A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF
LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE
ATTITUDES AMONG THE BAI PEOPLE
IN JIANCHUAN COUNTY, CHINA

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AMONG THE BAI PEOPLE IN JIANCHUAN COUNTY, CHINA

by

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RESUME

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ABSTRACT

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AMONG THE BAI PEOPLE IN JIANCHUAN COUNTY, CHINA

Lei Duan

Payap University, Chiang Mai, 2004

Supervising Professor: Dr. Thomas M. Tehan

In this study, language vitality and language attitudes of the Bai people in China were investigated. Questionnaires (for 252 subjects), informal interviews and participant observation were the research instruments employed to collect the data for this study. Both quota sampling and systematic sampling were used to determine the research sample. The population was stratified by age, gender and education.

The language use of the Bai was examined through seven domains: family, trade, education, workplace, strangers, government, and religion. The results of language use analysis demonstrate strong Bai language vitality and great potential in language maintenance.

The language attitudes of the Bai were investigated from the broadest sense including attitudes towards Bai language, culture, speakers and related language development programs. The results of language attitudes analysis demonstrate that the majority of Bai people interviewed have positive attitudes towards their language, culture and related issues.
บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษาการใช้ภาษาและทัศนคติต่อภาษาไปเชิงภาษาศาสตร์สังคม

ณ อำเภอเชียงชอน ประเทศจีน

โดย เลิศ ตวน

มหาวิทยาลัยพยาบาล จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ พ.ศ. 2547

อาจารย์ผู้ควบคุมวิทยานิพนธ์ ดร. ไหมสิทธิ์ เทียน

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาการใช้ภาษาและทัศนคติต่อภาษาของชนชาติไทย ในประเทศจีน ซึ่งมูลนิธิ ใช้ในการวิจัยได้จากการจัดเก็บข้อมูล การสังเกต และจากแบบสอบถาม (จำนวน 252 ชุด) โดยใช้วิธีกลุ่มตัวอย่างจากการคัดเลือก (quota sampling) และวิธีกลุ่มตัวอย่างที่เป็นระบบ (systematic sampling)ในการกำหนดกลุ่มตอบแบบสอบถาม และใช้อาจุ์ เพศ และระดับ การศึกษาในการกำหนดกลุ่มประชาชนที่ศึกษา

การศึกษาการใช้ภาษาทำโดยการวินิจฉัยตามแนวของการใช้ภาษา (domain) คือ บ้าน (family) ตลาด (market) โรงเรียน (education) สถานที่ทำงาน (workplace) สถานที่ราชการ (government) วัด (religious) และ ที่พักผู้คน (stranger) ผลการวินิจฉัยนี้แสดงให้เห็นถึง ความมีชีวิต (vitality) ของภาษาไปที่เข้มแข็ง และความเป็นไปได้ในการอ้างอิงภาษา

ส่วนการวินิจฉัยทัศนคติของชาวไปนั้น ทำโดยการวินิจฉัยในภาพรวม รวมทั้งการวินิจฉัย
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

B    Bai
B/H  Bai/Hanyu
FSI  Foreign Service Institute of the United States Department of State
H    Hanyu
JH   Jinhua
ILR  Interagency Language Roundtable
LWC  Language of Wider Communication
PTH  Putonghua
SLOPE  Second Language Oral Proficiency Evaluation
ST   Sino-Tibetan
TB   Tibeto-Burmese
Vill. Villages
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Rationale

It is clearly stated in the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China, Chapter I article 4: “All nationalities in the People's Republic of China are equal. The people of all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own ways and customs.” However, it is also written in the same chapter in article 19: “The state promotes the nationwide use of pǔtōnghùa [common speech based on Beijing pronunciation].” How to balance the relationship between these two language policies has been debated since the day they were written. Along with the rapid development achieved by the Chinese government during the past two decades, more and more people tend to emphasize the policy concerning pǔtōnghùa (hereafter PTH) and neglect the policy regarding minority languages (Wang J. 1983:1). Some people are pessimistic about the future of minority languages, assuming many minority languages will disappear in a short period of time because of the modernization progress taking place in China (He J. 1999:46). What is the fate of the minority languages in China? What are the people’s attitudes towards their own languages? How strong is the vitality of these languages? Are most minority people bilingual enough to use PTH in all circumstances? All these are burning questions for those who are devoted to minority language work. Finding the answers to these questions will help us to use personnel, financial and material resources wisely in developing language programs for minority groups. This study investigates these questions by looking at the situation of the Bai nationality in Jianchuan County, China.
1.1 Research questions

The research questions of this study are as the follows:

1. Is the Bai language likely to be maintained in the foreseeable future?

2. Do Bai speakers have positive attitudes towards the Bai language and such related issues as Bai culture, Bai speakers and Bai language development programs?

3. Do Bai speakers from the county seat differ from Bai speakers from the villages in their language attitudes, language use and proficiency in Hanyu1?

1.2 The scope of the study

The Bai people primarily live in Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture in north-west Yunnan Province, China. The population is 1,085,293 (2000 Census). A number of 470,000 Bai population is found in other parts of Yunnan and Sichuan, Hunan and Guizhou provinces. This study investigated the language use and language attitudes of the Bai people living in Jianchuan County in Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture. According to the 2000 national census, the ethnic Bai population in Jianchuan County is 151,331. Bai ethnic group make up 92% of the population of the county. Figure 1 presents the Dali Bai Prefecture in a map of China, and Figure 2 is a map of the Bai prefecture. The Jianchuan County is marked with a star.

1 Hanyu refers to the language variety spoken by the ethnic Han people in the area. See 1.4 for a detailed definition.
Figure 1 Location of Dali Bai Prefecture in China (adapted from Allen 2004)

Figure 2 Map of Dali Bai Prefecture
1.3 Background information about the Bai

In her dissertation, Wiersma\(^2\) (1990:8-9) described the community of Bai speakers from the perspectives of political facts of recognized nationality and language policy as the follows:

That group centered around the Erhai lake sharing a borrowed core vocabulary of (often) archaic Chinese pronunciations, a complex idiom of dress styles that features black and blue (and red) head-wrapping and apron skirts, and a diffused tradition of local ancestor and spirit worship mixed with eclectic elements from the “three doctrines” of Chinese tradition. They are the people who speak of themselves as [pɛ42+ xo44+] (a syllabic collocation composed of their autonym and a collective plural suffix that is restricted to [+human] nouns), who pursue a mixed agricultural economy based on wet rice cultivation in the lower plateaus and dry-field cultivation at upper altitudes, who build lofted courtyard dwellings of cut stone masonry foundations and wood beam upper stories generally surrounding the Erhai region and into the mountain regions to the north of it…

From the description above, a picture of contemporary Bai life is shown from a geographic, cultural and economic perspective.\(^3\) However, some issues concerning the Bai still remain unsolved, such as the origin of the Bai and their language.

1.3.1 The Bai people

Bai-speaking people have been traditionally known as 名家 MingJia, both in China and abroad. Before the term MinJia came into use in the Ming Dynasty (AD1368-1644), the people living around the Erhai Lake was recorded with different names, such as 白蛮 BaiMan (White Barbarians), 乌蛮 WuMan (Black Barbarians), 滇 Dian,

\(^2\) In the dissertation entitled ‘A study of the Bai (Mingjia) language along historical lines’, Wiersma did research on the Bai language from different perspectives under the light of past Chinese influence.

\(^3\) More information concerning Bai history and culture can be found in Jianchuan (1990, 2002), Yang Zh (1990, 1994)
Sou, XiCuan, and BaiYi in the historical documents. According to Wiersma (1990:13), the term MingJia had two possible meanings in its historical context: 1) a Chinese term for local villages in Yunnan that were composed of non-militia households ‘local commoners’ as opposed to the military settlers JunJia (soldier households) or 2) a reduced form of the Chinese term MingJia that had earlier been applied to the local aristocratic families in the Nanzhao Kingdom during the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907).

The term MingJia is still in use today in contrast with KeJia (guest households) referring to Han Chinese who have lived in this area for several generations.

In 1956, the PRC government recognized the people group as Bai and set their residence region around Erhai Lake as Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture, which includes 11 counties and 1 city, Dali Shi, as in Figure 2.

1.3.2 The Bai language

Bai has a very long history of borrowing from Chinese both culturally and linguistically. As a result, the influence of Chinese is seen in every aspect of the Bai language.

1.3.2.1 Genetic affiliation

The genetic affiliation of the Bai language has always been controversial, largely because of the tremendous lexical and grammatical influence of Chinese over the millennia. It is always difficult to distinguish genuine cognates from borrowing from a related language. Many linguists have contributed their views to solve this ongoing controversy. One view is that Bai is associated with Chinese in a branch of Sino-Tibetan called Sinitic, to be set apart from Tibeto-Burman proper. Benedict adopted this view in the last couple of years of his life (Matisoff 2001).
Another view is that it is a member of the Yi-Burmese subgroup of Tibeto-Burman. This view is subscribed to by many linguists in China such as Luo Changpei and Li Fanggui and Zhao Yansun (Yunnan Minority Affairs Committee 1999). Another common view is that Bai constitutes a separate co-equal subgroup of Tibeto-Burman, even though it has undergone exceptionally intense Chinese influence. Some scholars hold the view that Bai is a Tibeto-Burman language (probably Yi) having borrowed heavily from Chinese. Several Chinese scholars classified Bai as a dialect of Chinese. In a recently published book, the scholars claimed “Bai is not a dialect of Chinese, neither a language in the Yi family, but a separate language branch of TB, which is the Bai branch.”⁴ (Yunnan Minority Affairs Committee 1999:36). Figure 3 is a summary of all the views listed above.

![Figure 3 Summary of views on possible Bai affiliation](image_url)

**Dialects:**

Traditionally, linguists have claimed that there are three dialects of Bai: the Southern dialect spoken in the counties around Dali city, the Central dialect around Jianchuan, and the Northern dialect around Nujiang (Xu and Zhao 1984). The three dialects are considered rather similar especially in grammar and lexicon, but different in phonology. However, the Jianchuan dialect (the central dialect) is often considered

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⁴ This quote is originally in Chinese and the author translated it into English.
the most conservative, preserving features such as nasalization and SOV structure, which have been lost in the Dali dialect. It is therefore the Jianchuan dialect that has been the subject of most linguistic investigation. The revised Roman-based orthography (Jianchuan education bureau and language committee:1988) and the Chinese-Bai Dictionary (Zhao and Xu 1996) were both based on the Jianchuan dialect.

A recent study (Allen 2004) on dialects which employed both the recorded-text testing method and the wordlists method confirmed the three dialects division. The Central dialect is spoken in Eryuan, Jianchuan, Heqing, Lanping and Yunlong, the Southern dialect is spoken in Dali, and the Northern dialect is spoken in various parts of Nujiang prefecture. Eryuan and Yunlong cluster as a communication center. The speakers of other dialects have similar intelligibility figures for Yunlong as for Eryuan. This study also discovered that the varieties of the Central dialect have between 84% and 91% lexical similarity, with the exception of Yunlong, whose figures drop to 77%.

1.3.2.2 Phonology

The phonology of Bai is comparable to that of northern Yi and certain other Yi-Burmese languages, where historical checked syllable endings have been lost and have given rise to tense/lax phonation type contrasts. However it is also the case that syllable prosodies, including register and voice quality, contrast from earlier initial voicing found in Lolo-Burmese and are linked to historical contact with Mon (Bradley 1982: 127-9).

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5 Xi (1984) did a comparison study of syntax between two Bai dialects Jianchuan Bai and Dali Bai.
Jianchuan Bai consonant initials are listed in Table 1:

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<tr>
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<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 Consonant chart of Jianchuan Bai

Jianchuan Bai vowel rhymes are listed in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Vowel chart of Jianchuan Bai

Diphthongs in Jianchuan Bai are /iɛ iæ ia io iu iu uɛ uæ ua iao/. All rhymes except /u/, /ao/, and /iao/ have nasalized reflexes, although the distribution of such nasalized rhymes is limited.

Many scholars have done research to determine the tone system of Bai. However, difficulties lie in the correlation between vowel quality and tone. The following table shows three tone phonetic classifications of Jianchuan Bai:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>High, level, tense voice</td>
<td>High level, tense vowel</td>
<td>High level, tense vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>High, level</td>
<td>High level, lax vowel</td>
<td>High level, lax vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Non-high, level, tense voice</td>
<td>Non-high level tense vowel</td>
<td>Non-high level tense vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Non-high, level</td>
<td>Mid-level, lax vowel</td>
<td>Mid-level, lax vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35/ 34</td>
<td>High, rising</td>
<td>Mid-rising lax vowel</td>
<td>Mid-rising lax vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42/43</td>
<td>Non-high falling, tense voice</td>
<td>Non-high falling tense vowel</td>
<td>Non-high falling tense vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/21</td>
<td>Low, falling, breathy voice</td>
<td>Mid-falling lax vowel</td>
<td>Mid-falling lax vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 A summary of possible tone classification

In Wiersma (2003), Jianchuan Bai has eight tones, organized into two groups with modal and non-modal phonation as presented in Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-modal voice</th>
<th>Modal voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tone 1 (66) High, level, tense voice</td>
<td>Tone 6 (55) High, level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 2 (44) Non-high, level, tense voice</td>
<td>Tone 7 (33) Non-high, level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 3 (31) Low, falling, breathy voice</td>
<td>Tone 8 (35) High, rising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 4 (42) Non-high, falling, tense voice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone 5 (21) Low, falling, harsh voice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Wiersma’s Bai tone categorization

In Zhao and Xu (1984), Bai has five tones, and the tense vowel quality adds three more tones to the tone categorization.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lax</th>
<th>Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Zhao and Xu’s Bai tone categorization

6 Zhao and Xu and Duan described the tones in a similar way but analyzed the tones differently, as will be apparent in the following discussion.
In (Duan 2001), there are four basic phonemic tones in Bai which are 55 high, 33 middle, 31 mid-falling, and 34 mid-rising. Tone 66, 44, 42 and 41 are allotones of the four basic tones as a result of the involvement of vowel quality and phona
tion type.

1.3.2.3 Grammar

Grammatically, modifiers follow modified constituents as in other Tibeto-Burman languages. But Bai does not have the most distinctive typological feature of other TB languages, namely the SOV ordering. SOV ordering may sometimes be found in the Jianchuan dialect of Bai especially in sentences where the object is a proper name or a personal pronoun and it is followed by an object marker /no/ or /ŋə/. Such verb final ordering is the default order in Jianchuan interrogative sentences, regardless of whether an object marker appears (Wiersma 1990:194-201, Xi 1989).

Four syllable expressions occur very often in Bai expressing an idiomatic meaning through a sequence of morphemes, some obligatory and some changeable according to the lexical situation, but in a fixed pattern. There are six main patterns: ABCD, AABB, ABAB, ABAD, ABCB, ABCC. The follows are examples of each pattern:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABCD</td>
<td>$a^{35}f_{y}^{31}j_{q}^{33}d_{u}^{31}$</td>
<td>‘comfortable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AABB</td>
<td>$k^{55}v^{33}k^{55}v^{33}k^{u}d_{a}^{33}k^{u}a^{33}$</td>
<td>‘spacious’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABAB</td>
<td>$l_{y}^{33}j_{j}^{55}l_{q}^{31}j_{j}^{55}$</td>
<td>‘green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABAD</td>
<td>$b_{a}^{55}c_{i}^{55}b_{q}^{31}l_{g}^{33}$</td>
<td>‘kind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABCB</td>
<td>$k^{h}v^{31}l_{v}^{33}k^{h}v^{31}l_{v}^{31}$</td>
<td>‘secretly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABCC</td>
<td>$x_{u}^{33}m_{a}^{33}t_{c}^{33}t_{c}^{33}$</td>
<td>‘dark’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to use of number and case in pronouns, Wiersma (1990:168) states “in Jianchuan Bai a residual system of obligatory morphophonemic alternations characterizes the operation of number and case paradigms upon the pronoun, whereas Mandarin achieves similar grammatical results through suffixing and morphosyntactic construction.”
1.4 Important concepts in this study

In this section, some important concepts involved in this study are presented with explanations of the common definition as well as the special applications in this study.

zhōngwén refers both to written and spoken forms of Chinese. The second element, wén, strictly means ‘written language’, but this term in everyday usage can refer to spoken language as well (Norman 1988:137). This term is used to refer to the written form of Chinese in this current study.

pǔtōnghuà is the official name of the standard language in China. It is the common speech based on Beijing pronunciation. pǔtōnghuà represents a variety of speech that lies somewhere between the local and the standard proper. The Beijing dialect is the dialect on which pǔtōnghuà is based. However, this doesn’t mean that the Beijing dialect and pǔtōnghuà are identical (Norman 1988:247-248). When the term pǔtōnghuà occurs in this paper, it refers to this standard language norm.

hàn yǔ literally means ‘the language of the hàn’, that is the ethnic Chinese. In practice, this term seems to be gaining currency at the expense of pǔtōnghuà (Norman 1988:137). In this study, the term hàn yǔ stands for the language variety spoken by the Han people in a particular area, especially the Hanyu variety of Yunnan.

Chinese: It is not easy to give a definition to Chinese in one or two sentences, as noted in (Norman 1988:1) “Few language names are as all-encompassing as that of Chinese.” In this current study, the term Chinese is served as a cover term to include PTH (the national standards), Hanyu (LWC) and zhōngwén (written Chinese).
LWC: This is the acronym of the term ‘Language of Wider Communication’. In this study, the term LWC refers to the Hanyu variety of Dali area.

Diglossia: The term diglossia was first used by Charles Ferguson in 1959 to describe a language situation in which two varieties of the same language exist side by side and are used for different functions (Ferguson 1959). A more prestigious, standardized, and formal variety is termed the High dialect (H); its informally learned and used counterpart is the Low dialect (L). Fishman revised and extended the concept in 1967 to include unrelated languages as well as dialects of the same language (Fishman 1967). In this study, Fishman’s broad sense of diglossia is employed. Bai and Hanyu are two language varieties involved in the diglossic situation.

Language use pattern: This term describes a phenomenon in which members of a community use different languages or speech varieties in different social situations, referred to as domains.

Domain: Domains are social contexts in which the choice to use a certain language variety is more apt to be appropriate than the use of another language variety (Fasold 1984:183). In this research, language use in 7 domains is investigated. These domains are family, school, work place, temple, market, government and strangers.

Language attitudes: This term refers to people’s feelings and preferences towards their own language and other speech varieties around them, and what value they place on those languages. Some language-attitudes studies are strictly limited to attitudes about language itself, and some studies are broadened to include attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or dialect. Further broadening of the studies treat all sorts of behavior concerning language including attitudes toward language maintenance and planning efforts (Fasold 1984:148). This research deals with the
broad definition of language attitudes including attitudes towards language itself, speaker and language development issues.

**Bilingualism:** This term is difficult to be defined within one or two sentences. Many different aspects involve in the definition such as origin, internal, external identification, competence and function (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). However, for the purpose of this study, bilingualism is defined as the knowledge and skills acquired by individuals which enable them to use a language along with their mother tongue (Blair 1990:52, Baker 2001). In this study, the bilingual proficiency focuses on Bai people’s acquired knowledge and skill in Hanyu.
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.

---

\(^7\) School refers to the educational context in which language attitudes develop and change (Baker1992: 43).
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 ethnolinguistic 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorization “A”</th>
<th>Categorization “B”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demography</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistics</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics/law/government</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The media</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview of methodology

Several methods were used in this research in order to obtain the desired data to answer the research questions. A questionnaire was the main instrument employed, while informal interviews and participant observation were used as complementary instruments. Both quota sampling and systematic sampling were used in determining which subjects were to be interviewed. Quota sampling was employed to select subjects in the villages where the population is homogenous, while systematic sampling was employed in the county seat, Jinhua, where the population is more heterogeneous. Descriptive statistics served as the main method in analyzing the data while the chi-square test was used to determine the significance of the results for selected questions.

3.1 Questionnaire

An individual questionnaire and a village leader questionnaire were employed to collect data. The questionnaire contains both open and closed questions.

3.1.1 Questionnaire designing procedure

The questionnaire was designed following these procedures.

Step 1. Determine precisely what information is desired.

Step 2. Study reports from similar questionnaires.

Step 3. Draft some questions, and put them in a good layout and order.

Step 4. Pretest the draft, and analyze the results.
Step 5. Revise the questionnaire.

Step 6. Start the survey.

Showalter (1991) has been a useful reference in the process of compiling and revising the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was originally written in English and then translated into Chinese by the researcher. Ten subjects were chosen from the county seat to do a pilot test before going to the villages to conduct the survey on a large scale. The questionnaire was revised according to feedback from the pilot test and suggestions from several survey experts.

3.1.2 Questionnaire content

The individual questionnaire consists of four parts. Each part has its own focus. See appendixes 1 and 2 for the individual questionnaire in both English and Chinese.

The goal of Part I was to establish the background information of the subjects such as age, gender, education level, marital status, occupation and travel experience. It consists of 16 questions.

The goal of Part II was to discover Bai speakers’ attitudes towards their own language, culture, other Bai speakers and related language development issues. It consists of 28 questions divided into three groups. Group A (questions 1 to 11) focuses on eliciting Bai people’s attitudes towards Bai language and culture. Group B (questions 1 to 7) focuses on eliciting Bai people’s attitudes towards other Bai speakers. Group C (questions 1 to 10) focuses on eliciting Bai people’s attitudes towards literacy in both Bai and Chinese, and their attitudes towards mass media in Bai including newspaper, radio and television.

The goal of Part III was to obtain Bai speakers’ self-reported linguistic information such as language contact with Chinese and language use in different domains: home,
education, trade, work, religion, government and stranger. It consists of 24 questions. Questions 1 to 10 elicit subjects’ linguistic background information. Questions 11 to 17 elicit subjects’ self-reported ability in Chinese and contact with Chinese. Questions 18 to 24 elicit subjects’ language use pattern in seven domains. Under each of the seven main domains, there are sub-domains determined by interlocutor, activities and setting.

The goal of Part IV was to discover Bai speakers’ self-reported oral Hanyu proficiency. It consists of 18 self-evaluation questions. These 18 questions are adapted from (Blair 1990:100-102). Each question is contextualized to fit into the situation of Bai people and the purpose of this study. Each question is associated with a level description in the proficiency testing models developed by FSI (Foreign Service Institute of the United States Department of State), ILR (Interagency Language Roundtable) or SLOPE (Second Language Oral Proficiency Evaluation).

The village leader questionnaire was designed to discover demographic information at the village level as well as the village leader’s personal attitudes towards Bai literacy. See Appendices 3 and 4 for the village leader questionnaire in both English and Chinese.

### 3.1.3 Questionnaire administration procedure

Informal permission was obtained from the local government education bureau before conducting the survey in the villages. Two Bai speakers were trained to elicit information using the questionnaire. People in different villages were contacted in advance to cooperate with the survey team. One to one interviews were conducted throughout the whole survey. The surveyors asked the questions in parts I, II and III
in Bai and wrote down the subject’s response on the questionnaire in Chinese. Part IV concerning bilingualism was asked in Hanyu. On average, one questionnaire took half an hour to complete.

The research team began to survey from each village center, where many people get together and the village-square, store and clinic are located. Willing subjects were selected to fill in the stratified sampling frame. After filing the background information of the subjects from the village center, the team walked in the village and field randomly and asked whomever they met to answer the questionnaire to fill in the empty cells of the sampling frame. Some of the questionnaire was often administered while the respondents were doing other things such as making ropes, cooking and feeding pigs. They were willing to answer all the questions, but it took longer to complete.

3.1.4 Advantages and disadvantages of questionnaires

The advantages and disadvantages of the questionnaire approach to some extent lie in the nature of open and closed questions.

Closed questions are controllable for the researcher and much easier for respondents to deal with. The time in administration can be minimal, allowing for large numbers of people to be interviewed, and they are easy to score. Trained surveyors can assist the researcher in eliciting the data, but the subjects may only report what they themselves want the researcher to hear, or what they believe the researcher would like to hear. Open questions give the subjects more space to express their opinion, but they are more difficult to control and to organize the results.

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11 See 3.2 for sampling methods.
Fasold (1984:152) suggested, “The ideal compromise is to conduct pilot research with open questions and use these results to construct a closed-question questionnaire.”

In this study, many of the closed questions were followed with an open question such as “Why?” which gave the subjects freedom to express their opinions.

On the other hand, self-reported data tends to have problems in the areas of reliability and validity. Blair (1990:107) suggested that a study on language use and language attitudes is actually dealing with a three-fold distinction among language use, language image and language posture. Language image (what one thinks one does with a language) and language posture (what one claims to be able to do with a language) often differ radically from language usage (what one actually does with a language).

In this study, observation was used in conjunction with the questionnaire to minimize the bias.

3.1.5 Difficulties encountered in survey

Non-response is a common situation that a researcher will encounter with any kind of survey. In this survey, two subjects refused to be interviewed. Since the sampling was not a strict random sampling, other subjects with the same criteria were interviewed to replace the non-respondents. Four subjects refused to answer some questions in the questionnaire concerning marriage and family.

Mal-response\(^\text{12}\) is another inevitable situation a surveyor has to deal with in doing survey. The subject gives the answer that they think the interviewer wants to hear. As a result, some of one person’s answers contradict each other.

\(^\text{12}\) Mal-response refers to a bad response to the question.
For example: One subject who reported himself with a low Chinese ability in question I 4 later answered in III 15 that he often writes poems in Chinese.

I 4. Can you write Chinese?

Yes___ Some____ No___

III 15. How often do you write Chinese?


What do you write? Often writes poems

In order to ensure the reliability of the research, answers from questionnaires with noticeable mal-response were not included in the analysis.

Unpredictable situations in field trips are a challenge that surveyors need to learn to cope with. Following is an example of one of those unpredictable situations: after planning and contacting people several days before going to one village, the survey team arrived on the day just to find out the next day was the opening day for a two-week fire-wood collecting period. (In order to sustain the forests, the government only opens the forest once a year for the villagers to collect fire-wood.) It was said that all men would leave early in the morning to go to the forest. The team had to interview as many subjects as possible, especially men, on the day they arrived and had to extend the planned survey schedule. Fortunately, the next day was a sunny day, and many households decided to have their New Year pig slaughtered on that day, so many men stayed!

3.2 Sampling

In the initial planning stage of this research, random sampling was planned to be used as the sampling method. However, the situation showed that there is little possibility to do random sampling due to the population management system in China. As a
result, quota sampling was chosen as the sampling method in the villages where most subjects are homogeneous. Systematic sampling was used in the county seat.

3.2.1 Quota sampling

Population, school distribution and distance from Jinhua were the three main factors in forming strata for selecting rural survey sites. An attempt was made to sample the whole county. According to these criteria, 8 townships were merged into 5 research areas plus the county seat Jinhua. Figure 6 is a map of Jianchuan County. Five research areas are marked by number, and the county seat Jinhua is marked by a star. The underlined township is the one in which the survey was administered.
Table 7 is the profile of factors in the choice of rural survey sites. Local leadership of the townships was interviewed to give information in determining a specific village, which represents the average level of the area, as the research site.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profile factors</th>
<th>Xizhong</th>
<th>Xinren</th>
<th>Shilong</th>
<th>Fumin</th>
<th>Shanglan (^{13})</th>
<th>Xiangtu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location (township)</td>
<td>Diannan</td>
<td>Jianyang</td>
<td>Shaxi</td>
<td>Shanglan</td>
<td>Shanglan</td>
<td>Xiangtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township population</td>
<td>36,841</td>
<td>32,915</td>
<td>21,586</td>
<td>16,208</td>
<td>5,464</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village population</td>
<td>2,850</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>1,040</td>
<td>1,050</td>
<td>2,386</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Bai population</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House holds</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bai house holds</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance to Jinhua</td>
<td>4.5 Km</td>
<td>3.5 Km</td>
<td>30 Km</td>
<td>80 Km</td>
<td>136 Km</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools (only primary school)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 (^{14})</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1^{15}</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20-30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio and Tape player (^{16})</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>Not in use</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>Not in use</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCD</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to Bilingual education</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 Profile of factors of rural research sites

Age, gender and education are three factors in forming the quota strata for individuals. These criteria are as shown in Table 8:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young (14—36)</td>
<td>Older (36 above)</td>
<td>Uneducated (9 below)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 Factors in individual quota sampling strata

\(^{13}\) The township Shanglan was renamed as Laojunshan two weeks before the survey took place. However, in order to be consistent with other resources, in this paper, the old name ‘Shanglan’ is used.

\(^{14}\) One is called ‘complete primary school’ which is from grade 1-6, another is ‘incomplete primary school’ from grade 1-3.

\(^{15}\) The primary school in this village is from grade 1-3. Students need to go to the primary school in another village after grade 3.

\(^{16}\) Those who report having a radio or tape player added the comments that radio and tape players are not in use anymore. TV is more popular.
Based on the criteria listed in Table 8, 40 informants from each village were to be interviewed. Among them, there were to be 20 males and 20 females. There were two villages where not enough subjects could be found to in the older educated female stratum. Table 9 shows the actual sample sizes in each village.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stratum</th>
<th>Jinhua</th>
<th>Xizhong</th>
<th>Xinren</th>
<th>Shilong</th>
<th>Fumin</th>
<th>Xiangtu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEY</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEO</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUY</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUO</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEY</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEO</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUY</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUO</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 The actual sample sizes of the five villages

Note:  
M = Male  
F = Female  
E = Educated (9th grade above)  
U = Uneducated (9th grade below)  
Y = Young 14-36  
O = Old above 36

3.2.2 Systematic sampling

Systematic sampling was used as the sampling method in the county seat Jinhua where subjects are more heterogeneous. There are 4 communities in Jinhua with approximately 3600 households. Sixty households whose gate number can be divided by 6 were interviewed. One subject from each family was interviewed. This subject was chosen to fill the same stratified sampling frame as in villages. In Jinhua, very few people under 36 are uneducated. As a result, no young uneducated subjects were interviewed in Jinhua. The actual sample size in Jinhua is shown in Table 9. There are two households in Jinhua refused to be interviewed. The survey team went to interview the next house which has similar criteria as the non-responding household.

Table 10 is a profile of factors of the county seat Jinhua.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profile factors</th>
<th>Jinhua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whole population</td>
<td>11,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bai population</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House holds</td>
<td>3,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bai households</td>
<td>3,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools(^{17})</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio and Tape player(^{18})</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCD</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to Bilingual education</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 Profile of factors of the county seat Jinhua

3.3 Informal interviews

The questionnaire was the main instrument employed in this study, nevertheless, an informal interview gives very important information which can be used to interpret the results of the questionnaire and to complement it. An informal interview refers to a dialogue without guiding questions. The conversation should be led into a discussion of special topics without catching the interviewee’s attention. During the six months of research time in Jianshuan, people from different backgrounds were interviewed by this informal interview method. Among them, there are government officials, teachers, doctors, students, farmers, shop owners and retirees, etc. The researcher kept a journal to record the information gaining through the informal interviews. Later, the recorded information was used as examples in the discussion to supplement with the analysis. Some information gained through the conversations would not be available from other sources.

\(^{17}\) There are two high schools in Jianshuan County. One is located in Jinhua, and another in Jianshuan Township. There are two junior high schools in Jinhua.

\(^{18}\) Those who report having a radio or tape player added the comments that radio and tape players are not in use anymore. TV is more popular.
The advantage of the informal interview is that it is more personal and flexible than administering a questionnaire. In most cases, the interviewees are more likely to give their instant response rather than think for what they think interviewer wants to hear.

The disadvantage lies in the difficulties in interpreting the data. It also requires that the researcher have a solid understanding of the language and culture.

3.4 Participant Observation

Being a Bai speaker herself gave the researcher great opportunity to be involved in the Bai people’s daily life. Sitting in a village clinic gave her a chance to meet people from nearby villages and observe their language use patterns in a public setting. Visiting friends brought her into a Bai home setting allowing her to discover their language use patterns in a family domain. Sitting in a classroom gave her a better understanding of how the teacher and students switch codes between Bai and Hanyu. Taking a Chinese-speaking visitor to the market gave her a chance to find out which language Bai speakers use to talk to a stranger. There are many more instances that could be listed. All these observed information was recorded into researcher’s journal. Later, the recorded information was used in the discussion as examples to supplement with the analysis.

The advantage of participant observation is that it yields data that no other methods can get. It also helps to understand the real language situation better and give light in interpreting the questionnaire results.

The disadvantage is the enormous amount of time it takes. Namely, it is a time-consuming method. Participant observation also requires that the researcher have a very good understanding of the community both linguistically and culturally.
3.5 Analysis procedure

Data entry

All the data were input into a Microsoft EXCEL spreadsheet shortly after returning from the survey trips. Questions with embedded questions were coded as 1a, 1b and 1c. Answers to a follow-up question were inserted as a comment instead of in a separate column. All worksheets were checked twice to minimize the possibility of making mistakes in the process of inputting data. Another procedure done before starting to analyze data was regularizing the data by checking the consistency in using abbreviations and codes.

Analyzing data

1. Formulas in EXCEL were used to calculate the percentage of responses.

2. The arithmetic mean (X) is defined as the sum of the scores divided by the number of scores. This was used to find the mean of language use in each domain and the mean of language attitude in each area for the data.

3. The chi-squared test was used to evaluate how location can affect language use and language attitudes of subjects from the county seat Jinhua and from the five villages.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter, methods employed in this study were discussed. A questionnaire including four parts was used as the main instrument to collect the data for the study, while informal interviews and participant observation were used as complementary methods. Non-response, mal-response and unpredictable situations were the main difficulties encountered while conducting the survey. Population, school distribution and distance from Jinhua were the three main factors in forming strata for selecting
rural survey sites. According to these criteria, 8 townships were merged into 5 research areas plus the county seat Jinhua. One village from each research area was selected as the survey site. Age, gender and education were three factors in forming the quota strata for individuals. Forty subjects from each village were interviewed. Both quota sampling and systematic sampling were used in determining which subjects were to be interviewed. Quota sampling was employed in villages, where the population was assumed to be more homogenous, while systematic sampling was employed in the county seat, Jinhua, where the population was assumed to be more heterogeneous. All the data were input into a Microsoft EXCEL spreadsheet. Descriptive statistics are used as the main method in analyzing the data while the chi-square test was used selectively to determine the significance of the results.
CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE USE

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the language use patterns of the Bai people in Jianchuan County. The findings contribute to answer the research question “Is the Bai language likely to be maintained in the foreseeable future?” As Boehm (1997:64) proposed, the choices people make in regard to language use reflect trends toward either language maintenance or language shift. In other words, these patterns can reflect, to some extent, the vitality of the language. Fase et al. (1992:6) say that it has been commonly found that when the mother tongue of a minority language remains dominant in communication within the ethnic group, it can be said that the mother tongue is being maintained. If only intergroup language shift occurs, the language situation within the community will evolve towards a form of stable bilingualism.

Domain analysis was the main method employed in this study to collect the data for this chapter. Language use patterns in seven domains are examined respectively as well as domain groups. For most of the analysis, 252 subjects from both the five villages and the County seat Jinhua were combined into one group. An attempt is also made to compare the language use pattern between the villages and the county seat Jinhua.

4.1 Summary of linguistic background information of the subjects

In the questionnaire, there is a section focusing on discovering the background information that may affect the subjects’ choice of language such as language of parents, spouse and overall bilingualism or multilingualism. Table 11 is a summary of this linguistic background information.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>1g %</th>
<th>2 lg %</th>
<th>3 or more lg %</th>
<th>Others %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>How many languages do you speak?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>39 15</td>
<td>198 79</td>
<td>15 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>What are they?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>39 15</td>
<td></td>
<td>198 79 15 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Which language did you learn first as a child?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>245 97</td>
<td>7 3</td>
<td>42 17 2 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Which language do you speak best?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>201 80</td>
<td>6 2</td>
<td>42 17 2 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>*Which language does your spouse speak best?</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>178 81</td>
<td>5 2</td>
<td>38 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>*Which language do your children speak best?</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>150 70</td>
<td>11 5</td>
<td>52 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Yes %</th>
<th>No %</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>10 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>6 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>6 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 A summary of the linguistic demographic information

Notes:  
n= refers to the total number of the subjects.  
lg is the abbreviation of language.  
occ is the abbreviation of occasionally.  
% refers to the percentage of the total subjects that respond to the question.  
Others refers to other languages in questions 2, 3, 8 and 10. It refers to responses other than Yes and No in questions 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9.  
* questions with * only applied to married population.
It is clearly shown in question 1a and b in Table 11 that more than half of the Bai people claimed to be bilingual in both Bai and Hanyu. 198 out of 252 (79%) of the researched population reported that they speak both Bai and Hanyu. Multilingualism (speaking more than two languages) is not a common phenomenon among Bai people. Only 15 out of 252 (6%) subjects reported that they are able to use a third or fourth language in communication. Among these fifteen subjects, three informants reported knowing four languages: one claimed to speak Bai, Hanyu, Yi and Zang (Tibetan), the other two claimed to speak Bai, Hanyu, Yi and Lisu; twelve informants reported being able to speak three languages: six of them claimed to speak Bai, Hanyu and Yi, one claimed to speak Bai, Hanyu and Naxi, one claimed to speak Bai, Hanyu and Lisu and four claimed to speak Bai, Hanyu and English.\textsuperscript{19} Combining those who reported speaking both Bai and Hanyu and those reported speaking Bai, Hanyu and other languages, 85% of the total researched population reported being bilingual in both Bai and Hanyu.

It is seen in question 2, among 252 subjects, 245 (97%) of them reported learning Bai as their first language while 7 (3%) claimed to have learned Hanyu first.

In question 1b, 79% of the total subjects reported bilingual ability in both Bai and Hanyu, but in question 3, only 17% of the total subjects reported to have equal ability in both Bai and Hanyu. 201 out of 252 (80%) of the informants reported that they speak Bai best, while 6 (2%) reported that they speak Hanyu best, and 2 (1%) reported that they speak Bai, Hanyu and Yi at the same level.

It can also be seen in Table 11 questions 4 and 6, that intergroup marriage is not common among Bai people. Among 252 subjects, all except 10 (4%) reported that

\textsuperscript{19} In Jianchuan county, there are Yi, Lisu and Naxi villages. The informant that speaks Zang went to the Tibetan area when he was young to make a living; thus he can speak Zang. All four informants who can speak English are from the young educated category.
both their parents are Bai. Out of these ten subjects, nine of them are from intergroup marriage families between Bai and Han while one is from a Bai and Lisu family. Among 221 married subjects, only 3 (2%) married Han while the rest 218 subjects married Bai.

When question 9 “If you have children, do your children speak Bai?” was asked, 205 out of 252 (93%) of the subjects reported that their children speak Bai while 6 out of 213 (3%) informants reported that their children do not speak Bai, and 2 (1%) gave the responses “occasionally”. Actually, all 8 negative responses of this question are from the county seat Jinhua, which will be discussed in detail in section 4.5.

4.2 Language contact with Chinese\textsuperscript{20} and bilingual ability

It would be possible to have a whole chapter or paper to discuss the topic language contact and bilingual ability. However, the reason to include it in this study as a section under the topic of language use is to enhance the understanding of language use. Knowing the language contact situation with Chinese and the bilingual ability of the subjects may help to explain why a certain language is chosen to be used in a certain situation. As cited in Fasold (1984:116), “Mackey and Cartwright (1979:70-1) suspect bilinguals who do not regularly interact with native speakers of their second language might be more generous in assessing their own ability than those who do.” In the same way, they may be more generous in reporting their language choice as well.

4.2.1 Bilingual ability

A self-evaluation questionnaire was employed to assess subjects’ bilingual ability in Hanyu. The eighteen questions were a first step in assessing both the comprehension

\textsuperscript{20} The term Chinese is used here to refer to both spoken and written forms of Chinese.
and production aspects of a Bai person’s bilingual ability in Hanyu. Although it is recommended that a study of bilingualism use more than one method of evaluating bilingual ability, in this study, the bilingual ability assessment is only based on the results from the self-evaluation questionnaire. This questionnaire follows neither the oral proficiency testing models developed by FSI (Foreign Service Institute of the United States Department of State) nor the SLOPE (Second Language Oral Proficiency Evaluation) nor ILR (Interagency Language Roundtable) strictly. However it does adapt ideas from these oral proficiency testing models. The adaptations are made to meet the goal of bilingual evaluation for this study to enable an evaluation of Bai people who are either literate or not literate. Thus the five levels in this study do not match strictly with the scales used in FSL, SLOPE and ILR, but each question is associated with a description in one of the levels of these models. The questions will help to determine the bilingual level of a Bai speaker with comparison to a Hanyu speaker.

The questions were asked in Hanyu, and the informants were expected to respond in Hanyu. Their responses to the questions were marked as positive or negative. Positive refers to a clear and complete answer to the question while negative refers to an unclear and incomplete answer to the question. Later, the results were scored according to the suggestions made by Blair in (1990:104), in which he recommended two ways of scoring the results of a self-evaluation questionnaire. The first way is suitable for continuous responses. In this situation, the bilingual level of the subject is at which their responses to the questions change from positive to negative. A subject must give a positive answer to every question at that level in order to have that assigned level as the score. If the subject has not given a positive response to all the

21 Detailed description of FSI oral proficiency test is in Wilds (1975). For a description of the SLOPE oral proficiency test, see Bergman (1990). See www.govtir.org for a description of ILR.
questions in one level, then the lower level to which the subject gives all positive answers is assigned.

Another way of evaluation is suitable for discontinuous responses. In this situation, the percentage of questions to which positive responses are given may be calculated for each individual. In this study, the first method is used to assign the bilingual level of the subjects.

Table 12 is a summary of all subjects’ responses to part IV of the questionnaire, the bilingualism self-evaluation, with the percentage of subjects that reach the assigned level in the column marked with ‘Score’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>If someone asks you in Hanyu how to get to a place, can you tell him or not?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Can you ask and tell the time of the day and day of the week in Hanyu?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Can you describe the members of your family?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>If you want to buy a piece of clothing from a Hanyu-speaking merchant, can you bargain with him and get the size you want?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Can you explain where you live and your job situation in Hanyu?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Can you explain what crops you planted and how good they grow in Hanyu?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>If you hire someone to build a house for you, can you tell them the salary, hours, specific duties in Hanyu?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Can you tell a brief story of your life in Hanyu?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Can you describe in Hanyu why you plant rice instead of corn in your rice field? / Can you explain in Hanyu why you want your children to study Hanyu instead of Bai?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>When you speak Hanyu, do you sometimes feel lack of words to say something?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>If a group of Hanyu want to talk about tourism development of Sha’xi with you, are you able to?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>If you take your child to see a Hanyu-speaking doctor and he tells you what medicine your child should take and what food you should not give, can you understand him well enough to explain it in Hanyu to someone else?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Can you argue with a Hanyu speaker in Hanyu?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>If a Hanyu speaker comes to your village, can you help him to tell his meaning to other people (interpret)?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Do you speak Hanyu so well that you can always find the right words to explain exactly what you mean?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Can you speak Hanyu exactly like a Hanyu person so that if a Hanyu hears you speaking Hanyu without seeing you, for example on the telephone, he would think it is a Han person speaking Hanyu?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Can you use Hanyu to explain the meaning of a classic Hanyu story or opera to a group of Han speakers?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Is it easier to think in Hanyu than in Bai?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12 A summary of the self-evaluation bilingual ability
Note: The response to question 10 was originally coded with ‘0’ and ‘1’. ‘0’ refers to negative response while ‘1’ refers to positive response. Later ‘1’ was converted into ‘Yes’ and ‘0’ into ‘No’ in order to keep consistency with other questions.

As illustrated in Figure 7, 89% of the subjects reported that they can use Hanyu in communication in tasks associated with level I, 75% of the subjects reported to reach level II, 53% of the subjects’ reported Hanyu proficiency is at level III, 39% of the subjects are at level IV and 22% of the subjects reach to level V. The percentage of the subjects decreases along with the increase of the level.

![Figure 7 Self-reported bilingual proficiency](image)

### 4.2.2 Language contact with Chinese

Besides bilingual ability, language contact with Chinese is another area that calls for attention under the study of language use. Tables 13 and 14 are summaries of reported language contact situation with Chinese from the 252 subjects in part III of the questionnaire. The questions were followed by a set of five-level scale choices.
The subjects were asked to choose one out of the five choices. The answers coded with ‘a’ and ‘e’ stand for two ends of a continuum.

Questions 11, 13, 15 and 16 asked the subjects to report their contact frequency with Chinese via speaking, reading, writing and television while questions 12, 14 and 17 asked about their self-reported ability in reading, writing Chinese and understanding of Chinese television. The five choices in question 12 and 14 are ordered according to their assumed difficulty level. Reading newspapers and reading novels are considered the highest level because they require a large vocabulary in Chinese.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>How often do you speak Hanyu?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>How often do you read Chinese?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>How often do you write Chinese?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>How often do you watch TV?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13 Language contact with Chinese

Notes for Table 13:

- **a** Daily
- **b** Often
- **c** Sometimes
- **d** Seldom
- **e** Never

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Which of the following can you read in Chinese?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Which of the following can you write in Chinese?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>How much of the content on TV do you understand by listening?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14 Language contact with Chinese through reading and writing ability

Notes for Table 14:

- **Q12**: a Newspaper and novels
- **Q13**: b Personal letters
- **Q14**: c Public notice
- **Q15**: d Primary school first year text book
- **Q16**: e Nothing
- **Q17**: a Newspaper or magazine articles
- **Q18**: b Personal letters
- **Q19**: c Public notice
- **Q20**: d Characters in first year text books
- **Q21**: e Nothing
- **Q22**: All
- **Q23**: About
- **Q24**: More than half
- **Q25**: A little
- **Q26**: None at all
As can be seen in Table 14, the response to question 12 stands out. Seventy percent of the subjects reported a high ability in reading Chinese. Responses to questions 16 and 17 indicated the subjects’ strong contact with Chinese through TV.\textsuperscript{22}

It is worthwhile to look at more closely at the responses to question 11, “How often do you speak Hanyu?” in more detail as in Figure 8.

![Figure 8 Frequency of speaking Hanyu (Question 11)](image)

There is very clear evidence from Figure 8 that the majority of Bai people interviewed claimed that they do not speak Hanyu often. Only 15\% of the subjects reported that they speak Hanyu everyday, 17\% reported to speak Hanyu often, while the majority 59\% reported they seldom speak Hanyu or only occasionally, and 9\% of the interviewed subjects reported that they never speak Hanyu.

\textsuperscript{22} TV programs are all in Mandarin Chinese (Putonghua).
As mentioned earlier, Bai people’s contact with television is very strong. Fifty percent of the total number of interviewed subjects claimed that they watch television everyday. Seventy-five percent of the total subjects reported that they understand all the content of the television programs. This finding is supported by the research done by Guo (2003), in which he found that around 80% of Bai people in Yunnan province have a TV. He reported that Bai people have an average contact with television that is 3.2.²³

With regard to reading and writing contact with Chinese, the reading ability stands out. Seventy percent of the total subjects reported that they can read novels and newspapers. But in the follow-up question “How often do you read?” the response rate drops. Only 8% of the subjects reported reading Chinese on a daily basis and 33% reported that they read Chinese often. Twenty-two percent of the subjects reported that they never read in Chinese. Actually, this result is supplemented by the results of question 16 in the demographic questionnaire “What do you normally do in your leisure time?” The answers to this question reveal that only 40% of interviewed subjects reported that they read to some extent in their leisure time. When questions 14 and 15 concerning writing ability were asked, 70% of the subjects reported that they were able to write in Chinese including or above “letters level”²⁴, but only 26% of the subjects often write. Fifty-eight percent of the subjects reported that they seldom or never write. Based on Mackey and Cartwright (1979:70-1), it is reasonable to suspect that those who reported with high reading and writing ability but do not read and write often may be more generous in evaluating their reading and writing ability than those who actually read and write on a regular basis.

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²³ Guo used the ‘five scale’ (5: daily, 4: often, 3: occasionally, 2: seldom, 1: never) to evaluate media contact frequency. So the average 3.2 is in between of often and occasionally.

²⁴ Letter is choice b in the question which stands for a middle towards high ability in Chinese.
4.3 Domains in this study

Fasold (1984:183) noted that the concept of domain was first proposed by Fishman as a way of looking at language choice. According to Fishman, 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, activities and participants. The family domain is a typical domain. Domain analysis is related to diglossia.25

In this study, language use of Bai and Hanyu in seven domains were examined. These seven domains were determined by interlocutors, activities and settings as shown in Table 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Interlocutors</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>parents, spouse, children, siblings, ancestors, pets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>classmates, teachers</td>
<td>in/out classroom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>Bai/ non Bai merchants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acquaintances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work place</td>
<td>colleagues, clients, leaders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple</td>
<td>gods, other worshipers</td>
<td>praying, reciting dogma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>government officials</td>
<td></td>
<td>village level township level county level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strangers</td>
<td>strangers</td>
<td></td>
<td>field village county seat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15 Domains of the study

In each domain, there are sub-domains with regard to interlocutors, activities or setting. For example, in the family domain, the interlocutors (parents, spouse,

---

25 See section 1.4 for a definition.
children, siblings, ancestors who have passed away\textsuperscript{26} and pets) are listed as sub-domains of the family domain.

During the researcher’s staying in Jianchuan, she observed that people used Hanyu talking to their pets, and originally included them as a sub-domain in the family domain as question 18f. Through the survey, it was revealed that in Jinhua, 49\% of the subjects reported that they speak Hanyu to their pets. In the villages, only 5\% of the subjects reported that they speak Hanyu to their pets. The reported reason for speaking Hanyu to their pets is because the owners of the pets assumed that these pets cannot understand Bai because they were bought from Hanyu speakers. In other words, pets were treated as out-group members although they were a part of the family. This special feature of language use with pets resulted in exclusion from the discussion of language use in the family domain because the language use with a pet was determined by the non-relevant factor of where the pet was purchased rather than free language choice of the speakers. It can be noted that even with this constraint of where the pet is purchased, 79\% of the informants speak Bai to their pets.

4.4 Language use in seven domains

In this research, 252 subjects from both the county seat Jinhua and 5 rural villages were interviewed for their language use patterns in seven domains. Table 16 is a summary of language choice for each domain of communication for the total researched sample. The columns marked ‘Bai’ and ‘Han’ indicate that the subjects reported that they only use Bai or Hanyu to communicate in the situation. ‘B/H’

\textsuperscript{26} In Bai culture, ancestors who have passed away are considered as a part of the family with personality the same as human beings, also with supernatural power. Praying to ancestors is a part of the ancestor worship ritual.
indicates that the subjects reported using both Bai and Hanyu in the communication situation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Bai</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Han</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>B/H</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>What language do you speak at home? With parents?</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18b</td>
<td>With spouse</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18c</td>
<td>With children</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18d</td>
<td>With siblings</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18e</td>
<td>With ancestors who have passed away</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18f*</td>
<td>With pets and livestock</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19a</td>
<td>(If at school) What language do you speak at school?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With the teacher in the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19b</td>
<td>With the teacher outside of the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19c</td>
<td>With friends in the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19d</td>
<td>With friends outside the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20a</td>
<td>What language do you speak at a market? With a Bai merchant</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>99.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20b</td>
<td>With a non-Bai merchant</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20c</td>
<td>With an acquaintance</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21a</td>
<td>(If employees) What language do you speak at your work place?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Talking with your colleagues</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21b</td>
<td>Talking with your client/customer</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21c</td>
<td>Talking with your leader/boss</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22a</td>
<td>What language do you speak at a temple? Praying to gods</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22b</td>
<td>Reciting the dogma</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22c</td>
<td>Talking with other worshipers</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23a</td>
<td>What language do you speak when you go to the government office?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Village government</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23b</td>
<td>Township government</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23c</td>
<td>County government</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24a</td>
<td>What language do you speak to someone you don’t know and you can’t tell if they’re Bai or not? In the fields/rice paddies</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24b</td>
<td>In the village</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24c</td>
<td>In the town (Jinhuaizhen)</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total and X (mean)</strong></td>
<td><strong>4107</strong></td>
<td><strong>3449</strong></td>
<td><strong>84%</strong></td>
<td><strong>417</strong></td>
<td><strong>10%</strong></td>
<td><strong>241</strong></td>
<td><strong>6%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16 A summary of language choice

* 18f the pet sub-domain is not included in the discussion and the summary totals.

Table 17 is another view of the same data sorted by reported use of Bai.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Bai</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Han</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>B/H</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20a</td>
<td>What language do you speak at a market? With a Bai merchant</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>99.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18d</td>
<td>With siblings</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>What language do you speak at home?</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18e</td>
<td>With ancestors who have passed away</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24a</td>
<td>What language do you speak to someone you don’t know and you can’t tell if they’re Bai or not? In the fields/rice paddies</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24b</td>
<td>In the village</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23a</td>
<td>What language do you speak when you go to the government office? Village government</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18b</td>
<td>With spouse</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22a</td>
<td>What language do you speak at a temple? Praying to gods</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23b</td>
<td>Township government</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19b</td>
<td>With the teacher outside of the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18d</td>
<td>With children</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19d</td>
<td>With friends outside the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22c</td>
<td>Talking with other worshipers</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22b</td>
<td>Reciting the dogma</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18f*</td>
<td>With pets and livestock</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23c</td>
<td>County government</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24c</td>
<td>In the town (Jinhuazhen)</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19c</td>
<td>With friends in the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20c</td>
<td>With an acquaintance</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21a</td>
<td>(If employees) What language do you speak at your work place? Talking with your colleagues</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21c</td>
<td>Talking with your leader/boss</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21b</td>
<td>Talking with your client/customer</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19a</td>
<td>(If at school) What language do you speak at school?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With the teacher in the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20b</td>
<td>With a non-Bai merchant</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total and X (mean)</strong></td>
<td><strong>4107</strong></td>
<td><strong>3449</strong></td>
<td><strong>84%</strong></td>
<td><strong>417</strong></td>
<td><strong>10%</strong></td>
<td><strong>241</strong></td>
<td><strong>6%</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17 A summary of language choice sorted by reported use of Bai

---

*18f is not included in the discussion and summary totals.

The lines in Table 16 are for readability. They do not mark any significant divisions.
As can be seen in Table 17, the majority (3,449 out of 4,107) which is 84% of the total responses reported that they use Bai only in most of the communication situations. Such a high number of ‘Bai only’ responses stands out clearly to indicate that the Bai language has a strong vitality. The pie graph in Figure 9 shows the dominance that Bai has in communication in all domains.

![Pie graph](image)

\[\text{Figure 9 Pie graph of percentage of language choice in all domains (total sample).}\]

Regarding language use in each domain, among all seven domains, the choice of Bai stays very high. That is, the average reported percentage of choice of Bai is always greater than 50%, as in Figure 10. The seven domains and their corresponding questions are as the following: family (question 19 a,b,c,d,e), education (question 19 a,b,c,d), market (20 a,b,c), workplace (question 21 a,b,c), temple (question 22 a,b,c) government (question 23 a,b,c) and stranger (question 24 a, b,c).
It can also be seen from Figure 10 that the use of Bai can be categorized into three levels as above 95%, 80%-90% and 50%-70%. Based on these three levels, the language use in seven domains can be rearranged as Figure 11 in which a clear pattern can be seen.
In the family domain, over 95% of the respondents chose to use Bai in communication, while over 80%, but less than 90% of the respondents chose to use Bai to communicate in the government, temple and stranger domains. In the other three domains, (education, market and workplace), the report of ‘Bai only’ choices dropped slightly and the use of Bai/Han raised accordingly. But still over 50% of the responses reported using only Bai in these domains. Hanyu does not stand out clearly with a large percentage of responses except in the workplace domain, in which over 30% of the responses show a choice of both Bai and Hanyu in communication. Language use in the grouped domains will be discussed in detail respectively in the following sections.

4.4.1 Language use in the family (the in-group domain)

Language use in the family domain is investigated in almost every research concerning language maintenance and vitality (Parasher 1980, Benjamas 1998 and
Yuan Y. 2001). Some studies labeled family as a low domain in contrast with a high
domain, while some treat it as an informal domain contrasting with a formal domain
and others refer to it as an intimate domain verses a non-intimate domain. The
family domain is the fundamental and most important domain for communication.
Changes in language taking place in this domain may reflect changes happening
elsewhere. When a language has “lost the battle” in other domains, the family domain
often remains “the last stand”. Keep this domain, and the language lives. Lose it, and
the language dies.

In this study, the language use of Bai in the family domain stands out to indicate the
strong language vitality of Bai. Table 18 is a summary of language use in the family
domain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Bai</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Han</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>B/H</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>With parents?</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18b</td>
<td>With spouse</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18c</td>
<td>With children</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18d</td>
<td>With siblings</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18e</td>
<td>With ancestors who have passed away</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| X (mean) | 1190 | 1151 | 97% | 21 | 1.8% | 18 | 1.5% |

Table 18 Language use in the family domain

As can be seen in Table 18, on an average over 97% of the subjects reported that they
only speak Bai in the family domain. The percentage drops slightly when children are
interlocutors. Actually, one third of the subjects who reported that they speak Hanyu
or both Bai and Hanyu to their children are from the county seat. This will be
discussed later in section 4.5.

---

27 In Boehm 1997, the family domain is defined as the most intimate in-group domain.
Language use between generations has been the focus of various language maintenance studies. 28 The change of language use between generations indicates a likely ongoing language shift. It is shown in this study that 99% of the total subjects speak Bai to their parents. Among 214 subjects who have children, 11 (5%) reported that they speak only Hanyu to their children and 13 (6%) speak both Bai and Hanyu to their children. When those who speak only Hanyu to their children were asked about the reason, a common response was, “The children will learn Bai naturally once they attend the local school and play with kids in the neighborhood.” It can be seen that those who do not speak Bai to their children are not abandoning Bai, but they hope to train their children to be bilingual in both Bai and Hanyu. This indicates that the Bai community is evolving into a stable bilingualism.

Generally speaking, Bai people think it not appropriate to speak Hanyu to a Bai in an intimate situation unless one of them doesn’t know Bai. Here is one example. While the researcher was visiting a friend, the phone rang. This friend’s mother picked up the phone and heard someone speaking Hanyu calling for her daughter. Later she found out that the phone call was from a Bai friend of her daughter whom she also knew. She got very upset. She complained, “Why did she talk to me in Hanyu, is she pretending as if she did not know me?” This incident illustrates that speaking Bai is the expected norm in communication among Bai people. Speaking Hanyu to a Bai speaker creates distance between people and causes misunderstanding.

In the Bai speaking community, a shift to Hanyu does not reward one with high status and respect in turn, but rather a bad evaluation from the in-group people. During the research, when question 18c was asked to subjects from the rural area, many

28 Yuan (2000) did research on language contact and language shift among Atsang people in Yunnan province. She concluded that a total language shift can be completed in four generations. Lainio (1995) did research on the use of Finnish and Swedish in two generations of Sweden Finns. Gal (1979) looked into the language use of Hungarian and German in Oberwart in three generations. Huls and Van de Mond (1992) investigated language use of Turkish and Dutch between two generations in Turkish immigrant families in Netherlands. Also see Paulston (1992).
informants pointed out that “In the county seat Jinhua, they don’t speak Bai to their children, especially those who have a job. That is not good.”

Overall, Bai is the dominant language in the family domain as can be seen in Figure 12. This indicates strong Bai language vitality.

![Figure 12 Language use in the family domain](image)

More details of comparison between language use among Bai from villages and the county seat will be discussed in section 4.5.

### 4.4.2 Language use in an unpredictable mixed-group domain

In some other studies, the government, temple and stranger domains are placed at the other end of the continuum from the family domain if a continuum of domains is ever used. However in this study, these three domains are grouped together and

\[29\] See Boehm (1997) in which friends at school, government officials and shopkeepers in the bazaar are grouped as out-group domains on the other end of the domains continuum from family domain.
labeled as an unpredictable mixed-group domain according to the use of Bai in Figure 11. The term unpredictable mixed-group domain refers to the situation in which the initiator of the conversation cannot predict whether the interlocutor is Bai speaker or not, because in these domains both Bai speakers and Hanyu speakers exist. As a result one cannot easily predict which language should be used to talk to the interlocutor.

Table 19 is a summary of language use in these three domains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>What language do you speak at a temple? Praying to gods</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Bai</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Han</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>B/H</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22a</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22b</td>
<td>Reciting the dogma</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22c</td>
<td>Talking with other worshipers</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>407</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23a</td>
<td>What language do you speak when you go to the government office?</td>
<td>Village government</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23b</td>
<td>Township government</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23c</td>
<td>County government</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>756</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24a</td>
<td>What language do you speak to someone you don’t know and you can’t tell if they’re Bai or not? In the fields/rice paddies</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24b</td>
<td>In the village</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24c</td>
<td>In the town (Jinhuazhen)</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>756</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X (mean)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1706</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19 Language use in the unpredictable mixed-group domain

In these three sub-domains, an average of more than 80% of the respondents choose Bai as the only language of communication. Less than 10% of the respondents choose Hanyu in their communication while a mix of B/H stays very low at the bottom of the scale as Figure 13 shows.
It is surprising to find that the majority of the Bai informants reported that they would use Bai in the government domain, since the government is an official place in which PTH or at least Hanyu is officially required to be used. Especially in recent years, more Han people have come to work in the Bai area. The researcher had expected the government to be a domain in which more Hanyu would be used. A common answer revealed through the research is that “Well, we will speak Bai to them first, if they don’t speak Bai, then we will speak Hanyu.” More than 90% of the subjects reported that they would use Bai only in village and town level government offices. When the location is the county seat government offices, 76% of the subjects reported that they would use Bai, and the use of Hanyu increased to 19% accordingly as Figure 14 shows:
The researcher went to three government offices in Jinhua to ask for some census data and geographic information. She went the first time speaking Hanyu and found out that everyone in the offices was talking in Bai. She was somewhat ignored. She went back the second time speaking Bai. This time she got the information she needed more easily. This evidence shows that Bai is also the dominant language in the government domain, although Hanyu or PTH is set as the official language in the government domain.

The questions concerning strangers were presented as, “If you meet some strangers that you cannot tell whether they are Bai or not, which language would you use to talk to him/her?” The majority (98%) of the responses indicated that they would use Bai first regardless of where they meet the stranger, in a rice field or in the village. Only 2% of the subjects thought it appropriate to talk to a stranger in Hanyu if they met them in a rice field or in the village. When the location is the county seat, more subjects (25%) thought it appropriate to talk to the strangers in Hanyu. But still Bai remains as the dominant language of choice at 75% as Figure 15 shows.
The reported reason for choosing Bai to speak to a stranger was “I will speak Bai to them first, if they don’t know Bai, then I will speak Hanyu.” The research team went to five villages to talk with approximately three hundred people over the time they did the research. Not even once were they greeted with Hanyu, although they presented themselves to these villagers as strangers.

Based on the discussion above, it is logical to draw the conclusion that Bai is dominant in the stranger domain.

Regarding the temple domain, Bai is the dominant language used in all three activities as Figure 16 shows.
Concerning reciting dogma, not many subjects have actually done it. Among 40 informants who reported they have experience with reciting dogma, 32 reported that they would do it in Bai only, and 6 reported that they used Hanyu only. Two reported they used both Bai and Hanyu in that situation. Actually, the religion that the Bai people practice today is not an aboriginal religion but a mixture of ancestor worship, Buddhism and Daoism. As a result, all religious documents are recorded in Chinese characters. When people reported that they use Bai in reciting dogma, they are actually reading the Chinese characters in the Bai language.\textsuperscript{30}

Based on the analysis above, it is clear that Bai is the dominant language in an unpredictable mixed group domain. This indicates a strong vitality of the Bai language.

\textsuperscript{30} Wiersma (1990: 127) has a section discussing Chinese character readings. Also see Yunnan (1999) for Bai religions.
4.4.3 Language use in a predictable mixed-group domain

Education, market and workplace are grouped as the predictable mixed-group domain in which both Bai and Hanyu speakers exist. Different from the unpredictable mixed-group domain, in the predictable mixed-group domain, the initiator of the conversation can predict whether the interlocutor is Bai or not. Or they know the expected language norm for a particular topic or situation. For example, a student is expected to ask questions in the classroom in Hanyu, although this student can have further discussion with the teacher in Bai outside of the classroom. An employee should have knowledge about which language he is supposed to talk with his boss or colleagues.

Table 20 is a summary of language use in these three domains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Bai</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Han</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>B/H</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19a</td>
<td>(If at school) What language do you speak at school? With the teacher in the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19b</td>
<td>With the teacher outside of the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19c</td>
<td>With friends in the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19d</td>
<td>With friends outside the classroom</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total of question 19</strong></td>
<td>92</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20a</td>
<td>What language do you speak at a market? With a Bai merchant</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>99.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20b</td>
<td>With a non-Bai merchant</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20c</td>
<td>With an acquaintance</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total of question 20</strong></td>
<td>756</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21a</td>
<td>(If employees) What language do you speak at your work place? Talking with your colleagues</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21b</td>
<td>Talking with your client/customer</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21c</td>
<td>Talking with your leader/boss</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total of question 21</strong></td>
<td>150</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total of questions 19-21</strong></td>
<td>998</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20 Language use in the predictable mixed-group domain
In these three domains, the language use of Bai dropped slightly comparing the use of Bai in other domains as Figure 11 shows. But still, the use of Bai in these three domains is dominant compared to the use of Han and B/H as Figure 17 shows. In these three domains, an average of more than 50% of the respondents chose Bai as the only language in each domain. Less than 20% of the respondents choose Hanyu in their communication while the choice of B/H stays low in the education and market domains, but stands out in the workplace domain.

![Figure 17 Language use in the predictable mixed-group domains](image)

In the education domain, as Figure 18 shows, the use of Hanyu only has a higher percentage when the conversation is taking place between a student and a teacher in the classroom. It is surprising to find out that among 23 subjects, no one reported that they use ‘Hanyu only’ to talk with teachers outside the classroom. Bai is still the dominant language even in the education domain where PTH is expected to be used.
Figure 18 Language use in the education domain

Note:  
19a  With the teacher in the classroom  
19b  With the teacher outside of the classroom  
19c  With friends in the classroom  
19d  With friends outside the classroom

The researcher talked to some teachers from village schools and found that many of the students are not used to speaking Hanyu. When they are selected to answer a question in class, they would mix Bai with Hanyu. This explains to some extent that the use of B/H rose in education domains while the use of Hanyu is still low on the scale.

Regarding the market domain, the use of Bai remains dominant, but the use of Hanyu jumps as shown in Figure 19. The reason for this sudden change may lie in the insufficient design of question 20b “What language do you speak with a non-Bai merchant?” The responses of this question indicated that 88% of the subjects reported that they would use Hanyu to a non-Bai merchant. As mentioned earlier, those who don’t have contact with Hanyu often may be more generous in their choice of language use. Respondents assumed that they would use Hanyu with a non-Bai
merchant, but in reality, there are not many non-Bai merchants in Jianchuan area markets. On the other hand, in order to do business well, some of the non-Bai merchants have learned to speak some functional Bai.

![Language use in the market domain](image)

The researcher went to the markets in the county seat and in some villages where the surveys were administered. She found those Han merchants who have been in the area for a while use mostly Bai in their business. Those who are new to the area use Han and sign language with those who bargain with them in Bai.

The workplace is the domain that exhibits the highest use of B/H. On average, 38% of the subjects choose both Bai and Hanyu to communicate in their workplace. This is caused by the increasing cooperation between Han people and Bai people. Among the subjects of the study, 31% of them had experience working in other counties or prefectures where Hanyu is spoken for more than one month. But it is clearly seen from Figure 20, that Bai is still the dominant language in the workplace domain.
Regarding the local workplace, some Bai people who worked in a government office or school were interviewed about language use in a meeting or workplace. The responses revealed that Bai is still the dominant language even in a meeting. All discussion will be in Bai, unless the majority does not speak Bai, or a Hanyu speaker leader is present at the meeting.

One day the researcher had a technician from the local telecom company come over to check some telephone problems. The technician used PTH to greet and talk with the researcher, assuming the researcher is an outsider. Later, when she called her colleagues for technical help, the technician had the whole conversation in Bai in spite of the presence of a ‘Hanyu’ speaker.

From the discussion above, one can see that Bai is the dominant language in all three groups of domains under investigation, although the actual percentages are slightly different from domain to domain as Figure 21 shows.
Figure 21 A comparison of language use in three domain groups

Bai has almost complete dominance in the family domain. In the unpredictable mixed-group domain and predictable mixed-group domain, the use of Bai decreased slightly, while the use of Hanyu and B/H increased accordingly. However, language use in all domains points towards the one conclusion that Bai language vitality is very strong among Bai people in Jianchuan County.

In the following section, a comparison of the language use of the county seat Jinhua and rural villages will be the focus of the discussion.

4.5 A comparison of language use in Jinhua and rural villages

Various factors that affect language choice are gender, education, age, occupation, language attitudes and so forth.31 In this study, only the location factor, namely

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31 The investigation of these factors goes beyond the goals of present study. Further study may investigate the relationship between these factors and language use.
village vs. county seat, is investigated. As mentioned earlier, there are differences between Jinhua and rural villages with respect to their language contact situation with Chinese and language use pattern.

4.5.1 Differences in language contact with Chinese and bilingual proficiency

As stated in Blair (1990:64) that, “proximity to speakers of the second language has an effect on frequency of contact”, and frequency of contact may correlate with bilingual ability. Jinhua is the center of the Jianchuan County. The population makeup of Jinhua is more heterogeneous than that of the villages. People in Jinhua have easier access to education than those from the villages. They also have more opportunity for contact with Hanyu and have to use Hanyu more often. All these factors lead to differences between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages in their language contact with Chinese and their bilingual proficiency.

4.5.1.1 Language contact with Chinese

Figure 22 summarizes the results of responses from Jinhua and the villages concerning language contact with Chinese.\(^{32}\)

\(^{32}\) ‘Chinese’ is a cover-term for written form zhongwen and oral form Hanyu.
Figure 22 A comparison of language contact with Chinese

Note:    a  Strong contact with Chinese  
         b  Somewhat strong contact with Chinese  
         c  Somewhat weak contact with Chinese  
         d  Weak contact with Chinese  
         e  No contact with Chinese

It is clearly seen in Figure 22 that more subjects in Jinhua gave responses indicating very strong contact with Chinese. While on the other extreme, more subjects from the villages replied that they have no contact with Chinese. For instance as presented in Figure 23, when question 11 “How often do you speak Hanyu?” was asked, 45% of the subjects from Jinhua reported that they use Hanyu everyday while only 6% of the subjects from the villages reported using Hanyu everyday. Eleven percent of the subjects from the villages reported that they never speak Hanyu while all subjects from the county seat speak Hanyu to some degree.
In summary, subjects from the county seat Jinhua have stronger language contact with Hanyu than the subjects from the villages.

### 4.5.1.2 Bilingual proficiency

Since people from the villages differ from people from Jinhua in their language contact with Chinese, they may be different in their bilingual ability as well. A comparison of self-reported bilingual level between the subjects from Jinhua and the villages is presented in Figure 24.
It is clearly seen in Figure 24 that the self-reported bilingual level of subjects from Jinhua is higher than that from the villages.

In order to run a chi-square test to find out whether the subjects from the county seat differ from subjects from the villages in their proficiency in Hanyu with statistical significance, a null hypothesis is stated as “There is no difference in proficiency in Hanyu between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages.”

Running a chi-square test gave the result p<0.05. This result rejects the null hypothesis and indicates that there is a statistically significant difference between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages in their Hanyu proficiency.
4.5.2 Differences in language use

When language use in the family domain was discussed in detail in section 4.4.1, it was mentioned that most of the negative responses towards Bai use in the family domain are from the subjects living in the county seat. In other words some subjects from the county seat reported that they stopped using Bai in some of the communication situations in which the village people keep using Bai.

4.5.2.1 The family domain

As can be seen in Figure 25, in the family domain, 97% of the village subjects reported using only Bai to communicate, while only 84% of the Jinhua responses reported using Bai in the family domain. Hanyu is used at a very limited level by village subjects, while it is more often used by Jinhua informants.

![Figure 25 A comparison of language use in the family domain](image-url)
When the language use of Bai is in focus, one can see a pattern as presented in Figure 26.

![Figure 26 A comparison of language use of Bai in the family domain](image)

It is seen in Figure 26 that the reported use of Bai in the family domain among village subjects is slightly higher than that of Jinhua subjects.

In order to run a chi-square test to find out whether the subjects from the county seat differ from subjects from the villages in their language use in the family domain, a null hypothesis is stated as “There is no difference in language use in the family domain between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages.”

Running a chi-square test gives the result $p>0.05$. This result does not reject the null hypothesis, which indicates that this survey demonstrates no statistically significant difference between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages in their language use in the family domain.
The previous discussion revealed that subjects from the county seat and the villages differ in their language use with children. Running a chi-square test gives the result p>0.05. This difference does not exhibit statistical significance. However Figure 27 illustrated that subjects from both Jinhua and the villages use Bai as the dominant language in the family domain. This indicates the very strong vitality of Bai.

4.5.2.2 The unpredictable mixed-group domain and the predictable mixed-group domain

The previous discussion showed that location (village vs. Jinhua) does not affect people’s choice of language in the family domain significantly. This section investigates whether the location affects people’s language choice in the unpredictable and predictable mixed-group domains. The null hypothesis regarding the unpredictable mixed-group domain is stated as “There is no difference in language use in the unpredictable mixed-group domain between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages.”

Running a chi-square test gives the result p>0.05. This result does not reject the null hypothesis, which indicates that this survey demonstrates no statistically significant difference between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages in their language use in the unpredictable mixed-group domain.

The null hypothesis regarding the predictable mixed-group domain is stated as “There is no difference in the language use in the predictable mixed-group domain between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages.”

Running a chi-square test gives the result p>0.05. This result does not reject the null hypothesis, which indicates that this survey demonstrates no statistically significant difference between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages in their language use in the predictable mixed-group domain.
It should be noted that very few subjects from Jinhua reported they attended any kind of religious ceremony. For example, no subjects from Jinhua reported having experience with reciting dogma. Including the religious domain into the comparison may cause bias. Thus the comparison of language use in the unpredictable domain only includes the government and stranger domains.

In summary, the chi-square test results show that this survey demonstrates no statistically significant difference between subjects from villages and subjects from the county seat Jinhua in the language use in the family domain, the unpredictable mixed-group domain and the predictable mixed group domain.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, language use in seven domains was examined. According to the use of the Bai language, the seven domains were categorized into three domain groups, family (the in-group), unpredictable mixed-group and predictable mixed-group domains. Bai is the dominant language in all three domain groups, although the dominance differs slightly from one domain to another. However, the results from the analysis indicate that the Bai language has very strong vitality. This result gives a positive answer to the research question “Is the Bai language likely to be maintained in the foreseeable future?” That is to say, it seems likely that the Bai language will be maintained in the foreseeable future.

Regarding another research question “Do Bai speakers from the county seat differ from Bai speakers from the villages in their language attitudes, language use and proficiency in Hanyu?”, the analysis in this chapter shows that the Bai speakers from the county seat do differ from Bai speakers from the villages in their reported

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33 Including religious domain into the chi-square test gives the result 0.006 (<0.05), which indicates a statistical difference in the language use in unpredictable domain between subjects from the county seat and the villages, but the problem is that this result actually reveals their involvement difference rather than language use difference. So the analysis in this discussion excludes the religious domain.
proficiency in Hanyu, (p<0.05). Subjects from Jinhua have higher reported proficiency in Hanyu than subjects from the villages. With regard to language use, there is not much difference between the subjects from the county seat and the villages except their language use with children. However, a chi-square test shows that this survey demonstrates no statistically significant difference between subjects from the villages and subjects from the county seat Jinhua in their language use in the family, the unpredictable mixed-group and predictable mixed-group domains.

Another interesting finding in this study relating to language use and language contact was that Bai people have very strong contact with television. Half of the informants reported that they watch TV everyday, and 23% of the subjects reported watching TV often. These findings indicate that TV has potential to be an active tool in language development projects.
CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the language attitudes of Bai people from three perspectives. The findings contribute to answer the research question “Do Bai speakers have positive attitudes towards the Bai language and such related issues as Bai culture, Bai speakers and Bai language development programs?” As Baker proposed, “In the life history of a language, attitudes may be crucial. In language growth or decay, restoration of destruction, attitudes may be central.” The discovery of people’s attitudes plays a very important role in predicting the language vitality and success in developing language programs because “the success of language policy is predicated on attitudes surrounding that language.”(Baker1988:112)

A questionnaire including both closed and open questions is the main instrument in this study to collect the data for the discussion of this chapter. A comparison is also made to between the language attitudes of subjects from the villages and the county seat Jinhua.

5.1 Bai people’s language attitudes

In this study, language attitudes in the broadest sense were investigated. Twenty-eight questions were used to poll the language attitudes of Bai people from three perspectives: attitudes towards Bai language and culture, attitudes towards Bai speakers and attitudes towards Bai language development programs.
5.1.1 Attitudes towards Bai language and culture

Ten questions were asked in the questionnaire focusing on eliciting Bai people’s attitudes towards the Bai language and Bai culture. All ten questions are closed questions. Six of them are followed with an open question inquiring the reasons that cause the subject to choose their answer. Table 21 summarizes the responses. Question 2 elicits Bai people’s knowledge of a Bai orthography. The answers for question 2b are encoded as ‘Roman orthography’, ‘Not sure which one’ and ‘Chinese character based orthography’.

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34 The Chinese character based orthography is not really an orthography, it is a system used by educated Bai to record Bai pronunciation with Chinese characters.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Maybe</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do young people in your village speak Bai well, the way the old people speak it?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Should a Bai be able to speak Bai? Why?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Should a Bai be able to read Bai? Why?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Should a Bai be able to write Bai? Why?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Should we use Bai orthography to record and keep Bai songs, proverbs, etc.? Why?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Should we keep speaking Bai? Why?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>If there is no Bai language in use is there no Bai culture?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Will the Bai in Jiansuan always want to speak the Bai language?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>If Bai language has more and more Chinese words in it, do you consider that Bai is no longer pure?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Do you think being a Bai is better than being a Han? Why?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21 Attitudes towards Bai language and culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Chinese character based orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>Do you know that Bai language has a written form?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>Roman Orthography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>If Yes, Which one?</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22 Knowledge about Bai orthography
The following figure demonstrates the results from Table 21.

![Figure 27 Attitudes towards Bai language and culture](image)

When question 1 “Do young people in your village speak Bai well, the way the old people speak it?” was asked, the majority of the subjects (74%) gave a positive answer, while 26% of the total subjects reported that the young people don’t speak pure Bai any longer. A common observation made by these 26% is that “The young people have too many Chinese words mixed into their Bai.”

Question 2 elicited Bai people’s knowledge about a Bai orthography. Only 89 out of 252 (35%) subjects have heard about a Bai orthography. When asked about which one they had heard about, the answers varied. Twenty-nine percent of the subjects (26 out of the 89) reported ‘Chinese characters based orthography’, while the majority 52% of the subjects (47 out of 89) reported the ‘Roman orthography’ and 17 out of the 89 subjects (19%) were actually not sure about which orthography.
Questions 3, 4 and 5 asked about people’s attitudes towards speaking, reading and writing Bai. Generally speaking, Bai people’s attitudes towards these language-related issues were positive. Over 50% of the total subjects thought it necessary for a Bai to be able to speak Bai. Over 55% of the subjects considered it good for a Bai to be able to read and write Bai, if there is an orthography. Among those 46% who hold neutral attitudes towards question 3 “Should a Bai be able to speak Bai? Why?” some common reasons given are, “Bai should be able to speak Hanyu also, that will give us more opportunities,” or, “Those who live outside of Jianchuan, they don’t speak Bai but they are still considered as Bai.” It is clearly seen that the majority of Bai considered being able to speak Bai essential, and the rest favored bilingualism or were open to the possibility of a Bai person not being able to speak Bai.

Regarding reading and writing Bai, over 55% of the subjects thought it good for a Bai to be able to read and write Bai. Some common reasons given by subjects who thought a Bai should be able to read and write Bai are: “It is our culture.” “We can use the writing system to record things.” “To pass down the language.” and “It is always good to learn more.” According to the answers to the follow up question, those who answered ‘Maybe’ actually had negative attitudes toward reading and writing Bai. The most common reasons given for choosing the answer ‘Maybe’ are “Hanyu is more important.” “It is a waste of time.” “Being able to speak is enough.” “We have no writing system, it is unnecessary.” However, the majority (55%) of the subjects thought it essential for a Bai to be able to read and write Bai if there is an orthography.

When question 6, “Should we use Bai orthography to record and keep Bai songs, proverbs, etc.? Why?”, was asked, the majority (78%) of the subjects thought it important to record Bai songs and proverbs with a Bai orthography. Regarding reasons, the most common one given was, “If they are recorded, they can be passed down; it is an important part of our culture.” Some subjects mentioned that a Bai
orthography will record things with an accuracy which cannot be achieved by recording with Chinese characters. The remaining 22% thought it unnecessary to record them. The reasons for this negative attitude towards this issue vary. Some subjects explained that they are not interested in such things as Bai songs or proverbs, so they don’t care if they should be recorded or not, while some other subjects thought it good to record them, but using the reading Chinese Character system is good enough, and thus there is no need for using a Bai orthography.

When question 7, “Should we keep speaking Bai? Why?”, was asked, 78% of the subjects thought it necessary to continue speaking Bai, because “it is the Bai people’s language and culture.” Eighteen percent of the subjects hold neutral attitudes towards this issue. Some of the 18% subjects holding neutral attitudes commented that it is necessary to speak Bai and Hanyu at the same time. For example, one subject stated the reason as, “We should speak Bai at home and speak Hanyu outside of the home.” Some other subjects stated the reason for holding neutral attitudes towards keeping speaking Bai as, “When we are more developed, we will stop using Bai.” Another subject predicted that after four generations, Bai people will shift into Hanyu. One informant answered that “Let it be. If the oral form can last, then let it last; if it disappears, let it disappear. It is better to have only one language in China.” These reasons given by neutral attitudes holders indicate a negative attitude towards keeping speaking Bai. However, the majority (78%) of the subjects thought it necessary to keep speaking Bai because “it is the language of Bai people.”

When question 8, “If there is no Bai language in use is there no Bai culture?” was asked, 132 out of 252 (52%) subjects thought there is no necessary link between language and culture by holding the belief that “If we don’t speak Bai any longer, the

35 Reading Characters is a recording system used in Bai history. People use Chinese characters to record some special Bai discourse types such as songs, or eulogy based on either meaning or pronunciation. There is no standard for using characters, different people use different Chinese characters for recoding the same Bai words. This recording system is known by only very limited people.
culture will still be there.” While 74 subjects (29%) believed that if the language dies, then the culture will disappear. The remaining 18% of the subjects are not sure about this issue.

Another question concerning attitudes towards language maintenance is question 9, “Will the Bai in Jianchuan always want to speak the Bai language?” The majority of the subjects (67%) responded with a positive answer. The common reasons stated are from demographic and ethnic identity perspectives such as “The majority of the population in Jianchuan is Bai who live in the villages, they cannot speak Hanyu.” or “Bai is our language; we should keep speaking it.” Those who gave a neutral response explained that Bai may merge into the Han language and culture as time goes by; it is important to be able to speak both Bai and Hanyu, but Hanyu is more important because speaking Hanyu provides more opportunities.

When question 10, “If Bai language has more and more Chinese words in it, do you consider that Bai is no longer pure?”, was asked, 39% of the subjects agreed with the statement, while 49% of the subjects thought the Bai language is still pure no matter how many Chinese borrowed words it has. For “once it is borrowed, it is no longer Chinese but Bai.” The remaining 12% were not sure about the answer to this question.

The last question in this section elicited Bai people’s attitudes towards Bai identity. The responses to question 11, “Do you think being a Bai is better than being a Han? Why?”, indicated that 45% of the subjects had positive attitudes towards being a Bai, while 8% of the subjects thought it is better to be a Han because a Han person is richer and has more opportunities. Forty-seven percent of the subjects believed that “All ethnic groups are equal. No one is superior than another.”

To summarize what has been discussed above, one can see that the majority of the Bai people have positive attitudes towards issues related to the Bai language. In
questions 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 9, more than 50% of the subjects gave a positive answer to each of the questions. For the question concerning ethnic identity, almost half of the subjects hold neutral attitudes towards it, namely, 47% of the subjects thought all ethnic groups are equal while 45% thought being Bai is better than Han. Responses from questions concerning culture revealed that the majority of the Bai people’s attitudes towards the influence of Hanyu on Bai culture and language are positive. They did not consider loss of language a danger to the culture, and neither is the invasion of Hanyu a destruction of the Bai language’s purity.

5.1.2 Attitudes towards other Bai speakers

People’s attitudes towards a language can be revealed through their attitudes towards a speaker of that language. Seven questions were designed to tap Bai people’s attitudes towards other Bai speakers. In each question, the respondents were asked to choose from 4 answers from a hypothetical situation in which both Bai speakers and Han speakers exist. The language of the speaker is set as the only variable when other variables are under control. Thus, the responses can reveal the respondents’ attitudes towards the speaker. These hypothetical situations include trade, work, hospital, education, television and marriage. Table 23 is a summary of the responses for the questions concerning attitudes towards Bai speaker.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Bai</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Han</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Either</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>When you go to the market to sell a chicken, if two people offer the same price at the same time, one speaks Bai, another speaks Chinese, to whom would you sell the chicken?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>When two people come to your village to hire labor, if both will pay the same amount of wage, one speaks Bai and another speaks Chinese, for whom would you choose to work?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>When you go to see a doctor in the hospital, if two doctors are specialized in the same area, one speaks Bai and another speaks Chinese, from whom would you ask help?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>If a play is shown in the village center square on TVs, one TV shows the Chinese version, another shows the Bai translation, which one would you prefer to watch?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>If there were two schools in the village, one uses Bai as the teaching medium first then transfers to Chinese, another uses Chinese from the beginning, which one would you want to go to/send your children to?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>If you wanted to marry, would you prefer your spouse to be:</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>*If your children wanted to marry, would you prefer her/his spouse to be:</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| X (mean) | 1737 | 864 | 50% | 243 | 14% | 622 | 36% | 8     | 0.5% |

Table 23 Attitudes towards other Bai speakers

Note: questions with * only apply to married population.
It is clearly seen in Table 23 that out of the total 1737 responses, 50% of the responses favored a Bai speaker while only 14% of the total responses favored a Hanyu speaker. While 39% of the total responses indicated that the language the speaker speaks in a particular situation makes no difference in their choice. In other words, language is not a significant factor for their decision; their attitudes are neutral. The diagram in Figure 28 is a summary of responses for all seven questions.

Based on Figure 28, one can see that generally speaking, about half (49.7%) of the interviewed subjects have positive attitudes towards other Bai speakers while only 14% showed preference towards Hanyu speakers. The remaining 35.8% of the research subjects showed no preference towards either Bai or Hanyu speakers. As some subjects said, “We Bai people are a really friendly people group; we don’t have prejudice towards other people groups.” But the results show that Bai people favored a Bai speaker in certain situations, as Figure 29 shows.
It is seen in Figure 29 that, in each of the four situations: Television, Marriage, Employment and Hospital, more than half of the subjects favored a Bai speaker. The percentage rate drops to 18% concerning their preference for children-in-law. In the following section, we will examine all the situations respectively.

In the Television program situation (question 4), 67% of the total subjects preferred to watch Bai TV programs rather than Hanyu programs. The common reasons for this preference were “Bai TV programs are closer to the heart.” “Bai TV programs are exotic.” Fourteen percent of the subjects showed a preference for Hanyu TV programs. The reasons given by them were, “I am used to Hanyu TV programs.,” “There are more options in Hanyu programs than in Bai.”, or “It is awkward to hear Bai on TV.”\(^\text{36}\)

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\(^{36}\) There are no TV programs in Bai, but sometimes interviews in Bai are broadcast on the local news, which is in PTH.
In the employment situation (question 2), 54% of the total subjects are willing to work for a Bai-speaking boss, while 10% of the subjects would choose to work for a Hanyu-speaking boss, and 36% of the subjects showed no preference for either one. Among those who choose to work for a Bai boss, three common reasons mentioned are “Bai people are more trustworthy,” “Bai people should help Bai people first.” or “It is easier to communicate with a Bai-speaking boss.” Those who choose to work for a Han boss reported three types of reasons: “Han people are more developed, we can learn skills from them.” “We can learn Hanyu from them.” or “They are outsiders, so we should help them first.”

In the hospital situation (question 3), 53% of the subjects reported that they would prefer to see a Bai-speaking doctor rather than a Hanyu-speaking doctor. When the reason was asked, most of them stated “Better communication” as the main reason for the choice. Two percent of the subjects showed negative attitudes towards Bai speakers assuming Hanyu speaking doctors have better skills. Forty-five percent of the subjects have no preference for either Bai or Hanyu speaking doctors in this situation. However, some subjects mentioned that if they are in a hospital out side of the Jianchuan county, they will definitely choose the Bai-speaking doctor, because “the Bai speaking doctor will be more close to heart since we all speak Bai.”

In the trade situation (question 1), 50% of the subjects would prefer to do business with a Bai speaker, while 45% of the subjects would not make the decision based on the language of the customer, but on the situation. Three percent of the subjects would prefer to sell the product to a Hanyu speaker by assuming that Hanyu speakers are outsiders who need more help. Two percent of the informants would sell to neither one to avoid causing conflict. Among those 50% of the subjects who choose to do business with a Bai speaker, the most common reasons given for their choice were “We are all Bai people.” and “I like Bai people better.”
In the education situation (question 5), 42% of the subjects showed preference to the school using both Bai and Hanyu as media because they thought it good to have a transition period. However 54% of the subjects thought it is better to use Hanyu as the only teaching media so that they can learn Hanyu faster.

In the marriage situation (questions 6 and 7), the majority (61%) of the total subjects preferred to marry a Bai because “It is easy to communicate with Bai people.” or “We share the same culture and values.” Only 4% of the informants thought it is better to marry a Han who has a higher standard of living. With regard to children’s marriage, the majority of the subjects showed neutral attitudes. Namely, 75% of the total subjects showed no preference in the language of the children-in-law. While 18% thought it is better to have Bai-speaking children-in-law so they can communicate with each other better. Six percent of the subjects wished their children to marry Han people assuming that they would have a better life. However, in reality, only 2% of the total researched population married Han people while 98% married Bai people.

To summarize what has been discussed above, one can see that the Bai people’s attitudes towards other Bai speakers differ from situation to situation. However generally speaking, the majority of the Bai people have positive attitudes towards Bai speakers, while the minority showed neutral attitudes towards either Bai or Hanyu speakers. For the rest, a very small percentage favored Hanyu speakers.

5.1.3 Attitudes towards language development programs in Bai

In this section, ten questions are designed to sample Bai people’s attitudes towards language development programs in Bai, including Bai literacy programs and Bai

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37 Several subjects pointed out that twenty years ago, Bai people were not open to inter-group marriage, but now, people are more open.

38 The first four questions include a second question for eliciting parents’ attitudes towards literacy. And questions 8, 9 and 10 include a follow up question to discover subjects’ willingness to commit to the language development program mentioned in the previous question.
media programs. The findings may predict the success of literacy programs\textsuperscript{39} or other language development programs in the future.

The questions used in this section adapted the ideas from a commitment questionnaire (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970) with the hope that people’s attitudes may be better revealed when they are asked to commit to an activity rather than simply answer a question. Table 24 is a summary of responses to these ten questions. Questions 1 to 4 focus on attitudes towards literacy in both Bai and Chinese. Sub-question ‘a’ asks for subjects’ willingness to participant in the literacy program, while sub-question ‘b’ asks for their willingness to have their children participant in the literacy program. Questions 5, 6 and 7 were designed for eliciting the subjects’ general attitude or belief towards Bai literacy. Questions 8 to 10 ask about attitudes towards Bai language development programs such as radio, television programs and newspapers.

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\textsuperscript{39} The first Bai literacy class started in the middle of the 80’s. However, these literacy classes were on and off over the time without achieving much success. By the time the researcher started this research, some new literacy projects was to be launched. These projects are sponsored by the local government and foreign literacy experts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Maybe yes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Maybe no</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>If someone is going to teach how to read and write Bai in your village, would you go?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>*Would you let your children go?</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>If someone is going to teach how to read and write Chinese in your village, would you go?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>*Would you let your children go?</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>If the Bai textbook cost you 10¥, would you buy it?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>*Would you buy it for your children?</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>If the Zhongwen textbook cost you 10¥, would you buy it?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>*Would you buy it for your children?</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X (mean)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q# | Question                                                                 | n= | Yes | %   | Maybe | %   | No  | %   |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do you think learning to read and write Bai first will help children to learn Chinese better later?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do you think studying Zhongwen is more important than studying Bai?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do you think learning how to read and write Bai useless?(^{40})</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Maybe</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>Do you think we should have radio broadcasting in Bai?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>Will you listen to it?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>Do you think we should have TV programs in Bai?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td>Will you watch it?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>Do you think we should have a newspaper in Bai?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>Will you buy and read it?</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X (mean)</td>
<td>1512</td>
<td>1101</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24 Attitudes towards language develop programs in Bai

\(^{40}\) X(mean ) is not calculated for questions 5 to 7 because these questions are discussed separately. At the same time what ‘yes’ and ‘no’ represent in question 5 is different from what it presents in question 6 and 7.
In the following sections, attitudes towards Bai literacy and language development programs will be discussed respectively.

5.1.3.1 Attitudes towards literacy

Questions 1 to 7 seek to discover people’s attitudes towards literacy both in Bai and zhōngwén. Questions 1 to 4 are commitment questions eliciting subjects’ willingness to participate in a hypothetical literacy program. Questions 5, 6 and 7 are direct questions polling their general attitudes or beliefs towards Bai literacy. From the figures presented in Table 24, one can see that the majority (61%) of the responses were positive about committing to a literacy program in either Bai or Chinese, while 10% of the responses were somewhat positive and 6% of the responses are somewhat negative. The remaining 24% of the responses were negative.

When literacy in Bai is in focus, one can see that less commitment is made to Bai literacy compared to the commitment made to Chinese literacy as Figure 30 shows.

Figure 30 A comparison of commitment to literacy in Bai and Chinese
There are various reasons for the difference in attitudes towards Bai literacy and zhōngwén literacy. One reason is the lack of knowledge of the existence of a Bai orthography. In the section concerning attitudes towards Bai language and culture, question 2 asked about Bai people’s knowledge about the Bai orthography, “Do you know that the Bai language has a written form?” Only 85 out of 252 total subjects (35%) reported that they had heard about a Bai written form. When the follow up question “If yes, which one?”, was asked, only 47 out of the 85 reported the ‘Roman based orthography’,41 while 17 subjects were uncertain about the answer and 29 subjects reported ‘Reading Chinese character’.42

Another reason can be seen from the responses to questions 5 and 6 which asked about people’s general attitudes towards Bai literacy. When question 5, “Do you think learning to read and write Bai first will help children to learn Chinese better later?” was asked, only 45% of the total subjects gave a positive answer, while 33% of the subjects were uncertain about the answer and the remaining 22% did not agree with the statement in the question. When reasons for disagreement were asked, some informants said “Learning Bai first will be confused with the Pinyin system of Chinese.” Regarding the responses to question 6 “Do you think studying Chinese is more important than studying Bai?” 75% of the subjects thought learning Chinese was more important than Bai, while 20% held neutral attitude towards this question and 5% of the subjects believed learning Chinese is not more important than learning Bai. Among the 20% of the subjects who did not agree that Chinese is always more important than Bai, the stated reason was “Bai is useful but with limited use. It is important in the region where everyone else speaks Bai.”

41 This Roman based orthography was promoted by two Bai linguists Xu Lin and Zhao Yansun in the early 80’s and was first used in the middle of 80’s in some villages in an experimental class. But it has never been successfully spread to Bai villagers in other villages where the experimental classes were not held.

42 See footnote 34.
Institutional support is a key issue in developing minority language programs. The researcher interviewed some primary school teachers for their opinion towards having preschool education in Bai. They were not positive about it. A common reason was that the education system is Chinese dominant. As a result, students may not be strongly motivated to study Bai. At the same time, the workload is demanding and the evaluation system at schools is rigorous. Both teachers and students are burdened under this education system. Some teachers implied that unless the education system changes, there is no possibility to learn anything besides what is required.

However, the general attitude towards Bai literacy is positive. This can be seen from responses towards question 7, “Do you think learning how to read and write Bai is useless?” The majority (77%) of the subjects did not think learning how to read and write Bai was useless. Some of the subjects gave further explanation that “The use is limited, but it is still useful, it is our language after all.” At the same time, responses from question 1 and 3 showed that 56% of the subjects were positive towards committing to Bai literacy programs. Twelve percent of the subjects were somewhat positive while the remaining 32% showed somewhat negative or negative attitudes towards Bai literacy. Based on this evidence, it is safe to conclude that Bai people have positive attitude towards Bai literacy.

As cited in Holmen (1995:173), Gardner pointed out “Educational discussion often revolves around the fact that parental attitudes, experience and involvement play a major role for the eventual school achievement of children.” Gardner distinguishes between active and passive roles of parents. In this study, parents’ attitudes towards literacy are under focus. Both their attitudes towards literacy in Bai and Chinese are examined.

It was found that parents are not so keen to become literate, but they are very positive towards having their children to become literate both in Bai and Chinese. Most of them believe that it is always better for their children to learn more as long as there is
an opportunity. Some of them expressed a more specific reason for their willingness to send their children to attend a Bai literacy class. That is because “We should learn Bai, since it is our language.” Figure 31 presents the difference in parents’ attitudes towards their personal literacy and their children’s.

![Figure 31 A comparison of attitudes towards adults’ literacy and children’s literacy](image)

It is seen from Figure 31 that over 77% of the informants showed positive attitudes towards sending their children to a literacy program either in Bai or Chinese. But only 46% of the subjects showed the willingness to commit to a literacy program.

There are various reasons that keep adults from making a commitment to a literacy program. The most common reasons reported by the subjects were “too busy to attend.,” “too old to learn,” and “no need to learn.” Regarding to the reasons for not attending a Bai literacy program, some common ones were “it is useless to learn.” “no interest.” or “Hanyu is more important.”
Among those who give a positive answer for their personal commitment to a literacy program, a common reason given is: “Learning more is always better.” Regarding reasons for attending a Bai literacy programs, some common expressed reasons were: “Bai is our language, we should learn it.” “Bai culture can be passed down.” and “Learning one more writing system is good.”

To summarize what has been discussed above, one can see that generally speaking, Bai people have positive attitudes towards literacy both in Bai and Chinese. Although more subjects showed positive attitudes towards literacy in Chinese, still, 56% of the interviewed subjects have positive attitudes towards Bai literacy programs because: “Bai is Bai people’s language,” and “It is always good to learn more.” It is also revealed that parents had very positive attitudes towards sending their children to literacy programs, although they were not really keen about being literate themselves.

5.1.3.2 Attitudes towards media

Questions 8 to 10 are designed to discover people’s attitudes towards media programs in Bai. Each question includes two questions (question a and b). Question ‘a’ asks for people’s desire for having Bai media programs,\(^{43}\) while question ‘b’ asks for their willingness to support those programs by, for instance listening to the Bai radio broadcast, watching Bai TV programs and reading the Bai newspaper.

From Table 24 one can see that the majority of the responses express positive attitudes towards Bai media programs. Seventy-three percent out of the total responses are positive about Bai media programs while 15% of them were neutral, and 13% gave negative responses. One can draw the conclusion that Bai people have positive attitudes towards Bai media programs.

---

\(^{43}\) There used to be radio broadcast in Bai in the 80’s. Now the local News titled as ‘Jianchuan News’ is on TV once a week. The news is broadcast in PTH.
Figure 32 presents the positive response for media programs. It is seen that people’s desire for having Bai media programs is close to their willingness to commit to the programs concerning TV and radio, but there is a gap existing concerning the media form of newspapers.

![Graph showing response percentages for television, radio, and newspaper media types.]

Figure 32 Positive attitudes towards Bai media programs in Bai

It is clearly seen in Figure 32 that the majority (over 80%) of subjects demonstrated the desire to have radio and television programs in Bai. They were willing to commit to further involvement in these programs. Regarding a newspaper, only 56% of the subjects showed a desire to have it. When further commitment was asked, only 42% of the subjects showed their willingness to read it. That is to say, 56% of the subjects thought it good to have newspapers in Bai but 14% of those who expressed the desire to have Bai newspapers will not personally be involved in buying and reading them. When the reasons were asked, most of them answered “I don’t know how to read it.” A minority gave the responses like “I have no reading habit.” or “I have bad eye sight.”
It can also be clearly seen in Figure 32 that television is the most favorable media form and newspaper is the least favored. This is supported by the study done by Guo (2003). In his research, he presented Bai people’s contact with these three media types on a five-point scale as television 3.8, radio 1.6, and newspaper 1.4. In this current study, it was also found that Bai people have very high contact with television. Over 80% percent of interviewed families have a TV. Half of the informants reported that they watch TV everyday and 23% of the total subjects watch TV often. Figure 32 demonstrates that people show a strong desire to have radio programs and a willingness to listen to them, but in reality, many people reported that they have stopped using radios. With regard to newspaper, 56% of the informants thought it good to have a newspaper in Bai, but only 42% of the informants showed willingness to support this by buying and reading the Bai newspaper. Actually, there is an underlying reason for the response that is the reading habit of the Bai people. This current study found out among 132 educated informants, only 13% of them reported that they read Chinese on a daily basis and 48% of them read it on an irregular basis.

To summarize the discussion on attitudes towards media, one can see that the majority of Bai people have positive attitudes towards having media programs in Bai by showing desire to have these programs and willingness to be involved in these programs. However, note that there is an unbalanced favor among these three types of media. Television has the most favor and strongest influence while newspaper is the least favored.
5.2 A comparison of language attitudes in Jinhua and rural villages

Various factors may affect people’s language attitudes such as gender, education, age, occupation and so forth. In this study, only the location factor, namely village vs. county seat, is investigated.

5.2.1 Attitudes towards Bai language and culture

The following Table 25 and 26 are summaries of responses regarding attitudes towards Bai language and culture. Both responses from the county seat Jinhua and the villages are presented in the tables.

---

44 The investigation of these factors goes beyond the goals of the present study. It calls for further study to investigate the relationship between these factors and language attitudes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Villages Jinhua</td>
<td>Villages Jinhua</td>
<td>Villages Jinhua</td>
<td>Villages Jinhua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do young people in your village speak Bai well, the way the old people speak it?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>79% 58%</td>
<td>__ __</td>
<td>2% 21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Should a Bai to be able to speak Bai? Why?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>45% 75%</td>
<td>53% 25%</td>
<td>2% 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Should a Bai to be able to read Bai? Why?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>62% 57%</td>
<td>35% 32%</td>
<td>3% 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Should a Bai to be able to write Bai? Why?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>61% 48%</td>
<td>35% 38%</td>
<td>4% 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Should we use Bai orthography to record and keep Bai songs, proverbs, etc.? Why?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>76% 85%</td>
<td>21% 13%</td>
<td>3% 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Should we keep speaking Bai? Why?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>76% 85%</td>
<td>18% 13%</td>
<td>6% 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>If there is no Bai language in use is there no Bai culture?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>25% 43%</td>
<td>19% 15%</td>
<td>56% 42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Will the Bai in Jianchuan always want to speak the Bai language?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>65% 73%</td>
<td>33% 23%</td>
<td>2% 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>If Bai language has more and more Chinese words in it, do you consider that Bai is no longer pure?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>40% 38%</td>
<td>11% 13%</td>
<td>49% 48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Do you think being a Bai is better than being a Han? Why?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>51% 25%</td>
<td>40% 68%</td>
<td>9% 7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25 A comparison of attitudes towards Bai language and culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Villages Jinhua</td>
<td>Villages Jinhua</td>
<td>Villages Jinhua</td>
<td>Villages Jinhua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>Do you know that Bai language has a written form?</td>
<td>192 60</td>
<td>35% 37%</td>
<td>3% __</td>
<td>62% 63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Roman orthography</td>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>Chinese character based</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>If yes, which one?</td>
<td>67 22</td>
<td>65% 55%</td>
<td>7% 14%</td>
<td>28% 32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 26 A comparison of knowledge about Bai orthography
Figure 33 is a bar diagram to demonstrate the differences between subjects from Jinhua and subjects from the villages in their positive responses to question 1 to 11 concerning attitudes towards Bai language and culture.

It is clearly seen in Figure 33 that in questions 1, 4, 5, 10 and 11 more subjects from the villages gave positive responses than those from Jinhua. While in the remaining six questions 2, 3, 6, 7, 8 and 9, more subjects from Jinhua gave positive answers.

One big gap appears in the responses to question 11 which asked about attitudes towards Bai identity. More than half of the subjects from the villages thought it better being a Bai than being a Han, while only 25% of the subjects from Jinhua agreed with this statement. The majority of the Jinhua informants believed all ethnic groups are equal, that no one group is superior than another.

In order to run a chi-square test to find out whether the subjects from the county seat differ from subjects from the villages in their attitudes towards Bai language and
culture with statistical significance, a null hypothesis is stated as “There is no difference in the attitudes towards Bai language and culture between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages.”

Running a chi-square test gave the result $p < 0.05$. This result rejects the null hypothesis and indicates that there is a statistically significant difference between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages in the attitudes towards Bai language and culture.

The discussion above is based on the chi-square test result that treats the responses from all the questions as a whole, the following discussion deals with each single question using the same null hypothesis. The results of the chi-square test applied to each question are presented in Table 27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>P value</th>
<th>Statistical significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.092323</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.896878</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.007248</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.587938</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.215625</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.556281</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.556281</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.02638</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.525481</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.840825</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.008085</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27 The chi-square test results of questions concerning attitudes towards Bai language and culture

It is clearly seen from Table 27 that in most questions, there is no statistically significant difference in the attitudes towards Bai language and culture except in the responses to questions 3, 8 and 11 with question 1 close to the $p<0.05$ threshold. That is to say, significantly, more subjects from Jinhua thought it is important for a Bai to
be able to speak Bai and keep speaking Bai, while more subjects from the villages thought it is better to be a Bai than Han.

5.2.2 Attitudes towards other Bai speakers

Table 28 is a comparison of responses from both Jinhua subjects and village subjects with regard to their attitudes towards other Bai speakers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Bai</th>
<th>Han</th>
<th>Either</th>
<th>Neither</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>When you go to the market to sell a chicken, if two people offer the same price at the same time, one speaks Bai, another speaks Chinese, to whom would you sell the chicken?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>When two people come to your village to hire labor, if both will pay the same amount of wage, one speaks Bai and another speaks Chinese, for whom would you choose to work?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>When you go to see a doctor in the hospital, if two doctors are specialized in the same area, one speaks Bai and another speaks Chinese, from whom would you ask help?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>If a play is shown in the village center square on TVs, one TV shows the Chinese version, another shows the Bai translation, which one would you prefer to watch?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>If there were two schools in the village, one uses Bai as the teaching medium first then transfers to Chinese, another uses Chinese from the beginning, which one would you want to go to/send your children to?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>If you wanted to marry, would you prefer your spouse to be:</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>*If your children wanted to marry, would you prefer her/his spouse to be:</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28 A comparison of attitudes towards other Bai speakers

Note: Vill. stands for villages
JH stands for Jinhua
Questions with * only apply to married subjects
It is seen from Table 28 that on average, over 50% of the responses from the villages showed favor towards other Bai speakers in all the seven situations while only 39% percent of the responses from Jinhua would choose Bai speakers for those situations. At the same time, it is seen that more responses from the county seat Jinhua were open to either Bai or Han speakers. Forty-three percent of the speakers from Jinhua would choose either one for the situation, while only 34% of the village informant would choose either one.

Figure 34 is a bar diagram to demonstrate the differences between subjects from Jinhua and subjects from the villages in their positive attitudes towards other Bai speakers in all seven situations.

![Bar Diagram](image)

Figure 34 A comparison of positive attitudes towards other Bai speakers in seven situations

As can be seen in Figure 34, in all situations except for the choice of television, more subjects from the villages show positive attitudes towards Bai speakers than those from the county seat Jinhua. It is also noticed that the lower percentage choice for
‘Bai’ in Jinhua has a corresponding increase in the percentage for the choice ‘Either’. The percentage for the choice ‘Han’ are about the same in villages or Jinhua.

In order to run a chi-square test to find out whether the subjects from the county seat differ from subjects from the villages in their attitudes towards other Bai speakers with statistical significance, a null hypothesis is stated as “There is no difference in the attitudes towards other Bai speakers between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages.”

Running a chi-square test gives the result of \( p = 0.09 \). This result does not quite reject the null hypothesis and indicates that the difference between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages in the attitudes towards other Bai speakers may not be significant.

The discussion above is based on the chi-square test result that treats the responses from all the questions as a whole, the following discussion deals with each single question using the same null hypothesis. The results of the chi-square test applied to each question are presented in Table 29.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>P value</th>
<th>Statistical significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.827725</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.318857</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.49324</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.11051</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.043091</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.490733</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.135983</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29 The chi-square test results of questions concerning attitudes towards other Bai speakers

It is clearly seen from Table 29 that education is the only situation in which the subjects from villages can be demonstrated to differ from subjects from the county seat in the attitudes with statistical significance at \( p < 0.05 \). Namely, more subjects
from the villages favored bilingual schools in which Bai is initially used as the teaching media while more subjects from the county seat favored schools in which only Han is used as teaching media.

5.2.3 Attitudes towards language development programs in Bai

In this section, differences between subjects from Jinhua and subjects from the villages in their attitudes towards language development programs in Bai will be discussed. Table 30 is a comparison of responses from both Jinhua subjects and village subjects with regard to their attitudes towards language development programs in Bai.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>n=</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Maybe yes</th>
<th>Maybe not</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>If someone is going to teach how to read and write Bai in your village, would you go?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>*Would you let your children go?</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>If the Bai textbook cost you 10¥, would you buy it?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>*Would you buy it for your children?</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>n=</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Maybe</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do you think learning to read and write Bai first will help children to learn Chinese better later?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do you think studying Chinese is more important than studying Bai?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do you think learning how to read and write Bai useless?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>Do you think we should have radio broadcasting in Bai?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>Will you listen to it?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>Do you think we should have TV programs in Bai?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td>Will you watch it?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>Do you think we should have a newspaper in Bai?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>Will you buy and read it?</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30: A comparison of attitudes towards Bai language development programs

Note: Vill. stands for villages
JH stands for Jinhua
Questions 2a, 2b and 4a, 4b are not included in this table because they are about Chinese literacy.
Questions with * only apply to married subjects.
5.2.3.1 Attitudes towards literacy in Bai

Figure 35 is a bar diagram to demonstrate the differences between subjects from Jinhua and subjects from the villages in their attitudes towards literacy in Bai. It is clearly seen that 63% of the responses from the villages showed strong willingness to participate in a Bai literacy program, while only 36% of the responses from Jinhua showed positive attitudes towards a Bai literacy program. In other words, the majority of the village subjects reported that they were willing to participate in a Bai literacy program while the majority of the Jinhua subjects had no interest in a Bai literacy program.

In order to run a chi-square test to find out whether the subjects from the county seat differ from subjects from the villages in their attitudes towards Bai literacy programs with statistical significance, a null hypothesis is stated as “There is no difference in
the attitudes towards Bai literacy programs between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages.”

Running a chi-square test gives \( p < 0.05 \). This result rejects the null hypothesis and indicates that there is a statistically significant difference between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages in their attitudes towards Bai literacy programs.

The discussion above is based on the chi-square test result that treats the responses from all the questions as a whole, the following discussion deals with each single question using the same null hypothesis. The results of the chi-square test applied to each question concerning Bai literacy are presented in Table 3.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>P value</th>
<th>Statistical significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>0.000229</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>0.265292</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>0.002356</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>0.263378</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 The chi-square test results of questions concerning Bai literacy

It is clearly seen in Table 3.1 that subjects from the villages and subjects from the county seat only differ in their responses to question 1a and 3a with statistical significance. Namely, more subjects from the villages are willing to attend a Bai literacy class.

5.2.3.1 Attitudes towards media programs in Bai

Figure 36 uses a bar diagram to demonstrate the differences between subjects from Jinhua and subjects from the villages in their attitudes towards Bai media programs. It is clearly seen that 78% of the responses from the villages showed a desire for media
programs in Bai and willingness to involve in these programs, while only 56% of the responses from Jinhua showed positive attitudes towards these media programs.

Several subjects from Jinhua stated the reason for not having media programs in Bai as “Media programs in Bai will be good for villagers, but it is unnecessary to have it in Jinhua where everyone knows Hanyu well enough to use Hanyu media programs.” But the percentage was still over 50%, so even in Jinhua most people favored it.

In order to run a chi-square test to find out whether the subjects from the county seat differ from subjects from the villages in their attitudes towards Bai media programs with statistical significance, a null hypothesis is stated as “There is no difference in the attitudes towards Bai media programs between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages.”
Running a chi-square test gives $p = 0.03$. This result rejects the null hypothesis and indicates that there is a statistically significant difference between subjects from the county seat and subjects from the villages in their attitudes towards Bai media programs. That is to say, generally speaking, the majority of the Bai people have positive attitudes towards Bai media programs, but more people from the villages hold positive attitudes towards Bai media programs than those from Jinhua.

The discussion above is based on the chi-square test result that treats the responses from all the questions as a whole, the following discussion deals with each single question using the same null hypothesis. The results of the chi-square test applied to each question are presented in Table 32.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q#</th>
<th>P value</th>
<th>Statistical significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8a</td>
<td>0.384341</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8b</td>
<td>0.660159</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>0.294375</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td>0.363936</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>0.01693</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>0.058821</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32 The chi-square test results of questions concerning Bai media programs

It is clearly seen in Table 32 that subjects from the villages and subjects from the county seat only differ in their responses to question 10a with statistical significance with 10b very close to the $p<0.05$ threshold. Namely, more subjects from the villages showed a desire to have a newspaper in Bai while very few subjects from the county seat showed positive attitudes towards it.

### 5.3 Summary

In this chapter, the language attitudes of Bai people were investigated in the broadest sense which includes attitudes towards the Bai language and language related cultural
issues, attitudes towards other Bai speakers and attitudes towards Bai language development programs. The results of the analysis indicate that the majority of Bai people have positive attitudes towards the Bai language, and culture, Bai speakers and Bai language development programs. In other words, the answer to the research question “Do Bai speakers have positive attitudes towards the Bai language and such related issues as Bai culture, Bai speakers and Bai language development programs?” is “Yes, Bai people have positive attitudes towards the Bai language and such related issues.”

Regarding the difference between subjects from the villages and the county seat Jinhua in their language attitudes, a quantitative analysis as in Figures 33, 34, 35 and 37 indicate the existence of the difference. A chi-square test was run and indicated that the difference in their language attitudes between subjects from Jinhua and the villages is statistically significant except in their attitudes towards Bai speakers. This finding gives the research question, “Do Bai speakers from the county seat differ from Bai speakers from the villages in their language attitudes, language use and proficiency in Hanyu?”, a positive answer for the part concerning language attitudes towards Bai language and culture and language development programs.

In summary, Bai people have positive attitudes towards the Bai language and related issues. Bai speakers from the county seat differ from Bai speakers from the villages in their language attitudes towards the Bai language and culture and Bai language development programs with statistical significance.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND APPLICATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This study has been an attempt to assess Bai language vitality and the Bai people’s attitudes towards their language, culture and related language development issues. In this study, a questionnaire was employed as the main instrument to elicit data from 252 subjects both from the county seat Jinhua and five villages. Based on the discussion in chapter 4 and chapter 5, conclusions of this study are presented in this chapter as well as the applications of the findings and suggestions for methodology and further study.

6.1 Conclusions regarding language use

Language use in seven domains was discussed respectively as well as domain groups. According to the use of Bai, seven domains were grouped into three main domain groups: the family domain, the unpredictable mixed-group domain and the predictable mixed-group domain.

It was revealed that the Bai language has absolute dominance in the family domain (see Figure 12). Over 95% of subjects only speak Bai in the family domain except when talking with children. Those who reported that they speak Hanyu to their children explained that they want to help their children learn Hanyu better so the children can become bilingual. This indicates the strong language vitality of the Bai language.

In the mixed-group domains, the use of Bai is not as dominant as it is in the family domain, but the use of Bai is still dominant compared to the use of Hanyu (see
Figures 13 and 17). More than half of the subjects reported that they only use Bai in these mixed-group domains.

In Fase et al. (1992:6), it is suggested that it has been commonly found that when the mother tongue of a minority language remains dominant in communication within the ethnic group, it can be said that the mother tongue is being maintained. If only intergroup shift occurs, the language situation within the community will evolve towards a form of stable bilingualism. One can conclude that the Bai language has very strong language vitality among the Bai people, and the phenomena of limited language shift is a sign of evolving towards a stable bilingualism.

In summary, it seems probably that the answer to the research question “Is the Bai language likely to be maintained in the foreseeable future?” is “Yes, the Bai language is likely to be maintained in the foreseeable future.”

### 6.2 Conclusions regarding language attitudes

Language attitudes of Bai people were investigated from the broaden sense including attitudes towards Bai language and related cultural issues, attitudes towards other Bai speakers and attitudes towards language development programs such as Bai literacy and mass media programs.

Discussions in chapter 5 revealed that most of the interviewed subjects had positive attitudes towards Bai language and culture, other Bai speakers and Bai language development programs (see Figures 27, 28 and 32).

It was clearly seen that the majority of the Bai people have positive attitudes towards issues related to the Bai language. Responses from questions concerning culture revealed that the majority of Bai people’s attitudes towards the influence of Hanyu on Bai culture and language are positive. They do not consider loss of language a danger to the culture or invasion of Hanyu a destruction of the Bai language’s purity.
Responses from questions concerning reading and writing Bai demonstrate that Bai people have positive attitudes towards reading and writing Bai.

It was revealed that Bai people’s attitudes towards other Bai speakers differ from situation to situation. However, generally speaking, the majority of the Bai people have positive attitudes towards Bai speakers, while the minority showed neutral attitudes towards either Bai or Hanyu speakers. Only a very small proportion favored Hanyu speakers.

It was found that Bai people have positive attitudes towards literacy both in Bai and zhōngwén. Although more subjects showed positive attitudes towards literacy in zhōngwén, still, 56% of the research subjects have positive attitudes towards Bai literacy because: “Bai is Bai people’s language.” and “it is always good to learn more.” It is also revealed that parents have very positive attitudes towards sending their children to literacy programs although they are not really keen about being literate in Bai themselves.

In summary, it seems probable that the answer to the research question “Do Bai speakers have positive attitudes towards the Bai language and such related issues as Bai culture, Bai speakers and Bai language development programs?” is “Yes, Bai people have positive attitudes towards the Bai language and such related issues.”

6.3 Conclusions regarding the difference between results from the county seat and the villages

The third research question of this study concerned the difference between subjects from the county seat Jinhua and subjects from the villages in the language use and language attitudes.

Regarding the relationship between language use and location, it was found that subjects from the county seat Jinhua and the villages used Bai as their language of
communication in all domain groups. But it was noticed that subjects from the county seat Jinhua would use more Hanyu with their children than subjects from the villages in family domain. However, a chi-square test result showed no statistically significant difference.

Regarding the relationship between language attitudes and location, it was discovered that there was a difference. The chi-square test result demonstrated that the difference in the language attitudes between subjects from Jinhua and the villages was statistically significant with respect to Bai language and culture and Bai language development programs, but not with respect to Bai speakers.

Regarding proficiency in Hanyu, this study revealed that subjects from Jinhua have a higher reported bilingual proficiency than subjects from the villages to a statistically significant degree.

In summary, it seems probable that the answer to the research question “Do Bai speakers from the county seat differ from Bai speakers from the villages in their language attitudes, language use and proficiency in Hanyu?” is “Bai speakers from the county seat differ from Bai speakers from the villages in the language attitudes towards Bai language and culture, and in proficiency in Hanyu with statistical significance but not in their language use and attitudes towards other Bai speakers.”

6.4 Applications of the research results

It is shown in this study that Bai people have very strong contact with television. Over 80% percent of researched families have a TV. Half of the informants reported that they watch TV everyday and 23% of the subjects reported that they watch TV often. At the same time, very positive attitudes towards Bai television programs were revealed. The majority (over 80%) of subjects demonstrated the desire to have television programs in Bai. Also they were willing to commit to further involvement
in these programs. These findings indicate an easy access of language development program via television and potential success in these programs.

This study also revealed that parents have very positive attitudes towards sending their children to literacy programs although they are not really keen about being literate in Bai themselves. This indicates potential success in a children’s literacy program, which can give impetus to adult literacy programs.

Another finding in this study is the difference in attitudes between subjects from the villages and subjects from the county seat. This finding indicates language development programs in villages are more likely to be successful. Thus a better strategy of the language development programs is to start from villages then to move towards the county seat.

6.5 Evaluation of the methodology

Generally speaking, the methodology employed in this study is good, but there are some changes could be made to improve future studies.

Regarding the questionnaire, it could be reduced in length by eliminating some of the questions that are not essential to answering the research questions. For instance, questions 4, 14 and 15 in part I may give important information for other social studies, but they are not directly related to the research questions of this current study. Some other examples can be seen from question 18f, and 20b in part III, which gave results that doesn’t match with the original goal. Another revision of the questionnaire needs to be made to question 22 in part III. Although the religious domain is a classic domain in many other domain studies, it is not an everyday contact domain for Bai people. This is especially true with the activity of reciting dogma, since only a few people have experience with it. The questionnaire can also be reduced in its difficulty of understanding to prevent misunderstanding and non-
response. For instance, question 5 in part II C was difficult for some of the informants from the villages to understand. As a result, it took the surveyors extra effort to explain it.

Some questions could also be added to this questionnaire. For example, language use with grandchildren should be included in the language use of the family domain, thus language use of Bai can be studied over a three-generation span.

Regarding sampling, the 36 years old division line for age group seems somehow arbitrary, and it is better to have more age groups. It is better to set some informant age requirement ahead of time based on some preliminary study. For example, it was revealed in this study that most of the Bai female speakers above 45 refused to be informants. They think they are too old to think clearly.

6.6 Suggestions for further studies

Due to the length of the paper, such social factors as education, gender, age, occupation and travel experience were not discussed in this current study. Further studies are needed to discover correlations between these social factors and Bai people’s language use and language attitudes.

In further studies, it is recommended that language use with grandchildren be included in the family domain. Thus the language use of the Bai can be examined in a three-generation range.

It is also recommended that follow-up studies be done with those children whose parents speak Hanyu to them but believe they will become bilingual later.

Two researched villages in this study (Xizhong and Shilong) have different levels of exposure to a Bai literacy program compared to the other 3 villages. Xizhong village has had a Bai literacy program on and off for more than fifteen years, while a Bai
literacy program is underway in Shilong village. Xinren, Fumin, and Xiangtu villages have no exposure to Bai literacy. It is worthwhile to compare Xizhong, Shilong and one out of the three villages without any literacy exposure and see whether there is a correlation between the exposure to a Bai literacy program and the attitudes towards it.

Some other methods such as SRT (sentence repetition tests) could be used to assess the bilingual proficiency of Bai people.
Appendix 1: Individual questionnaire in English

A QUESTIONNAIRE ON LANGUAGE USE,
LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND BILINGUAL LEVEL
OF BAI IN JIANCHUAN

Date_____/_____/______ No. ________
Town_________________ Village__________________

(Asking questions with a * to those who are married)

Part I. Background information

1. Sex M_____ F_____

2. Age _______ years

3. Place of birth ______

4. Status of marriage M____ S____ W____ D____

5. Education: a. No education b. Some primary c. Completed primary
d. Some middle e. Completed middle f. Some high school
g. Completed high school h. University

6. (If not finishing primary) Reason for dropping out: a. No money
   b. Helping with house work c. Too difficult to study in Chinese
d. Too far to go to school e. Other reasons____________

7. Have you attended any kind of adult literacy class in Chinese?
   Yes____ No____
Can you read Chinese?
Yes ___ Some _____ No ___

Can you write Chinese?
Yes ___ Some _____ No ___

   e. Gov. employee    f. Other: __________

   d. Another town    e. Jinhua    f. Outside Jianchuan county

10. Where is the furthest place you have ever been away from home? __________

   e. Other reasons: ________________

12. Have you ever lived for more than a month outside the Bai-speaking area? Y _N_

   e. Other reasons: ________________

14. Do you want to work/study in places outside of Jianchuan? Yes ____ No ____.

15. Is your household income for one year enough for expenses? Yes ____ No ____.
   Is there any remaining? Yes ____ No ____.

16. What do you usually do in your leisure time?
   a. Talk, tell stories    b. TV/Movies/VCDs    c. Play instruments/sing/dance
   d. Read books/magazines    e. Play sports    f. Play cards/Mahjong/chess
   g. Garden    h. Fish/hunt    i. Crafts/carving/knitting
   j. Other: ________________
Part II. Attitudes Towards Bai

A: Attitudes Towards Bai language and Bai culture

1. Do young people in your village speak Bai well, the way the old people speak it?
   Yes___   No___

2. Do you know that Bai language has a written form?
   Yes___   No___ (If Yes, Which one?) ___ (a. Roman based orthography
   b. Not sure       c. Chinese character based orthography)

3. Should a Bai to be able to speak Bai? Why?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure   c. No

4. Should a Bai to be able to read Bai? Why?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure   c. No

5. Should a Bai to be able to write Bai? Why?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure   c. No

6. Should we use Bai orthography to record and keep Bai songs, proverbs, etc.? Why?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure   c. No

7. Should we keep speaking Bai? Why?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure   c. No

8. If there were no Bai language in use would there be no Bai culture?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure   c. No

9. Will the Bai in Jianchuan always want to speak the Bai language?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure   c. No

   Why?

10. If Bai language has more and more Chinese words in it, do you consider that Bai is no longer pure?
    a. Yes   b. Not sure   c. No
11 Do you think being a Bai is better than being a Han? Why?
   a. Yes       b. Not sure       c. No

**B: Attitudes Towards Bai speakers**

1. When you go to the market to sell a chicken, if two people offer the same price at the same time, one speaks Bai, another speaks Chinese, to whom would you sell the chicken?
   a. Bai speaker       b. Chinese speaker       c. either one       d. neither one
   Why? ______________________

2. When two people come to your village to hire labor, if both will pay the same amount of wage, one speaks Bai and another speaks Chinese, for whom would you choose to work?
   a. Bai speaker       b. Chinese speaker       c. either one       d. neither one
   Why? ______________________

3. When you go to see a doctor in the hospital, if two doctors are specialized in the same area, one speaks Bai and another speaks Chinese, from whom would you ask help?
   a. Bai speaker       b. Chinese speaker       c. either one       d. neither one
   Why? ______________________

4. If a play is shown in the village center square on TVs, one TV shows the Chinese version, another shows the Bai translation, which one would you prefer to watch?
   a. Bai       c. either one       d. neither one
   Why? ______________________
5. If there were two schools in the village, one uses Bai as the teaching medium first then transfers to Chinese, another uses Chinese from the beginning, which one would you want to go to/send your children to?
   a. Bai medium    b. Chinese medium    c. either one    d. neither one
   Why? ______________

6. If you wanted to marry, would you prefer your spouse to be:
   a. Bai    b. Chinese    c. doesn’t matter    d. other ethnic group (Yi, Naxi, etc.)
   Why? ______________

7. *If your children wanted to marry, would you prefer her/his spouse to be:
   a. Bai    b. Chinese    c. doesn’t matter    d. other ethnic group (Yi, Naxi, etc.)
   Why? ______________

C: Attitudes Towards Literacy in Bai

1. If someone is going to teach how to read and write Bai in your village, would you go?
   a. Yes    b. If I have time    c. Maybe not    d. No
   *Would you let your children go?
   a. Yes    b. If they have time    c. Maybe not    d. No
   Why? ____________

2. If someone is going to teach how to read and write Chinese in your village, would you go?
   a. Yes    b. If I have time    c. Maybe not    d. No
   *Would you let your children go?
   a. Yes    b. If they have time    c. Maybe not    d. No
Why? ______________

3. If the Bai textbook cost you 10¥, would you buy it?
   a. Yes   b. If I have money    c. Maybe not    d. No
   *Would you buy it for your children?
   a. Yes   b. If I have money    c. Maybe not    d. No
   Why? ______________

4. If the Chinese textbook cost you 10¥, would you buy it?
   a. Yes   b. If I have money    c. Maybe not    d. No
   *Would you buy it for your children?
   a. Yes   b. If I have money    c. Maybe not    d. No
   Why? ______________

5. Do you think learning to read and write Bai first will help children to learn Chinese better later?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure    c. No

6. Do you think studying Chinese is more important than studying Bai?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure    c. No

7. Do you think learning how to read and write Bai useless?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure    c. No

8. Do you think we should have radio broadcasting in Bai?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure    c. No
   Will you listen to it?
   a. Yes   b. Not sure    c. No
9. Do you think we should have TV programs in Bai?
   a. Yes  b. Not sure  c. No

   Will you watch it?
   a. Yes  b. Not sure  c. No

10. Do you think we should have a newspaper in Bai?
    a. Yes  b. Not sure  c. No

    Will you buy and read it?
    a. Yes  b. Not sure  c. No

**Part III Language Use**

1. How many languages do you speak? _____What are they? ______________

2. Which language did you learn first as a child? ______________

3. Which language do you speak best? ______________

4. Are both your parents Bai?  Yes ___No ___ (If no, what nationality? __________)

5. If still living, do your father and your mother speak Bai to each other?
   Yes _____ No _____ Occasionally____ (If no, what language? ______________)

   =========........======= For those who are married   =========........=======

6. *If married, is your spouse Bai? Yes ___No ___ ( If no, what nationality? _____)

7. *Does he or she speak Bai? Yes ___No ___ (If no, what language? __________)

8. *Which language does he or she speak best? ______

9. *(If have children) Do your children all speak Bai? Yes ___ No ___ ( If no, what language? ______)

11. How often do you speak Hanyu?

12. Which of the following can you read in Chinese?
d. Textbook of first year in primary school  e. Nothing

13. (If claiming a high reading ability) How often do you read Chinese?
   What do you read? ______________________

14. Which of the following can you write in Chinese?
   a. Newspaper or magazine article  b. Personal letter  c. Public notice
d. Characters in first year of primary school  e. Nothing

15. How often do you write Chinese?
   What do you write? ______________________

16. How often do you watch TV?

17. How much of the content on TV do you understand by listening?
   a. All  b. More than half  c. About half  d. A little  e. None at all

18. What language do you speak at home?
   a. With parents  B _____ H _____
b. *With spouse  B _____ H _____
c. *With children  B____ H____

d. With siblings  B____ H____

e. With ancestors who have passed away  B____ H____

f. With pet/livestock (dog, cat, sheep, pigs, etc.):  B____ H____

19. (If at school) What language do you speak at school?

   a. With the teacher in the classroom  B____ H____

   b. With the teacher outside of the classroom  B____ H____

   c. With friends in the classroom  B____ H____

   d. With friends outside the classroom  B____ H____

20. What language do you speak at a market?

   a. With a Bai merchant  B____ H____

   b. With a non-Bai merchant  B____ H____

   c. With an acquaintance  B____ H____

21. (If employees) What language do you speak at your work place?

   a. Talking with your colleagues  B____ H____

   b. Talking with your client/customer (doctor- patient, seller-customer, teacher-student etc.)  B____ H____

   c. Talking with your leader/boss  B____ H____

22. What language do you speak at a temple?

   a. Praying to gods  B____ H____

   b. Reciting the dogma  B____ H____

   c. Talking with other worshipers  B____ H____
23. What language do you speak when you go to the government office?
   a. Village government   B___ H___
   b. Township government  B___ H___
   c. County government    B___ H___

24. What language do you speak to someone you don’t know and you can’t tell if they’re Bai or not?
   a. In the fields/rice paddies  B___ H___
   b. In the village     B___ H___
   c. In the town (Jinhua)   B___ H___

**Part IV. Bilingual Level Self-Assessment** (Ask the following questions in Hanyu and getting the answers in Hanyu).

**FSI level one**

1. If someone asks you in Hanyu how to get to a place, can you tell him or not?

2. Can you ask and tell the time of the day and day of the week in Hanyu?

3. Can you describe the members of your family in Hanyu?

**FSI level two**

4. If you want to buy a piece of clothing from a Hanyu-speaking merchant, can you bargain with him and get the size you want?

5. Can you explain where you live and your job situation in Hanyu?

6. Can you explain what crops you planted and how good they grow in Hanyu?

7. If you hire someone to build a house for you, can you tell them the salary, hours, specific duties in Hanyu?

8. Can you tell a brief story of your life in Hanyu?
9. Can you describe in Hanyu why you plant rice instead of corn in you rice field? / Can you explain in Hanyu why you want your children to study Hanyu instead of Bai?

**FSI level three**

10. When you speak Hanyu, do you sometimes feel lack of words to say something?

11. If a group of Hanyu-speaker wants to talk about tourism development of Sha’xi with you, are you able to?

12. If you take your child to see a Hanyu-speaking doctor and he tells you what medicine your child should take and what food you should not give, can you understand him well enough to explain it in Hanyu to someone else?

13. Can you argue with a Hanyu speaker in Hanyu?

**FSI level four**

14. If a Hanyu speaker comes to your village, can you help him to tell his meaning to other people (interpret)?

15. Do you speak Hanyu so well that you can always find the right words to explain exactly what you mean?

**FSI level five**

16. Can you speak Hanyu exactly like a Han person so that if a Han hears you speaking Hanyu without seeing you, for example on the telephone, he would think it is a Han person speaking Hanyu?

17. Can you use Hanyu to explain the meaning of a classic Chinese story or opera to a group of Han speaker?

18. Is it easier to think in Hanyu than in Bai?
Appendix 2: Individual questionnaire in Chinese

剑川县白族语言使用、语言观念及白汉双语程度问答卷

时间 ____/____/____ 编号. ______

乡名 _______ 村名 _______

（带*问题适用于已婚群体）

I. 基本情况

1. 性别  男_____ 女_____

2. 年龄 _______ 岁

3. 出生地 ____

4. 婚姻状况  已婚____ 未婚____ 丧偶____ 离异____

5. 教育状况  a. 未受过教育  b. 部分小学  c. 小学毕业  d. 部分初中
e. 初中毕业  f. 部分高中  g. 高中毕业  h. 大学

6. 退学原因（如未完成小学教育）：a. 经济困难  b. 家务太多
c. 学习汉语太难  d. 学校太远  e. 其他原因________

7. 你参加过中文扫盲班吗？ 是___ 否___
   你会读中文吗？ 会___ 会一点___ 不会___
   你会写中文吗？ 会___ 会一点___ 不会___

8. 职业  a. 农民  b. 打工  c. 学生  d. 家庭主妇  e. 公职人员
   f. 其他 ______________

9. 工作/学习地  a. 家里  b. 村里  c. 其他村  e. 其他乡  f. 金华镇
10. 你离家最远到过什么地方？
11. 你为什么去那儿？ a. 旅游  b. 学习  c. 工作  d. 做买卖  
   e. 其他原因
12. 你曾在一个说汉语的地方呆过一个月以上吗？有  没有
13. 你为什么去那儿？ a. 旅游  b. 学习  c. 工作  d. 做买卖  
   e. 其他原因
14. 你想去剑川以外的地方工作/学习吗？想  不想
15. 你们家的年收入够开销吗？够  不够  有结余吗？有  没有
16. 你在空余时间一般作什么？
   a. 闲谈，讲故事  b. 看电视/VCD  c. 弹乐器，唱歌，跳舞  
   d. 看杂志  e. 体育运动  f. 打扑克，玩麻将，下象棋  g. 种花  
   h. 钓鱼/打猎  i. 作手工（雕刻，刺绣，作鞋子）
   j. 其他：

II. 对白族，白语的观念
对白语和白族文化的观念
1. 你们村年轻人的白语说得好不好，和老一辈说的一样吗？是  不是
2. 你知道白语有文字吗？知道  不知道
   （如果知道）是哪一种   （a.白文拼音  b. 不知道  c. 汉字白读）
3. 你认为白族人应该会说白语吗？
   a. 是  b. 不一定  c. 不是
4. 你认为白族人应该要学读白文吗？为什么？
   a. 是     b. 不一定     c. 不是

5. 你认为白族人应该要学写白文吗？为什么？
   a. 是     b. 不一定     c. 不是

6. 你认为我们应该用白文把白曲、白族故事记录下来吗？为什么？
   a. 是     b. 不一定     c. 不是

7. 你认为我们应该继续说白语吗？为什么？
   a. 是     b. 不一定     c. 不是

8. 你认为没有白语就没有了白族文化吗？
   a. 是     b. 不一定     c. 不是

9. 你认为剑川的白族人将一直说白语吗？
   a. 是     b. 不一定     c. 不是

10. 你认为如果白语有越来越多的汉语词，白语就不正宗了吗？
    a. 是     b. 不一定     c. 不是

11. 你认为当白族人比当汉族人好吗？为什么？
    a. 好     b. 不一定     c. 不好

对白语使用者的态度

1. 你去市场卖鸡，有两个人同时给了同样的价钱，一个说白语，另一个说汉语，你愿意把鸡卖给谁？
    a. 讲白语的     b. 讲汉语的     c. 随便一个     d. 一个也不
    为什么？
2. 有两个人来你们村里招工，所给的条件一样，一个说白话，另一个说汉语，你愿意为谁工作？
   a. 讲白话的   b. 讲汉语的   c. 随便一个   d. 一个也不
   为什么？

3. 你去医院看病，有两个医术一样高明的医生，一个说白话，另一个说汉语，你要找谁看病？
   a. 讲白话的   b. 讲汉语的   c. 随便一个   d. 一个也不
   为什么？

4. 电视上的两个台同时放一个节目。一台放汉语的，另一台放的是白话配音，你要看哪一台？
   a. 讲白话的   b. 讲汉语的   c. 随便一个   d. 一个也不
   为什么？

5. 村里面有两所学校，一所用白话教然后慢慢过渡到汉语，另一所一开始就用汉语教，你愿意去哪一所上学？
   a. 讲白话的   b. 讲汉语的   c. 随便一个   d. 一个也不
   为什么？

6. 如果你要结婚，你希望你的对象是：
   a. 讲白话的   b. 讲汉语的   c. 随便   d. 其他少数民族
   为什么？

7. *如果你的孩子要结婚，你希望他/她的对象是：
   a. 讲白话的   b. 讲汉语的   c. 随便   d. 其他少数民族
   为什么？
对白文扫盲的态度

1. 如果有人要来你们村教白文如何读，你会去吗？
   a. 去  b. 有时间  c. 也许不去  d. 不去
   *你**会**让你的孩子去吗？
   a. 作  b. 有时间  c. 也许不让  d. 不让
   为什么？

2. 如果有人要来你们村教白文如何读，你会去吗？
   a. 去  b. 有时间  c. 也许不去  d. 不去
   *你**会**让你的孩子去吗？
   a. 作  b. 有时间  c. 也许不让  d. 不让
   为什么？

3. 如果白文课本要十元钱，你会买吗？
   *你会**给**你的孩子买吗？
   a. 作  b. 有钱  c. 也许不买  d. 不买
   为什么？

4. 如果中文课本要十元钱，你会买吗？
   *你会**给**你的孩子买吗？
   a. 作  b. 有钱  c. 也许不买  d. 不买
   为什么？

5. 你认为学会读写白文会帮助孩子更好地学习中文吗？
   a. 是  b. 不一定  c. 不是
6. 你认为学中文比学白文更重要吗？
   a. 是      b. 不一定    c. 不是
7. 你认为学习白文无用吗？
   a. 是      b. 不一定    c. 不是
8. 你认为我们应该有白文的广播节目吗？
   a. 是      b. 不一定    c. 不是
   你会收听吗？
   a. 会      b. 不一定    c. 不会
9. 你认为我们应该有白文的电视节目吗？
   a. 是      b. 不一定    c. 不是
   你会看吗？
   a. 会      b. 不一定    c. 不会
10. 你认为我们应该有白文的报纸吗？
    a. 是      b. 不一定    c. 不是
    你会订阅吗？
    a. 会      b. 不一定    c. 不会

III 语言使用情况
1. 你会说多少种语言？______ 哪几种？____________
2. 你小时候学会的第一种语言是哪一种？________
3. 你说得最好的语言是哪一种？ __________
4. 你的父母都是白族吗？是____不是__（如果不是）是什么族？______.
5. 如果还健在，你父母彼此之间说白话吗？说____不说了____有时说____。
(如果不白说)他们说什么语？_____

========== For those who are married ==========

6.*如果已婚，你的配偶是白族吗？是____不是____（如果不是）是什么族？____。

7.*她/他说白话吗？说____不说了____有时说____。（如果不白说）
她/他说什么语？_____

8. *她/他说得最好的语言是哪一种？____。

9. *(如果您有孩子)您的孩子都说白话吗？说____不说了____有时说____。
(如果不白说)他们说什么语？_____

10. *您的孩子哪一种语言说得最好？_____

==========

11. 你常说汉语吗？
   a. 每天   b. 经常   c. 有时   d. 不常   e. 从不

12. 你能用中文读什么？
   a. 小说、报纸   b. 药盒上的说明   c. 村里的通知
   d. 小学一年级课本   e. 借条

13. （如果有较高的中文阅读水平）你常读中文吗？
   a. 每天   b. 经常   c. 有时   d. 不常   e. 从不
   你一般读什么？______________

14. 你能用中文写什么？
   a. 报纸杂志的文章   b. 信   c. 村里的通知   d. 150个汉字   e. 借条
15. (如果有较高的中文写作水平）你常写中文吗？
   a. 每天    b. 经常    c. 有时    d. 不常    e. 从不
   你一般写什么？____________

16. 你常看电视吗？
   a. 每天    b. 经常    c. 有时    d. 不常    e. 从不

17. 你看电视， 能听懂多少？
   a. 全部    b. 一半以上    c. 一半    d. 一点    e. 不懂

18. 你在家说什么语言？
   a. 和父母    白__汉____
   b. *和伴侣    白__汉____
   c. *和孩子    白__汉____
   d. 和兄弟姐妹  白__汉____
   e. 和祖先    白__汉____
   f. 和宠物（狗、猫等）白__汉____

19. (如果在校) 你在学校说什么语言？
   a. 和老师在教室里    白__汉____
   b. 和老师在教室外    白__汉____
   c. 和同学在教室里    白__汉____
   d. 和同学在教室外    白__汉____

20. 你在市场说什么语言？
   a. 和白族买卖人    白__汉____
   b. 和非白族买卖人    白__汉____
c. 和熟人  白___汉____

21. (如果是工作人员)你在上班处使用什么语言？
   a. 和同事  白___汉____
   b. 和顾客（如医生对病人，老师对学生等） 白___汉____
   c. 和上司  白___汉____

22. 你在寺庙里说什么语言？
   a. 祷告  白___汉____
   b. 念经   白___汉____
   c. 和其他朝拜者交谈  白___汉____

23. 你和一个你不确定是不是白族人的陌生人说话时，使用什么语言？
   a. 在田里  白___汉____
   b. 在你们村  白___汉____
   c. 在金华镇  白___汉____

24. 你去政府部门办事时使用什么语言？
   a. 村政府  白___汉____
   b. 乡政府  白___汉____
   c. 县政府  白___汉____

V. 双语程度自我评估（用汉语问以下的问题）

FSI I

1. 如果有人用汉语问路，你能用汉语回答吗？

2. 你能用汉语问时间，以及说出年月日吗？

3. 你能用汉语说你说你家里有些什么人吗？
FSI II

4. 如果你去向一个说汉语的人买衣服, 你能和他讨价还价, 并买到合身的衣服吗？
5. 你能用汉语说出你的住处和你的工作吗？
6. 你能用汉语说你田里种了什么，以及生长的情况吗？
7. 如果你找人帮你盖房子，你能用汉语和他谈工钱，以及条件吗？
8. 你能用汉语简单地说一说你的故事吗？
9. 你能用汉语说一说你为什么在你的地里种稻谷而不种其他的谷物？/你能用汉语说一说你为什么让你的孩子学汉语而不学白语吗？

FSI III

10. 当你说汉语时, 你是否有时觉得表达不出来？
11. 如果有些说汉语的人想和你谈一谈沙漠的旅游，你能和他们谈吗？
12. 如果你带你的孩子去看一个讲汉语的医生，他告诉你给你的孩子吃什么药，不要给你的孩子什么东西，你能听懂他的话并用汉语讲出来吗？
13. 你能用汉语和人争辩吗？

FSI IV

14. 如果有一个说汉语的人来你的村，你能帮助他翻译吗？
15. 你说汉语的时候，是不是总能找到合适的词来表达你的意思？

FSI V

16. 你的汉语说得和汉族人一样好吗？以至于不认识你的人听见你说话就以为你是汉族人？
17. 你能用汉语讲解小说、电影的意思吗？
18. 你觉得用汉语想事情比用白语想简单吗？/你平常用白语想事情还是用汉语想事情？
Appendix 3: Village leader questionnaire in English

VILLAGE LEADER QUESTIONNAIRE

TOWNSHIP_______ VILLAGE_______

1. How far is your village to Jinhua? _______ km.

2. How many households are in this village? ______________

3. Are they all Bai, or there are other ethnic group households? ____________
   If there are other groups, what are they? ______________
   How many? ____________

4. What is the total population of the village? ______________

5. Is the population of this village growing? _________ Declining? _________

6. Is there a school in this village? Yes_____ (To what grade? _____) No ______

7. What language do the teachers use in explaining things to the students?
   Bai___ Han____.

8. Where do children go for primary school education? ______________
   How far is it from your village?_______

9. Where do children go for middle school education? ______________
   How far is it from your village? _______

10. How many people in this village have received education at University level: __
    University level: ______________
High school level: ________________
Middle school level: ________________
Primary school level: ________________
No education: _____

11. Is intermarriage common in this village?
   Yes ___ No ___; How Many? ____; With what group? ______

12. What is your village’s most important need?
   a. Education  b. Health care  c. Economic opportunity
   d. Better transportation  e. Other: ________________

13. What is the major income resource of this village? ________________

14. What is the average annual household income? ________________

15. Have many people left the village to work in other places?
   Yes ___ No ___; How Many? ____

16. Is there a clinic in the village?  Yes ___  No ___

17. Where would villagers normally go when they need to see a doctor? ______

18. Are there any shops in the village? Yes ___ No ___; How many? _____

19. Is there a market in the village? Yes ___ No ___; How often? ______

20. Where would villagers normally go when they want to sell their crops? ______

21. Is it common for outsiders come to this village?  Yes ___  No ___
   From what ethnic groups? ________________
   Why do they come here? ________________
   What language do they use? ________________

22. In this village which language is most commonly used in the following places: (B
   = Bai, C = Chinese)
   Market/shops B___ C ____  Elementary School  B___ C ____
Gov. offices  A  B  C
Middle School  B  C  
Fields/rice paddies  B  C  
Family Homes  B  C  

23. When you have to communicate something important to everyone in this village, how do you do it?
   a. Written notice    b. Loud speaker (H or B)    c. Call a meeting (H or B)
   d. Send messengers door to door (H or B)    e. Word of mouth

24. Are there any tractors in this village? Yes ___ No ___; How many?______
   Trucks? Yes ___ No ___; How many?________
   Vans? Yes ___ No ___; How many?________
   Motorbikes? Yes ___ No ___; How many?________
   Bikes? Yes ___ No ___; How many?________

25. What is the most common means for the villagers to go to the Jinhua Town?
   a. bus (Zhongba Che)    b. van (Mianbao Che)    c. truck
   d. tricycle    e. motorbike    f. bicycle
   e. horse    f. on foot    g. other:__________

26. Is there any TV in this village? Yes ___ No ___ What percentage of the household have it?______
   VCDs? Yes ___ No ___; What percentage of the households have them?______
   Tape players? Yes ___ No ___; What percentage of the households have them?____
   Telephone? Yes ___ No ___; What percentage of the households have them?____
   Mobile phone coverage? Yes ___No ___; What percentage of the households have mobiles?____
27. What do people in the village do during their leisure time?
   a. Talk, tell stories   b. TV/Movies/CDs   c. Play instruments/sing/dance
   d. Read books/magazines  e. Play sports  f. Play cards/Mahjong/chess
   g. Garden  h. Fish/hunt   i. Crafts/carving/knitting
   j. Other:_________________________________________

28. Would you like to have a Bai literacy class in this village? Yes___ No___.
   Why?

29. Do you feel that people in this village would attend a Bai literacy class?
   a. Almost all   b. Many   c. Some   d. A few   e. None
   Why?

30. What time of the year would be good to have this literacy class?__________

31. How much time would they give to this class?__________

32. What kind of material would the villagers like to read in Bai?__________
Appendix 4: Village leader questionnaire in Chinese

村长问答卷

乡/镇名__________ 村名__________

1. 你们村离金华镇有几公里？__________

2. 你们村有几户？__________

3. 都是白族吗？还是有其他的民族？__________
   如果有，是什么民族？__________ 有几户？__________

4. 你们村有多少人？__________

5. 你们村的人口是不是越来越多？__________ 还是越来越少？__________

6. 你们村有学校吗？有_____ (到几年级？_____) 没有 _____

7. 老师上课的时候一般使用哪一种语言来解释？白____ 汉____

8. 孩子去哪里读小学？__________
   离你们村多远？__________

9. 孩子去哪里读初中？__________
   离你们村多远？__________

10. 你们村有多少人读过：
    大学:__________
    高中:__________
    初中:__________
    小学:__________
    没读过书:______
11. 你们村的白族有和其他民族通婚吗？
   有 ___ 没有 ___; 有多少? ___ 和什么民族？__________

12. 你们村最大的需要是什么？
   a. 教育    b. 医疗卫生    c. 经济机遇    d. 改善交通
   e. 其他: __________

13. 你们村的主要收入来源是什么？ __________

14. 每户一年的平均收入大概是多少？ __________

15. 你们村有人在外地打工吗？
   有 ___ 没有 ___; 有多少? ___

16. 村里有诊所吗？ 有 ___ 没有 ___; 有几个? ______

17. 如果村民要看病，他们一般去哪？ ______

18. 村里有小卖部吗？ 有 ___ 没有 ___; 有几个? ______

19. 村里有市场吗？ 有 ___ 没有 ___; 几天赶一次? ______

20. 如果村里的人要买卖粮食，他们一般去哪儿？ ______

21. 你们村有外人来吗？ 有 ___ 没有 ___
   什么民族？ __________
   他们为什么来你们村？ __________
   他们说什么语言？ __________

22. 在村子里的这几个场所，哪个语言最常用？(白 = 白语, 汉 = 汉语)
   市场/小卖部 白__ 汉__ 小学 白__ 汉__
   村公所 白__ 汉__ 中学 白__ 汉__
   田里 白__ 汉__ 家里 白__ 汉__

23. 如果你要向全村村民通知一件重要的事，你采取什么方法？
   a. 写通知    b. 广播 (汉或白)    c. 召集开会 (汉或白)
24. 村里有手扶拖拉机吗? 有 ___ 没有 ___ ; 有几辆? ___
   货车? 有 ___ 没有 ___ ; 有几辆? ___
   微型车? 有 ___ 没有 ___ ; 有几辆? ___
   摩托车? 有 ___ 没有 ___ ; 有几辆? ___
   单车? 有 ___ 没有 ___ ; 有几辆? ___

25. 如果村里人要去金华镇，一般怎么去?
   a. 中巴车    b. 微型车    c. 货车
   d. 三轮车    e. 摩托车    f. 单车
   e. 骑马    f. 步行    g. 其他: __________

26. 村里有电视机吗? 有 ___ 没有 ___ ; 拥有电视机的比例?
   VCD? 有 ___ 没有 ___ ; 拥有VCD的比例? ______
   录音机? 有 ___ 没有 ___ ; 拥有录音机的比例? ______
   电话机? 有 ___ 没有 ___ ; 拥有电话机的比例? ______
   手机? 手机信号? 有 ___ 没有 ___ ; 拥有手机的比例? ______

27. 村民在空闲时间一般作什么?
   a. 闲谈，讲故事    b. 看电视/ VCD    c. 弹乐器，唱歌，跳舞
   d. 看杂志    e. 体育运动    f. 打扑克，玩麻将，下象棋
   g. 种花    h. 钓鱼/打猎    i. 作手工（雕刻，刺绣，作鞋子）
   j. 其他：________________________________________

28. 你希望在你们村开办白文扫盲班吗？希望___ 不希望___
   为什么？
29. 你想你们村有多少人会愿意参加白文扫盲班？
   a. 全部   b. 很多   c. 一些   d. 几个   e. 没人
   为什么？
30. 一年中的那几个月最合适开办扫盲班？__________
31. 村民们会有多少时间来参加这样的扫盲班？__________
32. 村民们会喜欢读什么样的白文读物？______________
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