CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

Much research has been done in the area of language use, language attitudes and bilingualism. Such studies have had a wide range of focuses and purposes and employed a variety of research approaches. This chapter is an attempt to survey some of the studies that contribute to an understanding of this current study and to give credit to the authors.

2.1 Language attitudes

In the article (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970) entitled *Language attitudes studies: a brief survey of methodological approaches*, Rebecca Agheyisi and Joshua K. Fishman summarized some useful methods that have been used for the study of language attitudes. In their article, they list a number of studies that have been done and the type of methods employed in each study.

A questionnaire is the most often used method in language attitudes study. The questions that have been asked on these questionnaires have been valuable in giving a general picture of how people feel about their languages.

Interviews are similar to the questionnaire in the way that they are also a direct approach. The problem with this method lies with difficulties in organizing the data since the data is normally more random.

Commitment measure is a less direct instrument for measuring language attitudes study compared to a questionnaire. In this approach, a subject is asked to commit him or herself to a certain activity without actually doing it. This is done by asking

questions like "Would you agree to …?" According to Agheyisi and Fishman, the main strength of this method is found in the fact that it taps the affective component as well as cognitive component. The idea is that a true attitude may remain concealed if a simple direct question is asked, but if a subject is asked to commit to an action, it is much more difficult to conceal the attitudes.

The matched-guise approach is one of the most popular indirect methods for measuring language attitudes. The pure matched-guise approach aims at total control of all variables except language. Agheyisi and Fishman summarized this approach as:

> This technique requires that selected groups of judges evaluate the personality traits of speakers whose tape-recorded voices are played to them. The recorded voices are generally those of individuals, who, because of their native-like speaking ability in the two languages or varieties represented, have each recorded translated versions of the same text. This fact is, of course, concealed from the judges to believe that each language or variety is spoken by a different speaker (1970: 146).

On the negative side of this method is the fact that it requires considerable time, and it is always difficult to control all the variables. It will very likely take lots of time to find the right speaker(s) and record an adequate text. On the positive side, the matched-guise approach may uncover facts that would not be obtained by simply asking questions on a questionnaire.

Observation is an indirect method of assessing language attitudes. Its primary value is found in the idea that one can potentially infer an attitude towards a language by observing how and when people in a given community use that language. However, difficulties in analyzing data and 'the observer's paradox' (the subtle changes in the situation and the natural behavior of the observee caused by the presence of the observer) are inevitable drawbacks that a researcher has to deal with while using this method.

Fasold (1984:148) summarized three trends in language attitudes study. One trend of language attitudes study is strictly limited to attitudes towards language itself. Subjects in these studies are asked to evaluate a given language by determining whether that language variety is 'rich', 'poor', 'beautiful', 'ugly', 'old-fashion', 'modern' or the like. However, more often the definition of language attitudes is broadened to include attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or dialect. A further broadening definition of language attitudes takes into account all sorts of behavior concerning language to be treated, including attitudes towards language maintenance and planning efforts.

Edwards (1994:97-102) also discussed language attitudes. He raised two points that need to be taken into consideration in attitude studies. The first is that inconsistencies often exist between assessed attitudes and actions presumably related to them. The 'classic' study of attitudes-behavior inconsistency of a Chinese couple touring the United States in the early 1930s is given as an example. The second point mentioned is that there is sometimes confusion between belief and attitudes; this is particularly so in the domain of language attitudes. For example, a mother may believe that French is more important for her children's career success; yet she may loathe the language.

Edwards suggested three major measurement techniques: content analysis, direct assessment and indirect assessment. Content analysis is seen to include historical and sociological observation, as well as ethnographic studies. Direct assessment usually involved questionnaire or interview methods, while the matched-guise approach is the best example of indirect measurement of language attitudes.

Baker (1988) took one chapter to discuss the issue of attitudes and bilingualism in his book entitled *Key issues in bilingualism and bilingual education*. He defined attitudes as "hypothetical constructs that are inferred, conceptual inventions hopefully aiding the description and explanation of behavior; attitudes are learned predispositions, not

inherited or generically endowed, and are likely to be relatively stable over time." (1988:114) He listed three important reasons that attitude measurement is rarely valid: attitude vs. reality; environment of testing and sample of people.

Baker (1992) later discussed language attitudes in his book entitled *Attitudes and Language* in more depth and length. Language attitude theory and research are discussed from different perspectives followed by research on the Welsh language illustrating and advancing these issues. He points out that language attitude is an umbrella term, under which resides a variety of specific attitudes. He listed eight of them as follows (1992:29):

- Attitudes to language variation, dialect and speech style,

- Attitudes to learning a new language,

- Attitudes to a specific minority language,

- Attitudes to language groups, communities and minorities,

- Attitudes to language lessons,

- Attitudes to uses of a specific language,

- Attitudes of parents to language learning, and

- Attitudes to language preference.

Baker (1992:41-47) suggested that there is a possible correlation between language attitudes and the subjects' age, gender, school [7], language ability, language background[8], and cultural background as Figure 4 shows.

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[7] School refers to the educational context in which language attitudes develop and change (Baker1992: 43).
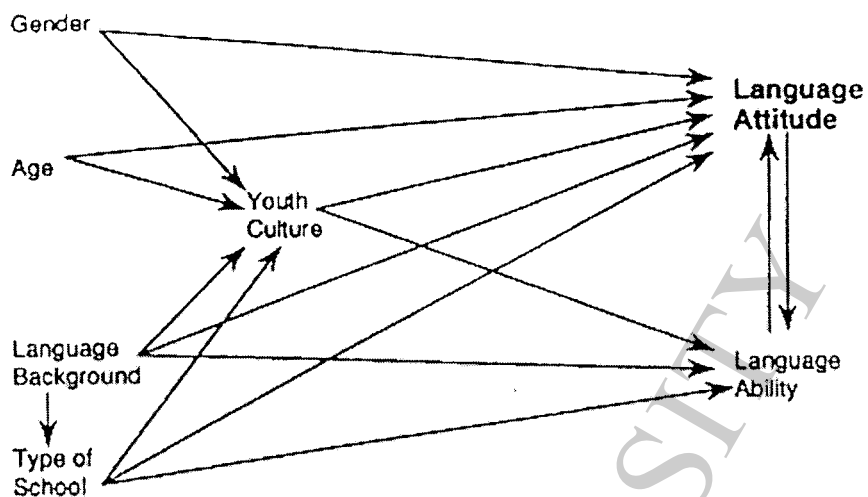
Figure 4 Determinants of language attitudes (adapted
from Baker 1992: 45)

He also concluded that language background as the single most important effect on
attitudes to bilingualism (1992:93).

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[8] Language background refers to the language use of family and friends, community and youth culture, mass
media and identification models, peers groups and 'pop' culture (Baker 1992: 44).
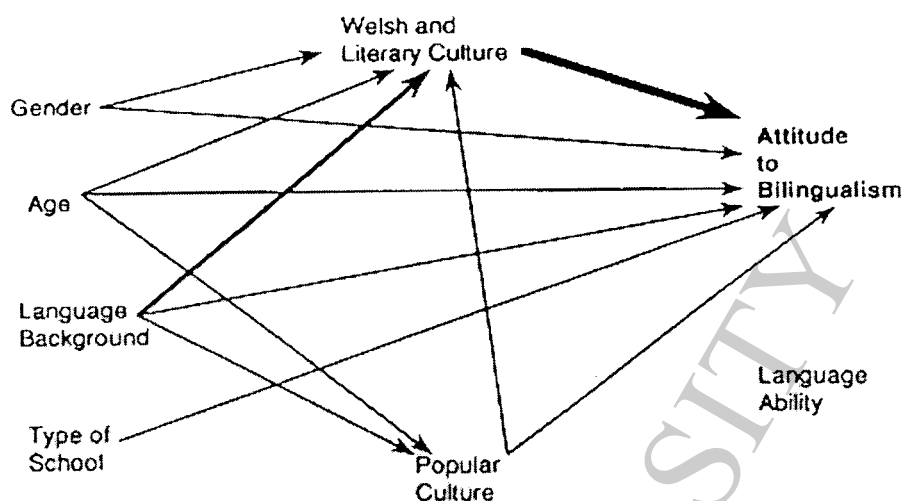
Figure 5 Language attitudes and bilingualism model
(adapted from Baker 1992: 93)

Note: The thickness of the arrows represents the strength of the association.

Baker addressed the issue of attitudes change in both of these books. In (1988:140) he concluded:

> Attitude changes both as a function of individual needs and motives and as a function of social situation. The need for success, reward and cognitive consistency interacts with the effect of pleasurable contexts and environments and valued models. Attitudes can change through activity which is self-directed and purposefully planned, as well as through the need for security and status within a group and through societal demands. Attitude change is essentially a cognitive activity, yet is formulated through social activity.

In Ladegaard (2000), the relationship between attitude and behavior in language in a bidialectal community was investigated. Adolescent male and female subjects were recorded and index-scores of their linguistic behavior compared to their assessment of in-group members in a verbal-guise attitude experiment, and to their attitudes concerning language usage in a questionnaire. It was hypothesized that male subjects'

language would be closer to the vernacular, and that they would also express more positive attitudes towards in-group members than would female subjects. No significant correlation between attitude and behavior was found in the quantitative analysis, but results from the attitude-questionnaire support the hypothesis: male subjects have more vernacular features in their language and also express more genuinely positive attitudes towards the local vernaculars than do female subjects. Finally, methodological and theoretical implications of these results are discussed, emphasizing the importance of using eclectic approaches in future research on attitude-behavior relations in language.

Preeya (1995) did her dissertation on language attitudes. In the study, the author investigated the attitudinal reaction of speakers of Central Thai and speakers of Northern Thai towards the dialect and speakers of their own group and of the other group by using the matched-guise approach. The matched-guise experiment was conducted in two universities: Chiang Mai university in North Thailand and Thammasat University in Bangkok. The informants were asked to evaluate each voice on fourteen personality characteristics on a five-point bipolar scale. The fourteen personality characteristics are physical attractiveness, education, economic status, occupational status, self-confidence, sociability, intelligence, sincerity, likeability, friendliness, trustworthiness, generosity, gentleness and religiousness. The results of the study showed that Central Thai speakers were rated favorably in regard to characteristics of competence and status dimensions such as education, social and economic status, while Northern Thai speakers were rated favorably with regard to characteristics of personal integrity and social attractiveness dimensions such as friendliness, sincerity and trustworthiness. The findings were interpreted as evidence of language loyalties as well as social significance of urban versus rural speech styles.

Benjamas Khamsakul (1998) investigated the attitudes of the So ethnic group in Thailand towards their language and the use of the language with data obtained from

a self-evaluation questionnaire. The result of the study shows that the attitudes of the So people towards their own language and linguistic group is neutral. But there is a significant difference in the language use and age. The younger generation uses less So in their communication compared with the older generation.

2.1.1 Language attitudes studies in China

Although language attitude study in China does not have a long history and not much research on language attitudes has been done, some Chinese scholars have shared their thoughts regarding a different perspective of language attitudes study.

Zhang W. (1988) published an article entitled *Bilinguals' language attitudes and their influence* in which he discussed language attitudes with case studies from different minority groups in China. He listed nine social factors that correlate with language attitudes: social development, cultural background, population, age, gender, occupation, group identity, education and rural and urban difference.

Liu J. (1990) discussed language attitudes in theory and practice. In this article, language attitude is defined as people's evaluation of the value of a language including its function, social status and development. Compared with other attitudes, language attitudes have three features: stability, flexibility and sociability. Attitudes towards a certain language correlate with the function of the language, ethnic identity of the speaker, economic status of the speaker of the language, orthography, population, geography, inter-ethnic relation and religion. "Generally speaking, people have better attitudes towards the ethnic languages with an orthography than those who don't have one" (1990:125).[9](Author's translation from Chinese)

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[9] This quote is translated from Chinese into English by the author.

Huang H. (1990) did research on Yi people's attitudes towards bilingual education. A questionnaire consisting of ten questions was administered to 120 Yi people from Liangshan Yi Prefecture in Sichuan province. Seven of the questions aimed at finding out their cognitive attitudes while the other three elicited behavior attitudes. In his research, he found that there is a skewing between people's cognitive attitudes and behavior attitudes. Many subjects showed a very positive attitude towards their own language but only a few had a positive attitude towards bilingual education. Huang suggested the reason for the existence of this skewing lies in the lack of motivation caused by lack of institutional support. To improve the social functional status of Yi is the key to solving this problem.

Dai and Zhang (1990) did research on language attitudes of the Mulam people in Guangxi province. The Mulam people have very positive attitude towards the spoken language. They believe that the language is passed down to them by their ancestors, and it is an important symbol to distinguish them from other groups who live in the same area sharing the same dressing style and life style. However, they don't see the need to have a Mulam writing system for the following reasons: long history of using Chinese, high level education in Chinese and belief that their ancestor's writing system was Chinese.

In another study done by Dai with another co-researcher Chen in 1993, the language attitudes of Pumi people who live in Yunnan province were investigated. Similar to the Mulam people, the Pumi people have positive attitudes towards their own language to some degree. They consider the language as the treasure of the group, a significant symbol distinguishing the Pumi people from other people group around them. But they are considerably negative about having a literacy program in Pumi. A common view among Pumi people is that literacy in Pumi is not needed. Learning Chinese is enough. At the same time, language shift in Pumi is a common phenomenon, shifting to Lisu or Bai which are the LWC. According to Dai and Chen, "Pumi people still love their own language but they are open to many kinds of

changes taking place in their language including shift to other languages." (Author's translation from Chinese)

Wang J. (1983:5) did research on the role that the language policies play in the minority policy of China. He pointed out that "Different minority groups have different attitudes towards the orthography of their languages depending on the function of the orthography, but they all have positive attitudes towards their spoken languages which are their heart languages" (Author's translation from Chinese)

2.2 Language use

One of the basic underlying factors in studies on language maintenance and language shift is to discover the language use pattern of individuals in a given community. Thus the study of language use has been the focus of many language maintenance studies.

Fishman (1964) introduced one way of looking at language choice by proposing the concept of *domains*. Fasold (1984:183) summarized that domains are institutional contexts "in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another. Domains are taken to be constellations of factors such as location, topic, and participants...Domain analysis is related to diglossia." Examples of different types of domains include family, friendship, neighborhood, market, school, work, government and religion. The family domain is a typical domain.

Fase, Jaspaert, and Kroon (1992) state that shift in language use patterns occurring in inter-ethnic communication, or out-group domains, does not lead to total language shift.

> As long as we are dealing with a group, there is also communication within the group, and the norms that develop for interethnic communication do not need to have any impact on intragroup communication. If only interethnic shift occurs, the language situation within the community will evolve towards a form of stable

bilingualism: in its most extreme form, it would create a situation in which the minority group language is used for communication within the group, and the dominant group's language is used in all other instances (1992:6).

It is the choice of language in these interactions with group members which is central to the question of language maintenance. "As long as there is a minority group, as long as the minority group is not demographically broken up, the use of the minority language will not disappear unless the norms for language use within the groups are changed." (1992:7).

Gal (1979) did a study on language use patterns and language choice. This research focused on a community in Austria near the Hungarian border where many people were bilingual in Hungarian and German. The study was based on direct or participant observation along with a language use interview as a supplement. Gal discovered orderly patterns of language choice when individual selection patterns were placed on an implicational scale or a contingency table. She concluded in her study that "widespread variation in language use...reflected a language shift in progress"(1979:xi). She also found in the analysis of the data that age was a significant factor in predicting use of German rather than Hungarian. Younger people were using German in domains where older people use only Hungarian, which seems to indicate that there is a language shift in progress (1979: 119-120).

A number of other studies using the concept of domains in language choice have been done on languages in Asia. Boehm (1997) used self-assessment data from a questionnaire to discover the language use pattern among the Tharu of the Indo-Nepal Tarai. Analysis of the language use pattern demonstrates strong Tharu language maintenance and language vitality. Deeyoo Srinarawat (1994) studied the language use of Chinese in Bangkok, and their attitudes towards Thai and Chinese language are investigated. The results shows that education is an important factor in determining language use pattern and language attitudes. People with higher education in Thai

tend to use more Thai in communication and have more positive attitudes towards Thai. Parasher (1980) investigated language use in seven domains from two Indian cities. The mother tongue was used in the family domain while English is dominant language in friendship, neighbor and employment domains.

2.2.1 Language use studies in China

He J. (1999) discussed the language use situation in China based on the research done by the China Minority Institute and Laval University in Quebec, Canada in the 1990's. In her article, she concluded three points concerning the language use situation.

1. Until the end of the 1980's, most minority groups in China still maintained their minority languages in communication. There are thirty-one minority groups which have more than 80% of the population using the minority language; Bai is one of them. Thirteen minority groups have 50-70% of the population speaking their languages. The rest of the groups have few people speaking the language.

2. Bilingualism is becoming more and more common among minority groups.

3. There is language shift going on in almost all minority groups.

She categorized the language shift situation in China into five levels:

1. Fifteen minority groups have less than 1% of the population shifting to use Hanyu.

2. Fifteen minority groups have less than 10% of the population shifting to use Hanyu.

3. Sixteen minority groups have 10-49% of the population shifting to use Hanyu.

4. Three minority groups have 50-89% of the population shifting to use Hanyu.

5. Three minority groups have more than 90% of the population shifting to use Hanyu.

According to her conclusion, in Bai more than 50% of the population is bilingual in Bai and Hanyu, and 8.83% of the population has shifted to using Hanyu.

Based on the study, He J. also concluded that wide language shift among minority groups is not likely to take place in the foreseeable future because of the following reasons:

1. The changes taking place in language use are a slow process.

2. Most of the minority groups in China keep a village-centered life style. This life style restricts the use of certain languages in different domains and restrains the rapid process of language shift.

3. China is carrying out policies that protect and develop minority languages.

4. Language as one of the most important minority features is rooted in people's mental life. This keeps the strong vitality of the language.

In contrast with what He J. concluded, Yuan Y. (2001) did her dissertation on language contact and language shift of the Atsang nationality in Yunnan Province. She classified the situation of language shift into four types. She concluded that the process of a shift from one language to another can be completed in four generations. She also made the observation that due to centralized education and mass media, the process of language change is accelerating at a faster speed. In the case of Atsang, language change caused by language contact is usually moved forward into the state of mutual supplement and mutual competition. The former expands the quantity of the language and the latter improves its quality. As far as language use is discussed,

she reported that age was the most significant factor. In one dialect area, subjects above 55 are bilingual in both Atsang and Hanyu with higher proficiency in Atsang; subjects between 30-50 have higher proficiency in Hanyu over Atsang, the 15-30 group can understand Atsang but are not able to speak it, and the 15 and below group have almost totally shifted into Hanyu, and only some individuals can understand Atsang. In the last chapter of her dissertation, she expressed her desire and suggestion on the issue of language planning in Atsang.

Wang Y. (2000) investigated language use in the multi-ethnic areas of southern and northern China. He concluded that:

1. Bilingualism is very common, and the uses of the languages are not balanced;

2. Different languages are always used in different levels and their functions are mutually supplementary.

Based on the analysis of the language use situation and language shift types, the author proposed some suggestions for a bilingual education model among minority groups. Zhao Sh. (2001) did research on language use in multi-ethnic areas in west China and found some common phenomena similar to what Wang Y. had discovered. Bilingualism is very common; different languages are used at different levels as LWC, more language shift types occur; and weak languages are dying out with an observable speed. Zhao Sh. (2001:114) claimed that among the over thirty languages spoken by minority groups in west China, more than ten of them have less than 1,000 speakers; in another words, they are endangered languages. Among those who have more than 1,000 speakers, the language use situation varies. There is no positive correlation between the population of the language and its vitality. Other studies focusing on language use in ethnic groups in China include that of Zhou G. (1990), Huang Q. (1990), Zhao Y.Zh. (1990), Wang G. (1990), in which the language use of Yi in Zhenfeng County in Guizhou, Hanyu in Pingguo County in Guangxi, Zhuang in

Tiandeng County in Guangxi and Shui in Sandu County in Guizhou were investigated respectively.

2.3 Social factors affecting language maintenance and language shift

Many sociolinguistics researchers have made an attempt to look into the language maintenance issue from the perspective of social factors. Several models of factors that affect language maintenance have been developed over the years.

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) developed a taxonomy of factors measuring ethno-linguistic vitality. These factors were divided into three categories: status, demography and institutional support. They can be summarized as follows.

Status factors include the ethnolinguistic group's economic, social and socio-historical status as well as the internal and external status of the group's language.

Demographic factors refer to the population of the group including the distribution and concentration of the speakers in their local, regional or national area, as well as other variables such as birth rates and marriage pattern (exogamy versus endogamy).

Institutional support factors refer to any formal or informal support available for the group to gain from organized institutions of the local, regional or national society. These institutions can be mass media, education, government service, industry, religion and culture.

Later, Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal developed a subjective vitality questionnaire to assess the objective ethnolinguistic vitality. The idea of adding a subjective vitality questionnaire to the objective vitality assessment (1977), was to discover "whether group members in fact perceived their vitality and intergroup situations along the same lines as 'objective' assessment suggested." (Johnson, Giles, and Bourhis 1983:256)

Edwards (1992) proposed a typology of ethnic minority language contexts by building on previous works. His typology is made up of two categorizations as the following table shows:

Categorization "A"	Categorization "B"		
	Speaker	Language	Setting
Demography	1	2	3
Sociology	4	5	6
Linguistics	7	8	9
Psychology	10	11	12
History	13	14	15
Politics/law/government	16	16	18
Geography	19	20	21
Education	22	23	24
Religion	25	26	27
Economics	28	29	30
The media	31	32	33

Table 6 A typological framework for minority-
language-situation variables (adapted from Edwards
1992:49)

Edwards (1992:50) presented 33 sample questions as reference to the numbers of the cells in the table above with the explanation "these questions are not themselves, seen as anywhere near specific enough to comprise a completed applicable typology; they are merely suggestions of the sort of items which could be grouped together by cell."

Paulston (1986, 1992, 1994) and others have looked at the relationship between social factors and language maintenance. These studies have found a variety of significant social factors in the assessment of an ethnolinguistic group's vitality such as sex, age, education, degree of exposure to the contact language, bilingual proficiency, ethnic identity and population.

Fasold (1984) categorized social factors causing language shift based on previous studies done in these areas. Among these categorizations, there are migration, industrialization and other economic change, school language and other government pressures, urbanization, high prestige for the language being shifted to, and small

population of the speakers of the language being shifted from. As far as the relationship between these social factors and language maintenance or shift are concerned, Fasold pointed out that:

> Although many of the most often-cited sociological factors are present when a shift does occur, it is all too easy to find cases in which some speech community is exposed to the very same factors, but has maintained its language. (1984: 217)

2.3.1 Studies on social factors and bilingualism in China

He J. (1998) investigated the bilingual situation among minority groups in China in depth. The author analyzed the social factors that affect the development of the minority languages from three levels. The first level of social factors is labeled 'objective factors' such as policy towards the minority groups and minority languages, and ethnic relationships. The second level of social factors is labeled 'ethnic factors' including factors such as population, population distribution, economic type, education level, orthography, marriage patterns and language attitudes. The third level of social factors is at the individual level. In this level, the author listed factors such as age, sex, education, living and working situation, occupation, parents' education and parents' ethnicity as the main social factors that affect an individual's language use situation.

Besides these main factors, the author also mentioned other factors. These factors include going to military, interacting with other people groups, language attitudes and religious attitudes that can also affect an individual's bilingual ability. A study of bilinguals who are bilingual in both Mongolian and Chinese is used to illustrate how these social factors can affect peoples' language use situation.

2.4 Bilingual education in China

To close this chapter, it is worthwhile to survey the research that has been done on bilingual education in China. Over the 20 years of bilingual education in China, many reports have been published. Most of them are reports of experimental bilingual education programs taking place among different minority groups around China (Fang X. 1998, Hang F. 1992, Jianchuan education bureau 1988, Li D. 1998, Liu K. 1994, Long C. 1985), and many more. Some of them discussed language policy and bilingual education theories (Dai and Dong Y.1996, Dai 2000, Wu L.1989). However, there is still a need for studies that stand on solid theories and are supported by examples such as the research done among the Kam people in Guizhou (Geary and Pan 2004).