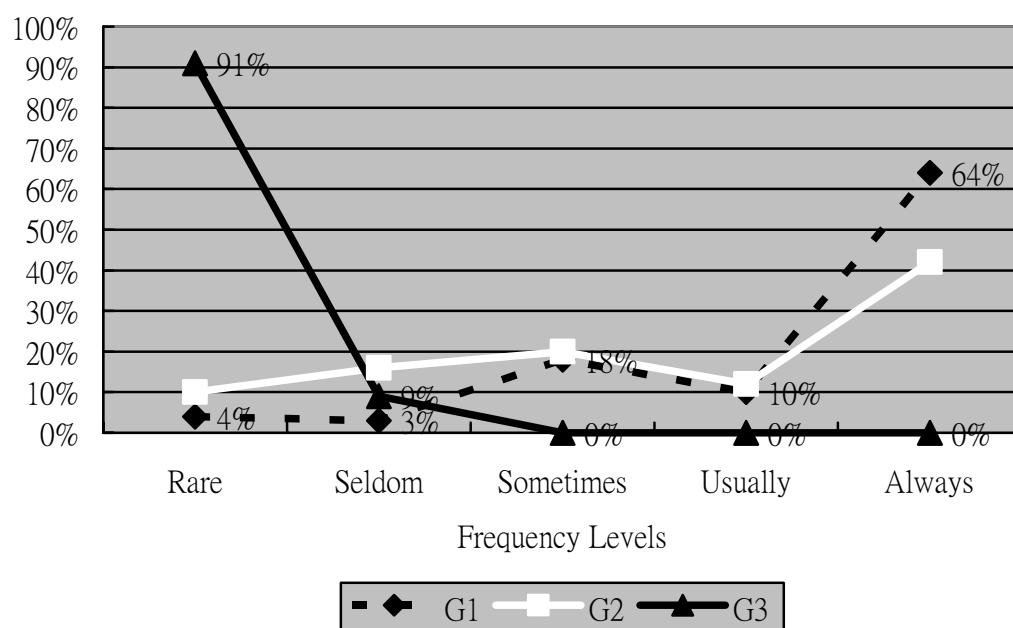


Figure 4.19. Frequency of Speaking Hakka in Three Generations

4.1.6 Participant's language attitude

Participants' language attitudes, such as their sense of intimacy and honor about speaking Hakka, were analyzed across three generations in this section. G1 participants' attitudes toward the Hakka language were illustrated in Figure 4.20. It can be seen in Figure 4.20 that most G1 participants held positive attitudes toward the Hakka language. The only negative responses appeared in the responses to Q15 (Question 15), "Speaking Hakka benefits me." About 10% of the G1 participants felt that speaking Hakka does not benefit them either in their work domain or in their daily lives.

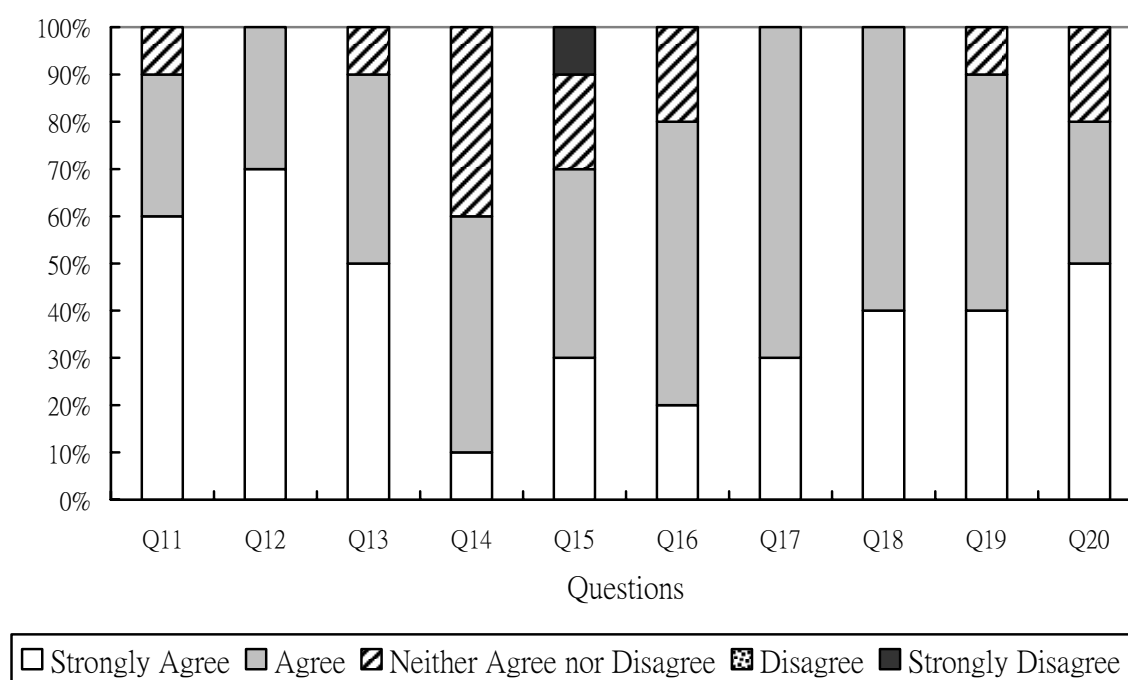


Figure 4.20. G1 Participant's Positive Language Attitude toward Hakka¹

Figure 4.21 depicts G2's language attitude toward Hakka. G2 participants' language attitudes were summarized as follows. First, 16% of the G2 participants disagreed with speaking Hakka on formal occasions (see Q14). Second, 8% of the G2 participants disagreed that speaking Hakka benefited them (see Q3). Third, 23% of the G2 participants disagreed that they were under the influence of their Hakka proficiency (see Q16). Finally, 15% of the G2 participants felt embarrassment in speaking with the Hakka accent (see Q17). To sum up, we can also see a gap across G1 and G2 in terms of participants' language attitudes. G2 participant's language attitudes

¹ Figures 4.20, 4.21, 4.22, 4.23, and 4.25 are illustrated based on the participants' answers to the following ten questions in the questionnaire: (11) Hakka speakers should be able to speak Hakka; (12) It is intimate to speak Hakka; (13) The Hakka language sounds better than other languages; (14) It is inappropriate to speak Hakka on formal occasions; (15) I benefit by speaking Hakka; (16) My Hakka language proficiency has no influence on me; (17) It is embarrassing to have the Hakka accent; (18) I like to speak Hakka; (19) I prefer others to speak when talking to me; (20) I am proud of speaking Hakka.

toward Hakka were no longer as positive as those of G1 participants.

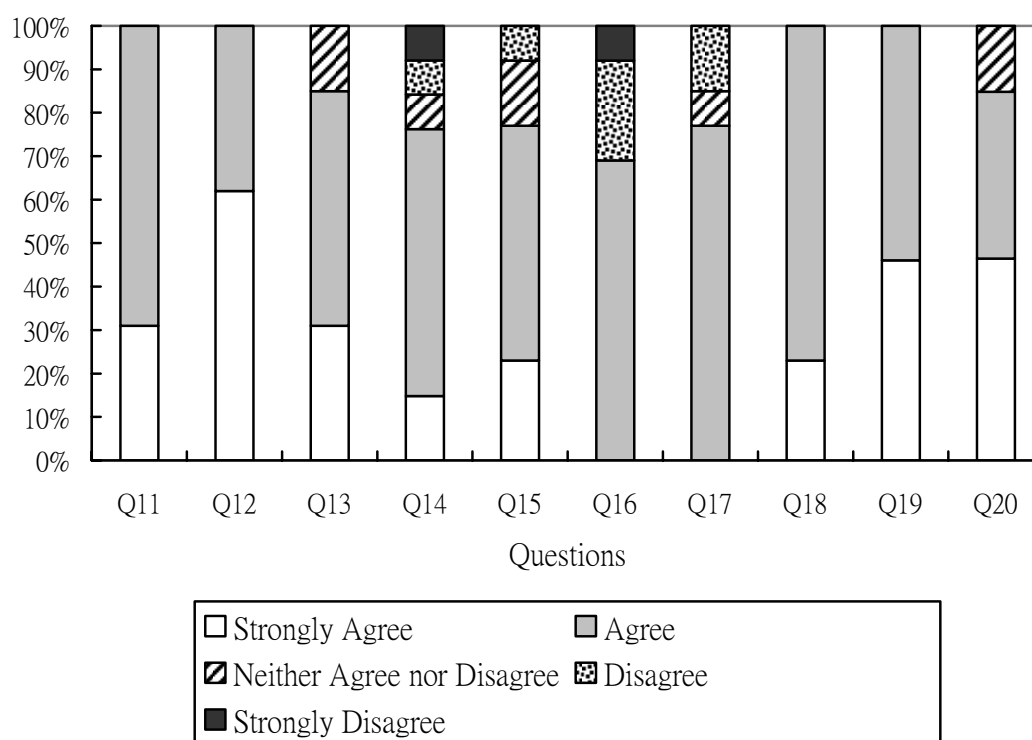


Figure 4.21. G2 Participant's Positive Language Attitude toward Hakka

G3's language attitudes toward Hakka are illustrated in Figure 4.17. Three out of four G3 participants disagreed that Hakka language was intimate (see Q12); in addition, they did not consider that speaking Hakka benefited them (see Q15). Two out of four G3 participants disagreed that they were under the influence of their Hakka proficiency (see Q16); in addition, they did not think that they were proud of speaking Hakka (see Q20). Finally, one out of four G3 participants did not like speaking Hakka (see Q18). A shift in the language attitudes can be seen from G2 to G3, even G3 participants were limited. It is interesting to note that was that all G3

participants agreed that it was a must for the Hakka people to be capable of speaking Hakka. In other words, all participants, except those from G1M(9), agreed that the Hakka language was a symbol of the Hakka people.

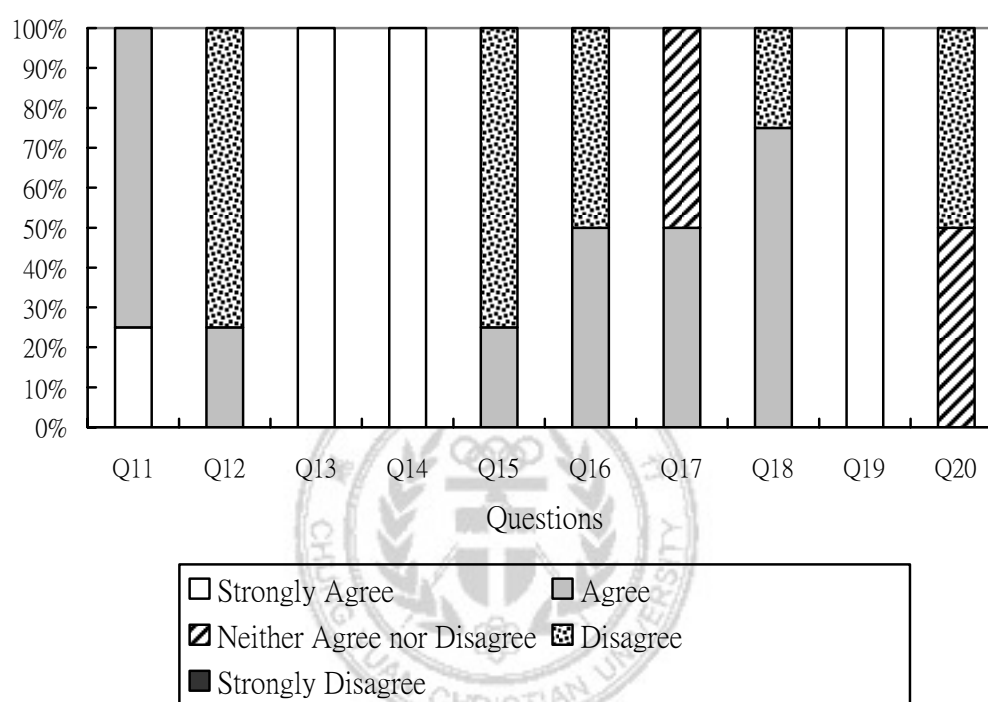


Figure 4.22. G3 Participant's Positive Language Attitude toward Hakka

Participants' language attitudes were coded from "1" to "5" according to the levels of agreement. To elaborate, "5" means "strongly agree"; on the contrary, "1" means "strongly disagree." The results are illustrated in Figure 4.23 through comparing the averages of participants' language attitudes across the three generations. G1 and G2 participants held similar attitudes toward the Hakka language followed by the decline of G3 participants' language attitudes. The decline implied that the shift of the Hakka language resulted from the G3 participants' holding relatively negative attitudes than the G1 and G2 participants.

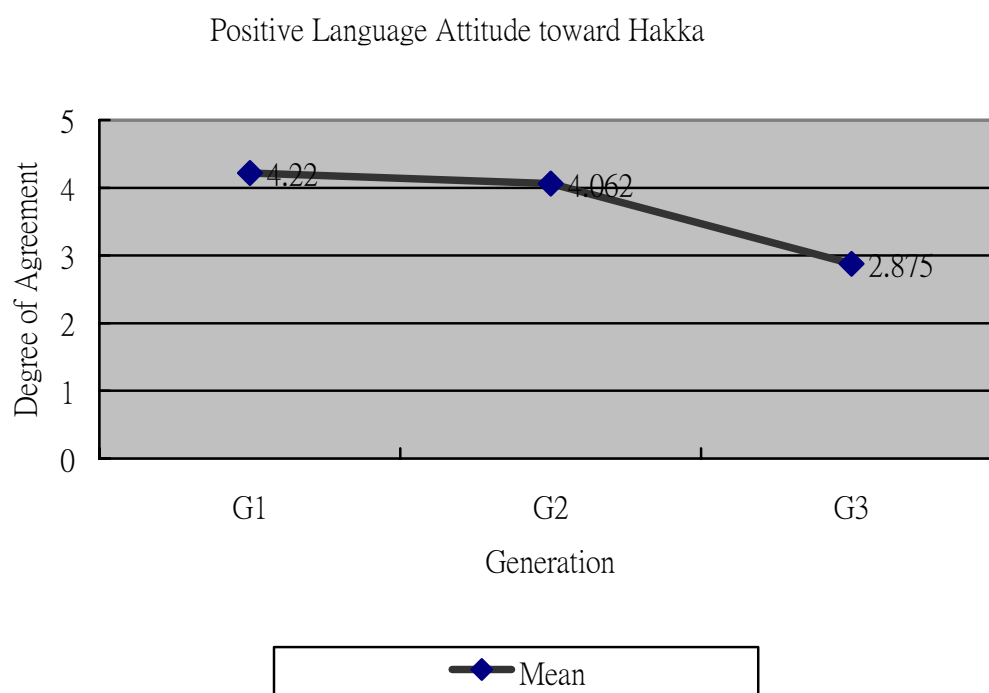


Figure 4.23. Averages of Participant's Language Attitudes toward Hakka

4.1.7 Gender vs. language use in language shift

Gender and educational background were a possible influence in language shift besides participants' age. RQ4 further explored how gender and educational background influence the language shift of Hakka in Sinpu. The frequency of speaking Hakka was calculated for the purpose of exploring whether gender influenced participants' language choice in language shift. We may assume that gender was not a significant variable in language shift in this study, as shown in Table 4.2. The averages of language choice in different genders were close to each other. In other words, the frequencies of speaking Hakka were comparable in two genders.

Table 4.2 Gender and Frequency of Speaking Hakka

Mean \ Gender	Gender	
	Male	Female
Language Use	2.20	2.19

4.1.8 Gender vs. language attitude in language shift

The averages of the participants' language attitudes were calculated to examine whether gender influenced their language attitudes. In comparison to the difference of language use in different genders, the difference, as shown in Table 4.3, was more observable in the language attitude. Furthermore, the females tended to hold a more positive attitude toward the Hakka language.

Table 4.3 Gender and Positive Language Attitude toward Hakka

Mean \ Gender	Gender	
	Male	Female
Language Attitude	3.84	4.09

4.1.9 Educational background vs. language choice in language shift

The participants were divided into five groups according to their educational background. In Figure 4.24, it was found that a higher educational level resulted in an inconsistent increase in their frequency of using Hakka. There was a decline from "Senior High School" to "University/ College." Four G3 participants belonged to the primary school group. The consistency was higher than that in the other groups. However, it could be assumed that poorly educated

participants had a more negative attitude toward the Hakka language because they would continue their studies soon after.

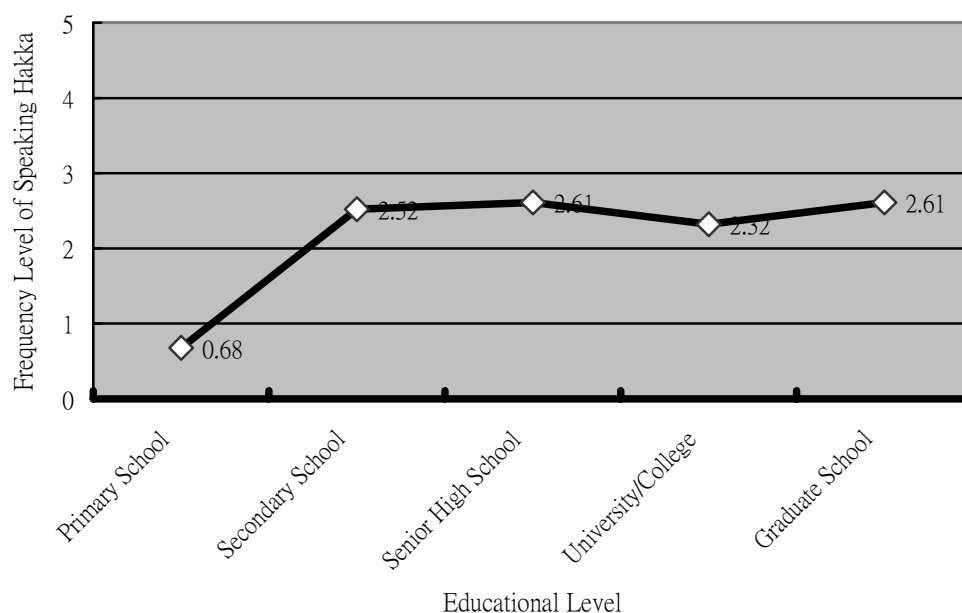


Figure 4.24. Educational Level and Frequency Level of Speaking Hakka

4.1.10 Educational Background vs. Language Attitude in Language Shift

Figure 4.25 illustrated the relationships between the education background and language attitude. G3 participants were excluded when discussing the influence of educational background on their language attitude because they still studied in primary schools. It can be seen that educational background and language attitude in this study were either positively or negatively correlated with each other. The changes of language attitudes among different generations did not correspond to the changes of educational background. In other words, participants who were

better educated did not exactly have a more positive or negative attitude toward the Hakka language and vice versa.

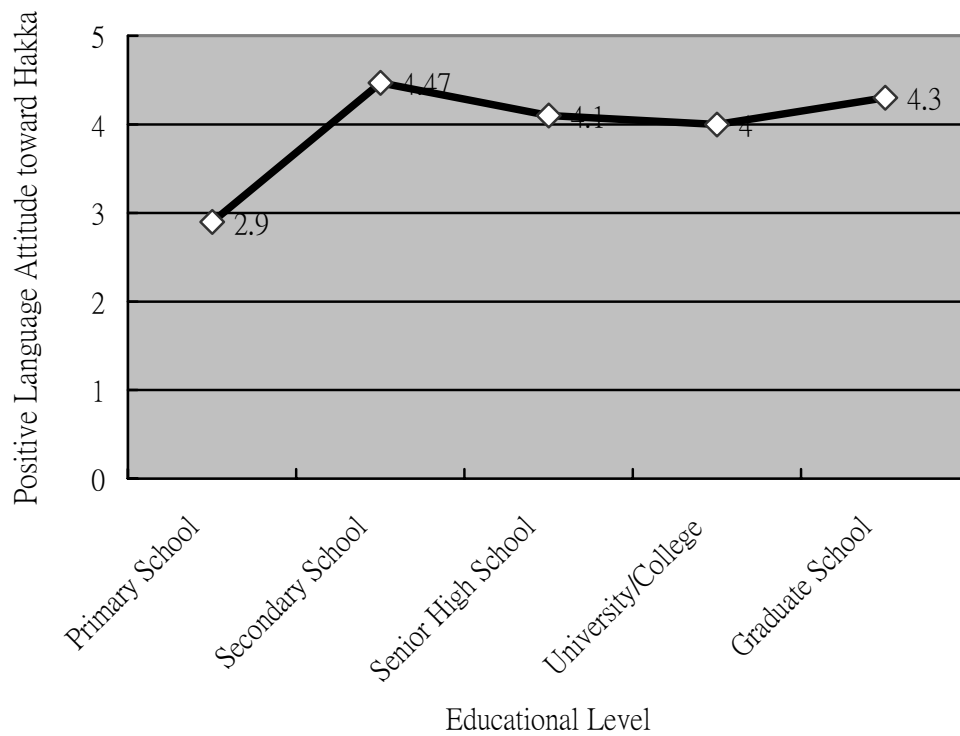


Figure 4.25. Educational Level and Positive Language Attitude toward Hakka

4.2 Results of Interviews

4.2.1 Participant's reasons that they did not speak Hakka

The interview further explored the reasons why the participants did not speak Hakka during communication. The first question asked “Why do you not speak Hakka with people around you (based on your responses in the questionnaires)?” The responses of the participants were depicted and presented in Table 4.4. G1 and G2 participants did not speak Hakka because

(a) they often anticipated that the interlocutors had limited their Hakka proficiency; (b) there were few Hakka people around them, especially in the work domain; and (c) they were used to speaking Mandarin in their daily lives. G3 participants, however, stated that their failure to speak Hakka mainly resulted from their limited Hakka proficiency; in addition, no one spoke Hakka to them.

Table 4.4 The Reasons that Participant do not Speak Hakka

Generation	Domains	Reasons
G1	Children and Grandchildren	1. To respect grandchildren's mother who was a foreign bride 2. G2 and G3 had limited Hakka proficiency. If they do, G2 was willing to speak Hakka to them. (Language accommodation)
	Work	1. Most of the coworkers did not speak Hakka.
G2	Children	1. Be used to speaking Mandarin.
		2. G3 had limited Hakka proficiency.
	Work	1. A few Hakka speakers were around.
		2. Everyone speaks Mandarin, even they were Hakka people.
		3. Hakka friends had limited Hakka proficiency.
	Spouse	1. The spouse was a Waishengren.
		2. Be used to speaking Mandarin
	Brothers	1. Be used to speaking Mandarin
	Classmate	1. Interlocutors had limited Hakka proficiency.
	Others	1. New terms or new concepts (code-switching).
G3	Most Domains	1. Be with limited Hakka proficiency
		2. No one spoke Hakka to them
		3. Be used to speaking Mandarin

A change of language behavior can be seen across the three generations. In addition, the anticipation of the interlocutor's limited Hakka proficiency was the main reason that led G1 and G2 participants to avoid speaking Hakka in some domains. Hence, the interviews echoed the results of questionnaires that the Hakka language was undergoing a shift.

4.2.2 The influence of Hakka media

The participants' opinions about the promotion of the Hakka language are summarized in Table 4.5. Their responses were compared and summarized in accordance with generation differences. It was common for participants to state that they seldom accessed Hakka media when they were asked about the influences of the media. The Hakka media in this study contained all the possible media, including Hakka TV and Hakka broadcasts. It could be assumed that the influence of the Hakka media was fairly limited in the present stage. G1 and G2 even claimed that the Hakka media did not influence their Hakka language proficiency because they thought their Hakka language proficiencies were good enough.

中原大學

Table 4.5 Whether Participants under the Influence of Hakka Media

Generation	Answer and Reasons	
G1	Yes	1. We had more chances to contact different accents.
		2. We learned some interesting slangs and proverbs.
	No	1. The programs tended to perform in Sixian accent more which did not meet the accent we speak (Hailu accent.)
		2. We spoke Hakka well.
		3. We seldom engaged in Hakka media.
G2	Yes	1. We learned the written forms of our language.
		2. Hakka media inspired our desires to speak Hakka.
		3. We had more chances to contact different accents.
	no	1. We spoke Hakka well..
		2. We seldom engaged in Hakka media.
G3	No	1. Hakka programs did not catch our eyes
		2. We seldom engaged in Hakka media.

4.2.3 Participant's desire of learning Hakka language

Table 4.6 summarizes the participants' willingness to learn the Hakka language. There were some similarities among generations: (a) one of the reasons that G1 and G2 participants had the least desire to learn the Hakka language was that they were satisfied with their present Hakka language proficiency; (b) some G2 and G3 participants wanted to learn the Hakka language because they thought that this language stood for their Hakka identity. The details of the

participants' response on their desire for learning the Hakka language were listed as follows.

Table 4.6 Whether Participants are Willing to Learn Hakka Language

Generation	Answer and Reasons	
G1	Yes	1. To have higher Hakka proficiency
	No	1. Be satisfied with our own Hakka proficiency
G2	Yes	1. Hakka language is a symbol of Hakka people.
		2. To teach and education the next generation
		3. Hakka language was our native language
		4. Be beneficial from speaking Hakka in our work domain.
	No	1. Be satisfied with our own Hakka proficiency.
G3	Yes	1. Hakka language was a symbol of Hakka people.
		2. It is interesting to learn Hakka language.
	No	1. It is difficult to learn Hakka language.

4.2.4 The “right” place of learning Hakka language

Table 4.7 summarizes the groups in which the participants thought that the Hakka language should be learned between the home and the school. The similarity across the three generations was that the Hakka language should be learned both at home and at school because it would lead to better efficiency. Some G1 and G2 participants agreed that the Hakka language should be studied at home because the environment was more natural and authentic. Moreover, some G2 and G3 participants stated that the Hakka language should be learned in both domains because learners could have more opportunities to come in contact Hakka with the language.

Table 4.7 The Place That Hakka Language Should be Learned

Generation	Answers and Reasons	
G1	Family	1. It would be more natural to acquire Hakka language at home.
	Both	2. It would be more efficient to learn Hakka language at school and to practice speaking Hakka language at home.
G2	Family	1. It would be more natural to acquire Hakka language at home.
		2. Learners would learn better at home because of the natural exposure.
	Both	1. It would be more efficient to learn Hakka language at school and to practice speaking Hakka language at home.
		2. Hakka language was our native tongue.
		3. It would be better for learners to have more chance to practice speaking Hakka.
	Others	1. It was suggested that parents and teachers should have interaction on children's Hakka language learning.
G3	School	1. It would be enough to learn Hakka language at school.
		2. Nobody spoke Hakka to me at home.
	Both	1. It would be more efficient to learn Hakka language at school and to practice speaking Hakka language at home.
		2. It would be better for learners to have more chance to practice speaking Hakka.
	Other	1. G3 had limited Hakka proficiency but they could recite texts from memory.

4.2.5 Participant's attitudes toward local Taiwanese language education

Table 4.8 summarizes the participants' attitudes toward local Taiwanese language education. The responses were compared and summarized across three generations as follows. All the G1 participants held positive attitudes toward local Taiwanese language education in

Taiwan. Participants across three generations agreed that the Hakka language was the symbol of their identity. The loss of the symbol was equivalent to the loss of their identity. Some G3 participants, such as those who received local Taiwanese language education, held a negative attitude toward local Taiwanese language education because they thought that the local Taiwanese language courses were difficult and not interesting. This was worthy of the educator's attention in language maintenance and language shift.



Table 4.8 Attitudes toward Local Taiwanese Language Education

Generation	Response	
G1	Agree	1. Languages were tools. The more tools one had, the better for him.
		2. It would be glad to hear our descendants to speak Hakka.
		3. It would be a shame if Hakka person are incapable of speaking Hakka.
		4. Hakka language needs to be maintained, because it is our native language.
		5. The more chances to speak Hakka, the better for learning Hakka.
	Other	1. The effect so far was limited.
G2	Agree	1. Hakka language needs to be maintained, because it is our native language.
		2. Learning was a lifelong task.
		3. Taiwan was multiethnic and multicultural.
		4. It would be a pity to lose our native language.
		5. Our descendants had more chances to practice.
	Disagree	1. The school was not a natural environment to learn Hakka language
		2. It would be a burden for our descendants because they learned too many things at the same time.
	Others	1. It depended on where we live.
G3	Agree	1. Hakka language was a symbol of our identity.
		2. It would be interesting to learn Hakka language.
	Disagree	1. The courses were boring.
		2. It is difficult to learn Hakka language.

4.2.6 Participant's Expectation on Children's Language Learning

Table 4.9 summarizes participants' expectations from children's language learning. The similarity among the three generations was that the participants expected their children to learn the Hakka language because it was the symbol of their identity. Two statements were worthy of attention. (1) One of the G2 participants stated that children need to learn the Southern Min language because the Southern Min population constitutes a major proportion of Taiwan's overall population. (2) One of the G3 participants thought that mastering only Mandarin was sufficient for communication. The language shift would be reinforced if the participants thought that language no longer stood for their identity. Hence, the participants' attitudes toward language learning was worthy of attention.

Table 4.9 The Expectation on Children's Language Learning

Generation	Answer	Reasons
G1	Hakka	1. We should not forget our origin.
	No Preference	1. It depended on children's interests.
		2. The more languages one can, the better for him.
G2	Hakka	1. We should not forget our origin.
		2. We had the responsibility to maintain it because we were Hakka people.
	Southern Min	1. We had more chances to speak Southern Min in Taiwan.
	No Preference	1. The more languages one can, the better for him.
		2. It depended on children's interests.
G3	Hakka	1. We had the responsibility to maintain it because we were Hakka people..
	Mandarin	1. One language was enough.

4.2.7 Whether learning Hakka language is a burden for children

Table 4.10 summarizes whether the participants regarded learning the Hakka language as a burden for children. Some G1 and G2 participants, on the one hand, thought that learning the Hakka language was a burden for children if the children did not speak Hakka at home and vice versa. On the other hand, other G1 and G2 stated that children had the potential to learn new things; hence, learning the Hakka language was not a burden for them. Only one G3 participant, a local Taiwanese language learner, regarded learning the Hakka language as a burden.



Table 4.10 Whether Learning Hakka Language a Burden

Generation	Answer	Reasons
G1	Yes	1. They do not speak at home.
		2. If they do not speak Hakka at home, that would be a burden for children.
	No	1. The more languages one can, the better for him.
		2. If they speak Hakka home, Hakka classes at school are just reinforcements.
		3. Children are potential.
		4. We can not forget our origin.
G2	Yes	1. Hakka has no its own written system. This cause confusion for children.
		1. If they do not speak Hakka at home, that would be a burden for children.
	No	2. It is not difficult to learn Hakka language.
		3. It reduces parent's burden to learn Hakka at school.
		4. Language is for communication.
		5. Language is for using.
		6. If children speak Hakka at home, it would not be a burden.
		7. Children are potential.
G3	Yes	It is difficult to learn Hakka language.
	No	It is easy to learn Hakka language.
		It is interesting to learn Hakka language.

4.3 Results of Observations

4.3.1 Code-switching among participants

Code-switching was a subfield of convergence in language accommodation and deserved exploration in a survey of mechanisms of interference (Shepard, Giles, & Poire, 2001; Thomason, 2001). The observations focused on the participants' family domain. The

participants' code-switching is summarized in Table 4.11. In this study, code-switching was categorized as follows: (a) "H + M" means mainly using the Hakka language and code-switching to Mandarin; on the contrary and (b) "M + H" means mainly using Mandarin and code-switching to the Hakka language. In addition, a participant may adopt different language behaviors when speaking to different people. Take G1F(7), for example, she spoke Mandarin to her daughter but spoke Hakka to one of her sons. Therefore, G1F(7)'s language behaviors are marked as "H/M." G2M(21) spoke Hakka to G3 participants who lived in his neighborhood but employed code-switching to Mandarin when speaking to other G3 participants. Hence, G2M(21)'s language behaviors are marked as "H + M/M."



Table 4.11 Participant's Code-switching

	Grandparents & their peer group	Parents & their peer group	Siblings & their peer group	Spouse & their peer group	Children & their peer group	Grandchildren & their peer group
G1M(1)			H	H	H	H+M
G1F(2)			H	H	H	H+M
G1M(3)			H	H	H	M+H
G1M(4)			H		H	M
G1F(5)		H	H	H	H	M+H
G1M(6)		H	H	H	H	H
G1F(7)		H	H	H	H/M	M
G1M(8)		H	H	H	H+M	M
G1M(9)		H	H	M+H	M	M
G1F(10)		H	M+H	H	H+M	M
G2M(11)		H	H	H	H+M	M
G2M(12)		H	H+M	M	M	
G2F(13)		H	H+M		M	
G2M(14)		H	M+H	M	M	
G2M(15)		H	H	M	M	
G2F(16)		H+M	M+H	M	M	
G2F(17)		M+H	M	M	M	
G2M(18)		H+M	M+H		M	
G2F(19)		H+M	H		H+M	
G2F(20)		H+M	M+H	M	M	
G2M(21)	H+M	H+M	M+H/H+M/M		H+M/M	
G2F(22)	H+M	H+M/M+H	H+M/M		H+M	
G2M(23)	H+M	H+M	M+H/M		M+H/M	
G3F(24)	M	M	M			
G3M(25)	M	M	M			
G3M(26)	M	M	M			
G3M(27)	M	M	M			

Table 4.11 clearly presents the boundary between the monolingual and the bilingual. The terms “monolingual” and “bilingual” are defined in accordance with the participants’ language choice in their daily lives. Participants from G1M(1) to G2M(15) were able to communicate with others in Hakka without code-switching. Participants from G2F(16) to

G2M(23) presented weaker Hakka proficiency. All the G3 participants, on the contrary, were monolingual Mandarin speakers and used only kinship terms in the Hakka language, such as “a-gung” (grandfather) and “a-jim” (aunt).

G2M(21) had the most complex language behaviors in this study. This can be illustrated by analyzing the language choice in his sibling domain. He mainly spoke Mandarin with his cousins who lived in Taoyuan County, mainly spoke Hakka with his brother, and mainly spoke Mandarin with his sister. The interlocutors determined the language choice of the participants. G2M(21), G2F(22), and G2M(23) confirmed these statements as well.

4.3.2 Language accommodation

Language accommodation was another focus in the participant observations besides code-switching. It was found that G3 participants accommodated most G1 participants to speak Hakka. On the contrary, G1 participants accommodated most G3 participants to speak Mandarin. In addition, G2 participants were often translators when G1 or G3 were unable to understand each other well. The contents of G1 and G3’s conversations were limited to certain topics due to their limited language proficiency in either the Hakka language or in Mandarin.

Example (1) below illustrates the language accommodation between G1 and G3. Hakka pronunciation is presented in bold and italic fonts and Mandarin pronunciation is presented in italic font. Each sentence is followed by the English translation.

(1) [G1M(1) talking to his grandson, G3M(27), and G2M(14) is aside]

G3M(27): ***A-gung, shit pon le.***

“Grandfather! It is meal time.”

Papa, chi fan.

“Father! It is meal time.”

G1M(1): *Ngì za m lao ngia ba gong hak?*

“Why do not you speak Hakka to your father?”

G3M(27): *She mo?* [look at G2M(14)]

“What?”

G1M(1): *Shuo ke jia hua la. She mo!*

“Speak Hakka! What!”

G3M(27): *Hao la, hao la.*

“Okay! Okay!”

In this example, G3M(27) accommodates G1M(1) to speak Hakka and G1M(1) accommodates G3M(27) to speak Mandarin. Moreover, G3M(27) knows only a few daily routine usages in Hakka, such as “Having a meal!” and “Okay!” These usages have limited communicative function but for basic greetings among people in daily life. In the following example, G2 accommodates G1 participants to speak Hakka.

(2) [G1M(6) asking his son, G2F(22), where his grandson is]

G1M(6): *Wei-hong nou?*

“Where is your son?”

G2F(22): *Lou shang ma ma dai.*

“He is upstairs with mom”

G1M(6): *Mak gai a?*

”What?”

G2M(23): *Pang dang lao ma ma kiung ha.*

“He is upstairs with mom”

In this example, G2M(23) was able to respond G1M(6) in Hakka, but spoke Mandarin, instead, in the beginning. The reason for this might be that G2M(23) was used to expressing himself in Mandarin. G1M(6) named his grandson in Mandarin, even though he was able to speak Hakka with no code-switching. This might also result from the changes in the participant’s language behaviors. However, G1M(6) still used the Hakka final particle “nou” in his expression, though he switched the language to Mandarin in addressing others. In this study, it was common for G1 to accommodate non-fluent G2 participants who were accustomed to speaking Mandarin.

The phenomenon of using terms of address in Mandarin, mentioned in Example (2), was common in this study. Participants tended to address politicians, stars, and singers in Mandarin. This code-switching frequently occurred when participants chatted with each other. Further, the observation of the addressing form corresponded to the boundary of code-switching, as shown in Table 4.3. Participants from G1M(1) to G2M(15) address each other in Hakka; however, those from G2F(16) to G3M(27) address each other in Mandarin.

Chapter 5 Discussion and Conclusion

The first section of this chapter is the discussion, describing the main findings of this study. This is followed by the conclusion, briefly summarizing the findings of the study. The third section presents the significance of this study, depicting the value of this study. Finally the limitations of this study are mentioned by pointing out the difficulties during the implementation of this research.

5.1 Discussion

The purpose of this study was to: (1) compare language choice in different domains and examine whether language shift is occurring; (2) compare language attitude across three generations, to find out if language shift is weakened or strengthened by participant's language attitude; (3) compare the opinions of local Taiwanese language education across three generations, to investigate whether they are under the influence of local Taiwanese language education; and (4) whether other social variables, such as gender and educational levels influence participant's language choice and language attitude.

5.1.1 Participant's language choice reflected Hakka language shift

Consistent with the results of earlier studies, language shifts from the Hakka language to Mandarin occurred across three generations in this study. The number of Hakka speakers dwindled in proportion with the decrease of the participants' age. On the contrary, the proportion of Mandarin speakers grew with a decrease in the participants' age. The effect was significant when examining language choice across generations in different domains.

In further analysis comparing participant's language choice across generations in different domains, it was found that G2 and G1 participants spoke much more Hakka than

G3 participants did. The results of participants' language choice showed that G1 heavily relied on Hakka to communicate with others. G2 had bilingual proficiency in speaking Hakka and Mandarin. G3 participants' Hakka proficiency, however, had the least communicative function among the three generations. It was worthy of note that there was an age gap from age 14 to age 24. The age gap resulted from the criteria of selecting participants.

Participants' frequency of speaking Hakka was further explored in the following session. The frequency was defined as five levels from high to low frequency. It was obvious that most G1 and G2 "always" spoke Hakka in most of the domains. Unlike these results, G3 participants either "seldom" or "rarely" spoke Hakka. The proportion of G3 that "rarely" spoke Hakka was much higher than those who "seldom" did. The results inevitably led to a dramatic language shift from G2 to G3. The results of exploring the frequency of using Hakka seemed constant with the ones of language choice. G1 and G2 participants seldom spoke Hakka to G3 participants. G1 participant "always" spoke Hakka in the "spouse" domains, whereas about half the proportion of G2 participants "sometimes" and "seldom" spoke Hakka in the "spouse" domain.

The G2 participants in this study, unlike the participants of the similar ages in previous studies, still heavily relied on the Hakka language to communicate with others especially in the family domain. In the previous studies, the Hakka language was in a more obvious shift compared to the Southern Min language. Besides, the Mandarin-only policy had the greatest impact on those people who were born from 1960 to 1978 (Shih & Tiunn, 2003). However, the results of this research seem to contradict the previous impression. Sinpu, as a typical Hakka town, with the greater proportion of Hakka people was a possible reason which led to the slower language shift from Hakka toward Mandarin.

Two findings closely complement each other to support that the Hakka language is

frequently used in the second generation. In the questionnaires, we found that about 58% of the second generation members mainly use the Hakka language in the various domains. We further examined G2 participant's frequency of using Hakka language. About 54% of G2 participants claimed that they "usually" or "often" speak Hakka. Besides, they were able to speak fluent Hakka when communicating with the older generation, including parents, grandparents, and other older relatives. These results were further supported by the observation that the G2 participants usually accommodate the G1 participants by speaking Hakka, even for the youngest of the G2 participants.

Conversely, the second generation participants spoke a higher proportion of Mandarin compared to G3 and G3's peer groups. It seemed that the second generation participants have communicative ability in the Hakka language, but they did not speak Hakka to the next generation. The possible reasons were further examined in the interviews. The second generation participants stated that the third generation participants understood no Hakka. The third generation participants, on the other hand, stated the main reason that they did not understand Hakka resulted from rare contact with Hakka. How could the third generation participants acquire Hakka if nobody spoke Hakka to them? Looking at it the other way round, the first and the second generation participants would definitely speak Mandarin to the third generation participants, if the third generation participants could not understand the Hakka language. Apparently, their responses echoed each other and formed a vicious circle in the language shift of Hakka language toward Mandarin.

In addition, code-switching happened across three generations with different purposes. The first generation participants switched their language to Mandarin when they iterated other's statements or for the purpose of mocking others. The representative example was that they repeated the statements from news reporters in Mandarin with their satirical tongues. The second generation participants switched their language to Mandarin

mostly with the same intentions as the first generation participants, but also partly because of their insufficient Hakka proficiency. G3 in this study seldom spoke Hakka. The Hakka language appeared only when they were addressing others, such as grandparents and other relatives. In other words, their Hakka proficiency is insufficient for them to communicate with others.

To sum up, language shift of Hakka toward Mandarin happened across three generations in Sinpu. Feifel (1994) claimed a language shift was obvious in the second generation. In this study, the Hakka language shift was obscure in the second generation since most of the participants still talked to each other in Hakka. Moreover, the language shift between G2 and G3 presented a wider gap in this study.

5.1.2 Participant's language attitude toward Hakka reflected Hakka language shift

Examining language attitude toward Hakka across generations found that G3 participants had the least positive attitude toward Hakka language— indicating a language shift of Hakka in Sinpu. Participant's language attitude seemed to have a negative growth across three generations. Generally speaking, the first and the second generation participants held comparable language attitudes toward Hakka except for some diverse opinions in details. For example, some second generation participants agreed that speaking Hakka was not appropriate on formal occasions. Also, some second generation participants felt embarrassed to speak with a Hakka accent. The first generation participants, on the contrary, held opposing opinions toward these two statements.

There was a noticeable decline in language attitudes from the second to the third generation participants. The third generation participants seemed to have a weaker sense of Hakka identity. The following examples served to clarify the negative attitude of the third generation participants: (1) they disagreed that the Hakka language made them feel intimate; (2) they also disagreed that they were fond of speaking Hakka. Finally, they were

not proud of speaking the Hakka language. These were quite different attitudes from those of the first and second generation participants.

The negative growth of language attitude weakened participant's awareness of maintaining Hakka, even though most of the G3 participants agreed that Hakka people should be capable of speaking the Hakka language. G3M(27) stated controversially as follows :

Research: What are you?

G3M(27): I am a Hakka person.

Research: Do you think that it is must for a Hakka person to be able to speak Hakka?

G3M(27): Absolutely yes. It would be a shame that Hakka people are incapable of speaking Hakka.

Research: Who told you so?

G3M(27): I think so.

Research: So, do you speak Hakka at home?

G3M(27):.....It would be okay that Hakka children are incapable of speaking Hakka. I mean it would be a shame for an "adult" Hakka person who is incapable of speaking Hakka.

It could be assumed from this example that participants strongly agreed that the Hakka language was a must for a Hakka person. But the actions actually fell far short of the words.

5.1.3 The promotion of the Hakka language resulted in the arousal of maintaining it

Examining interview data qualitatively brought to light the meanings participants attached to their native languages. It was found that in the interview responses that (1) the spread of the Hakka language from the media has had limited effect so far; (2) participants were willing to learn the Hakka language because they viewed this language to be a symbol of their identity; (3) participants claimed the Hakka language should be learned both at home and at school to achieve better effects; (4) participants agreed with the promotion of the Hakka language in education because it was their responsibility to maintain it as Hakka people; and finally (5) participants expected their children to learn Hakka as a priority instead of learning the other local Taiwanese languages.

It seems that the effects of promoting the Hakka language so far has had limited effect. Our government has promoted the Hakka language with great efforts. This can be assumed from the establishment of the Council of Hakka Affairs and the Hakka television station. By establishing these organizations, the government intended to arouse the awareness of maintaining the Hakka language. However, participants in this study seldom came into contact with these media. It was thus clear that the promotion of the Hakka language has had limited effects on these participants.

When comparing participants' responses with regards to the desire to learn Hakka, most of the G1 and G3 participants stated they were satisfied with their Hakka proficiency. By examining participants' proficiency and fluency in speaking Hakka, they could actually claim so. The controversy was that they did not speak Hakka in some domains but agreed to maintain the Hakka language. This question was included in the interviews. G1 and G2 participants always anticipated that G3 participants were incapable of speaking Hakka. Also, G2 participants expected G3 participants to learn English well because of language globalization. In other words, G2 expected G3 participants to learn English prior to Hakka,

if learning languages was really a burden for children.

The third generation participants in this study were more experienced in local Taiwanese language education. They took Hakka language courses at school, but they did not use it in their daily life. Here, the learning and the use presented a wide gap. Hence, the language shift of Hakka was predictable.

5.1.4 Social variables weakly correlated to Hakka language shift

It seems that the social variables, such as gender and educational background, were weakly related to participants' language use and language attitude. For example, gender did not closely correlate with language choice. Neither the male nor the female tended to speak more Hakka within the different domains. Neither did the education background affect participants' language use and language attitude. Neither better nor worse-educated participants tended to speak more Hakka or hold more positive attitudes toward the Hakka language.

However, the females tended to have comparatively more positive attitudes toward Hakka languages. Besides, participants of university or college background seemed to use relatively less Hakka and hold less positive attitudes toward the Hakka language. These were two inconsistencies in terms of participants' language use and language attitude.

To sum up, neither gender nor educational background were closely related with participants' language use and language attitude. In this section, gender difference does not lead to difference in language use. However, the female's language attitude toward Hakka seems to be slightly higher than the one of the male. Educational background as well, is not closely tied to participants' language use and language attitude in this study.

5.2 Conclusion

The study investigated the Hakka language shift by examining participant's language choice and language attitude in a Hakka community in Sinpu Town. The four research questions presented in Chapter 1 can be answered at this stage.

RQ1: How does language choice influence language shift of Hakka in Sinpu?

Participants' tended to speak less and less Hakka in their daily life with the decrease in their age. A language shift from Hakka to Mandarin was visible through the analysis of language domains and participants' frequency of speaking Hakka. Besides, the language shift from Hakka to Mandarin has also been supported by observing participants' code-switching and language accommodation between Hakka and Mandarin.

RQ2: How does language attitude influence language shift of Hakka in Sinpu?

Participants' attitude towards Hakka presented a decline across the three generations. However, G1 and G2 participants held nearly the same attitude toward the Hakka language. The older the participants were, the more positive their attitude toward Hakka they had, and vice versa.

RQ3: Does the promotion of Hakka language slack the language shift from Hakka to Mandarin in Sinpu?

The promotion of the Hakka language has resulted in little influence. For example, participants in this study seldom came into contact with the Hakka media. Besides, the local Taiwanese language education in primary schools did not stimulate G3 participants to speak more Hakka in their daily life. However, most participants in this study agreed that the Hakka language needed to be maintained. In addition, the Hakka language was viewed

as a symbol for the Hakka people.

RQ4: How do social variables, such as gender and education background, influence language shift of Hakka in Sinpu?

Participants' social background in terms of their gender and educational levels didn't correlate strongly with the Hakka language shift in this study. For example, the participants with graduate degrees in this study tended to speak more Hakka than college students whereas college participants spoke less Hakka than high-school graduated participants.

To sum up, it was found that the Hakka community in Sinpu is a simple diglossia community without the interferences from other languages. In this community, the Hakka language is the low variety, even though it is mainly used in the informal domains, such as family and intra-group domains. Mandarin, on the contrary, is the high variety which can be used in most of the domains.

In addition, the Hakka community in Sinpu is experiencing a language shift. The language shift, from the Hakka language toward Mandarin, happened relatively slower between G1 and G2 participants. In contrast, the language shift between G2 and G3 happened dramatically. The present study enhanced the previous studies' findings by providing a much more detailed examination of the language shift. Moreover, the three methods, i.e. surveys, interviews and observations, complemented each other well, for each emphasized a different aspect of language shift.

Although the Hakka language has been shifting toward Mandarin, most of the participants in this study still consider that it is important to be able to speak Hakka as they are Hakka people. With the great promotion of local Taiwanese languages, the Hakka

language can be maintained in the Hakka speaking community, if it is spoken regularly and policy makers accept the view that multilingual abilities cause prosperity in multiethnic societies.

5.3 Significance

It is hoped that answering these research questions will contribute to the understanding of the relationship between language use, language attitude and language shift. The research concludes with implications for theory, research, and practice. First, this research, by implementing observation, provides an alternative method to the exploration of language shift. In so doing it seeks to contribute to the growing understanding of how and to what extent language choice and language attitude, in the authentic environment, shapes the process of language shift.

Secondly, this study leads to a better understanding of language shift in terms of the high proportion and high simplicity of Hakka people in Sinpu. In other words, to explore a simple context and people with consistent characteristics launch the studies of language shift new views. Finally, the results of this study are useful for the scholars and educators who are responsible for course planning or teaching in the Hakka language by making it more interesting.

5.4 Limitation

These methods of investigating participants' language behavior are not without problems. First, the number of G3 participants is in a shortage due to the researcher's intention of controlling participants' consistency and simplicity. Thus, the result of the G3 group is limited when trying to make generalizations. Besides, participants in this study are the most local Taiwanese Hakka people in Sinpu town. Since the study involved only the

most indigenous Hakka people in Sinpu, the results cannot be generalized. Future research is obviously required, but this is a step forward in terms of the method of investigation and the findings.

Secondly, there is a possible controversy that participants who were observed are not exactly the same as the ones involved in surveys and interviews. With the intention of collecting the most authentic data from participants in the observation, the research does not purposefully gather all the participants at one time or at one occasion. Therefore, the conversation among participants happened in the most natural contexts. In order to obtain more reliable and objective data, further research that aims at finding evidence for language shift could include non-indigenous Hakka participants in a macro-scope.



Reference

- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language*. UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in Society* 13, 2, 145-204.
- Bell, A. (2006). Speech accommodation theory and audience design. *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Oxford: Elsevier 648-651.
- Blom, J. P. & Gumperz, J. J. (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structure: code-switching in Norway. In *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. (J. Gumperz, eds., pp. 407-434.) New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Brenzinger, M. (1997). Language contact and language displacement. In *The handbook of sociolinguistics*. (F. Coulmas Eds., pp. 273-284). (Blackwell handbooks in linguistics, No. 4). UK: Oxford.
- Brenzinger, M. (2006). Language maintenance and shift. *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Oxford: Elsevier 542-549.
- Brown, H. D. (1980). *Principles of language learning and teaching*. (4th ed.). New Jersey: Longman.
- Chambers, J. K. (2000). Region and language variation. *English world-wide* 21(2) 169-199.
- Chen, S. C. (2003). *The spread of English in Taiwan: changing use and shifting attitudes*. Taipei: Crane.
- Chen, S. C. (2007). The study on language vitality of Taiwan languages. In *Multiculture in language policy*. (Cheng, C. C., Ho, D. A., Hsiao, S. Y., Chiang, M. H., & Chang, Y. L., Eds., pp 7-18). (Language, society, and culture, series II). Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica. [Text in Chinese].
- Chen, W. S. (2004). *General Investigation on Hakka People* (93022564.). Taipei: Council of Hakka Affairs. [Text in Chinese].

- Clyne, M. (2003). *Dynamics of language contact: English and immigrant languages*. New York: Cambridge.
- Cooper, R. L. (1983). Comment on L. B. Breiborde's levels of analysis in sociolinguistic explanation: bilingual code switching, social relations, and domain theory. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 39, 57-62.
- Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, Republic of China. (2006). *Social indicators 2005*. Retrieved May 15, 2007, from <http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/lp.asp?ctNode=3100&CtUnit=1033&BaseDSD=7>
- Feifel, K. E. (1994). *Language attitude in Taiwan: a social evaluation of language in social change*. Taipei: Crane.
- Fishman, J. A. (1964). Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry. *Linguistics*, 9, 32-70.
- Fishman, J. (1972). Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry: revisited. *Language in Sociocultural Change* (76-134). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *Word*, 15, 325-40.
- Frey, J. W. (1945). Amish "Triple Talk". *American Speech*, 20, 85-98.
- Giles, H., Richard Y. B., and Donald, M. T. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*, ed. by Howard Giles, 307-349. NY: Academic Press.
- Giles, H. (2001). Speech accommodation. In Mesthrie R. (ed.) *Concise encyclopedia of sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Elsevier. 193-197.
- Giles, H., Liang, B., Noels, K.A., & McCann, R.M. (2001). Communicating across and

- within generations: Taiwanese, Chinese- Americans, and Euro- Americans perceptions of communication. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 11(2), 161-179.
- Government Information Office, Republic of China. *Brief introduction of Taiwan*. Retrieved May 15, 2007, from <http://info.gio.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=18362&ctNode=2527&mp=21> [Text in Chinese].
- Government Information Office, Republic of China. (2006). *World annual*. Retrieved May 15, 2007, from <http://www7.www.gov.tw/todaytw/2006/TWtaiwan/ch01/2-1-17-0.html> [Text in Chinese].
- Gu, G. S. (2007). An introduction of Taiwan Hakka language. Taipei: Wunan. [Text in Chinese].
- Guitart, Jorge M. (1977) Question of Language Loyalty. [Lektos: Interdisciplinary Working Papers in Language Sciences, Special Issue. Full Text from ERIC](#) (ED135227)
- Gumperz, J. J. (1988). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Huang, S. F. (1994). *Language, society, and ethnic consciousness: the study of Taiwan's languages and society*. Taipei: Crane.
- Hsu, H. J. (1998). Language shift in a four-generation family in Taiwan. In *Symposium About Language and Society- Austin VI*. (pp.158-171). Texas: Texas Linguistic Forum.
- Komondouros, M. & McEntee- Atlianis, L. (2007). Language attitudes, shift and the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Greek orthodox community in Istanbul. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 28 (5)365-384.
- Leinonen, T. and Tandefelt, M. (2007). Evidence of language loss in progress? mother-tongue proficiency among students in Finland and Sweden. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 187/188 p.185-203

- Lieberson, S. (1980). Procedures for improving sociolinguistic surveys of language maintenance and language shift. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 25, 11-27
- Liang, S. W. (2004). An investigation on language use of Taiwan Hakka in 2004 (9363322.). Taipei: Council of Hakka Affairs. [Text in Chinese].
- Lin, B. Y. (1997). Chronicle of Sinpu Town. Retrieved May, 20, 2008, from <http://county.nioerar.edu.tw/books.php?pathway=view&borrowno=f0042431> [Text in Chinese].
- Milroy, L. & Gordon, M. (2003). *Sociolinguistics: methods and interpretation*. UK: Blackwell.
- Mo, R. P. J. (2000). Taiwan on the brink of reversing language shift: its current development and contributory factors. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Purdue University.
- Romaine, S. (1989). *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ryan, E.B. , Giles, H. & Sebastian, R. J. (1982). An integrative perspective for the study of attitudes toward language variation. In Ryan, Ellen B. & Giles, H. (ed.). *Attitudes towards Language Variation*, 3-19. Edward Arnold: London.
- Sandel, T. S., Chao, W.Y., & Liang, C.H. (2006). Language shift and language accomodation across family generations in Taiwan. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27(2), 126-147.
- Sandel, T.L. (2003). Linguistic capital in Taiwan: The KMT's mandarin language policy and its perceived impact upon the language practices of bilingual Mandarin and Taigi speakers. *Language in Society* 32(4), 523-551.
- Sapsford, R. & Jupp, V. (2006). *Data collection and analysis* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Scotton, C. M. & Ury, W. (1977). Bilingual strategies: the social function of

- code-switching. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 13, 5-20.
- Shepard, C. A., Giles, H., & Le Poire, B. A. (2001). Communication accommodation theory. In W. P. Robinson & H. Giles. (Eds.), *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Shih, C. F. & Tiunn, H. K. (2003). The research of language policy and enactment of the law of language rights. Avanguard: Taipei.
- Shiao, S. Y. (2007). Language maintenance and shift in Southern Min and Hakka families in a bilingual speech community. *Language and Linguistic* 8(3), 667-710.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. UK: Cambridge.
- Thomason, S. G. (2001). *Language contact*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Tse, J. K. P. (2007). Language shift and RLS in Taiwan. In *Multiculture in language policy*. (Cheng, C. C., Ho, D. A., Hsiao, S. Y., Chiang, M. H., & Chang, Y. L., Eds., pp 7-18). (Language, society, and culture, series II). Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica. [Text in Chinese].
- T'sou, B. K. & You, R. J. (2007). *A Course in Sociolinguistics*. Taipei: Wunan. [Text in Chinese].
- Tulasiewicz, W. & Adams, A. (2005). *Teaching the mother tongue in a multilingual Europe*. London: Continuum.
- Verma, M. K. (1976). Code-switching: Hindi-English. *Lingua*, 38, 2, 153-65.
- V. D. Berg, M. E. (1986). Language planning and language use in Taiwan: social identity, language accommodation, and language choice behavior. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 59, 97-115.
- Wardhaugh, R. (2000). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. (3rd ed.). UK: Blackwell.
- Weinreich, U. (1968). *Language in contact*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Yesh, H. N., Chan, H. C., & Cheng, Y. S. (2004). *Language use in Taiwan: Language*

proficiency and domain analysis. *Journal of Taiwan Normal University*. 49(1), 75-108.

Young, R. (1988). Language maintenance and language shift in Taiwan. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*, 9(4), 323-338.

Young, R., Huang, S. F, Ochoa, A. & Kuhlman, N. (1992). Language attitudes in Taiwan. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 98, 5-14.



中原大學

Appendix A

問卷

親愛的受試者，您好：

很高興您撥冗參加這次研究調查。設計這份問卷的用意，是想瞭解客語，在新竹縣新埔鎮語言轉移的情形。打擾幾分鐘的時間，請教幾個簡單的問題。回答時，請依據實際情形在☐打V，或在_____填答即可。您所提供的資料，僅做為學術研究之用，絕不會將您個人資料，洩漏給他人，請您放心作答。謝謝您的合作。

祝您

身體健康，萬事如意

中原大學應用外國語文學系

指導教授 許慧如 教授

研究生 呂亭慧

受訪者基本資料

1. 姓名：_____
2. 性別： ☐ (1) 男性 ☐ (2) 女性
3. 出生年：民國_____年
4. 出生地：_____縣(市)_____鄉(鎮、市、區)
5. 十五歲以前居住最久的地方：_____縣(市)_____鄉(鎮、市、區)
6. 現居地：_____縣(市)_____鄉(鎮、市、區)
7. 教育程度：(包含就讀中)

☐ (1) 國小以下

☐ (2) 國小

☐ (3) 國(初)中

☐ (4) 國(初)中

☐ (5) 高(中)職

☐ (6) 大學(專)

☐ (7) 碩博士

☐ (8) 其他 _____
8. 請問您目前從事的職業：

☐ (1) 軍

☐ (2) 公

☐ (3) 教

☐ (4) 商

☐ (5) 工

☐ (6) 農

☐ (7) 上班族

☐ (8) 學生

☐ (9) 自由業

☐ (11) 家管 ☐

☐ (12) 退休

☐ (13) 其他 _____

[問卷正式開始]

9-1. 請問您對下列語言的瞭解程度如何？

了解程度 語言	(1) 完全懂	(2) 大部份懂	(3) 約懂一半	(4) 少部份懂	(5) 完全不懂
a. 客語	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. 普通話	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. 福佬話	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9-2. 請問您對以下幾種語言說得流利程度？

流利程度 語言	(1) 很流利	(2) 流利	(3) 普通	(4) 不流利	(5) 不會說
a. 客語	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. 普通話	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. 福佬話	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

在 9-1 或 9-2 【客語】選擇(1). (2). (3). (4)灰底者續問第 10 題；同時選擇 (5)則跳

問第 11 題

10-1. 您最主要使用(講)的語言是？(單選)

使用語言 對象或場合	(1) 客語	(2) 華語	(3) 閩南話	(4) 無此場合或對象
a. 與兒子交談	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. 與女兒交談	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. 與孫子交談	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. 與孫女交談	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. 與父親交談	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. 與母親交談	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. 與祖父交談	☐	☐	☐	☐
h. 與祖母交談	☐	☐	☐	☐
i. 兄弟間	☐	☐	☐	☐
j. 姊妹間	☐	☐	☐	☐

q. 社區鄰里生活交談	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
r. 客家朋友占多數之 聚會	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

11. 身為客家人一定要會說客語

☐ (1) 非常同意 ☐ (2) 同意 ☐ (3) 不同意 ☐ (4) 非常不同意 ☐ (5) 很難說

12. 我覺得客語很親切

☐ (1) 非常同意 ☐ (2) 同意 ☐ (3) 不同意 ☐ (4) 非常不同意 ☐ (5) 很難說

13. 我覺得客語比別的語言好聽

☐ (1) 非常同意 ☐ (2) 同意 ☐ (3) 不同意 ☐ (4) 非常不同意 ☐ (5) 很難說

14. 我覺得正式場合不應該說客語

☐ (1) 非常同意 ☐ (2) 同意 ☐ (3) 不同意 ☐ (4) 非常不同意 ☐ (5) 很難說

15. 我覺得會說客語對我個人有加分作用

☐ (1) 非常同意 ☐ (2) 同意 ☐ (3) 不同意 ☐ (4) 非常不同意 ☐ (5) 很難說

16. 我覺得我的客語能力對我的生活沒有影響

☐ (1) 非常同意 ☐ (2) 同意 ☐ (3) 不同意 ☐ (4) 非常不同意 ☐ (5) 很難說

17. 我覺得有客家口音很尷尬

☐ (1) 非常同意 ☐ (2) 同意 ☐ (3) 不同意 ☐ (4) 非常不同意 ☐ (5) 很難說

18. 我喜歡說客語

☐ (1) 非常同意 ☐ (2) 同意 ☐ (3) 不同意 ☐ (4) 非常不同意 ☐ (5) 很難說

19. 我喜歡別人和我說客語

☐ (1) 非常同意 ☐ (2) 同意 ☐ (3) 不同意 ☐ (4) 非常不同意 ☐ (5) 很難說

20. 我以說客語為榮

☐ (1) 非常同意 ☐ (2) 同意 ☐ (3) 不同意 ☐ (4) 非常不同意 ☐ (5) 很難說

Appendix B

訪談

1. (根據問卷 10-2)請問您未使用客語交談的原因為何?
2. 請問您認為近年來，客語傳播媒體的增加,對於您客語聽說能力有何影響?
3. 請問您願意學習客語嗎?為什麼?
4. 請問您認為客語需要在學校學嗎?還是在家學或說就夠了?為什麼?
5. 請問你對本土語言教育的態度為何?為什麼?
6. 請問您最希望子女學習的本土語言是什麼?為什麼?
7. 請問您認為本土語言的學習,是否為子女的負擔?



中原大學

Title: Language Shift of Hakka in Sinpu Town, Hsinchu County

Name: Ting- hui Lu

Affiliation: Department of Applied Linguistics and Language Studies, Chung Yuan
Christian University (中原大學), Taiwan

Email: g9556006@cycu.edu.tw

Thematic Strand: Sociolinguistics

Biodata:

Ting-hui Lu (呂亭慧) is a graduate student in Chung Yuan Christian University.

She studies in the department of Applied Linguistics and Language Studies. Her research interest is sociolinguistics, especially the subfield of language maintenance and language shift. She is now making preparations to strive for her Ph. D. degree in National Taiwan Normal University.

中原大學